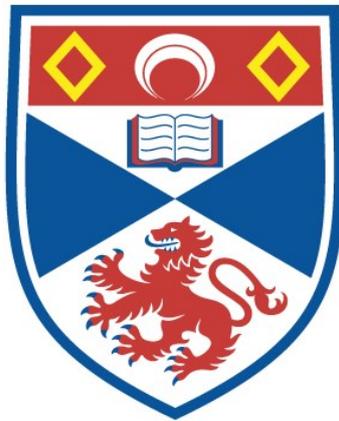


**BROADLY SPEAKING: SCOTS LANGUAGE AND BRITISH  
IMPERIALISM**

**Sean Murphy**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



**2017**

**Full metadata for this item is available in  
St Andrews Research Repository  
at:**

**<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>**

**Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:**

**<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/11047>**

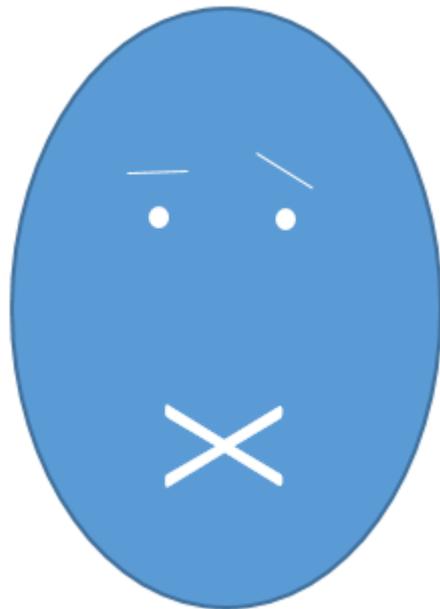
**This item is protected by original copyright**

Sean Murphy,

‘Broadly Speaking.

Scots language and

British imperialism.’





### 1. Candidate's declarations:

I, Sean Murphy, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September, 2013 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in Scottish History, September, 2013; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2013 and 2016.

*(If you received assistance in writing from anyone other than your supervisor/s):*

I, ....., received assistance in the writing of this thesis in respect of [language, grammar, spelling or syntax], which was provided by .....

Date 27/01/2017. Signature of candidate .....

### 2. Supervisor's declaration:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in Scottish History in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date 27/01/2017. Signature of supervisor .....

### 3. Permission for publication: *(to be signed by both candidate and supervisor)*

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the publication of this thesis:

#### PRINTED COPY

- a) No embargo on print copy
- b) Embargo on all or part of print copy for a period of ... years (maximum five) on the following ground(s):
  - Publication would be commercially damaging to the researcher, or to the supervisor, or the University
  - Publication would preclude future publication
  - Publication would be in breach of laws or ethics
- c) Permanent or longer term embargo on all or part of print copy for a period of ... years (the request will be referred to the Pro-Provost and permission will be granted only in exceptional circumstances).

#### Supporting statement for printed embargo request if greater than 2 years:

#### ELECTRONIC COPY

- a) No embargo on electronic copy
- b) Embargo on all or part of electronic copy for a period of ... years (maximum five) on the following ground(s):
  - Publication would be commercially damaging to the researcher, or to the supervisor, or the University
  - Publication would preclude future publication
  - Publication would be in breach of law or ethics
- c) Permanent or longer term embargo on all or part of electronic copy for a period of ... years (the request will be referred to the Pro-Provost and permission will be granted only in exceptional circumstances).

#### Supporting statement for electronic embargo request if greater than 2 years:

#### ABSTRACT AND TITLE EMBARGOES

*An embargo on the full text copy of your thesis in the electronic and printed formats will be granted automatically in the first instance. This embargo includes the abstract and title except that the title will be used in the graduation booklet.*

If you have selected an embargo option indicate below if you wish to allow the thesis abstract and/or title to be published. If you do not complete the section below the title and abstract will remain embargoed along with the text of the thesis.

- a) I agree to the title and abstract being published YES/NO
- b) I require an embargo on abstract YES/NO
- c) I require an embargo on title YES/NO

Date 27/01/2017. Signature of candidate .....

Signature of supervisor .....

*Please note initial embargos can be requested for a maximum of five years. An embargo on a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Science or Medicine is rarely granted for more than two years in the first instance, without good justification. The Library will not lift an embargo before confirming with the student and supervisor that they do not intend to request a continuation. In the absence of an agreed response from both student and supervisor, the Head of School will be consulted. Please note that the total period of an embargo, including any continuation, is not expected to exceed ten years. Where part of a thesis is to be embargoed, please specify the part and the reason.*

## Abstract

*This thesis offers a three-pronged perspective on the historical interconnections between Lowland Scots language(s) and British imperialism. Through analyses of the manifestation of Scots linguistic varieties outwith Scotland during the nineteenth century, alongside Scottish concerns for maintaining the socio-linguistic “propriety” and literary “standards” of “English,” this discussion argues that certain elements within Lowland language were employed in projecting a sentimental-yet celebratory conception of Scottish imperial prestige.*

*Part I directly engages with nineteenth-century “diasporic” articulations of Lowland Scots forms, focusing on a triumphal, ceremonial vocalisation of Scottish shibboleths, termed “verbal tartanry.” Much like physical emblems of nineteenth-century Scottish iconography, it is suggested that a verbal tartanry served to accentuate Scots distinction within a broader British framework, tied to a wider imperial superiorism.*

*Parts II and III look to the origins of this verbal tartanry.*

*Part II turns back to mid eighteenth-century Scottish linguistic concerns, suggesting the emergence of a proto-typical verbal tartanry through earlier anxieties to ascertain “correct” English “standards,” and the parallel drive to perceive, prohibit, and prescribe Scottish linguistic usage. It is argued that later eighteenth-century Scottish philological priorities for the roots and “purity” of Lowland Scots forms – linked to “ancient” literature and “racially”-loaded origin myths – led to an encouraged “uncovering” of hallowed linguistic traits. This renegotiated reverence for certain Lowland forms was bolstered by contemporary “diasporic” imaginings – envisioning, indeed pre-empting the significance of Scots migrants in the sentimental preservation of a seemingly-threatened linguistic distinction.*

*Part III looks beyond Scotland in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Through a consideration of the markedly different colonial and “post-colonial” contexts of British India and the early American Republic, attitudes towards certain, distinctive Lowland forms, together with Scots’ assertions of English linguistic “standards,” demonstrate a Scottish socio-cultural alignment with British imperial prestige.*



*Fir Beth.*



*"[...] vivual acors thi hail gloab. Ah've sprang ma trap.*

***Ma** leid*

*'s in the spittle o thi livin an atween thi sheets o thi dictionars."*<sup>1</sup>

*"If saliva from the mouth of one whose head is not correct enters one's mouth, one's head also becomes not correct."*<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Robert Crawford, 'Burns Ayont Auld Reekie,' Robert Crawford and W.N. Herbert, *Sharawaggi*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Gabriel Okara, *The Voice*, (London, 1970), p. 27.



## Contents

### Part 1. Verbal Tartanry and the Scottish diaspora.

“Laughable proof of the danger of any but Scotsmen meddling with our Doric dialect.” .....	1
“Whenever Scotchmen gather”: invented traditions, tartanry, and ‘diaspora.’ ...	7
Nation in conversation. ....	19
“A Doric dialect of fame”: Burns and diaspora. ....	38
Kin-spicious consumption: diaspora and St Andrew’s Day. ....	48

### Part II. Eighteenth-century Scots sub-versions.

“Sole judges and lawgivers in language”: Sub-versions ‘Scotticisms,’ and a settling of ‘standards.’ .....	60
“In ae Lexicographic plot”: Revealing Scots sub-versions. ....	82

### Part III. Nineteenth-century Scots ‘abroad.’

“Imprest on vellum.” Transatlantic concerns.....	111
“Though false his tones at times might be.” Scots in India. ....	158

### Conclusion.

“More curious than a Hindu marriage (laughter).” .....	202
--	-----

<b>Bibliography</b> .....	210
---------------------------	-----



## Acknowledgements

*This thesis was made possible through the award of a Carnegie-Caledonian PhD Scholarship in 2013. I would, therefore, like to express my gratitude to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland for their support and encouragement of my research.*

*For his guidance, trust, and inspirational faith in the project, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Colin Kidd. I am also grateful for the advice of Professor Gerard Carruthers of the University of Glasgow, and Professor Robert McColl Millar of the University of Aberdeen.*



## I. Verbal tartanry and the Scottish diaspora.

*Dear token frae my native lan',  
Thou bonnie bunch o' heather;  
I'll shelter ye wi' tender han'  
Frae oor extremes o' weather;  
I'll plant ye in a pat o' mool  
Brought a' the way frae Oban,  
An slochan ye wi' water cool  
An' clear as frae Loch Loman'!*

*An' when the Scotchman's day comes roon –  
Saint Andra's day sae cheerie –  
I'll tak' ye wi' me to the toon,  
Tae busk my old Glengarry;  
An' you'll see faces there ye ken,  
Wha speiled wi' me the heather, –  
Braw Hielan' lasses an' their men  
Shall dance a reel thegither!*

John Imrie, (Toronto, 1898).<sup>3</sup>

*(To prove my saul is Scots I maun begin  
Wi' what's still deemed Scots and the folk expect,  
And spire up syne by visible degrees  
To heichts whereo' the fules ha'e never recked.*

*But ance I get them there I'll whummle them [...]).*

Hugh MacDiarmid, (Edinburgh, 1926).

---

<sup>3</sup> John Imrie, *The Scot – At Home and Abroad*, (Toronto, 1898), pp. 13-14.

**“Laughable proof of the danger of any but Scotsmen meddling with our Doric dialect.”**

In 1818, the Scots traveller John Duncan attended a St Andrew’s Day dinner in New York City. He was decidedly unimpressed by the American attempt to honour the patron saint of Scotland.

The day had begun with such promise. In his journal, Duncan recalled how his heart had “throbbled high” during his morning stroll along Broadway, revelling in the “broad blue banner” of the Saltire “waving over the democratic heads of the New Yorkers.”<sup>4</sup> The traveller departed for the banquet in buoyant spirits: “I go like a true Scotsman to dine with the St Andrew’s Society of New York [...] Scotland for ever!”<sup>5</sup>

Yet the evening left Duncan “sadly mortified” by a blended Scots-American triumphalism – “a miserably insipid display of *Yankeeism* and *Land-of-Cakeism*; neither one nor other, but both spoiled.”<sup>6</sup> The guest was underwhelmed by the event’s haphazard proceedings, disliking the pomposity of the expatriate office-holders of the New York society, “conspicuous among the men of the *north countrie*” in their “broad blue and white collars, from which hung a large medallion of the patron of Scotland.”<sup>7</sup> Duncan, recalling Tam o’ Shanter, made an early departure, recounting “‘the nicht drave on wi’ sangs and clatter,’ and [at] about ten I rose from the table,” feeling, unlike Tam, fairly glad to be on his way, and “not a little mortified at the extremely diluted nationality of some of the Scotsmen of New York.”<sup>8</sup>

Few of the society’s rituals managed to escape the critical eye of their Scottish guest, and even before the dinner Duncan was taken aback by a farcical lack of organisation. The Scot reported that while waiting in the antechamber his “national feelings were roused” by the pipe music of a “brawny limbed son of the mountains” who “strutted up and down the hall, braying Scottish airs with all his might.”<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, once the members had been ushered into the main hall to begin the dinner rituals, “the *gillies* of the hotel” failed to inform the piper, so that while the master of ceremonies “was raising his voice within, the pipes were still vociferating without, so that the sounds drowned each other and we lost the benefit of both.”<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> John M. Duncan, *Travels Through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819*, (Glasgow, 1823), 2 vols., II, p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 236.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 239.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 236.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

The food itself provided the next source of dissatisfaction for Duncan, who was incensed by the lack of any Scottish dishes upon the otherwise well-laden tables:

As soon as the covers were removed, my eyes ran over the ample board in quest of the barley kail, the smoking sheep's head and trotters, the sonsy haggis,

'Wha's pin wad help to mend a mill,  
In time o' need'

But alas! These national luxuries found no place in the bill of fare; not even a solitary fragment of oat meal cake was to be seen. A sumptuous dinner was before us, but not a solitary dish that was characteristic of our native land.<sup>11</sup>

The guest remonstrated with one of the society office holders "on the inconsistency of such at a St Andrew's dinner," and was informed of the rather poor reception of previous attempts to "manufacture a haggis":

[...] the appetites of the Americo-Scotsmen had become too refined to relish such fare. They sipped a morsel or two from the point of a tea spoon, and then bellowed out "Waiter, take away *this*." I heard that in another quarter that into the said haggis a few raisins had been introduced, as an American improvement; but this I could hardly think possible.<sup>12</sup>

Deprived of his haggis, Duncan consoled himself with the prospect of the after-dinner toasts, which he expected to be "more commemorative of auld langsyne," and of an entertainment "exclusively national."<sup>13</sup> However, the Scottish guest was to find the post-dinner proceedings even more unpalatable than the all-American bill of fare.

Perhaps the most palpable insult of the evening came from a rendition of poetry, offered by a third-generation Scots New Yorker. Duncan expends ample energy in recounting the recital:

A young American, the grandson I believe of a Scotsman, on being called for a song pled his inability to sing, but volunteered a recitation; – and to evince his partiality for the national bard he announced his choice to be Tam o' Shanter. The young gentleman however soon betrayed his ignorance of Tam's mother tongue, and tortured our ears with the most terrible imitation of the Scottish dialect that ever I heard. It was most amusing to see the involuntary contortion of mouth, that travelled from one northern visage to another [...] He probably thought that if he made very bad English, he could not miss making very excellent Scots, and bad enough English

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, II, pp. 236-37.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 237, f. 7.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 237.

he certainly did make. Happily he stuck fast about half way through, and we silenced him with a very equivocal thunder of applause.<sup>14</sup>

Duncan supplies quotations, attempting a phonetic representation of the over-zealous rendering of Scots poetry:

'Ae winter *neet*,  
Tam had got planted unco *reet*;  
Fast by an ingle bleezing *feenly*  
Wi' reaming swats that drank *diveenly!*'

The efforts of the enthusiastic American-Scot were deemed "a laughable proof of the danger of any but Scotsmen meddling with our *Doric* dialect."<sup>15</sup>

Duncan's account of the evening is punctuated by his recognition of Scottish linguistic distinction. The traveller clearly demonstrates a sensitivity towards others' use and interpretations of Lowland language; emphasising, in ironic italics, the Scots utterances both of the young poetry reader and the New York society members – notable "among the men of the *north countrie*." Within Duncan's narrative, the office-bearers' bombastic reception of "their *brither Scots*" are rendered as "broad" and "conspicuous" as their Saltire-striped collars and sizeable St Andrew's medallions. The "*gillies* of the hotel" are near as noticeable as the "brawny limbed son of the mountains" who "brayed" the bagpipe music throughout the opening address.

Duncan similarly spices his own prose with a scattering of Burnsian Scots quotations, perhaps mocking the posturing of the "Americo-Scotsmen." In supposing an "involuntary contortion of mouth, that travelled from one northern visage to another" upon hearing the young reader's attempted accent, Duncan appears eager to highlight the general reaction to the recitation. The "very equivocal thunder of applause" which brought the performance to its early conclusion is seen as suggestive of a shared, unspoken disdain for the "terrible imitation" which "tortured our ears."

Duncan's discussion of the use of Lowland Scots language at the St Andrew's Society dinner in New York in 1818 is illustrative of a number of perceptions that were becoming increasingly common in the development of the associational culture of expatriate Scots during the nineteenth century – fundamental themes which form the basis of this investigation. Essentially, this thesis argues that the use of distinctive Scots linguistic forms demonstrated, and still does demonstrate, a

---

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 239.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*.

sense of attachment to notions of Scotland – a visual and audible expression of national sentiment no less overt than the memorialisation of Scotland’s patron saint or the flying of the “broad blue banner” of the Saltire. The calendar events of Scottish associational culture – the St Andrew’s Day dinners, Hogmanay celebrations, Burns Suppers and Caledonia society functions – provided apt occasions, both at home and abroad, for predominantly Lowland Scots and their descendants to engage in an assortment of “invented” Scots traditions suffused with Highland iconography, commonly termed “tartanry.”<sup>16</sup> As suggested by a recent investigation, Scottish associations, both within and outwith Scotland, offered a “universally accessible and usable common denominator” in the construction and enactment of “collective identity,” and provided an unmistakable outlet for displays of an envisioned Scottishness, of which an overtly Scotticised language, a *verbal* tartanry, was a significant, and largely unexplored, factor.<sup>17</sup>

John Duncan’s account indicates that distinctive linguistic traits could express a multiplicity of sentiments and purposes. For Duncan, the “native” Scot, his envisioned authority in possessively determining the “propriety” of “our *Doric* dialect,” and his recognition of the “laughable” results of non-Scots “meddling” with the language, enabled the traveller to proclaim himself a “true Scotsman” when abroad, thereby distancing himself from expatriates and non-Scots alike.

While this tetchy linguistic attachment celebrated Scots distinction from an assertive, and fairly authoritative perspective, it was also fraught with insecurity. Duncan appears keen to disassociate Lowland linguistic characteristics from suppositions of “vulgarity” and “impropriety.” Crucially, Duncan imagines Anglo-American assumptions of “excellent” Scots to be akin to “very bad English,” and a sensitivity to anticipated negativity underpins his dislike of the poetry recital. In concluding that the reader proffered a “bad enough English” rather than Scots, Duncan disconnects an “acceptable” Lowland Scots idiom from an Anglo-centred “impropriety,” whilst positioning himself as a reputable authority *both* of Scots *and* English “standards.” In asserting the “danger” of

---

<sup>16</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper, ‘The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland,’ *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger eds., (Cambridge, 1983), Murray G. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, (London, 1991), Murray G. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, (Manchester, 1999), Charles Withers, ‘The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands,’ *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley eds., (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 154-56, Leah Leneman, ‘A new role for a lost cause: Lowland romanticisation of the Jacobite Highlander,’ Leah Leneman ed., *New Perspectives in Scottish Social History*, (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 120. For the enactment of “invented traditions” in an imperial context, see John M. MacKenzie, ‘Empire and National Identities the Case of Scotland,’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, (1998), Vol.8, pp. 215-231, pp. 220-22, Elizabeth Buettner, ‘Haggis in the Raj: Private and Public Celebrations of Scottishness in Late Imperial India,’ *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXXI, 2, 212, (October 2002), pp. 212- 239. Also, Ian Brown ed., *From Tartan to Tartanry, Scottish Culture, History and Myth*, (Edinburgh, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, ‘Introduction: Diaspora, Associations and Scottish Identity,’ Bueltmann, et al eds., *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie*, (Guelph, 2009), p. 10.

non-Scots “meddling” with “*our* Doric dialect,” Duncan prescribes two interconnected codes of linguistic “correctness.”

But if Lowland language was infused with issues of prescriptive and pre-emptive “propriety,” it was also imbued with the celebratory element of *performance*. For the American members of the St Andrew’s Society as much as John Duncan, deliberate, perceptibly Scottish expressions emphasised a sense of socio-cultural cohesion. By addressing each other as “*brither* Scots,” society office holders emphasised their membership status, expressing “conspicuous” distinctiveness. For the young, third-generation poetry reader, his “imitated” discourse functioned as a vehicle through which to “evinced his partiality” both for the “national bard” and a particular branch of his ancestral heritage – an affiliation expressed through a self-conscious, overt, and temporary manner of speaking.

So for Duncan and the group of Scottish expatriates, as much as the young poetry reader, the use of Lowland language was essentially performative. Such linguistic usage, to borrow Angela McCarthy’s useful term, served as a “personal manifestation of Scottishness” – shibboleths through which Scots migrants and their descendants “identified themselves as Scottish, and were identified by others as Scottish”; exhibiting a chosen alignment with a certain “collective identity” outwith the nation.<sup>18</sup> The manifestation of a verbal tartanry, a personal and performative expression of Scottishness negotiated through the utilisation of distinctive linguistic devices, and given voice within the social – and socially “acceptable” – parameters of Scottish global associational culture, is the central theme of this chapter.

---

<sup>18</sup> Angela McCarthy, ‘National Identities and Twentieth-Century Scottish Migrants in England,’ William L. Miller ed., *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1900 to Devolution and Beyond*, (Oxford, 2005), pp. 174, 179.

## “Whenever Scotchmen gather”: invented traditions, tartanry, and “diaspora.”

Today, whenever Scotchmen gather together to celebrate their national identity, they assert it openly by certain distinctive national apparatus. They wear the kilt, woven in a tartan whose colour and pattern indicates their “clan”; and if they indulge in music, their instrument is the bagpipe. This apparatus, to which they ascribe great antiquity, is in fact largely modern. It was developed after, sometimes long after, the Union with England against which it is, in a sense, a protest.<sup>19</sup>

With these lines, Hugh Trevor-Roper begins his critique of the ‘Highland Tradition of Scotland’ – an infamous broadside against the popular reverence of the “ancient” cultural icons of the Scottish nation. As is evident from his introductory sentiments, the historian held the *gatherings* of “Scotchmen” to be fundamental to their “celebration” and perpetuation of a “distinctive” – and distinctly spurious – “national apparatus.” Indeed, Trevor-Roper’s vehement attempt to debunk the ‘Highland tradition’ may have been an indignant reaction on the part of the historian against the chauvinistic, “here’s tae us, wha’s like us?” tendency of the associational occasions on which “Scotchmen gather together.”<sup>20</sup>

Within the deliberately inflammatory article, Trevor-Roper set out to shatter a number of origin myths surrounding popular Scottish iconography, famously declaring “the whole concept of a distinct Highland culture and tradition” to be “a retrospective invention.”<sup>21</sup> Accrediting the development of the “philibeg,” or short kilt, to the English industrialist Thomas Rawlinson, Trevor-Roper saw such “invented” symbols to be suggestive of a national propensity to indulge in fable; corroborating Johnsonian claims of Scots’ “easy reception of an improbable fiction.”<sup>22</sup> Despite levelling valid criticism of Trevor-Roper’s failure to grasp the fundamental relevance of “invented traditions” – which lies less in the comically questionable origins of their creation but rather in the motivation behind their enactment and endurance<sup>23</sup> – Scottish academe has often handled tartanry with a mixture of exasperation and disdain reminiscent of the Oxford historian. A “distorted

---

<sup>19</sup> Trevor-Roper, ‘Invention of Tradition,’ *Invention of Tradition*, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> The mischievous streak in Hugh Trevor-Roper can be gleaned from his private correspondence. The historian jokes about defacing the Wallace monument at Bemersyde near Melrose, “devising the obscene mutilations or taunting *graffiti* (e.g. “Remember Flodden”) which I might inflict upon it,” Richard Davenport-Hines ed., *Letters from Oxford*, (London, 2006), p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> Trevor-Roper, ‘Invention of Tradition,’ p. 15. Also, Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, (London, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> Trevor-Roper, ‘Invention of Tradition,’ pp. 15, 22. Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, (1775), Peter Levi ed., (London, 1984), p. 119.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, Cairns Craig, *Out of History, Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and British Culture*, (Edinburgh, 1996), p. pp. 110-11, Carla Sassi, *Why Scottish Literature Matters*, (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 63, Celeste Ray, ‘Introduction,’ Celeste Ray ed., *Transatlantic Scots*, (Tuscaloosa, 2005), p. 6.

pageantry” of Highland symbols is frequently seen as representative of a lamentable “eclipse” of the nation’s “genuine” culture.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the “visible signs or culture markers” of this iconography are seen to be suggestive of Scotland’s “internal colonialism” within Britain, a hollow acceptance of the “material tokens” proffered by a Lowland elite intent on obtaining a closer cultural alignment with England in order to reap the spoils of union and empire.<sup>25</sup>

Indeed, the development of tartanry is viewed to link into a long succession of what Cairns Craig terms “myths of historical irrelevance,” spawned since the parliamentary union of 1707

[...] in recoil from the apparently featureless integration of Scottish life into an industrial culture whose power and whose identity lies outside Scottish control, [and which] acknowledges its own inability to lay hold of contemporary reality by projecting itself upon images of a society equally impotent before the forces of history.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, much of the iconography of post-union Scotland, developed over a period when the nation was reckoned less “distinctly and confidently herself,” was observed to place “an increasing emphasis upon the emotional trappings of the Scottish past,” tainted by “the mark of a narrow parochialism.”<sup>27</sup> At the turn of the twenty-first century, the novelist William McIlvanney supposed a Scottish historical consciousness to be epitomised by an over focus upon “wilful fragments” more “emotional than rational,” envisioning a nationality typified by sporadic enactment – a “series of gestures rather than a sequence of actions.”<sup>28</sup>

The kilt, clan tartan, haggis, and bagpipes – demonstrative of the “trappings,” “gestures,” and “fragments” of an emotive, historically “impotent” Scottishness – were proclaimed brazen examples of “self-delusion serving to fortify national cohesion.”<sup>29</sup> Certain Scottish cultural commentators appear to have been reluctant to re-evaluate this caricatured iconography of Highland origin, perhaps wary of falling foul of Trevor-Roper-esque accusations of historical inaccuracy and naivety, or falling prey to Tom Nairn’s “tartan monster” and endorsing the “popular sub-romanticism” of a Royal Mile gift-shop kitsch.<sup>30</sup> During the later decades of the twentieth century, tartanry was damned as an unforgivable cultural distortion – emblems of historical

---

<sup>24</sup> David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely, *Scotland. The Brand*, (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 207, 5, Pittock, *Invention of Scotland*, p. 100, Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, (London, 1975), p. 9.

<sup>25</sup> Cairns Craig, ‘Myths against history: tartanry and Kailyard in 19<sup>th</sup> century Scottish literature,’ Colin McArthur ed. *Scotch Reels*, (London, 1982), p. 10, Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, pp. 9, 342-3, Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain*, (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 82-107.

<sup>26</sup> Craig, ‘Myths against history,’ p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Marinel Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh, 1980) p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland*, (London, 2001), p. 128.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Nations and their Past,’ *The Economist*, 21 December 1996, p. 56, quoted in Hugh Cheape, ‘Gheibhte Breacain Charnaid (“Scarlet Tartans Would Be Got...”): The Reinvention of Tradition,’ *Tartan to Tartanry*, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain*, (London, 1981), p. 116.

“redundancy” and “irrelevance” in which a procession of “parodic red-nosed, kilted, drunken, mean Scotsmen of music hall comedy and picture postcard jokes” was seen to reflect a “cancerous national inferiority complex: the quite unmistakable psychological end-product of two centuries of tawdry palliatives.”<sup>31</sup>

Ironically, through such indignant hand wringing at the supposed “cultural cringe,” the cringe-worthiness of Scottish national representation became all the better exemplified. When we consider the obvious point that *all* “traditions” were at some stage “invented,” and that a great many nations and cultures find symbolic representation through a similarly spurious set of images and appeals to mythic history, Scots appear to have been particularly perturbed by the issues surrounding their own national iconography.<sup>32</sup>

This anxiety seems to have abated slightly. One common method used by Scots to distance, and perhaps disassociate themselves from some of the more excessive elements of tartantry, is to redirect this symbolism outwith Scotland – attributing an enthusiasm for such “traditions” to the “exile’s curse of over-indulgence in Scottish kitsch.”<sup>33</sup> A tartantry perceived to perpetuate “national self-delusion or bespoke history” is dismissed as having little to do with a “real” or “genuine” Scottish culture, and is believed to be generally “supplied by or for Scots in exile either in the cities of England or overseas” – “from Texas to Tokyo.”<sup>34</sup> Relatively recent innovations, new “invented traditions” such as National Tartan Day in the United States, dating from 1997, and the 2009 re-assertion of the Gathering of the Clans at Edinburgh are largely regarded as the domain of “American pilgrims,” evidence of the Scottish governmental initiatives for “energising and engaging our diaspora.”<sup>35</sup>

While the global appeal of tartantry has been viewed to be “excruciating” for some Scots, seen to propagate a garish “Highlandist vision” distasteful to “genuine” Caledonian sensibilities, it could be argued that now sufficiently distanced from a tartantry only celebrated in earnest overseas, present-day Scots can ironically appreciate the cultural, and certainly touristic, merit of their “gaudy

---

<sup>31</sup> Craig, ‘Myths against history,’ pp. 10, 13, 15. Lindsay Paterson, “‘Scotch Myths’ – 2,’ *Bulletin of Scottish Politics*, (Edinburgh; Scottish International Institute), 2, spring 1981,. 67-71, pp. 67-68.

<sup>32</sup> David Goldie, ‘Don’t take the High Road: Tartantry and its Critics,’ *Tartan to Tartantry*, pp. 240-1.

<sup>33</sup> Billy Kay, *The Scottish World*, (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 14.

<sup>34</sup> Cheape, ‘Gheibhte Breacain Charnaid,’ p. 15, Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, p. 236. Also, James Hunter, ‘Foreword,’ *Transatlantic Scots*, p. xiii, David McCrone, ‘Who Are We? Understanding Scottish Identity,’ Catherine Di Domenico, Alex Law, Jonathan Skinner, Mick Smith eds., *Boundaries and Identities: Nation, Politics and Culture in Scotland*, (Dundee, 2001), pp. 20-2.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Basu, *Highland Homecomings, Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora*, (Abingdon, 2007), p. 19, Charlotte Chambers, ‘Edinburgh sees the largest ever gathering of clan chiefs,’ *Independent*, 26 July 2009, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/edinburgh-sees-the-largest-ever-gathering-of-clan-chiefs-1761486.html>, <http://www.tartanday.org/history>, Bueltmann, et al., ‘Introduction,’ *Ties of Blood*, p. 1. See also T.M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth*, (London, 2011), pp. 287-8.

ethnic caricature.”<sup>36</sup> The ability of Scots to “parade” unashamedly reclaimed icons of tartantry becomes a sign of the vitality of modern Scotland, a nation no longer in thrall to a uniformity of embarrassing kitsch; a case perhaps, of taking the best from both worlds – of having one’s haggis and eating it?<sup>37</sup>

But a certain ambivalence persists. The mixed response to David Zolkwer’s Opening Ceremony to the 2014 Commonwealth Games, hosted in Glasgow amid a heady political climate prior to the Independence Referendum in September, points to the difficulties of pitching Scottishness to both a domestic and an international audience. Though reckoned a relative success by the *Daily Telegraph*, noting that “every lovable cliché of Scotland was addressed,” Zolkwer’s tartan-bedecked festivity was also slammed as a “hideous embarrassment” in which jokey Scots tropes were seen to offer an unreflective, and much-too-cloying caricature of the nation’s largest city.<sup>38</sup>

In this instance, contemporary issues of representation and reception offer insight into Scottish expatriate associations of previous centuries. At root, the Commonwealth ceremony at Parkhead was a *global* pageant for an event marked by a legacy of imperialism – the direct descendant of the grand Empire Exhibitions of a bygone era of British global dominance. As with the cult of tartantry which rose to prominence during that very same period, the task of the 2014 ceremony lay in plotting out the elements most commonly interpreted as “Scottish” by a pan-national audience.

Indeed, the ceremony offers a neat reflection of tartantry itself. By erring cautiously on “just the right side of kitsch” Zolkwer’s event effectively met the demands, both at home and abroad, for an *anticipated* Scottishness; indulging what Alan Riach terms the “human desire that is represented in clichés, caricatures, and conventional pieties.”<sup>39</sup> What is “Scottish” is largely determined by that

---

<sup>36</sup> Celeste Ray, ‘Ancestral Clanscapes and Transatlantic Tartaneers,’ Paper given at the Symposium on Return Migration, Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies, University of Edinburgh, May 2010, pp. 7, 10, Michael Newton, ‘Paying for the Plaid: Scottish Gaelic Identity Politics in Nineteenth-century North America,’ *Tartan to Tartantry*, p. 72, Devine, *Ends of the Earth*, pp. 274-85.

<sup>37</sup> Newton, ‘Paying for the Plaid,’ p. 72. Cairns Craig, *Out of History*, (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 110-11.

<sup>38</sup> Jim White, ‘Commonwealth Games 2014,’ *Daily Telegraph*, 23 July 2014, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/othersports/commonwealthgames/10987385/Commonwealth-Games-2014-Glasgow-is-first-winner-with-opening-ceremony.html>. Julie McDowall, ‘TV Review,’ *Herald Scotland*, 23 July 2014, [http://www.heraldsotland.com/arts\\_ents/13171459.TV\\_review\\_the\\_Games\\_opening\\_ceremony/](http://www.heraldsotland.com/arts_ents/13171459.TV_review_the_Games_opening_ceremony/).

<sup>39</sup> Ian Jack, ‘The Commonwealth Opening Games Ceremony: just the right side of kitsch,’ *Guardian*, 25 July 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jul/25/commonwealth-games-opening-ceremony-right-side-of-kitsch>. Alan Riach *Representing Scotland in Literature, Popular Culture and Iconography*, (Basingstoke, 2005), p. 31.

which is widely *accepted* and *expected* to be “Scottish.” And, as much of Zolkwer’s ceremony indicated, there is a certain mischievous enjoyment to be had in playing up to such stereotyping.

Yet the director also insisted on the overarching theme of “universality” within the ceremony, of “looking more at what we have in common than what differentiates us.”<sup>40</sup> But such intentionally broad, all-encompassing notions of “humour, warmth, [and] celebrating what we have in common,” were also reckoned to require an archetypically “vernacular” spicing.<sup>41</sup> “Although we are telling a universal story,” Zolkwer claimed the tale to be phrased “with a distinctly Glaswegian accent, which means we are going to be irreverent, funny, principled, sincere, inclusive, personal, direct.”<sup>42</sup> This differentiating “accent” therefore enabled an envisioned Scots-Glaswegian exceptionalism to infuse the wider celebration of the “universal” believed to underscore the event.

Moreover, this “distinctly Glaswegian accent” was seen to have “meaning,” and aligned with a collection of self-congratulatory characteristics. In this regard, the figurative “accent” of the Glasgow ceremony directly resembles the tones of nineteenth-century verbal tartantry – asserting a laudable Scots essence encased within the broader, “universal” themes underpinning empire and “commonwealth.” As much as the theatrically oversized kilts, dancing teacakes, and parading Highland terriers, Lowland Scots linguistic distinction was on show during the Commonwealth celebrations. On one memorable occasion, a contemporary verbal tartantry connected several strands of transnational, English-speaking discourse; with the Scots-American host John Barrowman, “in Scottish accent mode,” offering a Scotticised version of the quintessentially Australian rock anthem “Land Down Under” (“We come from the land of heather/ Where men wear kilts and women blether”).<sup>43</sup> In this regard, the opening ceremony of the 2014 Commonwealth games – a tongue-in-cheek fusion of a variety of elements viewed as stereotypically “Scottish” from a largely external perspective – has much in common with the articulations of Scottish global associational culture of the nineteenth century.

Of course, the crux of such symbolism is not in any way unique to Scotland. All such national tropes come into being through the external recognition and perpetuation of how “ithers see us.”<sup>44</sup> All nations and cultures find representation through a foreign fondness for the simplicity of myth, kitsch, and caricature. The spurious aspects of tartantry, like all such “invented traditions,” ought not

---

<sup>40</sup> Anon., ‘Glasgow 2014: City ‘buzzing’ ahead of Commonwealth Games,’ *BBC News*, 22 July 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-28419108>.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Kevin O’Sullivan, ‘BBC going OTT in covering Commonwealth Games,’ *Mirror*, 26 July 2014, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/tv/tv-reviews/bbc-going-ott-covering-commonwealth-3918194>.

<sup>44</sup> For the “looking-glass self,” see Charles Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, (New York, 1902), pp. 151-3.

be a cause for major concern. The danger lies instead in any prescriptive insistence upon a “real,” “natural,” or “genuine” national representation.

In this light, the iconography of the Scottish diaspora can offer an instructive historical example in which the “superficial paraphernalia” and “performed Scottishness” of tartanry became *more pronounced* through the allure of the “indistinct” – the faded, romanticised “homeland,” “more imagined than real.”<sup>45</sup> The greater the spatial and temporal gulf separating Scots migrants and their descendants from a supposed “homeland,” the more this “homeland” *was itself supposed*, and an “auld” Scotland embodied through clearly identifiable tropes came to be sought and sanctified throughout the globe.<sup>46</sup> As the anthropologist Paul Basu argues, a contemporary sense of diasporic Scots “heritage” takes root through such conflux of history and distance – a process of “shared imagining,” generated within a self-perpetuating “mediascape” through “which diasporic Scots learn what it is to be diasporic Scots.”<sup>47</sup> In this regard, Basu’s insight into a “shared imagining” resembles the “imagined political community” underpinning Benedict Anderson’s influential thesis on the development of nationalism – so “imagined” through the burgeoning early-modern “mediascape” of print capitalism.<sup>48</sup>

Unlike certain Scottish frustrations with tartanry, neither Basu nor Anderson appear to hold much truck with the wrestling of the “real” from the “imagined,” or the “natural” from the “invented.” Of course, diasporic envisionings of “heritage” should be viewed differently to other analyses of Scottish history or culture. Nevertheless, certain interconnections ought not be overlooked. If, according to Celeste Ray, a tartanry-fuelled Scots diaspora “heritage” serves as “something of a rhapsody on history,” then students of Scottish history would do well to keep an ear out for such strains.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, the very concept of diaspora offers a key means of observing the real-world impact of a rhapsodic imagination.

Avtar Brah perceives migratory “diasporic identities” as “at once local and global” – “networks of transnational identifications encompassing “imagined” and “encountered”

---

<sup>45</sup> Michael Fry, ‘The Scottish Diaspora and the Empire,’ Murray Stewart Leith and Duncan Sim eds., *The Modern Scottish Diaspora*, (Edinburgh, 2014), p. 38, Murray Pittock, *The Road to Independence*, (London, 2008), p. 137, Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, pp. 41-2, Murray Stewart Leith and Duncan Sim, ‘Introduction: The Scottish Diaspora,’ *Modern Scottish Diaspora*, p. 6

<sup>46</sup> Celeste Ray, ‘Ancestral clanscapes and transatlantic tartaneers,’ Mario Varricchio ed., *Back to Caledonia*, (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 170-1.

<sup>47</sup> Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, pp. 92, 93.

<sup>48</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (1983: London, 2006), pp. 37-46. Also, Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora*, (Edinburgh, 2013), pp. 26-7.

<sup>49</sup> Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage*, (Chapel Hill, 2001), p. 7.

communities.”<sup>50</sup> For Brah, the rapport between the “imagined” and “encountered” is imperative to this “diasporic imagination,” in which the concept of “home” can serve *both* as “a mythic place of desire” and “place of no return,” whilst also retaining the rather more earthy “lived experience of the locality” and “historically specific everyday of social relations.”<sup>51</sup> So notions of “home,” operating in “creative tension” with those of “dispersion,” interleave both a “there” and a “here”; reflective of what Brah sees as a wistful “homing desire” rather than an earnest, day-to-day yearning for an actual ancestral home.<sup>52</sup> Because of this inherent fluidity and fractious, contested essence, transnational diasporas are viewed to provide a poignant critique to any insistence upon immutable “fixed origins” within national narratives.<sup>53</sup>

Yet much of the tartanic symbolism expressive of a Scottish “diasporic imagination” stands in a reductive, essentialist contrast. Like many global examples, the historical manifestation of “Scottish diaspora” is viewed to demonstrate such diversity as to prompt the suggestion of a plurality of “Scottish *diasporas*.”<sup>54</sup> A nuanced and lengthy analysis of the “diaspora” tag appears to be a requisite for contemporary investigations of Scottish global communities.<sup>55</sup> However, the issue of diaspora is also viewed as yet another potentially “essentialising trope” within Scottish historiography, and a term already loaded with connotations of oppression and forced displacement can be all too easily appended to exaggerated claims of Scottish “victimology.”<sup>56</sup>

This is most notably the case within a Highland cultural context, in which the romantic glamour of Jacobitism and the “foundational trauma” of nineteenth-century rural depopulation have been seen to infuse a Scottish diaspora with the “moral rhetoric of exile,” overriding a more “morally ambiguous history” of voluntary migration and colonialism.<sup>57</sup> As with the icons of tartanry, the perceived plight of the Gàidhealtachd, “the most historically photogenic of British exiles,” is best seen to represent the nation, and a history of Scottish migration is coloured by the noble, tragic, and

---

<sup>50</sup> Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, (Abingdon, 1996), p. 196.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 192.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 192-3, 180, 16.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 180, 193. Also Robin Cohen, ‘Solid, Ductile and Liquid: Changing Notions of Homeland and Home in Diaspora Studies,’ Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Tirzhak Sternberg eds., *Transnationalism. Diasporas and the advent of a new (dis)order*, (Boston, Mass, 2009).

<sup>54</sup> Leith and Sim, ‘Introduction,’ pp. 10-11, Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, p. 17, Catriona M. M. Macdonald, ‘Imagining the Scottish Diaspora: Emigration and Transnational Literature in the Late Modern Period,’ *Britain and the World* 5.1 (2012), pp. 12–42, pp. 15-19. For taxonomies of “diaspora,” see William Safran, ‘Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return,’ *Diaspora* 1, 1 (1991), 83-99, Robin Cohen *Global diasporas: an introduction*, (London, 2000).

<sup>55</sup> Buelmann, et al, *Scottish Diaspora*, pp. 1-27, Leith and Sim, ‘Introduction,’ pp. 1-11.

<sup>56</sup> Buelmann, et al, ‘Introduction,’ *Ties of Blood*, pp. 1-2, Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, pp. 11-12, 193-4, Macdonald, ‘Imagining the Scottish Diaspora,’ pp. 19-20.

<sup>57</sup> Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, pp. 193.

“aboriginal” allure of the Highlands.<sup>58</sup> The multiplicity of Scottish historical diasporas – centuries of transnational movement, encompassing the back-and-forth of trade and professional sojourning, plantation-owning and “overseeing,” military service, religious missions, colonial “settlement” / “indigenous” dispossession, along with economic migration, both Highland and Lowland – has been largely overlaid with the misty-eyed imagery of “Lochaber No More.”<sup>59</sup>

This thesis suggests such sentimental tartan gloss was a product of British imperial rhetoric itself. As John MacKenzie notes, the symbolism of a “re-invented Highland culture” served to facilitate the “interaction of home and Empire” during the nineteenth century, effecting a “reconciliation of Scottish ethnic nationalism with its global stage.”<sup>60</sup> The associational culture of the Scottish diaspora, while a “cunningly contrived amalgam” comprising both “Highland and Lowland elements,” was keen to exhibit an expatriate Scottishness through the explicitly “ethnic” emblems of Highland-derived tartanry – “almost as different as it was possible to be from England.”<sup>61</sup> As such, wistful aspects of Highland exile and a culture of lost causes inter-locked with the rather more self-congratulatory, imperial undertones of Scottish diasporic celebrations. It was precisely during this nineteenth-century period that Scots acquired the accolade of “perfect, prefabricated empire-builders.”<sup>62</sup> Nowhere was this epithet seen to be better demonstrated than in the mythic archetype of the Highland soldier – “permitted kilted ‘other’” to presumptions of a normative British culture and masculinity.<sup>63</sup>

Consequently, the imperial legacy of the Scottish nation, unquestionably complicit in “the skulduggery of Empire,” is complicated by a colonial ambivalence surrounding Highland-rooted representation.<sup>64</sup> Undoubtedly, significant segments of the Gaelic-speaking communities of the

---

<sup>58</sup> Eric Richards, ‘The Last of the Clan and Other Highland Emigrants,’ Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman eds., *The Heather and the Fern*, (Otago, 2003), p. 33, Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, p. 200, 214, Neal Ascherson, *Stone Voices*, (London, 2002), p. 212.

<sup>59</sup> For an important discussion of the varied nature of Scottish diaspora, see Angela McCarthy ed., *A Global Clan*, (London 2006). Also, John M. MacKenzie and T.M. Devine eds., *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2011).

<sup>60</sup> John M. MacKenzie, ‘Empire and National Identities,’ p. 221.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, Richard J. Finlay, ‘Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the Eighteenth Century,’ Dauvit Broun, R. J. Finlay and Michael Lynch eds., *Image and Identity*, (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 150, John M. MacKenzie and T.M. Devine, ‘Introduction,’ *Scotland and the British Empire*, pp. 12-14.

<sup>62</sup> MacKenzie, ‘Empire and National Identities,’ p. 225-6.

<sup>63</sup> Heather Streets, *Martial Races*, (Manchester, 2004), p. viii, John M. MacKenzie, ‘A Scottish Empire? The Scottish diaspora and interactive identities,’ *Heather and the Fern*, p. 22, Eric Richards, ‘Ironies of the Highland Exodus, 1740-1900,’ Wilfred Prest and Graham Tulloch eds., *Scatterlings of Empire*, (St Lucia, 2001), p. 74, David Forsyth and Wendy Ugolini eds., *A Global Force*, (Edinburgh, 2016).

<sup>64</sup> E.J. Cowan, ‘The Myth of Scotch Canada,’ Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance eds., *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory*, (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 56. Also, Carla Sassi and Theo van Heijnsbergen, ‘Introduction,’ Carla Sassi and Theo van Heijnsbergen eds., *Within and Without Empire*, (Newcastle upon-Tyne, 2013), pp. 3-6, Michael Gardiner, ‘Introduction,’ Michael Gardiner, Graeme Macdonald, and Niall O’Gallagher eds., *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature*, (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 1,3,5, Carla Sassi, *Scottish Literature Matters*, pp.

Scottish Highlands and Islands suffered under the oversight and colonial attitudes of the British government.<sup>65</sup> Yet the tropes of tartanry can today display a markedly more sinister hue when framed within an uncritical insistence upon a Highlandised victim-Scotland. Within the United States, certain contemporary assertions of diasporic Scots affinity have been seen to serve a self-indulgent disavowal of WASP “power and privilege,” (“white,” “Anglo-Saxon,” Protestant), where “Celtic” Scottish “heritage” offers the option of a middle-American “dissimilation” – pointing to the “recovery” of a “more distinctive, particular ethnic identity” through entry into a supposedly “victimised minority group.”<sup>66</sup>

Richard Zumkhawala-Cook recognises this Scots-American “minority group” mentality as a nuanced strategy in the preservation of socio-cultural privilege.<sup>67</sup> Projections of Scottish “heritage” are seen to promote an “uncontaminated, harmonious, geographically limited, and thoroughly nationalized space,” in which chauvinistic conceptions of “history, race, and national pride” play into a “fantasy of early Scottish life [...] profoundly mediated and enabled by commodities of “auld” Scottish culture.”<sup>68</sup> Note the linguistic switch. Through the occasional, associational role-play of Scottish victimhood, the “racial,” patriarchal, and socio-economic power of the performers are both underscored and obscured through “heritage” rhetoric. The recent peddling of DNA testing to uncover a “genuine” Scots ancestry suggests another discomfiting aspect of “heritage” – highlighting a worrying readiness to engage with the science fictions of “race” in the promulgation and commodification of desired “diasporic” ancestry.<sup>69</sup> As Zumkhawala-Cook suggests, one cannot neglect the tinge of “ethnic supremacism” colouring aspects of contemporary Scottish associational culture, and nor should we ignore the imperial legacies of bigotry, violence, dispossession, and superiorism which lurk within its foundations.<sup>70</sup>

To recap, much like twenty-first-century manifestations of Scottish “heritage,” the historical enactments, perceptions, and projections of tartanry are of a much greater significance than any notional “authenticity.” Within Scotland and throughout much of the globe, icons of tartanry

---

5, 61-3, 84-103, Nigel Leask, “‘Their Groves o’ Sweet Myrtles’: Robert Burns and the Scottish Colonial Experience,” Murray Pittock ed., *Burns in Global Culture*, (Plymouth, 2011), pp. 173-5.

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, Berthold Schoene, ‘A Passage to Scotland: Scottish Literature and the British Postcolonial Condition,’ *Scotlands*, 2.1, (1995), 107-122, pp. 109-13.

<sup>66</sup> Basu, *Highland Homecoming*, pp. 22, 198, Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage*, p. 13.

<sup>67</sup> Richard Zumkhawala-Cook, *Scotland As We Know It*, (Jefferson, 2008), pp. 110-11.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Jenny Blain, ‘Ancestral ‘Scottishness’ and Heritage Tourism,’ *Modern Scottish Diaspora*, pp. 166-7.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133. Also Kay, *Scottish World*, pp. 133-46. Murray Pittock, ‘Plaiding the Invention of Scotland,’ *Tartan to Tartanry*, p. 44

exemplified a commodified, temporary engagement in a “patriotism of masquerade.”<sup>71</sup> When based *within* the nation, this enacted stance is often dismissed as contemptible cultural “redundancy” and “impotence” – a “sign of Scottish virility which endorsed the process of Scottish emasculation.”<sup>72</sup> However, these domestic displays of “fancy-dress freedom” reflect a darker character when considered alongside similar exhibitions *outwith* Scotland.<sup>73</sup>

Indeed, it has been suggested that the tropes of tartanry were reinforced through a transnational negotiation of Scottish sensibilities. As Graeme Morton has highlighted, in an “age of deepening information flows” nineteenth-century Scots “had the means to know more about themselves” than ever before, simultaneously possessing “greater opportunity to learn about others, whether they resided inside the nation or outside its boundaries.”<sup>74</sup> Morton posits, “[b]eing Scottish was not a rejection of the unknown, but a reflection of the known,” supposing “the nation’s history” to be “in dialogue with the nation’s identities.”<sup>75</sup>

It was through this global, nineteenth-century “dialogue” that the “known” traits of tartanry were solidified, with diasporic Scots viewed to have been particularly eager to engage in this “objectification” of “personal history through cultural symbols of the nation” – “the ideological means of perpetuating the national self when away as much as back home.”<sup>76</sup> For a nation as thoroughly touched by global migration as Scotland in the nineteenth century, this was always likely to double back.<sup>77</sup> Morton suggests a cycle of “perpetuation” and “objectification” to have underscored a “dialogue” between “diaspora” and “homeland,” and though the “communicative power of objectification,” diasporic imaginings “offered up a framework for other Scots [...] to imagine a transplanted home.”<sup>78</sup> By way of a pre-emptive nostalgia of emigration-exile, fuelled by the same sentimentalised, popular conception of Highland-Scots culture that it would also feed into, the iconography of tartanry became ever more appealing – accentuated through a cyclic Scots interchange flitting within and outwith the nation.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> Pittock, ‘Plaiding the Invention of Scotland,’ p. 39.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Graeme Morton, *Ourselves and Others*, (Edinburgh, 2012), p. 4.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>77</sup> Morton supposes over 2.33 million people to have left Scotland between 1825-1938, reckoning one in every two Scots to have “had some life experience – direct or otherwise” of life outwith the nation, *Ibid.*, pp. 248-9, 268.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>79</sup> This has been seen to underpin later, twentieth-century perceptions of an “extensive tradition of global migration,” Angela McCarthy, ‘Personal Accounts of Leaving Scotland, 1921-1954,’ *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXXIII, 2, 216, (October 2004), pp. 196-215, pp. 211, 201.

True to form, Scottish commentators have focused upon the simple fraudulence of such “objectification,” blurring both the means and motives behind its construction. In his perceptive interpretation of a “Scottish discursive unconscious,” Colin McArthur recognises a transatlantic, “mantralike” broadcast of recognisable Scottish traits – a “hegemonic bricolage of images, narratives, subnarratives, tones, and turns of phrase.”<sup>80</sup> Though doubtlessly insightful, McArthur presents this “limited, repetitive repertoire of images and utterances relating to Scotland” as the fairly insufferable, essentially Anglo-American “appropriation” or “restriction” of discourse, at odds with an “indigenous” Scots outlook.<sup>81</sup> While his “Scottish discursive unconscious” effectively points to more global, dialogic aspects at work within the promulgation and prolongation of tartanry, McArthur’s analysis presents this as a fairly one-way, “hegemonic” con, primarily derived by the diaspora. McArthur duly acknowledges his own skewed perspective, “exacerbated by the indigenous Scot’s exasperation at the flagrant invention of tradition at play,” which he offers alongside an admitted “impatience with the utterances of transatlantic Scots.”<sup>82</sup>

Both popular and academic conceptions of Scottish diasporic associations remain similarly attached to such “inauthentic,” somewhat indulgent enactments of Scottishness, conducted through an over-adherence to debunked myths and embarrassingly “invented traditions.” The pejorative label of the “Burns Supper school” entered into historiographical parlance in the mid-1950s with George Shepperson’s attempts to counter the “chauvinistic enthusiasm” of a coterie of Scots-American historians; linking over-zealous assertions of Scottish exceptionalism to the self-congratulatory character of associational tributes to the Scots poet.<sup>83</sup> Over half a century later, this ambivalence continues.

In a collection of engaging and discipline-defining articles on Scottish global associational culture, Tanja Bueltmann asserts the necessity of looking “beyond the romanticised, shortbread-tin façade” commonly envisaged of Scots’ diasporic groupings.<sup>84</sup> This is all to the good. Historical investigations must attempt to look “beyond” such misleading objectification. However, the significance of the “façade” itself cannot be overlooked. In fact, it is imperative to look both “beyond” and *beneath* the surface of such diasporic projections. The very cover graphic of Bueltmann’s collection – an image of a ginger-bearded, tartan-clad clans-man, perched atop a stool,

---

<sup>80</sup> Colin McArthur, ‘Transatlantic Scots, Their Interlocutors, and the Scottish Discursive Unconscious,’ *Transatlantic Scots*, pp. 341, 340.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 351, 340.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, p. 348.

<sup>83</sup> George Shepperson, ‘Writings in Scottish-American History: A Brief Survey,’ *William and Mary Quarterly Journal*, 3, Vol. 11, 2 (April 1954), 163-78, p. 165.

<sup>84</sup> Tanja Bueltmann, ‘Ethnic Identity, Sporting Caledonia and Respectability: Scottish Associational Life in New Zealand,’ *Ties of Blood*, p. 168.

dram in hand – demonstrates that the old habit of resorting to the tartanic “façade” does indeed die hard. With this in mind, it is significant that the title of the publication, “Ties of *Bluid*, Kin and *Countrie*,” provides a prime example of verbal tartantry in action; asserting Scots distinction through the invocation of the ever-so-divergent language utilised “whenever Scotchmen gather” overseas. The choice of title is rendered all the more notable by the relative lack of investigation into the relevance of Scots language within the publication.<sup>85</sup>

So in sum, the “invented traditions” of tartantry remain a contentious issue for many Scots, and contemporary anxieties can be both assuaged and provoked through connections to the endearing (or insufferable) manifestation of certain symbols, often perceived as the “way over the top” indulgences of diasporic associations.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, tartantry and expatriate Scottish groups appear to be linked within both a popular and academic consciousness, which regard the expressively Scottish iconography of tartantry as the rather particular province of diasporic associational culture and the peculiar enactment of Scottishness outwith Scotland.<sup>87</sup>

Considering the ubiquity of Scottish global associations throughout the nineteenth century, it is little wonder. At events such as John Duncan’s 1818 St Andrew’s Day dinner in New York, society members, predominantly male and elite, would adorn themselves in Scottish paraphernalia; dressing in kilts and sporting sprigs of heather, and passed the evening indulging in libations of whisky and the consumption of haggis, perhaps later participating in Scottish dances with the accompaniment of a pipe band.<sup>88</sup> Cultural “authenticity” clearly played second fiddle to the motives underpinning such pageantry. And all such outward trappings ultimately revolved around a pre-ordained ceremony of toasts, speeches, songs, and poetry recitals – rituals centred around linguistic usage, where the shibboleths of verbal tartantry were selected to evoke a tone of Scottishness no less tangible than the “material tokens” of a national food, music, and dress.<sup>89</sup>

Before delving deeper into diasporic verbal tartantry, it would be expedient to provide a working definition of the term and outline its origins, which lie, perhaps unsurprisingly, in the cult status afforded to the language of Scotland’s “national bard” – Robert Burns.

---

<sup>85</sup> A notable exception is in Graeme Morton’s, ‘Ethnic Identity in the Civic World of Scottish Associational Culture,’ *Ties of Bluid*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>86</sup> Kay, *Scottish World*, p. 16, Basu, *Highland Homecomings*, pp. 17-24, 42-43.

<sup>87</sup> Angela McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840*, (Manchester, 2011), pp. 55, 56-111.

<sup>88</sup> Buettner, ‘Haggis in the Raj,’ p. 215, Gordon T. Stewart, *Jute and Empire*, (Manchester 1998), p. 233-34, McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness*, pp. 52-53, Tanja Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930*, (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 80-81, John M. MacKenzie with Nigel Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa*, (Johannesburg, 2007), pp. 242- 47.

<sup>89</sup> Buettner, ‘Haggis in the Raj,’ p. 225, McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand*, p. 85.

## Nation in conversation.

It is markedly not the intention of this thesis to become mired in a linguistic debate over what does or does not constitute “Scots language.”<sup>90</sup> Indeed, the seemingly worrisome multiplicity and fluidity of Lowland language(s) have been seen to contribute to a “woeful neglect” of the historical manifestation of such forms overseas, with Scots varieties frequently obscured by the solidity and relative homogeneity of Gaelic in marking the distinction of diasporic Scots.<sup>91</sup> Yet, the “hybrid” and historically problematic character of Lowland language(s), notoriously difficult to pin down, is itself a key indicator of the fundamental complexity and malleability of language – a concept, which by its very nature should elude restrictive definition.<sup>92</sup> The outlook of this thesis is essentially historical, and is therefore far more concerned with *interpretations* and *projections* of Lowland language than any insisted “authenticity” of a singular Scots tongue.

Verbal tartantry, to reiterate McCarthy’s phrase, was – and is – one example of the myriad “personal manifestations of Scottishness” by which Scots perceived themselves, and were perceived by others, as Scots. For the purposes of this investigation, the term “verbal tartantry” is applied very broadly and quite simply to any form of Lowland-linked language that is perceptibly registered as “Scottish” within the sources themselves. As such, historical shibboleths of a global verbal tartantry are often as formulaic and predictable as the stereotypical Scottish emblems of haggis, bagpipes, and clan tartan.

Certain nineteenth-century Scots travellers registered linguistic distinction with “delight.” Commenting on the “intensely Scotch” settlement of Otago when journeying through New Zealand’s South Island, the colonial sojourner James Inglis recalled “[i]t was delightful to hear the dear auld Scottish tongue, to note the Scottish names of the streets, and mark the prevailing nomenclature on the sign-boards.”<sup>93</sup> Yet Inglis admitted being “scarcely prepared” for the extent of Scots phraseology

---

<sup>90</sup> Classic discussions include, David Muirson, *The Guid Scots Tongue*, (Edinburgh, 1977), A.J. Aitken and Tom McArthur eds., *Languages of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1979), Susan Romaine and Nancy Dorian, *Scotland as a Linguistic Area*, (Glasgow, 1981), J. Derrick McClure ed., *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue*, (Aberdeen, 1983). Also, John Corbett, J. Derrick McClure and Jane Stuart-Smith, ‘A Brief History of Scots,’ John Corbett, J. Derrick McClure and Jane Stuart-Smith eds., *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, (Edinburgh, 2003).

<sup>91</sup> Angela McCarthy, *Personal narratives of Irish and Scottish migration, 1921-65*, (Manchester, 2007), p. 185.

<sup>92</sup> Peter Trudgill, *Accent, Dialect and the School*, (London, 1975), pp. 17, 20, 68-70, John Corbett, *Language and Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 2-5, 10, 13, Robert Crawford, *Identifying Poets*, (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 162-3, Jeffrey Skoblow, *Dooble Tongue: Scots, Burns, Contradiction*, (London, 2001), pp. 18-20, Michael Gardiner, *Modern Scottish Culture*, (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 120-30, Anette I. Hagan, *Urban Scots Dialect Writing*, (Bern, 2002), pp. 11-12, 29, 51, John Corbett, *Written in the Language of the Scottish Nation. A History of Literary Translation into Scots*, (Clevedon, 1999), pp. 175, 184-6.

<sup>93</sup> James Inglis, *Our New Zealand Cousins*, (London, 1887), p. 226.

at Otago.<sup>94</sup> “On perusing the wine-carte at the Grand Hotel,” he “found the French ‘St. Julien Medoc’ figuring as St Julien M’Doe,” and marvelled that “the very wine-cards in the hotels” had been “transmogrified from French to Scotch.”<sup>95</sup>

Such lexical charm inscribed Scottish success and status in Otago. Prestige-Scots forms functioned as the “prevailing nomenclature” of street names and business signs. “Transmogrified” Scots vintages served at the “Grand Hotel.” Elsewhere on his travels, Inglis appears less appreciative of other diasporic linguistic differences, sneering at the “sing-song jabber of Chinamen” at Lake Wakatipu, and observing “these celestials” to have acquired the sobriquet of “Scotchman of the East,” “for they are as ubiquitous.”<sup>96</sup> “Not that the canny Caledonian feels much flattered by that comparison,” Inglis added.<sup>97</sup>

The Scots musician David Kennedy, who toured extensively throughout the British empire during the 1870s, registered similar ambivalence.<sup>98</sup> Recalling a recital at Cape Town’s “Mutual Hall,” Kennedy supposed:

The Scottish element was very strong in our audiences, and we were told we had been the means of uniting our countrymen together, welding them, as it were, while under the warmth of Scottish sentiment and song.<sup>99</sup>

Yet upon his arrival at the Cape, the Kennedy family witnessed a somewhat cooler demonstration of such socio-cultural “welding”:

Alongside the wharf, we found ourselves under a broiling sun, with hundreds of blacks awaiting us, and scores of Europeans, boasting puggarees, linen coats, and white umbrellas. The gangway was shoved on board by a dozen coolies, ‘bossed’ by a burly Scottish gentleman, whose ‘braid Scots’ tones were the first words that greeted us in South Africa.<sup>100</sup>

The accent of the “gentleman” overseer, “bossing” indentured labourers, offers a dimmer reflection of the global “warmth” of Scots’ “sentiment and song.” Perhaps less affecting, such punctuated “braid Scots” appeared comparably effective in “uniting our countrymen” overseas.

---

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Along with his father and sister, Kennedy travelled through Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, the U.S, Canada, South Africa, India, and “Ceylon.” David Kennedy, *Singing Round the World, A Narrative of his Colonial and Indian Tours*, (London, 1887).

<sup>99</sup> David Kennedy, *Kennedy at the Cape*, (Edinburgh, 1879), p. 14.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

This sheds a markedly different light on Lowland Scots forms, often consigned to a “nostalgia-shrouded niche” and even likened to the languages “of natives in colonised territories under the rule of imperial government.”<sup>101</sup> Certain Lowland expressions marked Scottish imperial prestige throughout the nineteenth century, an embodiment of the linguistic projections of “symbolic power” identified by Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>102</sup> The much-discussed “heteroglossia” of Scotland was key. As Cairns Craig has asserted, a Scottish literary condition is tintured by an acknowledgement of interactions *within and between* “traditionally”-recognised registers – an awareness of “intersections” and “spaces between,” highlighting the dialogue of “vernacular” and “standard,” “native” and “international.”<sup>103</sup>

Verbal tartanry functioned as a performative break *within* English “standards,” whilst also operating in the interstices *between* the three commonly registered, differentiated linguistic entities associated with the Scottish nation: English, Gaelic, and the rather more vague classification that is Lowland Scots. Within a diasporic context, the tropes of verbal tartanry were also bolstered by the recognition of further linguistic multiplicity assumed to exemplify the irrevocable difference of colonial “others.” As such, verbal tartanry mediated *between* linguistic variety whilst operating *within* assumed “standards,” evincing the “heteroglossic” overlap of an array of British imperial discourses.

Following the literary theory of the early twentieth-century Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin, who posited the “interillumination” and inter-locking hybridity of heteroglossia to exist *within and between* languages, commentators have mused upon the “multivocality” of the Scottish nation, blessed with a “rich mutual interference of dialects and tongues.”<sup>104</sup> The “heteroglossic condition of Scotland,” emphasised by an “assembly of languages and cultures” – namely English, Scots, and Gaelic – has been presented as a credible challenge to “essentialist” conceptions of “one true Scotland.”<sup>105</sup> And rightly so. Yet the linguistic “pluralism of and in Scotland,” is also seen as “significantly removed from that of England or Britain as a whole.”<sup>106</sup> This is more problematic. In accepting Bakhtin’s hypothesis, one must factor in the heteroglossia present within and between *all*

---

<sup>101</sup> Derrick J. McClure, *Why Scots Matters*, (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 25.

<sup>102</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, John B. Thompson ed., trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, (Oxford, 1991), pp. 33-4, 37-75. For an investigation of the linguistic displays of contemporary English migrants within the United States, see Katherine W. Jones’s *Accent on Privilege, English Identities and Anglophilia on the U.S.*, (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 108-40

<sup>103</sup> Craig, *Out of History*, pp. 177, 194, 200-2.

<sup>104</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination, Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, Michael Holquist ed., trans., Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, (Austin, 1996), pp. 12, 270-9, Sassi, *Scottish Literature Matters*, pp. 3, 9, Robert Crawford, ‘Bakhtin and Scotland,’ *Scotlands*, (1994), 1, pp. 55-65, p. 60.

<sup>105</sup> Crawford, ‘Bakhtin and Scotland,’ pp. 60, 57.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, p. 60, Crawford, *Identifying Poets*, pp. 6-16.

languages, literatures, and cultures. This Scoto-centric standpoint appears to imply that while all languages, literatures, and cultures are heteroglossic, some (i.e. “ours”) may be more heteroglossic than others.<sup>107</sup>

The legacy of Bakhtinian assertions, “in this actively polyglot world” where multiple languages “throw light on each other,” has clearly been of great benefit within a Scottish literary context.<sup>108</sup> Perhaps most notably, interpretations of heteroglossia have eased the passing of the long-perceived, either-or linguistic binarism binding Scottish creative expression – seen to exhibit the constricting “paradox,” polarity, and “antisyzygy” of clashing languages.<sup>109</sup> As such, the explicit, heteroglossic links underpinning historically “Scottish” languages have served a specific, overturning purpose.

Yet heteroglossia functions as much *within* as between “languages.” The central, universal relevance of Bakhtin’s thesis lies in the socio-linguistic *masking* of heteroglossic connections through the assumption of “unitary” language “standards” – “forces that serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world.”<sup>110</sup> In this, a Scottish situation is poignantly reflected, yet no more so than that of any other socio-cultural environment of intermingling “slangs,” “dialects,” “vernaculars,” and “languages.” Bakhtin notes,

[...] unitary language is not something given [*dan*] but is always in essence posited [*zadan*] – and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia. But at the same time it makes its real presence felt as a force for overcoming this heteroglossia, imposing specific limits to it, guaranteeing a certain maximum of mutual understanding and crystalizing into a real, although still relative, unity – the unity of the reigning conversational (everyday) and literary language, ‘correct’ language.<sup>111</sup>

Through such enacted “standards” veiling heteroglossic bonds, the linguistic allure of verbal tartanry was solidified – demonstrating an acceptably conventional and “correct” Scots divergence, burnished by a Highlandised sheen but conveyed through essentially English-speaking discourse.

---

<sup>107</sup> For a brief critique of the selective Scottish adoption of Bakhtinian thought, see Peter McCarey, ‘Occasional Paper: Bye Bye Bakhtin,’ *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 2 (spring/summer 2007), pp. 1-4.

<sup>108</sup> Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, p. 12.

<sup>109</sup> Gerard Carruthers, *Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 14-26. Key discussions include, George Gregory Smith, *Scottish Literature: Character and Influence*, (London, 1919), Christopher Murray Grieve, *Albyn or Scotland and the Future*, (London, 1927), Edwin Muir, *Scott and Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1936), Kurt Wittig, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature*, (Edinburgh, 1958), David Daiches, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture*, (London, 1964).

<sup>110</sup> Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, p. 270.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

Diasporic articulations of verbal tartanry actually resemble Bakhtin's view of the construction of a classical, singular "monoglossia," hallowed in envisaged uniformity and "epic distance":

[...] the epic world achieves a radical degree of completedness not only in its content but in its meaning and its values as well. The epic world is constructed in the *zone of an absolute distanced image, beyond the sphere of possible contact with the developing, incomplete, and therefore re-thinking, re-evaluating present.* [Emphasis added.]<sup>112</sup>

As with the dialogic-diasporic negotiation of Scottish tropes, the "dominant force and truth" of Bakhtin's "epic" is framed within "the valorized-hierarchical category of the past, in a *distanced and distant image.*"<sup>113</sup> Amid the "realities" of heteroglossia, Bakhtin sees a "socio-ideological language consciousness" to become "creative."<sup>114</sup> "Surrounded by heteroglossia and not at all a single, unitary language, inviable and indisputable," this consciousness is beset with "the necessity of *having to choose a language.*"<sup>115</sup> Within an environment underpinned by British colonialism and supposed colonial "difference," the discourse of verbal tartanry was so "chosen":

With each literary-verbal performance, consciousness must actively orientate itself amidst heteroglossia, it must move in and occupy a position for itself within it, it chooses, in other words, a 'language.'<sup>116</sup>

As with this "literary-verbal performance," through which the "standards" and "uniformity" of language are enacted, the diasporic tropes of verbal tartanry were projected and perceived.

Underpinning such perceptions and projections were two key characteristics noted of contemporary Lowland language – interconnected elements labelled "overt Scotticisms" and "ideal Scots" by the socio-linguist A.J. Aitken.<sup>117</sup> Obviously, in order for verbal tartanry to function as an effective marker for associational groups both within Scotland and overseas, it had, like all such iconography, to be recognisable and conspicuous, in a clear, symbolic connection with Scotland.

In his analysis of Scots usage in the late twentieth century, Aitken employed the term "overt Scotticisms" to denote the curiously commonplace tendency of Scottish speakers of "standard"

---

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*, p. 295.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>117</sup> A.J. Aitken, 'Scottish Accents and Dialects,' Peter Trudgill ed., *Language in the British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1984), p. 107, A.J. Aitken, 'The Good Old Scots Tongue: Does Scots have an Identity?' Einar Haugen, J. Derrick McClure, and Derick Thomson eds., *Minority Languages Today*, (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 79-82.

English to “intentionally depart” from their “regular” linguistic usage; voicing, on certain occasions, specific and “selected” “Scottish-marked expressions.”<sup>118</sup> Such “overt Scotticisms” – deliberate, “Scottish-marked” departures from a perceived “standard” – were noted to include “a large number of traditional vernacular Scots words and word-forms,” although significantly *not* “those stigmatized localisms [...] regarded as vulgarisms.”<sup>119</sup>

Revealingly, Aitken observed the instances when Scots appeared most inclined to assert their linguistic distinction to be predominantly, although not exclusively, associational: “occasions when it seems desirable to claim membership of the in-group of Scots – a Burns Society meeting let us say.”<sup>120</sup> With his offhand, first-come-to-mind example of, “let us say,” Scots “in-groups” at Burns societies, Aitken instinctively correlated “overt” linguistic usage both with Scottish associational culture and the work of Robert Burns – an alignment reminiscent of Trevor-Roper’s connection of “invented traditions” with the occasions on which “Scotchmen gather.”

It was the poetry of Burns, the annual veneration of whom remains a vestigial reminder of the potency of Scottish associational culture, which was instrumental in the sanitisation and sanctification of “overt Scotticisms” within nineteenth-century diasporic gatherings.<sup>121</sup> Over this period, Burnsian language became ever more ceremonialised, hailed as holy relics of verbal tartantry. John Duncan’s account of the 1818 St Andrew’s celebration at New York, barely two decades after the poet’s death, is indicative of how rapidly Burns was acknowledged as “national bard” by diasporic Scots. Moreover, the linguistic self-consciousness within Duncan’s narrative appears to reflect Aitken’s late twentieth-century notion of “overt Scotticisms” within an early nineteenth-century diasporic context.

However, it was the latter half of the nineteenth century that formed the definitive period in the development of a global verbal tartantry. The period encompassing the first centenaries of Burns’s birth, death, and publication of the Kilmarnock edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* endowed Scots with a series of poignant opportunities to revel in Burnsiana outwith Scotland, cultivating further appreciation of the poet among younger generations. Moreover, the Burns cult enabled predominantly elite members of Scottish associations to indulge in a self-

---

<sup>118</sup> Aitken, ‘Scottish Accents,’ p.107.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Alan Riach, ‘Heather and Fern: The Burns Effect in New Zealand Verse,’ *Heather and the Fern*, pp. 161-9, Murray Pittock, ‘“A Long Farewell to All My Greatness”: The History and Reputation of Robert Burns,’ *Burns in Global Culture*, (Plymouth, 2011), pp. 35-41, Clark McGinn, ‘Vehement Celebrations: The Global Celebration of the Burns Supper since 1801,’ *Burns in Global Culture*, pp. 194-200, Sharon Alker, Leith Davis, and Holly Faith Nelson, ‘Introduction,’ Alker et al eds., *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, (Farnham, 2012), pp. 3-10, Elizabeth Waterston, *Rapt in Plaid*, (Toronto, 2001), pp. 4-19.

congratulatory celebration of certain “national” characteristics, while paying lip service to the increasingly en vogue perception of Burns as a champion of “universal love.”<sup>122</sup>

As with a largely “platitudinous” invocation of a “white,” male, and elite socio-cultural “universality,” such diasporic veneration promulgated a lexicon of accepted – and acceptable – Lowland language, rendered palatable through the legitimising pale of Scottish associational culture.<sup>123</sup> Through their celebrations of Burnsian poetry and “propriety,” nineteenth-century Scottish associations, much like Aitken’s more-recent “in-groups,” extolled the qualities of a “homely” and essentially ornamental Scots phraseology, emphatically “refined” from “stigmatized localisms” and “vulgarisms.” The cult status bestowed upon Burns, ceremonialising certain Scots excerpts, was prevalent both within and outwith Scotland. However, as with tartanry, appreciations of Burns, both home and abroad, were often tinted with allusions to diasporic nostalgia and the “epic distance” of exile, while seemingly stereotypical Scots characteristics, unsubtly linked to Burns, were seen to symbolise a beneficial Scottish influence upon British imperialism.

Such acts of reverence-revelry famously drew the ire of Hugh MacDiarmid in the 1920s, skewering the global Burns cult in the opening stanzas of ‘A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle.’ In deriding a worldwide sham-Scots pageantry, mocking the pomposity of “Croose London Scotties,” the poet’s anger flared at the “inauthentic.”<sup>124</sup> Yet, MacDiarmid’s irritation at the global idolatry of Burns and such flimsy assumptions of Scottishness betrayed an aggressive essentialism in itself.<sup>125</sup> The poet scorned the flatulent “annual guzzle” of Burns’s veneration as ultimately “un-Scottish,” and by highlighting the superficiality of the socio-linguistic masquerade conducted “in pidgin English or in wild-fowl Scots,” MacDiarmid bemoaned the suppression or subversion of “genuine” Scottish qualities.<sup>126</sup>

MacDiarmid’s vitriol reflects the extent to which such self-congratulatory, transnational Scots posturing had persisted into the early decades of the twentieth century. This rhetoric was evident outwith Scotland. “It has been said that the Scot is never so much at home as when he is abroad,” professed the Scots-American emigrant John Foord in 1921; envisioning the “vigor of the Scottish race” in “the fact that for five hundred years the Land O’ Cakes enriched the world with the

---

<sup>122</sup> Kyle Hughes, “‘Scots, Stand Firm, and our Empire is Safe’: The Politicisation of Scottish Clubs and Societies in Belfast during the Home Rule Era, c. 1885-1914,” *Ties of Blood*, pp. 209-10, 208, Gerard Carruthers, ‘Burns’s Political Reputation in North America,’ *Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, pp. 92-3.

<sup>123</sup> Carruthers, ‘Burns’s Political Reputation,’ p. 98.

<sup>124</sup> Hugh MacDiarmid, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, Kenneth Buthlay ed., (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 8.

<sup>125</sup> Craig, *Out of History*, pp. 108-9.

<sup>126</sup> Christopher Murray Grieve, *Albyn or Scotland and the Future*, (London, 1927), pp. 12-13, MacDiarmid, *Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, p. 8.

surplus of her able men.”<sup>127</sup> Foord combined a Scots-American triumphalism, “antidote against all that was base or ignoble,” with a diasporic glamour “enshrined in the inner sanctuary” of “memories, sentiments, yearnings,” and underpinned by a “quaint and copious Doric speech which makes so direct an appeal to the hearts of men whether they are to the manner born or not.”<sup>128</sup> This was a “Scottish character” which Foord supposed “molded into the forms that Scott and Burns made immortal”; a linguistic crafting ideally suited to tug at expatriate heartstrings:

So, as we cherish the memories of the Motherland, keep in touch with the simple annals of our childhood’s home, or the home of our kin, bask in the fireside glow of its homely humor, or dwell in imagination amid the haunts of old romance, we are the better Americans for the Scottish heritage from which heart and mind alike derive inspiration and delight.<sup>129</sup>

Crucially, such diasporic sensibilities were also imagined *within* Scotland, where an appreciation of “Doric speech” was amplified by anticipations of “epic distance” and “exile.” In December 1912, Charles Murray, reckoned then “the most popular vernacular poet in Scotland,” was honoured at a dinner reception at Aberdeen’s Palace Hotel, toasted as “our Aberdeenshire Burns.”<sup>130</sup> But this “vernacular poet” was merely visiting Scotland, enjoying a brief furlough from his wide-ranging career in British South Africa, where he served as a mine manager and surveyor on the Witwatersrand before embarking on a successful stint in the colonial civil service.

Welcoming “Our Guest,” Alexander Mackie, editor of the *Aberdeen University Review*, lauded Murray in global terms – celebrating the Scot’s poetry “penetrating into every region where our fellow-countrymen are to be found.”<sup>131</sup> Mackie highlighted the “contrast between the sunny land” of Murray’s “adoption and the more sombre but beloved place of his birth,” reflecting, as “[a]bsence makes the heart grow fonder”:

The exiled colonist’s affections wax warm to the mother country, and this gives one dominant note to Murray’s lyre. Revolving many memories of his youthful days and of scenes withdrawn from sight, he looks across the miles of mountainous veldt [...].<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup> John Foord, ‘Foreword,’ George Fraser Black, *Scotland’s Mark on America*, (New York, 1921), pp. 3, 6.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 3, 5.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3.

<sup>130</sup> Jonathon Hyslop, ‘Making Scotland in South Africa: Charles Murray, the Transvaal’s Aberdeenshire poet,’ David Lambert and Alan Lester eds., *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire*, (Cambridge, 2006), p. 310, Alexander Mackie ed., *Dinner in Honour of Charles Murray*, (Aberdeen, 1912-13), p. 13, Alex R. Scott, *Ours is the Harvest, A Life of Charles Murray*, (Aberdeen, 2003), p. 95.

<sup>131</sup> Mackie, *Dinner*, p. 13.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid*, p. 16.

Murray himself addressed these “affections” of the “exiled colonist,” framing a notable portion of his own speech around an insistence upon a diasporic Scots “patriotism” suffused with imperial pride:

I would like to take it as evidence of your interest and care for your countrymen who are abroad – (applause) – for all those who have kept the old traditions in their minds and the love of the old country in their hearts. I can assure you at home you have no idea of the patriotism of the Scot abroad. If you could only have been in Africa on Saturday it would have surprised you. St. Andrew’s is the day of the whole year for the Scots in South Africa. (Applause). Not a village from Cape Town to the Zambezi – I might almost say Cairo – if there are two Scots there (and it is a poor dorp that cannot boast of that much), but will have its Caledonian Society, and its St. Andrew’s banquet, and on St. Andrew’s day the telegraph wires will be humming from morning to night in messages couched in Scots of good will and brotherhood passing from one society to the other, the operators growling in the uncouth *taal*, and contriving with considerable success to mutilate it on the way.<sup>133</sup>

Envisioning St Andrews Day events knitting together an eminent Scottish presence upon the African continent, Murray, with evident satisfaction, supposed a “humming” network of telegraph cables conveying Scots greetings. Tellingly, the “operators” charged with conducting these communications are rather less favourably portrayed, seen to “mutilate” the discourse, “growling” in “uncouth *taal*” – “Low Dutch” ancestor of Afrikaans.

Yet, Murray also noted a particular Scots affinity with this “simpler Afrikaans – the Taal – which has been spoken on the farms of the veldt for generations.”<sup>134</sup> At the Palace Hotel, Murray mused that “Scots like ourselves must have a deep sympathy with any country or race which loves its own language and seeks to preserve it”; registering an especially Scottish “interest” in the interchange between English and Afrikaans, the two “official” languages at the Cape:

[...] if the Dutch language does maintain itself against the English, many of us will be tempted to wish that a similar provision had been made to preserve our Scots language at the Union of Scotland and England. (Laughter and applause).<sup>135</sup>

This interpretation exemplifies a second key aspect of verbal tartanry – reflecting Aitken’s conception of a mythic, “ideal Scots.”

---

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid*, p. 24.

<sup>134</sup> Quoted in Scott, *Ours is the Harvest*, p. 162. Also Charles Christie, *Some memories of Charles Murray and a few friends*, (Pretoria, 1943), pp. 21-2.

<sup>135</sup> Mackie, *Dinner*, p. 22.

The idea of “ideal Scots” is predicated upon the perceived loss or “decay” of a solid, historic Lowland literary “standard.”<sup>136</sup> Charles Murray’s friend and fellow-Aberdonian Alexander Mackie provides a quintessential example of this conviction. In the introduction to his 1908 edition of William Alexander’s *Johnny Gibb o’ Gushetneuk*, Mackie interpreted the novelist’s “Doric” to be “at its raciest, caught just in time before the Education Act of 1872 began to take effect.”<sup>137</sup> Supposing a Scots literary prestige interlinked with a doomed “Doric,” Mackie reflected that though “[t]he dialect will not die awhile yet, [...] there is little doubt that under a compulsory English education its purity and breadth of vocabulary are already on the wane.”<sup>138</sup> In his 1912 tribute to Murray, Mackie similarly dwelt upon contemporary “corruption,” in which popular Scots authors “compromised matters with their public by a liberal watering of their language.”<sup>139</sup> “These are days of diluted dialect,” Mackie joked to his Aberdonian audience, toasting, “[w]e here like our Scotch neat.”<sup>140</sup>

The linguistic and literary history of the Scottish nation is littered with such bleak insinuations upon encroaching “English” forms, and the “corruption,” “dilution,” or uprooting of Lowland varieties. Through domestic apathy and inattention, as well as insidious “Anglicisation,” a dignified, “national” Scots tongue is viewed to have “decayed” to that of a “dialect” – a linguistic “haphazard,” “a kind of broken English.”<sup>141</sup> Commenting on this frequently held perception, and recognising the “strangely timeless quality” to such narratives, Aitken questioned the “firmly held and constantly repeated belief” in the perennial decline of Lowland language.<sup>142</sup>

Aitken suggests that through this long-standing conception of “corruption” and pending extinction, certain Scots traits became imbued with the “delightfulness” of “threatened words and expressions,” supposing this phenomenon “stylistically marked for Standard English speakers” within a context where “Standard English is the unmarked variety.”<sup>143</sup> Ultimately, this “threatened” Scots ideal is enshrined by parallel assumptions of a common, conventional register of English linguistic “standards.” That which is general, secure, and “standard” is thus thought “English.” Conversely, contemporary Lowland forms, supposedly stripped of “standards” and hamstrung somewhere

---

<sup>136</sup> Aitken, ‘Good Old Scots Tongue,’ pp. 79-80.

<sup>137</sup> William Alexander, *Johnny Gibb o’ Gushetneuk*, (Edinburgh, 1908), p. xxi.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> Mackie, *Dinner*, p. 16.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> Aitken, ‘Good Old Scots Tongue,’ pp. 79, Douglas Young, *Plastic Scots’ and the Scottish Literary Tradition*, (Glasgow, 1948), pp. 3, 7, 11-12, Muirson, *Guid Scots Tongue*, (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 7, 56.

<sup>142</sup> Aitken, ‘Good Old Scots Tongue,’ pp. 81, 82.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

between slang and accent, “dialect” and “vernacular,” are believed both “unfocussed” and more locally-linked; “on the wane,” yet in “opposition to ‘ordinary language.’”<sup>144</sup>

Perceptions of this mythic, ever-threatened Scots language – “our lang-a-deein mither tongue” – contributed to a wistful, diasporic attachment to such seemingly displaced Scottish traits.<sup>145</sup> As is discussed in a later chapter, an envisioned “corruption” and linguistic “decline” were marked factors behind an upsurge of interest in Lowland lexicography within Scotland during the late eighteenth century. This was also a noted concern for subsequent generations outwith the nation. “The Scotch language is, perhaps, destined to perish,” lamented a brief, anonymous article printed throughout the United States in early 1859, insisting, “[t]here are many Scotch words and Scotch expressions which ought to be saved from the wreck.”<sup>146</sup>

Essentially, Scots forms were seen to *enhance* “English,” reflecting the century-old arguments of Allan Ramsay and previous generations of “revivalist” Scots writers. The American article supposed by such “adoption, the English language would be immensely enriched,” and “[t]he Scotch language,” though possessing “no Roman majesty,” was considered to “lend itself most opulently to pathos and humor”:

[...] In its homeliness there is a power after which the English language often strives in vain – what in effect is homeliness, but that which, coming from the home, goes back thither with natural impulse and irresistible force. A language loses its moral empire, when it deserts entirely, as the English language has deserted the common speech of the people; and that moral empire gone, what avails a learned air and rhetorical embellishment?<sup>147</sup>

Certain Scots forms, both “homely” and *homing*, were heralded as the embodiment of a “moral empire” – a “natural impulse and irresistible force” flickering between preconceived spaces of “home” and “abroad.”

Conceptions of the threatened, and homely-homing essence of Lowland language were voiced in Scotland during precisely the same period. Dean Edward Bannerman Ramsay’s 1858 *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* offered an influential mirroring of Scots nostalgia,

---

<sup>144</sup> C. I Macafee, ‘Ongoing Change in Modern Scots: The Social Dimension,’ Charles Jones ed., *Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 515, 517-18, 526.

<sup>145</sup> Billy Kay, *The Mither Tongue*, (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 16

<sup>146</sup> Anon. ‘Scotch Words,’ *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* (Virginia), 19 January 1859, p. 2, ‘Scotch Words,’ *Greencastle Banner*, (Putnam County, Indiana), 26 January 1859, ‘Scotch Words,’ *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, (Lisbon, Ohio), 29 January 1859, p. 4, ‘The Scotch Tongue,’ *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco, California), 10 March 1859, no page.

<sup>147</sup> The piece was also printed in Britain, featuring alongside the morbidly stilted Scots poem ‘Faither’s Death,’ *The English Presbyterian Minister*, (London), January 1860, p. 17.

flavoured with an exilic yearning and sentimentalising of Lowland language. Ramsay was reckoned “the most popular author of this generation” by the advocate and historian Cosmo Innes within his preface to the twenty-second edition of the *Reminiscences* in 1874.<sup>148</sup> Innes observed the “marvellous success” of Ramsay and “the little book” to have traversed “[a]ll over the world, wherever Scotch men and Scotch language have made their way – and that embraces wide regions.”<sup>149</sup>

Ramsay – Episcopalian Dean of the Edinburgh diocese – wrote of “Scottish language” assuming a “far more impressive character when heard amongst those who speak a different tongue, and when encountered in other lands,” identifying a “national attachment so strong in the Scottish character”:

[...] whilst absent, however long a time, Scotchmen *never* forget their Scottish home. In all varieties and climates their hearts ever turn toward the ‘land o’ cakes and brither Scots.’ Scottish festivals are kept with Scottish feelings on ‘Greenland’s icy mountains’ or ‘India’s coral strand.’ [Original emphasis].<sup>150</sup>

Ramsay celebrated a Scots superiorism in which punctuated Lowland phrases fused with the hymn lyrics of Reginald Heber – Anglican Bishop of Calcutta in the early 1820s – presenting “Scottish feelings” as celebratory and sentimental, at once quaintly localised and forcefully global.<sup>151</sup>

As with tartantry, this was a globally-envisioned and globally-constructed sense of difference, underscored by the diasporic negotiation of a “threatened” Scots essence. As the title of his “Reminiscences” suggests, Ramsay stressed an intention to “preserve national peculiarities which are thus passing away from us,” commenting that “one great pleasure” of his undertaking was collecting a range of tales suggestive of “Scottish Life and Character” from individuals throughout the globe.<sup>152</sup> Revealingly, much of the material for the *Reminiscences* was claimed to have originated beyond Scotland; received by an author especially keen to proclaim such “numerous and sympathetic communications” were sourced

[...] I may literally say from Scotchmen *in all quarters of the world*; sometimes communicating very good examples of Scottish humour, and always expressing their

---

<sup>148</sup> Cosmo Innes, ‘Memoir of Dean Ramsay,’ Dean [Edward Bannerman] Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character, twenty-second edition*, (Edinburgh, 1874), p. lxi.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> Dean [Edward Bannerman] Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, (1858: Edinburgh, 1871), pp. 106, xix.

<sup>151</sup> For Heber, see Jeffrey Richard, *Imperialism and music. Britain 1876-1953*, (Manchester, 2001), p. 386-87

<sup>152</sup> Ramsay, *Reminiscences*, (1871), p. xix.

great pleasure in reading, when in distant lands and foreign scenes, anecdotes which remind them of Scotland, and of their ain days of ‘auld langsyne.’ [Original emphasis.]<sup>153</sup>

In this manner, the nostalgia for the “Good Old Scots Tongue,” a mythic ideal long-observed by a normative “English,” and always on the brink of extinction, was envisaged with an extra, exilic twinge.<sup>154</sup> As with other tropes of tartanry, such Scots forms were further objectified through sentimentalised diasporic reactions to the physical and historical distance of the “ain days” of “auld langsyne.”

As I have suggested elsewhere, a sense of “kailyardic contra(-)diction” lay beneath these global manifestations of Lowland language – framing a foreign-yet-familiar Scots distinction within a couthy rusticity which also hinted at Scottish imperial pride and cultural superiority.<sup>155</sup> By the later decades of the nineteenth century, the ubiquity of Scots forms within the bounds of the British empire and the “Anglo-world” was remarkable.<sup>156</sup> Lowland language was even utilised in asserting burgeoning “dominion” patriotism. Ahead of St Andrews Day in 1890, the Toronto-based *Scottish Canadian* printed the congratulations “of a brither Scot in Hamilton”:

[...] we hail ye as a brither wha has gi’en tae us a paper that will supply a lang felt want oot here in Canada. The Yankees are maye a’richt but gie me a paper o’ oor ain. We hae ideas, an’ notions, an’ peculiarities tae, that can best be reflectit by an organ o’ oor ain – we dinna ay want tae be gaun tae oor big blusterin’ cousin across the border tae fin’ oot fither oor hairts are in the richt place or no’.<sup>157</sup>

The short-lived weekly magazine, issued from 1890-92 by the Toronto printing house of the Scots migrant John Imrie, offered an extensive selection of serials, poetry, and even advertisements couched in Lowland language. One correspondent remarked that the publication’s adoption of “Highland and Lowland dialects, should commend it to every son of the heather.”<sup>158</sup> Readers were instructed to “‘come awa’ to’ Micklethwaite’s Photograph Gallery” on the corner of Jarvis and King’s street, and tradesmen such as J.L. Robin, the Wilcox Street “Scotch Painter,” offered their services

---

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Cowan, ‘Myth of Scotch Canada,’ *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory*, pp. 61-4, Tom Brooking, ‘Sharing out the Haggis: The Special Scottish Contribution to New Zealand History,’ *Heather and the Fern*, pp. 53-4.

<sup>155</sup> Sean Murphy, ‘Scotland, ‘Greater Britain,’ and the Kailyardic Contra(-)diction,’ *Scottish Literary Review*, Vol. 8, 1, (Spring/Summer 2016), pp. 69-91, pp. 72-3.

<sup>156</sup> James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth, The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 14, 67.

<sup>157</sup> Anon., ‘As Others See Us,’ *Scottish Canadian*, (Toronto), No. 3, 27 November 1890, p. 10.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 10, 15 January 1891, p. 3.

“tae get your ceilings whitewashed and your wa’s papered, an’ a wark dune as it should be dune.”<sup>159</sup> James Langskill, “Scotch Grocer” of Gerrard Street, kept his message simple – “Dinna forget tae gang or Telephone to JAMES LANGSKILL THE SCOTCH GROCER for a’ ye want in his line.”<sup>160</sup> This perhaps prompted the slightly more assertive response from a King’s Street competitor three weeks later, “Hi! Hi!! Hi!!! Who is Toronto’s Scotch Grocer? JAS. F. Copland ... He’s a guid ane.”<sup>161</sup>

Ultimately, such Scots-inflected discourse, “overt” and often “idealised,” operated in dialogue with “standard” English and British imperial prestige. An early twentieth-century Australian counterpart to the *Scottish Canadian*, provided regular assertions of the “propriety” of certain Scots forms, while assuring readers of the benevolent Scottish presence within the antipodes. The first edition of the Melbourne-based *Scot, At Hame and Abroad* celebrated “the glow of Scottish patriotism which made the old country free and great,” noting this “cannot fail to be good for Australasia.”<sup>162</sup> A diasporic sense of connection was integral. The editor reckoned the publication “a medium” for “the Scot in Australia and New Zealand,” “whereby he may be kept in touch with his countrymen ‘at hame,’” also insisting “[t]o ‘the Scot at hame’” that “we may prove a connecting link with the ‘Scot abroad.’”<sup>163</sup>

As with the *Scottish Canadian*, the Melbourne magazine frequently printed Scots verses sentimentalising the strains of “My Mither Tongue” (“now seldom heard” which “waft me back tae blyther times”), whilst also issuing calls to rid the world of “‘Stage’ Scotch’ – “Can’t we agitate for its abolition[?] Sometimes it’s amusing, but mostly it’s painful.”<sup>164</sup> “Miss Eloise Juno,” Collins Street elocutionist, advertised within the *Scot*, seeking the custom of “[p]arents who propose to have their children taught to appreciate and render poetry or prose efficiently,” stressing, “pure and unadulterated Scotch Doric is also imparted if required.”<sup>165</sup>

Such assertions of Lowland linguistic “purity” blended with a colonial chauvinism, in which short, light-hearted articles poked fun at Scottish imperial success. A correspondent in South Africa joked of a Welsh railwayman being obliged to give his name the Scotticised tweak of “MacEvans” when seeking employment in Durban, and mused:

---

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1., 13 November 1890, p. 13, No. 41, 20 August 1891, p. 11.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid*. No. 19, 19 March, 1891, p. 5.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, No. 22, 9 April 1891, p. 13.

<sup>162</sup> ‘Editorial,’ *The Scot, At Hame and Abroad*, (Melbourne), No. 1, 1 June 1902, p. 1.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

If you're Scotch and want a billet in Natal, [...] you're sure to get it. They're all Scotch on the railway, and I am sure it must be very gratifying to anybody fresh from the 'land o' cakes' to hear his many questions answered in broad 'Glasgie' or 'Hieland.'<sup>166</sup>

While many accounts of Scots exceptionalism were similarly tongue-in-cheek, rather more disconcerting expressions of cultural superiorism circulated within the periodical. One article, reprinted from the *New York Sun*, reported that "Scotsmen are indignant at the British War Department assigning the pipes and tartan to Indian and negro regiments"; complaining of the "pipers" of "the West African regiment recruited at Sierra Leone," and "Sepoy regiments" arrayed in "the Graham, Campbell, Old Stuart and Urquhart tartans."<sup>167</sup>

In fact, Scots forms provided a means of punctuating a Highlandised distinction. The *Scottish Canadian* offered occasional comparisons of Highlanders and "natives," printing the letter of "Ane o' the MacAlpines," hinting at Scottish "indigeneity":

I dinna ken fether there is ony affinity atween the red-skinned bodies an the Heilant man,  
but faith Sandy, it looks awfu' like it tae me" on seeing another of his 'clan' dance with an  
Indian woman.<sup>168</sup>

Running a sporadic Gaelic column, and occasionally printing articles offering instruction in the Gaelic language, the *Scottish Canadian* most regularly praised the Gaidhealtachd using Lowland devices – a distinctive but ultimately comprehensible linguistic medium for speakers of "standard" English. "I hae seen twa number o' yer excellent paper," one reader commented in January 1891, noting "I jist want tae tell ye that I likit them rale weel. I'm verra glad ye're prentin' a paper wi' sic' a graun'-soundin' name," and reckoning "the Scotch thistle an' oor ain maple leaf luik unco weel thegither."<sup>169</sup> Yet, the correspondent devoted most of his Scots-inflected letter to an insistence upon the beauty and vitality of Gaelic, discussing a recent article and his own desired fluency in that language:

I'm prood tae tell ye that I understaun' the Gaelic mysel' altho' I dinna pretend tae read it I' prent. But I wantit tae find oot what the pairson wha writ the Gaelic was discoursin' about, sae I jist thocht I wad try tae mak' oot a leetle o' it mysel' an' altho' I say it wha shudna, it was amazin' hoo mony o' the words I culd mak' oot wi' a wee bit o' studyin'.<sup>170</sup>

---

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid*, No. 2, 1 July 1902, p. 12.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1, p. 9.

<sup>168</sup> *Scottish Canadian*, No. 6, 18 December 1890, p. 5.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid*, No. 12, 29 January 1891, p. 9.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*.

The Gaelic language, imbued with the Highland-derived desirability of many of the “prood” emblems of tartanry, was celebrated as an emphatically Scottish language.<sup>171</sup> However, as the letter demonstrates, Lowland linguistic devices were used in asserting Gaelic overseas, a key means of re-orienting Scottish Highlandism within a predominantly English-speaking environment.

Intriguingly, the week prior to the publication of the Scots-penned paean to Gaelic, the *Scottish Canadian* printed another alternately-accented piece. On the same page as a letter praising their “genuine dialect Gaelic column,” the editors offered an article entitled ‘Hanging a Rattle Snake,’ composed in supposedly “Efiopian” English:

Mistah Editah – I’s e not a bigot. No sah. I’d soonah gib de right hand ob fellahship ter a ‘spectabul white man dan I wood ter a dis-espectabul wun ob my own cullah. Allow me den ter congratulate yer as de editah ob de SCOTTISH CANADIAN and ter wish yer and yer paypah a werry happy Noo Yeah, and many ob dem. [...] Wese got in Toronto *De Irish Canadian* and de SCOTTISH CANADIAN. Wy den, shoodn’t we hab dayah, also, *De Efiopian Canadian*?<sup>172</sup>

Regardless of the provenance of either the “Efiopian” author or the Scots-accented fan of Gaelic, the fact remains that the *Scottish Canadian* acknowledged the significance of distinctive lexical markers within larger “English” parameters. Any notions of cultural, linguistic, or even individual “authenticity” are aptly moot. Due to the historical mystery regarding the identity and “cullah” of the “Efiopian” correspondent, this discourse stands *both* as a confident articulation of “Black English” and also the shudderingly insulting linguistic “blackface” perhaps adopted in racist jest by the editors of the *Scottish Canadian*. As such, the supposed “origins” or “authenticity” of linguistic shibboleths appear appropriately problematic, underscoring the primary concern of this investigation – the manner in which linguistic traits were projected and perceived.

So, certain Lowland forms were favourably exhibited as verbal tartanry, “idealised” and “overtly” presented overseas. This global phenomenon occurred in tandem with a nineteenth-century surge in “vernacular” prose within the Scottish nation, in both popular literature and the domestic press.<sup>173</sup>

Vitality, such vibrant articulations of written Scots forms operated in juxtaposition with other

---

<sup>171</sup> For discussions of diasporic engagement with Gaelic, see Robert McColl Millar, ‘Gaelic-Influenced Scots in pre-Revolutionary Maryland,’ Ureland Sture and Iain Clarkson eds., *Language Contact Across the North Atlantic*, (Hiedelberg, 1996), Michael B. Montgomery, ‘The Linguistic Landscape of Eighteenth-Century South Argyll, as Revealed by Highland Scot Emigrants to North Carolina,’ John M. Kirk and Iseabail Macleod eds., *Scots: Studies in Language and Literature*, (Amsterdam, 2013).

<sup>172</sup> *Scottish Canadian*, No. 11, 22 Jan 1891, p. 3.

<sup>173</sup> Emma Letley, *From Galt to Douglas Brown*, (Edinburgh, 1988), William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland*, (Aberdeen, 1986), William Donaldson, *The Language of the People*, (Aberdeen, 1989).

registers, most notably English “standards.” As Anette Hagan has highlighted, supplementing William Donaldson’s investigations into nineteenth-century “vernacular prose” – the “stable secular reading-matter of the great majority of Scots” – such “Scots contributions” were better accentuated through their discernible, on-page contrast with the “standard” English predominating within the same publications.<sup>174</sup>

Outwith Scotland, Lowland forms similarly functioned through this foreign-yet-familiar accord with English “standards.” Indeed, some Scots forms were upheld against English “improprieties” and a metropolitan trend of “Stage Scotch.” “Don’t go to London for your Scotch, my reader!” advised the *Melbourne Scot*, “[l]isten to it as it may still be spoken at your granny’s Ingleside.”<sup>175</sup> Quoting Robert Ford’s *Thistledown* – a Paisley-based collection of “Scotch humour” – the article saw Scots renderings to serve beside English “standards,” yet insisted the “Scotch” be disassociated from sources of southern linguistic “corruption”:

Don’t learn English less; [...] read, write, and speak Scotch more frequently. And, when doing so, remember you are not indulging in a mere vulgar corruption of English, comparable with the barbarous dialects of Yorkshire and Devon, but in a true and distinct, a powerful and beautiful language of your own.<sup>176</sup>

Imagined both *within and outwith* English “standards,” such “Scotch” was advocated alongside a defensive consciousness of linguistic “vulgarity,” and voiced amid parallel accusations of dialectal “barbarity” within England.

But of course, Ford’s “Scotch” assertions, further circulated by the *Melbourne Scot*, are expressed through an *English linguistic medium*. As such, this diasporic repositioning is reminiscent of James Buzard’s assessment of the fiction of Walter Scott, perceiving the author to strive “for a double goal, an intelligible foreignness, for something at once alien and English.”<sup>177</sup> Buzard’s interpretation, reflecting Mary Louise Pratt’s notion of the colonial construction of “autoethnography” – “in response to or in dialogue with [...] metropolitan representations” – can be more generally applied to verbal tartanry.<sup>178</sup>

Through a species of “cultural translation,” Buzard observes Scott’s fusion of Highland and Lowland tropes, grouped “under the roomy auspices of ‘foreignness-to-the-English,’” as blurring

---

<sup>174</sup> Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p. 35, Donaldson, *Language of the People*, pp. 1-2, Hagan, *Urban Scots*, p. 81.

<sup>175</sup> *The Scot*, No. 3, 1 August 1902, p. 2. Robert Ford, *Thistledown. A Book of Scotch humour character folklore story & anecdote*, (1891: Paisley, 1913), pp. 29-30.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> James Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction*, (Princeton, 2005), pp. 74-5.

<sup>178</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London, 1992), p. 7.

Scottish representation to “appear one univocal substance,” “united in alterity.”<sup>179</sup> Thus, Buzard reckons a Lowland Scots phraseology, “which, with some tinkering, is capable of sounding strange to English auditors and being understood by them,” to serve Scott’s literary purposes of expressing a holistic, recognisable and *intelligibly foreign* Scottishness from an Anglo-centered perspective.<sup>180</sup> As Graham Tulloch has noted, this literary renegotiation of certain Lowland tropes – boosted by Burns and typified within the immensely popular novels of Scott – provided a highly influential nineteenth-century guide for the demonstration of distinctively Scottish forms throughout the English-speaking world.<sup>181</sup>

In this manner, an “overt” and “idealised” verbal tartanry merged with much of the Highland-rooted iconography of the Scottish nation. Verbal tartanry functioned as an accessible and easily recognisable discourse to be mimicked, ever so slightly reminiscent of Homi K. Bhabha’s conception of “colonial mimicry” – “the appropriate objects of a colonialist chain of command, authorized versions of otherness.”<sup>182</sup> Bhabha further defined this “double-visioned” mimicry, “the sign of a double articulation,” “the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other”:

[...] *a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference. [Original emphasis.]<sup>183</sup>

The conspicuous “slippage,” “excess,” and “difference” of Lowland tropes provided a shifting platform upon which to pitch Scots nostalgia and imperial distinction within Anglo-centred discourses.

Discussing the Scottish Highlands and British imperialism, Kenneth O’Neil offers a mirrored imaging of Bhabha’s sentiments, viewing a “Highland discourse” to reflect a Scots “desire to constitute a recognisable Self as a subject of *sameness* that is *different* but not quite.”<sup>184</sup> Verbal tartanry can be seen to fluctuate between these inverted twin parameters, skimming intermittently

---

<sup>179</sup> Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction*, p. 75.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid*, p. 76.

<sup>181</sup> Graham Tulloch, *The Language of Walter Scott*, (London, 1980), pp. 167-8, 180-2, Graham Tulloch, ‘The Scots Language in Australia,’ *Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, p. 625, Graham Tulloch, ‘Styles of Scots in Australian Literary Texts,’ *Scots: Studies in Language and Literature*, pp. 214-16.

<sup>182</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London, 1994), p. 88.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid*, p. 86, 87.

<sup>184</sup> Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain and Empire*, (Columbus, 2007), p. 7.

between Scottish “sameness” and “difference” within a British imperial consciousness, hovering mainly as an English linguistic “not quite” – a partial distinction, foreign-yet-familiar.<sup>185</sup>

Remarkably, such inflections persist in colouring the commemoration of Scottish migration and imperial involvement. A recent, largely celebratory roll-call of global Scottish place-names – highlighting the “influence of Scots overseas, whether railroad engineer, pioneer farmer, displaced crofter or multi-millionaire” – beings with “an old saying: ‘Thaim wi a guid Scots tongue in their heid are fit tae gang ower the world.’”<sup>186</sup> Such Scots aphorisms of “diasporic” “fitness” descend from the verbal tartantry of previous centuries.

Predictably, this familiar foreignness was cemented through one oeuvre in particular: the totemic poetry of Robert Burns.

---

<sup>185</sup> See, Skoblow, *Dooble Tongue*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>186</sup> Elspeth Wills, *Abbotsford to Zion. The Story of Scottish Place Names Around the World*, (Edinburgh, 2016), p. xi. Also <http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Abbotsford-to-Zion.html>.

## “A Doric dialect of fame”: Burns and diaspora.

Speaking before the Boston Burns Club in 1859, the poet-philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, famously proclaimed the Ayrshire bard to have “made that Lowland Scotch a Doric dialect of fame” – “the only example in history of a language made classic by the genius of a single man.”<sup>187</sup> Marking the centenary of the poet’s birth, Emerson saw Burns’s “secret of genius” to be typified in the global expansion of the idiom of his “rural district” – a “patois” once “unintelligible to all but natives.”<sup>188</sup> “How many ‘Bonnie Doons,’ and ‘John Anderson, my joes’ and ‘Auld Langsynes’ all around the earth have his verse been applied to!” Emerson enthused.<sup>189</sup> The capacity of Burns’s verse to “draw from the bottom of society the strength of its speech” captivated the Bostonian transcendentalist, who celebrated such propensity to “astonish the ears of the polite with these artless words, better than art, and filtered of all the offence of beauty.”<sup>190</sup>

Yet “the Scottish dialect, which alone Burns perfectly knew,” was reckoned a relative mystery to the Anglo-American readership of the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>191</sup> One Professor Nairne, keynote speaker at the 1859 centenary held at Astor House by the Burns Club of New York, conceded that such exclusively Scottish language, “in which all his best poetry is written, must present to the American nearly as much difficulty as a foreign tongue.”<sup>192</sup> For Nairne, this was indicative of “the fastidious delicacy of Americans,” ill-equipped to “fully appreciate the wit and intimate drollery that palliate and go far to excuse the blemish” of the “frequent coarseness of the Scottish vernacular.”<sup>193</sup> Regardless of this general incapacity to comprehend, let alone appreciate the poetry of Burns, Nairne anticipated his strains,

[...] even now in our ears like an omnipresent harmony; and there will they ever be, as the tones of a mother’s love are round about the child whom she has commended to the mercy of Heaven! These songs and these poems are the inspired breathings not merely of the man Burns, but of all broad Scotland; for the concentrated feeling of the land took possession of the poet’s soul, and poured itself from the poet’s lips.<sup>194</sup>

Similar notions were celebrated at centenaries in Scotland. At the Edinburgh Corn Exchange, one speaker “graphically told” of an instance in a “distant hotel” where,

---

<sup>187</sup> James Ballantine ed., *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns*, (Edinburgh, 1859), p. 551.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 591.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 592.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 591.

[...] a man of colour was reading Burns and laughing most immoderately. Though he (the Ethiopian), confessed not to know all the Scotch words, yet he felt and understood those great broad strokes of humour, those ‘touches of nature’ which make the ‘whole world kin,’ that he loudly laughed. And a company of gentlemen also laughed at the sight of his great black shining face, showing teeth as white as a mouthful of snow. So in this distant hotel the Ayrshire magician was conjuring with equal facility rich humour and glee from the hearts of black and white.<sup>195</sup>

Burnsian language was seen to boast a Scottish virtue, exemplifying global “kinship.”

In New York, Nairne also aligned Burnsian soundings with a romanticised Scotland. In a lengthy, wonderfully grandiloquent passage, Nairne envisaged a Scots diasporic convergence “from all the ends of the earth”:

[...] from out of the long darkness of the polar night, where Scottish prows have been the most adventurous; from the burning deserts and the wizard streams of Africa, [...] from the gorgeous plains and mysterious mountains of India, [...] from wherever Caledonians have found new homes – and that is everywhere, though no men love their own country with a fonder intensity of love; – from every region under the whole sky, [...] the sweet echoes of these Ayrshire melodies are coming, and what Scottish soul does not catch the gathering joy without being exhorted by a brother Scotsman to listen? They are coming from the sunny South, where the broom and the heather are not forgotten among gayer blossoms, and the memory of the gowan is dearer than the present splendour of the cactus; they are coming from the Canadian wilderness, [...] they are coming from the Orient, where the song of the nightingale does not compensate for the notes of the mavis and the lintie; they are coming from the West, where the forests are grander, and the rivers broader, but none of them so enchanting as the ‘banks and braes o’ bonnie Doon.’ They are coming from the grassy burn-side; [...] they are coming even yet from the battle-fields of Spain and the stormy bivouack of Waterloo; they are coming, like the solstice of sadness, from the drear encampment at Sebastopol; they are coming, like the voice of hope, from the forlorn and famishing garrison of Lucknow! The whole air is filled with their music.<sup>196</sup>

Such outpourings were not just consigned to U.S. associations. A speech at a Toronto centenary of Burns’s birth invoked similar imagery, envisaging upon “a spot hewn in our own day out of the old savage-haunted pines of Ontario’s wooded shores,” the poems of Burns, “already a part of the living language of our common race,”

---

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid*, p. 22.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 590-91.

[...] being this night sung wherever the free banner of England floats on the breeze; and wherever the language is spoken inherited by her sons.[...] By the echoes of their music, repeated from land to land, may fancy follow the flag of British freedom round the world. [...] At Aden, on the old Red Sea; in Africa, on her Atlantic coasts and her far-southern Cape of storms; in India where the rush of the Ganges replies to the answering shouts of Britain's triumphant and dauntless sons; on that island-continent of Australasian seas [...] and where the flag of a great republic flaunts proudly over the hardy descendants of our common stock– to each and all of these, as to ourselves, the peasant's voice, sweeping along the electric wires of genius, is heard thrilling this night [...].<sup>197</sup>

At a Sydney centenary, the chair, Mr J. Wilson, offered a comparable observation, albeit with decidedly fewer invocations of “the peasant's voice,” and alluding to “racialised” imperial superiority:

Sharing as I do in no small degree in this pride of birth, how honoured do I feel in presiding at this magnificent festival, [...] a day which will not only be commemorated where the broad banner of Britain waves, but in every part of the world where the foot of the white man has trodden. In the great republic of America, – in the crowded cities of China, – in the torrid plains of India, – ay, even in the desert of Africa, for where Livingstone is, the memory of his gifted countryman will not be forgotten. [...] though many years absent from my native land, I am heart and soul a Scotsman, – that Scotland to me is the bright spot in the distance, – the land of freedom, literature, and science, – the land of ‘honest men and bonnie lasses’; and that, to me, the memory of Burns is a sacred thing.<sup>198</sup>

Whether intended to express sentiments of a transcendental reverence of the “artless,” or to champion the “foot of the white man,” each orator interlinked Scottish qualities and Burnsian language – comfortably accommodated under the “free banner of England” and “broad banner of Britain.”

But, the distinctly Scottish language of Burns was widely acknowledged. John Rae, speaking in Sydney in response to Wilson, recognised that Burns “loved, also, the Scotch language,” stressing the old disclaimer that “it was not from necessity but from choice that he adopted the peculiar

---

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 542-43.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid*, p. 535.

dialect of his country.”<sup>199</sup> For Rae, comprehension of this “peculiar” tongue was yet another example of Scots exceptionalism:

[...] some of the best portions of Burns’ productions can be thoroughly understood and appreciated only by Scotchmen. All Scotchmen know that there is peculiar to Burns’ language a mellowness of expression which no translation can convey, and that those who have not been accustomed to that language from their infancy almost – who are obliged to have recourse to a glossary – lose a large portion of Burns’ poetic beauties. They gaze at the great luminary of Scotland shorn of his beams. The language of Burns is the language of the heart.<sup>200</sup>

It was suggested that this “appreciation” intensified overseas, and was often observed by diasporic Scots.<sup>201</sup> Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of Melbourne, declared at the centenary of Burns’s birth,

[t]hat native tongue – stumbling-block as it proves to ‘So’throns,’ and much as it has doubtless stood in the way of the full appreciation of Burns’ merits in other countries – has been probably the keystone of his popularity among his own countrymen. In the colonies of Great Britain especially where so many thousand Scotchmen are settled – the once familiar tones of the Scottish dialect, mingled with the dulcet strains of the poet, serve to recall the scenes of infancy, to awaken the tenderest recollections of youth. Hence the very name of Burns seems to be doubly reverential among Scotch colonists thus estranged from their kindred and their homes.<sup>202</sup>

Thomas M’Combie, chair of the Melbourne Burns society, responded with even greater emphasis upon a “doubled” reverence of “once familiar tones.” Proclaiming the “great pleasure derived” from the songs and poems of Burns overseas, M’Combie pondered:

[...] how much more peculiarly grateful are they to Scotsmen, and particularly to Scotsmen in a far-off land? When he hears one of his familiar lays, the melody charms and absorbs his senses like a spell of enchantment.<sup>203</sup>

The chair saw “each succeeding generation” to “pay more enthusiastic tribute” to Burns’s “memory”:

[...] his fame has daily increased, and his writings are now household words from pole to pole, [...] when the Scotsman leaves his own land to seek his fortune by his high courage

---

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid*, p. 537.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>201</sup> McGinn, ‘Vehement Celebrations,’ *Burns in Global Culture*, pp. 195, 200.

<sup>202</sup> Ballantine, *Chronicle*, p. 529

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid*, p. 528.

and indomitable perseverance, he takes along with the carefully treasured Bible the works of Burns, and next to the Word of God, he loves to read him.<sup>204</sup>

M'Combie stressed a further vitality to Burns's verse, reflecting a frequent theme of the associational veneration of Burns, "commending the poet for having "collected all the many beautiful airs of his native land."<sup>205</sup> Within Scotland and overseas, the poet was credited with an almost singlehanded preservation and "refinement" of Scots forms.

M'Combie reckoned Burns to have "elevated the homely language of the Scots peasantry to convey his feelings and sentiments of surpassing truth," successfully rescuing the Scottish idiom from seemingly inevitable extinction.<sup>206</sup> Decades later, the Auckland Federation Burns' Club and the Auckland Caledonian Society, merging to celebrate the 1886 centenary of the publication of the Kilmarnock edition of Burns's poems, identified the "practical justification" for commemorating Burns "throughout the old and the new world," noting the effort made by the poet "to refine and purify the songs of Scotland, and to preserve the national music."<sup>207</sup>

For Professor George Wilson, speaking at Queen Street Hall in Edinburgh on the centenary of Burns's birth, the poet's preservation of Scots varieties was paramount. He declared Burns to have

[...] sang our Scottish tongue into a repute that it never had before, and secured for it a longevity that otherwise it never would have had, so that he would be a bold man who would predict the time when that mother speech will die, since Englishmen learn it for nothing but to learn the songs of Burns. Such is his power over the language of our hearts and the language of our country, that Scotsmen scattered over every part of the world are on this day assembled as we are now [...] All through Anglo-Saxondom, from the frozen North to the Gulf of Mexico, and thence to the Tierra del Fuego, it is the same; and wherever the language of Burns is understood, there his poems are listened to and his songs are sung.<sup>208</sup>

Archibald Primrose, fifth earl of Rosebery and former British Prime Minister, famously reiterated these sentiments. In an oft-quoted 1896 address at Dumfries, marking the centenary of Burns's death, Rosebery saw the poet to have "exalted our race," and "hallowed Scotland and the Scottish tongue" – "[b]efore his time we had for a long period been scarcely recognised, [...] falling

---

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*, p. 526.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid*, p. 528.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*, p. 527.

<sup>207</sup> 'Burns' Centenary Celebration,' *New Zealand Herald*, 17 August 1886, p. 5.

<sup>208</sup> Ballantine, *Chronicle*, p. 28.

out of the recollection of the world.”<sup>209</sup> Rosebery saw Burns “to start to his feet,” “reassert[ing] Scotland’s claim to national existence.”<sup>210</sup> Within verses which “rang through the world,” the poet “thus preserved the Scottish language for ever for mankind will never allow to die that idiom in which his songs and poems are enshrined.”<sup>211</sup>

Mirroring the global Scottish associations throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, Rosebery extolled Burns as “the watchword of a nation,” and celebrated the diasporic reverence for the poet which “carries and implants Burns-worship all over the globe as birds carry seeds.”<sup>212</sup> Rosebery declared Burns’s birth celebrated “more universally than that of any human being,” supposing the poet to “reign” over “a greater dominion than any empire that the world has ever seen.”<sup>213</sup>

Delivering another address at the St Andrew’s Hall in Glasgow later that day, Rosebery picked up where he had left off in Dumfries, presenting Burns as the rightful recipient of “the signs and symptoms of world-wide devotion”:

That generous and immortal soul pervades the universe to-day. In the humming city and in the crowd of men; in the backwood and in the swamp; where the sentinel paces the bleak frontier, where the sailor smokes his evening pipe; and above all, where the farmer and his men pursue their summer toil, whether under the Stars and Stripes or under the Union Jack, – the thoughts and sympathy of men are directed to Robert Burns.<sup>214</sup>

Rosebery again stressed the fundamental importance of Burns’s preservation, now “purification,” of Lowland forms:

Many of Burns’s songs were already in existence in the lips and minds of the people – rough and coarse and obscene. Our benefactor takes them, and with a touch of inspired alchemy transmutes them and leaves them pure gold [...] But for him, those ancient airs, often wedded to words which no decent man could recite, would have perished from that corruption if not from neglect. He rescued them for us by his songs, and in doing so he hallowed the life and sweetened the breath of Scotland.<sup>215</sup>

But for the “inspired alchemy” of the heaven-sent, heaven-taught ploughman, Scottish literary forms, “rough and coarse and obscene” within contemporary “lips and minds,” would have

---

<sup>209</sup> [Archibald Primrose] Lord Rosebery, *Miscellanies Literary and Historical*, (London, 1921), pp. 4-5.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid*, p. 23.

withered away, perhaps justifiably in Rosebery's view, as a consequence of Scots "corruption." Rather than echoing an Emersonian appreciation of the "artless" Burns, Rosebery's rhetoric suggests Scots forms to have undergone a near-transubstantive reclassification: "hallowed," "transmuted," and "enshrined" by such verse.

Yet at New York in 1859, Professor Nairne had pre-empted Rosebery's pseudo-deification of Burns and his perception of the poet's elevation of Lowland language. Nairne proclaimed the poet's personification of the Scottish nation and of Scots forms – the "inspired breathings not merely of the man Burns, but of all broad Scotland":

In no case within the wide range of literature has there been such a complete identification of individual genius with the heart of a whole people. The romantic love, the proud poverty, the sturdy independence, the manly piety, the loathing of hypocrisy, the quaint humour, the passion for natural beauty, the stern enthusiasm – all belong to Scotland as a nation, and all found their oracle and interpreter in Robert Burns. When he spoke, he spoke, as it were, from the national heart to the separate hearts of the nation. His words were the words of the general mother of Scotsmen, and hence it is that the souls of all her children leap to the strains of her chosen representative son. When he goes to other countries for a model, and tries to imitate the classical, he is usually feeble. When his foot is on his native heath, and his tongue articulates his native language, his full strength returns, and he is once more the Caledonian Apollo.<sup>216</sup>

Burnsian language was thus perceived and proclaimed as a perfected, "pure" Scots lexicon, representative of a pantheon of positive, supposedly Scottish traits. As poet-prophet, "oracle and interpreter" of Scottish exceptionalism, Burns was hailed as the mouthpiece through which to channel "the words of the general mother of Scotsmen."

Moreover, through contemporary developments in global travel and communications, this symbolic Burnsian influence was accorded "the presence of a living power."<sup>217</sup> Emphasising the recent proliferation of the telegraph and the 1850 completion of the transatlantic cable, global associations stressed that diasporic Scots were literally linked in their 1859 centenaries, bound together, in the words of Lord Ardmillan, speaking at the Edinburgh Music Hall, by

---

<sup>216</sup> Ballantine, *Chronicle*, p. 591.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid*, p. 7.

[...] the electric chain which knits the hearts of Scotchmen in every part of the world, stirring us not only to admiration of the poet's genius, but to the love of country, of liberty, and of home, and of all things beautiful and good.<sup>218</sup>

At the Trade Hall in Glasgow, Donald Campbell offered a lofty portrayal of intertwined “voices of our brethren beyond the deep,” making clear use of verbal tartanry:

Nor is the homage confined to our ‘auld respeckit mither.’ England sends back a warm response, and from the sister isle there is an echo of kindred tone. The Atlantic cable is mute; but this night the eastern and western worlds are united by the golden chain of fellow-feeling, and ‘though seas between us braid may roar,’ we can almost fancy we hear the voices of our brethren beyond the deep re-echoing to our call the name of Robert Burns. In the land of gold, also, our countrymen will be gathered; and amidst the red fields of Ind[ia] the tartan’d heroes of old Scotia will be singing with tearful eyes the much-loved lays of Coila’s bard and dreaming with weary hearts of their far-away friends and the home they may never see again. It has been said that the sun never sets on the dominions of our Queen, and if such be the case, then the name and fame of Robert Burns will this night roll in one continuous swell all round this vast globe which we inhabit.<sup>219</sup>

Through such associational celebrations of Robert Burns, Scots imagined themselves a globally interwoven community, “united by the golden chain” of appreciation “sweeping along the electric wires of genius.” And through such veneration, Scots ventriloquized a “hallowed” linguistic model that Rosebery supposed as having “exalted our race.”

By the late nineteenth century, such diasporic invocations had become so commonplace, and Burns so universally regarded as an authority on Lowland language, that credulous appeals to the poet as the ultimate source of Scots “propriety” had become the object of ridicule. The Missouri-born author Mark Twain offered a decisive model for besting a Scotsman in a pub argument on the subject of Scots phraseology.

In 1898, the Portland *Sunday Oregonian* re-printed Twain’s tale – originally published within *More Tramps Abroad* – reminding readers that “controversies about the Scotch dialect are notoriously dangerous affairs,” and introducing the extract as an example “which throws new light on

---

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

their management.”<sup>220</sup> Stumbling into an impassioned, bar-room dispute among “a mixture of Scotch, English, American, Canadian and Australasian folk” over the “correct” Scots pronunciation of the word “three,” Twain’s narrator emerges triumphant after initially provoking the wrath of this “Greater British” contingent, doubting the term be pronounced “thraw”:

It was an error of judgement. There was a moment of astonished and ominous silence, then weather ensued. The storm arose and spread in a surprising way, and I was snowed under in a very few minutes. It was a bad defeat for me; a kind of Waterloo [...] But just then I had a saving thought, at least a thought that offered a chance. When the storm was still raging I made up a Scotch couplet, and then spoke up and said:

‘Very well, don’t say any more. I confess defeat. I thought I knew but I see my mistake. I was deceived by one of your Scotch poets.’

‘A Scotch poet! Oh come! Name him!’

‘Robert Burns.’

It is wonderful the power of that name. These men looked doubtful but paralyzed all the same. They were quite silent for a moment; then one of them said – with the reverence in his voice which is always present in a Scotchman’s tone when he utters the name:

‘Does Robbie Burns say – what does he say?’

‘This is what he says:

There was nae bairns but only three –

One at the breast, twa at the knee’

It ended the discussion. There was no man there profane enough, disloyal enough, to say any word against a thing which Robert Burns had settled. I shall always honor that great name for the salvation it brought me in the time of my great need.<sup>221</sup>

Such was his uncontested authority that any invocation of Burns offered the last word on issues of Lowland linguistic “propriety.” While Twain’s actual point-scoring, bogus-Burnsian usage is of course highly questionable, the anecdote and its subsequent circulation are testament to the manner in which Burns was globally regarded a singular source of Scots “appropriacy.”

This “revered” alignment with Burns lent a degree of linguistic “legitimacy” to other distinctly Scottish, but non-Burnsian utterances. In Rosebery’s memorable phrase Burns had “sweetened the breath” of *all* Scotland, and while certain, perhaps most, manifestations of Lowland

---

<sup>220</sup> Untitled, *Sunday Oregonian*, (Portland), 2 January 1898, p. 2. Mark Twain, *More Tramps Abroad*, (London, 1897), pp. 40-41.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*

language were likely believed “rough, coarse and obscene” throughout the nineteenth century, an increasing number of other “overt Scotticisms” filtered into a diasporic lexicon. This expanded verbal tartantry, was expressed alongside Burnsian aphorisms at the most regular and widespread of all associational celebrations – the St Andrew’s Day dinner.

## Kin-spicious consumption: diaspora and St Andrew's Day.

In early November 1895, the *Milwaukee Journal* printed a copy of “a very unique invitation” to an upcoming “entertainment”:

We've some scones and oat-cakes and short-bread and twa or three ither things frae the auld countree, an' will ye no come an' pree them an' hae a drap o' tea an' a crack wi' us at the Bethany kirk on Thursday e'en the fourteenth of November.

Oor guid frien, Robert Menzies, will gie us a wee bit reading aboot bonnie Scotland, an' there'll be some gran' singin' and speakin' and a gude time for a'.

Ye nicht juist mention this tae yer frien's an' speir them a' tae come wi' ye.

Ye'll hae to gie the mon at the door twenty-five bawbees an he'll gie ye a bonnie bit ticket that ye can juist keep as a remembraneer.<sup>222</sup>

While this advertisement was indeed a rare example of an emphatic usage of overtly Scottified linguistic style, it was by no means “very unique.” The invitation to the event at the Bethany “kirk” is illustrative of the essential manner in which diasporic verbal tartanry was used for show. St Andrew's Day celebrations provide a ubiquitous nineteenth-century model for an analysis of such performative linguistic assertions, a pantomime of proclaimed Scots affinity in which even the oft-toasted title of “the Day and a' wha' honor it” was a widely recognised and commonly voiced utterance of verbal tartanry.

It was remarked by a “prominent Canadian Scot” on a tour of New Zealand, that while “the Irishman was an Irishman all the year round,” the Scot was “a Scot only on St Andrew's day.”<sup>223</sup> Although this comment was perceived by a Christchurch publication to be indicative of a “mild manner of sarcasm as to the Home Rule question,” the observation was cheerfully deemed “a compliment to the patriotism of both races”; with Scots, having “no political wrong or grievance to redress,” commended for their occasional national celebration, comfortably operating alongside a British imperialism.<sup>224</sup>

While Burnsian centenaries were marked with comparable fervour both within and outwith Scotland, St Andrew's Day events were generally perceived as the province of expatriates and later

---

<sup>222</sup> ‘Invitation in Scotch Dialect,’ *Milwaukee Journal*, 8 November 1895, p. 1.

<sup>223</sup> ‘Sprigs o' Heather,’ *Star* (Christchurch), 24 October 1908, p. 4.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*

generations of Scots living abroad.<sup>225</sup> Though some early twentieth-century commentators became concerned by “the long-standing reproach that only exiled Scots observed St Andrew’s Day,” many of their contemporaries honoured the propensity of Scots to mark the day of their patron saint when overseas, reckoning a ceremonial, symbolic reconnection with Scotland to be demonstrative of the fraternity of all branches of “brither Scots.”<sup>226</sup>

Within Scotland in the late-nineteenth century, diasporic St Andrew’s Day celebrations appeared emblematic of a seemingly inherent national merit. In 1895, the *Scotsman* declared:

Scotsmen abroad are not a feeble folk. They carry with them, along with their native energy, shrewdness and force of character, a goodly heritage of the ideas and beliefs, the habits and customs [...] that have been drawn from the home soil and bred in the bone. It is not a defect, but, on the contrary, a merit in their character as Colonists that [...] they seek to endow it [their adopted country] with something of the peculiar quality of their own blood and their own land [...] and if this firm resolve to transport part of Scotland with them overseas and plant it on distant shores is not so visible at other times, it is made manifest at the great national festivals.<sup>227</sup>

For Scots living through the decades of late nineteenth-century imperial triumphalism, Scotland’s “prolonged Victorian orgy of self-esteem,” the overseas commemoration of Scotland’s patron saint provided yet another opportunity to bask in the well-established tropes of Scots exceptionalism, refracted and magnified through a diasporic lens.<sup>228</sup>

Diasporic St Andrew’s Day celebrations did not disappoint. Expatriate society members phrased their proclamations of Scottish affinity with a significant smattering of verbal tartanry. A speech delivered at a St Andrew’s Day dinner at Calcutta in 1893, regarded by Elizabeth Buettner as characteristic of many such events in British colonial India, offers a particularly striking example:

We are a’ proud beyond measure, of the ‘Land o’ Cakes,’ the ‘Land of the Mountain and the Flood’ – ‘Auld Caledonia’ – ‘Bonnie Scotland’ – and we are proud to be known as her grateful, patriotic sons, the offspring of Wallace and Bruce, and John Knox and ‘Rabbie’ Burns, and many other almost as transcendent heroes of national civil and religious liberty.

We are proud, moreover, of ‘yin anither.’ In every worthy brither Scot we discover and take to our hearts ‘a social honest billie’ [...] a man reared under the

---

<sup>225</sup> H.J.H. Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1969), p. 18, Buettner, ‘Haggis in the Raj,’ pp. 221-222.

<sup>226</sup> Buettner, ‘Haggis in the Raj,’ p. 222.

<sup>227</sup> Quoted in Bueltmann et al, ‘Introduction,’ *Ties of Blood*, p. 9.

<sup>228</sup> Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, (Edinburgh, 2001), p. 496.

influence of the teachings and traditions of the same dear old home of sincerity and independence, and thrift and prudence and robust common sense – deeply conscious of this glorious heritage [...] the heather and the haggis and the mountain dew – the kilted warriors – the stirring strains o’ the pipes.<sup>229</sup>

This address conscripts a canon of Scots imagery – national heroes, “glorious heritage,” and tartanic emblems of haggis and heather, kilts and bagpipes. All such symbols are invoked in asserting a transnational sentiment of universal Scottish qualities, incarnate “in every worthy brither Scot,” “a social honest billie.”

Three years earlier, a New Zealand newspaper printed an article offering similar sentiments, celebrating that “one colony at least at the antipodes is graced by the presence of a Scotch Governor, a Scotch Premier and a Scotch President of the Council.”<sup>230</sup> As a consequence of the “most solid and sterling worth” of the Scots in “fighting battles, advancing the greatness and doing the work of the Empire”:

[...] so one and all of us feel pride in the Land o’ Cakes, whether we be Englishmen, Irishmen or full-kilted Scotchmen, and may well afford to humor the little national vanities that enter so markedly into the constitution of the Scottish character.<sup>231</sup>

The article ends with a roll-call of the icons of a “full-kilted” nation, conveyed amid deliberate Scots terminology:

[...] the land of plaids and kilts, bagpipes and hielan flings, golf and curling, domines and gaugers, beadles and stickit ministers, haggis and cockie leeke, oatmeal cakes and barley bree, stalwart lads and winsome bonnie lasses.<sup>232</sup>

Such “national vanities” are clearly bolstered by the employment of exaggeratedly Scottish language.<sup>233</sup>

It was through the overt representation of such symbols that a global verbal tartantry was perhaps most frequently and effectively utilised. Within the rhetoric of St Andrew’s Day speeches overseas, the Scottish nation itself was commonly identified through epithets of verbal tartantry – “Auld Caledonia,” “Auld Scotia,” “Bonnie Scotland,” or the most popular nineteenth-century appellation, the “Land o’ Cakes.” Indeed, the idiosyncrasies of Scottish cuisine provided a poignant example of the verbal tartantry of the Scottish associations of New Zealand, with the sample menus

---

<sup>229</sup> Buettner, ‘Haggis in the Raj,’ p. 226, ‘St Andrew’s Dinner,’ *Calcutta Englishman*, 1 Dec. 1893, p. 8.

<sup>230</sup> ‘Scotchmen, Attention,’ *Bruce Herald*, 28 January 1890, p. 4.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*

of St Andrew's Day celebrations indicating the desire of expatriate Scots to indulge in the conspicuous consumption of distinctly Scottish food and drink, revelling in the esoteric titles of such delicacies.

It was noted by the *Daily Southern Cross* in an 1855 St Andrew's Day article that "Scotchmen are generally supposed to have a partiality for 'kail brose' and 'bannocks o' barley meal.'"<sup>234</sup> In Tupeka, almost twenty years later, attendants at a lecture at the Congregational Church were reminded,

[w]e need not forget, while in the land of our adoption, our national dishes. A good haggis should still be the standard dish on St Andrew's Day. A singit sheep's head is worthy of some attention.<sup>235</sup>

It was noted that Mr Bathgate, the lecturer, "compared northern with southern cookery, giving preference to the former, apparently in a truly national spirit."<sup>236</sup>

This predilection was not limited to the associations of New Zealand. The report of a St Andrew's Banquet at Bombay, intriguingly circulated in a New Zealand newspaper in 1882, noted that the guests of the society were offered several Scottish "coorses," interspersed with regular intervals in which to recharge with "a wee drappee Talisker" or "a wee Donal' o' Glenlivet."<sup>237</sup> The Bombay "Bill o' Fare" offered an array of Scottish-named dishes including "Indien Haddies Smekkit," "Minced Collops on a bane, wi' sma, peas fra France," "Stuffed Bubbly Jock roastit an' Soo's Leg bakit," and "Gleskie Magistrates wi' tatties roastit."<sup>238</sup> Following the dinner, extended over six "coorses" and numerous "drams," the guests were sent on their way with "jist anither dram, tae keep a' doon."<sup>239</sup>

Over a decade and a half later, the Dunedin Burns Club issued a similar order of ceremonies for their St Andrew's Day celebration dinner, including an impressive dessert list:

Grozet Tairt. Aipple Tairt. Rhubarb Tairt. Baps. Ait Cake in farls. Bakes. Parleys. Curran' laif wi' raisins intilt. Scones. Snaps. Shortbreed wi' sweeties on't. Curds and Cream. Glesgae Jeelie an' ither trifles. (My certie! we'll hae anither dram.)<sup>240</sup>

---

<sup>234</sup> 'St Andrew's Day Dinner,' *Daily Southern Cross*, 30 November 1855, p. 3.

<sup>235</sup> 'Mr Bathgate on 'Old Times in Scotland,' *Tuapeka Times*, 24 June 1874, p. 5.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>237</sup> 'Sanny's Bill o' Fare,' *Grey River Argus*, 25 March 1882, p. 2.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>240</sup> 'St. Andrew's Day,' *North Otago Times*, 27 October 1898, p. 1, also printed as 'A Scot's Dinner,' *Timaru Herald*, 3 December 1898, p. 4.

The considerate members of the Dunedin Burns Club attached an additional message, offering a Scotticised selection of beverages “[f]or Teetotal Folk an siclike”: “we’ll hae Claret (which some folk ca’ Soor Dook), Cuddle My Dearie, Skeichan, Treacle Yill, and ither drinks o’ that ilk, New Maskit Tea, etc.”<sup>241</sup>

Such distinctive fare was even a source of amusement in New Zealand, hinting that the habit of Scottifying St Andrew’s Day menus was well recognised in the antipodes. In 1880 the Christchurch *Star* derided the assertion of an Irish newspaper that Scots subsist on nothing except the “Memories of their Past.”<sup>242</sup> The article proposed the other extreme, offering the menu of a recent St Andrew’s Day dinner as evidence of Scottish overindulgence;

Some Scotchmen, however, believe in having plenty to eat and drink too, and a variety at that. Here is a bill of fare presented at last St Andrew’s Day: – ‘Cauld kail het, cockie leekie, saut herrin, an’ tatties, doos an’ champit tatties, nowt’s cloots, singed sheep’s head, biled mutton an’ neeps, bubbly jock an’ caller ou, groset tarts, nicket baps, brandy snaps, cookies, parleys, nits, grosets, the sneeshin mull, &c.’ Our Caledonian friends were well-provided for in the liquor department, which included Glenlivet, Glentakit, Long John, Peat Reek, and Soor Dook. It would take away all vestige of appetite for an ordinary individual merely to read the above.<sup>243</sup>

Perhaps aware of the questionable culinary reputation of Scotland, some American societies attempted to appease all palettes; inserting a selection of token Scottish dishes into their St Andrew’s Day spreads. In 1882, the Scottish Society of Milwaukee supplemented their main courses of “Baked-Redsnapper, a l’Italiane,” “Tenderloin of Beef, au Jus,” and “Roast Quail, stuffed” with side-offerings sides of haggis, “Scotch Broth” and “Argyle Punch.”<sup>244</sup>

While some associations, such as the St Andrew’s Society of Cleveland, reflecting John Duncan’s 1818 observation of the American dislike of Scottish food, made little effort to Scottify their St Andrew’s Day dinners, instead serving “a la mode Beef” and four different breeds of duck, the provision and subsequent reporting of Scottish food was a notable method for associational Scots to proclaim their Scottishness.<sup>245</sup> The *Canterbury Press* declared of an 1887 St Andrew’s Day dinner, “the bill of fare bristles with appropriate names,” recalling “‘Saumon frae Auld Scotland,’ ‘Grouse an’ Patricks frae the Muirs o’ Scotland,’ and that favourite dish of ‘Haggis.’”<sup>246</sup>

---

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>242</sup> ‘Here and There,’ *Star*, 9 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>244</sup> ‘St. Andrew’s Banquet, Annual Event of the Scottish Society,’ *Milwaukee Journal*, 30 November 1892, p. 1.

<sup>245</sup> ‘St Andrew’s Festival,’ *Cleveland Daily Herald*, 1 December 1869, p. 1.

<sup>246</sup> ‘Canterbury Caledonian Society,’ *Press*, 1 December 1887, p. 6.

Over a decade later, the *Otago Daily Times* noted that at a monthly meeting of the Gaelic Society “the broad Scotch bill of fare” accorded “such merriment,” declaring the “document” a “work of art and a masterpiece of quaint literature.”<sup>247</sup> The irony of the Gaelic Society issuing bills of fare in “broad Scotch” appears lost on the reporter, indicative of the manner in which Lowland forms predominated within diasporic verbal tartanry, and hinting that such menu-cards had become a widely accepted global expression of Scottish characteristics. As the *Melbourne Scot* mused in 1902, commenting on those partaking in the “Scotch Bill of Fare” (a “kaird o’ good things”), at a St Andrew’s Day Dinner at Pretoria:

The curious thing about them is that they stay Scotch! You can sometimes catch the great big birr on a man’s tongue, even when he’s been fifty years an Australian. They never seem to be ashamed of being Scotch.<sup>248</sup>

A report of the 1883 St Andrew’s Day celebration of the Canterbury Caledonia Society serves as a final, poignant example of the overseas manifestation of a culinary verbal tartanry, where the efforts made by diasporic Scots to procure and consume certain dishes intertwined with an overt usage of Lowland linguistic traits.

Last night, St Andrew’s Day was celebrated by a supper, which was given at the Commercial Hotel, which was attended by about sixty gentlemen hailing from the ‘land o’ cakes.’ For some time past the Committee of the Caledonian Society have been making preparations for the occasion, which it was hardly necessary to say were attended with success. The catering, with the exception of two items – the haggis and the oat cakes – was placed in the hands of Mr Warner, and he performed his work to the pleasure of all concerned.

Shortly after nine o’clock Mr Watt took the chair, and Dr Stewart and the Vice-Chair, and after grace had been delivered, the company, to abide religiously to the bill-of-fare, each took ‘a wee drappie of Milton Duff.’ This was succeeded by Aberdeen saut herrins and tatties, which were accompany [sic.] by a wee drappie of that similar beverage to that already mentioned. The first ‘course’ consisted of ‘stewed hens wi’ paddock stools,’ ‘minced collops wi’ sma’ peas’ and ‘a wee Donal o’ Glenlivet,’ and the ‘second course’ was ‘Giggot o’ mutton wi red curran’ jellie,’ and ‘stuffed Bubbly Jocks roastit.’ The following dish was the *one* of the evening, and as the waiters carried the haggis its entrance was announced by Piper MacGregor, who played a lively tune on the

---

<sup>247</sup> ‘Gaelic Society,’ *Otago Daily Times*, 5 November 1898, p. 7.

<sup>248</sup> *The Scot*, No. 4, 1 September 1902, p. 7.

bagpipes, and the party cheered. The haggis has been specially prepared by Mrs Steward, the wife of the vice-chairman, that she had succeeded in pleasing all was shown by the hearty way in which it was eaten. It was necessary to have ‘another wee Donal o’ Milton-Duff,’ and then came the grouse. This the Chairman intimated had come in the Ionic from Scotland, together with a sprig of heather from the Murray [sic.] hills. But there was only one bird, and as the cover was lifted and the grouse shown a roar of laughter passed round the table at its small dimensions. Two very appropriate lines has been selected, namely,

Kill’t on the Hieland Hills mair that three months ago,  
An brocht a’ this gate in snaw

Though small, all tasted the delicacy, which doubtless reminded them of old and happy days. ‘Tatties, biled and chappit, and bashed neeps’ followed and ‘neist came the Mitie Dunlop cheese an’ oatcake, wi a mixtie-maxtie o’ ingins, lettuces, an a lot o’ other green things,’ and ‘jist anither Donal to keep a’ doon.’ The supper was succeeded by toasts, songs, and selections on the pipes by the piper and also by a string band.

The first toast on the programme was that of ‘Her Majesty the Queen,’ which was proposed by the Chairman and drunk with musical honors, and was succeeded by ‘The Health of the Governor,’ also proposed by the Chairman. During the time his Excellency had been in the colony he had shown himself to be of active temperament, and willing to work, and he (the Chairman) hoped that he might have a longer reign than his processor.<sup>249</sup>

The rather absurd image of a miniscule, heather-adorned Highland grouse, transported half way round the globe, despite being too small to enable the guests to taste more than a morsel, serves as an apt metaphor for nineteenth-century Scottish diasporic tartantry. Consciously invoked and deliberately displayed, yet fleeting, personal, and inherently exclusive; the mouthful of grouse stands in envisaged reminiscence of “old and happy days,” a ceremonial taste, but nothing more substantial. The Scotticised language of the dinner table reported by the *Press*, and the accentuating fragment of poetry which accompanied the grouse – boasting of the bird’s “Hieland” origins – perform a comparable role to the dishes themselves, voicing a desired adherence to the emotive trappings of Scots affinity, toasting imperial prestige.

Discussing the substructure of the “imagined political community,” Gayatri Chakrovarty Spivak locates the roots of nationalism within the “underived private,” stemming from the “rock-

---

<sup>249</sup> ‘Caledonian Gathering,’ *Press*, 1 December 1883, p. 3. Also reported as ‘St Andrew’s Day,’ *Star*, 1 December 1883, p. 4.

bottom comfort of one's own language and one's home."<sup>250</sup> Such bedrock security is noted to work in tandem with the implicit, "bottom-line shared unease" aligned to "the removal of [this] comfort."<sup>251</sup> For Spivak, attachment to the "nation thing" operates ostensibly within a "public sphere," but with an ultimate basis, essential in the expression and "mobilization" of such feelings, lying in an *established private*: the internal "simple thereness" of an assumed, unthreatening affinity and its inverse – the fear for the loss of that very same anticipated "comfort."<sup>252</sup>

Spivak supposes the complexities of nationalism to arise in the interplay between these configurations of "public" and "private"; a double-think at once negotiating "with the most private in the interest of controlling the public sphere," "recoding" an "underived private" – the "simple thereness" of "known comfort" – as the polar opposite, the "antonym of the public sphere."<sup>253</sup> The serving of the tiny grouse, complete with its garnish of "Murray hills" heather and "very appropriate" Scots couplet, offers a glimpse of the "underived private" in interaction with the "public." This overt and explicit demonstration of diasporic Scottishness functioned through the amplification of minute, momentary sensations – culinary and linguistic triggers of the "most private" – the taste of "old and happy days" lingering upon the "mither tongue."

In Milwaukee in 1886, "The Mither Tongue" itself entered into the St Andrew's Day schedule of after-dinner toasts, where it was honoured for its "Composite Origin and the Power of its Pith and Pathos."<sup>254</sup> "Mr John Johnson" offered an address, outlining "a very interesting history of the 'Mither Tongue,'" by which "he did not intend the Gaelic tongue [...] but he presumed that the lowland Scotch was intended."<sup>255</sup> Johnson insisted "English speaking people" had "adopted many of the best Scotch words," declaring,

[...] there was more song and enjoyment in cold Scotland than merry England, [...] very aptly expressed in the mither tongue. Where is the Scotchman whose heart is not thrilled with the glorious memories which rush through his heart, and he feels the full power of Scottish music and the mother tongue? Scotchmen do well to sing Scotch songs and tell Scotch stories to keep fresh and green the memories of auld lang syne.<sup>256</sup>

Nearly thirty years earlier, comparable reflections were offered to the St Andrew's Society of Montreal "to illustrate and adorn the common brotherhood which knits us to those of our own land,

---

<sup>250</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Nationalism and the Imagination*, (Calcutta, 2010), pp. 15-17.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid*, 15-17.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 57, 17-18.

<sup>254</sup> 'St. Andrew's Day: The Annual Banquet of the Scottish Society,' *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 1 December 1886, p. 2.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid*.

kindred and tongue.”<sup>257</sup> In an aptly-titled sermon, “The Beneficial Influence of a Well-Regulated Nationality,” the Rev. Alexander Kemp discussed an exilic overhearing of shared Scots language, shoring up support for “honest poverty”:

It cannot be said of Scotchmen that they have ever been indifferent to the wants or the sorrows of their countrymen. None of us, I believe, can hear the Doric familiar language of our native home, speaking the words of distress or telling tales of suffering, without feeling the liveliest sympathy with the sufferer. He would not be worthy of the fair fame of his native land, who could look on a countryman in rags, or careworn with honest poverty, and not seek to minister with a loving hand his wants.<sup>258</sup>

In 1851, “Sons of St Andrew” in Auckland, “desirous of turning the cordial feeling” of their recent St Andrew’s Day celebration “to the purpose of practical and benevolent utility,” officially formed their St Andrew’s Society, “anxious by the proof of fraternal kindness, to show themselves ‘*brither Scots*.’”<sup>259</sup>

Such Scots aphorisms evoked the emotive, personal pull of an “underived private,” invoked to motivate a “fraternal kindness” overseas. As the Auckland society indicates, Scots forms, objectified as verbal tartantry, negotiated with an overt, publicly enacted Scots persona – the altruistic, implicitly affluent archetype of the “*brither Scot*.” Indeed, “*Brither Scots the Hale World O’er*” was a frequently voiced toast of the Canterbury Caledonian Society at their St Andrew’s Day gatherings.<sup>260</sup>

“Our folk have been few, but our brothers inherit the earth,” remarked the Rev. Alexander Whyte in a St Andrew’s Day “meditation” printed in the *New Zealand Herald* in 1908.<sup>261</sup> In an article riddled with verbal tartantry, Whyte emphasised the “clannish” affection of “brither” Scots, assembling “at the ends of the earth.”<sup>262</sup> For Whyte, Scots were united in seemingly-shared experience of “the simple life” – the “butt an’ ben” or “auld clay biggin’” of the family home, “the mother’s care and the father’s smile”:

That family affection followed them throughout life. On New Year’s Day and New Year’s Sabbath the sons and daughters gathered to the old home and the old pew. In the thick of

---

<sup>257</sup> Rev. Alexander F. Kemp, *The Beneficial Influence of a Well-Regulated Nationality*, (Montreal, 1857), p. 3.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>259</sup> ‘St Andrew’s Society,’ *New Zealander*, 13 December 1851, p. 3.

<sup>260</sup> ‘Canterbury Caledonian Society,’ *Press*, 1 December 1887, p. 6, ‘St Andrews Day,’ *Press*, 1 December 1892, p. 5.

<sup>261</sup> ‘Our Scottish Heritage,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 5 December 1908, p. 5.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

battle they stood shoulder to shoulder. It was not necessary to remind them, ‘and when ye think upon your mither, mind ye be kind to ane anither.’<sup>263</sup>

Such recollections of domestic rusticity, an “underived private,” supposedly endowed diasporic Scots with fundamental patriotic virtues. The “clan is the developed household,” Whyte declared, “[i]s not the family the unit of the State?”<sup>264</sup> Recurring Scots maxims projected the seemingly inherent Scots qualities of egalitarianism – “the moment a man ‘daurs be fair for a’ that” – moderation – “the man who is ‘contended wi’ little’ abhors covetousness” – and simple religious clarity – “those who have had the ‘parritch and carritch’ [porridge and the Shorter Catechism] can know their God.”<sup>265</sup>

For Whyte, verbal tartantry was paramount, facilitating a “public” projection of such traits, supposing, as “apples of gold in baskets of silver, all those benefits have come to us set in our mother tongue.”<sup>266</sup> Whyte concluded by extolling the tenets of verbal tartantry, asserting Scottish exceptionalism overseas:

In foreign parts, like these, we ‘hae gotten to our English,’ but now and then, ‘when wi’ a neebar crony,’ we croon the music of the braid Scots. This night we enthrone the speech of our fathers in our hearts and on our lips, to survive ‘a’ the misca’in o’ the pernicky and fashionable.’ ‘It is an ancient an honourable tongue, wi rutes deep i’ the yirth; aulder than muckle o’ the English. it cam doon till us throme our Gothic and Pictish forebears; it was heard on the battlefield wi’ Bruce; it waftit the triumphant prayers and sangs o’ the martyrs intil heeven; it dirl’t on the tongue o’ John Knox, denoucin’ wrang; it sweeten’t the heevenlike letters o’ Samuel Rutherford; and aneath the theck o’ mony a muirland cottage it e’en noo carries thanks till heeven, and brings the blessin’s down.’ And so our recollections of ‘the Days of Auld Lang Syne’ are swathed in gentleness in the Scots version of St Paul’s Greek: – ‘Love tholes lang, is kind and cannie, love vaunts na’ itsel’, isna sune upliftit, isna’ gien to flytin’, casts nae byganes; tholes a’ things, lippens a’ things, looks forrit to a’ things, dries a’ things. Gin there be lear it sall dwine awa’; but noo firm bides faith, hope, love, this thrie, but love is aboon them a’.’<sup>267</sup>

Within the St Andrew’s Day celebrations of expatriate Scots, Lowland language “wi’ rutes deep i’ the yirth,” evocative of an inherent, private reflection of the “simple thereness” of comfort in the familiar, became momentarily, symbolically, and publically “enthroned” as verbal tartantry.

---

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*

The “music of braid Scots,” which “waftit” triumphant to ventriloquize the words of St Paul, was self-consciously “crooned” within global celebrations. This offered a linguistic proclamation of Scottishness in which individual sentiment of the “most private” negotiated with and found public expression amid the outward trappings of the Scottish associational culture of the British imperial world.

And such expressions were themselves markedly “diasporic.” The quotations within Whyte’s speech, reported by the Auckland-based *Herald*, were sourced from the *New Testament in Braid Scots*, compiled by William Wye Smith, a Scots-Canadian migrant.<sup>268</sup> In a preface composed from “St. Catherines. Canada,” Wye Smith discussed the motives behind his 1901 Scots translation, celebrating a certain duality.<sup>269</sup> “I begude to think that aiblins Providence had gien me the Scots blude and the Scots tongue,” Wye Smith recalled, also acknowledging the fortuity of having been provided “wi the American edication.”<sup>270</sup> The Scots émigré recognised the significance of his mixed-“English” legacy, offering divine thanks “for the vera reason that – haein baith lang’ages – I soud recommend the Word in Scots; and juist Scots eneuch no to be unfathomable to the ordinar English reader.”<sup>271</sup> Wye Smith highlighted his distinctive, heteroglossically-informed discourse. An accepted, recognisable register – “not quite” of sameness nor difference – foreign and familiar.

Certain Scots excerpts were thus conceived and circulated with an awareness of linguistic mixing betraying transnational conceptions of “abroad.” And crucially, these late nineteenth, early twentieth-century displays punctuated the generally celebratory notions of Scottish expatriate success and socio-cultural superiority amid the backdrop of the British empire.

This phenomenon appears a far cry from the Scottish linguistic concerns of the mid-to-late eighteenth century, Burns’s own lifetime – a period associated with “English” linguistic “standardisation,” and the prescriptions placed upon “Scotticisms.” Having begun by demonstrating the diasporic ubiquity of Scots forms from the early nineteenth century onward, the remainder of this thesis attempts to uncover the roots of the global upsurge of verbal tartanry. While maintaining an eye on “diaspora,” the next section is centred on Scotland – discussing the mid eighteenth-century domestic concern for “Scotticisms,” before delving into the later philological renegotiation, and rehabilitation of some Lowland forms. As such, the following chapters are intended to offer

---

<sup>268</sup> William Wye Smith ed., *The New Testament in Braid Scots*, (1901: Paisley, 1904), pp. iii, 221. Also, Graham Tulloch, ‘The English and Scots Languages in Scottish Religious Life,’ Colin MacLean and Kenneth Veitch eds., *Religion, Scottish Life and Society*, Vol. 12, (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 355.

<sup>269</sup> Smith ed., *New Testament*, p. iii.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*

insight into the eventual ire of John Duncan in 1818, bemoaning the “impropriety” of “meddling with our Doric dialect.”

## Part II. Eighteenth-century Scots sub-versions.

### “Sole judges and lawgivers in language”: Sub-versions, “Scotticisms,” and a settling of “standards.”

*“Old things must be then done away – new manners must be assumed, and a new language adopted.”*

John Sinclair, (London, 1782).

Midway through his 1779 *Treatise on the Provincial Dialect of Scotland*, the Aberdonian lawyer and sometime linguist Sylvester Douglas offered pointers on the “correct” pronunciation of the English diphthong “*oa* as in *boat*.”<sup>1</sup> Douglas provided a colourful anecdote, illustrating the particular dangers for Scots speakers:

Not long ago, a Scotch Gentleman, in a debate in the House of Commons upon the Affairs of America, began a speech in which he proposed to examine whether it would be more advisable to adopt compulsive, or soothing measures towards the colonies. Unfortunately instead of *soothe*, *coax* was the word that had presented itself to his mind. And he pronounced it as if written *cox*.<sup>2</sup>

The enunciation of the hapless politician effectively ended his address. His rendering of “*coax*,” “added to several other peculiarities of manner and dialect,” was noted to have “tickled the House extremely, and produced a general laugh.”<sup>3</sup> Douglas concluded:

The Gentleman was unconscious of the false pronunciation [sic.] into which he had fallen. His speech had been premeditated, and *coax* was, it seems, a sort of cue, or catch word. Every time therefore that the silence of his hearers permitted him to resume his harangue, he began by repeating this unlucky word. But every fresh repetition of it occasioning a louder burst of laughter, he was obliged at last fairly to give the matter up. And break off his oration in the middle.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Sylvester Douglas, *A Treatise on the Provincial Dialect of Scotland*, (1779), Charles Jones ed., (Edinburgh, 1991), p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

The member's suggestions for improving relations between the British government and their increasingly fractious American colonies went unheard. This cautionary tale, contained within Douglas's nuanced discussion of Scots phonology, offers a neat reflection of the linguistic handicap of many "North Britons" during the late eighteenth century.

Scottish insecurity with regard to accent and idiom during the period is well documented. Indeed, within discussions of "enlightenment"-era British history, it has become something of a requirement to reflect on the efforts of Scots speakers to divest themselves of any distinctive language – the infamous "Scotticisms" anticipated as outlandish, uncouth, and likely to provoke English derision.<sup>5</sup> It has even been suggested that in terms of their language, eighteenth-century Lowland elites and intellectuals "wished fervently not to be Scots," with discernible linguistic differences considered an unfortunate source of "provincial embarrassment," best "mellowed" in speech and "expunged" from prose.<sup>6</sup> Within this somewhat counter-intuitive context, the Scottish pursuit of a British literary recognition is seen to have been reflected through a determination to ape, and then excel in, British metropolitan modes – to "out Augustan the Augustans" and "out-English the English."<sup>7</sup>

Many of the most prestigious figures of the "Scottish Enlightenment" present central testimony to this shift towards southern "standards." In his 1759 *History of Scotland*, William Robertson – future principal of the University of Edinburgh and Moderator of the Church of Scotland – famously remarked that due to the imbalanced Union of Crowns of 1603, "the English naturally became the sole judges and lawgivers in language, and rejected as solecisms, every form of speech to which their ear was not accustomed."<sup>8</sup> Writing in the 1750s, Robertson believed the times had mercifully changed for the better, and he eagerly perceived the parliamentary Union of 1707 to have

---

<sup>5</sup> See Henry Grey Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, (1899: London, 1937), pp. 77-9, 114-21, Daiches, *Paradox of Scottish Culture*, Kenneth Simpson, *The Protean Scot*, (Aberdeen, 1988), pp. 72-125. For "Scotticisms," see James G. Basker, 'Scotticisms and the Problem of Cultural Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain,' John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher eds., *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1993), David Hewitt, 'Scotticisms and Cultural Conflict,' Ronald P. Draper ed., *The Literature of Region and Nation*, (New York, 1989), and Marina Dossena, *Scotticisms in Grammar and Vocabulary*, (Edinburgh, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> Janet Adam Smith, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Ideas of Scotland,' N.T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison eds., *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 110, Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689- c., 1830*, (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 2-3. Also, Dossena, *Scotticisms*, pp. 57-72, Charles Jones, *A Language Suppressed*, (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. vii-21, Lynda Mugglestone, *Talking Proper, The Rise of Accent as a Social Symbol*, (Oxford, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> David Craig, *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1839*, (London, 1961), p. 55, Smith, 'Eighteenth-Century Ideas,' *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, p. 112. Also, Manfred Görlach, *Still More Englishes*, (Amsterdam, 2002), p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> William Robertson, *The History of Scotland During the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI.*, (1759: London, 1794), 2 vols., I, pp. 312.

ushered in a golden age of equity between the nations of England and Scotland, having more effectively “rendered them one people.”<sup>9</sup>

Robertson envisioned the bonds of Britishness in revealingly linguistic terms:

[...] the distinctions which had subsisted for many ages gradually wear away; peculiarities disappear; and the same manners prevail in both parts of the island; the same authors are read and admired; the same entertainments are frequented by the elegant and polite; and the same standard of taste, and of purity in language, is established. The Scots, after being placed, during the whole century, in a situation no less fatal to liberty than to the taste and genius of the nation, were at once put in possession of privileges more valuable than those which their ancestors had formerly enjoyed; and every obstruction that had retarded their pursuit, or prevented their acquisition of literary fame, was totally removed [...].<sup>10</sup>

The Scot proclaimed a uniformity of British “liberty” and language, upheld alongside an overarching, implicitly Anglo-centred “purity” and “standard of taste.” For Robertson, such ties entailed Scottish access to English cultural “standards” on an ostensibly equal footing, and, if adequately emulated, language was imagined to be now no reasonable “obstruction” to Scots’ “acquisition of literary fame.”<sup>11</sup>

This supposed “fame” was by no means confined to “literary” Scots. In fact, the career of Sylvester Douglas provides a fitting demonstration of the post-union “privileges” which awaited industrious, well-connected Scotsmen who were mindful of their ‘p’s and ‘q’s. Following his propitious marriage to Katharine North, daughter of the former Prime Minister Frederick North, Douglas’s star rose remarkably quickly within the ranks of the British political elite.<sup>12</sup> During the 1790s the Scot obtained a series of government offices often pertaining to imperial management. In 1793 Douglas was made Chief Secretary to the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and just two years later was invited onto the Board of Control of the East India Company. In 1800 the Scot was elevated to the Irish peerage, adopting the title of Lord Glenbervie of Kincardine in an elevation which accompanied his appointment as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 313.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*. See, Colin Kidd, ‘The Ideological Significance of Robertson’s *History of Scotland*,’ Stewart J. Brown ed., *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire*, (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 122-4.

<sup>11</sup> Robertson, *History of Scotland*, I, pp. 313-14.

<sup>12</sup> Douglas is briefly noted among the “Scots cronies” of Henry Dundas, Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 207. For Douglas’s own perspective as a political “place-hunter” see, Francis Bickley ed., *The Diaries of Sylvester Douglas*, (London, 1928), 2 vols., I, p. vi.

<sup>13</sup> Anon., ‘No. XVI. The Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas,’ *The Annual Biography and Obituary for the Year 1824*, VIII, (London, 1824), pp. 335-44, 339-40.

A noted advocate of the Union of 1800, Douglas sat first in the Irish and then the British parliament. After his death, the Scot was remembered as a “frequent speaker” within the House of Commons, and “his utterance, which was slow and solemn” was commended, “in strict harmony with the profound and intellectual expression of his countenance.”<sup>14</sup> One may wonder how Douglas, addressing Parliament or preparing his political utterances, might have cast his mind back to his own warnings of an unacceptable, potentially damaging Scots pronunciation.<sup>15</sup>

Significantly conscious of the indignity attached to linguistic variance, Douglas exemplifies the potential for late eighteenth-century Scottish “elites” to conform to English norms, while becoming comfortably accommodated within the political echelons of the British empire. Moreover, as is hinted in the example from Douglas’s 1779 *Treatise*, Scottish would-be imperialists, desiring to deliberate upon such critical issues as the “Affairs of America” in the early 1770s, could only realistically contribute to British colonial discourse through an active, self-conscious avoidance of an overtly Scots inflection.

Yet the complex linguistic pigmentation of late eighteenth-century Britain was rarely as simple as suppositions of an Anglo-centric whitewash may suggest. In 1757, in one of his more notorious remarks, David Hume commended Robertson’s *History of Scotland*; declaring to Gilbert Elliot of Minto, fellow Scot and recently-appointed Lord of the Admiralty,

[...] really it is admirable how many Men of Genius this Country produces at present. Is it nor strange that, at a time when we have lost our Princes, our Parliaments, our independent Government, even the Presence of our chief Nobility, are unhappy, in our Accent and Pronunciation, speak a very corrupt Dialect of the Tongue [...]; is it not strange, I say, that, in these Circumstances, we shou’d really be the People most distinguish’d for Literature in Europe.<sup>16</sup>

Hume’s commentary, often parsed to reflect Scottish anxiety in matters of language, can also be read as an assertion of Scots’ capability to overcome such apparent linguistic hindrances.

Within this well-known extract, Scottish literary accomplishment is lauded alongside a recognition of socio-linguistic disadvantage. Indeed, such intellectual “distinction” is rendered all the more impressive by Hume’s dramatic emphasis of the supposedly “corrupt” and “unhappy” factor of

---

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 340.

<sup>15</sup> Douglas does occasionally focus upon the praiseworthy oratory of certain parliamentary speakers, see Bickley, *Diaries*, II, p. 16.

<sup>16</sup> J.Y.T. Greig ed., *The Letters of David Hume*, (1932: Oxford, 2011), 2 vols., I, p. 255.

Scots' language. Ultimately, Hume's reflection upon the "many Men of Genius this Country produces" was prompted in celebration of Robertson's *History* – perceived as yet another high-quality Scots offering which served to boost confidence in the national capacity to match the very best of English literary mores.

Over the past two decades, a wealth of scholarship has emphasised Scottish agency in determining Anglo-British literary "standards" during the latter half of the eighteenth century. In asserting the "Scottish invention" of English literary scholarship, Robert Crawford persuasively links the linguistic concerns of many Scots intellectuals to their advocacy of a "fully British ethos."<sup>17</sup> The denigration of distinctive Scots forms in a drive towards defining "purer" English "standards" is therefore viewed as a patriotically "pro-British" undertaking, rather than as a simplistically "anti-Scottish gesture" – an attitude in keeping with the objectives of a Scots intelligentsia to maintain an active role in directing a "harmonious, if hegemonic" British discourse.<sup>18</sup> Such sentiments have been developed by Marina Dossena and Susan Rennie in insightful grammatical and lexicographical investigations, revealing the overlapping motives that worked to both *prohibit* and *prescribe* the usage of certain Scots varieties during the period.<sup>19</sup>

As Charles Jones's wide-ranging analyses of eighteenth-century language-planning and Scots phonology have shown, interpretations of Lowland language and English "standards" differed dramatically within Scotland. Opposing one-dimensional suspicions of a "de-culturing conspiracy" vying to supplant Scots varieties in favour of southern "standards," Jones discusses a multifaceted "Scottish grammatical tradition."<sup>20</sup> Acknowledging many prominent eighteenth-century Scots grammarians as vociferous advocates of an Anglo-British linguistic "standardisation," Jones also highlights a related "preservation and enhancement" of Scots forms which developed alongside a counteractive energy to determine an "acceptable Scottish phonological output," distinct from English orthographic representation.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Robert Crawford, 'Introduction,' Robert Crawford ed., *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 7. See also Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms,' *Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, 2, (June 1996), pp. 361-382.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 18, John Dwyer, 'Introduction – A "Peculiar Blessing": Social Converse in Scotland from Hutcheson to Burns,' *Sociability and Society*, p. 6. Also Marina Dossena, 'Print and Scotticisms,' Stephen W. Brown, and Warren McDougall eds., *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland. Volume 2*, (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 545-50.

<sup>19</sup> Compare, for example, Dossena, *Scotticisms*, p. 57, Susan Rennie, *Jamieson's Dictionary of Scots*, (Oxford, 2012), p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> Jones, *Language Suppressed*, p. vii.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, pp. vii, viii. See also, Charles Jones, 'Scottish Standard English in the late eighteenth century,' *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 91: 1, (1993), 95-131, Charles Jones, *English Pronunciation in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 124-5, 134, 156-7.

While it is undeniable that by the mid-eighteenth century the general linguistic outlook in Lowland Scotland had become geared towards south-facing models, the interlocking relationship between Lowland Scots traits and those of the “standard” “English” language of the emerging British nation was decidedly more complex. Following Robert Millar’s convincingly fluid interpretation of certain Scottish linguistic characteristics becoming systematically “subsumed” into rather than indiscriminately overturned by an alien and monolithic “standard” language, this chapter presents the case not for an oppressive, English linguistic *subversion* of Scots forms, but for the potential of multiple Scottish *sub-versions* operating within “English” language “standards”; contemporaneous strains of alternate varieties running at times counter to, but also frequently intersecting with surface notions of a singular, “standard” Anglo-British language, itself by no means as uniform as certain critics might attempt to make out.<sup>22</sup>

As such, this discussion seeks to highlight the interrelation between the eighteenth-century drive towards Anglo-centred “standardisation” in Scotland and the notorious efforts of many elites and intellectuals to temper their so-called “Scotticisms.” Within these interlinked phenomena, distinctive Scots sub-versions became better-defined through self-conscious acts of removal – an emotively-tinted process sowing the seeds of the diasporic verbal tartanry which would develop in later generations.

As a composite reading of the invaluable, twin perspectives of Janet Sorensen and Susan Manning indicates, the strenuous Scottish attempt to pursue the idealised “standards” of British societal politeness and linguistic “purity” prompted a greater awareness of the “performed, artificial quality” of a “national” Anglo-British language, alongside an accompanying attentiveness to the “fragmentary” otherness of alternate Scots forms – sub-versions in (and of) “standard” “rendered peculiar or remarkable” through conspicuous “separation.”<sup>23</sup> Through parallel, singling-out processes of overt addition and subtraction, both the varieties perceived as “standard English” and “Scots” could become conversely, yet comparably distinctive for late eighteenth-century Scottish writers and speakers.<sup>24</sup> The more the modes of a linguistic “Anglicism” were actively encouraged, emphasised, and “enacted,” the more the detracted “Scotticisms” became connected and underscored through

---

<sup>22</sup> Robert McColl Millar, *Language, Nation, and Power*, (Basingstoke, 2005), p. 89. See also James Milroy, ‘Historical description and the ideology of the standard language,’ Laura Wright ed., *The Development of Standard English, 1300-1800*, (Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>23</sup> Janet Sorensen, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth Century British Writing*, (Cambridge, 2000), p. 151, Susan Manning, *Fragments of Union*, (New York, 2002), p. 244.

<sup>24</sup> For a related discussion on the interconnections between “standard” and “non-standard” language, perceived through the prism of pre-conceived linguistic “vulgarity” recoded as criminality within England during the latter half of the eighteenth century, see Janet Sorensen, ‘Vulgar Tongues: Canting Dictionaries and the Language of the People in Eighteenth-Century Britain,’ *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 3, (2004), 435-454.

their absence or juxtaposition; progressively marked as outlandish, archaic, and exotic as a heightened side-effect of the very practices that sought their displacement.<sup>25</sup>

It is vital to recognise the existence of differing yet interconnected conceptions of language “standardisation” during this period. Crucially, eighteenth-century Scottish linguistic concerns bridged the interstices between the wider British drive to solidify English “standards,” and certain assumptions of neglect and false-starting “standardisation” which pertained more specially to language within Scotland.

Linguistic prescriptivism was very much a *British* compulsion during the eighteenth century; with an Anglo-centred “standardisation” imagined as a key means to pin together an otherwise “uneasy amalgam” of constituent nationalities within the British archipelago.<sup>26</sup> It has become a commonplace to highlight the deep-seated “provincial” interest in ascertaining and asserting “correct” Anglo-centred “standards” during the period. However, in recognising the infamously enthusiastic response to English language planning in eighteenth-century Scotland, it is also important to locate such “provincial” linguistic “polishing” within greater British, and wider European contexts of grammatical concern.<sup>27</sup> Put simply, linguistic prescription was not a solely Scottish issue.

“Standardisation” in language was clearly perceived to go hand in hand with the construction of Britishness in the eighteenth century. In the published notes to his wildly popular lecture tours of the early 1760s, the Irish elocutionist Thomas Sheridan declared,

[...] it cannot be denied that an uniformity of pronunciation throughout Scotland, Wales and Ireland, as well as through the several counties of England, would be a point much to be wished; as it might in great measure destroy those odious distinctions between subjects of the same King, and members of the same community, which are ever attended with ill consequences, and which are chiefly kept alive by difference of pronunciation, and dialects [...].<sup>28</sup>

Sheridan envisioned an idealised British “uniformity” to be undone by multi-national, “provincial” distinction, insisting,

---

<sup>25</sup> Susan Manning, ‘Post-Union Scotland and the Scottish Idiom of Britishness,’ Ian Brown, Thomas Owen Clancy, Susan Manning and Murray Pittock eds., *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 49-51.

<sup>26</sup> Tony Crowley, *Language in History*, (London, 1996), p. 68.

<sup>27</sup> Mugglestone, *Talking Proper*, pp. 30, 45, Bob Harris, ‘Communicating,’ Elizabeth Foyster, and Christopher A. Whatley eds., *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800*, (Edinburgh, 2010), p. 167.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Sheridan, *A Course of Lectures on Elocution*, (London, 1762), p. 206.

[...] this difference is not so much between individuals, as whole bodies of men; inhabitants of different countries, and speaking one common language, without agreeing on the manner of pronouncing it. Thus not only the Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, have each their own idioms, which uniformly prevail in those countries, but almost every county in England, has its particular dialect.<sup>29</sup>

The Irishman concluded the “standards” of this singular British “common language” as best determined by “the lot of that which prevails at court, the source of fashions of all kinds.”<sup>30</sup> Within this composite “one nation” perspective, Sheridan famously supposed alternative linguistic varieties and “all other dialects” throughout the British nation as “sure marks, either of a provincial, rustic, pedantic, or mechanic education; and therefore have some degree of disgrace annexed to them.”<sup>31</sup>

Two decades later, Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster – Scots parliamentarian and compiler of the mammoth *Statistical Account of Scotland* – offered similar sentiments from a specifically Scottish standpoint. Reflecting Douglas’s nerry fable of the Scots politician mocked for his pronunciation, Sinclair declared individuals who,

[...] wish to mix with the world, and particularly those whose object it is to have some share in the administration of national affairs, are under the necessity of conforming to the taste, the manners, and the language of the Public. Old things must be then done away – new manners must be assumed, and a new language adopted.<sup>32</sup>

Like Sheridan, Sinclair stressed the importance of greater linguistic self-scrutiny throughout the British “provinces,” insisting “nor does this observation apply to Scotchmen only”:

[...] the same remark may be extended to the Irish, to the Welsh, and to the inhabitants of several districts in England; all of whom have many words and phrases peculiar to themselves, which are unintelligible in the senate-house, and in the capital.<sup>33</sup>

Sinclair approved that “of late many Scotch authors have shewn an uncommon degree of attention to the purity of their stile and diction,” and presented linguistic “correction” as an admirably patriotic British pursuit, soothing historic tensions:

It is not however in a private, but in a national view, and as a circumstance of importance to the Public in general, that the subject ought properly to be considered. Whilst so striking a difference as that of language exists between England and Scotland, antient

---

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p. 30.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>32</sup> John Sinclair, *Observations on the Scottish Dialect*, (London, 1782), pp. 1-2.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

[sic.] local prejudices will not be removed; nor can it be expected that two neighbouring nations, which, though now so happily united, were for many ages at variance with each other, will be able to consider themselves as the same people.<sup>34</sup>

For Sinclair as much as Sheridan, linguistic homogeneity was intimately linked with a harmonious British nationality, demanding an alignment of *all* regional components – including those within England – to an approved and uniform “standard.”

Of course, in the commentary of both Sheridan and Sinclair, Anglo-British language “standards” were closely connected to projections of political power and social prestige. As Tony Crowley has hinted, Sheridan’s prescriptivism was infused with a “colonial fantasy” of cultural superiority.<sup>35</sup> The Irishman envisaged an English “standard” as “a third classical language” to “rival or even excel the noble languages of Greece and Rome.”<sup>36</sup> With occasional references to “barbarous” languages “not worth preserving,” and a linguistic “savagery” in which “the natives of such countries, are little more than mere animals,” Sheridan considered an English “standard” language “in its own nature capable of the utmost expression and harmony”; proclaiming “in point of giving delight, it would not yield to those of antiquity; and that it is much better fitted for universal use.”<sup>37</sup>

But Sheridan was also conscious of an undesirable linguistic multiplicity evident even in the British capital; identifying that “in the very metropolis two different modes of pronunciation prevail by which the inhabitants of one part of the town are distinguished from those of the other.”<sup>38</sup> The elocutionist was keen to differentiate between the unseemly sub-version “current in the city, and is called the cockney,” and “the other at the court, [...] called the polite conversation.”<sup>39</sup> “Amongst these various dialects” – encompassing all urban and rural linguistic difference within Britain – Sheridan reflected, “one must have the preference, and become fashionable”; selecting the spoken mode of the “court,” “acquired only by conversing with people in public life”:

[...] it is a sort of proof that a person has kept good company, and on that account is sought after by all, who wish to be considered as fashionable people, or members of the beau monde.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 2-3.

<sup>35</sup> Crowley, *Language in History*, p. 72.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas Sheridan, *British Education*, (London, 1756), p. 367, Thomas Sheridan, *A Course of Lectures on Elocution*, (London, 1798), p. 301.

<sup>37</sup> Sheridan, *Lectures on Elocution*, (1798), pp. 248, 271, 301, Sheridan, *British Education*, p. 367.

<sup>38</sup> Sheridan, *Lectures on Elocution*, (1762), p. 30.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

Yet in celebrating such a socio-linguistic “standard,” Sheridan was forced to acknowledge the threat that alternate versions posed to notions of a “fashionable” language of the “beau monde.” Indeed, the Irishman built a career around the very presumption that a “standard” language necessarily required attention and diligent study. The existing linguistic sub-versions of British cities and “peripheries,” at times operating both outwith and within these “English” “standards,” were consequently scorned and disconnected. As with the so-called “Scotticisms,” these British linguistic sub-versions ironically became better defined through their reputed difference from an assumed and anxiously-analysed “correctness.”

Sheridan feared sub-versive incursion, reinterpreted as the careless slipping of “standards.” He reckoned “nothing but the most shameful neglect” of his idealised “standard” could “prevent the English, from handing down to posterity a third classical language, of far more importance” than either the ancient Greek or Latin.<sup>41</sup> Sheridan viewed his own attempts to remedy such “neglect” – the “general inability to read, or speak, with propriety and grace in public” running “thro’ the natives of the British dominions” – as a vital, patriotic undertaking.<sup>42</sup> As linguistic sub-versions operated *beneath* glossy discursive surfaces, late eighteenth-century language “standards” were required to be rigorously *upheld*, and protected from “neglect.”

Within Sinclair’s *Observations*, the Scot similarly considered notions of national “neglect” alongside those of self-conscious linguistic “refinement.” Yet rather than plotting out the celebrated destiny of a “classical” English tongue, Sinclair dwelt on the historical “deterioration” of Scots forms – interpreted as close linguistic relations to those of the south, unfortunately sundered from English “standards” through a prolonged period of disregard. Sinclair defined “Scotch language” as “a dialect of the Saxon or old English, with some trifling variations,” and attested,

[...] the two languages originally were so nearly the same, that the principal differences at present between them, are owing to the Scotch having retained many words and phrases which have fallen into disuse among the English.<sup>43</sup>

The MP proclaimed a general historic similarity between “Scotch and English dialects,” supposing that even during the reign of James VI and I, the varieties “were not so dissimilar as they are at present.”<sup>44</sup>

Sinclair claimed existing linguistic differences between England and Scotland as relatively recent phenomena, the consequence of a mixture of Scottish indolence and English innovation:

---

<sup>41</sup> Sheridan, *British Education*, p. 367.

<sup>42</sup> Sheridan, *Lectures on Elocution*, (1798), p. 27.

<sup>43</sup> Sinclair, *Observations*, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* p. 9.

Time, however, and commerce, joined to the efforts of many ingenious men, have since introduced various alterations and improvements into the English language, which, from ignorance, inattention, or national prejudices, have not always penetrated into the north.<sup>45</sup>

Scots forms were therefore seen as something of an anachronism – linked to laxity, ambivalence, and the outworn “prejudices” of a once separate nation. Indeed, Sinclair anticipated the day when such limited Lowland varieties would be brought into line with English “improvements”:

But the time, it is hoped, will soon arrive, when a difference, so obvious to the meanest capacity, shall no longer exist between two countries by nature so intimately connected. In garb, in manners, in government we are the same; and if the same language were spoken on both sides of the Tweed, some small diversity in our laws and ecclesiastical establishments excepted, no striking mark of distinction would remain between the sons of England and Caledonia.<sup>46</sup>

Sinclair offered a rather different interpretation of linguistic “standardisation,” suggesting the Scottish nation to have inadequately maintained the vitality of Lowland language in an act of abandonment unfavourably compared with the “alterations” made to the English tongue. Lowland language was thereby presented as proof of Sheridan’s supposed “neglect” – indicative of a “failed” Scots “standard.”<sup>47</sup> Consequently, Sinclair’s “national view” saw little option for Scottish speakers but to reconcile themselves with the Anglo-centred “standards” developing within Britain.

Yet, while Sinclair praised the historic “alterations and improvements” which had effected so great a change between English and Scots forms, he was rather more sceptical when it came to accepting contemporary linguistic changes. “Languages,” Sinclair admitted “are subject to a variety of alterations, and at first they ought to be so,” imagining the “rough sentiments of a tribe of warlike Barbarians, such as the Saxons” to be “too harsh and rugged for the nicer feelings of their posterity,” and insisting that “a language should be able to express the vast accumulation of new and varied ideas that necessarily arise in a learned and commercial nation.”<sup>48</sup>

However, the Scot maintained “there is a point beyond which alterations ought not to be rashly complied with,” supposing that further adjustment “must prove equally pernicious, whether the object be to introduce new, or to explode old and well-known words and phrases”:

---

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>47</sup> Millar, *Language, Nation, and Power*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>48</sup> Sinclair, *Observations*, p. 12.

[...] when a language (as was the case with that of England in the reign of Queen Anne) has once acquired an ample share of strength, copiousness and beauty, material changes are seldom necessary, and in general ought to be carefully avoided.<sup>49</sup>

Revealingly, the “reign of Queen Anne” – the period encompassing the parliamentary union between England and Scotland – was proposed by Sinclair as the historical cut-off marking a more-or-less complete English. This “Augustan,” to which subsequent changes were reckoned “seldom necessary,” was seen to exhibit sufficient linguistic “copiousness,” and cemented as Sinclair’s “standard.” Indeed, the Scot viewed subsequent variations to be “rash” and “pernicious,” and the linguistic prescriptions of the early eighteenth century were lauded by Sinclair as a formalised finished product, averse to later change.

It is within this context that Sinclair first turns his attention to “Scoticisms” – defined as anathema to the early-eighteenth-century “classical period” of solidifying English “standards”:

If that age, therefore is to be considered as the classical period of the English language, a Scoticism may be defined to be that mode of speaking or writing (for it is difficult to draw the line between colloquial and written idioms) which now prevails in Scotland, and is neither at this time generally known in England, nor was current at the aera we have mentioned.<sup>50</sup>

Drawn in direct contradistinction from those forms “generally known in England” since the “aera” of Union, Sinclair’s “Scoticisms” are effectively locked out of Anglo-British “standards.” In differing from Sinclair’s early-eighteenth century model, “Scoticisms” were thus unable to permeate into a saturated “English,” imagined to accommodate no further addition. Sinclair advised that distinctly Scottish varieties, like other seemingly needless latter-day linguistic supplements, “ought to be carefully avoided,” and espoused the “natural” condition “for an inferior kingdom to imitate the manners and language of a wealthier and more powerful neighbour.”<sup>51</sup>

Sinclair’s perspective was rooted in his assumption of the inadequacy of a seventeenth-century Scots “standardisation,” to which the only remedy was the emulation of Anglo-centred “standards” already closed-off to Scottish infusion. In an act reflective of what Murray Pittock memorably termed the “paradigms of the sad Scottish story with the happy British ending,” the

---

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8.

unsuccessful centralisation of Lowland language was presented as yet another instance of the manifold “historic failures” of the independent Scots kingdom.<sup>52</sup>

Significantly, William Robertson’s commentary upon “sole judges and lawgivers in language” is contained within a consideration of the very same issue. Within his *History of Scotland*, one of the quintessential texts of Scottish Whig historiography, Robertson blends the merits of an Anglo-inspired socio-political “improvement” of Scotland with a denigration of indigenous Scots tradition and statecraft prior to the Union of 1707.<sup>53</sup> At the close of Robertson’s *History*, Scottish linguistic development is fused to a benevolent Anglophile unionism, where English “refinement” in both language and political governance is contrasted with an ignominious legacy of Scottish backwardness following the dynastic Union of 1603:

The [Scottish] court being withdrawn, no domestic standard of propriety and correctness of speech remained; the very few compositions that Scotland produced were tried by the English standard, and every word or phrase that varied in the least from that, was considered as barbarous; whereas, if the two nations had continued distinct, each might have retained idioms and forms of speech peculiar to itself; and these, rendered fashionable by the example of a court, and supported by the authority of writers of reputation, might have been viewed in the same light with the varieties occasioned by the different dialects in the Greek tongue; they even might have been considered as beauties; and, in many cases might have been used promiscuously by the authors of both nations. But, by the accession, the English naturally became the sole judges and lawgivers in language, and rejected as solecisms, every form of speech to which their ear was not accustomed. Nor did the Scots, while the intercourse between the two nations was inconsiderable, and ancient prejudices were still so violent as to prevent immigration, possess the means of refining their own tongue according to the purity of the English standard. On the contrary, new corruptions flowed into it from every different source.<sup>54</sup>

Rather like Sinclair, Robertson viewed the consequences of the absentee monarchy to have effaced any “domestic standard of propriety and correctness” in Scotland, consolidating the

---

<sup>52</sup> Murray G.H. Pittock, ‘Staff and Students: The Teaching of Rhetoric’, *Scottish Literary Journal*, 23, 1, (May 1996), 33-41, p. 35. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland’s Past*, pp. 98-100, 109, 127, 140. Research into the development and dispersal of certain Lowland varieties offers a much more complex picture of language “standardisation” in early modern Scotland. For influential discussions of the development of a sixteenth-century “proto-standard” of Scots, highlighting a conscious assertion of Scottish linguistic difference whilst acknowledging the inherent overlap with Southern English forms, see Jeremy J. Smith, *Older Scots. A Linguistic Reader*, (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 8-12, Corbett, *Language of the Scottish Nation*, pp. 5, 74-5. Anneli Meurman-Solin, *Variation and Change in Early Scottish Prose. Studies Based on the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*, (Helsinki, 1993), pp. 36, 40-9, Anneli Meurman-Solin, ‘Change from above or below? Mapping the *loci* of linguistic change in the history of Scottish English,’ *Development of Standard English*, pp. 155-7, 166-7.

<sup>53</sup> Kidd, ‘Ideological Significance of Robertson’s *History*,’ *William Robertson*, p. 122.

<sup>54</sup> Robertson, *History of Scotland*, pp. 312-13.

“natural” authority of “the English” as “sole judges and lawgivers in language.” Robertson saw Scotland as therefore forced into a fatal linguistic double bind; deprived both of an independent “standard of propriety,” and, from “inconsiderable” previous contact, denied the “means of refining their tongue according to the purity of the English standard.”

Lacking both a “domestic standard” and practical access to an English alternative, Robertson saw language in Scotland to have been “tried,” and inevitably condemned, “by the English standard.” This was a “standard” against which any Scots sub-versive difference – “every word or phrase that varied in the least” – was deemed implicitly deficient by the codes of Anglo-centred “lawgivers.” Yet peculiarly, in his elegy to failed Lowland “standardisation,” Robertson struck a rather positive note.

Identifying the consequences of the 1603 dynastic union to lie behind contemporary Scottish linguistic shortcomings, Robertson poignantly dwelt on the counter-factual of a once-possible Scots “standard,” buttressed by the “authority” of an independent court. The historian supposed “if the two nations had continued distinct,” Lowland forms, “rendered fashionable” as a dignified Scottish “standard,” could have stood comfortably alongside an English sister tongue. Such respectfully separate forms, potential “beuties” comparable to “different dialects in the Greek tongue,” were even suggested as being “promiscuously” employed by Scots and English alike.

While Robertson asserted such linguistic equivalence between the nations as very much *not* the case in reality, the “what-if?” of a mythic Scottish “standard,” compared in notably “classical” terms to an English tongue, served to infuse Lowland forms with some much-welcome prestige. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the conception of Scots forms serving as a “Doric dialect” to an English “standard” was fairly common, loading Lowland varieties with vaguely “classical” connotations of historic repute and rustic simplicity.<sup>55</sup>

During the late eighteenth century, Lowland language was seen to differ in a number of ways from a “standard” English. As evidenced by the excerpt from Sylvester Douglas’s 1779 *Treatise*, some Scots forms, such as the much-maligned “Scotticisms,” could function as pejorative linguistic substandard, consciously suppressed and actively avoided. Yet the complexities surrounding Lowland language far exceeded these issues of prohibition. As in the case of John Sinclair, interpretations of a *historically-failed* Scots “standard” underpinned Whig notions of a moribund spell of Scottish cultural gloom,

---

<sup>55</sup> For an early example of the associations of Aberdeenshire language with the term “Doric,” see Charles Jones, ‘Alexander Geddes: An Eighteenth-Century Scottish Orthoepist and Dialectologist,’ *Folia Linguistica Historica*, XV/ 1-2, (1994), pp. 71-103, 73, 75.

brightened by benevolent union. As is hinted within the commentary of William Robertson, the pre-empted potential of failed Scottish “standardisation” could be wistfully re-envisaged – commended alongside optimistic assertions of the shared “standard of taste” and linguistic “purity” bonding the newly-fused nations of Scotland and England.

By the early nineteenth century, Scots sub-versions were increasingly projected as an overt and self-consciously divergent counter-“standard,” assuredly removed from earlier anxieties. This is of course related to the late eighteenth-century literary “revival” commonly associated with the poetry of Robert Burns. While Burns, himself resurrecting elements of the earlier “revival” spearheaded by Allan Ramsay, can be credited with the promotion of a renewed sense of Scots cultural reassertion, much of the Burnsian oeuvre also serves as a prime example of the manner in which Scots sub-versions came to be skilfully articulated *within* the parameters of Anglo-centred “standards.” As a succession of compelling literary discussions have noted, Burns’s poetic stylings, reflecting a Ramsay-esque consciousness of resonant and recognisably distinct registers, highlight the potential for a diplomatic “sprinkling” and “slight intermixture of Scots words & phraseology” which worked at once to both blend and bolster the internal borders within expanding Anglo-British literary “standards.”<sup>56</sup>

Burns – the ultimate poet of a Scoto-British *sub-verse* – demanded a *Scottish* presence within a *British* literature through his stressing of “intermingledom,” to borrow his own, characteristically apt term.<sup>57</sup> Following the terms set by Burnsiana, Lowland linguistic sub-versions could serve to subtly infuse, rather than staunchly oppose, “English” “standards,” marking both a Scottish agency and autonomy within union-and-empire whilst also suggesting the potential for an outward-looking Scots affinity within overarching British bonds. Ironically, this intermingled Burnsian *sub-verse* came to be perceived as a “standard” of Scots by many readers both within Scotland and around the globe, and was subsequently enshrined within the rhetoric of verbal tartanry. This shift within Lowland language – readjusting an angsty, hushed suppression of “Scotticisms” to the buoyant exhibition of verbal tartanry – occurred over a remarkably short historical period. This was also a linguistic reconfiguration which was notably global in its scope, and often articulated the triumphalism of British imperial prestige.

---

<sup>56</sup> J. De Lancey Ferguson ed., *The Letters of Robert Burns*, (Oxford, 1931), 2 vols., II, pp. 122, 148. See David Daiches, *Robert Burns*, (London, 1966), p. 37, pp. 254-5, Carol McGuirk, *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era*, (Athens, Georgia, 1985), p. xii, Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, pp. 88-110, Dossena, *Scotticisms*, pp. 90-102, Gerard Carruthers, ‘Introduction,’ Gerard Carruthers ed., *The Edinburgh Companion to Robert Burns*, (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 4-5, Alex Broadhead, *The Language of Robert Burns*, (Plymouth, 2014). Dohra Ahmed ed. *Rotten English*, (New York, 2007), pp. 49-55.

<sup>57</sup> Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, pp. 106-9. See also, Thomas Frank, ‘Language standardization in eighteenth-century Scotland,’ Dieter Stein and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade eds., *Towards a Standard English, 1600-1800*, (Berlin, 1993), pp. 56-7.

In May 1825, just two years after the death of Sylvester Douglas, a group of over two hundred British emigrants boarded the *Symmetry* from the Leith docks, heading for the Argentine Pampas. The migrants revelled in their Scottishness. Early into the voyage, Scots passenger William Grierson recorded “English and the Scotch” to be “getting more friendly with one another,” yet described with evident relish an on-board altercation in which a London bricklayer was beaten “most completely” after getting “into cuffs, with one of our Scotch lads.”<sup>58</sup> A month later, Grierson noted many of the Scots travellers regularly banding together to indulge in memories of their homeland, reporting that “every Saturday-night we have a toast to all absent friends and we think on the land of Cakes.”<sup>59</sup> The diarist vividly recalled the events of one lively, mid-July evening:

Fiddle, Flute and Bagpipe struck up all at once, and our Swains and Nymphs made the deck rebound, and showed that 8,000 miles of Sea had not cooled their Scottish blood, nor all the Sultry force of the Torrid Zone sunk their Physical powers, while they danced the Highland-fling, with all its honours, mirth and glee [...] for my own part I fancied myself in the land of cakes, celebrating some Harvest-home or Scottish Nuptials. – It had a fine effect upon all, young and old – when retired to the Cabin, we dedicated an hour or two, to some of Burns’ most Patriotic lays, and ‘Mirth went round and cheerful chat.’<sup>60</sup>

The ceilidh, culminating in an “hour or two” of explicitly “Patriotic” renditions of Burns, clearly demonstrates the jovial exceptionalism on board – typical of so many nineteenth-century diasporic Scots communities. One is left to wonder at what the silent, non-Scots contingent made of all this, and whether other passenger factions sought similarly idiosyncratic representation aboard the curiously-named ship of *Symmetry*.

Compared with the linguistic insecurity commonly seen to haunt those of the previous generation, the Scots emigrants aboard the *Symmetry* also hinted at a self-conscious lexical display bordering on verbal tartantry. A “Poetic Account of the Voyage,” composed by “Tam O’ Stirling,” offered a familiar, sentimental coupling of exilic nostalgia and overt linguistic traits:

Frae the land o’ brown heath and tartan plaids,  
Frae the Country o’ cakes and barley bannocks,  
A comely selection o’ chields and maids,

---

<sup>58</sup> William Grierson, ‘The Voyage of the *Symmetry*,’ Iain A. D. Stewart ed., *From Caledonia to the Pampas*, (East Linton, 2000), p. 42.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, p. 53

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 61-2.

On board of the *Symmetry* swung their ham'ocks.<sup>61</sup>

Throughout the verse, Lowland forms are confidently asserted alongside a rather discomfiting display of socio-cultural, and at times “racial” superiority. In one striking instance, the poet muses on the migrants’ anticipation of their new home:

They wondered what people the Argentines were,  
Savage or civilised – colour, and figure,  
And lassies resolved they would droon themselves ere  
They’d gang without claes or be kissed by a nigger.<sup>62</sup>

In the penultimate stanza, “Scotch” linguistic distinction is seen to set the immigrants somewhat proudly apart upon arrival,

The *Symmetry* anchored, boats gather around them,  
While jabbering foreigners their luggage received,  
The Babel o’ tongues was enough to confound them,  
But nobody understood Scotch, they perceived.<sup>63</sup>

These “Scotch” varieties are presented here in a manner almost wholly removed from the apologetic “provincial” awkwardness often supposed of later-eighteenth-century Scottish linguistic usage. Instead, Lowland language appears to rather favourably mark out an envisioned Scots prestige within the disorientating “Babel o’ tongues”; conspicuously differentiating the new arrivals from the subservient, “jabbering foreigners” collecting their baggage.

Such forms were perhaps prioritised on the very assumption that “nobody understood Scotch,” with Lowland language potentially viewed as an effective line of demarcation to be drawn by Scots in unfamiliar territory. At the very least, the “Poetic Account” aptly highlights the extent to which interpretations of Lowland language had altered within a remarkably short space of time, suggesting the manner in which distinctive linguistic forms had become harnessed in the demonstration of a Scottish difference overseas. But this Scots differentiation was invariably tied into an alignment with the wider socio-cultural, religious, and “racial” associations of a broader British imperial patriotism.

---

<sup>61</sup> ‘Tam O’ Stirling’s Poetic Account of the Voyage of the *Symmetry*,’ *Caledonia to the Pampas*, p. 117. Also, James Dodds, *Records of the Scottish Settlers on the River Plate and their Churches*, (Buenos Aires, 1897), pp. 24-6.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Poetic Account,’ pp. 119-20

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, p. 120.

During this period, the emotional underpinnings of Lowland language had also become more pronounced. Within eighteenth-century accounts, one can occasionally observe a dignified reflection upon accented Scots difference. Notably, earlier commendations often focused upon Scots' abilities to dextrously employ a written English of the highest literary "standard." It was noted that William Robertson, visiting London in 1768, "did not disappoint" the high "expectation," and "though he spoke broad Scotch in point of pronunciation and accent or tone," the historian was deemed to possess "the language of literature and taste, and of an enlightened and liberal mind."<sup>64</sup> Another renowned Edinburgh luminary celebrated for an endearing balance of spoken Scots distinction and English literary "propriety" was Henry Home, Lord Kames, whose 1762 *Elements of Criticism* provoked Voltaire's famously wry commentary within the *Gazette Litteraire* regarding Scottish reverence for "taste."<sup>65</sup>

John Ramsay of Ochtertyre memorably described Kames as having "had a wonderful *naivete* peculiar to himself," stressing, it "must not be omitted that the language of his social hour was pure Scots, nowise like what he spoke on the bench which approached English."<sup>66</sup> In a compelling discussion, Ramsay reflected upon the language of Kames's "social hour":

In all probability he used the same words, phrases, and articulations which the friends and companions of his younger years made use of in their festive hours, when people's hearts knit to one another. Nevertheless there was nothing mean or disgusting in his phraseology or tone. On the contrary, great was his felicity in sketching out character and incidents with a glowing yet hasty pencil. The change of a few of his Doric phrases would have spoilt his humorous stories, rendering them flat and insipid. Yet though too old to unlearn his native dialect, he wished the rising generation to speak English with grace and propriety, reprobating only affectation and vulgarity.<sup>67</sup>

Revealingly, Ramsay situated Kames's Scots "Doric phrases" within a linguistic interchange between the philosopher's own approval of English "grace and propriety" and his abhorrence of "affectation and vulgarity." Ramsay focused on the "flat and insipid" effects of *removing* such Scots sub-versions

---

<sup>64</sup>Alexander Carlyle, *The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk 1722-1805*, John Hill Burton ed., (1860: London, 1910), p. 519.

<sup>65</sup> Voltaire remarked in a review of Kames in 1764,

[i]t is an admirable sign of the progress of the human spirit that we should have coming from Scotland today rules for taste in all the arts, from the epic poem to gardening. [...] and we need not despair of very soon receiving treatises on poetics and rhetorics from the Orkney Islands.

Quoted in William C. Lehmann, *Henry Home, Lord Kames, and the Scottish Enlightenment*, (The Hague, 1971), pp. 44-5. Voltaire's "egregious sneer" is also reckoned a "concealed eulogy" to Scottish acumen, Ernest C. Mossner, *The Forgotten Hume*, (Bristol, 1990), p. 202.

<sup>66</sup> John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen*, Alexander Allardyce ed., (1888: Bristol, 1996), 2 vols., I, pp. 211-2.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

– pre-emptively defended as “nothing mean or disgusting,” yet “nowise” near the language employed by Kames in his high-status position as a Court of Session judge.

Within his account of Kames, which also compared the philosopher’s “social” *speech* with the precise, *written* informality of his “glowing yet hasty pencil,” Ramsay clearly injects his own nostalgia for Scottish linguistic sub-versions – assumed “in all probability” to be emblematic of “younger years” and “hearts knit to one another.” In his consideration of Kames, Ramsay’s prioritisation of Anglo-centred “standards” for “the rising generation” and commendation of Scots attachment to past idiosyncrasy becomes evident; suggestive of a gradual shift in eighteenth-century sensibilities in which Scottish authors of the later decades, increasingly exposed to English linguistic “standards,” began to bemoan an *emphasised absence* of Scottish particularity.<sup>68</sup> Essentially, such linguistic wistfulness was rendered permissible through the associated prestige of Scottish literary proficiency in “English” – demonstrative, as Ramsay reflected, of an era where “[n]obody now doubted the possibility of a Scotsman writing pure, nay, even elegant English, whilst he spoke his native dialect a little diversified.”<sup>69</sup>

Emotion and sentiment, fused to the recognition of an established Scots affinity for “correct” English “standards,” served to permit the “propriety” of some Lowland varieties. Even Sylvester Douglas identified an “appropriate” context for familiar, familial Scots sub-versions. In a touching diary entry written on Hogmanay 1817, Douglas reflected on the death of his wife earlier in the year, recalling their life together:

The image of my dear wife recurs to me a thousand times in a day [...] I see her kind endearing looks, hear her utter the sort of dialect we had framed for ourselves and called the English language, after the Scotch diminutives – wifey, busby, pappy, mammy., etc. – we called each other, sissey to her sisters, etc.

These family modes became known to those sisseys and to some intimate friends and the kindest were *peirced* at them (that an established word of the Norths even before I knew them).<sup>70</sup>

Anticipating his first year as a widower, Douglas – author of one of the best-known late eighteenth-century discourses on Scottish linguistic proscription – was moved to reminisce upon affable “Scotch diminutives” within the linguistic interplay of his own family. Such spirited, intimate examples of

---

<sup>68</sup> Robert McColl Millar, ‘*To bring by language near to the language of men?* Dialect and Dialect Use in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Some Observations,’ John M. Kirk and Iseabail Macleod eds. *Scots: Studies in Language and Literature*, (Amsterdam, 2013), pp. 82-3. See also Corbett, McClure, and Stuart-Smith, ‘A Brief History of Scots,’ *Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, pp. 12-15.

<sup>69</sup> Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen*, I, p. 310.

<sup>70</sup> Bickley ed., *Diaries*, II, p. 280.

linguistic distinction, were of course in no way unique to Lowland Scots. Indeed, Douglas provides a valuable glimpse into the unconventionality within historic interfamilial communication; reflecting contentedly on a discourse “we had framed for ourselves,” and highlighting the interfusion of a range of constituent elements within that “sort of dialect.”

But both the sentimentality and specificity which Douglas attached to “Scotch” phraseology is telling. Like all such sub-versions, most Scots forms operated in a direct and often conscious act of divergence from notional “standards” during the late eighteenth century. Yet perhaps unlike other British sub-versions and linguistic varieties, some Lowland forms were imbued with additional significance; envisioned within a legacy of failed standardisation, reckoned a classical “Doric” reflection of an English “sister dialect,” and considered to indicate a cultural distinction caught somewhat between the dignity of the “regional” and “national.” To be sure, some problematic Scottish varieties were branded as substandard “Scotticisms” banished from “polite” discourse. However, subsequent generations, notably including both English and Scots, came to perceive Lowland “Scotch” as an acceptable counter-“standard” to English, to be upheld as an appropriately emotive Scots symbol.

This investigation now turns to Douglas’s friend and fellow-Aberdonian James Beattie – poet, scholar, and outspoken commentator on Scottish linguistic issues. Beattie provides insight into the concerns of many among the Scottish social and intellectual “elite” of the period. Prompted by anxious desires to replicate the “best” of English linguistic “standards,” Scottish scholars such as Beattie were also heavily motivated by a congruent drive to determine the criteria by which the “best” language was to be defined, hotly debating the most effective means to meet such “standards.”

In-keeping with an expansive body of historical and literary scholarship documenting Scottish agency in constructing (and contesting) the cultural, constitutional, and intellectual bonds of Britishness during the eighteenth century, this study asserts the active role of Scots critics in both directing and dictating the terms of British linguistic “standards.”<sup>71</sup> It is imperative to note, however, that an effective emulation of Anglo-centred “standards” was fiercely contested *within* the Scottish

---

<sup>71</sup> Key texts include, Colin Kidd, *Union and Unionisms*, (Cambridge, 2008), Murray Pittock, *Inventing and Reinventing Britain*, (Basingstoke, 1997), Leith Davis, *Acts of Union*, (Stanford, 1998), Crawford ed., *Scottish Invention of English Literature*, Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, Sorensen, *The Grammar of Empire*, Manning, *Fragments of Union*, Penny Fielding, *Writing and Orality*, (Oxford, 1996).

nation, and the view of James Beattie in Aberdeen was notably different, and at times directly hostile to the rather more triumphal assertions of an Edinburgh-based intelligentsia.<sup>72</sup>

In a letter to Douglas in January 1778 – the year before the publication of the *Treatise on the Provincial Dialect of Scotland* – Beattie provided a strikingly self-reflective commentary upon the difficulties of speaking and writing English in Scotland:

The greatest difficulty in acquiring the art of *writing* English, is one which I have seldom heard our countrymen complain of, and which I was never sensible of till I had spent some years in labouring to acquire that art. It is, to give a *vernacular* cast to the English we write. [...] We who live in Scotland are obliged to study English from books, like a dead language. Accordingly, when we write, we write it like a dead language, which we understand, but cannot speak; avoiding, perhaps, all ungrammatical expressions, and even the barbarisms of our country, but at the same time without communicating that neatness, ease, and softness of phrase, [...]. Our style is stately and unwieldy, and clogs the tongue in pronunciation, and smells of the lamp. We are slaves to the language we write, and are continually afraid of committing *gross* blunders; and, when an easy, familiar, idiomatical phrase occurs, dare not adopt it, if we recollect no authority, for fear of Scotticisms. In a word, we handle English, as a person who cannot fence handles a sword; continually afraid of hurting ourselves with it, or letting it fall, or making some awkward motion that shall betray our ignorance. An English author of learning is the master, not the slave, of his language, and wields it gracefully, because he wields it with ease, and with full assurance that he has the command of it. [Original emphasis].<sup>73</sup>

Insisting upon an elusive “*vernacular* cast,” Beattie offers a haze of cumbrous, sensory images; projecting a Scottish linguistic clumsiness reeking of its own studiousness and congealing within the mouths of its speakers. Ever-mindful of the interference of potential “Scotticisms” – identified as the notorious sub-versions Scots “dare not adopt [...] if we recollect no authority” – Beattie depicts his fellow countrymen as “slaves to the language we write,” striving for a relaxed comfort, and yet paradoxically compelled to reject “an easy, familiar, idiomatical phrase.” Douglas’s discussion of the *Provincial Dialect of Scotland*, highlighting the potential dangers of distinctive Scots pronunciation, is clearly marked by Beattie’s influence.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> David Hewitt, ‘James Beattie and the Languages of Scotland,’ Jennifer J. Carter and Joan H. Pittock eds., *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment*, (Aberdeen, 1987).

<sup>73</sup> William Forbes, *An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie*, (1806: Bristol, 1997), pp. 16-17.

<sup>74</sup> After the publication of his 1779 *Treatise*, Douglas did not substantially follow up on his research. It is likely that the requirements of his political career took precedence. However, it has been suggested that Douglas may have cut his investigations short as Beattie’s own work on Lowland language “had anticipated so much of what he had to say,” Margaret Forbes, *Beattie and his Friends*, (London, 1904), p. 167.

Beattie numbered among the most diligent collectors of “Scotticisms,” and the philosopher’s socio-linguistic leanings offer a valuable glimpse into late eighteenth-century priorities and prescriptions in language.<sup>75</sup> As has been noted, the trend for eliminating “Scotticisms” essentially served to heighten Scots’ consciousness of their own sub-versive distinctions. The next chapter discusses how this enhanced linguistic self-scrutiny contributed to an increased differentiation of Scots forms – a frequently favourable reappraisal culminating in John Jamieson’s 1808 *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*: essentially an extensive, much-vaunted, and quite literally *definitive* list of “Scotticisms.”

Rather like Thomas Sheridan, Beattie lamented contemporary “neglect” of the linguistic “propriety” of a “British literature” – a literary “perfection” which he aligned with similar “Augustan” modes as John Sinclair.<sup>76</sup> Because of this very desire for a clearly defined, easily accessible British “standard,” Beattie espoused the conscious *separation* and *preservation* of a minority of Scots forms. Reiterating the sentiments of both Robertson and Sinclair, Beattie extolled the notional legacy of Scottish linguistic “neglect” and failed “standardisation.” Yet, Beattie also perceived the limited, occasional merit of “classical” Lowland language – reflective of a mythic age of lost literary “propriety,” also serving as vehicle for an idealised, “provincial” simplicity.

Beattie’s conception of Scots linguistic distinction, conspicuously differing from the “purity” and “propriety” of metropolitan “English” norms, even motivated the poet to try his hand at composing “broad Scotch” poetry himself. In an act of prototypical verbal tartantry, Beattie sent a sample of his “Scotch” verses to a friend in London, imagining a sentimental diasporic familiarity to counteract any imagined linguistic shortcomings. As such, the interconnections between “Scotticisms,” sub-versions, and the intertwining legacies of Scots and English “standards,” both “home” and “abroad,” becomes yet more evident.

---

<sup>75</sup> A central text is Beattie’s, *Scotticisms. Arranged in Alphabetical Order*, (Edinburgh, 1787). The scholar also compiled an earlier, privately circulated collection – James Beattie, *A List of Two Hundred Scotticisms.*, (Aberdeen, 1779).

<sup>76</sup> Beattie, *Scotticisms*, pp. 3-4, 5.

## “In ae Lexicographic plot”: Revealing Scots sub-versions.

*“Collect, wi judgement, skill an’ care,  
The words an’ phrases rich an’ rare,  
That in ald beuks, for ages by,  
Like herbs in hortis siccis, ly  
Expose them to the open air;  
And wash, and clean, and trim, and pare  
Their wusant parts – I’m fair mista’en  
If yet they dinna grow again!”*

Alexander Geddes, (Edinburgh, 1792).

James Beattie penned at least one poem in “broad Scotch Dialect.” The Aberdeen philosopher also expressed a personal interest “dialect” literature, assisting in the publication of Alexander Ross’s lengthy 1768 pastoral *Helenore, or the Fortunate Shepherdess*. Shortly after Christmas in 1767, Beattie wrote to the blind poet Thomas Blacklock, hinting at his role in the printing of Ross’s Scots piece at Aberdeen:

There will soon be published in this place a poem in the broad Scotch Dialect. The Author who lives in a remote part of the country has committed the care of the manuscript to me. I have read it over, and find it is not destitute of humour or invention; but the humour is low, and the invention has much of that sort of improbability into which a total ignorance of mankind is apt to betray an Author.<sup>1</sup>

“The language is motley enough,” he noted, somewhat approvingly: “it is not the language of Allan Ramsay, but the dialects of Angus, Mearns and Aberdeenshire all jumbled together.”<sup>2</sup>

Yet Beattie also expressed concern for Scots linguistic “purity”; highlighting his preference for late-medieval poetry “written in the genuine Scotch Dialect,” and criticising many of the compositions of Allan Ramsay, “written in a sort of English.”<sup>3</sup> To combat the problem of such unseemly sub-versive blending, Beattie suggested that Blacklock preface his forthcoming literary collection with a “Dissertation on the Scotch Language, versification and poetry,” supposing “we are

---

<sup>1</sup> Roger J. Robinson ed., *The Correspondence of James Beattie*, (Bristol, 2004), 4 vols., II, pp. 56-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 59.

by no means in a condition to cope with our Neighbours the English,” yet reckoning “most of our homespun strains are above contempt, and that many of them are excellent.”<sup>4</sup>

In July 1768 Beattie mentioned both Blacklock’s “Dissertation,” and Ross’s poetry to John Gregory – renowned philosopher-physician of Kings College in Aberdeen. He also revealed that by way of publicising Ross’s *Helene*, he himself had written “a few scotch verses in recommendation of the work, [...] inserted in the Aberdeen Journal, and have been of some use in promoting the sale”:

These verses are my first attempt in the Scotch Dialect, and will very probably be my last; for though I very much admire some of our old Scotch poems, I would not wish to add to the number of them.<sup>5</sup>

“Without regard to our political circumstances,” Beattie concluded,

[...] the English language, from its own intrinsic value, is a thousand times more worthy of our cultivation. The Scotch tongue is really barren in itself, and, having been long confined to the lowest sort of people, is now become incapable of expressing any thing but low humour. However I could wish to see a good collection of the best pieces in that dialect, with a proper glossary, that they may neither be lost, nor become unintelligible.<sup>6</sup>

Clearly, Beattie perceived current manifestations of Lowland language ill-fitted for purposes of literary prestige. But while he extolled “the ‘intrinsic value’ of English forms and wholeheartedly welcomed their ‘cultivation’ in Scotland, Beattie also sought to maintain the ‘best pieces’ of a ‘homespun’ Lowland literature, affixed ‘with a proper glossary.’ Beattie’s enthusiasm for the English ‘standards’ appears to have been related to his desire to eulogise an idealised, ‘genuine’ Scots phraseology.

But Beattie was also conscious of a parallel appeal of Scots forms: their sub-versive resonance with diasporic distance from home and nostalgia for days gone by. Writing to William Forbes in October 1768, Beattie decided to send his friend a copy of his “broad Scotch” poem; supposing that Forbes, then absent in London, would appreciate the distinctive language:

When one is far from home, the sight of a Countryman will give pleasure, even though that Countryman should not have anything very engaging in his appearance. This consideration has induced me to send you a few verses in the Broad Scotch Dialect, which I wrote last summer, and published (under a feigned name) in the news papers, in order

---

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

to help forward the sale of a book which an acquaintance of mine had written in that Dialect.<sup>7</sup>

Likening the “pleasure” of reading his poem to that of encountering a compatriot “far from home,” Beattie imagined Forbes’s distance and difference in London to counteract the otherwise “unengaging” Scots forms. Introducing his poem to Forbes, Beattie reiterated his contempt for Lowland language; declaring,

[...] it is my first attempt in that stile, and will be my last; for I do not think the Broad Scotch a language worth the cultivating, especially as it tends to corrupt a much nobler one, the English.<sup>8</sup>

In spite of these reservations regarding “propriety,” Beattie’s “consideration” of diasporic enjoyment prompted him to send the Scots poem anyway. Regardless of his notorious concern for Scottish sub-versions “corrupting” English “standards,” Beattie presented his own “dialect” poem, envisioning the emotional significance of meeting with such Scottish shibboleths abroad. Extolling an “ancient” Scots literary “purity,” such sentimentalised interpretations of Lowland language in exile would infuse Scottish sub-versions around the globe, often operating in a somewhat paradoxical dialogue with celebrations of British imperial supremacy.

Beattie’s “broad Scotch” poem offers a poignant gauge of the philosopher’s view of the purposes and parameters of Lowland language – presented as a one-dimensional literary device best suited to documenting its own decline.<sup>9</sup> Much like Ross’s own “invocation” within *Helenore*, in which the muse Scota decries the waning of the “gued auld Scots” among her “childer,” Beattie’s poem functions as a “broad Scotch” lament to the fast-vanishing status of “broad Scotch.”<sup>10</sup> “Since Allan’s death,” Beattie complains, “naebody car’d/ For anes to speer how Scota far’d,” referencing Allan Ramsay – the Edinburgh wig-maker poet whom he frequently scorned for writing in a “sort of English.”<sup>11</sup>

Throughout Beattie’s poem, Scots sub-versions are commended as “pithy,” yet also archaic and outlandish – an “auldfarren,” “cuntra leed” admittedly different from “braw” southern varieties,

---

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, II, pp. 64-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 65.

<sup>9</sup> James Beattie, ‘To Mr Alexander Ross at Lochlee,’ Alexander Ross, *Helenore; or, the Fortunate Shepherdess*, (1768: Dundee, 1812), pp. 3-6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 4.

but ultimately confined to the north.<sup>12</sup> Addressing Ross, Beattie even suggests that “Criticks” further afield “need na try thy jokes to fathom,” instructing the poet to seek appreciation somewhat closer to home:

But ilka Mearns and Angus bairn  
Thy tales and sangs by heart shall learn;  
And Chiels shall come frae yond the Cairn-  
-amounth, right vousty,  
If Ross will be sae kind as share in  
Their pint at Drowsty.<sup>13</sup>

Beattie supposes Ross’s verse to serve best at a local level, ideally when drinking in “Drowsty” – which he notes as “an alehouse in Lochlee.”<sup>14</sup> Despite referencing “a screed” of earlier Scots authors of national repute – Gawin Douglas, William Dunbar, Drummond of Hawthornden, “and mae/ That I can name, for o’ my fay,” Beattie perceives the “broad Scotch dialect” of his own generation to be a “barren” literary field.<sup>15</sup> As his sole “dialect” poem suggests, Beattie saw “broad Scotch” as fit only for musing upon its own peripheral status and seemingly inevitable decline.

Yet this was the type of poem which Beattie chose to send to Forbes in London, expecting his friend to take “pleasure” in reading Scots forms despairing of their own sub-versive limitations. Forbes was anticipated to both lament and celebrate this localised language, rooted to “Drowsty” yet actually present upon the page in London. Indeed, Beattie “considered” Forbes’s sentimentality in his absence from Scotland to be the key factor behind his appreciation of the “corrupt” “broad Scotch.”

This is an early example of a key theme of much of the Lowland Scots language operating in dialogue between “home” and “abroad” during the following century. The connotations attached to such language – envisaged as “auldfarren,” “couthy,” regionally-bound, and even destined to perish – reverberated strongly with the nostalgia which many Scots felt, and wished to feel, when living outwith the nation. Aligned with the legacy of an “applied” Scottish antiquarianism asserting growing perceptions of Lowland linguistic “purity,” a certain breed of sub-versions “not [...] worth the cultivating” in Scotland, were exported and readily adopted by increasing numbers of diasporic

---

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Robinson, *Correspondence*, II, p. 67.

<sup>15</sup> Beattie, ‘Alexander Ross,’ p.5.

Scots.<sup>16</sup> Lowland language was linked both with an emotional “exile,” and more ominously, with notions of Scots’ prestige and exclusive cultural “purity.” This chapter offers a discussion of late eighteenth-century conceptions of the philological “purity” of Lowland forms – discourses contributing to the idealisation and eventual unveiling of certain Scots sub-versions by the turn of the nineteenth century.

Prompted in part by the popular infamy of James Macpherson’s Ossian “translations,” a school of late eighteenth-century intellectuals strove to reassert the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Scottish Lowlands. In an attempt to wrest conceptions of the nation’s history and language away from the “Celtic” allure of the Gaidhealtachd, Lowland Scots were encouraged to imagine an alternative “racial” legacy, traced to “Teutonic” Saxons and, more controversially, Goths.<sup>17</sup> To this end, antiquarians laboured to proclaim a Scots “purity,” often whilst attempting to emphasise an alignment with “ancient” English varieties.<sup>18</sup>

The Ossian debacle, contesting the “authenticity” of the Gaelic roots of Macpherson’s 1759 *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, rumbled irritably along to the close of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Macpherson’s controversial “discoveries” successfully packaged a translated Highland-Gaelic sensibility ripe for exportation to Europe and North America.<sup>19</sup> Irrespective of concerns of “authenticity” or “originality,” it cannot be denied that through Ossian and Macpherson, Scotland was accorded a new level of international repute and literary notoriety.<sup>20</sup>

While a detailed discussion of Macpherson’s Ossian is clearly outwith the bounds of this study, there is one point of comparison to be made with contemporaneous issues of Lowland Scots sub-versions. The poetry of Ossian, regardless of its provenance, was famous through *translation*, and received notoriety through the distinct *lack* of written Gaelic material to substantiate Macpherson’s claims of “originality.” Macpherson’s hugely popular publications exist therefore as

---

<sup>16</sup> For “applied antiquarianism” see Iain Gordon Brown, ‘Modern Rome and Ancient Caledonia: the Union and the Politics of Scottish Culture,’ Andrew Hook ed., *The History of Scottish Literature, Volume 2 1660-1800*, (Aberdeen, 1987), p. 35.

<sup>17</sup> Colin Kidd, ‘Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition, 1780-1880,’ *Scottish Historical Review*, 74, (1995), 45-68, Colin Kidd, *The Forging of the Races*, (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 110-11.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Jones, ‘Phonology,’ Charles Jones ed., *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 275-6, Colin Kidd, ‘Race, Theology and Revival: Scots Philology and its Contexts in the Age of Pinkerton and Jamieson,’ *Scottish Studies Review*, (November 2002), 20-33, Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800*, (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 279-87.

<sup>19</sup> Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, pp. 40-55, Manning, *Fragments of Union*, p. 80, 149, 156, Fielding, *Writing and Orality*, pp. 9-12, McNeil, *Scotland, Britain and Empire*, pp. 26-8, 34-51.

<sup>20</sup> See Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism. The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*, (Princeton, 1997), pp.74-127. Also, Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson, The Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland*, (Cambridge, 2009), Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland*, pp. 106-90.

*translations without text*, and as Kenneth McNeil observes, the “fragments” function as an “untraceable gap” – a “blank space” symbolic of a circumscription of “orality into text and Gaelic into English.”<sup>21</sup> McNeil concludes the Ossianic verses to be “national text that cannot be read.”<sup>22</sup> Nor perhaps, were any such non-transcribed “origins” ever intended to be. Of greater import are the fractures of Macpherson’s Ossianic “translations” – demonstrative of linguistic adaptations and absences.

Within Ossian, Penny Fielding perceives the “troublesome” aspect of orality – the conflict and confluence of “contested authority” with “a figure of national origin,” emphasizing the necessary duality of expression and repression within language.<sup>23</sup> Such a reading of Ossianic orality blends instructively with Susan Manning’s perception of literary “fragments,” reflecting an “image of the untranslatability of emotion.”<sup>24</sup> Through Manning’s “fragments,” much like Fielding’s “troublesome” site of clashing orality, Macpherson’s Ossian becomes “remembered” by virtue of being “lost,” where “emotional meaning” is rendered “through the failures of utterance.”<sup>25</sup>

Notions of conspicuous absence and adaptation – translations and translocations within language – are applicable to the tracing of Scots sub-versions within later-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century discourses. As discussed, an “ideal Scots” was imagined through a legacy of such supposed failure, loss, and misappropriation. With ever an eye on inherited linguistic vulnerability, antiquarians strove for a surer foothold for Scots forms, secure from envisioned “oblivion.”

In 1782, the Stirlingshire laird John Callander of Craigforth printed two sixteenth-century Scots poems, widely attributed to King James V. Issued in the same year as Sinclair’s *Observations on the Scottish Dialect*, Callander’s preface to the poems displayed a concern for contemporary linguistic interference comparable to that of the Scots politician. In an approach which appears wholly opposed to grammatical conventions of the period, Callander warned of the danger posed to “ancient” Lowland sub-versions by “corrupting,” encroaching “standards.”

Callander was fascinated by “[o]ur language, as it is at present spoken by the common people in the Lowlands, and as it appears in the writings prior to the seventeenth century,” proclaiming a humble Scots preservation of “ancient” linguistic pedigree.<sup>26</sup> “In Scotland,” Callander declared “the Old Saxon dialect [...] has maintained its ground much longer than in England, and in much greater purity”:

---

<sup>21</sup> McNeil, *Writing the Highlands*, p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Fielding, *Writing and Orality*, pp. 9, 11.

<sup>24</sup> Manning, *Fragments of Union*, p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> John Callander, *Preface to Two Ancient Scottish Poems*, (Edinburgh, 1782), pp. 8-9.

[...] owing to the later cultivation of this part of the island, and its less frequent communication with strangers [...] we, in Scotland, have preserved the original tongue, while it has been mangled, and almost defaced by our southern neighbours.<sup>27</sup>

Through supposed historical seclusion, Lowland speech was believed to have retained much of an “original tongue” aligned with “Germanic” language, and removed from mutated “southern” English. While clearly supposing Scots superiority, the laird also insisted upon the “Old Saxon” stock of both Scotland and England. This “Saxon” was most impressively, and sub-versively, “preserved” within Lowland language. Callander saw this linguistic retention reflected in much of the contemporary *spoken* language of the Lowlands – sub-versions in Scots’ pronunciation perhaps even working within written English “standards.”

A prestigious Scots pronunciation was seen to emphasise “racial” categorisation. Callander asserted the “intimate connection of the Scots with the Teutonic, German, Islandic, and other northern dialects,” indicated “first, from the similarity of sound and enunciation.”<sup>28</sup> He imagined a mutual “sound of the vowels” to link “the same uniform tones in the broad Scotch” with “the languages above mentioned,” perceiving the “German guttural pronunciation of ch, g, gh” to be “quite natural to the Scotchman.”<sup>29</sup> Conversely, the “singular caprice of the English pronunciation” was viewed to have “varied and confounded” southern spoken language “beyond the comprehension of rule.”<sup>30</sup>

But the issue of *what* Scots forms to extol and the question of *where* such philological “purity” may have originated were both points of some contention. James Beattie, venerating “genuine Scotch Dialect,” would have been sceptical of Callander’s proclamation of widespread Scots “purity,” “as it is at present spoken” among the “common” populace. However, Beattie was rather more pliable when it came to assessing the “propriety” of “ancient” literary forms. Like Callander, Beattie generally believed that most acceptable written Scots varieties were already consigned to the past, “prior to the seventeenth century,” and thereby removed from subsequent English influence and interference.

“All the Scotch poems of merit that I have seen are already in print,” Beattie declared in June 1778, reckoning “all the poetry in the Scotch dialect that deserves to be handed down to posterity might be comprised in two or three small volumes.”<sup>31</sup> Within the same letter, he compared his tiny,

---

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>31</sup> Robinson, *Correspondence*, III, p. 69.

preserved miscellany of Scots verse with the “many [...] imputed to us, which do us no honour; which you must be sensible of, if ever you looked into that Collection which is called the *Evergreen*.”<sup>32</sup> Yet again, Beattie castigated the linguistic “mixing” of Allan Ramsay and other “Scotch” authors:

Formerly our men of genius wrote in Latin; and of late they have written in English. Those who now write in Scotch use an affected, mixed, barbarous dialect, which is neither Scotch nor English, but a strange jumble of both.<sup>33</sup>

Significantly, this comment encapsulating Beattie’s deep distaste for the “affected” sub-verse “jumble” taken for “Scotch,” was addressed to John Pinkerton, then a twenty-year-old aspiring poet who, as a teenager, had sought Beattie’s literary guidance.<sup>34</sup>

Over a long and controversial career, John Pinkerton worked to preserve and greatly expand the printed canon of “ancient” Scottish poetry, far exceeding the conservation of the “two or three small volumes” suggested by Beattie. Pinkerton maintained Beattie’s contempt for contemporary Scots sub-versions. Beattie, on the other hand, associated Pinkerton with the unsightly linguistic infractions of both north and south of the border; describing Pinkerton in a single instance as speaking “with a strong Edinburgh accent” whilst also seeming “to abound too much in our new-fashioned English.”<sup>35</sup>

Pinkerton is perhaps best remembered for his 1787 *Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths*, in which he famously argued “Gothic,” opposed to “Saxon” or “Celtic,” origins of the Picts.<sup>36</sup> Pinkerton presented Lowland language as key evidence of such “Gothic” ancestry. Where Callander envisioned an “Old Saxon” common to both nations, maintained in Lowland Scotland but “mangled” in England, Pinkerton made the case for an older philological sundering of a core “Gothic” tongue. Pinkerton supposed a Lowland “Picto-Gothic” language, reconcilable to, yet respectably different from “Saxon-Gothic” strands within English. Despite taking a different tack to Callander, Pinkerton’s thesis similarly aligned Lowland Scottish language with a

---

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Patrick O’Flaherty, *Scotland’s Pariah. The Life and Work of John Pinkerton, 1758-1826*, (Toronto, 2015), pp. 8-10, 21.

<sup>35</sup> Forbes, *Beattie and his Friends*, pp. 301-2.

<sup>36</sup> John Pinkerton, *A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths*, (London, 1787), pp. 67, 109. Colin Kidd, ‘The Ideological Uses of the Picts, 1707-c. 1900,’ Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay, eds. *Scottish History and the Power of the Past*, (Edinburgh, 2002), pp. 173-7.

“Saxon” English “sister dialect”; again suggesting a “racially” congruent “Teutonism” within both nations.

Pinkerton outlined this theory within the preface to his *Ancient Scottish Poems* of 1786:

The Picts coming from the north of Scandinavia and the Saxons from the south, the languages were as nearly allied as Scottish and English. The Scythian or Gothic was the parent of both: but the Picts migrating four or five centuries, or more, before the Saxons, the Pictish tongue was an elder daughter of the Gothic, and more like the mother. Hence the Scottish dialect has innumerable words to be found in the Gothic, but not in the Saxon. [...] Their language was the Gothic, as is evident from the speech of the lowland Scots their descendants. I am well aware that the Scottish language is reputed a dialect of the English: but it is only a sister language.<sup>37</sup>

Pinkerton likened contemporary similarities of “Scottish and English” to historic linkages between “Saxon” and “Pictish,” and like Callander, he emphasised the root “purity” of a “Teutonic” Scots:

[...] not one Irish word occurs in the Scottish tongue: the whole words properly Scottish are of Gothic parentage; tho a few are collaterally found in the Saxon, also a daughter of the Gothic. But the Gothic word is always the Scottish primitive, not the Saxon: as is plain from the Gothic spelling, and Scottish pronunciation.<sup>38</sup>

As Callander imagined an English neglect and “corruption” of a “Saxon” tongue, Pinkerton’s conception of an “earlier Gothic,” “Pictish” language also hinted at the greater prestige of Lowland language, closer to an “ancient” linguistic “purity.”

Pinkerton promoted a “collateral relation” between England and Lowland Scotland, stressing a parity between the “sister dialects” of “Pictish” and “Saxon.”<sup>39</sup> Yet this positioned the “Pictish” in subtle superiority over a “Saxon” conspicuously distanced from the “Gothic”:

[...] Pictish, Saxon, Scottish and English, are both equally derived from the Gothic. Their great familiarity then can be no wonder. The Pictish was the earlier Gothic, the Saxon the later; the idiom and body of the language were ever the same. But nearly one half of the old Scottish words is not to be found in the Saxon, but solely in the Gothic.<sup>40</sup>

In this manner, the antiquarian was able to steer certain Scottish and English forms into parallel linguistic channels “equally derived” from a prestigious “Teutonic” source. Yet this “collateral

---

<sup>37</sup> John Pinkerton, *Ancient Scottish Poems*, (London, 1786) 2 vols., I, p. liii.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. liii.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. lxx.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. lxxi.

relation” was articulated alongside the implicit pre-eminence of an “earlier” Scots “Gothic” over the less “ancient” English “Saxon.”

But the question remained of which Scots sub-versions to uphold. For Pinkerton, it was decidedly *not* the language currently spoken throughout much of the Lowlands. Pinkerton almost exclusively aligned his “Picto-Gothic” to seemingly-threatened “Scottish dialect in poetry,” of which he asserted “I believe, no man in either kingdom would wish an extinction.”<sup>41</sup> As with Beattie, Pinkerton envisioned literary Scots forms within a wider British context; serving as a “sister language” to mirror those of the south – “a kind of Doric dialect to the English” with a “simplicity which will always recommend it where that character ought to prevail.”<sup>42</sup>

“But,” Pinkerton warned,

[...] it were to be wished that it should be regarded in both kingdoms equally as *only as an ancient and a poetical language*, and nothing can take it so much out of the hands of the vulgar as a rigid preservation of the old spelling. [Emphasis added.]<sup>43</sup>

An “ancient and poetical language,” was seen to have been sullied “in the hands of the vulgar,” primarily through the sub-versive interference of the translations of staple Scots texts such as Barbour’s *Bruce* and Blind Hary’s *Wallace*.<sup>44</sup> Pinkerton was disdainful of Scots “dialect” literature characterised by a “modern spelling” neither “English” nor “Doric,” which worked to confound such classifications.<sup>45</sup>

Yet revealingly, Pinkerton also likened the Lowland “Picto-Gothic” to language within the Scottish north-east; complimenting the comparatively-recent poetry of Alexander Ross as “a very Scoto-Picitsh tongue, intermixed with a little English.”<sup>46</sup> Pinkerton also supposed a “heroic or tragic tale, in the pure Buchan dialect, would be very acceptable.”<sup>47</sup> However, the antiquarian ultimately stressed caution; advising against the “common fault of taking cant phrases for old speech.”<sup>48</sup> “Use the words of the vulgar” Pinkerton instructed, “but use ancient and grave idioms and manner. Remember this vulgar speech was once the speech of heroes.”<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. xvii.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. xviii

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. cxlii.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

Indeed, this insistence upon “heroic” tropes was paired with a stark denigration of the majority of Lowland language. In his *Ancient Scottish Poems*, Pinkerton directly addressed the scepticism surrounding the “propriety” of preserving *any* overtly Scots forms at all; combining a justification of his endeavours with a damning dismissal of the “colloquial”:

Perhaps some may say that the Scots themselves wish to abolish their dialect totally, and substitute the English; why then attempt to preserve the Scottish language? Let me answer that none can more sincerely wish for an extinction of the Scottish *colloquial* dialect that I do [...]. [Original emphasis.]<sup>50</sup>

Pinkerton reiterated sentiments of James Beattie, maintaining “there are few *modern* Scotticisms which are not barbarisms.”<sup>51</sup> Yet Pinkerton immediately acknowledged the controversy of such a claim:

[...] tho a native of Edinburgh wonders that the English are not sensible of the elegance of such phrases as *giving a man a hat*, for *pulling off your hat to him*; *sitting into the fire*, for *drawing towards the fire*; *sitting at the foot of a table*, for *sitting at the bottom*; &c. [Original emphasis.]<sup>52</sup>

In this brief but telling hesitation, the antiquarian – himself a “native of Edinburgh” – betrays a linguistic attachment and individual consciousness of the complexity in determining linguistic “elegance.”

A copy of Pinkerton’s *Ancient Scottish Poems* at the National Library of Scotland offers an indication of further ambivalence with regard to this particular comment.<sup>53</sup> At the foot of the page, Pinkerton is reprimanded in an irritable handwritten annotation, accused of providing inadequate examples of Scots “elegance.” Responding to the expression “*giving a man a hat*,” Pinkerton’s detractor scrawls, “What Company you must have kept,” declaring “This never was the language of any Scotchman above the rank of a footman.” The term “*sitting into the fire*,” is similarly censured, reckoned “a vulgar Anglicism as much as a Scotticism.”

Pinkerton’s outlook and the subsequent critique of his envisaged Scots “elegance” are suggestive of the contentious uncertainty surrounding Scots sub-versions. The particularity of Pinkerton’s “Picto-Gothic,” enshrined in the distinctive orthography of selected Scots poetry, was proclaimed alongside the antiquarian’s “sincere” desire for the “extinction” of “colloquial” Lowland forms. This response notably mirrors the recommendation within James Beattie’s 1778 letter to

---

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. xvii

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>53</sup> Pinkerton, *Ancient Scottish Poems ...*, (London, 1786), NLS, [Ai] 5/1.7-8, 2 vols., I, p. xvii.

Pinkerton, and is also rather similar to the Aberdonian's sentiments within his own "dialect" verse of the previous decade.

But Pinkerton also appears to have been somewhat torn by the "elegance" of certain expressions from the Scottish capital. Moreover, his suggested examples of permissible, even appropriate Scots phrases were then themselves derided in later annotations. For Pinkerton's anonymous critic, suppositions of cross-border "vulgarity" and conceptions of "rank" and "Company" were seen to counter claims to "propriety" or even Scottish provenance. Pinkerton's preface to his "ancient" collection, a cornerstone of late eighteenth-century linguistic antiquarianism which effectively welcomed an extermination of "Scotish colloquial dialect," is a text nevertheless touched by sub-versive interjections.

However, Pinkerton's scholarship was more clearly marked by the supposed certainties which accompanied the antiquarian's own unmitigated racism. In affirming the "Gothic" root of the Lowland Picts, Pinkerton famously sought to heap scorn upon "Celtic" Scots – a people he perceived "far inferior to the Picts in the extent of their possessions and antiquity of their settlement" within the nation.<sup>54</sup> Pinkerton's "racial" outlook extended well beyond the bounds of Britain and was typified by a raw, boorish simplicity. In an infamous passage, he professed "so far from all nations being descended of one man, there are many races of men of quite different forms and attributes," listing,

[...] the oblique eyed, flat-favoured Chinese; the olive coloured, lank-haired East Indian; the large-limbed, dusky Turk; the elegant Greek; the scowling Hungarian; the large, blue-eyed German; the squat Dutch; the florid Hibernian.<sup>55</sup>

Pinkerton queried whether his carefully-categorised samples could form "one race" alongside "the curl-pated black Eithiop," "the copper-faced American," "the bear-like Laplander," "the bestial Zamoiede or Esquimaux," and he mused derisively, "[h]as the lovely Circassian girl the singular natural fig-leaf of the Hottentot wench? Has the Egyptian the monkey-shaped head of a Negro?"<sup>56</sup> The Scot's philology was firmly rooted within such abhorrent classification.

This alignment is particularly evident within Pinkerton's 1789 *Inquiry into the History of Scotland*. In an advertisement to the 1814 edition, he contested the vogue for "imaginary antiquaries" unsubtly associated with Gaelic scholarship; disdainfully complaining that "even little

---

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. xlii.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. xxv.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, I, pp. xxv-xxvi.

misses lisp about the authenticity of Ossian, and the antique purity of the Celtic language.”<sup>57</sup>

Introducing a chapter on “Pikish Language,” Pinkerton’s reassertion of Lowland “Gothic” was clearly intended to combat any consideration of Gaelic “antique purity” and is heavily inter-fused with the rhetoric of “race”:

Every one, who has been in North Britain, knows that the Lowlanders of that country are as different from the Highlanders, as the English are from the Welch. The race is so extremely distinct as to strike all at first sight. In person the Lowlanders are tall and large, with fair complexions, and often with flaxen, yellow and red hair, and blue eyes; the grand features of the Goths, in all ancient writers. The lower classes of the Highlanders are generally diminutive, if we except some of Norwegian descent; with brown complexion, and almost always black curled hair, and dark eyes. In mind and in manners the distinction is marked. The Lowlanders are acute, industrious, sensible, erect, free. The Highlanders indolent, slavish, strangers to industry.<sup>58</sup>

More than even the “grand features of the Goths,” Pinkerton insisted “Language is of all others the surest mark of the origin of nations,” rejecting any notion of a historic “Celtic” presence within eastern and southern Scotland. The antiquarian maintained “there is not a shadow of proof that the Irish tongue was at all used in the Lowlands of Scotland,” concluding “it is needless to insist further upon this.”<sup>59</sup>

Such “racial” entanglement is evident within John Jamieson’s 1808 *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* – his landmark attempt in documenting Lowland Scots vocabulary. While Jamieson – minister of the Anti-burgher Nicholson Street church in Edinburgh – was by no means as explicit as Pinkerton in aligning “race” and philology, his lexicography was nevertheless influenced by the envisioned prestige of an “ancient,” distinctly Scottish tongue of “Picto-Gothic” origin.<sup>60</sup> Jamieson made direct reference to the “undoubted testimony” of “Mr Pinkerton,” affirming the “Gothic” provenance of “Pictish” language within Northumbria and Lowland Scotland.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, a

---

<sup>57</sup> John Pinkerton, *An Inquiry into the History of Scotland*, (1789: Edinburgh, 1814), 2 vols., I, p. iv.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 339.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 160.

<sup>60</sup> Like most nuanced acts of lexicography, Jamieson’s *Etymological Dictionary* has been viewed to fuse a number of “divergent strands”; combining the outlook of several “specialised branches” within late eighteenth-century Scottish linguistic scholarship. Open to a variety of influences, including those exponents of grammatical prescription, linguistic antiquarianism, and contemporary Scots poetry, Jamieson is perceived to have “borrowed from and subsumed each.” Susan Rennie, *Jamieson’s Dictionary*, p. 58. For Jamieson’s early “Picto-Gothic” inspirations see Susan Rennie, ‘Jamieson and the Nineteenth Century,’ Iseabail Macleod and J. Derrick McClure eds., *Scotland in Definition: A History of Scottish Dictionaries*, (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 63-5.

<sup>61</sup> John Jamieson, ‘A Dissertation on the Origin of the Scottish Language,’ *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, (Edinburgh, 1808), 2vols, I, pp. 23.

significant portion of Jamieson’s ‘Dissertation’ offered further assertions of the “Scandinavian origin of the Picts.”<sup>62</sup>

Much like Pinkerton, Jamieson proclaimed the historic status of a singular “Scottish *Language*,” dissociated from English varieties:

I do not hesitate to call that the Scottish *Language*, which has generally been considered in no other light than merely on a level with the different provincial dialects of the English. [...] I am bold to affirm that it has as just a claim to the designation of a peculiar language as most of the other languages of Europe. [Original emphasis.]<sup>63</sup>

Jamieson famously declared that “[f]rom the view here given of it to the public, in the form of an ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY,” the language of the Scottish Lowlands would “appear [...] not more nearly allied to the English, than the Belgic is to the German, the Danish to the Swedish, or the Portuguese to the Spanish.”<sup>64</sup> For the lexicographer, it was imperative to emphasise the historic difference between the language of England and that of the Scottish Lowlands:

Call it a dialect, if you will; a dialect of Anglo-Saxon it cannot be: [...] there is no good reason for supposing, that it was ever imported from the southern part of our island.<sup>65</sup>

Addressing the “unprejudiced reader,” Jamieson presumed a familiar sense of proscription within “Scottish *Language*,” declaring his scholarship “may also serve to mark the difference between words which may be called classical, and others merely colloquial” – distinguishing “between both of these, as far as they are proper,” and suggesting “such as belong to a still lower class, being mere corruptions, cant terms or puerilities.”<sup>66</sup> Jamieson also employed impassioned rhetoric of linguistic conservation; attesting to the “necessity” of his *Dictionary* in “preserving from being totally lost,”

[...] many ancient and emphatic terms, which now occur only in the conversation of the sage of the hamlet, and occasionally mentioned by him as those which he has heard his fathers use.<sup>67</sup>

Within early, predominantly London-based reviews, the merit of Jamieson’s *Dictionary* was often discussed alongside a sentimentality seen behind the undertaking.<sup>68</sup> Yet again, an “ancient”

---

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, I, pp. 25-8.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. iv.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. iii.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. iii.

<sup>68</sup> Rennie, *Jamieson’s Dictionary*, pp. 157-8.

Scots was wistfully envisaged to be threatened by British linguistic trends and “standards.” The *Critical Review* lauded Jamieson’s attempt to preserve Lowland varieties “gradually becoming merged in the more polished and useful dialect of South Britain.”<sup>69</sup> The *Annual Review and History of Literature* lamented “the neglect of the vernacular language [...] now general among the Scotch,” predicting Jamieson’s “repertorium of it, in a century to come” to “prove a most invaluable treasure.”<sup>70</sup> The *Literary Panorama* also anticipated the period when “the usages and observances of many parts of the northern districts of our land shall have become obsolete,” and commended Jamieson for compiling a “greater quality of illustrative information than any lexicographer that we recollect in our language.”<sup>71</sup> The *Monthly Review* of September 1810 offered perhaps the most pessimistic response; praising the lexicographer’s endeavours to preserve a “decaying language,” and concluding that “before many more years are elapsed,” only “very faint traces of the antient language will probably be all that remain.”<sup>72</sup>

Such suppositions of “antient” Lowland language primarily derived from interpretations of philological and cultural “purity.” With admittedly less anti-“Celtic” vitriol than the work of John Pinkerton, Jamieson’s *Dictionary* was nonetheless touched with similar “racial” assumptions. Tacit “racial” categorisation lurked within Jamieson’s lexicography.<sup>73</sup> “Language,” he insisted, was “universally admitted” as “one of the best criterions of the origin of a nation,” believing that an “accurate and comparative examination of our vernacular language” would “throw considerable light” upon “the faint traces which history affords, with respect to the origin of those, who for many centuries have been distinguished from the Celtic race, as speaking the Scottish language.”<sup>74</sup>

Within the concluding paragraphs of his ‘Dissertation,’ Jamieson’s philological perspectives intertwine with a distinctly “racial” interpretation of the contemporary distinction between Highland and Lowland Scots:

It is universally admitted, that there is a certain National Character of an external kind which distinguishes one people from another. [...] Tacitus long ago remarked the striking resemblance between the Germans and Caledonians. Every stranger, at this day, observes the great difference of features and complexion between the Highlanders and

---

<sup>69</sup> ‘Jamieson’s Dictionary of the Scottish Language,’ *Critical Review*, 14, 1, (May, 1808), pp. 72-84.

<sup>70</sup> ‘Jamieson’s Dictionary,’ *Annual Review and History of Literature*, 7, (January, 1808), pp. 425-37.

<sup>71</sup> ‘Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language,’ *Literary Panorama*, 5 (November-December, 1808), pp. 225-41, 438-48.

<sup>72</sup> ‘Jamieson’s *Etymological Scottish Dictionary*,’ *Monthly Review*, 63, (September 1810), pp. 11-31.

<sup>73</sup> Kidd, ‘Race, Theology and Revival,’ pp. 21, 27.

<sup>74</sup> Jamieson, *Dictionary*, I, p. iv.

Lowlanders. No intelligent person in England is in danger of confounding the Welsh with the posterity of the Saxons. Now, if the Lowland Scots be not a Gothic race, but in fact the descendants of the ancient British, they must be supposed to retain some national semblance of the Welsh. But will any impartial observer venture to assert, that in feature, complexion, or form, there is any such similarity, as to induce the slightest apprehension that they have been originally the same people?<sup>75</sup>

The first pages of Jamieson's 'Dissertation' display a comparably "racial" outlook. The Scot discussed how his long-held "hypothesis" of Lowland language "being merely a corrupt dialect of the English, or at least of the Anglo-Saxon" had been overturned by an alternative, "racially"-weighted interpretation:

Having long adhered to this hypothesis, without any particular investigation, it is probable that I might never have thought of calling it in question, had I not heard it positively asserted, by a learned foreigner, that we had not received our language from the English; that there were many words in the mouths of the vulgar in Scotland, which had never passed through the channel of the Anglo-Saxon, or been spoken in England, although still used in the languages of the North of Europe; that the Scottish was not to be viewed as a daughter of the Anglo-Saxon, but as, in common with the latter, derived from the ancient Gothic; and that, while we had to regret the want of authentic records, an accurate and extensive investigation of the language of our country might throw considerable light on her ancient history, particularly as to the origin of her first inhabitants.<sup>76</sup>

Clearly reflecting the sentiments of John Pinkerton, Jamieson acknowledged the influence of another scholar – the "learned foreigner" Grimur Thorkelin, Professor of History and Antiquities at the University of Copenhagen.<sup>77</sup>

Jamieson's connection with Thorkelin – a self-proclaimed "Goth" – provides further evidence of the "racial" tincture to the Scot's scholarship, also hinting at the root of his desire to favourably distinguish Lowland language from English alternatives. Jamieson recounted being initially upbraided by the Icelandic scholar for speaking in a "contemptuous manner of the language of your country, which is, in fact, more ancient than the English."<sup>78</sup> Within this formative exchange, Thorkelin also

---

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 46.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup> For Jamieson and Thorkelin, see Rennie, *Jamieson's Dictionary of Scots*, pp. 5-6, 61-66.

<sup>78</sup> Quoted in John Johnstone, 'Memoir of Dr. Jamieson,' *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language.*, (Edinburgh, 1846), p. xiv.

prompted Jamieson to embark upon his pursuit of conspicuously divergent Lowland phraseology, urging the Scot to “write down all the remarkable or uncouth words of the district” of Angus.<sup>79</sup>

Writing to Thorkelin in January 1802, Jamieson acknowledged the significance of this early encouragement:

I smiled at the proposal; having entertained no other than the common idea, that our language was merely a corruption of the English. You, on the contrary, assured me that in the broad Scottish you had found some hundreds of words, purely Gothic, that had never come to us through the channel of Anglo-Saxon.<sup>80</sup>

Thorkelin had himself conducted philological fieldwork in Scotland, and wrote to Jamieson of his research over “four months in Angus and Sutherland” where he had “met with between three and four hundred words purely Gothic, that were never used in Anglo-Saxon.”<sup>81</sup> The scholar discussed his findings in emphatically “racial” terms; reflecting “that I am pretty well-acquainted with Gothic,” openly identifying with this “unmixed” grouping:

I am a Goth; a native of Iceland; the inhabitants of which are an unmixed race, who speak the same language which their ancestors brought from Norway a thousand years ago.<sup>82</sup>

Thorkelin assured Jamieson of Scandinavian “Gothic” connections uncovered during his time in Scotland; declaring “[a]ll or most of these words which I have noted down, are familiar to me in my native island.”<sup>83</sup> Such assertions of a historic Lowland language and culture, imbued with “more ancient,” “purely Gothic” associations, and removed from the envisioned indignities of English influence, clearly impacted upon Jamieson’s own scholarly perspective.

Later interpretations of Jamieson’s lexicography downplayed the Scot’s particular focus upon the increasingly-contested notion of “Picto-Gothic” Lowland language, but nevertheless conveyed a comparable concern for the “purity” and prestige of Scots forms.<sup>84</sup> The editor of the pocket-sized,

---

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in Rennie, *Jamieson’s Dictionary of Scots*, p. 64.

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Johnstone, ‘Memoir,’ p. xiv.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> Pinkerton was accused of “railing against the Celts,” James Tytler’s, *A Dissertation on the Origin and Antiquity of the Scottish Nation*, (London, 1795), p. 25.

Yet Pinkerton’s “Picto-Gothic” thesis served into the nineteenth century, influencing James Sibbald’s, *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, (Edinburgh, 1802), 4 vols., IV, pp. x, xi, xxx-xxxii, xliii xlv. Sibbald’s interpretation was challenged by George Chalmers, *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, (Edinburgh, 1806), 3 vols., I, p. 146. See also, Alexander Murray’s dismissal of “the pretended Teutonism of the Picts,” insisting on a common

*Dictionary of the Scottish Language* of 1827, “founded” upon Jamieson’s scholarship, made no attempt to debate “ancient” Scots roots; insisting his “object,”

[...] is not to trace the origin of the Scottish language, it is merely to explain the significance, and to enable the general reader to understand the meaning, of the words, without attempting to search for their derivation; to enter into the spirit of an author who uses the Scottish tongue; and to relish his humour without enquiring whether the language in which it is conveyed be of Celtic or Gothic origin.<sup>85</sup>

However, the rhetoric of cultural and philological “purism” lingered in such assertions of Scots “significance.” The preface discussed a historic decline of Lowland forms; perceiving the unions of 1603 and 1707 to have “destroyed the nationality of the Scottish language,” issuing in an era of contemptible negligence in which the “purity of the Scottish language was no longer attended to.”<sup>86</sup> The preface also included a heavily sentimentalised reflection upon the maintenance of Lowland literary forms, noting that while “hastening fast to oblivion” Scots varieties were “cherished and preserved only by the fondness of her native bards, who poured forth their enraptured lays in the expressive language of their beloved country.”<sup>87</sup>

Nearly twenty years later, an 1846 edition of Jamieson’s *Dictionary* included a biography of the lexicographer, voicing a comparable view of a venerable-yet-vulnerable Scots linguistic retention. Jamieson’s text was projected as the “master-key” to a wealth of “innocent and delightful” Scots forms, enshrining a “sound literature” of “imperishable” prestige.<sup>88</sup> Resurgent subversions were seen to enable individuals to “think and feel as *ancient* Scots” of a hallowed lineage, with such linguistic idiosyncrasy envisaged to “keep open” the

[...] literary treasures of their fathers, the pages of their Burns and Scott; and those of other national works which, but for this master-key, must have very soon become sealed books.<sup>89</sup>

Triumphal associations of “racial” and linguistic “purity” infused such assumptions – an inheritance of the philological “Teutonism” of a previous generation of linguistic antiquarians.

This *unlocking* of Lowland “literary treasures” with Jamieson’s “master-key” was notably transnational. “Future generations” of Scots with “offsets in every distant land” were imagined to

---

“Gothic” root in both England and Scotland, Alexander Murray, *History of the European Languages*, (Edinburgh, 1823), 2 vols., II, pp. 444-3, 465, 466.

<sup>85</sup> Anon., *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language; founded upon that of John Jamieson*, (Edinburgh, 1827), p. vii.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, pp. vii, viii.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, p. viii.

<sup>88</sup> Johnstone, ‘Memoir,’ p. xv.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*.

proudly align themselves with an “*ancient*” linguistic heritage which had weathered threats of extinction to now wax globally triumphant.<sup>90</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, Jamieson’s *Dictionary* was perceived to lie at the heart of a renewed and confidently “sound” Scots distinction, consecrating “the imperishable records of our history, our literature, and our usages.”<sup>91</sup>

Paradoxically, this sense of “imperishable” linguistic attachment was emphasised by myths of vulnerability. Scots’ “literary treasures” – historic texts “of their fathers,” ever-susceptible to being “sealed” to posterity – were seen to require a conscious and consistent effort to be kept “open.”<sup>92</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, a distinct and possessively Scottish literature, “pages of *their* Burns and Scott,” had formed an unequivocal, sub-versive canon for Scots both within and outwith the nation. As the 1846 edition of Jamieson’s *Dictionary* indicates, these Scots-inflected texts were imagined as purportedly closed or “sealed books,” and celebrated through deliberate acts of “keeping open.” Such “sound,” yet potentially “sealed” texts, supposedly closed in their demonstration of linguistic distinction, were symbolically prised open – consciously praised and actively reprised by diasporic Scots. Significantly, Jamieson’s *Dictionary* was presented as a “master-key” to this process.

As in the earlier case of Ossian, this transnational projection of Scots’ cultural and linguistic exclusivity was predicated upon the conscious exhibition of that which was believed to have been lost, locked, or obscured: an act of deliberately *revealing* perceived sub-versions in language. The discourses of Callander, Pinkerton, and Jamieson indicate the shift towards this overt linguistic display, and such perspectives are marked by a comparable intention to uncover and exhibit Scots distinctions. A final, late eighteenth-century instance of this occurs within Alexander Geddes’s well-known discussion of the “Scoto-Saxon Dialect,” submitted to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1792.

In his affirmation of a “Scoto-Saxon” tongue, Geddes – Banffshire-born priest and scholar – offered comparable assertions to those of John Callander, insisting upon a shared linguistic “Saxonism” of England and Scotland. Unlike Jamieson, Geddes was highly sceptical of Pinkerton’s notion of the “Gothic” Picts. In fact, Geddes explicitly dismissed this thesis – offering geographical place-names of Lowland Scotland as “at least one very strong proof” that the language of the region “was not a

---

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

Gothic dialect.”<sup>93</sup> For Geddes, the “Scoto-Saxon” was instead derived from fifth-century “Anglo-Saxon,” but was nobly distinct from the “present English tongue,” which he perceived a much-melded “Normanic-Dano-Saxon.”<sup>94</sup> Yet Geddes, a remarkable polymath and biblical scholar of international repute, was no mere exponent of crass linguistic “purity.”<sup>95</sup>

Recent attempts to rescue Geddes from historical and literary obscurity have shown the Scot’s scholarship to be marked by a consciousness of linguistic sub-versions within both English and Scots “standards.”<sup>96</sup> Along with his ‘Three Scottish Poems’ and “Scoto-Saxon” ‘Dissertation’ of 1792, Geddes also presented two lesser-known compositions to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries that year – a brace of classical texts “tránszlâtit into Skottis vers.”<sup>97</sup> Introducing these two translations, Geddes significantly differentiated between the pair, noting just one “may be called the Scottish Doric.”<sup>98</sup> In an analysis of both translations, Charles Jones perceives the regional “Buchan dialect” to reflect Geddes’s “Doric,” determining the other poem to be of an alternate variety “representing the dialect of Edinburgh” – suggestive of a possible “Scottish Standard English.”<sup>99</sup> Jones identifies Geddes as providing a rare, yet clear projection of linguistic variation *within* Lowland language.<sup>100</sup> In a wider discussion of the “multifarious” Geddes, Gerard Carruthers similarly presents the Scot as mindful of a diverse, linguistic “fluidity.”<sup>101</sup> Evidently, Geddes’s was instilled with an awareness of the sub-versive essence of – and within – his “Scoto-Saxon.”

In both his ‘Dissertation’ and ‘Scottish Poems’ Geddes poked fun at English linguistic intermixture, yet acknowledged that Lowland language, though imagined as “pure Saxon,” was itself derived from a variety of sources:

---

<sup>93</sup> Alexander Geddes, ‘Three Scottish Poems; with a Previous Dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect,’ *Archaeologica Scotica*, (Edinburgh, 1792), 4 vols., I, pp. 402-41, p. 408.

<sup>94</sup> Geddes, ‘Three Scottish Poems,’ pp. 404-7, p. 407, Jones, *Language Suppressed*, p. 16.

<sup>95</sup> See Bernard Aspinwall, ‘The Last Laugh of a Humane Faith, Dr Alexander Geddes 1737-1801,’ *New Blackfriars*, 58, (July 1977), pp. 333-340, Reginald C. Fuller, *Alexander Geddes, 1737-1802. Pioneer of Biblical Criticism*, (1984: London, 2015), Mark Goldie, ‘Alexander Geddes at the Limits of the Catholic Enlightenment,’ *Historical Journal*, 53.1, (March 2010), pp. 61-86, William Johnstone ed. *The Bible and the Enlightenment. A Case Study: Alexander Geddes 1737-1802*, (London, 2004).

<sup>96</sup> Gerard Carruthers, ‘Scattered Remains: The Literary Career of Alexander Geddes,’ *Bible and the Enlightenment*, Charles Jones, ‘Alexander Geddes: An Eighteenth-Century Scottish Orthoepist and Dialectologist,’ *Folia Linguistica Historica*, XV/ 1-2, (1994), pp. 71-103.

<sup>97</sup> Alexander Geddes, ‘The First Eklog of Virgil, tránszlâtit into Skottis vers,’ *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, I, pp. 457-62.

<sup>98</sup> Alexander Geddes, ‘The First Idillion of Theokritism, traánszlâtit into Skottis vers,’ *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, I, pp. 562-9, p. 462, n. Note Geddes’s inclusion of differing orthography for “tránszlâtit” and “traánszlâtit.”

<sup>99</sup> Jones, ‘Alexander Geddes,’ pp. 73, 75.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 75, 77, 79.

<sup>101</sup> Carruthers, ‘Scattered Remains,’ *Bible and the Enlightenment*, pp. 67, 64-5.

On analysing the Scoto-Saxon dialect, I find it composed; First, and chiefly, of pure Saxon; Secondly, of Saxonized Celtic, whether Welsh, Pictish, or Erse; Thirdly, of Saxonized Norman or old French; Fourthly, of more modern French Scotized; Fifthly, of Danish, Dutch, and Flemish, occasionally incorporated; Sixthly, of words borrowed from dead languages. It must not be supposed, that all these are blended together in the same proportion in every Scottish provincial dialect.<sup>102</sup>

This was an assertion of Scottish linguistic heterogeneity almost entirely detached from the mixed influences and “standards” of England.

For all his insight, Geddes presented what must have been a fairly familiar argument by 1792; attesting that generations of Scots “servilely aping” the “Anglo-Saxon” in the wake of the 1603 dynastic union, had necessitated a decline in the prestige and “purity” of the “Scoto-Saxon” – “in many points,” “superior” to its English equivalent.<sup>103</sup> Like both Beattie and Pinkerton, Geddes was dismissive of recent Lowland literature; declaring “those who, for almost a century past, have written in Scots [...] have not duly discriminated the genuine Scottish idiom for its vulgarisms.”<sup>104</sup>

Geddes saw Scottish authors to have tarnished the “Scoto-Saxon” lustre in seeking to simply differ from English language “standards”:

Thus to write Scottish poetry (for prose has seldom been attempted), nothing more was deemed necessary than to load the composition with a number of low words and trite proverbial phrases, in common use among the illiterate; and the more anomalous and farther removed from polite usage those words and phrases were, so much the more apposite and eligible they were accounted. It was enough that they were not found in an English lexicon to give them a preference in the Scottish glossary [...].<sup>105</sup>

Asserting an arbitrary Scots linguistic difference was clearly insufficient in Geddes’s eyes.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, in stressing a common “Saxon” source, Geddes dismissed the notion that Scots forms were required to differ from “standard” English, complaining,

[...] nor was it ever once considered, that all words truly Anglo-Saxon were as truly Scoto-Saxon words; and that every exotic term which the English have borrowed from other languages, the Scots had an equal right to appropriate.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> Geddes, ‘Scottish Poems,’ pp. 415-16,

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*, p. 404.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, p. 403.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>106</sup> Carruthers, ‘Scattered Remains,’ *Bible and the Enlightenment*, p. 65.

<sup>107</sup> Geddes, ‘Scottish Poems,’ p. 403. See also J. Derrick McClure, ‘The distinctiveness of Scots: Perceptions and reality,’ Raymond Hickey ed., *Varieties of English in Writing*, (Amsterdam, 2010) pp. 116-7.

Demanding heightened linguistic “rights,” and stressing Scottish similarities to English, Geddes insisted upon greater proscriptions in Scotland; reckoning any “general standard” of Lowland language “totally neglected,” and denouncing the consequent, sub-versive tradition in which “every one adopted that mode of spelling and phrasing which ‘was good in his own eyes.’”<sup>108</sup> However, Geddes observed that in certain pockets of his own north-east, in “the shires of Forfar, Kincardineshire, Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin, the Scottish still exists in its mature purity, or, if you will, in its native rudeness.”<sup>109</sup> Yet again, this “rude,” “purity” was seen to be under immediate threat:

But even there it is every day losing ground; and yielding to the English idiom. Hence the greater expediency of collecting the old terms as soon as possible, and from the mouths of the oldest inhabitants.<sup>110</sup>

A declining “Doric” of humble antiquity, vulnerable to extinction and Anglicisation, was clearly paired with Geddes’s own enthusiasm for the “Scoto-Saxon.”

This consideration accompanied Geddes’s awareness of the sub-versive nature of Scots distinction. Within the ‘Epistle’ of 1792, he expressed a consistent wish for Lowland forms to be unearthed and unveiled. Employing tropes of horticultural neglect and regeneration, Geddes entreated his Scots readers to better tend their linguistic bounty:

Wi’ pains, on Caledonian grund,  
Dig for their roots, ‘ere they be dead,  
Fre Gretna Green to Peterhead;  
And plant them quick, as soon as got,  
In ae Lexicographic plot.  
  
[...]  
Collect, wi judgement, skill an’ care,  
The words an’ phrases rich an’ rare,  
That in ald beuks, for ages by,  
Like herbs in *hortis siccis*, ly  
Expose them to the open air;  
And wash, and clean, and trim, and pare  
Their wusant parts – I’m fair mista’en  
If yet they dinna grow again.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> Geddes, ‘Scottish Poems,’ pp. 403-4.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, p. 439.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*.

Suggesting both an organic and engineered linguistic nurturing, Geddes presents a dual enterprise in discerning Scots idiosyncrasy – at once antiquarian and philological – advocating the sourcing of “ald beuks,” alongside the more down-to-earth grasping for submerged lexical “roots.”

But this practice of uncovering concealed Lowland forms was only part of Geddes’s concern. The poet was also aware of the importance for such Scots sub-versions to be actively *displayed* – uprooted, then re-routed to “thrive” in “ae Lexicographic plot.” Geddes essentially welcomed the “exposure” of desired Lowland traits, and an overt exhibition of Scots forms was imagined as the key intermediary stage between an initial “collection” and a later, crafted “cleansing.”

Directly following this proclaimed display, Geddes resumed his derision of English linguistic hybridity. A frequently-quoted extract demonstrates the Scot’s tongue-in-cheek distaste for the prestige of English:

Let bragart England in distain  
Ha’d ilka lingo, but her a’in:  
Her a’in, we wat, say what she can,  
Is like her true-born Englishman,  
A vile promiscuous mungrel seed  
Of Danish, Dutch, an’ Norman breed,  
An’ prostituted, since to a’  
The jargons on this earthly ba’!<sup>112</sup>

Abandoning his horticultural conceit, Geddes adopts a different biological perspective – mocking the “impurity” of a “mungrel” English. Already hinting at a sexual and “racial” contempt for “promiscuous,” “prostituted” intermixture, Geddes’s imagery becomes more overt.

The poet compares English “standards” with feminised Scots sub-versions, assuming an increasingly sexual tone, coupled with a disparagement of fawning social affectations. Geddes derides a servile “English” artificiality,

Bedek’t ‘tis true, an’ made fu’ smart  
Wi’ mekil learning, pains an’ art;  
An’ taught to baik, an’ benge, an’ bou  
As dogs an’ dancin’ masters do:  
Wi’ fardit cheeks an’ powder’t hair,

---

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, p. 446.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, p. 447.

An' brazen confidential stare –  
While ours, a blate an' bashfu' maid  
Conceals her blushes wi' her plaid;  
An is unwillan' to display  
Her beuties in the face o' day.<sup>113</sup>

This “brazen” gaze and flimsy veneer are dismissed by Geddes in favour of demure Scots sub-versions. These “bashfu’” alternatives are *revealingly* “concealed.” Language characterised through conspicuous absence – “unwillan’ to display” – is held above an English foppish posturing, whilst being simultaneously, and self-consciously obscured behind a “plaid.”

Geddes intensifies this imagery, fusing an appreciation of the veiled “purity” of Lowland language with a disturbing return to his conceit of seeing Scots sub-versions laid bare for all to see. In a depiction in which racist undertones co-mingle with those of forceful, sexual voyeurism, Geddes welcomes the “stripping” of English and Scots forms:

Bot strip them baith – an' see wha's shape  
Has least the semblance of an ape?  
Wha's lim's are straughtest? Wha can sheu  
The whiter skin, an' fairer heu;  
An' whilk, in short, is the mair fit  
To gender genuine manly wit?  
I'll plede my pen, you'll judgement pass  
In favor of the Scottis lass.<sup>114</sup>

In a distinctly more sinister manner than earlier botanical images of unearthing linguistic specimens, Geddes re-envisages the revealing of Scottish sub-versions. Within this fairly unsettling projection, Geddes proclaims the merits of Lowland language through the notion of an underlying “racial” and sexual “purity,” predicated upon the “stripping” of outward layering. When “stripped” of any surfaced covering, the sub-versions of the “Scottis lass” are anticipated to display a greater “purity” than English “standards.” As such, the feminised “purity” of Scots sub-versions is exposed and submitted to a “judgement” defined through the “gendering” of “genuine” and “manly” appreciation.

This supposed “purity” is expressed in both gendered and “racial” terms. Traditionally-envisaged feminine “beuties,” typified through “whiter,” “fairer” colouring, are also presented as the

---

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 447-8.

physical traits imagined as least “ape”-like. A pre-empted “heu” of Scots “purity,” aligned with the “racial” and sexualised “whiteness” of a “basfu’ maid,” is seen under-wraps and under-stated when compared with a bare-faced, “promiscuous” English. The heavily-loaded “purity” of Scots forms is essentially hidden from the “face o’ day”; suggestive of a vulnerable sub-versive splendour which can only be glimpsed through a necessary breach of plaid-veiled trappings.

Significantly, in the very same year as his discussion of “Scoto-Saxon,” Geddes penned an anonymous satire in which he employed conspicuously similar imagery in lampooning an anti-abolitionist stance on the British slave trade.<sup>115</sup> Adopting a mocking, virulently racist rhetoric, Geddes had his narrator sarcastically oppose the “rash and inconsiderate” supposition “that the vile and barbarous *Blacks* of Africa have an equal right to freedom with the rest of the human race.”<sup>116</sup> Following the sketchy logical premise that any restriction of human liberty is akin to “slavery,” Geddes’s Catholic narrator, incensed by the legal and political restrictions placed upon himself and his co-religionists, reflects bitterly:

[...] if a certain degree of Slavery be the necessary portion of mankind, why should the *Negroes*, who are scarcely *men*, be exempted from any degree of slavery that they can bear – if the European race, who reflect so strongly their Maker’s image in the whiteness of their skin, the nobleness of their features, and the symmetry of their limbs; – in short, who are *little less* than angels, be, notwithstanding, doomed by Nature to live in a state of perpetual Slavery, with what decency can it be asserted, that the Africans, whose black complexion, beast-like lineaments, and mis-shapen members demonstrate them to be *little more* than incarnate devils, are naturally entitled to the same degree of freedom as ourselves? [Original emphasis].<sup>117</sup>

References to “racial” differences are almost identical to Geddes’s metaphors for linguistic “purity” which occur within his verse on the “Scoto-Saxon.” The virtues of “whiteness” and limb-“symmetry” are notably repeated, along with the sordid preoccupation with “beast-like” biology. Revealingly, Geddes’s “apology” also plays with chilling grammatical tropes in ascertaining a “rational” correlation between conceptions of “race” and slavery. Geddes’s satire concludes “[a] *Black* and a *Slave* have become synonymous terms,” “logically” dismissing the notion of “*African freedom*” as “a solecism in language.”<sup>118</sup> Geddes also attempts a scornful swipe at a rather one-dimensional consideration of British imperial “liberty”; suggesting,

---

<sup>115</sup> See John Mason Good, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Alexander Geddes*, (London, 1803), pp. 269-79.

<sup>116</sup> Anon. [Alexander Geddes], *An Apology for Slavery*, (London, 1792), p. 7.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 22-3, 38, 37.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, p. 24.

Liberty shall be dealt out in different unequal parts to the subjects of Great Britain [...] according to a political balance, of which the original standard is kept at St James's; but exact models of it sent to Dublin, Quebec, and other places concerned.<sup>119</sup>

Heavily sceptical of any "original standard," Geddes rails against pious suppositions of British metropolitan and imperial prestige; perhaps even including a disparagement of indolent reflections on linguistic "solecisms" alongside other hypocritical preconceptions of British "racial," religious, and constitutional superiority.

Geddes's *Apology for Slavery* is a compelling abolitionist satire in dire need of further investigation.<sup>120</sup> Evidently, the text stands in a rather awkward juxtaposition to the scholar's "Scoto-Saxon" musings of the same year. Indeed, there is a distinct, disconcerting echo of the vehement racism of Geddes's mock polemic within his seemingly-earnest projection of Scottish linguistic delicacy – demonstrative, in his own memorable term, of "least the semblance of an ape."

For Geddes, the rhetoric of "racial" and linguistic "purity" appears to have worked both ways. The metaphor of plaid-veiled "whiteness" infused his projection of unsullied "Scoto-Saxon." Yet the Scot also contemptuously employed notably similar images, alongside the mock-logic of linguistic "standards," to ridicule conceptions of immutable "racial" categories and capabilities. Whether seriously intended or satirically exaggerated, Geddes's texts indicate the manner in which the rhetoric of linguistic "judgement" and "purity" had the potential to permeate into global notions of Scoto-British exclusivity. By the 1790s, celebrations of Scots linguistic "purity" had the potential to be voiced alongside other unsavoury interpretations of cultural supremacy, and by the turn of the century, certain Scottish sub-versions had become intertwined with the "Teutonic" roots of a supposedly imperial "race." Above all else, Geddes's "Scoto-Saxon" sentiments demonstrate the extent to which Scots were encouraged to *uncover* and *exhibit* supposedly submerged linguistic traits.

Yet, models of such linguistic exhibitionism were far from clear, nor universally accepted. James Beattie remained characteristically unconvinced. Writing in January 1793, Beattie once again dismissed contemporary Scots articulations, maintaining his belief in the "propriety" of an "antient language," "when Scotland, being an independent nation, had a right to prescribe the rules of its

---

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, p. 35.

<sup>120</sup> The *Apology for Slavery* is notably absent from the vast majority of research into Geddes's career and influence. However, the text is included within Paul Keen ed., *Revolutions in Romantic Literature. An anthology of print culture, 1780-1832*, (Plymouth, 2004), pp. 318, 320. See also Carruthers, 'Scattered Remains,' *Bible and the Enlightenment*, pp. 76-7.

own tongue.”<sup>121</sup> Ever the enthusiast for a singular “British literature,” the philosopher avowed “now the language of Great Britain is English,” insisting “an attempt to revive the old dialect, or rather to mingle English and Broad Scotch words together, is affectation.”<sup>122</sup>

Contending “no man now alive can write the Scotch of the reign of James IV or V,” Beattie remained sceptical of any practical purposes for “affected” Scots discourse:

If we were to hear a clergyman pray or preach in Broad Scotch, should we not say that he was burlesquing religion; and if we were to receive a letter of business in the same style, would it be possible for us to believe that our correspondent was in earnest? Does it not show that the modern Scotch dialect, such as I mean as we see in Allan Ramsay, is from its vulgarity become ridiculous?

The philosopher was unmoved by the recent upsurge in appreciation for the “modern Scotch dialect” akin to that of Ramsay. Indeed, barely a year after Geddes’s espousal of the “Scoto-Saxon,” Beattie’s letter coincidentally inverted the priest’s attestations of the feminine “beuties” underpinning Lowland language.

Commenting on the increasing popularity for combining Scots lyrics with “traditional” music, Beattie supposed,

[a] fine old Scotch air, with Broad Scotch words sung to it, seems to me such an incongruity. As a beautiful woman, with dirty hands and face, imitating the walk and stride of a plowman.<sup>123</sup>

Far from Geddes’s projection of a veiled, alluring “purity,” Beattie saw Lowland forms to oddly distort “fine old Scotch” music – infecting “airs” with the unwelcome gait of a “plowman,” befouling womanly beauty with an earthy “incongruity.”<sup>124</sup>

Beattie was writing to George Thomson – Edinburgh lawyer, musician, and Scots ballad-collector. The Aberdonian offered advice on Thomson’s forthcoming *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice*, the first volume of which appeared five months later, containing six verses by one Robert Burns – “Heaven-taught ploughman” of Henry Mackenzie’s infamous *Lounger* article of 1786.<sup>125</sup> The “plowman” Burns, noted within Mackenzie’s review to pen poetry “almost

---

<sup>121</sup> Robinson, *Correspondence*, IV, p. 179.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> See Ian C. Robertson, ‘The Bard and the Minstrel,’ *Scottish Literary Review*, Vol. 8, 1, (Spring/Summer, 2016), pp. 133-42.

<sup>125</sup> Henry MacKenzie, ‘Robert Burns,’ *Lounger*, XC VII, 9 December 1786, pp. 385-88, David Purdie, Kirsteen McCue and Gerard Carruthers, *Maurice Lindsay’s The Burns Encyclopaedia*, (London, 2013), p. 316. Also Robert Crawford, *The Bard. Robert Burns, A Biography*, (London, 2009), pp. 360, 365, 381, Donald A. Low ed. *The*

English,” advocated the very sort of Ramsay-inspired intermixture to which Beattie was notably opposed. Ironically, it was Beattie’s dismissive conception of Lowland language, a “modern” linguistic “jumble” aligned with the rough, masculine pastoralism of the “plowman,” that would spectacularly gain ground during the following decades; underscoring sub-versive inflections of verbal tartantry.

In mid-September 1792, less than four months before Beattie’s letter to Thomson, the song-collector received a notice from Burns, offering his aid in the compilation of the *Select Collection*. Burns professed to “positively add to my enjoyments in complying with it,” famously advocating an increased smattering of Lowland language within Thomson’s volume:

[...] will you let me have a list of your airs with the first line of the verses you intend for them, that I may have an opportunity of suggesting an alteration that may occur to me – you know ‘tis the way of my trade – still leaving you, Gentlemen, [...] to approve, or reject, at your pleasure in your own Publication? [...] Ápropos, if you are for *English* verses, there is, on my part, an end of the matter. – Whether in the simplicity of *the Ballad*, or the pathos of *the Song*, I can only hope to please myself in being allowed at least a sprinkling of our native tongue. English verses, particularly the works of Scotsmen, that have merit, are certainly very eligible.<sup>126</sup>

Burns proposed an increased interjection of Scots forms, offering his own supplementary “alterations.” In a later letter, Burns reckoned Thomson to be “too fastidious” in his “ideas of Songs & ballads”; tactfully acknowledging to his editor that “your criticisms are just,” whilst championing the sub-versive merit of Lowland language:

[...] let me remark to you, in the sentiment & style of our Scotch [sic] airs, there is a pastoral simplicity, a something that one may call, the Doric style & dialect of vocal music, to which a dash of our native tongue & manners is particularly, nay peculiarly apposite.<sup>127</sup>

James Beattie was also conscious of the increasing appeal of this “incongruous” linguistic combination. In his letter to Thomson of January 1793, the philosopher reasserted his disdain:

[...] though I greatly admire our old Scotch musick, I can by no means reconcile myself to the Broad Scotch words. Which, the longer I live, I dislike the more. A serious subject they debase, and make ridiculous; an humourous one they generally, if not always, make

---

*Songs of Robert Burns*, (Abingdon, 1993), pp. 14-18, Pernille Strande-Sørensen, ‘Authentication of National identity: Macpherson and Burns as Editors of Scottish Ballads,’ Lene Østermark-Johansen ed., *Angles on the English-speaking World, Volume 3. Romantic Generations*, (Copenhagen, 2003), pp. 17-22.

<sup>126</sup> J. De Lancey Ferguson and G. Ross Roy eds., *The Letters of Robert Burns*, (Oxford, 1985), 2 vols., II pp. 148-9.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 153.

indelicate, or clownish at least I wish therefore there may be as few of them as possible in your work.<sup>128</sup>

Yet Beattie acknowledged that his own appreciation had become rather unpopular. Reflecting on his earlier dismissal of a mixed, “Broad Scotch” the philosopher admitted:

This, however, though I could give you many good reasons for it, is an opinion on which many of your readers would not agree with me; and it is no doubt your duty to make your collection as popular as you can.<sup>129</sup>

Burns’s letter to Thomson hinted at a similar consciousness. Concluding the letter, Burns downplayed the desire for personal payment in “the honest enthusiasm with which I embark in your undertaking,” signing off with the revealing “phrase of the Season, ‘Gude speed the wark!’”<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> Robinson, *Correspondence*, IV, p. 179.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> Ferguson and Roy, *Letters*, II, p. 150.

### Part III. Nineteenth-century Scots “abroad.”

#### “Imprest on vellum.” Transatlantic concerns.

*“You speak neither English nor Scotch, but something different, which I conclude is the language of America.”<sup>1</sup>*

*Lord Marchmont, quoted in Boswell’s Life of Johnson, (London, 1791).*

*But’s nae your fu’t, my canty Callan,  
That ye fa’ short o’ the Auld Allan;  
There’s neither Highland man, nor Lallan’,  
That’s here the same;  
But finds him scrimpit o’ the talen’  
He had at hame.*

*Hugh Henry Brackenridge, (Washington, 1801).*

*To cousin Rabin, as ye ca’ me,  
Ye’d out the city Mobile draw me,  
An’ Indian tales ‘bout Alabama,  
Shrewdly ye’d tell ‘im;  
An’ a’ Louisiana shaw me,  
Imprest on vellum*

*Robert Dinsmoor, (Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1828).*

---

<sup>1</sup> George Birkbeck Norman Hill and L.F. Powell eds., *Boswell’s Life of Johnson*, (1934: Oxford, 2014), 6 vols., II, p. 160.

Less than twenty years after the death of Burns, the poet's name had become synonymous with Lowland "Scotch" language. At least that was the view of Thomas Jefferson. Writing from Monticello to the grammarian John Waldo in August 1813, the former U.S. president presented himself as an enthusiastic proponent of linguistic change, declaring,

I am no friend [...] to what is called *Purism*, but a zealous one to the *Neology* which has introduced these two words without the authority of any dictionary. I consider the one as destroying the nerve and beauty of language, while the other improves both, and adds to its copiousness.<sup>2</sup>

Jefferson welcomed the seemingly inevitable expansion of language within the young and comparably "copious" American nation, supposing

[...] so great growing a population, spread over such an extent of country, with such a variety of climates of productions, of arts, must enlarge their language, to make it answer to the purpose of expressing all ideas, the new as well as the old.<sup>3</sup>

Placing considerable emphasis upon the linguistic novelty and innovation he believed central to the foundation of an "American dialect," Jefferson alluded to existing, "old world" differences within "the English language":

The new circumstances under which we are placed, call for new words, new phrases, and for the transfer of old words to new objects. An American dialect will therefore be formed; so will a West-Indian and Asiatic, as a Scotch and an Irish are already formed. But whether will these adulterate, or enrich the English language? Has the beautiful poetry of Burns, or his Scottish dialect, disfigured it? Did the Athenians consider the Doric, the Ionian, the Æolic, and other dialects as disfiguring or beautifying their language?<sup>4</sup>

Envisioning an encroaching range of global "Englishes," Jefferson saw the dialectal alternatives of Ireland and Scotland to reflect a classically-compared linguistic "enrichment." For Jefferson, this incorporated "Scotch" was wholly associated with the "beautiful poetry of Burns," and characterised by "his Scottish dialect."<sup>5</sup>

Jefferson viewed the ascendancy of an "Anglo-world" to be evidenced in the linguistic expansion of "English": "the consequence, to a certain degree, of its transplantation from the

---

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, Merrill D. Peterson ed., (New York, 1984), p. 1295. Carol Percy, 'Political perspectives on linguistic innovation in independent America. Learning from the libraries of Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826),' Marina Dossena ed., *Transatlantic Perspectives on Late Modern English*, (Amsterdam, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Jefferson, *Writings*, p. 1295.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 1295-6.

<sup>5</sup> Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, pp. 176-8.

latitude of London into every climate of the globe.”<sup>6</sup> Due to this apparent pre-eminence, he supposed such language “the greater degree the more precious” – embodying “the organ of the development of the human mind.”<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere, Jefferson celebrated the “peculiar value” of “Anglo-Saxon” language within the United States: “a branch of the same original Gothic stock” in need of “distinguished attention in American education.”<sup>8</sup> For Jefferson, this was “a language already fraught with all the eminent science of our parent country,” a prestigious linguistic tie which the politician saw as “the future vehicle of whatever we may ourselves achieve, and destined to occupy much space on the globe.”<sup>9</sup> This multifarious “English” comfortably accommodated Burnsian “Scotch.”

But within his 1813 letter to Waldo, Jefferson identified certain exponents of the linguistic “purism” to which he was so strongly opposed. Such “critics” were also connected with Scotland. Jefferson confessed,

I have not been a little disappointed, and made suspicious of my own judgement, on seeing the Edinburgh Reviews, the ablest critics of the age, set their faces against the introduction of new words into the English language; they are particularly apprehensive that the writers of the United States will adulterate it.<sup>10</sup>

For the former president, Scottish authors served as exemplars both of an “enriching” linguistic intermixture and of a stalwart, conservative adherence to the “standards” imagined to govern “English” discourse. Jefferson was clear on which outlook he desired for the fledgling American republic:

[...] should the language of England continue stationary, we shall probably enlarge our employment of it, until its new character may separate it in name as well as in power, from the mother-tongue.<sup>11</sup>

Jefferson’s testimony highlights the manner in which Scots writers had come to represent both a model and a challenge for emergent sub-versions of – and within – “the language of England” by the early nineteenth century. Desirous of a dignified “American dialect” comparable to a Burnsian “Scotch,” Jefferson found himself opposed by the authoritative editors of the *Edinburgh Review*, the “ablest critics of the age,” sceptical of further “adulterations” of “English” language.

---

<sup>6</sup> Peterson, *Writings*, p. 1299.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia*, (1818), Jean M. Yarbrough ed., *The Essential Jefferson*, (Indianapolis, 2006), p. 72.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Peterson, *Writings*, p. 1295.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1300.

Curiously, the linguistic concerns of previous generations of Scots and Anglo-Americans are judged to have been strikingly similar. Notable parallels were drawn in John Clive and Bernard Bailyn's seminal essay of 1954, presenting Scotland and the American colonies as comparable "cultural provinces" of an eighteenth-century English imperium. Clive and Bailyn proposed that the inhabitants of the "two regions," bound by a pervasive awareness of their own "peripheral" status were characterised by a similar "sense of guilt regarding local mannerisms," and a yearning to emulate the "English ways" of metropolitan London.<sup>12</sup>

Conversely, the pull of the English capital was reckoned to have been countered in both "peripheries" by a "compensatory local pride, evolving into a patriotism."<sup>13</sup> Clive and Bailyn imagined an "enlightened," "creative" Scots and Anglo-American "provincial culture" to have emerged in the "mingling" of these two contending elements, striking an uneasy balance between desires for "cosmopolitan sophistication" and the "simplicity and purity [...] of nativism."<sup>14</sup> As Jefferson's example suggests, traces of this awkward confluence were still evident within the United States in the early 1800s. However, for some Scots living through the final decades of the eighteenth century, the fear for the twin "provincial" threats of social "alienation" and cultural "rootlessness" was already beginning to abate.<sup>15</sup>

Clive and Bailyn have been rightly criticised for offering a limited insight into relations *between* Scotland and the American colonies, focusing upon a narrow "province-metropole" correlation that neglected the wider interplay of a range of eighteenth-century cultural centres.<sup>16</sup> However, the "cultural province" model still functions as an instructive root to the study of late eighteenth-century Scottish and Anglo-American socio-cultural interconnections.<sup>17</sup> Andrew Hook's compelling 1975 investigation *Scotland and America* identifies a Scoto-American exchange similarly typified by a shared "provincial" striving for supposed, Anglo-centred "correctness," blending with an increased appreciation for localised, "vernacular" literature.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> John Clive and Bernard Bailyn, 'England's Cultural Provinces: Scotland and America,' *William and Mary Quarterly Journal*, 3, Vol. 11, 2, (April 1954), 200-13, pp. 209, 211.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 211.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 212.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>16</sup> Richard B. Sher, 'Introduction,' Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey R. Smitten eds., *Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment*, (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 4-5.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, William R. Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 168-71.

<sup>18</sup> Andrew Hook, *Scotland and America: A Study of Cultural Relations, 1750-1835*, (Glasgow, 1975), pp. 81-2, 32, 78-92, 116-67. Also Andrew Hook, *From Goosecreek to Gandercleuch*, (East Linton, 1999), pp. pp. 25-57, 94-115, Thomas P. Miller, 'Witherspoon, Blair and the Rhetoric of Civic Humanism,' *Scotland and America*, Franklin E. Court, 'Scottish literary teaching in North America,' *Scottish Invention of English Literature*, Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, pp. 176-82.

In a comparable manner, underlying conceptions of the linguistic distinctions of “provincial” Scots and Anglo-Americans, uncomfortably sundered both physically and psychologically from an envisaged “English” core, are embedded in Susan Manning’s “puritan-provincial vision.” For Manning, a semi-divergent use of language was fundamental – seen to serve as “the source” and “manifestation” of a “predetermined passivity and distance from the heart of experience,” underpinning a Scoto-American “provincial relationship to the centre.”<sup>19</sup> With an eye for literary “fragments” and “disjunctions,” Manning observed Scottish and Anglo-American attitudes towards language to have demonstrated a familiarly “provincial” sense of self-scrutiny in the face of assumed authority.<sup>20</sup> Stressing the distinctions in the language of Scots and Anglo-Americans to be on some level reconcilable to Anglo-centred “standards,” Manning presented the “English” language as a point of both transcultural integration and “interference”:

“English” was at once the unavoidable medium of written expression for Scots and Americans and an arena of cultural confrontation where they could both find themselves wanting (they weren’t, after all “native” English speakers), and, in a different sense, “find themselves” in deviance from united Britain; linguistic markers were the evidence of their different identity.<sup>21</sup>

Evidently, concerns for “English” language “standards” and acceptable “dialectal” sub-versions are perceived to have been of comparable concern for eighteenth-century “provincials” on both sides of the Atlantic.

Yet, by the early nineteenth century – a historical juncture notably straddling both the passing glory of “enlightenment” and the later fervour for the work of Robert Burns and Walter Scott – Scotland entered into a new age of linguistic and literary self-assertion. During this period, certain Scots sub-versions and linguistic idiosyncrasies were lauded like never before.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, and far from coincidentally, the “Scotch critics” of the *Edinburgh Review* established themselves among the foremost literary “lawgivers” of an expanding “Anglo-world.”

The focus of this chapter is directed outwith Scotland to the young republic of the United States. Within this turn-of-the-century, “post-colonial” context the increasingly confident articulation of Scots sub-versions are scrutinised alongside a parallel enthusiasm for the “standards” and “standardisation” of an ever-more global “English.” Yet before turning to the U.S., it is necessary

---

<sup>19</sup> Susan Manning, *The puritan-provincial vision*, (Cambridge, 1990), p. 51.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, Manning, *Fragments of Union*, pp. 241-52.

<sup>21</sup> Manning, *Fragments of Union*, pp. 259, 250.

<sup>22</sup> Letley, *Galt to Douglas Brown*, pp. 49-51.

to dwell upon the significance of an intellectual generation marked by the *Edinburgh Review* in Scotland.

Despite his difference of opinion on the subject of “an American dialect,” Thomas Jefferson held the *Edinburgh Review* in high regard, declaring the publication “unrivalled in merit” and destined to “become a real Encyclopaedia, justly taking its station in our libraries with the most valuable depositories of human knowledge.”<sup>23</sup> Notoriously difficult to please, memorably lampooned by Lord Byron as “young tyrants” and “Northern wolves,” the writers of the *Review* obtained an international reputation and contemporary literary “authority” outstripping that of even the Scottish *literati* of the previous decades.<sup>24</sup>

Established in 1802 by three restless Scots lawyers, Francis Jeffrey, Francis Horner, and Henry Brougham, along with the Anglican clergyman Sydney Smith – “undisputed father” of the periodical who served as its first editor – the *Edinburgh Review* was noted by the founders to have been primarily set up to serve “our own amusement and improvement – joined with the gratification of some personal, and some national vanity.”<sup>25</sup> This was a “vanity” which at once adhered to loose Scoto-British tenets of political and “philosophic” Whiggism, whilst also harbouring a rather more specified attachment to the historic distinction of Scotland itself.<sup>26</sup>

These early nineteenth-century critics, representative of a more comfortably Anglophile Scots “elite,” have been seen to reflect an age of diminishing insecurity in issues of language; even perceived proponents of a deft “conversational exhibition” particular to the Scottish capital.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, inheriting the lingering “provincial” anxieties and linguistic apprehensions of their “enlightened” forebears, the writers of the *Review* also remained conscious of the interconnections between notions of both British “nation” and “locality,” (and imperial “province” and “metropole”),

---

<sup>23</sup> J. Jefferson Looney ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, (Princeton, 2010), 12 vols., VII, p. 367.

<sup>24</sup> George Gordon Byron, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers; a Satire*, (1809: London, 1810), pp. 34, 7. Barton Swaim, *Scottish Men of Letters and the New Public Sphere, 1802-1834*, (Cranbury, 2009), pp. 23-4, Joanne Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers*, (Leicester, 1989), pp. 1-3, 14-15, George Pottinger, *Heirs of the Enlightenment*, (Edinburgh, 1992).

<sup>25</sup> John Clive, *Scotch Reviewers*, (London, 1957), p. 25, Francis Jeffrey to Francis Horner, 8 September 1803, quoted in Henry Cockburn, *Life of Francis Jeffrey*, (1852: Edinburgh, 1872), 2 vols., II, p. 72.

<sup>26</sup> Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p. 10, James A. Greig, *Francis Jeffrey of the Edinburgh Review*, (London, 1948), pp. 50, Biancamaria Fontana, *Rethinking the politics of commercial society: the Edinburgh Review 1802-1832*, (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 2-3, 113-46, 182-5, William Christie, *The Edinburgh Review in the Literary Culture of Romantic Britain*, (London, 2009), pp. 47-58, Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow. The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh*, (Princeton, 2007), pp. 1-31. Horner and Brougham were elected to Parliament as members of the Whig party.

<sup>27</sup> Swaim, *Scottish Men of Letters*, p. 76. Also, Alex Benichmol, *Intellectual Politics and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period. Scottish Whigs, English Radicals and the Making of the British Public Sphere*, (Farnham, 2010), pp. 97-117.

whilst similarly upholding the “standards” seen to govern an English “world language.”<sup>28</sup> Notably, it was within the heyday of the *Review* that Scots linguistic sub-versions began to be vociferously and self-consciously championed – often accentuating pangs of nationalised nostalgia.<sup>29</sup>

But such backward-looking sentimentality was generally less characteristic of the Reviewers themselves. Indeed, these individuals were very much men of their time. Warily praised as “the far famed and far dreaded Edinburgh Review” by the Philadelphia *Port Folio* in 1811, the Scottish publication wielded a wide literary authority on both sides of the Atlantic during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup> From its inception in 1802, the *Review* was in high demand within the United States, and was soon printed in both Boston and New York City.<sup>31</sup>

Opponents of the *Review* acknowledged its formidable global reputation. One particularly combative 1819 critique, penned by “An American” in response to the *Review*’s stance on the “foul stain” of slavery within the U.S., expressed “a very high respect” for the “authors of a literary journal” having “long stood” as “watchful and faithful centinels, [...] over the liberties, the literature, and the morals of Europe, and whose reports are read, from the Ganges to the Missouri.”<sup>32</sup> As Thomas Jefferson’s letter of 1813 indicates, the “Edinburgh Reviews” were seen as none too friendly towards writers within the United States, and these “Scotch critics” were regularly accused of harbouring prejudice towards an emergent American literature.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the *Review* displayed an

---

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 72-101. Also William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, (Cambridge, 2004), p. 254.

<sup>29</sup> This is reflected in depictions of the language of Francis Jeffrey, the venerable editor who presided over the *Review* from 1802 to 1829. Much like his “enlightenment” predecessors, Jeffrey was motivated to modify his Scottish pronunciation, and later discussions of the critic frequently compare his linguistic concerns to those of the eighteenth-century literati, Clive, *Scotch Reviewers*, pp. 18-19, Pottinger, *Heirs*, pp. 9, 18-19, Grieg, *Francis Jeffrey*, p. 57, Philip Flynn, *Francis Jeffrey*, (London, 1978), p. 170.

Jeffrey was infamously unsuccessful in his endeavours to acquire an acceptably “English” diction. Lockhart’s *Letters to his Kinsfolk*, and Cockburn’s *Life of Jeffrey* both dwell on his unique and oftentimes unseemly English stylings. Significantly, the two accounts also offer a distinctly more positive interpretation of Lowland Scots language, reckoned to exude an “air of broad and undisguised sincerity,” and reflect “the preservation of a literature so peculiar and so picturesque,” a “classic Scotch, of which much is good English.”

John Gibson Lockhart, *Peter’s Letters to his Kinsfolk*, (Edinburgh, 1819), 3 vols., II, p. 70, Cockburn, *Life of Francis Jeffrey*, I, pp. 45-6.

As with earlier idealisations of Lowland language, this “classic Scotch” was marked by its own marginality; suggestive of “the last purely Scotch age that Scotland was destined to see.”

Cockburn, *Life of Francis Jeffrey*, I, 151. Also Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen*, II, pp. 543-5. Paul Henderson Scott, *Scotland Resurgent. Comments on the cultural and political revival of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 2003) pp. 101-2.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Criticism for the Port Folio. English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, a Satire by Lord Byron,’ *Port Folio, New Series*, V, 1, (New York, 1811), p. 440. See Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp. 93-104.

<sup>31</sup> Claire Elliot and Andrew Hook eds., *Francis Jeffrey’s American Journal: New York to Washington 1813*, (Glasgow, 2011), pp. xiii, 87 n. 63.

<sup>32</sup> Anon., ‘Letter to the Edinburgh Reviewers: by “An American,”’ *National Intelligencer* (Washington), 16 November 1819, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp. 99-100, Clive, *Scotch Reviewers*, pp. 168-8, 175. Sydney Smith’s 1820 article, ‘Who Reads an American Book?’ is frequently referenced as vital formative text within an American

intriguingly different attitude towards Scots and American sub-versions of – and within – this “English” language.<sup>34</sup>

Famously, the *Review* printed a hugely influential discussion of the poetry of Robert Burns in 1809, in which Francis Jeffrey, author of the piece, issued a rousing, yet somewhat defensive celebration of certain Scots forms. Essentially, Jeffrey presented Burnsian discourse in a notably sentimental light, projected along with a conspicuous tint of Scots triumphalism. In a lengthy digression, Jeffrey insisted Burns’s language, “*this* Scotch,” was “not to be considered as a provincial dialect, – the vehicle of only rustic vulgarity and rude local humour.”<sup>35</sup> “The Scotch” was declared a tongue “by no means peculiar to the vulgar,” and honoured as “the language of a whole country, – long an independent kingdom, and still separate in laws, character and manners.”<sup>36</sup>

Looking back to an imagined age of linguistic stability and separate Scots “standards,” the *Review* imbued Lowland language – “the common speech of the whole nation in early life” – with a prestige predicated upon an emotional attachment to a declining “olden” age. Alluding to what was, in all likelihood, the ambivalence of himself and his colleagues at the *Review*, Jeffrey admitted “[i]n later times” such language “has been, in some measure, laid aside by the more ambitious and aspiring of the present generation.”<sup>37</sup> Yet the editor insisted that Scots forms were “still recollected,” “even by them” who had gravitated towards English “standards,” upheld “as the familiar language of their childhood, and of those who were the earliest objects of their love and veneration”:

It is connected in their imagination, not only with that olden time, which is uniformly conceived as more pure, lofty, and simple than the present, but also with all the soft and bright colours of remembered childhood and domestic affection.<sup>38</sup>

This reflection upon rose-tinted tones of “domestic affection” was accompanied by an insistence upon the literary superiority of “the Scotch” evocative of the smeddum of the likes of Alexander Geddes and John Jamieson:

---

literary canon. Brander Matthews, *Americanisms and Briticisms with other essays on Isms*, (New York, 1892), p. 103, Susan Harris Smith, *American Drama, The Bastard Art*, (Cambridge, 1997), p. 9, Emory Elliot, *The Cambridge Introduction to Early American Literature*, (Cambridge, 2002), p. 170, Richard Gravil, *Romantic Dialogues. Anglo-American Continuities, 1776-1862*, (Penrith, 2015), pp. 92-101.

<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of anti-American bias within the *Review*, see Paul Wheeler Mowbray, *America Through British Eyes*, (Ann Arbor, 1935), Hook, *Scotland and America*, p. 100, Joseph Eaton, *The Anglo-American Paper War. Debates about the New Republic, 1800-1825*, (London, 2012), pp. 83-5, 105-7, 141-3, Pam Perkins, ‘Reviewing America: Francis Jeffrey, *The Edinburgh Review*, and the United States,’ *Scotland and the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century World*.

<sup>35</sup> Francis Jeffrey, ‘Robert Burns,’ *Edinburgh Review*, XIII, (1808-9), *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review*, (London, 1853), p. 429.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

[...] it is the language of a great body of poetry, with which almost all Scotchmen are familiar; and, in particular, of a great multitude of songs, written with more tenderness, nature, and feeling, than any other lyric compositions that are extant, [...] the Scotch is, in reality, a highly poetical language; and that it is an ignorant, as well as an illiberal prejudice, which would seek to confound it with the barbarous dialects of Yorkshire or Devon.<sup>39</sup>

Driven to shield Scots forms from “illiberal prejudice” whilst notably dismissing “barbarous” English “dialects,” Jeffrey focussed on the linguistic accomplishments of Burns, emphasising the poet’s Anglo-centred credentials. “In composing his Scottish poems,” Jeffrey insisted, “Burns did not merely make an instinctive and necessary use of the only dialect he could employ,” stressing that the Ayrshire poet “could write in the dialect of England with far greater purity and propriety than nine tenths of those who are called well educated in that country.”<sup>40</sup>

Thus, the newfound literary respectability of certain Scots forms tied in with an insistence upon Burns’s uncompromised proficiency “in the dialect of England.” As such, Jeffrey reiterated Allan Ramsay’s century-old assertion of a Scottish “mastery” of the English language; an accomplishment perceived to accord post-union Scots the authority to incorporate their own “liquid and sonorous” pronunciation and “native Words of eminent Significancy” within an explicitly “British” discourse.<sup>41</sup>

In his consideration of Burns’s skill in harnessing “English,” Jeffrey paid tribute to “the variations preserved by Dr Currie,” alluding to James Currie – the poet’s editor and biographer who had once attempted to establish himself as a merchant on the James River in Virginia.<sup>42</sup> Currie, later physician to a vibrant Scots community at Liverpool, had once admitted to his sister Anne to tolerate “nothing so little as the awkward attempts of a Scotsman to be an Englishman.”<sup>43</sup> Yet within his 1800 anthology of Burns’s work and correspondence, Currie was keen to assert the poet’s “English” acumen.

Currie famously quoted the Edinburgh professor and philosopher Dugald Stewart. Stewart, who had served as something of an intellectual mentor to several of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review*, acknowledged Burns’s “remarkable” turn of phrase; emphasising the “fluency [...] precision, and originality of his language,” and recognising that as the poet, “aimed at purity in his turn of

---

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, p. 430.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>41</sup> Allan Ramsay, *Poems*, (Edinburgh, 1721), 2 vols., I, p. vii, Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, p. 105.

<sup>42</sup> Jeffrey, *Contributions*, p. 430. See Robert Donald Thornton, *James Currie. The Entire Stranger and Robert Burns*, (London, 1963), pp. 32-66.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Thornton, *James Currie*, p. 234.

expression,” he “avoided more successfully than most Scotchmen, the peculiarities of Scottish phraseology.”<sup>44</sup> Currie also offered testimony of the uncommon degree of encouragement which Burns had received in his English studies, and provided the perspective of his boyhood schoolmaster – who had noted that the poet’s father, William Burness,

[...] spoke the English language with more propriety, (both with respect to diction and pronunciation) than any man I knew with no great advantages. This had a very good effect on the boys, who began to talk, and reason like men, much sooner than their neighbours.<sup>45</sup>

The drive to discuss the “English” affinity and appeal of Burns is evident within Currie’s own “prefatory remarks,” where he insisted upon the capacity of distinct Scots forms to be encased within a wider “English” framework. “Though the dialect” of Burns’s “happiest effusions” was reckoned “peculiar to Scotland,” Currie celebrated the pan-national appeal of the poet’s “reputation,” which “extended itself beyond the limits of that country,” “admired as the offspring of original genius, by persons of taste in every part of the sister islands.”<sup>46</sup> Currie likened Burns’s handling of a range of linguistic elements to “a musician that runs from the lowest to the highest of his keys,” supposing “the use of the Scottish dialect enables him to add two additional notes to the bottom of his scale.”<sup>47</sup> Currie allocated Burns’s Scots an “additional,” identifiably sub-versive status within this assigned set of socio-linguistic parameters, admitted *within* an Anglo-centred “scale” yet distinguished through a conspicuous presence at the “bottom.”

As both Leith Davis and Carol McGuirok have discussed, Currie’s interpretation of Burns served to direct a stream of later nineteenth-century perspectives, merging a “cultural memory” of the poet with Scoto-British patriotism.<sup>48</sup> For Currie, such a Scots-British bonding was complicated by what he saw as the demand for a “rapid change” of “manner and dialect.”<sup>49</sup> These associations clearly contributed to the increasingly picturesque outlook on Scottish idiosyncrasy in the early nineteenth century, fusing an emotive cultural preservation with “persons of taste.”<sup>50</sup> Indeed, Currie

---

<sup>44</sup> James Currie ed., *The Works of Robert Burns*, (1800: London, 1806), 4 vols., I, p. 137. For Stewart and the *Edinburgh Review* see, Clive, *Scotch Reviewers*, pp. 24-5, Pottinger, *Heirs*, pp. 6, 21, 54, 67, Benchimol, *Intellectual Politics and Cultural Conflict*, pp. 57-9, 101-3.

<sup>45</sup> Currie, *Burns*, I, p. 95.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, I, pp. 328-9.

<sup>48</sup> Carol McGuirok, ‘The Politics of *The Collected Burns*,’ W.N. Herbert and Richard Price eds., *Gairfish Discovery*, (Bridge of Weir, 1991), p. 37, Carol McGuirok, ‘Haunted by Authority: Nineteenth-century American Constructions of Robert Burns and Scotland,’ Robert Crawford ed., *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 144, 151-2, Leith Davis, ‘Negotiating Cultural Memory: James Currie’s *Works of Robert Burns*,’ *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 6, (Spring/Summer 2010), pp. 1-16.

<sup>49</sup> Currie, *Burns*, I, p. 25,

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*.

perceived the waning of national “peculiarity” to blend with sentimental-yet-celebratory assumptions of exile, an key characteristic of verbal tartanry:

[...] the scenery of a country, the peculiar manners its inhabitants, and the martial achievements of their ancestors are embodied in national songs, and united to national music. By this combination, the ties that attach men to the land of their birth are multiplied and strengthened; and the images of infancy, strongly associating with the generous affections, resist the influence of time, and of new impressions; they often survive in countries far distant, and amidst far different scenes, to the latest periods of life, to soothe the heart with the pleasures of memory, when those of hope die away.<sup>51</sup>

In a further discussion, Currie outlined the essence of verbal tartanry itself. Following on from his bottom-of-the-scale analogy, the biographer attempted to reconcile Burns’s “peasant” lexicon with a wider, more socially “respectable” Scottish appreciation of his verse. Currie “confidently predicted” that the “beautiful strain” of Burns “will be sung with equal or superior interest, on the banks of the Ganges or of the Mississippi, as on those of the Tay or the Tweed”:

Burns wrote professionally for the peasantry of his country, and by them their native dialect is universally relished. To a numerous class of the natives of Scotland of another description it may also be considered as attractive in a different point of view. Estranged from their native soil, and spread over foreign lands, the idiom of their country unites with the sentiments and the descriptions on which it is employed, to recal [sic.] to their minds the interesting scenes of infancy and youth – to awaken many pleasing, many tender recollections. Literary men, residing at Edinburgh or Aberdeen, cannot judge on this point for one hundred and fifty thousand of their expatriated countrymen.<sup>52</sup>

In this manner, legions of “expatriated countrymen” were anticipated to lead the charge in a sentimental reconfiguration of Lowland language. Currie, himself with personal experience of living outwith Scotland, was a notable exponent of this.

Yet, this reading of a Burnsian “Scotch” had also become generally acceptable to “literary men.” Francis Jeffrey, citing Currie’s account within his own discussion of Burns, offered an amplification of the biographer’s negotiation of Lowland forms within Anglo-centred literary “standards.” Jeffrey’s perspective offered a redoubtable, oft-quoted reappraisal of Scots sub-versions, and was frequently reprinted on both sides of the Atlantic throughout the following decades. As late as the spring of

---

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 30.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, I, pp. 329-30.

1844, near-identical extracts from Jeffrey's Burns-based discussion of the "Scotch dialect" appeared in newspapers as far-removed as the *Lancaster Gazette* and the *Philadelphia North American*.<sup>53</sup>

Though undoubtedly favourable, Jeffrey's review did not hesitate to point out certain defects observed within the work of Burns. Perceiving the poet to have taken "much greater pains with the beauty and purity of his expressions in Scotch than in English," Jeffrey saw "much to censure, as well as much to praise."<sup>54</sup> Burns's "Scottish compositions" were "greatly preferred to his English ones," and Jeffrey was particularly unimpressed by one significant aspect of Burns's *oeuvre*.<sup>55</sup>

Jeffrey was perturbed by a general lack of "propriety."<sup>56</sup> Likening certain Burnsian elements to "the very slang of the worst German plays and the lowest of our town novels," Jeffrey supposed the "leading vice in Burns's character," and "cardinal deformity" within "all of his productions," to be "his contempt, or affectation of contempt, for prudence, decency and regularity; and his admiration of thoughtlessness, oddity, and vehement sensibility."<sup>57</sup> A critique of a comparable "irregularity" graced the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* one year later, colouring Jeffrey's discussion of the Anglo-American poet Joel Barlow and his 1807 "transatlantic Epic" the *Columbiad*.<sup>58</sup> The *Review* disapproved of both Barlow and Burns's apparent lack of adherence to canonical literary "standards." Yet essentially, it was Barlow's *American* lexicon and Burns's *English* verses, which received the strongest criticism. The Scot's employment of Lowland forms largely escaped such censure.

Barlow – Anglo-American polymath and diplomat, who had once represented U.S. interests at the hostile "Barbary" ports of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli – was reckoned to have composed, "the first specimen of [...] any considerable work composed in an American tongue."<sup>59</sup> This was a fairly dubious accolade. As with his perception of Burns's "contempt" for the rules of "prudence, decency and regularity," Jeffrey deemed Barlow's "American tongue" to show similar deficiency in terms of tone and linguistic decorum. Barlow's epic was viewed to demonstrate "the want of a literary society, to animate, controul, and refine," and observed to betray a "curious intermixture" of

---

<sup>53</sup> 'Selected Anecdotes &c.,' *Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland*, 6 April, 1844, no page, 'The Scotch Dialect,' *North American and Daily Advertiser*, (Philadelphia) 24 May 1844, p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Jeffrey, *Contributions*, pp. 430, 427.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 427-8.

<sup>56</sup> Susan Manning, *Poetics of Character. Transatlantic Encounters 1700-1900*, (Cambridge, 2013), p. 254.

<sup>57</sup> Jeffrey, *Contributions*, p. 426.

<sup>58</sup> Anon. [Francis Jeffrey], 'The Columbiad: a Poem by Joel Barlow,' *Edinburgh Review*, XV (Edinburgh, 1809-10), p. 25.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28. See Richard Buel Jr., *Joel Barlow. American Citizen in a Revolutionary World*, (Baltimore, 2011).

register – combining an “extreme homeliness and flatness, with a sort of turbulent and bombastic elevation.”<sup>60</sup>

Jeffrey declared Barlow’s phraseology “may be known from all other tongues by an utter disregard of all distinction between what should be called lofty and elegant, and low and vulgar expressions.”<sup>61</sup> Drawing sardonic parallels between the language of the *Columbiad* and early American politics, the Scot supposed, “[t]hese republican literati seem to make it a point of conscience to have no aristocratical distinctions – even in their vocabulary.”<sup>62</sup> Although Jeffrey’s consideration of the *Columbiad* was by no means wholly negative, Barlow’s indifference to socio-linguistic “distinction” was seen as an unforgivable flaw. The *Review* concluded that if the poet “would pay some attention to purity of style, and simplicity of composition, and cherish in himself a certain fastidiousness of taste” – “not yet to be found [...] even among the better educated” of his compatriots – it was predicted that the American “might produce something which English poets would envy, and English critics applaud.”<sup>63</sup> By contrast, the “Scotch” of Burns appears to have been more than capable of achieving this elusive “English” approval.

In 1820, Jeffrey was required to defend his assessment of Barlow’s *Columbiad*, responding to a “singularly unjust attack” upon the *Edinburgh Review* within Robert Walsh’s *Appeal from the Judgements of Great Britain* of the previous year, which accused the Scottish periodical of anti-American bias.<sup>64</sup> In his *Appeal*, Walsh – a native of Baltimore who had established the *American Review* at Philadelphia in 1811 – was driven to contest the “slanders” “incessantly heaped” upon the United States “by British writers,” and protested the “excesses of obloquy” of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews* in particular.<sup>65</sup>

In his critique of the *Appeal*, Jeffrey responded to Walsh’s allegations, brusquely rejecting his charge of prejudice. Jeffrey cited an extract from an earlier edition of the *Review*, “our 12<sup>th</sup> Volume,” and stood by his opinion of literature in America, reasserting the infamous statement that “Americans do not write books.”<sup>66</sup> However, the editor contended, “it must not be inferred, from this, that they are indifferent about literature,” projecting a view of a “provincial” American intelligentsia, dependent upon Anglo-centred metropolitan direction:

---

<sup>60</sup> [Jeffrey], ‘Columbiad,’ p. 25.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>64</sup> Francis Jeffrey, ‘United States of America,’ *Edinburgh Review* XXXIII, (1820), *Contributions*, p. 799.

<sup>65</sup> Robert Walsh, *An Appeal from the Judgements of Great Britain respecting the United States of America*, (Philadelphia, 1819), pp. iv, vi.

<sup>66</sup> Jeffrey, *Contributions*, p. 808.

[...] they get books enough from us in their own language; and are, in this respect, just in the condition of any of our great trading or manufacturing districts at home, within the locality of which there is no encouragement for authors to settle.<sup>67</sup>

An American “condition” was likened to that of certain British “localities,” seen to provide a comparable lack of creative “encouragement” or appeal.

In light of this, Jeffrey challenged Walsh’s claims of “national” prejudice. Reiterating his earlier verdict on the *Columbiad*, the critic admitted “[i]t is very true that we have laughed at his strange neologisms, and pointed out some of its other manifold faults,” but queried “is it possible for any one to seriously believe, that this gentle castigation was dictated by national animosity?”<sup>68</sup> Recalling his own suggestions for Barlow to “pay some attention to purity of style and simplicity of composition” by way of gaining “English” appreciation, Jeffrey dismissed Walsh’s criticism, musing “[a]re there any traces here, [...] of national spite and hostility?”<sup>69</sup> Indeed, Jeffrey proclaimed his own benevolence and impartiality in directing an “appropriate,” Anglo-centred discourse:

[...] is it not true, that our account of the poem is, on the whole, not only fair but favourable, and the tone of our remarks as good-humoured, and friendly as if the author had been a whiggish Scotchman?<sup>70</sup>

Jeffrey’s remark points to a certain degree of self-consciousness, with the editor emphasising that *all* authors, even the “whiggish Scotchman” types of the *Review*, were open to stylistic censure. Acknowledging the “friendly” direction required by both Scots and Anglo-Americans in their attempted “English” composition, Jeffrey hinted at a lingering anxiety in employing such tropes, a well-noted characteristic of earlier “provincial” apprehensions within both nations.

But Burnsian “Scotch” was viewed in a different light, and no longer bound by such circumscription. Though Scottish and Anglo-American consternation over acceptable linguistic and cultural “standards” would rumble on throughout the centuries, ever conscious of Anglo-British scorn, certain Lowland linguistic traits, exemplified in the “Scotch” of Burns, became confidently articulated and marked with ever more aplomb.

---

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 809.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

This is demonstrated by a brief Anglo-American scattering of Scots poetry at the turn of the nineteenth century. As numerous scholars have shown, Scottish literary and intellectual connections were deeply embedded within the socio-cultural framework of the former British colonies in North America.<sup>71</sup> Jefferson, a famous enthusiast both for the poetry of Ossian and the rhetoric of “enlightenment” intellectuals such as Hugh Blair, provides a notable, but by no means atypical example.<sup>72</sup> Connecting the popularity of Robert Burns to an earlier American appreciation of such texts as John Home’s *Douglas* and the poetry of Ossian and Ramsay, Andrew Hook convincingly links the vogue for a “heroic,” “self-consciously Scottish” literary representation in the United States with a later interest in more “vernacular” stylings inspired by the “ploughman poet.”<sup>73</sup>

The work of Burns was well known within the United States, and volumes of his poetry were regularly printed at Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and New York City throughout the 1790s and the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>74</sup> Hook locates a “flourishing off-shoot” of a “Scottish vernacular tradition” within the United States at this very period, uncovering a remarkable flowering of Scoto-American poetry closely associated with Burnsian tones and tropes.<sup>75</sup> Printed primarily within literary magazines such as the Philadelphia *Port Folio*, this sprinkling of Scots-inflected verse, often inspired by and directly addressed to Burns, highlights the early synonymy established between the Ayrshire poet and general conceptions of Lowland language. While this brief, popular manifestation of diasporic poetry did display elements of a specifically Scottish sense of rustic nostalgia, this sub-versive sprouting was somewhat more than a mere “off-shoot” of a domestic branch of Scots literature. In fact, two of the most prolific poets did not identify as “Scots.” Rather, they made a concerted effort to proclaim themselves “Scots-Irish.”

David Bruce, “Scots-Irishman” of Pennsylvania and Robert Dinsmoor, “Rustic Bard” from New Hampshire, provide a fascinating demonstration of Scots forms harnessed to particular “post-

---

<sup>71</sup> Key texts include, Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp. 73-173, Sher and Smitten., *Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment*, William C. Lehmann, *Scottish and Scotch-Irish Contributions to Early American Life and Culture*, (London, 1978), 107-56, Susan Manning and Francis D. Cogliano eds., *The Atlantic Enlightenment*, (Aldershot, 2008).

<sup>72</sup> The Scot William Small, Jefferson’s professor and mentor at the College of William and Mary, is viewed as an influential figure, John Dos Passos, *The Heart and Head of Thomas Jefferson*, (New York, 1954), pp. 84-102, Francis W. Hirst, *Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, (New York, 1926), pp. 24-6. For Jefferson’s enthusiasm for Scots authors, Ossian in particular, see Douglas L. Wilson ed., *Jefferson’s Literary Commonplace Book*, (Princeton, 1989), pp. 13, 141-5, 150-1, 171-3, Andrew Burnstein, *The Inner Jefferson*, (Charlottesville, 1996), pp. 31-4, 127-30, Iain McLean, ‘Scottish Enlightenment influence on Thomas Jefferson’s Book-Buying: Introducing Jefferson’s Libraries,’ Oxford University, Nuffield’s Working Papers Series, (2011): [https://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/politics/papers/2011/Iain%20McLean\\_working%20paper%202011\\_01.pdf](https://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/politics/papers/2011/Iain%20McLean_working%20paper%202011_01.pdf)

<sup>73</sup> Hook, *Scotland and America*, p. 117, 127-30.

<sup>74</sup> Rhona Brown, “‘Guid black prent’: Robert Burns and the Contemporary Scottish and American Periodical Press,’ *Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, pp. 79-82. Hook, *Scotland and America*, p. 129.

<sup>75</sup> Hook, *Scotland and America*, p. 133.

colonial” concerns of certain “white-settler” networks within the early American republic. The differing range and interests of these “Scots-Irish” writers suggest the potential for a broad employment of Lowland language within the United States at the turn of the century. There is a significant smattering of émigré sentimentality throughout the work of the two “Scots-Irish” writers, and both often operate within a Burnsian framework. However, it is important to note that Dinsmoor and Bruce, respectively born in the 1750s and 1760s, were near contemporaries of Burns, and unlikely to have idolised the poet in a manner comparable to that of subsequent generations.

Indeed, the expanding influence of Burns, and the ever-increasing assumption that *his* poetry typified *all* Scots forms, can be gleaned from Bruce and Dinsmoor’s collections. Perhaps surprisingly given the chosen title, the editor of Bruce’s 1801 *Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* provides only passing reference to Burns, making no attempt to draw comparisons with Bruce’s own employment of Scots phraseology. Instead, mirroring the attitude of Currie and Jeffrey, the editor asserted the “propriety” of Bruce’s language, stressing that the poet’s “choice” of Scots forms was no mere consequence of an “incapacity” in “English”:

It is hoped that the language will be found simple, natural, and correct, the sentiment just, and evidently flowing from a genius of no mean order. Those who do not understand the Scots language, will be deprived of great pleasure, which every one who does will certainly receive in perusal of those poems written in the native dialect of the Author. Many have regretted that he did not write more in English. – The specimens here given are full proof that the Author’s choice did not proceed from incapacity.<sup>76</sup>

However, Dinsmoor *was* compelled to address the Burnsian connection within his *Incidental Poems*, printed at the markedly later date of 1828. Writing in the third person, Dinsmoor insisted on his “new-world” difference:

It may be said he writes in the Scotch dialect, and with a manifest reference to Burns. Respecting his using the Scotch dialect, we would remark that he is really of Scotch descent, though of American birth; and began to write poetry probably before he knew that Burns existed.<sup>77</sup>

The “Rustic Bard” acknowledged a debt to Burns, yet asserted his essentially American redeployment of Scots forms:

[...] instead of charging him with imitating Burns, we are rather astonished at the good sense and discrimination, which led him to make the proper use of his favourite author.

---

<sup>76</sup> David Bruce, *Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, (Washington, 1801), p. viii.

<sup>77</sup> Robert Dinsmoor, *Incidental Poems accompanied with letters*, (Haverhill, 1828), pp. viii-ix.

What ever similitude there may be between them, he shews peculiar judgement in not transfusing a single sample of foreign scenery into his native land. If he resembles Burns, it is with all the diversity of the two countries in which each were born. Burns is the bonny Doon flowing through the banks and braes of Scotland, and Dinsmoor, is the Merrimack, passing through our western soil and reflecting from its crustal bed the western scenery through which it passes.<sup>78</sup>

Tellingly, Bruce and Dinsmoor's publications stand near the beginning and end of this early nineteenth-century diasporic upsurge of Scots-inflected poetry. While Bruce referred to Burns and regularly employed his trademark Standard Habbie stanza, the 1801 *Poems* offered no substantial, self-reflective comparison to the Scots poet. Rather, Bruce's editor emphasised the linguistic "correctness" and dexterity of the "Scots-Irishman" in a similar manner to contemporary devotees of Burns. By contrast, Dinsmoor's later volume appears obliged to negotiate the then inescapable associations with the Ayrshire poet, asserting an embedding of Burnsian elements within "our western soil."

But Bruce and Dinsmoor do more than highlight the ascension of Burns as a transatlantic Scots icon. Both poets, and their conspicuous employment of Lowland language, provide an invaluable glimpse into the socio-political priorities of early nineteenth-century "Scots-Irish" migrant networks.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, Bruce and Dinsmoor reflect intriguingly different diasporic perspectives.

Bruce's poems often follow a polemical Federalist agenda, and a Scots inflection frequently supplements his hearty, anti-"Jacobin" sentiments:

I, far owre th' Atlantic's wave  
A thoughtless multitude amang,  
Frae mad Democracy to save,  
Pur out my unavailing sang.<sup>80</sup>

Dedicating his *Poems* to Alexander Addison –President of the Pennsylvania Courts of Common Pleas later impeached on accusation "of great abuses and indelicacies as a man" – Bruce's phraseology underpinned a simpler age, unencumbered by seditious, grasping radicalism:

Thae sangs are written in the phrase

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, pp. viii-ix.

<sup>79</sup> For discussions of "Scot's Irish" migration to the U.S., see James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish. A Social History*, (Durham, North Carolina, 1962), Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name. Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of the British Atlantic World, 1689-1764*, (Princeton, 2001).

<sup>80</sup> David Bruce, 'Paddy's Advice,' quoted in Harry R. Warfel, 'David Bruce, Federalist Poet of Western Pennsylvania,' *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, July-October, 1925, 8, 3-4, p. 1.

Our forbears spake in ither days  
Douce, honest carls! on their braes  
    They liv'd fu' snug,  
Wi' sober, simple, peacefu' ways,  
    An toom'd their cogg.

They had na heard o' *Tamas Paine*,  
An' a' the diabolic train  
His principles hae brought on men  
    They paid their rent;  
An,' finding *ilk thing else their aitt*,  
    They were content. [Original Emphasis].<sup>81</sup>

Bruce also linked Lowland language to conceptions of Scottish political pride and rationality. His 'Verses on Reading the Poems of Robert Burns' combine a rustic Scots idyll with a cutting depiction of an emerging generation of American politicians, dismissive of Federalist icons. Honouring Burns, "sae sweet in hamely phrase," Bruce addressed the poet from a cynical political standpoint:

But, what had maist employ'd your vein,  
An' faund ye ay the readiest game,  
    Wad be our politicians;  
They swarm like flees, an' bizz, an' sting,  
An' *dab their snouts in ilka thing*,  
    *Without or leave or license.*

It maks na whare the deil they come frae,  
Ance they set foot upo' the countrie,  
    They're fill'd wi' inspiration:  
Their depth of knowledge, mony fathoms  
Dings that o' *Washington an' Adams*  
    To guide an' rule the nation! [Original emphasis].<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> Thomas Lloyd, *The Trial of Alexander Addison, Esq.*, (Lancaster, 1803), p. 5, Bruce, *Poems*, p. xii.

<sup>82</sup> Bruce, *Poems*, pp. 30-1.

Crucially, the “Scots-Irishman” intersperses his collection with additional, Scots-accented Federalist voices, such as that of his fellow Scots émigré Hugh Henry Brackenridge – “brither *Brack*” – the author-editor and Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania whom Bruce engaged in a good-natured bout of poetic flyting.<sup>83</sup> Bruce also included a humorous address ‘To Peter Porcupine,’ of *Porcupine’s Gazette* of Philadelphia, in which he scorned the editor’s dislike of his “crabbed Scotch,” offering a salute to the anti-“Jacobin” stance of “my neebor Peter,” in ironic, unapologetic Scots phraseology.<sup>84</sup>

Most notably, in his ‘New Song for the Jacobins,’ Bruce responded to attempts of his political antagonists “to ridicule the Author’s Scots dialect.”<sup>85</sup> Targeting his “Jacobin” detractors, Bruce offered a mock apology:

[t]he Author is really sorry, that he could not accommodate the language of this Song to the delicate organs of those for whose use it is designed; but indeed they must blame the perverse obstinacy of the Muse.<sup>86</sup>

The poet presented himself in debate with his Scots “Muse,” imploring “her, for once, to exchange her barbarous pronunciation for the softer tones of a more cultivated language,” insisting “her “cannas” and “dinnas” were become quite intolerable”:

[...] but the testy little Scots Gentlewoman grew angry—called him ‘senseless cooff’— ‘witless gowk,’ and ‘gilly-gapas’— She said that she had sung her songs in her native dialect to far better folk than him or his fine-ear’d Jacobins, to whom, she supposed, he now intended to make his court; she called him ‘fause, ungratefu’ tyke’; that had it not been for her ‘barbarous pronunciation,’ and her ‘intolerable cannas and dinnas,’ his name would not be known six miles from his cabbın, but now it was spread all over the country, and by and bye it would get into a book, and be, perhaps, carried all over the Continent.<sup>87</sup>

Clearly, Bruce presented his use of Lowland language in staunch political opposition to “fine-ear’d Jacobins,” also asserting his own sub-versive renown as a poet, “carried all over the Continent” as a possible consequence of his distinctive Scots forms.

Bruce’s branding as the “Scots-Irishman” was calculated to suit his socio-political interests within Pennsylvania. As several discussions of the forging of a “Scotch-Irish” ethnicity within the early American republic have suggested, aspiring north-Irish emigrants, linked by previous waves of

---

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, p. 100, Warfel, ‘Bruce,’ p. 12.

<sup>84</sup> Bruce, *Poems*, pp. 106-10.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p. 80.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 80-1.

Scots-Ulster migration to the language and markedly Presbyterian culture of Lowland Scotland, sought to differentiate themselves from “wild” Irish Catholic communities seen to be rebellious, culturally “backward,” and linguistically “alien” by an Anglo-American “elite.”<sup>88</sup> Bruce’s *Poems* reflect this. The collection highlights the interaction of the “Scots-Irishman” with several prominent members of Pennsylvania society, and Bruce’s exhibition of a politically-charged, recognisably Scots phraseology appears a poignant indication of his alignment with a respectable Federalism.

Bruce’s editor even acknowledged the poet’s adoption of the “Scots-Irish” moniker, along with the conspicuous pseudonym of “Whiskey,” was intended to appeal to “the people, who are distinguished by the name of *Scots-Irish*”, “most numerous in the country,” and to also disassociate Bruce and his community from involvement in the recent Whiskey Rebellion.<sup>89</sup> “The Scots-Irish” he noted, “were at this time, much blamed for their activity” in the “outrageous opposition,” and “the Author’s main design” was to challenge this “indiscriminate censure”:

[...] although many were blameable, all were not; and that there was still one faithful Scots Irishman, who was as fond of whisky as any of his countrymen, but was still willing to pay for the liberty of drinking it.<sup>90</sup>

Dinsmoor’s poems evince a similarly forthright “Scots-Irish” socio-cultural cohesion. However, Dinsmoor – third-generation, New Hampshire-born expatriate – appears more keen on sentimentalising his own heritage. Bruce, who in his youth had direct personal experience of migration, is markedly less inclined to pursue this trope.<sup>91</sup> While the “Scots-Irishman” was driven to cultivate an upstanding, political-poetic reputation, the “Rustic Bard” – descended from migrants – stressed a “Scots-Irish” respectability of a somewhat different nature.

Dinsmoor’s *Incidental Poems* highlight the manner in which Lowland Scots forms projected a fanciful, transatlantic “clannishness.” The titles of Dinsmoor’s poems frequently convey this wistful “Scots-Irish” fraternity. One such piece, ‘The Author to his friend Col. Silas Dinsmoor, of Mobile, Alabama, in Scotch, the dialect of their ancestors,’ provides a clear example of Dinsmoor’s

---

<sup>88</sup> J.D.C. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832*, (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 208, 214-5, 258, 292-3, 307, Kerby A. Miller, ‘The New England and Federalist origins of “Scotch-Irish” ethnicity,’ William Kelly and John R. Young eds., *Ulster and Scotland, 1600-2000*, (Dublin, 2004), pp. 113-17, Edward J. Cowan, ‘Prophesy and Prophylaxis: A Paradigm for the Scotch Irish?’ H. Tyler Blethen and Curtis W. Wood Jr. eds., *Ulster and North America, Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish*, (Tuscaloosa, 1997), p. 23, Lehmann, *Scottish and Scotch-Irish Contributions*, pp. 28-9, 36-48, Neil Irvin Painter, *A History of White People*, (New York, 2010), p. 133.

<sup>89</sup> Bruce, *Poems*, p. 11.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, Warfel, ‘Bruce,’ p. 10.

<sup>91</sup> Bruce emigrated from Caithness to Maryland in 1784, Bruce, *Poems*, p. v. The poet may have also moved between Scotland and Ireland in his youth, Warfel, ‘Bruce,’ pp. 2-3.

eneration of “ancient” ancestry fused to more-recent diasporic wanderings.<sup>92</sup> The poet addresses his kinsman, mentioning “Londonderry” – the final resting place of their “great grandsire” in County Derry which shared a name with the New Hampshire town of Dinsmoor’s birth:

Whan we our ancient line retrace,  
He was the first o’ a’ our race,  
Cauld Erin ca’ his native place,  
    O’ name Dinsmore!  
And first that saw wi’ joyfu’ face,  
    Columbia’s shore!

Though death our ancestors has cleeket,  
An’ under clods them closely steeket;  
Their native tongue we yet wad speak it,  
    Wi accent glib;  
And mark the place their chimney reeket,  
    Like brothers sib.<sup>93</sup>

This celebratory mergence “O’ name Dinsmore!” with an attempted, admittedly “glib” preservation of “their native tongue” is re-routed to the North American continent:

To cousin Rabin, as ye ca’ me,  
Ye’d out the city Mobile draw me,  
An’ Indian tales ‘bout Alabama,  
    Shrewdly ye’d tell ‘im;  
An’ a’ Louisiana shaw me,  
    Imprest on vellum.<sup>94</sup>

Spanning both place and time, Dinsmoor emotively links an ancestor in “his native place” with “Indian tales” and depictions of southern states, “imprest on vellum” in an act of further of transference and translation.

Another example of such intertwining of transatlantic “Scots-Irish” ties occurs in a remarkably-titled poem – supposedly *written* by Dinsmoor in the United States, *submitted* to a Belfast publication, and *inspired* by the diasporic experience of receiving Scots poetry in New

---

<sup>92</sup> Dinsmoor, *Incidental Poems*, pp. 184.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, p. 185.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, p. 186.

Hampshire. Dinsmoor also included a “request” for yet another verse in Lowland language. The work appears under the heading:

‘For the Hencock Gazette [Belfast]. Lines written by a gentleman to a friend in this town, after receiving from him a copy of the ‘Address to Robert Burns,’ which was printed in the Belfast Gazette, some time since; with a request that he would send him, ‘Mrs Hamilton’s Compact with Old Age,’ which appeared in one of the Christian Disciples, for the last year.’<sup>95</sup>

The “Scots-Irish” linguistic connections do not end with the poem’s title. Dinsmoor opens by addressing his Belfast associate,

My late ken’d frien’ o’ reverend fame,  
Saf’ to my han’ those verses came,  
Compos’d by some auld farran dame.<sup>96</sup>

Throughout the poem, Dinsmoor speculates on the “auld farran” author:

Were she some Aborigine squaw,  
That sings sae sweet by nature’s law,  
I’d meet her in a hazle shaw,  
Or some green loany,  
An’ mak her tawny phiz an’ a’  
My welcome crony.<sup>97</sup>

The American Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier – who experimented with Scots verse despite his minimal Scottish connections – later joked that within those lines Dinsmoor presented himself “in a sad way for a Presbyterian deacon.”<sup>98</sup>

At an earlier stage in the poem, Dinsmoor made another, knowing reference to Scots linguistic interconnection. Again musing on the female poet, he supposed:

I doubt na she’s a Gorham lady,  
Sprang frae a Caledonian daddy,  
Wha in auld Scotia’s tongue sae ready,  
Attunes sic lays.

---

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, p. 171. Dinsmoor was likely referring to Elizabeth Hamilton’s ‘Auld Age,’ quoted in Elizabeth Bengier, *Memoirs of the Late Mrs Elizabeth Hamilton*, (1818: Cambridge, 2014), 2 vols., I, pp. 201-4.

<sup>96</sup> Dinsmoor, *Incidental Poems*, p. 171.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, p. 172.

<sup>98</sup> John Greenleaf Whittier, *Prose Works of John Greenleaf Whittier*, (Boston, 1866), 2 vols., I, p. 471.

An' taks frae bards in highland plaidy,  
Their laurel bays.<sup>99</sup>

Dinsmoor's "Gorham lady" was the author of an earlier verse 'Written in broad Scotch,' printed in the *New York Magazine* of November 1790.<sup>100</sup> Extracts were included within *Incidental Poems*, further highlighting the tendency of these poets to seek out supplementary Scots verses and voices.<sup>101</sup> The "Gorham lady" provides an apt reflection of Scoto-American tributes to Burns, written within the poet's own lifetime:

Fair fa' ye Robbie, canty callan,  
Wha rhym'st amaist as weel as Allan [Ramsay],  
An' pleases highlan' lads an' lawlan,  
Wi your auld gab.<sup>102</sup>

Like Bruce, Dinsmoor incorporated the poetry of his "Scots-Irish" associates, including that of Rev. David M'Gregore – the likely relative of a woman Dinsmoor had deemed "the best Scotch dictionary in Londonderry."<sup>103</sup> In his address 'To R. Dinsmoor,' M'Gregore noted the pains he had taken in penning his Scots poem:

To write to Rab, the Rustic Bard,  
Is nae sic easy task, but hard,  
Syne every line will meet reward,  
Wi' slee inspection,  
And shaw itsel' baith blait an' scar'd  
Wi' imperfection.<sup>104</sup>

According Dinsmoor respectful literary deference, M'Gregore's confession perhaps also indicates the close attention demanded by the "Rustic Bard" to conventions of Scots linguistic "propriety."<sup>105</sup>

A final example of Dinsmoor's interconnectivity is a poem to his niece, "On Receiving From Her A Copy Of 'Waverly.'" In this instance, Dinsmoor downplays his Irish connections, and though

---

<sup>99</sup> Dinsmoor, *Incidental Poems*, p. 172.

<sup>100</sup> 'Verses Written in broad Scotch, and addressed to Robert Burns, the Air-shire Poet,' *New York Magazine: or, Literary Repository*, I, (November 1790), pp. 668-9, Hook, *Scotland and America*, p. 134.

<sup>101</sup> Dinsmoor, *Incidental Poems*, pp. 167-8.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, p. 167.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, p. 105.

<sup>105</sup> For the poet's linguistic "correctness," see Frank Ferguson and Alister McReynolds eds., *Robert Dinsmoor's Scotch-Irish Poems*, (Belfast, 2012), pp. xviii.

employing Standard Habbie, he tempers his Scots phraseology. Honouring Scott's novel, *Dinsmoor* offered a heraldic pledge of his Scots heritage infusing an American patriotism:

The highest pedigree I plead –  
A Yankee born – true Scottish breed,  
Sprung from the *Laird of Achenmead* –  
His name, *Dinsmoor*,  
Who dwelt upon the banks of Tweed,  
In days of yore.<sup>106</sup>

This celebrated, Scott-inspired fusion is later melded into the rhetoric of migration, with “sires” of both “Albion” and “Scotia” bonded in “providential” exodus:

Let us that Providence adore,  
Though loud Atlantic billows roar,  
Which took our sires from Albion's shore,  
Or Scotia's strand,  
And brought their offspring safely o'er  
To bless this land.<sup>107</sup>

As with Bruce's profession of “Scots-Irish” Federalism, *Dinsmoor's* poetry, similarly spiced with Lowland language, emphasised an expatriate heritage of identifiable, commendable distinction. This “Scots-Irish” sensibility operated in relative harmony with a respectable, conservative Anglo-American socio-political consensus.<sup>108</sup> While Lowland Scots forms could provide an acceptable, advantageous flavouring within the early American republic, it is vital to note that, like Burns, *Dinsmoor* and Bruce also penned verses in a noticeably more “standard” English.<sup>109</sup>

Certain malleable Scots sub-versions were used to colour those of Scots descent in a favourable light. *Dinsmoor's* “native tongue,” at times conspicuously feminised, exoticised, and romanticised – likened to both the song of an “Aboriginal squaw” and that of an “auld farran dame” – also betrayed his ancestral triumphalism. In ‘Antiquity – The Auld Gun,’ *Dinsmoor* bestowed a Scots accent upon a cherished family heirloom, giving voice to an inherited weapon in a grim commendation of religious militancy and colonial aggression:

---

<sup>106</sup> *Dinsmoor, Incidental Poems*, p. 13.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Miller, ‘Federalist origins,’ *Ulster and Scotland*, p. 117.

<sup>109</sup> For linguistic interconnections between Ulster Scots and American English, see Michael B. Montgomery, *From Ulster to America. The Scotch-Irish Heritage of American English*, (Belfast, 2006), Michael B. Montgomery and Robert J. Gregg, ‘The Scots Language in Ulster,’ *Edinburgh History of Scots Language*, pp. 590-8.

To pope, or prelate, or pretender,  
Nae Dinsmoor arms would e'er surrender;  
True protestants, a noble gender,  
    Ca'd Presbyterian!  
For them, I was a bauld defender,  
    Say th' antiquarian.

Whan master brought me to this land,  
I aye stood charged at his right hand;  
Nae Indian warrior e'er could stand,  
    Against Dinsmoor!  
My hail was death, at his command,  
    Wi' thundering roar!<sup>110</sup>

Yet even within this veneration of violent “Scots-Irish” heritage, undercurrents of sentimentality were ever-present. As the self-styled “Rustic Bard,” Dinsmoor incorporated this wistful element into his own persona, and subsequent discussions of his work celebrated the poet as a quaint, outmoded phenomenon. Decades later, Whittier likened Dinsmoor’s “Scottish dialect” to that of “a wizard’s rhyme,” endowed with “the power of bearing us back to the past.”<sup>111</sup>

Given the particular “ethnic” concerns of the “Scots-Irish” poets, the trope of linguistic sentimentality ironically pointed to the breadth of Scottish affiliation – perceived to bridge cultural divisions between Highlanders and Lowlanders overseas. Dinsmoor imagined a Scottish literary mantle passing “frae bards in highland plaidy,” while the “Gorham lady” considered Burns’s “auld gab” equally pleasing to “highlan’ lads an’ lawlan.” In a conspicuously similar stanza, making use of the same felicitous rhyme, Hugh Henry Brackenridge wrote to Bruce:

But's nae your fu't, my canty Callan,  
That ye fa' short o' the Auld Allan [Ramsay];  
There's neither Highland man, nor Lallan,  
    That's here the same;  
But finds him scrimpit o' the talen'  
    He had at hame.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> Dinsmoor, *Incidental Poems*, p. 189.

<sup>111</sup> Whittier, *Prose Works*, pp. 461. See also a late nineteenth-century collection of Dinsmoor’s work, James Dinsmoor ed., *Poems of Robert Dinsmoor*, (Boston, 1898), pp. 12, 14-5.

<sup>112</sup> Bruce, *Poems*, p. 18.

Recognising inevitable “new world” influences upon the phraseology of “Auld Allan” Ramsay, Brackenridge was unperturbed by a “scrimpit” Scots tongue within Pennsylvania:

Be this as't may, it does me guid,  
To meet wi' ane o' my ane bluid,  
I was sae glad a' masit ran wud  
    To be the gither;  
But I maun now, gae chew my cad  
    And had my blether.<sup>113</sup>

Striking a balance between contemporary domestic fears of declining Scots forms and the consequent, self-conscious drive for their preservation, Brackenridge identified the gratifying, blether-thegither merit of Lowland language in America, whilst acknowledging that Scottish migrants were unlikely to maintain such “standard” tropes in perpetuity. Bruce agreed. Though generally less disposed to sentimentality, the “Scots-Irishman” responded to Brackenridge, modestly downplaying comparisons to Ramsay,

His sangs will be the warlds' delyte  
Till wit and sense gang out o' date;  
There's naething I can say or write  
    Sic fame will win;  
I'm nae mair than a bletherskyte,  
    Compar'd wi' him.<sup>114</sup>

Bruce identified himself as similarly “scrimpit” of hame-wrought “talen,” presenting an American landscape as particularly uninspiring to his “musie”:

Whare's there a Forth, a Tweed, or Tay?  
Thro' hills and greens that saftly stray,  
Whare shepherds spen' the simmer's day  
    Sae peacefulie. –  
Thir scenes gar'd Allan lilt his lay  
    Wi' sic a glee.

What's here to gie the mind a heese?  
Deil het ava', but great lang trees,

---

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Nae flow'ry haughs or bony braes  
To please the een,  
Nor bleating flocks upo' the leas  
Are heard or seen.<sup>115</sup>

Andrew Hook interprets Bruce's assertion of American "barrenness" as an anticipation of the anxieties of later generations of Anglo-American authors, frustrated at their distance from "old world" literary traditions.<sup>116</sup> Clearly, Bruce issues a sweepingly dismissive commentary upon an American scene. However, this was as much a nostalgic reflection upon the displaced "braes," "haughs," and "leas" of a Ramsian pastoral as it was a contemptuous rejection of American inspiration. Anticipating the development of an Anglo-American "national literature," and perceiving the influence of Burns and Scott upon subsequent generations within the United States, Hook reckons the earlier Scoto-American "vernacular" poetry to be little more than a "bizarre footnote" to this broader tale.<sup>117</sup>

With regard to a wider nineteenth-century American context and canon, this is a credible interpretation. Yet this long-sighted, somewhat pre-emptive tracing of a literary *future* marked by Burns and Scott perhaps overlooks the manner in which the earlier surge of Scoto-American versification *harked back* to a well-established Lowland tradition typified not so much by Burns, but by "Auld Allan" Ramsay. Though drawing heavily from a contemporaneous Burns, this appears a diasporic response to older Scots connections rather than the Burns-stirred anticipation of Anglo-American literary potential. With ever an eye on Burns, Hook supposes the "viable" register of Bruce and Dinsmoor to have offered an early, sub-verse "solution" to American cultural and literary apprehensions.<sup>118</sup> Again, this is an instructive observation. But such "viable" alternatives were first structured around certain accepted, respectable, and *already* backward-looking Scots conventions – voiced within an Anglo-American discourse and negotiating the social concerns and aspirations of particular diasporic Scots networks.

Just as subsequent generations cast their minds back to Burns, many turn-of-the-century transatlantic migrants imbued Allan Ramsay with similar diasporic sentimentality. And, as with the global, Burns-boosted commemoration of verbal tartanry throughout the nineteenth-century, these early, nostalgically-inflected Scoto-American verses were intimately linked with wider conceptions of Anglo-centred literature and linguistic "standards."

---

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21.

<sup>116</sup> Hook, *Scotland and America*, p. 139.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 139-40, Andrew Hook, 'Scotland, the USA, and National Literatures in the Nineteenth Century', *Scotland and the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century World*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>118</sup> Hook, *Scotland and America*, p. 139.

It was none other than Robert Walsh, antagonist of the *Edinburgh Review*, who offered a striking, early nineteenth-century insistence upon Anglo-American affiliation with Scots authors and “dialect.”<sup>119</sup> In 1811, years before his *Appeal* decrying the anti-American prejudice of Scottish periodicals, Walsh asserted his compatriots’ appreciation of Scottish literature. Discussing the ‘Lady of the Lake,’ Walsh attested to the popularity of Walter Scott in the U.S., supposing “[n]o poetical works, not excepting even those of Cowper and Burns, have been more widely circulated in this country.”<sup>120</sup>

Walsh approximated Scott’s epic and his earlier ‘Lay of the Last Minstrel’ to have each sold over four thousand copies in the U.S., stressing an enthusiasm for Scottish poets. The Philadelphia bookman also highlighted a Scots curiosity for Anglo-American preferences, noting he had “often been asked in the country of Mr. Scott, whether the people of the United States were generally acquainted with the poetry of Burns and Beattie.”<sup>121</sup> Highlighting contemporary Scottish concerns for the compositions of Burns *and* Beattie – markedly dissimilar poets in terms of their language and later popularity – Walsh responded to disparaging claims of the intellectual and cultural “provincialism” of the American nation. He declared “[t]he answer which we have given, and which we still give” to this Scottish “query” was “calculated to startle the credulity of those, who see in us a mere tilling and shopkeeping race.”<sup>122</sup>

Walsh claimed

[...] the works of the two poets we have just cited and even of Mr. Scott, are here more widely circulated, more generally read, and perhaps better understood than in England taken separately from Scotland. The dialect of the latter is more familiar and more grateful to us than to the inhabitants of her sister kingdom. We look with reverence upon the literary and scientific character of Scotland, and are always prepared to receive with admiration, the intellectual off-spring of her capital, which we consider as the metropolis of genius and learning.<sup>123</sup>

As Hook has observed, Walsh’s “apparently odd belief” in a more favourable reception of Scots “dialect” in the United States was likely related to an existing expatriate predilection for Lowland

---

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, p. 134.

<sup>120</sup> Robert Walsh, ‘Foreign Literature,’ *American Review of History and Politics*, I, (Philadelphia, 1811), p. 166.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 166-7.

forms.<sup>124</sup> However, in challenging an “ostentatious and sometimes malevolent contempt,” Walsh stressed the U.S. “reverence” for Scots literature and language as part of a wider Anglo-American engagement with “English” works. Essentially, Walsh demanded a more respectful “English” consideration of an Anglo-American readership:

No disposition would appear to be more natural and just, particularly in the mind of an English writer, to whom it should be a most delightful, as well as a conciliatory anticipation, that he is to have, in another hemisphere, a vast body of readers capable, by the circumstance of their possessing the same language, and from their universal acquaintance with letters, of appreciating all his excellencies, both of thought and diction, and most disposed to cherish and propagate his fame with the most eager fondness. Every English poet, historian or philosopher should, when engaged in the business of composition, look to this country for some portion of his reward.<sup>125</sup>

Walsh stressed the compatibility of a “vast body” of transatlantic readers, united in “the same language,” sharing an appreciation “both of thought and diction.” An American readership was viewed to look with familiarity and gratitude to a Scottish navigation of acceptable “English” literary channels. Crucially, in promoting Anglo-American interests, Walsh supposed “England” to be “taken separately from Scotland.”<sup>126</sup> Insisting upon an Anglo-American appreciation of Scottish literary output, Walsh celebrated the distinctive incorporation of Scots authors and “dialect” within an “English” literature, desirous of a comparable, “conciliatory anticipation” recognising comparably “capable” interpretations within his own nation.

Significantly, Walsh identified *both* Burns and Beattie as exemplars of this Scottish negotiation of “English” literature, pairing the sub-versive influence of Burns with Beattie’s more prescriptive, Anglo-centric outlook. A concern for acceptable language “standards,” reminiscent of that of the Aberdeen intellectual, was evident within the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The coining of the pejorative linguistic term “Americanism” is attributed to a Scot – John Witherspoon, the Paisley-based Evangelical minister who migrated to the American colonies in 1768.<sup>127</sup> In 1781, Witherspoon, President of the College of New Jersey and one of two Scottish signatories to the Declaration of Independence, famously defined “Americanism” in direct comparison to the sub-versions of his homeland:

---

<sup>124</sup> Hook, *Scotland and America*, p. 134.

<sup>125</sup> Walsh, ‘Foreign Literature,’ pp. 167-8.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> George Philip Krapp, *The English Language in America*, (1925: New York, 1960), 2 vols., I, p.72. See section I “Religion and Revolution: The Two Worlds of John Witherspoon,” Sher and Smitten, *Scotland and America*.

The word Americanism [...] is exactly similar in its formation and signification as the word Scotticism. By the word Scotticism is understood any term or phrase, and indeed any thing either in construction, pronounciation [sic] or accentuation, that is peculiar to North Britain.<sup>128</sup>

Witherspoon attested to the narrative that since the union of crowns “the Scottish manner of speaking, came to be considered as a provincial barbarism; which, therefore, all scholars are now at the utmost pains to avoid,” citing William Robertson’s *History of Scotland*.<sup>129</sup>

However, Witherspoon also professed the “many instances in which the Scotch way is as good,” imagining circumstances,

[...] in which every person who has the least taste as to the propriety of a language in general, must confess that it is better than that of England, yet speakers and writers must conform to custom.<sup>130</sup>

Critiquing “custom,” Witherspoon supposed it “very probable” that the “reverse” of the Scottish linguistic situation, “or rather its counter part, will happen in America”:

Being entirely separated from Britain, we shall find some centre or standard of our own, and not be subject to the inhabitants of that island, either in receiving new ways of speaking or rejecting the old.<sup>131</sup>

Within “this new empire,” a “great distance” from the Anglo-centred metropole “in which the standard of the language is as yet supposed to be found,” the Scot pondered an American “center of learning and politeness [...] which shall obtain influence and prescribe the rule of speech and writing to every other part.”<sup>132</sup> Yet even contemplating the likelihood of altered Anglo-American “standards,” the Scot’s own language received “old world” censure. A month after printing Witherspoon’s piece, the *Pennsylvania Journal* noted the objections of “Quercus,” who highlighted the scholar’s “scotticism” and “improper” linguistic difference from an “Englishman.”<sup>133</sup>

As within Britain, Lowland Scots forms were frequently seen to stand uncomfortably at odds with language “standards” in the American colonies during the eighteenth century, an unfavourable

---

<sup>128</sup> John Witherspoon, ‘The Druid,’ V, *Pennsylvania Journal and The Weekly Advertiser*, May 1781, M.M. Mathews ed., *The Beginnings of American English*, (Chicago, 1931), p. 17. The other Scot to sign the Declaration of Independence was the Fife-born, Pennsylvania-based lawyer James Wilson.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* See R. Gordon Tait, *The Piety of John Witherspoon*, (Louisville, 2001), Thomas Ahnert, *The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, 1690-1805*, (New Haven, 2014), pp. 66-7.

<sup>130</sup> Witherspoon, *Beginnings of American English*, p. 17.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

perception often matched by a suspicion of Scots communities in the “new world.” “Too much Scoticism!” exclaimed the Yale Congregationalist Ezra Stiles, issuing a well-noted counterblast to Witherspoon’s political influence.<sup>134</sup> Some Scots immigrants even sought social, religious, and linguistic affiliations outwith English-speaking groups. Hugh Simm, a staunch Presbyterian and student of Witherspoon, who had followed his mentor from the west of Scotland to the College of New Jersey, emphasised his connection with Dutch communities at Albany in New York. In 1774, in a letter to his brother Andrew, a Paisley weaver, Simm noted his “greatest labour” of “learning the dutch,” the “Common language in this place,” explaining that because “there was no minster in the presbetyrien [sic.] church it was necessary then that I must learn dutch or be deprived of public ordinances althogether.”<sup>135</sup> Aligning himself linguistically and religiously with his adopted community, Simm saw “a great agreement betwixt the old dutch and the old Scotch” phraseology, “which not only makes it more easy to learn but also enables me to understand many old Scotch words mutch better than I could do before.”<sup>136</sup>

Conversely, Scots *literati* were seen to typify the Anglo-British “standards” considered too distant to be effectively applied within the United States. In 1789, Noah Webster, the Connecticut lexicographer who would later compile the renowned 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language*, declared “political harmony” synonymous with a specifically national “uniformity of language.”<sup>137</sup> He famously insisted:

[a]s an independent nation, our honour requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government. Great Britain, whose children we are, and whose language we speak, should no longer be *our* standard; for the taste of her writers is already corrupted, and her language is on the decline. But if it were not so, she is at too great a distance to be our model, and to instruct us in the principles of our own tongue.<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> Robert M. Calhoun and Timothy M. Barnes, ‘Moral Allegiance. John Witherspoon and Loyalist Recantation,’ Robert M. Calhoun, Timothy M. Barnes, and Robert S. Davis eds., *Tory Insurgents. The Loyalist Perception and other essays*, (Columbia, 2010), pp. 324-7, Ian Charles Cargill Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, (New York, 1956), p. 130, 131-4, Charles H. Haws, *Scots in the Old Dominion 1685-1800*, (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 53-69, 113-18.

<sup>135</sup> Quoted in Barbara DeWolfe ed., *Discoveries of America: Personal Accounts of British Emigrants to North America during the Revolutionary Era*, (Cambridge, 1997), p. 142. Also Joyce Goodfriend, ‘Scots and Schism: the New York City Presbyterian Church in the 1750s,’ Ned C. Landsman ed., *Nation and Province in the First British Empire*, (London, 2001), pp. 222, 229.

<sup>136</sup> DeWolfe, *Discoveries of America*, p. 142.

<sup>137</sup> Noah Webster, *Dissertations on the English Language*, (1789), R.C. Alston ed., *English Linguistics 1500-1800*, (Menston, 1967), p. 20.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.

In an earlier essay, Webster warned of constructing “our systems in America” upon “mouldering pillars of antiquity”:

It is the business of *Americans* to select the wisdom of all nations, as the basis of her constitutions – to avoid their errors, – to prevent the introduction of foreign vices and corruptions and check the career of her own, – to promote virtue and patriotism, – to embellish and improve the sciences, – to diffuse an uniformity and purity of *language*, – to add superior dignity to this infant Empire and to human nature.<sup>139</sup>

Webster asserted the exclusively American opportunity to cleanse “this infant Empire” of linguistic “corruptions.” Much like the contemporary exponents of the “purity” of a “Gothic” or “Scoto-Saxon” tongue, Webster supposed an Anglo-American language to be closer to “correctness” than existing English “standards.”<sup>140</sup>

Scottish authors seemed to offer particular proof of the dangers of readily accepting Anglo-centred prescriptions. Honouring the style of both Addison and Milton, Webster mused

[...] how few of the modern writers have pursued the same manner of writing [...] The names of a Robertson, a Hume, a Home [Kames] and a Blair, almost silence criticism; but I must repeat what a learned Scotch gentleman once acknowledged to me, ‘that the Scotch writers are not the models of the pure English stile.’ Their stile is generally stiff, sometimes awkward, and not always correct. Robertson labors his stile and sometimes introduces a word merely for the sake of rounding a period. Hume has borrowed French idioms without number; [...] Lord Kaims’ manner is stiff; and Dr Blair, whose stile is less exceptionable in these particulars, has however introduced, into his writings, several foreign idioms and ungrammatical phrases. The Scotch writers now stand almost the first for erudition; but perhaps no man can write a foreign language with genuine purity.<sup>141</sup>

Dismissing the “stiff,” “awkward,” and ultimately “foreign” limitations of leading Scottish luminaries, and referencing the doubts of a “learned Scotch gentleman,” Webster’s sentiments appear conspicuously similar to those of James Beattie, contemptuous of the linguistic pretensions of the Edinburgh *literati*.<sup>142</sup>

Yet unlike Beattie, Webster did not advocate an ever-closer alignment with Anglo-British models. He proposed the opposite, championing an emergent Anglo-American language established

---

<sup>139</sup> Noah Webster, *A Grammatical Institute, of the English Language*, (1783), R.C. Alston ed., *English Linguistics 1500-1800*, no. 89, (Menston, 1968), pp. 14-15.

<sup>140</sup> Paul Langford, ‘Manners and Character in Anglo-American Perceptions, 1750-1850,’ Fred M. Leventhal and Roland Quinault eds., *Anglo-American Minds. From Revolution to Partnership*, (Aldershot, 2000), p. 84.

<sup>141</sup> Webster, *Dissertations*, pp. 32-3.

<sup>142</sup> Robinson ed., *Correspondence*, II, pp. 161, 179; III, 54, 61-2, 102-3.

through “the unanimous consent of a nation, and a fixed principle interwoven with the very construction of a language, coeval and coextensive with it.”<sup>143</sup> Webster likened this explicitly national tongue to “the common laws of the land, or the immutable rules of morality,” urging his compatriots “to retain our own practice and be our own standards,” and challenging “analogies of the language, where the English have infringed them.”<sup>144</sup>

Curiously, in a note to his *Dissertations*, Webster identified “the two best writers in America.”<sup>145</sup> One was Benjamin Franklin, the other John Witherspoon – identified as “an exception” to the rule of Scots’ stilted English, and praised for a “stile” “easy, simple and elegant.”<sup>146</sup> Webster celebrated the relaxed competency of Franklin and Witherspoon, observing that “[t]he words they use, and their arrangement, appear to flow spontaneously from their manner of thinking.”<sup>147</sup>

Highlighting the “contrastive lexicographical approaches” of Webster and John Jamieson in his *Etymological Scots* dictionary, Laura O’Connor compares the attention to an “ever-expanding catalogue” of American-English with the “compensatory preservation” of Scots forms – linguistic traits underscored as “substandard or deviant idioms,” “quaint, arcane, vanishing “fossil poetry.”<sup>148</sup> This comparison highlights how Anglo-American “standards” were generated through a process distinctly splintered from the conservation of Scots sub-versions.

However, Webster’s early assertions betray traces of wholly different linguistic concerns. Scottish examples appear to have pointed to the ways and means of an Anglo-American avoidance of “English” linguistic pit-falls. Scots intellectuals demonstrated the dangers of simply toeing the “standard” line. Essentially, Webster attested to the “awkward,” over-wrought language of the *literati* whilst lauding the fluency of Witherspoon – their Scoto-American, one-time antagonist. Witherspoon was also notably sceptical of arbitrary linguistic “custom” and receptive to a potential “propriety” of Scots forms. In striving for an Anglo-American language of “genuine purity,” Webster sought to differentiate between a dry “erudition” and a “spontaneous” eloquence seen as “easy, simple and elegant.” Also acknowledging Franklin, Webster noticeably employed Scoto-British and Scoto-American examples to mark both sides of this linguistic coin.

Scots “authorities” appeared within other early nineteenth-century discourses, offered as a caution, if not a counter, to Webster’s radical linguistic proclamations. In an 1816 lexicon “supposed

---

<sup>143</sup> Webster, *Dissertations*, p. 29.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 29, 129.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>148</sup> Laura O’Connor, *Haunted English, The Celtic Fringe, the British Empire, and De-Anglicization*, (Baltimore, 2006), pp. 115-16.

to be peculiar to the United States of America,” John Pickering issued a thinly-veiled challenge to Webster and those “who would unsettle the whole of our admirable language” to “conform to their whimsical notions of propriety.”<sup>149</sup> Massachusetts-born, London-educated, and son of Webster’s old friend Colonel Timothy Pickering, John Pickering stressed the harsh transatlantic realities of Anglo-centrism:

It is true, indeed, that our countrymen may speak and write in a *dialect* of English, which will be understood in the *United States*; but if they are ambitious of having their works read by Englishmen as well as by Americans, they must write in a language that Englishmen can read with pleasure.<sup>150</sup>

Quoting “several of the British Reviews, [...] the most distinguished of our present day,” Pickering presented the *Edinburgh Review*’s assessment of an American publication, *Lives of Washington*:

‘In these volumes we have found a *great many words and phrases* which *English* criticism refuses to acknowledge. America has thrown off the yoke of the British nation, but she would do well for some time, to take the laws of composition from the Addisons, the Swifts and the Robertsons of her ancient sovereign.’ [Original emphasis].<sup>151</sup>

Pickering professed,

[s]uch is the strong language of the British scholars on this subject. [...] should not the opinions of such writers stimulate us to inquiry, that we may ascertain whether their animadversions are well founded or not? We see the same critics censure the Scotticisms of their *northern brethren*, the peculiarities of the *Irish*, and the provincial corruptions of their own *English* writers. We cannot therefore be so wanting in liberality as to think, that, when deciding upon the literary claims of *Americans*, they are governed by prejudice and jealousy. [Original emphasis].<sup>152</sup>

The author recognised a Scots sensitivity well equipped to “censure” “provincial corruptions.” Discussing the linguistic humility of Witherspoon, Beattie, and the Aberdeen linguist and rhetorician George Campbell, Pickering clearly saw Scottish perspectives to offer instruction in an Anglo-American context. Such “British scholars” were seen as particularly well qualified to uncover “provincial” linguistic slips, not least “the Scotticisms of their *northern brethren*.”

---

<sup>149</sup> Quoted in David Mickelthwait, *Noah Webster and the American Dictionary*, (Jefferson, 2005), p. 172.

<sup>150</sup> John Pickering, *A Vocabulary or Collection of Words and Phrases ... peculiar to the United States of America*, (1816), *Beginnings of American English*, p. 66.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, p. 70.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*.

While Webster reasserted his stance, insisting on Anglo-American linguistic “purity” in his 1817 “Letter to the Honorable John Pickering,” other U.S. publications welcomed a more vigilant, self-conscious engagement with Anglo-centred modes.<sup>153</sup> Assessing Pickering’s perspectives in 1816, the *North-American Review* advised linguistic “caution” to compatriots seeking to be “ranked among good English scholars.”<sup>154</sup> The *North-American* supported Pickering’s conciliatory approach, supposing sub-versive “innovations” in Anglo-American language “cannot be expected to extend their influence in any degree, to England”:

[...] as far as critics of the latter country are conversant with our written productions, we shall not suffer for want of admonition and censure, when we trespass against established rules [...] our pride is concerned in the knowledge and observance of those rules, and it must be mortified when we are detected in violating them.<sup>155</sup>

Advocating an acceptable “observance” of such “rules,” the author of the review pointed to “Doctor Beattie,” “another learned Scotchman, besides that which Mr. Pickering cites of the celebrated Doctor Campbell.”<sup>156</sup> The journal praised Beattie’s “modesty” and “solicitude” in his drive “to write the English language with correctness and purity,” presenting the Aberdonian as a paradigm of the self-critical diligence required for a “provincial” mirroring of Anglo-British linguistic mores.<sup>157</sup>

Crucially, Beattie’s conception of “Scotticisms” was also discussed. The *North-American* quoted from the philosopher’s correspondence, asserting the “degeneration” of the English language in 1785, and remarking at the extent to which “Scottish idioms, have got into it of late.”<sup>158</sup> Acknowledging the problematic tangle of Scots and English varieties, the *North-American* conceded Beattie to “have been in error respecting some of his supposed Scotticisms.”<sup>159</sup> The journal recognised the difficulties in unscrambling Scots from English linguistic forms, supposing “much is to be allowed for the tendency of the writings of the Scotch and English to acquire a close resemblance,” and perceiving “a constantly increasing community of literary labours and productions” between both nations.<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>153</sup> Noah Webster, *A Letter to the Honorable John Pickering*, (Boston, 1817).

<sup>154</sup> S. Willard, ‘A Vocabulary, &c.,’ *North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal*, III (Boston, 1816), p. 357.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 357-8.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, also, Robinson, *Correspondence*, III, pp. 242.

<sup>159</sup> Willard, ‘Vocabulary,’ p. 358

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

Through this “increasing community” and “close resemblance,” a “learned” Scots “modesty” and “solicitude” was recommended. The *North-American* highlighted the contemporary relevance of earlier Scots attempts to navigate Anglo-centered “standards”:

Whatever clemency, therefore, American writers may demand for their faults in the use of words, they cannot claim exemption from the necessity of diligent study of the English language, if they would avoid improprieties and barbarisms.<sup>161</sup>

Pickering’s work, recommended for “the attentive examination of every American scholar,” was seen to embody a wide “English” alignment in which earlier Scottish concerns for “standards” could offer guidance on existing Anglo-American linguistic issues.<sup>162</sup>

Early nineteenth-century reflections upon Scots and Anglo-American sub-versions within the United States often registered a comparable *difference from* and *similarity to* a broader “English.” John Melish, a Scots adventurer who departed from Greenock in 1806 to engage in trade on the Savannah River, insisted on the overarching linguistic bond between Britain and her former colonies. In his 1812 account of several years’ sojourning in the United States, Melish stressed a shared “identity of language – which can never be dissolved.”<sup>163</sup>

However, Melish also traced noticeable linguistic differences, commenting upon the “Yankee dialect” and at one point recounted the “diverting” “dialogue between the two drivers” of a Stanford stagecoach, highlighting their Anglo-American overuse of the word “guess.”<sup>164</sup> When back in Britain, the Scot recorded being “diverted” by Lowland forms in a curiously similar context. Moreover, upon returning to Scotland, Melish perceived distinctive Scots accents and phraseology as even more poignant following his prolonged period of absence. Nearing the town of Hamilton, passing the “sources of the Clyde, and the Lead hills to the right,” he overheard a conversation between another pair of “drivers”:

I heard a dialogue between the two drivers in *broad Scots*, being the first I had heard for 14 months; and, such is the effect of habit, that, although I considered myself a sort of adept at the Scottish language, and had frequently practised it, this had a surprising effect

---

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>163</sup> John Melish, *Travels in the United States of America*, (Philadelphia, 1812), 2 vols., I, p. v.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 128.

upon my ear. It appeared *more broad* than any thing I had ever heard before. [Original emphasis].<sup>165</sup>

Melish also hinted at the burgeoning manifestation of verbal tartantry within the United States, describing a small township along the banks of the Ashtabula River in Ohio, where he and his hosts spent the evening singing songs. He admitted, “I could do nothing except in Scottish songs,” but much to his surprise, found that the Americans “were, in fact, enthusiastic admirers of Scottish music; Burns’s were highly relished, and one of my company anticipated me by singing my favourite song of Muirland Willie.”<sup>166</sup>

Melish discussed an “anticipated” murgence of Scots language and music, observing the high “estimation” “wherever it is known.”<sup>167</sup> Such music

[...] spread the mantle of its charms so effectually over the Scottish language, that it has extended far and wide, and is now in such a state of conservation, that it will probably endure to the remotest ages. Indeed to a native of Scotland, the *language* and the *music* are so associated together, that they cannot be separated.<sup>168</sup>

Melish, a “sort of adept at the Scottish language,” was clearly keen to emphasise a correlation of Lowland linguistic and musical elements – a symbiosis seen to have “extended far and wide” and viewed as integral to the “state of conservation” of Scots traits. As we have seen, certain domestic commentators did not necessarily share this effusive diasporic confidence in “enduring” Scottish characteristics.

Alongside such assertions of cultural distinction, certain commentators also noted the capacity of Scots migrants to accommodate themselves within the United States. In 1821, Frances Wright, a Dundee-born traveller, celebrated the seemingly national attributes that set Scots expatriates in especially good stead. Discussing the state of Vermont and the “flourishing condition” of one “Scotch settlement,” Wright supposed,

[...] the Scotch emigrant would probably find it peculiarly suited to his habits and constitution. A healthy climate, a hilly country, [...] the frugal, hardy and industrious Scotch farmer might here find himself at home, or rather in a home somewhat improved. [...] Our sons of the mist might see their Grampians or Cheviots swelling out of a better soil, and smiling under a purer heaven. They would find too a race, of industry and

---

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 309.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid*, II, pp. 284-5.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 285.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid*.

intelligence equal or superior to their own, and animated with a spirit of independence that they might imbibe with advantage.<sup>169</sup>

Wright also drew Scottish parallels when discussing other “new world” success stories. The “citizens of New England” were “the Scotch of America,” – “[s]trictly moral, well-educated, industrious, and intelligent, but shrewd, cautious, and [...] peculiarly long-sighted in their interests.”<sup>170</sup> As with Scots, Wright noted New Englanders as “inhabitants of a comparatively poor country,” issuing “forth legions of hardy adventurers to push their fortunes in foreign climes.”<sup>171</sup> Yet, Wright also emphasised particularity, insisting, “the Scotchman traverses the world, and gathers stores to spend them afterwards in his own barren hills, while the New-Englander carries his penates with him.”<sup>172</sup>

The traveller also appeared keen to assert Anglo-American linguistic “propriety.” Driven to test the theory “commonly received in England, that the American nation is a sort of middle state between barbarism and refinement,” Wright noted the linguistic accomplishment of her attendants – perceiving that a team of New York rowers “all spoke good English with a good voice and accent,” and having “before observed the same” of another crew.<sup>173</sup>

Two years later, James Hedderwick, a Glasgow printer, offered a similar view of the language spoken at New York – a site he reckoned “scarcely [...] more than an overgrown seaport village, in the state of progressive transmutation towards the order and rank of a civilized city.”<sup>174</sup> While he dismissed the town itself, supposing the location “will not, if we except its natural situation, its commerce, and its shipping, for one moment, stand in comparison with Edinburgh or Glasgow,” the Scot praised the language of the inhabitants:

[...] so far as I am able to judge, the English language is universally spoken in greater purity than it is in Britain. There are, it is true, a number of Americanisms, which cannot escape the notice of a stranger on his first entering the country; but never have I heard any thing in America like the unintelligible jargon of a native of Lancashire or Yorkshire in England.<sup>175</sup>

---

<sup>169</sup> Frances Wright, *Views of Society and Manners in America*, (London, 1821), Paul R. Baker ed., (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1963), pp. 308-9.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*, p. 376.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 311, 10.

<sup>174</sup> James Hedderwick, ‘A Summary Digest of Gleanings in America,’ *Reference Book of James Hedderwick & Son*, (Glasgow, 1823), p. 22.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 22, 26.

Hedderwick lauded an American English of generally “greater purity” than varieties in Britain, registering a telling preference for “Americanisms” over “unintelligible” English sub-versions.

Around the same period, James Flint, a “Scotchman” commended for his “capacity for philosophic insight” and “so discriminating a temperament,” assumed a more balanced stance on Anglo-American language.<sup>176</sup> In his *Letters from America*, printed at Edinburgh in 1822, Flint discussed the phraseology of “whom you would call the lower orders” in Ohio:

Their discourse is usually intermixed with the provincialisms of England and Ireland, and a few Scotticisms. This might be expected, since America has been partly peopled by natives of these countries. They also use some expressions the original appellations of which I have not been able to discover. These I must call Americanisms, and will subjoin some examples.<sup>177</sup>

Highlighting certain American idiosyncrasies, including “Rooster” for “*Cock, the male of the hen,*” and “Tot” for “*Carry [...] said to be of negro origin,*” Flint offered little reflection, neither condemning nor approving such terminology.<sup>178</sup>

Yet, Flint kept an open ear for the linguistic distinctions of his fellow Scots, and included a fascinating discussion of a “Scotch family about thirteen miles from Chillicothe.”<sup>179</sup> The traveller marvelled at how the family had adapted to life within the United States, having “settled here twelve years ago,” regarding language a clear marker of cultural acclimatisation:

It is astonishing to see how much the family have adopted the manners and customs of the Americans. The father, who is seventy-five years of age, has almost entirely laid aside the peculiarities of his native provincial dialect. Nothing but the broad pronunciation of the vowel A remains. The son has acquired the dialect of the country perfectly; and has adopted the American modes of farming [...] and is in every respect identified with the people.<sup>180</sup>

Conversely, the Edinburgh stationer and bookseller Richard Weston, journeying through the U.S. and Canada ten years later, emphasised a diasporic preservation of Scots forms. Like both Wright and Hedderwick, Weston also wrote approvingly of Anglo-American language. On route to Trenton, Pennsylvania in 1833, Weston noted,

---

<sup>176</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, (Cleveland, 1901), p. 9.

<sup>177</sup> James Flint, *Letters from America*, (Edinburgh, 1822), p. 263.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 263-4.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid*, p. 95.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 95-6.

I had here the opportunity of observing the characteristic features of the Americans. Their cheekbones are prominent, their eyes small and sunken; and their voice in pronouncing particular words has a peculiar nasal sound. They however speak very good English.<sup>181</sup>

“Recognized as an Old Country-man,” the Scot was seen as something of a curiosity, insisting to certain incredulous Americans, “that most of them were born Britons, that they spoke the British language, and adopted the British law.”<sup>182</sup>

Later in his journey, the Scot was more diplomatic. Visiting relatives at Lucerne, he reported with good humour that some “wondered that I spoke as good English as themselves.”<sup>183</sup> As with John Melish twenty years earlier, Weston observed an Anglo-American enthusiasm for the word “guess” – describing the proceedings of a court case in Caldwell by Lake George, where witnesses “gave their evidence in good English, but interlaid continually with ‘I guess it was so.’”<sup>184</sup>

Weston also commented upon the language of Scots migrants. Throughout the narrative – intended as a warning to prospective emigrants – he reported being “ill-treated” by diasporic Scots within the United States, “countrymen” he saw “to be as sour as American apples.”<sup>185</sup> The bookseller provided a particularly bitter caricature of the proprietor of a “Scotch house” in New York, reckoning the “the landlord [...] a proper Sawney,” who “spoke the Scottish dialect broader than I ever heard it in Scotland.”<sup>186</sup> “He found much fault with me for crying up my own country,” Weston reported, and thus “set him down for a swindler and sharper, ready to way-lay and sponge his less knowing countrymen.”<sup>187</sup>

Other Scots acquaintances received a rather more complimentary rendering. In the “Back Woods” near Jessops Landing, Weston encountered “Mrs Kennedy,” wife of a “Highland smuggler,” and claimed that she “spoke the best English of any in the district, and very like the Inverness pronunciation.”<sup>188</sup> Within the same community, the traveller was presented to one “Mrs Stewart,” an elderly blind woman, and recounted their meeting in affecting terms:

Upon my first introduction, I took the old lady by the hand and spoke to her. She said,  
‘Your language convinces me that you are really from my native town – it is a long time

---

<sup>181</sup> Richard Weston, *A Visit to the United States and Canada in 1833*, (Edinburgh, 1836), p. 96.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 272-3.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

since I heard it spoken. Often have I wished to return, but I could never make it out.' She kept hold of my hand for a long time, as if afraid I should leave her.<sup>189</sup>

Scots forms added a lively tincture to such characterisation, and were by no means seen as entirely positive. Nevertheless, Weston's portrayal of a sentimental, conspicuously feminised Lowland tongue is telling, harnessing certain emotive associations to his own negative projection of migration.

A decade later, the journal of John Reilly, a self-proclaimed "wanderer," offered a comparable attempt to both feminise and romanticise Lowland language within North America.<sup>190</sup> Like James Boswell, who famously admitted, "love reconciles me to the Scots accent, which from the mouth of a pretty woman is simply and sweetly melodious," Reilly associated Scots forms with his own amorous inclinations.<sup>191</sup> Recollecting his journey across Lake Erie in 1844, he spied "on the boat an American family, consisting of the father, mother, three sons, and a pretty daughter," and somewhat presumptuously pressed the young woman "to favour me with a song."<sup>192</sup> Reilly recalled, "she sang a favourite Scotch song, "Ye banks and braes o' bonnie Doon":

When I looked, around and saw the Mohawk river winding beneath, and the mountains of the Mohawk towering above, I remembered I was far from the Land of Cakes, and the words of the song recalled a thousand pleasing recollections of home.<sup>193</sup>

These "pleasing recollections of home," triggered by the tones of woman's song, appear enhanced amid the unfamiliar grandeur of the Mohawk valley, "far from the Land of Cakes."

Reilly described a similar instance on Lake Ontario, where he "met with a family from Edinburgh, consisting of about twenty-five persons, all related to one another either by blood or marriage":

They all seemed to regret leaving home, and were quite dissatisfied with the climate, the country, and the people. I tried to comfort them by telling them that they would like it better when they became accustomed to the change; but it would not do. [...] I saw they were all home-sick, as too many of their countrymen are when they first come here: –

'They sigh for Scotia's shore,  
And they gaze across the sea,

---

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>190</sup> John G. Reilly, *Journal of a Wanderer*, (London, 1844).

<sup>191</sup> Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle eds., *Boswell in Search of a Wife, 1766-1769*, (London, 1959), p. 9. Tellingly, Boswell speaks rather scathingly of the speech of the Scotswomen of whom he is less enamoured.

<sup>192</sup> Reilly, *Journal*, p. 145.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

But they canna get a blink  
O' their ain countrie.'<sup>194</sup>

Following this impromptu burst of Scots poetry, taken from the aptly-titled 'Emigrant's Complaint,' Reilly reflected,

[t]his feeling of love for their native country is more strongly implanted in the Scotch, than either in the English or Irish, and, consequently, they feel the pang of separation more keenly. It is a trait in their character which does them honour; but it is the cause of much unhappiness, and too often paralyzes their exertions, and even brings on disease.<sup>195</sup>

Again, Lowland language punctuated a peculiar Scots sensitivity.

Perhaps most poignantly, at Lockport by the Erie Canal, Reilly paired migrants' frustrations with an appetite for sentimental Lowland strains. He described an encounter with the proprietor of a canal-side inn, who "happened to be from Edinburgh":

[...] a kind-hearted man, for when I told him from whence I came, the feelings of the Scot overcame all his coldness for his adopted country, and he held out his hand, exclaiming 'O man, but I am glad to see you!'<sup>196</sup>

The innkeeper invited Riley "to take tea with his wife and family," and the guest "spent a most agreeable evening."<sup>197</sup> The host's daughter added to the agreeability. Reilly described the woman as "about twenty years of age, a most amiable good-looking girl," and recalled "[s]he had a sweet musical voice, and sang Scotch airs with much feeling."<sup>198</sup> Yet again, the Scottish traveller sought out emotionally-loaded, feminised renderings of Scots music and language:

After she had sung several songs, I asked her if she would favour me with "Home, sweet home;" she complied; but I was sorry afterwards that I had asked her, for when she came to the line "there's no place like home," the tears started into her eyes, and trickled down her cheeks. I saw that the poor lassie felt that she was far from home. I was really grieved for her, and being a Bachelor at the time, was almost tempted to take her back again to Auld Reekie.

---

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 156-7.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid*, p. 157, R. Gilfillan, 'The Emigrant's Complaint,' Alex Whitelaw ed., *The Book of Scottish Song*, (London, 1844), p. 59.

<sup>196</sup> Reilly, *Journal*, pp. 209-10.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid*, p. 210.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid*.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, then, the society and culture of the young American nation – presented in “progressive transmutation” and imagined in a “sort of middle state between barbarism and refinement” – was of clear interest to Scots travellers. Curiously, while commentators anticipated the “progress” of the United States, the manifestation of Lowland linguistic traits within such discourses often reflected an emotive and notably feminised sense of “exile.”

Such interpretations were not limited to the United States. In fact, John Reilly expressed remarkable, near-identical musings upon sweet-accented “lassies” during his time in India. Prior to his North-American expedition, Reilly was employed as a superintendent at the Kolkata-based indigo factory of McIntosh & Co. Roughly twenty years before the publication of his “wanderings,” Reilly lamented his apparent isolation at his lodgings at Munsitpore, near Commercolly, around 120 miles inland from Kolkata:

I have now been six months without seeing a European. My heart is yearning to behold my countrymen, and to hear the English language once spoken. I often dream I am at home, walking in the green fields with one of Scotia’s fair-haired maidens, but soon I awoke again to behold the same eternal dusky faces. The strength of the love of country can be known only those who are or have been similarly circumstanced to myself. What would I not give this moment to behold a bonnie Scotch lassie and to hear the sweet tones, and dear accents of my native land, proceeding from her lips. I do believe it would almost drive me frantic with joy.<sup>199</sup>

Unlike Reilly’s later, American examples, projecting a wistful sensibility onto the language of actual characters, the manifestation of Lowland language is in this instance, *imagined*. Fixing upon the fantasy-accent of a “bonnie Scotch lassie,” the superintendent placed such “sweet tones” within a broad socio-cultural, “racially”-charged framework – demonstrative both of his supposed status as a “European” and the assured “English language” of his “countrymen.” Amid the “same eternal dusky faces,” “dear” Scots sub-versions were supposed all the more evocative, suggestive of “green fields” and “fair-haired maidens.” These “racially”-infused musings directly contributed to the “strength of the love of country,” and through this pre-emptive combination of distance and difference, Reilly reckoned this “yearning” comprehensible only to Scots “similarly circumstanced.”

Around the same period, Thomas Munro expressed comparable sentiments.<sup>200</sup> Yet he did so *within* Scotland. In October 1813, on furlough in Britain after having served 27 years as a soldier and

---

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid*, p. 38

<sup>200</sup> For Munro’s Scottish “affections and affectations” see Martha McLaren *British India & British Scotland, 1780-1830*, (Akron, 2001), p. 6.

administrator for the East India Company, attaining the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, Munro wrote to his friend and fellow Glaswegian Graham Moore.<sup>201</sup> “I have been for the last fortnight paying visits at Greenock and Glasgow,” Munro informed Moore, who was himself frequently overseas – recently promoted to Commander-in-Chief of the British naval fleet in the Baltic the previous year.<sup>202</sup>

Munro described his wanderings through childhood haunts:

If I had nothing else to think of, I fancy that I could for ever ramble over the scenes of our early days for the pleasure I feel in doing so is not at all diminished by the frequent visits I have made to them since my return to this country.<sup>203</sup>

Moved to highlight the divergence in a “present and past state,” Munro focussed both upon the development of his native Glasgow, and the general, regrettable changes in “Scotch” language:

My favourite excursion is to Woodside, and along the banks of the Kelvin, where we used to bathe in our former days; but I have also great enjoyment traversing the streets and closes of Glasgow, and comparing their present and past state. As I saunter along, I imagine that it is now, or at least that it is destined to be, the finest city in the kingdom; that the buildings are handsomer, the merchants more enterprising, and the manufacturers more skilful, and even the common people more honest, contented-looking folks, that one sees anywhere else. I like to talk Scotch with the country people and children I meet with in my walks, but I am sorry to say that the language is much corrupted by the influx of English words. Many of our old idioms and phrases, however, are still preserved. I heard one the other day, in all its ancient purity, from a young girl. I asked her where her mother was. ‘Where is she?’ said she: – ‘She’s in her skin, and when she comes out loup you in.’ I had not heard this expression for above thirty years, but on hearing it I instantly recognized it as one that I had often made use of myself. I wish you were once more at home, to enjoy all these simple pleasures, for which you have so high a relish.<sup>204</sup>

Again, the significance of Scots forms was negotiated through a diasporic haze of distance and difference, and discussed alongside contemporary domestic “enterprise.” For Munro, Lowland language was “much corrupted” yet also “still preserved”; indicative of an occasional, “ancient purity,” suggestive of one’s own lost language, and linked, yet again, with feminised expressions.

---

<sup>201</sup> For Munro and the Moore family, see John Cleland, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark*, (Glasgow, 1832), pp. 265-71.

<sup>202</sup> In G.R. Gleig, *The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro*, (1830: London, 1831), 2 vols., I, p. 484, Robert Gardiner, *Memoir of Admiral Sir Graham Moore*, (London, 1844), p. 35.

<sup>203</sup> Gleig, *Munro*, I, p. 484.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

In India five years later, Munro offered a similar perspective. At Bangalore in September 1818, having resigned his military position and anticipating a return to Britain, he wrote to Kirkman Finlay, Provost of Glasgow:

I am thinking, as the boys in Scotland say, I am thinking, Provost, that I am wasting my time very idly in this country; and that it would be, or at least would look wiser, to be living quietly and doosly at home.<sup>205</sup>

Responding to Finlay's letters, "a sight gude for sair een," Munro employed ever more Scots phraseology:

Were I now there, instead of running about the country with cams here, I might at this moment be pleasantly and profitably employed in gathering black Boyds with you among the braes near Largs. There is no enjoyment in this country equal to it, and I heartily wish that I were once more fairly among the bushes with you, even at the risk of being stickit by yon drove of wild knowte that looked so sharply after us. Had they found us asleep in the dyke, they would have made us repent breaking the sabbath.<sup>206</sup>

Past memories, pastoral associations, and a wry Presbyterian humour are marked by Munro's distinct Scots register, composed in India.

Just two months after Munro penned this letter, John Duncan attended his underwhelming St Andrew's Day banquet in New York, encountering the frustrating "imitation of the Scottish dialect." As has been discussed, Duncan frequently drew attention to distinctive Lowland forms with reference to Burns's poetry. Revealingly, in his letter to Finlay, Munro's reflections on Scottish scenes were aroused when contemplating the work of another, emerging literary icon, Walter Scott.

Immediately before his recollections "among the braes," Munro discussed the characterisation within Scott's *Rob Roy*, published earlier that year. "Baillie Jarvie is a credit to our town," he remarked to the Glasgow Provost, "I could almost swear that I have seen both him and his father, the Deacon afore him, in the Salt-market": "If I am spared, and get back there again I shall see some of his worthy descendants walking in his steps."<sup>207</sup>

Munro transplanted Scott's fictions to his Indian surroundings. "Had the Bailie been here," he supposed, "we could have shown him many greater thieves; but none so respectable as Rob

---

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 77. For Munro's EIC career during this period, see Burton Stein, *Thomas Munro. The Origins of the Colonial State and His Vision of Empire*, (Delhi, 1989), pp. 243-7.

<sup>206</sup> Gleig, *Munro*, II, pp. 76, 77-8.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 77.

Roy.”<sup>208</sup> The Scot drew direct comparisons with the “Mahratta” Hindu caste, depicting his Highland compatriots rather favourably:

The difference between the Mahratta and the Highland Rob is, that the one does from choice what the other did from necessity; for a Mahratta would rather get ten pounds by plunder, than a hundred by an honest calling, whether in the Salt-market of the Gallowgate.<sup>209</sup>

Much like Duncan’s perception of Burns’s poetry, echoes of Scott’s fictions accentuated Munro’s musings upon life in Scotland, influencing his interpretations both of Scots and Indian scenes, and suggestively prefacing his own utterances of Lowland language.

Through the remarkable influence of Burns and Scott during the nineteenth century, an increasingly global “English” readership was ever more exposed to “reputable” Scots sub-versions. Both authors were celebrated within a wider “English” literary canon, though also renowned for their characteristic employment of an overtly Scottish lexicon.<sup>210</sup> Such forms were viewed to exemplify certain conceptions of Scotland, particularly when outwith the nation – encapsulating an exilic allure of difference and distance.

Within this period, the anxieties of previous generations of Lowland Scots with regard to accent and idiom appears to have largely dissipated. Of course, like all such linguistic sub-versions, a multiplicity of domestic Scots varieties remained highly liable to charges of “vulgarity” and “impropriety” in their dissonance from Anglo-centred “standards.” Yet in the fusion of two interrelated literary phenomena of the period, certain Lowland linguistic forms became lionised whilst Scots’ credentials as speakers of “English” were solidified. On the one hand, popular Burnsian poetry was seen to codify Lowland language; presenting a pseudo-“standard” of demonstrable Scots traits frequently seen to be synonymous with a couthy national culture – fading into the past or disappearing beyond the horizon. Yet Scottish “authorities,” such as those of the *Edinburgh Review*, literally set the terms, having become both accepted and respected among the “lawgivers” of a global “English” language.

As is demonstrated through the parallel consideration of Anglo-American literary anxieties and linguistic uncertainties, Scots examples could serve to instruct an effective “provincial” negotiation of “standards,” in which “English” differences were at once registered and reconciled.

---

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> By the 1820s, this trope was so well-established as to be itself subverted in pastiche, perhaps most famously in Sarah Green’s, *Scotch Novel Reading; or, Modern Quackery*, (London, 1824), p. 4-9. See Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, pp. 17-18.

The concluding section of this investigation, offers a somewhat different discussion of the manifestation of Lowland Scots forms during the early nineteenth century, again operating in dialogue with governing assumptions of linguistic and cultural “standards.”

**“Though false his tones at times might be.” Scots in India.**

*Though false his tones at times might be,  
Though wild notes marred the symphony  
Between, the glowing measure stole  
That spoke the bard’s inspired soul.  
Sad were those strains, when hymned afar,  
On the green vales of Malabar:  
O’er seas beneath the golden morn,  
They travelled, on the monsoon borne –  
Thrilling the heart of Indian maid  
Beneath the wild banana’s shade.  
Leyden! a shepherd wails thy fate,  
And Scotland knows her loss too late.*

James Hogg, (Edinburgh, 1813).

*“The English language, and it alone, is found to supply the necessary medium. It is accordingly employed as the only adequate instrument for the conveyance of every branch of useful knowledge, and with the view of raising up a higher and more effective order of men, who shall spread a healthful influence over society on every side. The English in India holds the same place now which the Latin and Greek held in Europe at the period of the Reformation.”*

Alexander Duff, (Edinburgh, 1835).

In early August 1811, the “Bard of Teviotdale” splashed onto the shores of north-west Java, dressed as a novelty buccaneer. The man was John Leyden – former Presbyterian minister, celebrated ballad-collector, and “Orientalist” from the village of Denholm in the Scottish Borders. Outstripping the military landing party, the Scot became the first member of a British force of around 12,000 troops to set foot upon the Southeast Asian island.<sup>1</sup> Captain Thomas Taylor, Military Secretary to Gilbert Elliot Lord Minto, Governor-general of Bengal, looked on in scorn:

Leyden who loved acting a part, was dressed as a pirate in a red tasseled cap, a cutlass round his waist and a pistol in his belt; he was first ashore, and bore the brunt of the attack, which came from a flock of barn-door fowls headed by an aggressive rooster.<sup>2</sup>

Though Taylor derided such childish indiscipline, the captain’s superiors generally indulged Leyden’s eccentricity. The Scot was a noted favourite of Lord Minto – a fellow Borderer – and viewed as something of an “ornament” to the Governor’s “Orientalist court” at Kolkata.<sup>3</sup> Leyden and his close friend Thomas Stamford Raffles were key advocates of the invasion of Java, and their enthusiastic supply of intelligence was central in piquing the interest of the Governor-general, who resolved to lead the expedition himself.<sup>4</sup> Both Leyden and his English ally Raffles were intended to play an essential role in the occupation of the island, selected to smooth the transition of the former Dutch colony to British rule, thereby edging out the threat of Napoleon’s France within maritime Southeast Asia.<sup>5</sup>

Leyden and Raffles’s wide-ranging research into the myriad languages, cultures, and histories of the “Malay Peninsula” was seen as a vital asset. Raffles, supported by his fantastically scandal-proof wife Olivia Mariamne, had represented EIC interests in the region since 1805, serving with increasing distinction as their man in Penang and then Malacca. Prior to the Java expedition, he was described by Minto as “a very clever, able, active and judicious man, perfectly versed in the Malay language and manners, and conversant with the interests and affairs of the Eastern States.”<sup>6</sup> Leyden, Minto noted in the same letter, was “a perfect Malay.”<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> William Thorn. *Memoir of the Conquest of Java*, (Edinburgh, 1816), C.E. Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, (1954: Singapore, 1986), pp. 157-83.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Wurtzburg, *Raffles*, p. 162. See also Tim Hannigan, *Raffles and the British Invasion of Java*, (Singapore, 2012), pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Fry, *Scottish Empire*, pp. 453, 285, Wurtzburg, *Raffles*, pp. 55-6.

<sup>4</sup> Hannigan, *Raffles*, pp. 18-24, Emily Hahn, *Raffles of Singapore*, (London, 1948), pp. 55, Victoria Glendinning, *Raffles and the Golden Opportunity*, (London, 2013), pp. 56-7, Reginald Coupland, *Raffles, 1781-1826*, (Oxford, 1926), p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia, c. 1300 to the present*, (London, 1981), pp. 108-11, Coupland, *Raffles*, pp. 17-22.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in John Reith, *Life of Dr John Leyden. Poet and Linguist*, (Galashiels, 1908), p. 290.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

The Governor-general reserved his most effusive praise for his compatriot, “so distinguished a worthy of Teviotside,” whom he appointed to several judicial and administrative positions in Bengal.<sup>8</sup> “Dr. Leyden’s learning is stupendous,” Minto informed his wife Anna Maria in 1811, writing en route to Penang, three months before the invasion of Java:

His knowledge, extreme and minute as it is, is always in his pocket at his finger’s end, and on the tip of his tongue. He has made it completely his own. [...] I must say to his honour that he has as intimate and profound a knowledge of the geography, history, mutual relations, religion, character, and manners of every tribe in Asia as he has of their language. On the present occasion, there is not an island or petty state in the multitudes of islands and nations amongst which we are going, of which he has not a tolerably minute and correct knowledge.<sup>9</sup>

Yet Leyden’s wealth of “correct knowledge” was to be of little direct aid in the British occupation of the island. Following the capture of Batavia, now the Indonesian capital of Jakarta, Leyden sat for several hours in the poorly ventilated archives of the former administration, fixated in his search for “Javanese curiosities.”<sup>10</sup> He emerged with a fever, the result, one biographer supposed, of having inhaled the “pestiferous particles” within the chamber.<sup>11</sup> Three days later, on 28 August 1811, less than a month since his spirited rush to the shore, John Leyden died on Java, reported by Raffles to have “expired in my arms.”<sup>12</sup>

After Leyden was laid to rest in the “European cemetery” at Tanah Abang in Batavia, Raffles was appointed Lieutenant-governor of the new colony. By the end of the decade, Raffles had secured the vital entrepôt of Singapore, thereby cementing his position within a pantheon of nineteenth-century British imperial icons. Raffles frequently acknowledged his debt to John Leyden; supporting the publication of the Scot’s *Malay Annals* in 1821, and commemorating the “unceasing activity,” “extensive views,” and “other prodigious acquirements” of “Dr. J.C. Leyden, the bard of Tiviotdale,” “dear to me in private friendship and esteem,” within his own *History of Java* of 1817.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 299. For Leyden’s career in India, see Walter Scott, ‘Biographical Memoir of Dr. John Leyden,’ *Edinburgh Annual Register* (1812), Walter Scott ed., *Poems and Ballads by Dr. John Leyden*, (1858: Kelso, 1875), pp. cvii-cviii.

<sup>9</sup> Reith, *Leyden*, pp. 297-8.

<sup>10</sup> Anon., ‘No. IX, The Poetical remains of the Late Dr. JOHN LEYDEN, with Memoirs of his Life, by the Rev. James Morton,’ *The Annual Biography and Obituary, for the year 1821., Vol V.*, (London, 1821), p. 422.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Brown ed., *The Poetical Works of Dr John Leyden*, (London, 1875), p. xc. Leyden has been suggested to have contracted either malaria or pneumonia, Wurtzburg, *Raffles*, pp. 167-8.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, (1817: Kuala Lumpur, 1965) 2 vols., I, p. x.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*. See also, Raffles introduction, John Leyden, *Malay Annals: translated from the Malay Language by the late Dr. John Leyden*, (London, 1821).

Yet for all Raffles's endeavours, Leyden remains a rather shadowy character within British imperial history, largely obscured by his more renowned friends and associates. Leyden's ties to a remarkable collection of better-celebrated contemporaries are testament to the significance of the Scottish scholar. Both proud Borders "bard" and pan-cultural polyglot, the former Kirk minister stands as an extraordinary representative of the porous bounds and boundaries of British imperialism during the early nineteenth century. The Scot's literary, linguistic, and socio-cultural interests were simultaneously local and global – rooted in his fascination for copious and interconnecting intellectual variety. Following his death, two of Leyden's distinguished friends penned heartfelt obituaries. Rather aptly, one was printed in India, written by Sir John Malcolm – long-standing EIC emissary to Persia and later Governor of Bombay. The other was published in the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, its author, Leyden's friend and collaborator on the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Walter Scott.<sup>14</sup>

In May 1830, less than less than twenty years after Leyden's death, another Scot made a dramatic landing upon South Asian shores. This was the twenty-four-year-old Alexander Duff, the first formally appointed missionary of the Church of Scotland. Twice shipwrecked since departing Leith the previous September, Duff and his wife Ann were unceremoniously off-loaded onto the mudflats off Sagar Island near the mouth of the Hooghly River, their baggage abandoned on board their vessel the *Maira*, which was listing perilously after a sudden monsoon.<sup>15</sup> From Sagar, the crew and passengers awaited transport upriver to Kolkata, where Duff was due to meet with Lord William Bentinck, Governor-general of a famously different mind-set to "Orientalist" Minto.<sup>16</sup>

Compared with that of Leyden, Duff's career in Bengal appears to have been a much more familiar story, and a cluster of semi-hagiographical renderings of the missionary's life offer indication of his enduring imperial legacy.<sup>17</sup> From his arrival in 1830, Duff added a distinctly Scottish tincture to an ever more Anglo-centrist outlook in British India. Noted for having wielded a "staggering"

---

<sup>14</sup> Malcolm's text is cited within Scott's, *Poems and Ballads*, pp. lix-lxii. For a fascinating collection of correspondence between Scott and Malcolm, see John Malcolm, 'Sir Walter Scott and Sir John Malcolm,' <https://sirjohnmalcolm.wordpress.com/2014/08/30/sir-walter-scott-and-sir-john-malcolm/>.

<sup>15</sup> George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, (London, 1879), 2 vols., I, pp. 60-85.

<sup>16</sup> David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 4, 232-3, Subrata Dasgupta, *The Bengal Renaissance*, (Delhi, 2007), pp. 82-3.

<sup>17</sup> See, Lal Behari Day, *Recollections of Alexander Duff*, (London, 1879), W. Pirie Duff, *Memorials of Alexander Duff*, (London, 1890), Elizabeth B. Vermilye, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, (1890, New York), W. Pakenham Walsh, *Modern Heroes of the Mission Field*, (London, 1882), pp. 247-80, Helen H. Holcomb, *Men of Might in Indian Missions*, (London, 1901), pp. 213-29. For a curious, late twentieth-century example, see, A.A. Millar, *Alexander Duff of India*, (Edinburgh, 1992).

practical influence in re-structuring “native” education in the Indian territories of the EIC along “Anglicist” lines, Duff pursued an overt missionary agenda of linguistic Christianization.<sup>18</sup>

Duff’s insistence upon the English language as the sole means of instruction in India reflected a Presbyterianism particular to his native land.<sup>19</sup> Following his death in 1878, he was hailed “Heir to Knox and Chalmers,” transplanting a specifically Scottish brand of religious enlightenment to the South Asian subcontinent: “to begin in the heart of Hindooism” that which his reforming forebears “had carried out in the mediaevalism of Rome and the moderatism of the Kirk in the eighteenth century.”<sup>20</sup> In essence, Duff asserted the “grand idea” that “the English language should be employed as the best and most effective medium for throwing open the pure fount of European knowledge and science to the natives at large.”<sup>21</sup> Such sentiments mirrored those of his fellow “Anglicists” in India, most obviously the assertions of Thomas Babington Macaulay in his infamous Minute on Indian Education of January 1835. Along with officials such as Macaulay and Charles Trevelyan, serving on the Governor’s Council for Public Instruction, Duff was a pre-eminent figure in re-orienting British government funding of “native” education in Bengal. Indeed, the missionary stands as the foremost Scottish exponent of English education in India. As he declared to the General Assembly in Edinburgh barely four months after the submission of Macaulay’s Minute, the Scot envisioned the “English language” as the “lever, which, as the instrument of conveying the entire range of knowledge, is destined to move all Hindustan.”<sup>22</sup>

As with his religious impetus, there was something distinctly Scottish about Duff’s brand of linguistic Anglocentrism. While Leyden was raised within sight of one set of Scottish borders at Denholm, Duff grew up eyeing another: born into a cross-cultural, bilingual Scots-Gaelic community at Moulin in north Perthshire, just past Pitlochry within the fringes of the Highland line. As Leyden made frequent reference to his Borders heritage, Duff provided a parallel reflection of his own experiences as a Highlander, “Christianized and civilized” through the providential impact of the English language.<sup>23</sup> Duff perceived both the worldly and spiritual “progression” of his fellow Gaels as testament to the virtues of an evangelical Christianity rooted in English linguistic instruction. Moreover, the Highland missionary viewed the English language, “at present the great storehouse of all knowledge,” as the key means of challenging existing socio-religious structures in India, corroding

---

<sup>18</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest, Literary Study and British Rule in India*, (London, 1990), pp. 49, 65-7.

<sup>19</sup> Duff served as Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland in 1851 and 1873, Smith, *Duff*, II, pp. 223-7, 502-10.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 85.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander Duff, *New Era of the English Language and English Literature in India*, (1835: Edinburgh, 1837), p. 18.

<sup>22</sup> Alexander Duff, *The Church of Scotland’s India Mission*, (London, 1835), p. 31.

<sup>23</sup> Alexander Duff, *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland’s India Missions*, (Edinburgh, 1837), p. 20.

the triple pillars of “false literature, false science, and false religion.”<sup>24</sup> “A thorough English education must, everywhere, prove destructive to the systems of Hinduism,” Duff specified to the General Assembly in 1837, offering the example “of the past and present condition of the Highlands of Scotland” in asserting the beneficence of “true literature and true science” – “our very best auxiliaries – whether in Scotland or in India, or in any other quarter of the habitable globe.”<sup>25</sup>

This investigation concludes with a discussion of Duff and Leyden and their attitudes towards linguistic sub-versions and “standards” within the territories of the British East India Company in the South Asian subcontinent. These two remarkable, and remarkably different Scottish imperialists, born barely a generation apart, offer an illustration of the nuances to the supposed schism in British administrative policy and ideology within colonial India during the first few decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

In fact, it is rather tempting to view Leyden and Duff as archetypes of either side of a pedagogic divide, respectively exemplifying the “Orientalist” and “Anglicist” camps in the clash over “native” Indian education. Such a perspective is of course dangerously reductive, yet both Scots do appear to lend themselves to that kind of caricature. Leyden, multifarious scholar, voracious consumer of “native” “knowledge,” and cultural cross-dresser “who loved acting a part,” can be moulded to fit the role of the quintessential, turn-of-the-century “Orientalist.” By the same token, Duff might be just as aptly typecast as the definitive evangelical “Anglicist” of a later incarnation of British imperialism, resolute in the righteousness of a moral, spiritual, and linguistic unisonance. Moreover, Duff and Leyden can also be reckoned to reflect a comparable contrast with regard to their own, specifically Scottish socio-cultural and linguistic contexts, personifying the gulf splintering the Highland and Lowland, and hinting at the fissures existing between and within languages in the nation.

While there may be some significance to the allure of this symbolic contrast, the apparent polarity of Leyden and Duff must be read with scepticism. As has been suggested, the origins of the two Scots were in fact somewhat comparable, with both individuals raised facing lines of historic cultural demarcation. Essentially, both were borderers. The pair shared a notable concern for the transference of “useful knowledge” across perceived social, religious, and linguistic perimeters in both Britain and South Asia. When in Scotland, Duff frequently attested to the utility of the

---

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21, Duff, *New Era*, p. 40.

<sup>25</sup> Duff, *Vindication*, pp. 28, 20.

<sup>26</sup> Kopf, *British Orientalism*, John Clive, *Thomas Babington Macaulay*, (London, 1973), pp. 289-423.

“Anglicist” outlook in India by emphasising his positive, first-hand experiences of English instruction in the Highlands. Duff’s biographers would later play upon the romanticised relevance of this imperial Highland-Anglicism, and the missionary was even lionised by one of his Indian students as a scion of “the solid rock of intellectualism in the Highlands of Scotland.”<sup>27</sup>

Leyden, on the other hand, was fiercely defensive of the historic, linguistic, and literary specificity, which spanned his own local, Lowland fault-lines. Indeed, in aiding in the collation of Walter Scott’s *Minstrelsy*, Leyden was himself a key figure in repackaging a buoyant Borders consciousness to posterity. Moreover, Leyden’s literary offerings themselves crossed borders, and his scholarship was relatively well known within British administrative circles in India. His involvement in Scott’s ballad-collecting project was a marked factor in endearing Leyden to Minto, his “ardently” Scottish patron at Bengal.<sup>28</sup> Prior to his disparaging account of the landing at Java, Captain Taylor observed Leyden and the Governor-general to have “got on pretty well,” supposing the former “a sort of clansmen in the Elliot family.”<sup>29</sup> The long-suffering subaltern noted the enthusiasm of both Minto and Leyden for the *Minstrelsy*, wryly describing how he and a fellow officer were subjected to “constant recitals”:

Stewart being a Scot has to feign interest, but I suspect he prefers the Captain’s sherry; I being a mere Sassenach have to grin and bear it (the *Minstrelsy* not the sherry).<sup>30</sup>

In both Scotland and India, Leyden made several similarly theatric articulations of his Borders provenance. However, this sense of localism was grounded in a legacy of social interfusion as much as altercation between the border-crossing communities of southern Scotland and northern England. As Scott famously claimed, the “inroads of the marchers” were characterised not just in terms of “mutual hostility,” but also their “habits of intimacy”; perceiving a “natural intercourse,” and even “union [...] betwixt the parties,” typified by “a similarity of their manners” that “may be inferred from that of their language.”<sup>31</sup> As Duff’s “Anglicist” standpoint was connected with the socio-cultural and linguistic interactions within his own Highland home, Leyden’s quixotic “marcher” patriotism, though often bordering on local chauvinism, was similarly linked to a consciousness of historic influences spilling over dividing lines.

---

<sup>27</sup> This was the view of Harish Chandra Mitra, quoted in Pirie Duff, *Duff*, pp. 68. For frequent references to Duff’s Highland roots, see Walsh, *Modern Heroes*, pp. 247-80, Millar, *Alexander Duff*, pp. 1-4.

<sup>28</sup> Hahn, *Raffles of Singapore*, pp. 61-2.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in I.M. Brown, ‘John Leyden (1775-1811) his life and works,’ unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh (1955), p. 536.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 536-7.

<sup>31</sup> Walter Scott ed., *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, (Edinburgh, 1803), 3 vols., I, pp. lxvi-lxvii.

If Duff appeared keen to celebrate a providential Highland-Anglicism in the 1830s, Leyden light-heartedly downplayed any “English” associations. Crucially, this was often done by accentuating Scottish linguistic difference. At Seringapatam in 1805 – the year before Duff was born – Leyden first met John Malcolm, then Lieutenant-colonel in the Madras army and Resident of Mysore.<sup>32</sup> Coincidentally, the long-serving officer was also a Borderer, hailing from the town of Langholm – barely thirty miles south of Denholm. Leyden, who was recovering from a serious bout of illness at Seringapatam, recalled that when Malcolm “heard that I was there, and that I was a Border man, he instantly came to see me without ceremony.”<sup>33</sup> Malcolm removed Leyden to Mysore, where they struck up a firm friendship. There the EIC veteran offered some sage professional advice, cautioning Leyden “to be careful of the impression you make on entering this community; for God’s sake, learn a little English, and be silent upon literary subjects, except among literary men.”<sup>34</sup> In his obituary to Leyden, Malcolm recounted his friend’s spirited response:

‘Learn English!’ he exclaimed – ‘no never; it was trying to learn that language that spoilt my Scotch; and as to being silent, I will promise to hold my tongue if you will make fools hold theirs.’<sup>35</sup>

As his retelling suggests, Malcolm saw Leyden’s reply as testament to his friend’s affable eccentricity. Such a comically stubborn adherence to his own local mannerisms does appear characteristic of the Borders scholar.

From his early days at Edinburgh University, Leyden was reckoned to possess a “rustic, yet undaunted manner,” distinguished by a “harsh tone” and “provincial accent.”<sup>36</sup> The Borderer’s conspicuously jarring language was also linked to his unsuccessful stint as a Presbyterian minister, with one biographer recounting that when preaching, Leyden’s “manner of delivery was not graceful,” and supposing “the tones of his voice, when extended so as to be heard by a large audience” to have been “harsh and discordant.”<sup>37</sup>

Leyden’s language was noted in India, where it caught the attention of the Governor-general. Minto marveled at what he saw “the most remarkable in so great a learner of languages”; observing Leyden “has never learnt to speak English, either in pronunciation or idiom,” adding almost approvingly, that the Scot’s phraseology “is not merely Scotch, but the proper dialect of

---

<sup>32</sup> John Malcolm, *Malcolm. Soldier, Diplomat, Ideologue of British India*, (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 206-8. For Malcolm’s career, see also McLaren, *British India & British Scotland, 1780-1830*.

<sup>33</sup> Reith, *Leyden*, p. 225.

<sup>34</sup> Scott, ‘Memoir,’ p. lxi.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xv, Reith, *Leyden*, p. 36.

<sup>37</sup> James Morton, *Memoirs of the life and writings of the celebrated literary character the late Dr. John Leyden*, (1819: Calcutta, 1825), p. 22.

Tweeddale.”<sup>38</sup> Moreover, Minto saw Leyden’s “proper” Tweeddale tongue to evince a curious linguistic blending. Writing to his wife in May 1811, the Governor-general highlighted Leyden’s habit of infusing “the words of learned conversation with a good mixture indeed of native phraseology and forms of speech.”<sup>39</sup> In the same letter, Minto himself demonstrated a dexterity in interleaving linguistic forms and register; describing Leyden’s tendency of talking “as if he had never quitted Te’ot water, or seen anything more like a ship than a pair of troughs in Cocker’s haugh pool.”<sup>40</sup>

Minto also reported on Leyden’s fairly inflexible Borders pronunciation. He reckoned it “rather in written than spoken language” that Leyden was “so astonishingly learned,” supposing him endowed with “the gift of pens rather than tongues.”<sup>41</sup> Minto joked that if Leyden “had been at Babel, he would infallibly have learned all the languages there,” and in good-natured mockery of the thickly-accented, notoriously talkative Scot, predicted “in the end” the babble of tongues “must all have merged in the ‘Tiviotdale,’ [...] for not a creature would have got spoken but himself.”<sup>42</sup>

This simultaneous recognition of Leyden’s linguistic hybridity and his unyielding accent is highly significant, even in the Governor’s tone of teasing exaggeration. Minto’s testimony indicates the linguist’s peculiar blend of the notional “native” and “learned,” merging with – and within – the Scot’s own “Tiviotdale.” John Malcolm also recalled the Denholm scholar both teaching and talking Persian “in his broad accent,” and despite his friend’s warnings, it seems doubtful that Leyden’s speech imposed any notable restrictions upon his success or standing in Bengal.<sup>43</sup> In fact, by emphasising his Borders origins, establishing a vital point of commonality with the Governor-general, Leyden’s language may have actually proved an asset in advancing his EIC career.

Nevertheless, several commentators made much of Leyden’s accent and style of speech, seen often as an object of derision. Walter Scott observed Leyden’s “voice was naturally loud and harsh,” occasionally “exaggerated into what he himself used to call his *saw-tones*, which were not very pleasant to the ear of strangers.”<sup>44</sup> Captain Taylor, self-proclaimed “Sassenach,” found such “saw tones” to be of particular annoyance; complaining of Leyden’s “incessant clack” during their voyage from Madras to Penang in 1811, and attesting to the Scot having the “shrillest voice that can

---

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Michael Fry, “‘The Key to their Hearts’: Scottish Orientalism,’ *Scotland and the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century World*, p. 141. Also quoted by Minto’s grandson, William Hugh, Third Earl of Minto, *Inauguration of the Leyden Monument at Denholm*, (Hawick, 1861), pp. 16-17.

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Brown, ‘Leyden,’ p. 467.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Inauguration of the Leyden Monument*, p. 17.

<sup>42</sup> Brown, ‘Leyden,’ p. 541, p. 542. See also Reith, *Leyden*, where the “merged in Tiviotdale” section is notably absent, pp. 297-8. Interestingly, Minto’s grandson opted to omit the final, “not a creature would have got spoken but himself” comment, *Inauguration of the Leyden Monument*, p. 17.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Scott, ‘Memoir,’ p. lxi.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

well be imagined.”<sup>45</sup> Minto concurred, and aboard his flagship, *Modeste*, reported that “a frigate is not near large enough to place the ear at the proper place of hearing” from Leyden’s “shrill, piercing, and, at the same time, grating voice.”<sup>46</sup> But, in spite of such detractions, the scholar’s conspicuous, even irritating accent does not appear to have been entirely irredeemable.

In a final piece of intriguing testimony within his letter of May 1811, Minto highlighted the beguiling effects of Leyden’s language in India, describing the Scot’s “audience” as “always suffering the same sort of strain which the eye experiences too near an object which it is to examine attentively.”<sup>47</sup> This hints at a conscious curiosity piqued by Leyden’s language. John Malcolm provides a further glimpse of this within EIC circles, suggesting that the scholar’s deviation from socio-linguistic “standards” did not entirely detract from a recognition of his “qualities”:

The manners of Dr. Leyden were uncourtly, more perhaps from his detestation of the vices too generally attendant on refinement, and a wish (indulged to excess from his youth) to keep at a marked distance from them, than from any ignorance of the rules of good breeding. He was fond of talking, his voice was loud, and had little or no modulation, and he spoke the provincial dialect of his native country; it cannot be surprising, therefore, that even his information and knowledge, when so conveyed, should be felt by a number of his hearers as unpleasant, if not oppressive. But with all these disadvantages (and they were great), the admiration and esteem in which he was always held by those who could appreciate his qualities became general wherever he was known [...].<sup>48</sup>

Leyden’s language, “unpleasant, if not oppressive,” was also seen as a means by which the Scot kept himself at a wilfully “marked distance.”

Admittedly, Malcolm – Leyden’s friend, and fellow Borderer – supplied this rather generous interpretation. However, an early biography drew similar, slightly more critical conclusions. James Morton, author of an early account of the Scot’s “celebrated literary character” – printed in London in 1819 and at Kolkata six years later – hinted at both the reluctance and the incapacity of Leyden to submit to “ceremonial” social mores:

He was distinguished for the manly simplicity and independence of his character. He could suppress, but knew not the art of disguising his emotions. His foibles or defects seemed to have a distant resemblance of the same good qualities ill-regulated and carried

---

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Glendinning, *Raffles*, p. 79.

<sup>46</sup> *Inauguration of the Leyden Monument*, p. 16.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Scott, ‘Memoir,’ p. lx.

to an unreasonable excess. Perfectly conscious of retaining the essence of politeness, he sometimes wantonly neglected the ceremonial.<sup>49</sup>

One wonders at the other side of this “wanton neglect.” Another telling term, notably employed by both Malcolm and Morton, is that of “excess.” Recognising his friend’s awareness of his own amplified “saw-tones,” Walter Scott conjectured that Leyden was “too much bent on attaining personal distinction in society to choose nicely the mode of acquiring it.”<sup>50</sup> Scott recalled a genteel Scots soiree “crowded with fashionable people,” at which “Leyden, who could not sing a note,” was moved to “scream forth a verse or two of some Border ditty,” delivered “with all the dissonance of an Indian war-whoop.”<sup>51</sup> Leyden’s “exaggerated” “saw tones,” jarring against the grain of “polite” discourse, resemble something of a performance; an eager, even deliberate “dissonance” which punctuated his disregard for the “ceremony” of certain social circles.

Henry Cockburn, another contemporary of Leyden, provides a comparable view. Within his memoirs of 1856, Cockburn offers further corroboration on the subject of the Scot’s “screech voice,” also claiming Leyden was aware of the effects of his behaviour: “John Leyden has said of himself, ‘I often verge so nearly on absurdity, that I know it is perfectly easy to misconceive me, as well as misrepresent me.’”<sup>52</sup> Supporting the notion of the performative energy of Leyden – himself mindful of “misconception” and “misrepresentation” – Cockburn discussed the scholar’s most “conspicuous defect” which “used to be called affectation, but in reality [...] was pretension.”<sup>53</sup> Again, Leyden’s “excess” appears to take centre stage, and much like Scott, Cockburn presents the scholar as somewhat conscious of this.

Including direct references to the accounts of both Scott and Malcolm, Cockburn recalled his own personal acquaintanceship with Leyden:

By the time I knew him, he had made himself one of our social shows, and could, and did, say whatever he chose. His delight lay in an argument about the Scottish Church, or Oriental literature, or Scotch poetry, or old customs, or scenery, always conducted, on his part, in a high shrill voice, with great intensity, and an utter unconsciousness of the amazement, or even the aversion of strangers. His daily extravagances, especially mixed

---

<sup>49</sup> Morton, *Memoirs*, p. 87.

<sup>50</sup> Scott, ‘Memoir,’ p. xxviii.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*, (New York, 1856), p. 173.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173-4. This was actually seen as a rather endearing factor, and Cockburn supposed such “pretension,” to be “of a very innocent kind.”

up, as they always were, with exhibitions of his own ambition and confidence, made him to be much laughed at even by his friends [...].<sup>54</sup>

Leyden's deportment in Scotland, saying "whatever he chose," is shown in a remarkably similar manner to his subsequent behaviour in India. This later account also suggests the extent to which the Scot's conversational "intensity" added to his notoriety. Reckoning Leyden to be the subject of recurrent "social shows" in Scotland, Cockburn's account also highlights the linguist's favoured areas of argumentative "delight" – conspicuously linking the "Scottish Church," "Oriental literature," "Scotch poetry," and "old customs, or scenery."

On at least two significant occasions outwith Scotland, Leyden was driven to comparably boisterous displays of socio-linguistic exhibitionism. Recounting his own role in repelling a mutiny on his voyage out to India in 1803, the Scot depicted himself in a particularly dramatic fashion – wielding a tomahawk to "cut down four of the hardest mutineers," all the while bellowing out a Borders ballad: "My name is Little Jack Elliot, and wha daur meddle wi me!"<sup>55</sup> The fusion of Leyden's tomahawk and "dissonant" Borders "war-whoop" provides a rather ironic parallel to Scott's drawing-room anecdote. Years later, Malcolm provided another account of Leyden's enthusiasm for the very same ballad in India; describing his friend during yet another bout of illness, rousing from a fever after hearing of the spirited response of contingent of Hawick volunteers to rumours of a French invasion:

Leyden's countenance became animated as I proceeded with this detail, and at its close he sprung from his sick-bed, and, with a strange melody, and still stranger gesticulations, sung aloud, "Wha daur meddle wi' me, wha daur meddle wi' me?" Several of those who witnessed this scene looked at him as one that was raving in the delirium of a fever.<sup>56</sup>

Such exuberance clearly raised eyebrows in India, undoubtedly also raising the Scot's profile, aiding in his quest for "personal distinction."<sup>57</sup>

In India as in Scotland, Leyden's "exaggerated" language and behaviour seem to have been indulged, if not slightly better celebrated. In speculating upon the relative "success" of Leyden's inflection in Bengal, it is important to recognise that metropolitan English "standards" are viewed to have been very much in the "minority" within the territories of the EIC at the turn of the nineteenth

---

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 174-5.

<sup>55</sup> Brown, 'Leyden,' pp. 333-4, Reith, *Leyden*, p. 207.

<sup>56</sup> Scott, 'Memoir,' p lxii.

<sup>57</sup> For those favourable to post-mortem pop psychology, Leyden's characteristics have been likened to those associated with Asperger's syndrome, Glendinning, *Raffles*, p. 33.

century.<sup>58</sup> Considering the disproportionate numbers of Scots and Irish officers then serving within the Company's military and administrative ranks, a preponderance of regional and national sub-versions of – and within – “English” appears to have been highly likely. As his relationship with Minto suggests, Leyden's outlandish spoken “saw tones” may well have set him in good stead in his attempts to “obtain personal distinction” within such a polyphonic context.

Gleanings of this were perceived in Scotland following Leyden's death. As the Borders poet James Hogg mused in his 1813 epic *The Queen's Wake*, the Scot's “tones” may well have proved “false at times”; inter-fused with occasional “wild notes” which “marred” an anticipated literary “symphony.”<sup>59</sup> Yet as the Ettrick Shepherd notes, this did not wholly dampen the “glowing measure” of the bard's “inspired soul.” Indeed, when “hymned” exotically “afar,” “thrilling the heart of Indian maid” amongst “monsoons” and “wild” banana trees, the Scot's language appears all the more pronounced within Hogg's tribute.

Leyden's “wild notes” were commonly connected to a localised Scottish pride. Like Minto, John Malcolm linked the Scot's distinctive linguistic turns to his Borders patriotism; highlighting Leyden's “love of the place of his nativity,” a “passion in which he had always a pride, and which in India he cherished with the fondest enthusiasm.”<sup>60</sup> A comparable interpretation occurs within Cockburn's 1856 *Memorials*, where he saw Leyden's “love of Scotland” to be “delightful,” and fancied that this now national attachment, “breathes through all his writings [...] and imparts to his poetry its most attractive charm.”<sup>61</sup>

Later commentators were more explicit in their assessment of the scholar's enthusiasm for Lowland forms. As Cockburn's interpretation hints, Leyden's Borders patriotism was seen to reflect an expanded notion of “national attachment.” These two elements combine within a biography attached to an 1875 edition of Leyden's poetry, printed in association with the Edinburgh Borderer's Union. The Scot was praised for having “preserved the broad accent,” reflecting “the rustic free-born bearing of his native glens.”<sup>62</sup> Thomas Brown, author of this “New Memoir,” supposed “[t]he devotion of Leyden to the Scottish dialect” as “another strong element in his character,” and celebrated that the scholar “remained through life partial to the broad accent of his forefathers.”<sup>63</sup> Brown saw Leyden to exemplify “much of that solidity which characterises a true Scotchman

---

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xvi, 33, Mary Ellis Gibson ed., *Anglophone Poetry in Colonial India, 1790-1913*, (Athens, 2011), pp. 4-6, 16-18.

<sup>59</sup> James Hogg, *The Queen's Wake*, Douglas S. Mack ed., (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 368-9.

<sup>60</sup> Scott, ‘Memoir,’ p lxii.

<sup>61</sup> Cockburn, *Memorials*, p. 175

<sup>62</sup> Brown, *Poetical Works*, p. xv

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xx, xxi.

everywhere,” noting “[f]rom beginning to end he always preserved habits of the strictest integrity, temperance, and perseverance.”<sup>64</sup> The biographer also envisioned a “spirit of independence” which drove Leyden “to cling so tenaciously to those provincialisms which grate so harshly on the delicate ears of starched pedantry.”<sup>65</sup> However, Brown concluded that in keeping with Leyden’s “general character,” it appeared “more reasonable [...] to think that he adopted his native dialect because he thought that it represented, in greatest purity, English as spoken by our Saxon ancestors.”<sup>66</sup>

Leyden’s language was linked to “solidity,” suggestive of the archetypal, globe-spanning “true Scotchman everywhere,” and aligned with mythic “Saxon ancestors.” The Scot’s “adoption” of “native dialect” was presented in terms of the “free-born bearing” and “racially”-tinted “purity” of pan-Britannic language. Leyden’s biographer appears rather proud in his assertion that “[n]o circumstances could ever make him abandon” Scots sub-versions “in favour of its more fashionable sister tongue.”<sup>67</sup> By the latter half of the nineteenth century, Leyden’s “false,” “wild,” and ever so anti-social “saw tones” were re-envisioned; seen to suggest a Scottish “solidity” and “Saxon” integrity, removed from contemporary “delicacy.”

Merely three years after Brown’s “New Memoir,” the first biographies of Alexander Duff began to appear. With the missionary’s death in 1878, these early profiles set out to enshrine the legacy of the iconic Scot. The contrast with Leyden is striking. Compared with the anecdotal perspectives of Scott, Malcolm, and Cockburn, endowing Leyden with an egocentric, disconcerting, but endearingly daft idiosyncrasy, Duff’s early biographers, working towards very different objectives, offered a much more guarded insight into the missionary’s persona. This is particularly evident in discussions of Duff’s language, or rather, his “eloquence.”

George Smith’s 1879 *Life of Alexander Duff* occasionally hints at his subject’s spoken style. Yet compared with Leyden’s “saw tones” and outlandish “social shows,” Smith almost exclusively contained the missionary’s language within a dignified, oratorical context. Interestingly, the views of two mid-century American commentators, assessing Duff’s performances during his lecture tour of the eastern United States in 1854, number among the most detailed descriptions of the Scot’s rhetorical flair. The biographer quotes a New York reviewer, reflecting upon the experience of “[t]wo hours before DR. DUFF”:

---

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, p. xciv.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xx.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, p. xxi.

[...] most instructive they were, not soon to be forgotten [...] his tall ungainly form swaying to and fro, his long right arm waving against his breast, his full voice raised to the tone of a Whitefield, and the face kindled into a glow of ardour like one under inspiration, – we thought we had never witnessed a higher display of thrilling majestic oratory. ‘Did you ever hear such a speech?’ said a genuine Scotsman near us, ‘he cannot stop. Since Chalmers went home to heaven Scotland has heard no eloquence like Duff’s.’<sup>68</sup>

With flattering comparisons to renowned missionary figureheads, the reviewer presented Duff in the brightest possible light to an evangelical Christian readership, likening him to George Whitefield – the revered eighteenth-century Anglo-American preacher and abolitionist – and introducing a “genuine Scotsman” to draw similar parallels to Thomas Chalmers. The conscription of this “genuine” Scot to testify to Duff’s “eloquence” is curious, likely intended to underscore the “majesty” of the missionary’s discourse – “thrilling” even to compatriots familiar with his oratorical power.

Yet other accounts betray traces of the unconventionality within Duff’s address. This is most clearly articulated within a discussion of the Scot’s speech at Philadelphia, prior to his trip to New York. During his visit, Duff was met by a gathering of what he described as “all the evangelical ministers of every church in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood!” noting that within this collection of “Episcopalians, Presbyterians of every school, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Dutch Reformed,” “all were anxious to hear the sound of my voice.”<sup>69</sup> In Philadelphia, the Scot celebrated the loose, Protestant ecumenism of a global “Greater Britain” ranged against “legions of European despotism, whether civil or religious”; foreseeing “America and Britain shaking hands across the Atlantic as the two great props of evangetic Protestant Christianity in the world.”<sup>70</sup>

Delivering such sentiments at the Philadelphia Concert Hall in March 1854, Duff was observed to be “obviously labouring under ill-health,” and “his voice, at no time very strong,” was noted to “subside” into “almost a whisper.”<sup>71</sup> “In addition to this drawback,” the Scot was viewed to possess “none of the mere external graces of oratory.”<sup>72</sup> The Philadelphia critic judged Duff’s “elocution” “unstudied” and “his gesticulation uncouth,” supposing “but for the intense feeling, the self-absorption out of which it manifestly springs,” the Scot’s delivery “might even be considered grotesque.”<sup>73</sup> Yet in spite of all apparent shortcomings, Duff was deemed “fascinatingly eloquent”:

---

<sup>68</sup> Quoted in Smith, *Duff*, II, p. 277.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 264.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 268. See Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*, (Princeton, 2007).

<sup>71</sup> Smith, *Duff*, II, p. 276.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*.

Though his words flowed out in an unbroken, unpausing torrent, every eye in the vast congregation was riveted upon him, every ear was strained to hear the slightest sound; and it was easy to be seen that he communicated his own fervour to all he was addressing. Indeed, while all he said was impressive, both in matter and manner, many passages were really grand.<sup>74</sup>

Rather like Leyden, an “unstudied” enunciation and lack of “external graces” appear to have benefitted the proselytising Scot, though achieving an entirely different effect to the linguistic “exhibitions” of the Denholm scholar.

There is, admittedly, no explicit recognition of Scots inflection within either of these American perspectives, and neither account comes close to reflecting contemporary tropes of verbal tartantry. However, the re-assessment of Duff’s “unstudied,” potentially “grotesque” delivery at Philadelphia, paired with the inclusion of the “genuine Scotsman” in the New York review, points to a faintly familiar, favourably sub-versive element. By the mid nineteenth century, the discernible “eloquence” of revered figures such as Duff appears to have been acknowledged alongside a congruent acceptance of commendable Scottish, “non-standard” aspects seen to be at work within such discourse.

Compared with these Anglo-American accounts, Duff’s “native” Indian students supply a strikingly different conception of his “eloquence.” The recollections of Duff’s disciple Harish Chandra Mitra are particularly poignant. Mitra, regarded all “the more venerable” in his attachment to Duff, “as he remained unconvinced of the truth of Christianity,” provided an emotional tribute, included within the 1890 “memorial” compiled by the missionary’s son W. Pirie Duff.<sup>75</sup> The Bengali praised “the masculine and matchless eloquence” of Duff in India, reckoning the Scot the “greatest of British orators that ever came to this country”:

At this distance and time I can vividly recall to my mind that noble and commanding figure casting a charm and a spell over his audience, whether standing in the Calcutta Town Hall, the Free Church, or the General Assembly’s Institution, in the Free Church of Scotland, in the Bethune Society, or anywhere else in the metropolis of British India.<sup>76</sup>

For Mitra, there was clearly nothing “grotesque” or “uncouth” about Duff’s spellbinding rhetoric, and at times, the reverence of the Hindu intellectual resembles that of a fervent religious conversion:

---

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Pirie Duff, *Duff*, p. 32.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.

Those who had the privilege and good fortune to hear Dr Duff could alone have felt the power that a genuine orator has over the passions and the feelings of the human heart. At times soaring, as it were on eagle's wings, he rode to the highest height of the finest and noblest declamation that the English language is capable of. This eloquence has been likened to the cataract of Niagara. But in our own country, the Nerbudda Fall, the greatest in all India might also give you an adequate conception of the force and grandeur of the eloquence of the great man. Whilst standing on the brow of a hill and witnessing the stately Nerbudda dashing down with a force and impetuosity that would baffle all powers of description, I was literally lost in wonder in the midst of the land of liquid splendour. But the thundering tongue of Duff – a thunderer in the best sense of the term he decidedly was – his luxuriant imagination, inexhaustible fund of words, incomparable command of language, profound erudition and gorgeous intellect, and above all his unbounded love towards his fellow-men, be they white or be they black, exercised on me a greater spell than this grand phenomenon in the material world.<sup>77</sup>

Fittingly, Mitra's imagery, likening a "liquid splendour" to that of Duff's language, parallels the "unpausing" rhetorical "torrent" perceived in Philadelphia. Far from coincidentally, the trope of water – diffusing and "enriching" – was a particular favourite of the missionary himself, regularly insisting upon English linguistic "channels" invigorating the Indian subcontinent.

Within his 1835 address to the General Assembly, Duff espoused the necessity of the "English language" in "raising up a body of educated native agents" in India, "a race of enlightened Christians [...] watered by the dew of heavenly grace."<sup>78</sup> Through such rhetoric, Duff echoed Thomas Babington Macaulay's better-known call for the formation of a "class" of secular "interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern" in his Minute on Indian Education earlier that year – identifying the English language as key to encouraging a "class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."<sup>79</sup> As central exponents of the educational "Anglicism" favoured by Governor-general William Bentinck in the early 1830s, both Duff and Macaulay celebrated what the latter decreed the "intrinsic superiority of Western literature," proclaiming "the English tongue" as "that which would be the most useful to our native subjects."<sup>80</sup>

By comparison, the literary languages of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, championed by earlier generations of European "Oriental" scholars such as John Leyden, were seen as languid and

---

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>78</sup> Duff, *Church of Scotland's India Mission*, p. 28.

<sup>79</sup> G.M. Young ed., *Speeches by Lord Macaulay*, (Oxford, 1936), p. 359.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, p. 349.

worryingly “deficient.” Duff’s favoured, water-based imagery emphasised the cloying, intellectual mugginess he saw to surround “Oriental” literatures and learning. “Ah! Long, too long has India been made a theme for the visions of poetry and the dreams of romance,” he lamented in his General Assembly address, “[t]oo long has it been enshrined in the sparkling bubbles of a vapoury sentimentalism.”<sup>81</sup> In light of this vapid “Orientalist” haze, Duff mirrored Macaulay’s recommendation for Anglo-Indian “interpreters,” equipped “to refine the vernacular dialects of the country” and “to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature.”<sup>82</sup> In this manner, Macaulay charged his proposed caste of Indian English-speaking interlocutors with the task of rendering the manifold “vernacular” languages “fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population,” dismissing European “Orientalist” scholarship along with “the whole native literature of India and Arabia.”<sup>83</sup>

Duff similarly anticipated the “native languages” of Bengal to one day become “sufficiently enriched by a copious infusion and intermixture of expressive terms drained from other sources.”<sup>84</sup> As with Macaulay, Duff saw such “enrichment” “drained” from the only tongue he saw as a capable conduit of “useful knowledge”: “Not, surely, in the native languages, which have it not; but in the modern language which has it all in the highest perfection, the English.”<sup>85</sup> Once again, a “liquid splendour” surged within the Scot’s oratory. Duff supposed “the English language, and it alone,” to “supply the necessary medium” of “useful knowledge,” filtering down to “infuse” Indian “vernaculars”:

Thus, *for the present*, must the English language in India be viewed as the medium of acquisition of the thoroughly educated *few*; and the vernacular dialects, to the ordinarily educated *many*. The *one* forms the channel of *contribution* to the reservoirs of those minds that are to be cultivated, so as to disseminate all knowledge; the *other* will form the channels of *distribution* to those who must be satisfied with the mere elements of knowledge. [...] The *former* unseals the inexhaustible fountain of all knowledge, the *latter* serves as ducts to diffuse its vivifying waters over the wastes of a dry and parched land. [Original emphasis].<sup>86</sup>

Duff supposed an English literary and linguistic “standard” as the “necessary medium” in India – the key means of uncapping “the inexhaustible fountain” of a “higher knowledge.”<sup>87</sup> In proclaiming a

---

<sup>81</sup> Duff, *Church of Scotland’s India Mission*, p. 37.

<sup>82</sup> Young, *Speeches*, p. 359.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 359, 349.

<sup>84</sup> Duff, *Church of Scotland’s India Mission*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p. 30.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, p. 31.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 30, 31.

linguistic relationship between English “standards” and sub-versive “vernacular dialects” in terms of the respective “channels” of “contribution” and “distribution” – a process of “cultivation” and “dissemination” slowly flowing from the “thoroughly educated few” to the “ordinarily educated many” – the Scottish missionary sought to unsettle existing hierarchies of language, “knowledge,” and belief in colonial India.

In his *New Era of the English Language*, printed in support of the 1835 Indian Education Act approved by Bentinck and his “Anglicist” council, Duff reasserted the “English language” as “the best and most effective medium for throwing open the pure fount of European knowledge and science to the natives at large.”<sup>88</sup> The Scot insisted the “English language should be employed as the universal medium, for conveying and naturalizing European knowledge in the East,” calling for the displacement of the “Orientalists’” “own idolized Hindu and Mahammadan media, – the Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian.”<sup>89</sup>

For Duff, desiring to cultivate an “enlightened” colonial population “watered by the dew of heavenly grace,” such conceptions of the “English language” and “the pure fount of European knowledge” were of course synonymous with those of a Protestant Christianity. As Duff himself acknowledged, the fundamental tenet underpinning his “Anglicist” stance, “wherever such an education is imparted,” was the “grand effect” of accelerating “the demolition of the superstitions and idolatries of India”:

[...] these educationary operations, which are of the nature and force of moral laws, will proceed onwards till they terminate in effecting a universal change in the national mind of India. The sluices of a superior and quickening knowledge have already been thrown open; and who shall dare to shut them up?<sup>90</sup>

Duff’s biographer lauded such goals, and Smith saw the Scot’s work in opening “Anglicist” floodgates to have directly influenced subsequent British policy in India; reckoning the Educational Despatch of 1854 to have been “possible only because of the missionary’s practical demonstration in 1830-34.”<sup>91</sup> Smith also recognised the “chief end” of Duff’s “demonstration” of English education in Bengal, which he blithely saw to lie in “the destruction of Hindooism, and the Christianization of the hundred and thirty millions of Eastern and Northern India.”<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Duff, *New Era*, p. 18.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39-40.

<sup>91</sup> Smith, *Duff*, II, p. 245.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

Addressing the General Assembly in 1854 – the year the Educational Despatch was implemented in India under Lord Dalhousie, another Scots Governor-general – Duff stressed the benevolent interconnection of the English language and Protestant Christianity outwith an exclusively Indian context.<sup>93</sup> In a speech before the now “disrupted” Kirk, the missionary recounted his recent experiences within the United States. Duff honoured “Bible Christianity and the English language” as “the rock and citadel of the cohesive unity and strength of the American commonwealth,” asserting the “racial”-religious ties binding the Scottish nation to their transatlantic brethren: “they are just like ourselves, after all – (applause) [...] the great and wondrous Anglo-Saxon race, under the predominant influence of Christianity.”<sup>94</sup>

Predictably, this was a “Bible Christianity” loaded with assumptions of Scottish Protestant exceptionalism. Within the speech, Duff described visiting “an establishment for really destitute emigrants and their children” at North River Island in New York, recalling how he had “naturally inquired how many Scotch were in it.”<sup>95</sup> The missionary indulged his audience at Edinburgh in reporting, “there was just one single representative from Scotland. (Applause)”; a “little girl, who had been only three weeks there; and I begged that she might be pointed out [to] me, just as a curiosity. (Laughter.)”<sup>96</sup> Inevitably, Duff’s parable of Scots Protestant success was underscored by comparisons to long-standing cultural, linguistic, and religious “others”:

[...] who, I asked, half anticipating the answer, give you the most trouble here? ‘oh you need scarcely ask,’ was the answer, – ‘the Irish.’ Not the Presbyterians from Ulster, – however (applause) – but the crime and destitution come from regions where Popery is rampant: – that is the testimony of the United States.<sup>97</sup>

Giving voice to anti-Catholic prejudice through the “half-anticipated” factor of Irish “destitution,” Duff celebrated the relative prosperity of Protestant Scots and their “Scots-Irish” kin at New York. Duff notably enclosed this commentary within a wider discussion of how the “English language,” wedded to a broad-church Protestantism, generally served to “mould down” the idiosyncrasies of migrants within the United States:

[...] it is perfectly astonishing with what power and rapidity this process is telling; how it is gradually melding, and fusing, and moulding down these strange heterogeneous masses. Generally, the great bulk of them are moulded down by the second or third generation,

---

<sup>93</sup> See Suresh Chandra Ghosh, ‘Dalhousie, Charles Wood and the Education Despatch of 1854,’ *History of Education*, 4:2, (1975), pp. 37-47.

<sup>94</sup> Alexander Duff, *Foreign Missions and America*, (Edinburgh, 1854), pp. 33, 38.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

and all the Babel of tongues disappear; and if thoroughly christianized, they are undone with regard to sectional races and nationalities.<sup>98</sup>

Through the expansion of a common English linguistic “standard,” alongside a suitably “thorough” Christianization, Duff looked to the dissolution of “strange heterogeneous masses.” The Scot celebrated the ascendancy of an English-speaking, loose-fitting global Protestantism, undercutting Hinduism in India, Irish Catholicism in the U.S., and “the Babel of tongues” everywhere.

But what of Duff’s own particular “eloquence”? This was seen to be “inspired” but “unstudied” by Anglo-American commentators, and yet reckoned by a Bengali student as the “noblest declamation that the English language is capable of.” The Scot’s own liquid-linguistic allegory goes some way to explaining the reception of his “thundering tongue” in India; presented as descending from on high to impart “useful knowledge” to the population “of a dry and parched land.” The “flow” of Duff’s water-likened “eloquence,” mirroring his stance on “native” education, was essentially top-down – the linguistic source of “force and grandeur” seen as uniquely equipped to “enrich” all others.

In 1849, five years prior to his trip to the United States, Duff left India – having been recalled to Scotland to aid in the ministry of the Free Church, to which he would eventually serve as Moderator in 1851 and again in 1873. In his *Life of Duff*, Smith reported that his scheduled departure prompted a “Sanskrit remonstrance from eleven learned Brahmins,” and provided a translation of the appeal addressed “to the most intelligent, virtuous, impartial, glorious and philanthropic people of Scotland.”<sup>99</sup> The tone of the “remonstrance” resembles that of Mitra, and supplies another, comparably zealous assertion of the Scot’s rhetorical intensity. “The illustrious Duff” was observed by the signatories to be “in the mouth of every Hindoo because of his transcendent eloquence, learning, and philanthropy.”<sup>100</sup> “As to his eloquence,” the authors’ invoked a familiar liquid imagery:

[...] from his mouth, which resembles a thick dark rain-cloud, there do issue forth bursts of incessant and unmeasured oratory; so that he fills his audience with rills of persuasive eloquence, just as the rain of heaven fills rivers, streams, brooks, valleys, canals, tanks, and pools, and, dissipating the dark delusions of false religion.<sup>101</sup>

The vivifying spirit of Duff’s “unmeasured oratory” mirrors the missionary’s own go-to metaphor in support of an encroaching, trickle-down “Anglicism,” sourced from “the rain of heaven.”

---

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33.

<sup>99</sup> Smith, *Duff*, II, p. 119.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, II, pp. 119-20.

The commentary of Duff's biographer is perhaps even more revealing. Smith attaches a rather strange disclaimer to the "Sanskrit" tribute, discussing the bombastic language of the translation. Reflecting upon "the orientalism which sounds like a paean in the tongues of the East," Smith warned that the "remonstrance" "may appear hyperbole in the prosaic commonplaces of Teutonic speech."<sup>102</sup> Commenting upon the transformed "Sanskrit" text, intended to heap praise upon Duff's own "eloquence," the biographer supposes a stolid translation in "Teutonic speech" to further discolour and embellish the perspective. Ironically, the "English" liquid oratory of Duff is lauded as "incessant and unmeasured," while the "orientalism" of this very tribute, apparently typical of the "tongues of the East," is tempered through an insistence upon a "prosaic," measured, and comparatively dry linguistic "Teutonism."

On one level, the "hyperbole" of the "English" translation is questioned, and the "Sanskrit" approval of Duff's rhetoric presented as transcending the mere "commonplaces" of "Teutonic" models. Yet on another, the imagined "orientalism" and variance of the text are deeply underscored by Smith's interpretation, while the Sanskrit of the "remonstrance" is, of course, silenced through translation. Despite hinting at the "hyperbole" within "Teutonic" translation, Duff's biographer offers no alternative. As such, Smith's commentary seems to serve little purpose other than to stress an irreconcilable linguistic and cultural gulf between a functionally "*prosaic*" "Teutonism" and an "orientalism which sounds like a *paean*." Thus, these "tongues of the East" are doubly muffled; presented as unknowable yet inherently *outspoken* in the very same instance as they are simultaneously *spoken for* and *spoken over*.<sup>103</sup>

Nevertheless, Duff claims the praise. Bracketed by both "orientalism" and "Teutonic speech," the Scot's language and legacy in India emerge all the more noteworthy. The very subject of the "remonstrance" is the missionary's benevolent presence in India, typified by his enriching "eloquence." These sentiments remain. "After making the largest allowance" for the rhetorical "contrast" of the "Sanskrit" transcription, Duff's biographer concluded "all our experiences of Indian life, of Hindoo gratitude, or Bengalee loveliness, warrants us in quoting this translation."<sup>104</sup> Smith regarded the "remonstrance" as charmingly harmless – "a dim reflection of the impression produced by the fervid personality of Alexander Duff on the people of India."<sup>105</sup> The "tongues of the East," interpreted both as irrevocably different and overly grandiose, were also harnessed to serve the assertion of the simple, indiscriminate "gratitude" and "loveableness" of the Bengali population.

---

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, II, p. 119.

<sup>103</sup> For another analysis of the "remonstrance" – perceived to demonstrate the "peculiarities of the Hindoo mind" and acceptance of "mutually destructive facts at one and the same time" – see Vermilye, *Duff*, pp. 73-5.

<sup>104</sup> Smith, *Duff*, II, p. 119.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*.

This raises the issue of Edward Said's "Orientalism," the gilded elephant in the room.

Considerations of power, "knowledge," and attitudes towards language and linguistic scholarship form a second, key point of comparison between Leyden and Duff. As has been proposed, the two Scots were cultural borderers. Of equal import was the role played by both as brokers of "useful knowledge" within Scotland and colonial India. Their apparent contrast – Leyden an insatiable philologist claiming proficiency in over 45 languages, Duff the single-minded advocate of "English education alone" – offers a valuable means to cross examine the historical construction of an "enlightened," specifically "Scottish Orientalism."<sup>106</sup>

Within this rather self-congratulatory category, a collection of Scots-educated scholars and colonial administrators have been projected as exemplars of an indigenous, intellectual tradition charting a course of "mutual sympathy and comprehension" between cultures of the notional "East" and "West."<sup>107</sup> The linguistic proclivities of these individuals are seen as central to their particular brand of "Orientalist" enthusiasm. Indeed, in her pioneering discussion of "Scottish Orientalism" Jane Rendall suggests that the "cultural inheritance" of a loose grouping of Scots intellectuals, from William Robertson to James Mill, left them particularly "predisposed [...] towards the study of philology, seen as a key to the understanding of the human mind, and to the history of the early stages of society."<sup>108</sup>

While acknowledging the credibility of a distinctive "cultural inheritance" underpinning a late eighteenth-century "Scottish Orientalism," this discussion offers a cautionary note to considerations of this colonial category. The danger of "Scottish Orientalism" lies in the potential of such a classification to appear deceptively over-accepting of "Eastern" cultures, thereby shirking the negative connotations associated with the "Orientalism" of more-recent "post-colonial" discourse. Essentially, a "Scottish Orientalism" regarded as the practical incarnation of the social theory

---

<sup>106</sup> Duff, *New Era*, p. 3. See, John Bastin, 'John Leyden and the Publication of the "Malay Annals" (1821),' *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 75, 2 (283) (2002), pp. 99-115, pp. 103-4. For "Scottish Orientalism" see Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill,' *Historical Journal*, 25, 1, (1982), pp. 43-69, Bruce Lenman, 'The Scottish enlightenment, stagnation and empire in India, 1792-1813,' *Indo-British Review: a Journal of History*, 21, (1996), pp. 53-62, Fry, "'Key to their Hearts,'" *Scotland and the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century World*. Also, Fry, *Scottish Empire*, pp. 55-6, 62, 84-97, 425-7, 494-8, McLaren, *British India & British Scotland*, Stewart J. Brown, 'William Robertson, Early Orientalism and the *Historical Disquisition* on India of 1791,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 88, 2, 226, (October 2009), pp. 289-312, Avril A. Power, *Scottish Orientalists and India. The Muir Brothers, Religion, Education and Empire*, (Woodbridge, 2010).

<sup>107</sup> Fry, "'Key to their Hearts,'" *Scotland and the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century World*, p. 137.

<sup>108</sup> Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism,' p. 58.

associated with the “Scottish Enlightenment”<sup>109</sup> can stand as a rather-too-tolerant foil to the uncompromising monoculturalism seen within subsequent generations of British imperialism.

Of course, it is vital to recognise the dramatic shifts in British imperial theory and colonial governance occurring in the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>110</sup> However, the espousal of a historic “Scottish Orientalism” runs the risk of sanctioning (if not actually celebrating) a seemingly benevolent strand of “enlightened” colonial discourse in India, regrettably displaced by the cultural chauvinism and authoritarianism of the later, nineteenth-century Raj.<sup>111</sup> This thesis concludes, seeking to re-connect conceptions of “Scottish Orientalism” with the hypotheses of Edward Said, highlighting the link between the colonial “orientalisms” of Leyden and Duff. The linguistic concerns of both Scots provide a key indication of such interconnections.

Since Said’s redeployment of the term within his path-breaking monograph of 1978, the notion of “Orientalism” has become intertwined with the global structures of “Western” power perceived to dominate those of the “East” or “Orient.”<sup>112</sup> Within this supposed dichotomy, Said defined “Orientalism” as *the* derivative “system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid of filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness”; above all, “a relationship of power, domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony.”<sup>113</sup> In a later discussion, Said offered a further delineation, outlining “Orientalism” as “a certain *will or intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world.”<sup>114</sup> Said projected the “Orient” not as “Europe’s interlocutor, but its silenced Other,” positing “Western” perspectives of the “Oriental” as a preconceived “paradigm of antiquity and originality.”<sup>115</sup> While such sweeping historical generalisations are far from flawless – regularly tailoring texts and events to suit the overbearing binaries of “East” and “West,” “Orient” and “Occident” – Said’s insight cannot be overlooked.<sup>116</sup> The overlapping collation, interpretation, conscription, and constriction of cultural difference and “useful knowledge” are desperately evident

---

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, p. 59, John Marriot, *The Other Empire: Metropolis, India and progress in the colonial imagination*, (Manchester, 2003), pp. 1-2.

<sup>110</sup> C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*, (London, 1989).

<sup>111</sup> This is perhaps evident within William Dalrymple’s *White Mughals*, (London, 2002), pp. xl-xliii, 10.

<sup>112</sup> Geoffrey Nash, ‘Orientalism,’ John M. MacKenzie ed., *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, (Chichester, 2016), 4 vols., III, pp. 1571-77.

<sup>113</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (London, 1978), pp. 6, 5.

<sup>114</sup> Edward W. Said, ‘Orientalism Reconsidered,’ *Cultural Critique* 1, (1985), pp. 89-107, p. 93.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 93, 94, 101-2.

<sup>116</sup> For a key critique of “Orientalist essentialism” see Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion. Postcolonial theory, India and ‘the mystic East’*, (London, 1999), pp. 3, 33, 84. Also John M. MacKenzie, ‘Edward Said and the historians,’ *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 18, 1, (1994), pp. 9-25, Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: a critique of Edward Said’s Orientalism*, (Amherst, 2007), Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the unsaid*, (London, 2007).

within the context of Leyden and Duff, and are particularly explicit within both Scots' discussions of language.

As has been suggested, the two individuals can be presented as convenient intellectual opposites. While Leyden can stand as the embodiment of the philological and socio-cultural comparativism underpinning a supposed "Scottish Orientalism," figures such as Duff have been identified as bringing about the decline of this very mode of imperial thought.<sup>117</sup> Despite belonging to intellectual traditions espousing remarkably different methods and perspectives, both Scots were linked in at least one essential regard. For the polyglot Leyden as much as the outspokenly monolingual Duff, the "possession" of language in the pursuit and demonstration of a "useful knowledge" in India was of the utmost significance.

Duff's "Anglicist" machinations appear a fairly transparent attempt to overturn Hinduism and embed Protestant Christianity in Bengal. Of course, a common thread of "Anglicist" discourse involved championing an imported ontological "truth" and "sentiments of liberalism" over Indian "superstition." In September 1831, the Kolkata *Enquirer* celebrated "more than 2000 boys receiving instructions in English literature in the many schools conducted here," supposing "[t]heir minds freed from the shackles of prejudice" as "undergoing a complete change."<sup>118</sup> "Superstitions, which kept them so long in moral debasement" were viewed to be "vanishing from their minds," while "knowledge" gleaned from "Western" education and English linguistic instruction "enlightens them and enables them to feel the truth and conform to her dictates."<sup>119</sup> The *Enquirer* anticipated an inevitable socio-cultural shift within these pupils, predicting "[w]hen their thoughts and sentiments are refined the occupations the natives were hitherto employed in, will not be suitable to them."<sup>120</sup>

Duff was even more explicit, emphasising the Christian source of the "truth" and "knowledge" conveyed through "Anglicist" education. This linguistically-linked zealotry set the missionary at odds with Governor Bentinck, wary of attaching any overtly religious significance to the 1835 Education Act. Duff himself testified to this difference of opinion. "As highly as we approve of Lord W. Bentinck's enactment, *so far as it goes*," he confessed,

---

<sup>117</sup> John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism. History, theory and the arts*, (Manchester, 1995), p. 29, Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism,' p. 44, Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race. Aryanism in the British Empire*, (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 33-5.

<sup>118</sup> 'Education,' *The Enquirer*, 10 September 1831, Benoy Ghose ed., *Selections from English Periodicals of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Bengal*, (Calcutta, 1978) p. 38.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

[...] we must in justice to our own views, and to the highest and noblest cause on earth, take the liberty of strongly expressing our own honest conviction that *it does not go far enough*. [Original emphasis.]<sup>121</sup>

Acknowledging “[t]ruth is better than error in any department of knowledge, the humblest as well as the most exalted,” Duff acknowledged the “moral intrepidity” of Bentinck – “the man who decreed that, in the Government institutions of India, true literature and true science should henceforth be substituted in place of false literature, false science, and false religion.”<sup>122</sup> Yet Duff saw the Indian Education Act to have worryingly overlooked the third and most malignant threat of “false religion,” concluding

[...] while we rejoice that true literature and science is to be substituted in place of what is demonstrably false, we cannot but lament that no provision whatever has been made for substituting the only true religion – Christianity – in place of the false religion which our literature and science will inevitably demolish.<sup>123</sup>

“In effecting a universal change in the national mind of India,” Duff admitted “[w]e do not look forward with confidence to a *great ultimate revolution*”; supposing “Lord W. Bentinck’s Act” as merely “laying the foundation” for a “train of causes,” “which may for a while operate so insensibly as to pass unnoticed by careless or casual observers, but not the less surely as concerns the great and momentous issue.”<sup>124</sup>

The Christian evangelism of India, “the great and momentous issue,” “the highest and noblest cause on earth,” was the foremost factor governing Duff’s English linguistic instruction. As the Scot professed in his speech to the General Assembly that same year, he saw a wholly secular “Anglicism” to run the risk of “*infidelizing* the Hindus first, and then Christianizing them afterwards.”<sup>125</sup> Duff supposed any “scheme which proposes to communicate all useful knowledge, while it excludes all morals and religion, may justly be chargeable with making people infidels,” insisting that through his own “determination to communicate Christian knowledge from the beginning, along with the general elements of literature and science,” his Hindu students, “after a period of four years,” were rendered “perfect unbelievers in their own systems [...] and, at the same time, as perfect believers in Christianity, so far as the understanding of the head is concerned.”<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> Duff, *New Era*, p. 40.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 39.

<sup>125</sup> Duff, *Church of Scotland’s India Mission*, p. 26.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

By comparison, the motivation surrounding Leyden's "Oriental" scholarship is rather less clear. To be sure, within much of his published work the scholar attested to the vital insights of comparative philology in tracing the roots and interconnections within global theories of social history. Leyden mirrored approach of the "Scottish Orientalists," prompted, as one historian has proposed, by "the mixed-linguistic environment of their homeland."<sup>127</sup> In his 1807 'Plan for investigating the languages, literature, antiquities, and histories of the Dekkan' – intended to aid in his procurement of a professorship at the EIC College of Fort William – Leyden stressed he was "particular in specifying the languages or dialects of those rude tribes with whom I have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted," declaring

[...] of all the monuments of rude and savage men the language is the most interesting and instructive as characterizing best their natural state and habits affording as it were a natural scale of their feeling and ideas.<sup>128</sup>

In his *Languages and Literatures of the Indo-Chinese Nations* the following year, he offered a similar view of this "natural scale":

In the paucity of existing monuments, relative to the Indo-Chinese nations, no better method presented itself, either for classing their tribes, or laying a foundation of historical researches, than by examining the mutual relation of the several languages which are current among them.<sup>129</sup>

Leyden insisted "[t]his method, when applied on the extensive scale, is always the surest clue for developing the origin of a nation," indicative of "the revolutions to which it may have been subjected, either by foreign conquest or colonization."<sup>130</sup>

Leyden was mindful of the anthropological potential of linguistic comparison whilst in Scotland. In his 1799 "historical and philosophical sketch" of European inroads into the African continent, the scholar paid close attention to "provincial and national peculiarities of sound" and "diversity of pronunciation" when speculating upon "the obscurity which still hangs over the history

---

<sup>127</sup> Ballantyne, *Orientalism*, p. 33.

<sup>128</sup> Quoted in Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism,' p. 54. See also, Reith, *Leyden*, p. 269, George van Driem, 'Tibeto-Burman vs. Sino-Tibetan,' Brigitte L.M. Bauer and Georges-Jean Pinault eds., *Language in Time and Space*, (Berlin, 2003), 105-6.

<sup>129</sup> John Leyden, *On the Languages and Literatures of the Indo-Chinese Nations*, (Calcutta, 1808), p. 6.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

of the African tribes.”<sup>131</sup> Leyden was also quick to draw cultural comparisons with the “African tribes” and the “Celtic” peoples of Britain – Irish, “Welch,” and Scottish Highlanders.<sup>132</sup>

The following summer, Leyden embarked on a tour of the Highlands, acting as a guide and tutor to two teenage German travellers. Throughout the trip, reported in regular letters to his friend and fellow literary scholar Robert Anderson, Leyden made frequent references to Gaelic language and poetry. The verses of Ossian were still a hot topic, and provided a constant source of interest. Before breaching the Highland line, Leyden and his companions spent an enjoyable, mid-July afternoon at the estate of John Ramsay of Ochertyre, where they “had a good deal of conversation concerning Scottish songs and literature, Ossian’s poems, &c.”<sup>133</sup>

Throughout the tour, Leyden seems to have kept an ear out for the Gaelic language and “English” pronunciation of the “Indians of Scotland, as our friend Ramsay denominates the Highlanders.”<sup>134</sup> He was also driven to make a number of rather disparaging comparisons to Lowland language. In August 1800, at an uproarious inn at Oban, Leyden supposed himself “in considerable danger of mistaking this house where I write for the Tower of Babel,” irritably describing this mixed linguistic din:

[...] such a jargon of sounds as that produced by a riotous company bawling Gaelic songs and chattering something like Billingsgate, blending with English oaths and the humstrum of a bagpipe seldom assails any ears but those of the damned.<sup>135</sup>

Reaching Inverness in September, Leyden questioned the “classical English idiom” purportedly spoken by the townspeople, also highlighting his own likely bias as a Borderer. “I am not so much delighted with the Inverness pronunciation as a certain female traveller of redoubted intrepidity,” Leyden commented, alluding to Sarah Murray’s *Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland* of the previous year.<sup>136</sup> The Scot considered “by bepraising that of Inverness,” “perhaps Mrs Murray intended to compensate her injustice to the Hawick pronunciation,” which she had reckoned to be “unintelligible” and admitted “to me, was as Arabic.”<sup>137</sup> “The Borders, you know,

---

<sup>131</sup> John Leyden, *A Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries & Settlements of the Europeans in Northern & Western Africa*, (Edinburgh, 1799), pp. 361, 362-3.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 41, 293, 376, 389.

<sup>133</sup> John Leyden, *Journal of a Tour in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland*, James Sinton ed., (1799: Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 8-9.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*, p. 252.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 80-1.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid*, 206.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 206-7, Mrs [Sarah] Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, (London, 1799), p. 107.

Murray noted the “decency in the appearance, manners and deportment of the people of Inverness,”

never admitted the Highland superiority in any respect," Leyden confessed, "I shall certainly dispute their pretensions to a more correct English pronunciation."<sup>138</sup> At Aberdeen two weeks later, he reasserted this light-hearted Lowland prejudice against Highland "English," judging "[t]he town dialects of Aberdeen," "not, to my ear, inferior to that of Inverness," but acknowledging to his Edinburgh-based correspondent, "[y]ou will probably, however, question the taste of a Borderer in pronunciation."<sup>139</sup>

Outwith Scotland, Leyden appears to have been similarly inclined to seek out cultural parallels to his Lowland home. Raffles recalled his friend's interest in "the feudal notions and habits of this people," which "he found so much in accordance with his own feelings of honour and independence, and he was at once alive to their true character and interests."<sup>140</sup> Though Leyden's "powerful mind was engaged in deeper researches into their languages and literature," Raffles observed the Scot "neglected no opportunity of becoming acquainted" with "more popular tales and traditions" of the Malay peoples.<sup>141</sup> Such testimony mirrors Walter Scott's description of Leyden's fervour for the "rude traditionary tales and ballads" of his birthplace – "the once warlike district of Teviotdale."<sup>142</sup>

Doubtlessly reflecting his own passions for Borders balladry as much as those of his friend, Scott saw such "traditionary tales" to have provided the "readiest food which offered itself" to Leyden's "awakened appetite for knowledge":

These songs and legends became rooted in his memory, and he so identified his feelings with the wild, adventurous, and daring characters which they celebrated, that the associations thus formed in childhood, and cherished in youth, gave an eccentric and romantic tincture to his own mind, and many, if not all the peculiarities of his manner and habits of thinking may be traced to his imitating the manners and assuming the tone of a Borderer of former times.<sup>143</sup>

The perspectives of Scott and Raffles shed light both on Leyden's interests in philology and on his own outlandish demeanour. His enthusiasm for the "feudal notions" and "popular tales" of the

---

"[...] and the accent of their language so soft, it charms the ear: it is not in the least like the accent of the Lowland, or any other part of the Highland English that I heard; it being extremely insinuating, I could almost say bewitching: neither had it any resemblance to the Lowland Scotch in idiom, being very pure English, accompanied with a sort of foreign tone, which is very pleasing; in short, it is like broken English, proceeding from the soft voice of a beautiful female foreigner, taught English purely and grammatically." p. 224

<sup>138</sup> Leyden, *Journal*, p. 207

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, p. 238.

<sup>140</sup> Leyden, *Malay Annals*, p. v.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>142</sup> Scott, 'Memoir,' p xi.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xi-xii.

Malays were likely connected with his fondness for those of the Borders – the “rude traditional tales” which had kindled much of the scholar’s idiosyncratic language and character.

Perhaps more poignant than Leyden’s own motivations, are the later interpretations and celebrations of his “Oriental” scholarship. Such commentary is crucial in fusing the divisions seen between an inquisitive, culturally accommodating “Scottish Orientalism,” and the more loaded intellectual “possession” characteristic of the “Orientalism” of Edward Said. Raffles discussed Leyden’s pursuit of faded, socio-linguistic “glimmerings” of Malay culture, which predated the spread of Islam:

These glimmerings, he was accustomed to say, were very faint, but, in the absence of all other lights, they were worth pursuing; they would, at all events, account for and explain many of the peculiar institutions and customs of the people, and serve to make his countrymen better acquainted with a race who appeared to him to possess the greatest claims on their consideration and attention.<sup>144</sup>

The “consideration and attention” of “his countrymen” was deemed a key factor behind Leyden’s investigations within maritime South-east Asia.

Two years after the publication of the *Malay Annals*, the Scottish philologist Alexander Murray, who had co-edited the *Scots Magazine* with Leyden in 1802, included a tribute within his extensive *History of the European Languages*. Like Raffles, Murray saw Leyden’s death to have dealt a lamentable blow to the pursuit and “possession” of “useful knowledge”:

The hopes once justly entertained, that the literary world would soon possess an accurate account of the Indo-Chinese dialects, are now at an end. Dr JOHN LEYDEN, perhaps the only man in the East who had learning, genius, and all accomplishments of executing that task, died in Java [...]. The keen and indefatigable spirit with which he prosecuted all branches of philological and elegant literature in this country, and which he carried into a new, unexplored, and immense field of investigation, by subsequent removal to India, promised much in the cause of useful knowledge.<sup>145</sup>

Writing to the Edinburgh printer and bookseller Archibald Constable over a decade later, Murray was more explicit in his assessment of the “incalculable loss” of Leyden:

We might have expected from him a clear and accurate account of the nations between China and India. And above all, of the relations in which the tribes of those parts of Asia have stood to one another. His talent for languages might have laid open the way to

---

<sup>144</sup> Leyden, *Malay Annals*, p. vi.

<sup>145</sup> Alexander Murray, *History of the European Languages*, I, pp. 486-7.

future adventurers, whose efforts might have been of good service in various respects  
[...]. With the aid of language a man of sense is at home in any age of any country;  
without it he is limited entirely to what he sees.<sup>146</sup>

Such scholarship is placed within an unmistakably imperial context. Murray viewed Leyden's philology through the prism of linguistic accumulation; a "possession" perceived to "open the way" for later generations of intellectual "adventurers," perhaps "aiding" in the practicalities of British expansion, where "a man of sense is at home in any age of any country."

A eulogy printed at Kolkata in 1815, exhibited similarly Saidian "Orientalist" assumptions of linguistic "possession." The poetic tribute supposed that after Leyden's death "most should Asia mourn," identifying the Scot's charge to "trace / With partial care the secrets of her race."<sup>147</sup> The poet imagined the consequences of Leyden's "partial care," heralding the effects of his scholarship:

To clear the clouds of ignorance away,  
And fill the Orient with reflected day.  
Vain was the strife of tongues; for India heard,  
From him the widely variegated word,  
And countless tribes upon his accents hung,  
To catch the music of their native tongue.<sup>148</sup>

Having mediated an apparent "strife of tongues," Leyden was further celebrated for achieving a linguistic mastery surpassing "barren melody alone," and envisaged to have gained an almost mystical control over the tongues of "countless tribes."<sup>149</sup> The poet lauded Leyden's appropriation of "Oriental" languages, perceiving "his accents" as re-teaching the "music of *their* native tongue," making "the spirit of the spell" of such language "his own."<sup>150</sup> The Scot is presented as a custodian of a wealth of "Oriental" discourse:

The Persian's mystic rapture, and the loves  
That echo sweetly through Malaya's groves.  
The glowing thoughts that rouse Arabia's plains,

---

<sup>146</sup> Thomas Constable ed., *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents*, (Edinburgh, 1873), 3 vols., I, pp. 308-9.

<sup>147</sup> 'To the Memory of Doctor John Leyden, who died at Java in the month of August, 1811,' M. Derozario ed., *Monumental Register*, (Calcutta, 1815), p. 210.

See also the fairly dreadful 'Lament for Dr John Leyden, who died in Java,' "O far, far away from the banks of the Te'iot, / He sought the grand scenes and lore of yon east." G. Barbour ed., *Tributes to Scottish Genius*, (Dumfries, 1827), p. 85.

<sup>148</sup> 'Doctor John Leyden,' p. 210.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

And India's wildly superstitious strains.<sup>151</sup>

Moreover, Leyden is revered for *unveiling* the “dogmas of the darkling sect,” commended for having brought “forth fair truth from ancient bonds released, / The reverend frauds and fables of the East.”<sup>152</sup> An insistence upon the guiding light of Leyden’s research is palpable – possessing, unfettering, and then dispelling a “dark” and divergent “Eastern” “knowledge.” Unsubtle reflections upon the falsity of “Oriental” faith and belief are fused to these musings, emphasising “dogmas” and “sects,” “frauds and fables,” and “India’s wildly superstitious strains.”

Leyden’s outward-looking thirst for “knowledge,” an embodiment of the comparative philology of a “Scottish Orientalism,” was celebrated as a demonstration of benevolent imperial “possession” and intellectual superiority in colonial India – unleashing “fair truth” from “ancient” bondage, and challenging apparently erroneous belief systems of the “East.”

In this regard, the results and perhaps even the motivation underpinning the colonial careers of both Scots can be viewed as somewhat comparable. As has been suggested by a number of imperial historians, the chasm between the “Orientalist” and “Anglicist” approach towards British colonial governance appears to have been somewhat narrower in reality.<sup>153</sup> Conspicuous similarities between both categories have been perceived within the administrative debates over “Orientalist” education in India during the early 1830s, where the “Anglicist” redirection of EIC policy is argued to have been brewing for the best part of a generation.<sup>154</sup> In her quintessentially Saidian analysis of literary education in India under British rule, Gauri Viswanathan poses that the arguments put forward by “Orientalists” and “Anglicists” were perhaps not so much those of “polar opposites” but instead followed an implicit, connected objective “as points along a continuum of attitudes toward the manner and form of native governance.”<sup>155</sup> Viswanathan argues that beneath this set-piece contest over the particulars of “manner and form,” lay a historically-rooted conception of “native

---

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>153</sup> Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, pp. 30, 33-4, A.L. Macfie, *Orientalism*, (London, 2002), pp. 57-8, Michael S. Dodson, *Orientalism, Empire, and National Culture*, (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 55-62. Also, Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, (Princeton, 1996), pp. 20-22, 46, 55, C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information*, (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 224, 246, 313, John Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World. Education at Empire's End*, (Minneapolis, 1998), pp. 30-4.

<sup>154</sup> Clive, *Macaulay*, pp. 342-3, 367-8, Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir eds., *The Great Indian Education Debate*, (Richmond, Surrey, 1999), pp. 1-5.

<sup>155</sup> Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, p. 30. Also Stephen Evans, ‘Macaulay’s Minute Revisited: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth-century India,’ *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 23:4, (March 2010), pp. 260-281, pp. 268, 275, Alastair Pennycook, ‘Language, Ideology, and Hindsight. Lessons from Colonial Language Policies,’ Thomas Ricento ed., *Language, Politics, and Language Policies*, (Amsterdam, 2000), pp. 53, 56-7.

governance” intent on recruiting an “influential class” of Indian subjects as “the conduit of Western thought and ideas.”<sup>156</sup> She posits that this was an underlying colonial project “of remarkably little disagreement” between both administrative sects in terms of “necessity and justification.”<sup>157</sup>

As Macaulay famously claimed in his education Minute of 1835, the “intrinsic superiority of the Western literature” was widely acknowledged by Bentinck’s Committee for Public Instruction, “fully admitted” even “by those members [...] who support the Oriental plan of education.”<sup>158</sup> Moreover, Macaulay registered another fundamental consensus, concerning the apparent deficiency of “vernacular” Indian languages:

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.<sup>159</sup>

These assertions suggest that by the mid-1830s the so-called “Anglicists” and “Orientalists” of Indian officialdom stood in rather convenient agreement on two central issues – the belief both in “the intrinsic superiority” of a “Western literature,” and the unfortunate shortcomings of the “dialects commonly spoken” in EIC territories. As Chris Bayly has proposed, this apparent educational “controversy,” amplified through Macaulay’s provocative and memorable rhetoric, can be reduced to “a symbolic joust between administrative generations,” where the actual debate focused upon the most appropriate means to diffuse an acceptably “useful knowledge.”<sup>160</sup> As such, one may wonder whether Leyden and Duff, so opposed in method, might have actually stood in accordance in terms of their outlook in India.

Indeed, both Scots eyed India with a comparable degree of contempt, and Leyden’s remarkable drive for collating “Oriental” languages should be in no way mistaken for a respect, or even toleration for “native” socio-cultural distinctions. Leyden, himself a former minister of the Church of Scotland, issued sentiments remarkably similar to those of Duff, mirroring his hostility towards Hinduism. In November 1804, just a few months into his second year in India, Leyden expressed frustration with sympathetic British projections of “natives” as “the blameless, mild,

---

<sup>156</sup> Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, pp. 34, 30.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid*, p. 30.

<sup>158</sup> Young, *Speeches*, p. 349.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid*, p. 348.

<sup>160</sup> Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 224.

patient innocent children of nature as they are ridiculously termed by gossiping ignoramuses who never set eyes on them,” dismissing the Hindu population of Madras as possessing a morality “as utterly worthless and devoid of probity as their religion is wicked shameless impudent and obscene.”<sup>161</sup>

Leyden also indulged in the favoured complaint of Duff and the “Anglicists” of the 1830s in railing against scholars of the Hindu Brahmin caste, whom he saw to have “arrogated religion entirely to themselves.”<sup>162</sup> “There can be little doubt,” Leyden professed, that the best “corrective” to this supposed spiritual tyranny was that which “the Christian religion as professed by Protestants is perfectly adequate to supply.”<sup>163</sup> Writing to the EIC servant and sometime versifier William Linley, discussing his poetic musings on “Superstition” and “Oppression,” Leyden envisaged Linley’s subjects “in full bloom and expansion” within Hinduism:

It is very true the English name & manners are equally odious to them, but not more so I trust than natural justice & equity with wh.[ich] their abominable irrational manners and their filthy & obscene & impious religion are totally incapable of coalescing.<sup>164</sup>

Clearly, the “Orientalist” sentiments of John Leyden were of a comparably intolerant ilk to those of later-generation “Anglicists” such as Duff, at least in regards to the practices of Hinduism within India.<sup>165</sup>

As we should avoid crediting Leyden’s “Orientalism” with an undue degree of sympathy for Indian cultures and religions, we must also be wary of colouring Duff’s “Anglicism” as a wholly undesirable, alien force imposed upon the colonial population, thereby dismissing any sense of Indian agency in issues of “native” education.<sup>166</sup> The establishment of the Hindu College at Kolkata in 1817 is commonly regarded as a vital expression of the enthusiasm of certain elements within the Bengali social elite to become better versed with a European “knowledge.”<sup>167</sup> As noted, Duff’s own students attested to the merits of English linguistic instruction. More complex and compelling, however, is the relationship between Duff and Raja Rammohun Roy – the remarkable socio-religious

---

<sup>161</sup> Quoted in Brown, ‘Leyden,’ p. 342.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, p. 378

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>165</sup> Thomas R. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations. The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras*, (Berkeley, 2006), p. 95-6.

<sup>166</sup> A key perspective is the notion of the “Indian ecumene,” an indigenous, and decidedly non-Anglo-centred arena of Indian public discourse, Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 180-211. For a discussion of the “necessarily double” practices of “Orientalist” scholarship and “knowledge” in India, focusing on the centrality of the role played by Bengali paṇḍits, see Dodson, *Orientalism*, pp. 1-18.

<sup>167</sup> Kopf, *British Orientalism*, pp. 4, 154-6, Dasgupta, *Bengal Renaissance*, pp. 9-10, 83-5, A.F. Salahuddin Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal, 1818-1835*, (Leiden, 1965), Zareer Masani, *Macaulay. Britain’s Liberal Imperialist*, (London, 2014), pp. 91-7, Evans, ‘Macaulay’s Minute Revisited,’ p. 265.

reformer, central figure of the “Bengal Renaissance,” and key player in the founding of the theistic society the *Brahma Sabha*.<sup>168</sup> The Bengali scholar was essential to the establishment of Duff’s first missionary school at Kolkata in July 1830, actually granting the Scot use of the former meetinghouse of the Brahma Sabha on Chitpore Road.<sup>169</sup> The early support of Rammohun – an infamous figure of high caste and even higher repute – was essential in lending legitimacy to the young Scots missionary.

Rammohun was also conspicuous for his English linguistic fluency and espousal of “Anglicist” education. In 1823, James Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, condescendingly acknowledged that despite his “Asiatick birth” the Bengali scholar’s fluency and “fine choice of words” were “worthy of imitation even of Englishmen.”<sup>170</sup> Curiously, Rammohun acknowledged a notable source of support when recounting his early enthusiasm for English linguistic and cultural studies, a pursuit which also coincided with his criticism of Hindu orthodoxy, recalling:

This raised such a feeling against me, that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends, to whom and the nation to which they belong I always feel grateful.<sup>171</sup>

Perhaps as a result of such gratitude, Duff received both practical aid and ideological encouragement from Rammohun in the pursuit of his “Anglicist” mission. Despite their rather short-lived personal acquaintance – with Rammohun departing for England just six months after Duff’s arrival – the two individuals appear to have been on a somewhat similar wavelength. At any rate, the Bengali scholar displayed an impressive awareness of Duff’s priorities – tellingly blending English linguistic instruction and theological “purity” on at least one occasion in his correspondence with the Scot. “As a youth, I acquired some knowledge of the English language,” Rammohun wrote to Duff, prefacing his deeper discussion of the parallels between Protestant Christianity and an as-yet “unreformed” Indian Hinduism:

Having read about the rise and progress of Christianity in apostolic times, and its corruption in succeeding ages, and then of the Christian Reformation which shook off these corruptions and restored it to its primitive purity, I began to think that something

---

<sup>168</sup> Rammohun Roy looms large within Indian historiography. For a valuable overview, “The Long Shadow of the Bengal Renaissance,” see Tithi Bhattacharya, *The Sentinels of Culture. Class, Education, and the Colonial Intellectual in Bengal (1848-85)*, (Oxford, 2005), pp. 12-25. Also Andrew Sartori, *Bengal in Global Concept history*, (Chicago, 2007), pp. 68-89, Jon E. Wilson, *The Domination of Strangers. Modern Governance in Eastern India, 1780-1835*, (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 165-81.

<sup>169</sup> Noel A. Salmond, *Hindu Iconoclasts*, (Waterloo, 2004), p. 144, n.6, Lynn Zastoupil, *Rammohun Roy and the Making of Victorian Britain*, (Basingstoke, 2010), p. 167.

<sup>170</sup> Dasgupta, *Bengal Renaissance*, p. 60.

<sup>171</sup> Quoted in F. Max Müller, *Biographical Essays*, (London, 1884), pp. 47-8.

similar might have taken place in India, and similar results might follow here from a reformation of the popular idolatry.<sup>172</sup>

Such allusions to the “primitive purity” of Protestantism and a contemporary Indian “idolatry” would have likely struck a chord with the Scottish missionary.

It would be remiss to overlook the interconnections between the rising “Anglicism” of the EIC in the 1830s and the “Bengali Renaissance” of earlier decades – an indigenous intellectual tradition defined in terms of a “cross-cultural mentality” and “universalism” conspicuously reminiscent of “Scottish Orientalism.”<sup>173</sup> Crucially, the “Anglicist” accommodation among particular sections of the male Bengali population would lay foundations for the colonial caricature of the “effeminate,” English-speaking “Babu” of the mid-to-late nineteenth century.<sup>174</sup> As Mrinalini Sinha suggests, the trope of the “Babu” – created in contradistinction to the imagined “manly Englishmen” – was characterised by “stilted mannerisms,” and perceived as “artificial” and “unnatural” in a supposed transgression of linguistic, as well as gendered, sexual, and socio-cultural boundaries.<sup>175</sup> At least in part, the archetype of the Bengali “Babu” was a product of an Indian enthusiasm for British literature and culture, and subsequently derided through shifting nineteenth-century assumptions of colonial “standards.”<sup>176</sup>

As late as 1853, in the aftermath of the Irish Famine to which his name remains darkly associated, George Trevelyan enthused to the House of Lords that “educated” Indians “speak purer English as we speak ourselves.”<sup>177</sup> “They take it from the purest models,” he attested, “they speak the language of the *Spectator*, such English as is never spoken in England.”<sup>178</sup> Clearly, Trevelyan – outspoken ally of Duff – perceived the “purity” of an Addisonian Anglo-Indian discourse to be a point of imperial pride and celebration. But barely a decade later, and in the wake of the so-called “Indian Mutiny,” his own son, George Otto Trevelyan, offered a notably different perspective.

The younger Trevelyan celebrated the diffusion of “[t]he works of our greatest historians and philosophers,” which he saw to “have penetrated to every corner of our dominions,” projecting “somewhat of the wisdom, the good sense, and the pure morality which stamp a peculiar character

---

<sup>172</sup> Quoted in Salmond, *Hindu Iconoclasts*, p. 104.

<sup>173</sup> Dasgupta, *Bengal Renaissance*, p. 19.

<sup>174</sup> Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial masculinity. The “manly Englishman” and the “effeminate Bengali” in the late nineteenth century*, (Manchester, 1995).

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 15-16, 17.

<sup>176</sup> Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>177</sup> Quoted in Pavan K. Varma, *Becoming Indian. The Unfinished Revolution of Culture and Identity*, (New Delhi, 2010), pp. 61-3.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

upon our noble literature.”<sup>179</sup> Trevelyan also discussed the ability of the “young Hindoo who has made the most of his time at college” to “write by the hour a somewhat florid and stilted English with perfect ease and accuracy.”<sup>180</sup> This was by no means a compliment. “That instinct for imitation,” Trevelyan remarked, “is so dominant in the native, his desire to please so constant, that you never know whether his sentiments are real or artificial”:

In fact, it may be doubted whether he knows himself. When he speaks, you cannot be sure whether you are listening to the real man, or the man whom he thinks you would like him to be. The feebleness and the servility which render Hindoo testimony so singularly untrustworthy forbid us to put too much confidence in Hindoo civilization.<sup>181</sup>

Thus, a deceptive blend of the “real” and artificial” was seen to lie behind a “stilted” Anglo-Indian discourse, a disconcerting “imitation” laced with “perfect ease and accuracy” – the new and unsettling sub-versions of the “Babu.”

By comparison, certain Lowland Scots sub-versions appear to have been brought ever more confidently to the fore during precisely the same period. As this thesis has demonstrated, Lowland language had become increasingly prevalent and more assertively expressed both within and outwith Scotland by the early decades of the nineteenth century, erupting in the self-congratulatory platitudes of imperial verbal tartantry. Yet crucially, it was also during the turn of the nineteenth century that the sub-versive status of Lowland forms was more consciously recognised, re-interpreted, and rearticulated.

John Leyden offers a vital indication of this. In 1801, Leyden printed an edition of the sixteenth-century poem the ‘Complaynt of Scotland,’ to which he attached a preface discussing the difficulties faced by writers of “vernacular” literature. Leyden accorded “the poets” – “first vernacular authors in every language” – “an adventitious air and dignity” by way of their “admission of foreign words and idioms, and the resuming of antiquated terms and phrases.”<sup>182</sup> Yet he reckoned the writers of prose to “have greater difficulties to encounter.”<sup>183</sup> In an observation likely to have resonated with later generations of English-speaking Indians, and which may have drawn the sympathies of James Beattie’s students at Aberdeen and early exponents of an Anglo-American “dialect,” Leyden outlined the paradoxical challenge to “vernacular” writers. “If they attempt a plain

---

<sup>179</sup> George Otto Trevelyan, *The Competition Wallah*, (London, 1864), p. 425.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 425-6.

<sup>182</sup> John Leyden ed., *The Complaynt of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1801), p. 26.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

and intelligible style,” the Scot observed, “they incur the hazard of meanness and vulgarity; while, if they endeavour to avoid a flat and trivial one, they risk the censure of affectation.”<sup>184</sup> Then as now, navigating a path between perceived “meanness and vulgarity” and charges of “affectation” remains a central concern for self-conscious speakers of any language deemed “vernacular.”

Yet as is hinted by Leyden’s actions in both India and Scotland, an alternative route lay through the overt demonstration of such self-consciousness. In 1803, the year Leyden left for India, the scholar’s edited volume ‘*Scotish Descriptive Poems*’ was printed at Edinburgh. Within the collection, Leyden included a discussion of the life and writing of the Greenock-based schoolmaster-poet John Wilson, written by a little-known clerk of the town by the name of John Galt. Galt would later gain fame for his Scots-inflected socio-historical novels, also pursuing a tempestuous imperial career as Commissioner of the Canada Land Company.<sup>185</sup> In his 1803 essay on Wilson, Galt famously defended the literature of “the Scottish nation,” “generally reckoned deficient in comic humour by their southern neighbours.”<sup>186</sup> He argued that the “exquisite effects” of a Scots humour, rooted in the “nice discrimination of minute and local peculiarities of manners, and the individual forms of expression adapted to these” were consequently “lost on those not familiar with the various shades of dialect.”<sup>187</sup>

Mirroring Leyden’s twin suppositions of “vulgarity” and “affectation,” Galt presented the effects of a linguistically restrictive “species of translation” adopted by Scots in “polite” society:

[...] a Scotsman is prohibited, by the imputation of vulgarity, from using the common language of the country, in which he expresses himself with most ease and vivacity, and, cloathed in which, his earliest and most distinct impressions always arise to his own mind. He uses a species of translation, which checks the versatility of fancy, and restrains the genuine and spontaneous flow of his conceptions.<sup>188</sup>

In general terms, Galt saw a “genuine” Scottish creativity to be somewhat stifled by the drive to “affect” English “standards.” However, with regard to “Mr Wilson’s humour,” Galt saw the inverse to be the case. “As well as his dialect,” Wilson’s “humour” was deemed “native Scottish,” which “afforded the most exquisite pleasure to his Scottish friends” though “little relished by an Englishman”<sup>189</sup> Galt aligned such comic effects with linguistic mixture and juxtaposition – the “nice

---

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>185</sup> Letley, *Galt to Douglas Brown*, pp. 9, 39-85, Gerard Carruthers, ‘Remembering John Galt,’ Regina Hewitt ed., *John Galt. Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society*, (Plymouth, 2012).

<sup>186</sup> John Leyden ed., *Scotish Descriptive Poems*, (Edinburgh, 1803), p 13.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 14-15.

indiscrimination” of the “minute and local peculiarities,” and “the various shades” of dialectal sub-versions.

Galt celebrated a “facility for mingling with every form of life and manners, from the most simple and rustic to the most polished and refined,” supposing this habit to have “afforded Mr. Wilson scope for observation.”<sup>190</sup> The Greenock clerk reiterated the significance of the poet’s socio-linguistic “mingling”:

He was a Scotchman of that genuine old class, which seems now to be nearly extinct; who blended with their characteristic plainness of speech and manners, the taste of the scholar, and the information of the men of the world; a *combination rendered only more interesting by the veil of apparent rusticity by which it was concealed*. [Emphasis added.]<sup>191</sup>

Fusing the frequently-employed trope of national nostalgia to that of scholarly “taste,” Galt’s commentary exemplifies the turn-of-the-century reappraisal of certain Lowland linguistic attributes – tempering the polar threats of a Scots “vulgarity” and “affectation,” and suggesting the merit of “blending” the two. Indeed, through this mergence, “vulgarity” and “affectation” were transmuted into terms with decidedly more positive connotations– reimagined as “characteristic plainness” and scholarly “taste.”

Yet the image of the “veil” is perhaps of the greatest significance. Again, a Scottish “taste” and intellect are seen to be revealingly concealed – ever so slightly obscured beneath the veneer of an “apparent,” likely assumed, “rusticity.” This “combination” of linguistic “taste” and “plainness,” close cousins to “affectation” and “vulgarity,” becomes better punctuated and “rendered only more interesting.”

Almost fifty years later, the thinly-veiled “rusticity” of Alexander Duff was similarly envisioned. As discussed, the missionary’s “unstudied,” potentially “uncouth” “eloquence” appears to have been rather well received during his 1854 U.S. speaking-tour. Following the Missionary Convention held at New York in early May 1854, a local minister, present at one of Duff’s many appearances at the Broadway Tabernacle, offered an assessment of the Scot’s performance. The “veil of apparent rusticity” is evident throughout.

The New Yorker noted Duff to have “a face decidedly Scotch,” supposing him “but plain, a plain man altogether, without a grace in outline or motion.”<sup>192</sup> “One thing however,” the minister

---

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>192</sup> Quoted in Vermilye, *Duff*, p. 99.

admitted, was that Duff was possessed of “the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* [...] an imagination easily fired, and a subject which filled every recess of mind and heart.”<sup>193</sup> In other words,” he insisted, “under this plain, rugged, even ungainly surface” dwelt “material for a volcano – as we soon found.”<sup>194</sup> This “*perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*” – a stormy, archetypical Scots earnestness – was seen to pervade Duff’s rhetoric, ever present beneath a “plain, rugged, even ungainly surface.” Switching slightly from his volcanic metaphor to that of a corkscrew burrowing through an outward barrier to unleash the “pent up” sentiments of the audience, the New York minister offered a further reflection on Duff’s delivery;

His voice, although not loud, had a penetrating, metallic tone, and as he would give utterance to some long sentence of especial eloquence, it might be compared to a corkscrew twisting its way through a yielding cork. At every turn and twist of the thought, under the pressure of his wonderful imagination, it would go deeper into the very heart of the silent and expectant audience, till at last the cork was out and the pent up feelings effervesced in loud and long applause. Except Doctor Chalmers, his own countryman, it would be difficult to find an orator with whom to compare him.<sup>195</sup>

With notable comparisons to “countryman” Chalmers, Duff’s “eloquence” was presented through regular allusions to concealed force, depth, and pressure. The “plain,” “decidedly Scotch” characteristics of Duff were viewed to initially obscure a physical and rhetorical “grace.” However, as with Galt’s interpretation of Wilson’s discourse, an “apparent veil of rusticity” – the perception of a “rugged, even ungainly surface” – was reckoned essential in underscoring Duff’s “eloquence.”

Yet such interpretations offer little insight into Duff’s own usage and attitude towards Lowland Scots forms. Unlike Leyden, there is a dearth of evidence concerning the missionary’s employment of Lowland Scots sub-versions. However, Duff made a number of telling references to Scottish languages and literary matters, notably offering the comparative examples of both Gaelic and Lowland Scots forms when espousing the British redirection of “Oriental” literature and Indian “vernacular” languages. Reflecting on his own experience as Gaelic-speaking Highlander, the missionary dismissed any “violent attempt” to uproot Indian languages:

By what process have the Highlands been Christianized and civilized? Has it been by a violent attempt to extirpate the language of Ossian, that sang the tales of other years, with the view of substituting universally another and a better in its place? No: that were

---

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

impossible. Has it been by an exclusive attempt to transfuse into that language all the vast stores of modern knowledge? No: that, too, were impracticable.<sup>196</sup>

Rather, Duff presumed that the “natural and successful” expansion of the English language, “at present the great storehouse of all knowledge,” would inevitably win out.<sup>197</sup> Again, the language of the Highlands offered instruction:

Copious to overflowing, the Gaelic must be allowed to be, in descriptive imagery; – and resistless as the mountain torrent, in its vocabulary of impassioned address. But let any man, who really understands the subject, conceive to himself the project of translating into Gaelic such a work as the “Encyclopaedia Britannica,” and he will soon be compelled to assent to the existence of the impracticability now referred to.<sup>198</sup>

Lowland language was similarly dismissed by Duff in terms of the parallel “impracticability” of “Orientalist” scholarship. In his critique of EIC funding prior to the 1835 Indian Education Act, Duff contemplated the result of “our ancient Scottish literature” holding comparable “claims on the patronage of our home Government.”<sup>199</sup> Recommending measures by which both Gaelic and Lowland literature could be prevented from “premature decay,” the missionary was nevertheless sceptical of a more substantive allocation of funds. Mentioning Walter Scott’s “volumes of border songs and ballads” and James Macpherson’s “traditionary remains of Celtic poetry,” Duff ridiculed “the endowment of seminaries on the Tweed or on the Tay” intended for “furnishing an education to hundreds of youths, in which the staple article consisted *exclusively* of border legends and Ossianic tales.”<sup>200</sup>

“So in India,” the Scot concluded.<sup>201</sup> Though the missionary recognised that some government funding was “expedient, to a certain extent, for specific purposes, to patronise native literature,” he argued “for valid reasons” against the wholesale “support of institutions for the *exclusive* cultivation of it, by hundreds of native youth.”<sup>202</sup> Through such reductive rhetoric, Scottish and “Oriental” literatures were deemed to be comparatively outmoded and superfluous.

But above all, Duff expressed a marked awareness of the emotive pull of one’s “native” language, highlighting linguistic fluency as a central factor in effecting the Protestant evangelism of India. As in his arguments against “Orientalism” Duff offered the example of the Highlands; attesting

---

<sup>196</sup> Duff, *Vindication*, p. 20.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>199</sup> Duff, *New Era*, p. 30.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid*.

to the “necessity of having recourse to *Native agents*” to aid in the Church of Scotland’s mission upon the subcontinent.<sup>203</sup> Envisioning a bi-cultural and polylingual “race of labourers [...] possessed of essentially European qualifications, and unencumbered by European disadvantages,” Duff issued an “appeal to our brethren from the Highlands” during his speech to the General Assembly in May 1835.<sup>204</sup> Duff emphasised the historical role played by such “native agents” in the Highlands, and declared to the Scottish Kirk that “if an Englishman were to study [...] the Gaelic language, and were to preach in it to a Gaelic congregation,” the local population were likely to “look, and stare, and wonder,” yet “go away mortified and disappointed.”<sup>205</sup> Duff discerned an alien strain “in the tones of a foreigner’s voice, which falls cold and heavy on the ear of a native, and seldom reaches the heart!” insisting that

[...] there is something in the genuine tones of a countryman’s voice, which operating as a charm, falls pleasantly on the ear, and comes home to the feelings, and touches the heart, and causes its tenderest chords to vibrate.<sup>206</sup>

In stressing the necessity of recruiting Indian missionaries capable of proselytising in their own “vernacular,” Duff demonstrated a keen awareness of the emotional pull of the “genuine tones” of familiar language. The missionary offered a notably Scottish example, employing a rhetoric and sentimentality reminiscent of that of the exponents of verbal tartanry.

On one significant occasion, Duff recorded being moved by tones of Lowland language in India. In this instance, Scots forms were seen to be comfortably embedded within an Anglo-centred literary discourse, and projected to reflect a conspicuously evangelical sentiment. Asserting the impact of “English” literature upon his Indian students, Duff described the “indescribably novel and even affecting” experience of witnessing “these olive-complexioned and bronze-coloured children of the East” engage in school-room discussions, “fortified by oral quotations from English authors.”<sup>207</sup> Duff described the debates of his students, “frequently interspersed and enlivened” by citations from “some of our most popular English poets, particularly Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott.”<sup>208</sup> “More

---

<sup>203</sup> Duff, *Church of Scotland’s India Mission*, p. 18.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 17, 18.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid*, p. 18.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>207</sup> Alexander Duff, *India and India Missions*, (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 614-15.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid*, p. 615.

than once,” the missionary recalled, “were my ears greeted with the sound of Scotch rhymes from the poems of Robert Burns.”<sup>209</sup>

In a move characteristic of many nineteenth-century Scots, Duff presented the emotion of encountering Burnsian language within a broader projection of his own underlying colonial objectives; conscripting a much-celebrated, proto-radical refrain of the Ayrshire poet to express his own prejudice against “unnatural” Hindu practices and the “transforming power” of “knowledge”:

It would not be possible to portray the effect produced on the mind of a Scotsman, when, on the banks of the Gangees, one of the sons of Brahma, – in reviewing the unnatural institution of caste in alienating man from man, and in looking forward to the period in which knowledge, by its transforming power, would make the lowest type of man feel itself to be the same species as the highest, – suddenly gave utterance, in an apparent ecstasy of delight, to these characteristic lines: -

‘For a’ that, and a’ that,  
It’s comin’ yet, for a’ that,  
That man to man, the world o’er,  
Shall brothers be for a’ that.’<sup>210</sup>

“How was the prayerful aspiration raised,” Duff marvelled, “that such a consummation might be realized in a higher and nobler sense than the poet or his Hindu admirer was privileged to conceive!”<sup>211</sup>

Though John Leyden’s Lowland “tones” were seen ever so slightly “false,” by the 1830s “the sound of Scotch rhymes” were reckoned expressive of a particular socio-cultural and religious “truth” – suggestive of the “higher and nobler sense” Duff saw to transcend poet and “Hindu admirer” alike. As such, certain linguistic sub-versions of the Scottish Lowlands rose to ever-greater prominence within nineteenth-century discourses – enmeshed within the “veil of apparent rusticity” enveloping tenets of Scottish imperialism.

---

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*

## Conclusion. “More curious than a Hindu marriage (laughter).”

This thesis addresses two central, interrelated issues.

Primarily, this study has demonstrated the particular manner in which certain Lowland linguistic traits were consciously and confidently expressed throughout the globe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This analysis of the ceremonial and celebratory exhibition of Scots forms overseas has been framed within a broader discussion, looking to highlight the complex historical interconnections existing between Lowland Scots language(s) and conceptions of English “standards.”

During the nineteenth century, verbal tartanry was articulated and rendered “appropriate” through the recognition of its deliberate dissonance within established linguistic “standards.” As such, this permissible, performative incursion of a selected Scots lexicon was used to punctuate a wider alignment to an expansive, global “English” language, stressing a commendable Scottish commitment to the tenets of British imperialism. “Overt” and “idealised” Lowland linguistic traits asserted a sense of Scottish diasporic exceptionalism which was at once *celebratory* and *sentimental*, and the hugely influential poetry of Robert Burns and novels of Walter Scott offered accessible templates for infusing English “standards” with a Scots linguistic presence both *foreign* and *familiar* – recognisable and yet recognisably distinct within an ultimately “English” discourse.

The roots of this phenomenon, underpinned by the subtle merging and diverging of Lowland idioms with, and crucially, *within* the “English” language, can be traced back several centuries. As is clear from the much-discussed early medieval usage of the term “Inglis” to distinguish Lowland forms from Highland Gaelic and the “suddron” varieties within England, any discussion of Scottish linguistic issues must acknowledge the inherent connections and historical dialogue existing between notions of a “Scots” and an “English” language.<sup>1</sup>

This linguistic dialogue is all too often reduced to that of a one-sided domination or distortion of “Scots” distinction by a singular and ever-encroaching “English” tongue. The Protestant Reformations of the mid sixteenth century, along with the 1603 Union of Crowns and the 1707 Union of Parliaments, are commonly seen to have initiated a dramatic Anglicisation of language within

---

<sup>1</sup> Corbett, *Language and Scottish Literature*, p. 5, McClure, *Why Scots Matters*, pp. 7-17, Muirson, *Guid Scots Tongue*, pp. 3-5, Donald MacAulay, ‘Canons, myths and cannon fodder,’ *Scotlands*, 1, (1994), pp. 35-55, pp. 35-6, Agnes Mure MacKenzie, ‘The Renaissance Poets, (I) Scots and English,’ James Kinsley ed., *Scottish Poetry A Critical Survey*, (Edinburgh, 1955), pp. 33-5.

Lowland Scotland, effecting a parallel displacement of Scots from “official” and “literary” media.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, these climactic socio-cultural and political shifts within the early modern Scottish nation had a profound impact upon language in the Lowlands, necessitating an undeniable drive towards southern English mores within many sections of Scottish society.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, simple narratives of an “English” ascendancy and a “Scots” decline over this period misleadingly stratify these entities into two highly-questionable national linguistic camps, assuming an unlikely degree of “standardisation” and obscuring the subtle, intimate interconnections operating *within* and *between* these varieties.

As with all languages, Scots forms were, and are, fundamentally hybrid. The historic complexity of Scottish and English linguistic bonds, typified by a steady, if uneven relationship of exchange and infusion, is testament to this. Of course, the predominating influence of English varieties within Scotland cannot be ignored or downplayed. As Jeffrey Skoblow recognises, a pervasive awareness of an English linguistic “presence,” is such as to render Scots “never simply another language,” but rather, a language “linked to another in its bones.”<sup>4</sup> Yet despite the extensive, undoubted expansion of English in Scotland, such linkages worked both ways. Nuanced analyses of early modern Scottish and English linguistic exchange highlight the extent to which manifold varieties overlapped and interfused – functioning within and alongside one another in religious, socio-political, and literary contexts.<sup>5</sup>

This investigation discusses a rather different mingling of Scots and English varieties centuries later, marking a Scottish tincture to the imperial, seemingly providential “Anglo-world” spreading over much of the globe by the mid 1800s. Thus, the manner in which languages were *projected* and *perceived* is of the utmost importance. While the first section of this study envisions an imperial verbal tartanry within diasporic manifestations of Lowland Scots forms, the subsequent chapters look to the origins of this linguistic exhibitionism, connected at every stage with conceptions of English “standards.” Two distinct, yet intertwining stories unfold – linking mid eighteenth-century concerns for language “standards” in Britain to transnational processes of “English” linguistic standardisation in colonial India and the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. From this period, certain Scots forms functioned both within and outwith a “standard English” language, both within and outwith Scotland.

---

<sup>2</sup> Corbett, McClure, Jane Stuart-Smith, ‘A Brief History of Scots,’ *Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, pp. 14-15, Muirson, *Guid Scots Tongue*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> See for example, Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>4</sup> Skoblow, *Dooble Tongue*, pp. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Meurman-Solin, *Variation and Change in Early Scottish Prose*, pp. 36-49, Tulloch, ‘English and Scots Languages in Scottish Religious Life,’ *Religion, Scottish Life and Society*, pp. 339-47. Also, Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, p. 35.

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, a number of significant Scottish discourses attested to the failed standardisation of Lowland language alongside the congruent expansion of a centralised and centralising “English.” A potential Scottish “standard” was therefore consigned to the past – a schismatic, warring, and traumatic seventeenth-century past at that – whilst an ever-more accessible “English” was seen to stand for a providential “North British” present and future. As a consequence, and added to the contemporaneous, well-documented concern to demarcate so-called “Scotticisms,” particular Lowland tropes were projected as notably distinct to a singular “standard English.”

But, seen both as mythic archaisms and the yet-living eccentricities existant beneath a well-polished British linguistic surface, some Scots sub-versions were attributed with the mystique of having been notionally obscured or removed. With ironic parallels to the practice of seeking out scorned “Scotticisms,” later generations of antiquarians and philologists vied to uncover concealed Scots varieties imagined to embody an unsullied cultural “purity.” So, by the turn of the nineteenth century, certain Scottish linguistic shibboleths were self-consciously displayed within a nominal “English” language, and imbued with a mystic, sub-versive, and ever-threatened essence which then blended with the diasporic nostalgia of the Burns cult.

Yet these selected Scots forms functioned very differently within different colonial and “post-colonial” contexts. Inflected with much of the socio-cultural, religious, and “racial” exceptionalism seen to bond the British empire and the wider alignment of a “Greater Britain,” Lowland Scots sub-versions largely championed a global Protestant and “Anglo-Saxon” imperium.

This is starkly apparent in the contrast between the perceptions and projections of Lowland Scots language in the United States and India during the early nineteenth century. As discussed, a Scottish navigation of English “standards” offered instruction for American authors seeking to obtain an Anglo-centred literary repute and respect. Ironically, some of the most notable opponents of these emergent Anglo-American varieties were also Scots, and the editors of the *Edinburgh Review* voiced a consistent concern for such “adulterations” of the linguistic “standards” they perceived themselves to embody and uphold. As such, some Scots appeared to have things both ways; setting the terms of an authoritative, “English” literary sophistication, whilst also celebrating the wistful significance of their own Lowland Scots “vernacular.”

Such double standards are also evident within an Indian context, but compounded by the complexities of the “racial,” religious, and socio-cultural prejudices inherent within British colonialism. John Leyden’s jocular Scots idiosyncrasies were celebrated by his EIC superiors, and likely accentuated his own prodigious accomplishments as a linguist and “Orientalist.” A generation

later, the revered “eloquence” of Alexander Duff was pointedly recognised alongside the missionary’s humble Highland origins. Yet though Duff himself drew direct comparisons between the “native” languages of Scotland and India in terms of their similar “impracticability” in view of the “natural and successful” ascendancy of English, certain “affecting” Lowland Scots shibboleths – notably enshrined within Burns’s poetry – received significant attention.

But crucially, and counter to the linguistic environment of the United States, Lowland Scots forms offered few solutions to Indian authors. Though certain acceptable Scots and North American sub-versions could infuse the lexicon of a nineteenth-century “Anglo-world,” Indian additions were rather less welcome. As discussed, through the notions of linguistic “possession” and “enrichment,” typified by the endeavours of Leyden and then Duff, the vast majority of Indian languages were eyed with mixture of colonial disregard, disdain, and suspicion.

An Anglo-Indian linguistic exchange and infusion was often dismissed as mere “affectation.” The colonial archetype of the Bengali “Babu” was widely derided for both a “stilted” and an unsettlingly fluent use of English. A British adoption of Indian expressions was also ridiculed during this period. Indeed, an increasing tolerance of Scottish linguistic traits was noted alongside the perceived impropriety of British “nabobs” flavouring their speech with Indian expressions.

An 1829 textbook *Vulgarities of Speech Corrected* discussed the “glaring error of speaking in the vulgar-genteel style,” insisting on the “very great difference between an easy correctness of language, and a mincing affectation of fine words, and fine pronunciation.”<sup>6</sup> Consequently, it was noted that “[m]any well-educated Scotchmen, who move in the most polite circles in their own country, take a pride at speaking the Scots dialect blended with English,” and the author supposed “it can scarcely be reckoned vulgar” when “not done from affectation, and a love of singularity,” though adding that “it must require great attention to avoid low and unseemly expressions.”<sup>7</sup>

Conversely, the much-derided “nabobs” – “[t]hose who have been to India” – were deemed “extremely apt to affect a very absurd kind of pedantry in their conversation,” and the author took particular issue with “their frequent introduction of Hindoo terms, which they are at the same time obliged to translate to render themselves intelligible.”<sup>8</sup> The text discussed the frustrating habits of one such individual,

---

<sup>6</sup> *The Vulgarities of Speech Corrected with Elegant Expressions for Provincial and Vulgar English, Scots, and Irish for the use of those who are unacquainted with Grammar*, (1826: London, 1829), p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 222-3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 142

[...] who scorns to use plain English words, but calls “lunch” *tiffin* – a “messenger” *hurkaruh*; and instead of a common English “How do you do?” or “Good bye,” always says *Salaam*.<sup>9</sup>

This behaviour was concluded as “undoubtedly one of the most silly exhibitions of the pedantic that can be met with” and it was suggested,

[...] that it is not so even in India itself, among British residents, at least when they are speaking English, which never ought to be interlarded with foreign gibberish in correct or elegant conversation.<sup>10</sup>

Around thirty years later, John Heiton’s aptly-titled *Castes of Edinburgh*, offered a similar view from a distinctly Scottish perspective. “We have in Edinburgh a goodly number of retired Indians,” Heiton observed, “attracted by the beauty and salubrity of the city, or by its being the metropolis of their native land.”<sup>11</sup> The author reckoned these returning colonials “peculiarly situated” in Scotland, professing that “they don’t fit in among us somehow.”<sup>12</sup>

The diasporic nostalgia of the sojourners was viewed to be the cause of their social alienation. “The pity is,” Heiton supposed,

[...] though they were once imbued with our genial nature, a fond love of our heath-clad hills and our healthy fare, they cannot see any beauties in them now [...]. There was a time, ay, even in India, when the very name of ‘Auld Scotland’ was in their ears holy; but once home, and rendered sour by that eternal struggle for caste, they would prefer the baboon strain of ‘Hilly Milly Punniah’ to the divine pathos of ‘The Flowers of the Forest.’<sup>13</sup>

Having returned, these restless “retired Indians” were deemed “unfittable” within Scottish society, and the author imagined the lustre of “their own dear, yet inconvenient native land” to have somewhat dimmed.<sup>14</sup> Heiton saw that the former migrants, when stripped of exilic sentiment, had “come to know” their “inconvenient” homeland rather “too well,” and “when it is too late to return to the old paradise in the balmy East.”<sup>15</sup> “It is altogether a strange business,” Heiton observed, “and the more melancholy when we know that these people when abroad luxuriate in the recollections of home”:

---

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p. 143.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>11</sup> John Heiton, *The Castes of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1861), p. 245.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 248.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 250.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*.

Keep them in India and they will make the fragrant atmosphere of their bungalows resonant with our Scottish songs. 'Auld Langsyne' forces tears from their eyes as they hug each other like fond children.<sup>16</sup>

Pinpointing the diasporic "luxuriance" of verbal tartantry with remarkable accuracy, the author continued in a manner reminiscent of Alexander Duff's discussion of Burns's "Scotch rhymes" when "on the banks of the Gangees":

[...] he who can even contrive to roar 'A Man's a Man for a' That,' in the hearing of these dark enslaved sons of Shem, half-a-dozen of whom would not make up the unity of 'a man' contemplated by Burns, raises a contrast so favourable to 'the pale faces,' that their very hearts swell within them, and send up a flush among the saffron.<sup>17</sup>

But unlike Duff, Heiton perceived a contemptible "flush" and "swell" of superiorism from these "Indian" Scots; the unabashed "roaring" of Burns's poem evincing "a contrast so favourable" within a colonial context. This Burnsian verbal tartantry was seen to draw a clear line of socio-cultural demarcation between the self-satisfied Scots and the "dark enslaved sons of Shem."

Intriguingly, Heiton saw the situation to be reversed when the Scots adventurers returned home. As in the *Vulgarities of Speech Corrected*, the Scottish "nabobs" were noted for their unseemly attachment to Indian experiences and phraseology. "If they ever open up it is to let in Indian chums," Heiton complained, "and then they speak of nothing but their old exploits and past enjoyments, all interspersed with a jargon of bastard Sanscrit not at all agreeable to western ears."<sup>18</sup> Evidently this "caste" of returning migrants was driven to engage in a self-conscious exhibition of Indian shibboleths in Scotland, commemorative of "old exploits and past enjoyments" and demonstrative of their social status on the subcontinent – an articulation conspicuously similar to colonial expressions of verbal tartantry.

Heiton saw that through such performances this "caste" of diasporic Scots was sundered both from the land of their birth and that of their colonial residence:

[...] strange enough, though always doting on India, it is not India as a nation, for they never adopted it, and could not adopt it, foreign as it is in its customs, ignoble in its morality, and degraded in its religion.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 250-1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 251.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 256.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*.

“No,” the Scot concluded,

[...] they only adopted a caste formed there, as a civilised stratum over deep degradation; and having in heart and feeling renounced their native land, though they live in it, they have not another country on the face of the earth, even of adoption, and are thus often without a home and without a friend.<sup>20</sup>

This “doting on India” was seen as the continued projection of a factional, expatriate “caste” within Scotland, a prolongation of a “civilised stratum” bolstered by nostalgic distance from an “old” colonial “paradise” of envisaged superiority, and phrased in a deliberate “jargon of bastard Sanscrit.”

This conspicuous adoption of Indian discourse in Scotland provides a poignant parallel to the verbal tartantry of the diasporic “castes” of Scots colonists overseas. In fact, the jarring displeasure with which this “affected” Indian-English appears to have been received, hints at the inherently excursive social purposes for which verbal tartantry was itself intended. Much like John Heiton and other such “native” English speakers alienated by the “foreign gibberish” of British “nabobs,” many other “natives” around the globe were deliberately shut out of the socio-cultural exceptionalism expressed through the tones of Lowland language. Verbal tartantry commemorated British colonial power and prestige, and was ultimately averse to the inclusion of other “indigenous” discourses.

As this thesis has demonstrated, the interconnections between “Scots” and “English” linguistic varieties, and intertwining conceptions of “standardisation,” enabled certain Lowland forms to operate within established notions of “the English language.” Scots tropes effected a recognisable departure from English “standards,” but such idioms and accents were yet reconcilable and understandable to readers of the nineteenth-century “Anglo-world.” Some “Scotticisms” found accommodation within “English,” as did a later selection of “Americanisms.” Yet, the views of those perceived to be outwith the socio-cultural, “racial,” and linguistic parameters of a “Greater British” imperialism, were often left unsaid. And the linguistic sub-versions of Lowland Scotland offered few solutions to emerging generations of English-speaking Indians.

This investigation began with an account of a gentleman attending a Scottish associational event at which he was deprived of his eargerly-anticipated haggis. It is perhaps fitting to conclude this study with the tale of another gentleman who also went without a helping of haggis at a St Andrew Day dinner, albeit for remarkably different reasons.

---

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

In 1938, exactly 120 years after John Duncan's inauspicious encounter with the St Andrew's Society of New York, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari – Indian politician and nationalist leader – attended a St Andrew's Day dinner in Madras, one of the last Scottish associational events of the British Raj.<sup>21</sup> Rajagopalachari, recently-elected Premier of the Madras Presidency, was observed to have “caused quite a stir” by agreeing to attend the event – his biographer noting that the politician “broke the rules” of the Indian Congress's policy of non-involvement in the rituals of British rule.<sup>22</sup>

Speaking at the dinner in response to the toast, “The Land We Live In,” Rajagopalachari paid diplomatic lip-service to the tenets of British imperialism, whilst unsubtly questioning the legitimacy of the Raj. The Indian nationalist declared to his British audience that though he did not “pretend” to

[...] believe that you do not wish to serve this land to the best of your ability; and if sometimes we quarrel with that desire of yours, and want you to leave it entirely to us to serve our own country [...] do not understand our ambition to be a denial of what you have done. You have done very well and you wish to do well in this country. But there is a pleasure in being left to serve one's own country; that is all that we ask of you.<sup>23</sup>

But before offering this critique, Rajagopalachari had light-heartedly indulged the Scottish association, offering his humorous perspective of the trappings of St Andrew's Day:

It is very pleasing to see a strange ceremony of another people, with the various odd names of dishes and the strange unreadable poetry you have written, and the funny spelling mistakes you commit, your strange idea of carrying two whisky bottles like St Andrew's cross in front of a very terrible-looking dish, the components of which after enquiry from the Surgeon-General did not much encourage me (laughter) and also the procession of the Piper going round the tables with music. I assure you it is more curious than a Hindu marriage (laughter).<sup>24</sup>

In her analysis of Rajagopalachari's performance, Elizabeth Buettner correctly perceived the politician to have “firmly rejected – along with the haggis!” an envisioned imperial partnership in India.<sup>25</sup>

Yet by first engaging with the “strange” rituals of the evening, dwelling on the peculiarities of the verbal and non-verbal icons of tartanry – relics of an increasingly questioned and contested British imperialism, Rajagopalachari also asserted the inherent equivalence of all national and

---

<sup>21</sup> Buettner, ‘Haggis in the Raj,’ pp. 238-239.

<sup>22</sup> A.R.H. Copley, *The Political Career of C. Rajagopalachari*, (Delhi, 1978), p. 53.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Leave Us to Serve Our Own Country,’ *Madras Mail*, 1 December 1938, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Buettner, ‘Haggis in the Raj,’ p. 239.

cultural idiosyncrasies. All cultures have their symbols and significance. All societies celebrate themselves. By acknowledging the tropes of Scoto-British exceptionalism, and by recognising the ridiculous in the veneration of the “odd names,” “unreadable poetry” and “funny spelling mistakes” of verbal tartanry, Rajagopalachari, stripping away layers of colonial superiorism, saw simply “a strange ceremony of another people,” comparable with a multiplicity of “strange” ceremonies the world over.

Yet so established were the imperial icons of tartanry, that the suggestion of cultural equivalence was considered comical. Rajagopalachari’s light-hearted comparison to a Hindu marriage ceremony was received, and was likely intended to be received, with “(laughter).” The chuckling of the Scottish association perhaps offers a final, wordless utterance of verbal tartanry – a vocalisation as explicit as the “odd names” and “unreadable poetry” celebrating Scottish imperialism.

## Bibliography

### Newspapers and Periodicals.

- *American Review of History and Politics and General Repository of Literature and State Papers*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA).
- *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, (Lisbon, Ohio, USA).
- *Annual Review and History of Literature*, (London, England).
- *Bruce Herald*, (Milton, Bruce Country, NZ).
- *Calcutta Englishman*, (Kolkata, Bengal, India).
- *Cleveland Daily Herald*, (Cleveland, Ohio, USA).
- *Critical Review*, (London, England).
- *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco, California, USA).
- *Daily Southern Cross*, (Auckland, NZ).
- *Edinburgh Annual Register*, (Edinburgh, Scotland).
- *Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal*, (Edinburgh, Scotland).
- *The English Presbyterian Minister*, (London, England).
- *The Enquirer*, (Kolkata, Bengal, India).
- *Greencastle Banner*, (Putnam County, Indiana, USA).
- *Grey River Argus*, (Greymouth, NZ).
- *Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland*, (Lancaster, England).
- *Literary Panorama*, (London, England).
- *Lounger*, (Edinburgh, Scotland).
- *Madras Mail*, (Madras, India)
- *Milwaukee Journal*, (Wisconsin, USA).
- *Milwaukee Sentinel*, (Wisconsin, USA).
- *Monthly Review*, (London, England).
- *Monumental Register*, (Kolkata, Bengal, India).
- *National Intelligencer*, (Washington, DC, USA).
- *New York Magazine: or, Literary Repository*, (New York, USA).
- *New Zealander*, (Auckland, NZ).
- *New Zealand Herald*, (Auckland, NZ).
- *North American and Daily Advertiser*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA).
- *North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal*, (Boston, Massachusetts, USA).

- *North Otago Times*, (Otago, NZ).
- *Otago Daily Times*, (Otago, NZ).
- *Pennsylvania Journal and The Weekly Advertiser*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA).
- *Port Folio*, (New York, USA).
- *Press*, (Canterbury, NZ).
- *The Scot, At Home and Abroad*, (Melbourne, Australia).
- *Scottish Canadian*, (Toronto, Canada).
- *Star*, (Christchurch, NZ).
- *Sunday Oregonian*, (Portland, Oregon, USA).
- *Timaru Herald*, (Timaru, NZ).
- *Tuapeka Times*, (Lawrence, NZ).
- *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, (West Virginia, USA).

### Printed Primary Materials

- Anon., *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language; founded upon that of John Jamieson, D.D. F.R.S.E. in which are shewn the various meanings and modes of spelling the same word, as it is used in the different parts of Scotland; with other additions and improvements*, (Edinburgh, 1827).
- Anon., 'A Scot's Dinner,' *Timaru Herald*, 3 December 1898.
- Anon., 'Burns' Centenary Celebration,' *New Zealand Herald*, 17 August 1886.
- Anon., 'Caledonian Gathering,' *Press*, 1 December 1883.
- Anon., 'Canterbury Caledonian Society,' *Press*, 1 December 1887.
- Anon. 'Criticism for the Port Folio. *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, a Satire* by Lord Byron,' *Port Folio, New Series*, V, 1, (New York, 1811).
- Anon., 'Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language,' *Literary Panorama*, 5 (November-December, 1808), pp. 225-41.
- Anon., 'Gaelic Society,' *Otago Daily Times*, 5 November 1898.
- Anon., 'Here and There,' *Star*, 9 October 1880.
- Anon., *Inauguration of the Leyden Monument at Denholm, on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1861. Reprinted from the Hawick Advertiser*, (Hawick, 1861).
- Anon., 'Invitation in Scotch Dialect,' *Milwaukee Journal*, 8 November 1895.
- Anon., 'Jamieson's Dictionary,' *Annual Review and History of Literature*, 7, (January 1808), pp. 425-37.

- Anon., 'Jamieson's Dictionary of the Scottish Language,' *Critical Review*, 14, 1, (May 1808), pp. 72-84.
- Anon., 'Jamieson's *Etymological Scottish Dictionary*,' *Monthly Review*, 63, (September 1810), pp. 11-31.
- Anon., 'Leave Us to Serve Our Own Country,' *Madras Mail*, 1 December 1938.
- Anon., 'Letter to the Edinburgh Reviewers: by "An American,"' *National Intelligencer*, 16 November 1819.
- Anon., 'Mr Bathgate on 'Old Times in Scotland',' *Tuapeka Times*, 24 June 1874.
- Anon., 'Our Scottish Heritage,' *New Zealand Herald*, 5 December 1908.
- Anon., 'Sanny's Bill o' Fare,' *Grey River Argus*, 25 March 1882.
- Anon., 'The Scotch Dialect,' *North American and Daily Advertiser*, 24 May 1844.
- Anon., 'Scotch Words,' *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, 29 January 1859.
- Anon., 'Scotch Words,' *Greencastle Banner*, 26 January 1859.
- Anon., 'Scotch Words,' *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, 19 January 1859, p. 2,
- Anon., 'The Scotch Tongue,' *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 10 March 1859,
- Anon., 'Scotchmen, Attention,' *Bruce Herald*, 28 January 1890.
- Anon., 'Selected Anecdotes &c.,' *Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland*, 6 April 1844.
- Anon., 'Sprigs o' Heather,' *Star*, 24 October 1908.
- Anon., 'St. Andrew's Banquet, Annual Event of the Scottish Society,' *Milwaukee Journal*, 30 November 1892.
- Anon., 'St. Andrew's Day,' *North Otago Times*, 27 October 1898.
- Anon., 'St Andrews Day,' *Press*, 1 December 1892.
- Anon., 'St Andrew's Day,' *Star*, 1 December 1883.
- Anon., 'St Andrew's Dinner,' *Calcutta Englishman*, 1 Dec. 1893.
- Anon., 'St Andrew's Day Dinner,' *Daily Southern Cross*, 30 November 1855.
- Anon., 'St Andrews Day: The Annual Banquet of the Scottish Society,' *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 1 December 1886.
- Anon., 'St Andrew's Festival,' *Cleveland Daily Herald*, 1 December 1869.
- Anon., 'St Andrew's Society,' *New Zealander*, 13 December 1851.
- Anon., 'Tam O' Stirling's Poetic Account of the Voyage of the *Symmetry*,' Stewart, Iain A. D. ed., *From Caledonia to the Pampas: Two Accounts by Early Scottish Emigrants to the Argentine*, (East Linton, 2000).

- Anon., 'Verses Written in broad Scotch, and addressed to Robert Burns, the Air-shire Poet,' *New York Magazine: or, Literary Repository*, I, (November 1790).
- Anon. *The Vulgarities of Speech Corrected with Elegant Expressions for Provincial and Vulgar English, Scots, and Irish for the use of those who are unacquainted with Grammar*, (1826: London, 1829).
- Anon., Untitled, *Sunday Oregonian*, 2 January 1898.
- Alexander, William, *Johnny Gibb o' Gushetneuk*, Mackie, Alexander ed., (1876: Edinburgh, 1908).
- Ballantine, James ed., *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns*, (Edinburgh, 1859).
- Barbour, G. ed., *Tributes to Scottish Genius; containing the life of the Rev. William Gillespie, Late Minister of Kells; and other Tributes to Departed Genius*, (Dumfries, 1827).
- Beattie, James, *A List of Two Hundred Scotticisms. With Remarks*, (Aberdeen, 1779).
  - *Scotticisms. Arranged in Alphabetical Order Designed to Correct the Improperities of Speech and Writing*, (Edinburgh, 1787).
- Benger, Elizabeth, [\*Memoirs of the Late Mrs Elizabeth Hamilton with a selection from her correspondence, and other unpublished writings\*](#), (1818: Cambridge, 2014), 2 vols.
- Bickley, Francis ed., *The Diaries of Sylvester Douglas. Lord Glenbervie*, (London, 1928), 2 vols.
- Brady, Frank and Pottle, Frederick A. eds., *Boswell in Search of a Wife, 1766-1769*, (London, 1959).
- Bruce, David, *Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect, originally written under the signature of the Scots-Irishman, by a native of Scotland. With notes and Illustrations*, (Washington, 1801).
- Byron, George Gordon [Lord], *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers; a Satire*, (1809: London, 1810).
- Callander, John, *Preface to Two Ancient Scottish Poems; the Gaberlunzie-man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green. With Notes and Observations*, (Edinburgh, 1782).
- Carlyle, Alexander, *The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk 1722-1805*, Hill Burton, John ed., (1860: London, 1910).
- Chalmers, George, *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lion King of Arms, under James V. A New Edition, corrected and enlarged: with a Life of the Author; Prefatory Dissertations; and an appropriate Glossary*, (Edinburgh, 1806), 3 vols.
- Cleland, John, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark. For the Government Census of MDCCCXXXI. With Population and Statistical Tables relative to England and Scotland*, (Glasgow, 1832).

- Constable, Thomas ed., *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents. A Memorial by his son Thomas Constable*, (Edinburgh, 1873), 3 vols.
- Crawford, Robert and Herbert, W.N., *Sharawaggi*, (Edinburgh, 1990).
- Currie, James ed., *The Works of Robert Burns: with an account of his life, and a criticism of his writings. To which are prefixed some observations on the character and condition of the Scottish Peasantry*. (1800: London, 1806), 4 vols.
- Davenport-Hines, Richard, ed., *Letters from Oxford, Hugh Trevor-Roper to Bernard Berenson*, (London, 2006).
- Derozario, M. ed., *Monumental Register: containing all the Epitaphs, Inscriptions, &c. &c. &c. in the different Churches and Burial Grounds, in and about Calcutta; including those of the Burial Grounds of Howrah, – Dum-Dum, – Barrasut, – Barrackpore, – Pultah, – Serampore, – Chandernagore, – Chinsurah, and the Convent of Bandel. Together with several inscriptions from the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, Isle of France, &c. To which is added Short Sketches, Anecdotes &c. &c. illustrative of the public services, general characters, and virtues of the dead...*, (Calcutta, 1815).
- DeWolfe, Barbara, ed., *Discoveries of America: Personal Accounts of British Emigrants to North America during the Revolutionary Era*, (Cambridge, 1997).
- Dinsmoor, James ed., *Poems of Robert Dinsmoor, "the Rustic Bard,"* (Boston, Massachusetts, 1898).
- Dinsmoor, Robert, *Incidental Poems accompanied with letters, and a few select pieces, mostly original, for their illustration, together with a preface, and a sketch of the author's life*, (Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1828).
- Dodds, James, *Records of the Scottish Settlers on the River Plate and their Churches*, (Buenos Aires, 1897).
- Douglas, Sylvester, *A Treatise on the Provincial Dialect of Scotland*, (1779), Jones, Charles ed., (Edinburgh, 1991).
- Duff, Alexander, *New Era of the English Language and English Literature in India; or, an exposition of the late Governor-General of India's latest act, relative to the promotion of European literature and science, through the medium of the English language, amongst the native of that populous and extensive province of the British Empire*, (1835: Edinburgh, 1837).
  - *The Church of Scotland's India Mission; or a brief exposition of the principles which that mission has been conducted in Calcutta, being the substance of an address delivered*

- before the General Assembly of the Church, On Monday, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1835, (London, 1835).
- *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland's India Missions: being a substance of an address delivered before the General Assembly of the Church on Wednesday, May 24, 1837, (Edinburgh, 1837).*
  - *India and India Missions. Including Sketches of the gigantic system of Hinduism both in Theory and Practice; also, Notices of some of the Principal Agencies Employed in Conducting the process of Indian Evangelization, &c. &c, (Edinburgh, 1839).*
  - *Speech of the Rev. Dr. Duff on Foreign Missions and America delivered in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on the evening of May 29, 1854, (Edinburgh, 1854).*
  - Duncan, John M., *Travels Through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819, (Glasgow, 1823), 2 vols.*
  - Elliot, Claire and Hook, Andrew eds., *Francis Jeffrey's American Journal: New York to Washington 1813, (Glasgow, 2011).*
  - Ferguson, J. De Lancey, ed., *The Letters of Robert Burns, (Oxford, 1931), 2 vols.*
  - Ferguson, J. De Lancey and Roy, G. Ross eds., *The Letters of Robert Burns, (Oxford, 1985), 2 vols.*
  - Flint, James, *Letters from America, Containing Observations on the Climate and Agriculture of the Western States, the Manners of the People, The Prospects of Emigrants, &c. &c., (Edinburgh, 1822).*
  - Foord, John, 'Foreword,' Black, George Fraser, *Scotland's Mark on America, (New York, 1921).*
  - Forbes, William, *An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie, LL.D. Late Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. Including many of his original letters, (1806: Bristol, 1997).*
  - Ford, Robert, *Thistledown. A Book of Scotch humour character folklore story & anecdote, (1891: Paisley, 1913).*
  - Geddes, Alexander 'Three Scottish Poems; with a Previous Dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect,' *Archaeologica Scotica: or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1792), 4 vols.*
    - 'The First Eklog of Virgil, tránslátit into Skottis vers,' *Archaeologica Scotica: or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1792), 4 vols.*
    - 'The First Idillion of Theokritusm, traánslátit into Skottis vers,' *Archaeologica Scotica: or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1792), 4 vols.*

- Anon. [Geddes, Alexander], *An Apology for Slavery; or, six cogent arguments against the immediate abolition of the slave trade*, (London, 1792).
- Ghose, Benoy ed., *Selections from English Periodicals of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Bengal. Volume I: 1815-33*, (Calcutta, 1978).
- Green, Sarah, *Scotch Novel Reading; or, Modern Quackery. A Novel Really Founded on Facts. In Three Volumes. By A Cockney*, (London, 1824).
- Greig, J.Y.T. ed., *The Letters of David Hume*, (1932: Oxford, 2011), 2 vols.
- Grierson, William, 'The Voyage of the Symmetry,' Stewart, Iain A. D. ed., *From Caledonia to the Pampas: Two Accounts by Early Scottish Emigrants to the Argentine*, (East Linton, 2000).
- Hedderwick, James, *Reference Book of James Hedderwick & Son, Printers, Melville-Place, Glasgow, Exhibiting the Various Sizes of Printing Types with which their Office is Furnished*, (Glasgow, 1823).
- Heiton, John, *The Castes of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1861).
- Hill, George Birkbeck Norman and Powell, L.F. eds., *Boswell's Life of Johnson in Six Volumes*, (1934: Oxford, 2014), 6 vols.
- Hogg, James *The Queen's Wake. A Legendary Tale*, Mack, Douglas S. ed., (1813: Edinburgh, 2005).
- Imrie, John, *The Scot – At Home and Abroad*, (Toronto, 1898).
- Inglis, James, *Our New Zealand Cousins*, (London, 1887).
- Innes, Cosmo, 'Memoir of Dean Ramsay,' Ramsay, Dean [Edward Bannerman], *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character, twenty-second edition, enlarged with the author's latest corrections and additions and a memoir of Dean Ramsay by Cosmo Innes*, (Edinburgh, 1874).
- Jamieson, John, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language: illustrating the words in their different significations by examples from ancient and modern writers; shewing their affinity to those of other languages, and especially the northern; explaining many terms, which, though now obsolete in England, were formerly common to both countries; and elucidating national rites, customs, and institutions, in their analogy to those of other nations: to which is prefixed a dissertation on the origins of the Scottish language*, (Edinburgh, 1808), 2 vols.
- Jefferson, Thomas, *Writings*, Peterson, Merrill D. ed., (New York, 1984).
  - *Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia*, (1818), Yarbrough, Jean M. ed., *The Essential Jefferson*, (Indianapolis, Indiana, 2006).

- Jeffrey, Francis, 'Robert Burns,' *Edinburgh Review*, XIII, (1808-9), *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review by Francis Jeffrey*, (London, 1853).
  - Anon., [Jeffrey, Francis], 'The Columbiad: A Poem by Joel Barlow,' *Edinburgh Review*, XV (Edinburgh, 1809-10).
  - 'United States of America,' *Edinburgh Review*, XXXIII, (1820), *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review by Francis Jeffrey*, (London, 1853).
- Johnson, Samuel, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, Levi, Peter ed. (1775: London, 1984).
- Kemp, Alexander F., *The Beneficial Influence of a Well-Regulated Nationality: a sermon delivered before the St Andrew's Society of Montreal, on St Andrew's Day, Nov. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1857. In Saint Gabriel Street Scotch Church, by the Rev. Alexander F. Kemp, Chaplain*, (Montreal, 1857).
- Kennedy, David, *Kennedy at the Cape, a professional tour through Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, the Diamond Fields and Natal*, (Edinburgh, 1879).
  - *Singing Round the World, A Narrative of his Colonial and Indian Tours*, (London, 1887).
- Leyden, John, *A Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries & Settlements of the Europeans in Northern & Western Africa, at the close of the Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1799).
  - ed., *The Complaynt of Scotland, written in 1548 with a Preliminary Dissertation and Glossary*, (Edinburgh, 1801).
  - ed., *Scotish Descriptive Poems with Some Illustrations of Scottish Literary Antiquities*, (Edinburgh, 1803).
  - *On the Languages and Literatures of the Indo-Chinese Nations*, (Calcutta, 1808).
  - *Malay Annals: translated from the Malay Language by the late Dr. John Leyden. With an introduction by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S.*, (London, 1821).
  - *Journal of a Tour in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland by John Leyden. Edited with a bibliography, by James Sinton*, Sinton, James ed., (1799: Edinburgh, 1903).
- Lloyd, Thomas, *The Trial of Alexander Addison, Esq. President of the Courts of Common Pleas in the circuit consisting of the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny, on an Impeachment, by the house of Representatives, before the State of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, (Lancaster, 1803).
- Lockhart, John Gibson, *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, (Edinburgh, 1819), 3 vols.

- Looney, J. Jefferson ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 2010), 12 vols.
- Low, Donald A. ed. *The Songs of Robert Burns*, (Abingdon, 1993).
- MacDiarmid, Hugh, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, Buthlay, Kenneth ed., (Edinburgh, 1987).
- Mackie, Alexander. ed., *Dinner in Honour of Charles Murray, Palace Hotel, Aberdeen, Monday, December 2, 1912*, (Aberdeen, 1912-13).
- Mackenzie, Henry, 'Robert Burns,' *Lounger*, XCVII, 9 December 1786.
- Melish, John, *Travels in the United States of America in the years 1806 & 1807, and 1809, 1810 & 1811; including an Account of Passages Betwixt America and Britain; and Travels through Various Parts of Great Britain, Ireland and Upper Canada*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1812), 2 vols.
- Murray, Alexander, *History of the European Languages; or researches into the affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations*, (Edinburgh, 1823), 2 vols.
- Murray, [Sarah], *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, to the Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; and to the curiosities of the District of Craven, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. To which is added, a most particular Description of Scotland, especially that part of it called the Highlands*, (London, 1799).
- Okara, Gabriel, *The Voice*, (London, 1970).
- Pickering, John, *A Vocabulary or Collection of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America*, (1816), Mathews, M.M. ed., *The Beginnings of American English. Essays and Comments*, (Chicago, Illinois, 1931).
- Pinkerton, John, *Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in Print. But now published from the MS. collections of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, Knight, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, and a Senator of the College of Justice. Comprising pieces written from about 1420 till 1586. With large notes, and a glossary*, (London, 1786) 2 vols.
  - *Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in Print...*, (London, 1786), 2 vols., National Library of Scotland, [Ai] 5/1.7-8.
  - *A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths, being an introduction to the ancient and modern History of Europe*, (London, 1787).
  - *An Inquiry into the History of Scotland, preceding the reign of Malcolm III. or the year 1056. Including the authentic history of that period*, (1789: Edinburgh, 1814), 2 vols.
- Ramsay, Allan, *Poems*, (Edinburgh, 1721), 2 vols.

- Ramsay, Dean [Edward Bannerman] *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, (1858: Edinburgh, 1871).
- Reilly, John G., *Journal of a Wanderer; being a residence in India, and six weeks in North America*, (London, 1844).
- Robertson, William, *The History of Scotland During the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI. Till His Accession to the Crown of England. With a Review of the Scottish History previous to that Period; And an Appendix containing Original Papers*, (1759: London, 1794), 2 vols.
- Robinson, Roger J. ed., *The Correspondence of James Beattie*, (Bristol, 2004), 4 vols.
- Rosebery, Archibald Primrose [Lord], *Miscellanies Literary and Historical*, (London, 1921).
- Ross, Alexander, *Helenore; or, the Fortunate Shepherdess. A Pastoral Tale*, (1768: Dundee, 1812).
- Said, Edward W., *Orientalism*, (London, 1978).
  - 'Orientalism Reconsidered,' *Cultural Critique*, 1, (1985), pp. 89-107.
- Scott, Walter ed., *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border: consisting of Historical and Romantic Ballads, collected in the southern counties of Scotland; with a few of modern date, founded upon local tradition*, (Edinburgh, 1803), 3 vols.
- Sheridan, Thomas, *British Education: or, The Source of the Disorders of Great Britain*, (London, 1756).
  - *A Course of Lectures on Elocution*, (London, 1762).
  - *A Course of Lectures on Elocution together with two Dissertations on Language and some other Tracts Relative to those Subjects*, (London, 1798).
- Sibbald, James, 'Observation on the Origins of the terms Picti, Caledonii, and Scotti,' *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry; from the Thirteenth Century to the Union of the Crowns: to which is added a Glossary*, (Edinburgh, 1802), 4 vols.
- Sinclair, John, *Observations on the Scottish Dialect*, (London, 1782).
- Stewart, Ian A. D., ed., *From Caledonia to the Pampas: Two Accounts by Early Scottish Emigrants to the Argentine*, (East Linton, 2000).
- Thorn, William, *Memoir of the Conquest of Java*, (Edinburgh, 1816).
- Thwaites, Reuben Gold ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846. A Series of Annotated Reprints of some of the best and rarest contemporary volumes of travel, descriptive of the Aborigines and Social and Economic Conditions in the Middle and Far West, during the Period of Early American Settlement. Volume IX Flint's Letters from America 1818-1820*, (Cleveland, Ohio, 1901).

- Trevelyan, George Otto, *The Competition Wallah*, (London, 1864).
- Twain, Mark, *More Tramps Abroad*, (London, 1897).
- Tytler, James A *Dissertation on the Origin and Antiquity of the Scottish Nation*, (London, 1795).
- Walsh, Robert, 'Foreign Literature,' *American Review of History and Politics and General Repository of Literature and State Papers*, I, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1811).
  - *An Appeal from the Judgements of Great Britain respecting the United States of America*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1819).
- Webster, Noah, *A Grammatical Institute, of the English Language, comprising, An easy, concise, and systematic Method of Education, Designed for the Use of English Schools In America. In Three Parts. Part I. Containing, A new and accurate Standard of Pronunciation*, (1783), Alston, R.C. ed., *English Linguistics 1500-1800*, (Menston, 1968)
  - *Dissertations on the English Language: with Notes, Historical and Critical, To which is added by way of Appendix, an Essay on a Reformed Mode of Spelling, with Dr. Franklin's Arguments on that Subject*, (1789), Alston, R.C. ed., *English Linguistics 1500-1800*, (Menston, 1967).
  - *A Letter to the Honorable John Pickering, on the Subject of his Vocabulary; or, Collection of Words and Phrases, Supposed to be Peculiar to the United States of America. By Noah Webster*, (Boston, Massachusetts, 1817).
- Weston, Richard, *A Visit to the United States and Canada in 1833; with the view of settling in America. Including a Voyage to and from New York*, (Edinburgh, 1836).
- Whitelaw, Alex, ed., *The Book of Scottish Song; collected and illustrated with historical and critical notes*, (London, 1844).
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, *Prose Works of John Greenleaf Whittier*, (Boston, Massachusetts, 1866), 2 vols.
- Wilson, Douglas L. ed., *Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1989).
- Willard, S., 'A Vocabulary, &c.,' *North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal*, III (Boston, Massachusetts, 1816).
- Witherspoon, John 'The Druid,' V, *Pennsylvania Journal and The Weekly Advertiser*, (May 1781), Mathews, M.M. ed., *The Beginnings of American English. Essays and Comments*, (Chicago, Illinois, 1931).

- Wright, Frances, *Views of Society and Manners in America; A Series of Letters from that Country to a Friend in England, during the years 1818, 1819, and 1820. By an Englishwoman*, (1821), Baker, Paul R. ed., (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963).
- Wye Smith, William ed., *The New Testament in Braid Scots. Rendered by William Wye Smith*, (1901: Paisley, 1904).
- Young, G.M. ed., *Speeches by Lord Macaulay with his Minute on Indian Education*, (Oxford, 1936).
- Zastoupil, Lynn and Moir, Martin eds., *The Great Indian Education Debate. Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843*, (Richmond, Surrey, 1999).

### Printed Secondary Materials

- Anon., 'No. XVI. The Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas,' *The Annual Biography and Obituary for the Year 1824*, Vol. 8, (London, 1824).
- Aitken, Adam Jack and McArthur, Tom eds., *Languages of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1979).
- Aitken, Adam Jack, 'Scottish Accents and Dialects,' Trudgill, Peter ed., *Language in the British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1984).
  - 'The Good Old Scots Tongue: Does Scots have an Identity?' Haugen, Einar, McClure, J. Derrick, and Thomson, Derick eds., *Minority Languages Today*, (Edinburgh, 1990).
- Ahmed, A.F. Salahuddin *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal, 1818-1835*, (Leiden, 1965).
- Ahmed, Dohra ed. *Rotten English. A Literary Anthology*, (New York, 2007).
- Alker, Sharon, Davis, Leith and Nelson, Holly Faith, 'Introduction,' Alker, Sharon, Davis, Leith and Nelson, Holly Faith eds., *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, (Farnham, 2012).
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, (London, 2006).
- Ahnert, Thomas, *The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, 1690-1805*, (New Haven, Connecticut, 2014).
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (1983: London, 2006).
- Ascherson, Neal, *Stone Voices, The Search for Scotland*, (London, 2002).
- Ash, Marinel, *The Strange Death of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh, 1980).
- Aspinwall, Bernard, 'The Last Laugh of a Humane Faith, Dr Alexander Geddes 1737-1801,' *New Blackfriars*, 58, (July 1977), pp. 333-40.

- Bakhtin, Mikhail *The Dialogic Imagination, Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, Holquist, Michael ed., trans., Emerson, Caryl and Holquist, Michael, (Austin, 1996).
- Ballantyne, Tony, *Orientalism and Race. Aryanism in the British Empire*, (Basingstoke, 2006).
- Basker, James G., 'Scotticisms and the Problem of Cultural Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain,' Dwyer, John and Sher, Richard B. eds., *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1993).
- Bastin, John, 'John Leyden and the Publication of the "Malay Annals" (1821),' *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 75, 2, 283, (2002), pp. 99-115.
- Basu, Paul, *Highland Homecomings, Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora*, (Abingdon, 2007).
- Bayly, C. A., *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*, (London, 1989).
  - *Empire and Information. Intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780-1870*, (Cambridge, 1996).
- Belich, James, *Replenishing the Earth, The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*, (Oxford, 2009).
- Bell, Duncan, *The Idea of Greater Britain. Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 2007).
- Benchimol, Alex, *Intellectual Politics and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period. Scottish Whigs, English Radicals and the Making of the British Public Sphere*, (Farnham, 2010).
- Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture*, (London, 1994).
- Bhattacharya, Tithi, *The Sentinels of Culture. Class, Education, and the Colonial Intellectual in Bengal (1848-85)*, (Oxford, 2005).
- Blain, Jenny, 'Ancestral 'Scottishness' and Heritage Tourism,' Leith, Murray Stewart and Sim, Duncan eds., *The Modern Scottish Diaspora. Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*, (Edinburgh, 2014).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Thompson, John B. ed., trans. Raymond, Gino and Adamson, Matthew, (Oxford, 1991).
- Brah, Avtar, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, (Abingdon, 1996).
- Broadhead, Alex, *The Language of Robert Burns. Style, Ideology, and Identity*, (Plymouth, 2014).
- Brock, William R. *Scotus Americanus. A survey of sources for links between Scotland and America in the eighteenth century*, (Edinburgh, 1982).

- Brooking, Tom, 'Sharing out the Haggis: The Special Scottish Contribution to New Zealand History,' Brooking, Tom and Coleman, Jennie eds., *The Heather and the Fern. Scottish Migration and New Zealand*, (Otago, 2003).
- Brown, Iain Gordon, 'Modern Rome and Ancient Caledonia: the Union and the Politics of Scottish Culture,' Hook, Andrew ed., *The History of Scottish Literature. Volume 2 1660-1800*, (Aberdeen, 1987).
- Brown, I. M., 'John Leyden (1775-1811) his life and works,' unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh (1955).
- Brown, Rhona, "'Guid black prent": Robert Burns and the Contemporary Scottish and American Periodical Press,' Alker, Sharon, Davis, Leith and Nelson, Holly Faith eds., *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, (Farnham, 2012).
- Brown, Stewart J., 'William Robertson, Early Orientalism and the *Historical Disquisition* on India of 1791,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 88, 2, 226, (October 2009), pp. 289-312.
- Brown, Thomas, ed., *The Poetical Works of Dr John Leyden. With a Memoir by Thomas Brown. And a Portrait from the Original Pencil Sketch by Captain Elliot*, (London, 1875).
- Buel, Richard, *Joel Barlow. American Citizen in a Revolutionary World*, (Baltimore, Maryland, 2011).
- Bueltmann, Tanja, 'Ethnic Identity, Sporting Caledonia and Respectability: Scottish Associational Life in New Zealand,' Bueltmann, Tanja, Hinson, Andrew and Morton, Graeme eds., *Ties of Bluid, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture and the Diaspora*, (Guelph, 2009).
  - *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930*, (Edinburgh, 2011).
- Bueltmann, Tanja, Hinson, Andrew and Morton, Graeme, 'Introduction: Diaspora, Associations and Scottish Identity,' Bueltmann, Tanja, Hinson, Andrew and Morton, Graeme eds., *Ties of Bluid, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture and the Diaspora*, (Guelph, 2009).
  - *The Scottish Diaspora*, (Edinburgh, 2013).
- Buettner Elizabeth, 'Haggis in the Raj: Private and Public Celebrations of Scottishness in Late Imperial India,' *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXXI, 2: No. 212 (October, 2002), pp. 212-239.
- Burnstein, Andrew, *The Inner Jefferson. Portrait of a Grieving Optimist*, (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1996).

- Buzard, James, *Disorienting Fiction, The Autoethnographic Work of Nineteenth-Century British Novels*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 2005).
- Calhoun, Robert M. and Barnes, Timothy M., 'Moral Allegiance. John Witherspoon and Loyalist Recantation,' Calhoun, Robert M., Barnes, Timothy M., and Davis, Robert S. eds., *Tory Insurgents. The Loyalist Perception and other essays*, (Columbia, South Carolina, 2010).
- Calloway, Colin G., *White People, Indians, and Highlanders. Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America*, (Oxford, 2010).
- Carruthers, Gerard, 'Scattered Remains: The Literary Career of Alexander Geddes,' Johnstone, William ed. *The Bible and the Enlightenment. A Case Study: Alexander Geddes 1737-1802*, (London, 2004).
  - *Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh, 2009).
  - 'Introduction,' Carruthers, Gerard ed., *The Edinburgh Companion to Robert Burns*, (Edinburgh, 2009).
  - 'Burns's Political Reputation in North America,' Alker, Sharon, Davis, Leith and Nelson, Holly Faith eds., *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, (Farnham, 2012).
  - 'Remembering John Galt,' Hewitt, Regina ed., *John Galt. Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society*, (Plymouth, 2012).
- Cheape, Hugh, 'Gheibhte Breacain Charnaid ("Scarlet Tartans Would Be Got..."): The Reinvention of Tradition,' Brown, Ian ed., *From Tartan to Tartanry, Scottish Culture, History and Myth*, (Edinburgh, 2012).
- Christie, Charles, *Some memories of Charles Murray and a few friends*, (Pretoria, 1943).
- Christie, William, *The Edinburgh Review in the Literary Culture of Romantic Britain: Mammoth and Megalonyx*, (London, 2009).
- Clark, J.D.C., *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832. Political discourse and social dynamics on the Anglo-American World*, (Cambridge, 1994).
- Clive, John, *Scotch Reviewers. The Edinburgh Review, 1802-1815*, (London, 1957).
  - *Thomas Babington Macaulay. The Shaping of the Historian*, (London, 1973).
- Clive, John and Bailyn, Bernard, 'England's Cultural Provinces: Scotland and America,' *William and Mary Quarterly Journal*, 3, Vol. 11, No. 2, (April 1954), pp. 200-13.
- Cockburn, Henry, *Life of Francis Jeffrey*, (1852: Edinburgh, 1872).
  - *Memorials of His Time*, (New York, 1856).
- Cohen, Robin, 'Solid, Ductile and Liquid: Changing Notions of Homeland and Home in Diaspora Studies,' Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, and Sternberg, Tirzhak eds., *Transnationalism. Diasporas and the advent of a new (dis)order*, (Boston, Massachusetts, 2009).

- *Global diasporas: an introduction*, (London, 2000).
- Cohn, Bernard S., *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1996).
- Cooley, Charles Horton, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, (New York, 1902).
- Corbett, John, McClure J. Derrick and Stuart-Smith, Jane, 'A Brief History of Scots,' Corbett, John, McClure, J. Derrick and Stuart-Smith, Jane eds., *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, (Edinburgh, 2003).
- Corbett, John, *Language and Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Coupland, Reginald, *Raffles, 1781-1826*, (Oxford, 1926).
- Court, Franklin E., 'Scottish literary teaching in North America,' Crawford, Robert ed., *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, (Cambridge, 1998).
- Cowan, Edward J., 'Prophecy and Prophylaxis: A Paradigm for the Scotch Irish?' Blethen, H. Tyler and Wood, Curtis W., eds., *Ulster and North America, Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish*, (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1997).
  - 'The Myth of Scotch Canada,' Harper, Marjory and Vance, Michael E. eds., *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c. 1700-1900*, (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Craig, Cairns, 'Myths against history: tartanry and Kailyard in 19<sup>th</sup> century Scottish literature,' McArthur, Colin ed. *Scotch Reels: Scotland in Cinema and Television*, (London, 1982).
  - *Out of History, Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and British Culture*, (Edinburgh, 1996)
- Craig, David, *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1839*, (London, 1961).
- Crawford, Robert, *Devolving English Literature*, (Edinburgh, 1992).
  - *Identifying Poets. Self and Territory in Twentieth-Century Poetry*, (Edinburgh, 1993).
  - 'Bakhtin and Scotland,' *Scotlands*, (1994), 1, pp. 55-65.
  - 'Introduction,' Crawford, Robert ed., *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, (Cambridge, 1998).
  - *The Bard. Robert Burns, A Biography*, (London, 2009).
- Crowley, Tony, *Language in History. Theories and Texts*, (London, 1996).
- Curley, Thomas M., *Samuel Johnson, The Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland*, (Cambridge, 2009).
- Daiches, David, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture*, (London, 1964).
  - *Robert Burns*, (London, 1966).
- Dalrymple, William *White Mughals. Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India*, (London, 2002).

- Dasgupta, Subrata, *The Bengal Renaissance. Identity and Creativity from Rammohun Roy to Rabindranath Tagore*, (Delhi, 2007).
- Davis, Leith, *Acts of Union. Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707-1830*, (Stanford, California, 1998).
  - 'Negotiating Cultural Memory: James Currie's Works of Robert Burns,' *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 6, (Spring/Summer 2010), pp. 1-16.
- Day, Lal Behari, *Recollections of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D., and of the Mission College which he founded in Calcutta*, (London, 1879).
- Devine, T.M., *To the Ends of the Earth, Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750-2010*, (London, 2011).
- Dodson, Michael S., *Orientalism, Empire, and National Culture*, (Basingstoke, 2007).
- Donaldson, William, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: language, fiction and the press*, (Aberdeen, 1986).
  - *The Language of the People, Scots Prose from the Victorian Revival*, (Aberdeen, 1989).
- Dos Passos, John, *The Heart and Head of Thomas Jefferson*, (New York, 1954).
- Dossena, Marina, *Scotticisms in Grammar and Vocabulary*, (Edinburgh, 2005).
  - 'Print and Scotticisms,' Brown, Stephen W. and McDougall, Warren eds., *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland. Volume 2 Enlightenment and Expansion 1707-1800*, (Edinburgh, 2012).
- Driem, George van, 'Tibeto-Burman vs. Sino-Tibetan,' Bauer, Brigitte L.M. and Pinault, Georges-Jean eds., *Language in Time and Space. A Festschrift for Werner Winter on the Occasion of his 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, (Berlin, 2003).
- Duff, W. Pirie, *Memorials of Alexander Duff*, (London, 1890).
- Duncan, Ian, *Scott's Shadow. The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 2007).
- Dwyer, John, 'Introduction – A "Peculiar Blessing": Social Converse in Scotland from Hutcheson to Burns,' Dwyer, John and Sher, Richard B. eds., *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1993).
- Eaton, Joseph, *The Anglo-American Paper War. Debates about the New Republic, 1800-1825*, (London, 2012).
- Elliot, Emory, *The Cambridge Introduction to Early American Literature*, (Cambridge, 2002).
- Evans, Stephen, 'Macaulay's Minute Revisited: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth-century India,' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 23, 4, (March 2010), pp. 260-281.

- Ferguson, Frank and McReynolds, Alister eds., *Robert Dinsmoor's Scotch-Irish Poems*, (Belfast, 2012).
- Finlay, Richard J., 'Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the Eighteenth Century,' Broun, Dauvit, Finlay, Richard J., and Lynch, Michael eds., *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages*, (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Fielding, Penny, *Writing and Orality, Nationality, Culture, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Fiction*, (Oxford, 1996).
- Flynn, Philip, *Francis Jeffrey*, (London, 1978).
- Fontana, Biancamaria, *Rethinking the politics of commercial society: the Edinburgh Review 1802-1832*, (Cambridge, 1985).
- Forbes, Margaret, *Beattie and his Friends*, (London, 1904).
- Forsyth, David and Ugolini, Wendy eds., *A Global Force. War, Identities and Scotland's Diaspora*, (Edinburgh, 2016).
- Frank, Thomas, 'Language standardization in eighteenth-century Scotland,' Stein, Dieter and Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid eds., *Towards a Standard English, 1600-1800*, (Berlin, 1993),
- Fry, Michael, *The Dundas Despotism*, (Edinburgh, 1992).
  - *The Scottish Empire*, (Edinburgh, 2001).
  - "'The Key to their Hearts": Scottish Orientalism,' Carruthers, Gerard, Goldie, David and Renfrew, Alasdair eds., *Scotland and the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century World*, (Amsterdam, 2012),
  - 'The Scottish Diaspora and the Empire,' Leith, Murray Stewart and Sim, Duncan eds., *The Modern Scottish Diaspora. Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*, (Edinburgh, 2014).
- Fuller, Reginald C., *Alexander Geddes, 1737-1802. Pioneer of Biblical Criticism*, (1984: London, 2015).
- Gardiner, Michael, *Modern Scottish Culture*, (Edinburgh, 2005),
  - 'Introduction,' Gardiner, Michael, Macdonald, Graeme and O' Gallagher, Niall eds., *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature, Comparative Texts and Critical Perspectives*, (Edinburgh, 2011).
- Gardiner, Robert, *Memoir of Admiral Sir Graham Moore*, (London, 1844).
- Gibson, Mary Ellis ed., *Anglophone Poetry in Colonial India, 1790-1913. A Critical Anthology*, (Athens, Ohio, 2011).
- Ghosh, Suresh Chandra, 'Dalhousie, Charles Wood and the Education Despatch of 1854,' *History of Education*, 4, 2, (1975), pp. 37-47.

- Gleig, G.R., *The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, BART and K.C.B. Late Governor of Madras with Extracts from his Correspondence and Private Papers*, (1830: London, 1831), 2 vols.
- Glendinning, Victoria, *Raffles and the Golden Opportunity*, (London, 2013).
- Goldie, David, 'Don't take the High Road: Tartanry and its Critics,' Brown, Ian ed., *From Tartan to Tartanry, Scottish Culture, History and Myth*, (Edinburgh, 2012).
- Goldie, Mark, 'Alexander Geddes at the Limits of the Catholic Enlightenment,' *Historical Journal*, 53.1, (March, 2010).
- Good, John Mason *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Alexander Geddes, LL.D.*, (London, 1803).
- Goodfriend, Joyce, 'Scots and Schism: the New York City Presbyterian Church in the 1750s,' Landsman, Ned C. ed., *Nation and Province in the First British Empire. Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800*, (London, 2001).
- Görlach, Manfred, *Still More Englishes*, (Amsterdam, 2002).
- Graham, Henry Grey, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, (1899: London, 1937).
- Graham, Ian Charles Cargill, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783*, (New York, 1956).
- Gravil, Richard, *Romantic Dialogues. Anglo-American Continuities, 1776-1862*, (Penrith, 2015).
- Gregory Smith, George, *Scottish Literature: Character and Influence*, (London, 1919).
- Greig, James A., *Francis Jeffrey of the Edinburgh Review*, (London, 1948).
- Griffin, Patrick, *The People with No Name. Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of the British Atlantic World, 1689-1764*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 2001).
- Hagan, Anette I., *Urban Scots Dialect Writing*, (Bern, 2002).
- Hahn, Emily, *Raffles of Singapore. Biography*, (London, 1948).
- Hanham, H.J.H., *Scottish Nationalism*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969).
- Hannigan, Tim, *Raffles and the British Invasion of Java*, (Singapore, 2012).
- Harris, Bob, 'Communicating,' Foyster, Elizabeth and Whatley, Christopher A. eds., *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800*, (Edinburgh, 2010).
- Haws, Charles H., *Scots in the Old Dominion 1685-1800*, (Edinburgh, 1980).
- Hechter, Michael, *Internal Colonialism, the Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, (London, 1975).

- Hewitt, David, 'James Beattie and the Languages of Scotland,' Carter, Jennifer J. and. Pittock, Joan H eds., *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment*, (Aberdeen, 1987).
  - 'Scoticisms and Cultural Conflict,' Draper, Ronald P. ed., *The Literature of Region and Nation*, (New York, 1989).
- Hirst, Francis W., *Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, (New York, 1926).
- Holcomb, Helen H., *Men of Might in Indian Missions. The Leaders and their Epochs, 1706-1899*, (London, 1901).
- Hook, Andrew, *Scotland and America: A Study of Cultural Relations, 1750-1835*, (Glasgow, 1975).
  - *From Goosecreek to Gandercleuch. Studies in Scottish-American Literary and Cultural History*, (East Linton, 1999).
  - 'Scotland, the USA, and National Literatures in the Nineteenth Century,' Carruthers, Gerard, Goldie, David and Renfrew, Alasdair eds., *Scotland and the 19th-Century World*, (Amsterdam, 2012).
- Hughes, Kyle, "'Scots, Stand Firm, and our Empire is Safe": The Politicisation of Scottish Clubs and Societies in Belfast during the Home Rule Era, c. 1885-1914,' Bueltmann, Tanja, Hinson, Andrew and Morton, Graeme eds., *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture and the Diaspora*, (Guelph, 2009).
- Hunter, James, *A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands, the United States, and Canada*, (Edinburgh, 1995).
  - 'Foreword,' Ray, Celeste ed., *Transatlantic Scots*, (Tuscaloosa, 2005).
- Hyslop, Jonathon, 'Making Scotland in South Africa: Charles Murray, the Transvaal's Aberdeenshire poet,' Lambert, David and Lester, Alan eds., *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Career in the Long Nineteenth century*, (Cambridge, 2006).
- Johnstone, John 'Memoir of Dr. Jamieson,' Jamieson, John A *Dictionary of the Scottish Language. In which the words are explained in their different senses, authorized by the names of the writers by whom they are used, or the titles of the works in which they occur, and derived from their originals*, (Edinburgh, 1846).
- Johnstone, William ed., *The Bible and the Enlightenment. A Case Study: Alexander Geddes 1737-1802*, (London, 2004).
- Jones, Charles, 'Scottish Standard English in the late eighteenth century,' *Transactions of the Philological Society*, Vol., 91, 1, (1993), pp. 95-131.
  - 'Alexander Geddes: An Eighteenth-Century Scottish Orthoepist and Dialectologist,' *Folia Linguistica Historica*, Vol. 15, 1-2, (1994), pp. 71-103

- *A Language Suppressed: The Pronunciation of the Scots Language in the Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1995).
- 'Phonology,' Jones, Charles ed., *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, (Edinburgh, 1997).
- *English Pronunciation in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (Basingstoke, 2006).
- Jones, Katherine W., *Accent on Privilege, English Identities and Anglophilia on the U.S.*, (Philadelphia, 2001).
- Kay, Billy, *The Mither Tongue*, (Edinburgh, 1986).
  - *The Scottish World, A Journey into the Scottish Diaspora*, (Edinburgh, 2005).
- Keen, Paul ed., *Revolutions in Romantic Literature. An anthology of print culture, 1780-1832*, (Plymouth, 2004).
- Kidd, Colin, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the creation of an Anglo-British Identity 1689-c., 1830*, (Cambridge, 1993).
  - 'Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition, 1780-1880,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 74, (1995), pp. 45-68.
  - 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms,' *Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, 2, (June, 1996), pp. 361-382
  - 'The Ideological Significance of Robertson's *History of Scotland*,' Brown, Stewart J. ed., *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire*, (Cambridge, 1997).
  - *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800*, (Cambridge, 1999).
  - 'The Ideological Uses of the Picts, 1707-c. 1900,' Cowan, Edward J. and Finlay, Richard J., eds. *Scottish History and the Power of the Past*, (Edinburgh, 2002).
  - *The Forging of the Races. Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000*, (Cambridge, 2006).
  - 'Race, Theology and Revival: Scots Philology and its Contexts in the Age of Pinkerton and Jamieson,' *Scottish Studies Review*, 3/2, (2002), pp. 20-33.
  - *Union and Unionisms*, (Cambridge, 2008).
- King, Richard, *Orientalism and Religion. Postcolonial theory, India and 'the mystic East'*, (London, 1999).
- Kopf, David, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance. The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835*, (Berkeley, Californian, 1969).
- Krapp, George Philip, *The English Language in America*, (1925: New York, 1960), 2 vols.

- Langford, Paul, 'Manners and Character in Anglo-American Perceptions, 1750-1850,' Leventhal, Fred M. and Quinault, Roland eds., *Anglo-American Minds. From Revolution to Partnership*, (Aldershot, 2000).
- Leask, Nigel, "'Their Groves o' Sweet Myrtles": Robert Burns and the Scottish Colonial Experience,' Pittock, Murray H., ed., *Burns in Global Culture*, (Plymouth, 2011).
- Leith, Murray Stewart, and Sim, Duncan, 'Introduction: The Scottish Diaspora,' Leith, Murray Stewart and Sim, Duncan eds., *The Modern Scottish Diaspora. Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*, (Edinburgh, 2014).
- Lehmann, William C., *Henry Home, Lord Kames, and the Scottish Enlightenment: a Study in National Character and in the History of Ideas*, (The Hague, 1971).
  - *Scottish and Scotch-Irish Contributions to Early American Life and Culture*, (London, 1978).
- Leneman, Leah, 'A new role for a lost cause: Lowland romanticisation of the Jacobite Highlander,' Leneman, Leah ed., *New Perspectives in Scottish Social History*, (Aberdeen, 1988).
- Lenman, Bruce, 'The Scottish enlightenment, stagnation and empire in India, 1792-1813,' *Indo-British Review: a Journal of History*, 21, (1996), pp. 53-62.
- Letley, Emma, *From Galt to Douglas Brown: Nineteenth Century Fiction and Scots Language*, (Edinburgh, 1988).
- Leyburn, James G., *The Scotch-Irish. A Social History*, (Durham, North Carolina, 1962).
- Macafee, C. I., 'Ongoing Change in Modern Scots: The Social Dimension,' Jones, Charles ed., *Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, (Edinburgh, 1997).
- MacDiarmid, Hugh, [Christopher Murray Grieve], *Albyn or Scotland and the Future*, (London, 1927).
- Macdonald, Catriona M. M., 'Imagining the Scottish Diaspora: Emigration and Transnational Literature in the Late Modern Period,' *Britain and the World*, 5, 1 (2012), pp. 12-42.
- Macfie, A.L., *Orientalism*, (London, 2002),
- MacKenzie, John M., 'Edward Said and the historians,' *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 18, 1, (1994), pp. 9-25.
  - *Orientalism. History, theory and the arts*, (Manchester, 1995).
  - 'Empire and National Identities the Case of Scotland,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 8, (1998), pp. 215-231.

- 'A Scottish Empire? The Scottish diaspora and interactive identities,' Brooking, Tom, and Coleman, Jennie eds., *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration and New Zealand*, (Otago, 2003).
- with Dalziel, Nigel, *The Scots in South Africa*, (Johannesburg, 2007).
- MacKenzie, John M. and Devine, T.M., 'Introduction,' Mackenzie, John M. and Devine, T.M. eds., *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2011).
- Malcolm, John, *Malcolm. Soldier, Diplomat, Ideologue of British India. Life of Sir John Malcolm, (1769-1833)*, (Edinburgh, 2014),
- Manning, Susan and Cogliano, Francis D., eds., *The Atlantic Enlightenment*, (Aldershot, 2008).
- Manning, Susan, *The puritan-provincial vision. Scottish and American literature in the nineteenth century*, (Cambridge, 1990).
  - *Fragments of Union, Making Connections in Scottish and American Writing*, (New York, 2002).
  - 'Post-Union Scotland and the Scottish Idiom of Britishness,' Brown, Ian, Owen, Thomas Clancy, Manning, Susan and Pittock, Murray eds., *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh, 2007).
  - *Poetics of Character. Transatlantic Encounters 1700-1900*, (Cambridge, 2013).
- Marriot, John, *The Other Empire: Metropolis, India and progress in the colonial imagination*, (Manchester, 2003).
- Masani, Zareer, *Macaulay. Britain's Liberal Imperialist*, (London, 2014).
- Matthews, Brander, *Americanisms and Briticisms with other essays on Isms*, (New York, 1892).
- McArthur, Colin, 'Transatlantic Scots, Their Interlocutors, and the Scottish Discursive Unconscious,' Ray, Celeste ed., *Transatlantic Scots*, (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 2005).
- McCarey, Peter, 'Occasional Paper: Bye Bye Bakhtin,' *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 2 (Spring/Summer 2007), pp. 1-4.
- McCarthy, Angela, 'Personal Accounts of Leaving Scotland, 1921-1954,' *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXXIII, 2, 216, (October 2004), pp. 196-215.
  - 'National Identities and Twentieth-Century Scottish Migrants in England,' Miller, William L. ed., *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1900 to Devolution and Beyond*, (Oxford, 2005).
  - McCarthy ed., *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities Since the Eighteenth Century*, (London 2006)

- *Personal narratives of Irish and Scottish migration, 1921-65*, (Manchester, 2007).
- *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840*, (Manchester, 2011).
- McClure, J. Derrick ed., *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue, Studies in the language and literature of Lowland Scotland*, (Aberdeen, 1983).
  - *Why Scots Matters*, (Edinburgh, 2009).
  - 'The distinctiveness of Scots: Perceptions and reality,' Hickey, Raymond ed., *Varieties of English in Writing. The written word as linguistic evidence*, (Amsterdam, 2010).
- McCrone, David, 'Who Are We? Understanding Scottish Identity,' Di Domenico, Catherine, Law, Alex, Skinner, Jonathan, Smith, Mick eds., *Boundaries and Identities: Nation, Politics and Culture in Scotland*, (Dundee, 2001).
  - *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation*, (London, 2001).
- McCrone, David, Morris, Angela, and Kiely, Richard, *Scotland. The Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage*, (Edinburgh, 1995).
- McGinn, Clark, 'Vehement Celebrations: The Global Celebration of the Burns Supper since 1801,' Pittock, Murray G. ed., *Burns in Global Culture*, (Plymouth, 2011).
- McGuirk, Carol, *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era*, (Athens, Georgia, 1985).
  - 'The Politics of *The Collected Burns*,' Herbert, W.N. and Price, Richard eds., *Gairfish Discovery*, (Bridge of Weir, 1991),
  - 'Haunted by Authority: Nineteenth-century American Constructions of Robert Burns and Scotland,' Crawford, Robert ed., *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, (Edinburgh, 1997).
- McLaren, Martha, *British India & British Scotland, 1780-1830: Career Building, Empire Building and a Scottish School of Thought on Indian Governance*, (Akron, Ohio, 2001).
- McNeil, Kenneth, *Scotland, Britain and Empire: Writing the Highlands 1760-1860*, (Columbus, Ohio, 2007).
- Meurman-Solin, Anneli, *Variation and Change in Early Scottish Prose. Studies Based on the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*, (Helsinki, 1993),
  - 'Change from above or below? Mapping the loci of linguistic change in the history of Scottish English,' Wright, Laura ed., *The Development of Standard English, 1300-1800*, (Cambridge, 2000).
- Mickelthwait, David, *Noah Webster and the American Dictionary*, (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2005).
- Millar, A.A., *Alexander Duff of India*, (Edinburgh, 1992).

- Millar, Robert McColl, 'Gaelic-Influenced Scots in pre-Revolutionary Maryland,' Sture, Ureland and Clarkson, Iain eds., *Language Contact Across the North Atlantic*, (Heidelberg, 1996).
  - *Language, Nation, and Power*, (Basingstoke, 2005).
  - 'To bring by language near to the language of men? Dialect and Dialect Use in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Some Observations,' Kirk, John M. and Macleod, Iseabail eds. *Scots: Studies in Language and Literature*, (Amsterdam, 2013).
- Miller, Kerby A., 'The New England and Federalist origins of "Scotch-Irish" ethnicity,' Kelly, William and Young, John R. eds., *Ulster and Scotland, 1600-2000: history, language and identity*, (Dublin, 2004).
- Miller, Thomas P., 'Witherspoon, Blair and the Rhetoric of Civic Humanism,' Sher, Richard B. and Smitten, Jeffrey R. eds., *Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment*, (Edinburgh, 1990).
- Milroy, James, 'Historical description and the ideology of the standard language,' Wright, Laura ed., *The Development of Standard English, 1300-1800*, (Cambridge, 2000).
- Montgomery, Michael B., *From Ulster to America. The Scotch-Irish Heritage of American English*, (Belfast, 2006).
  - 'The Linguistic Landscape of Eighteenth-Century South Argyll, as Revealed by Highland Scot Emigrants to North Carolina,' Kirk, John M. and Macleod, Iseabail eds., *Scots: Studies in Language and Literature*, (Amsterdam, 2013).
- Montgomery, Michael B. and Gregg, Robert J., 'The Scots Language in Ulster,' Jones, Charles Morton, Graeme, *Unionist Nationalism, Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860*, (East Linton, 1999).
  - 'Ethnic Identity in the Civic World of Scottish Associational Culture,' Buelmann, Tanja, Hinson, Andrew and Morton, Graeme eds., *Ties of Blood, Kin and Country: Scottish Associational Culture and the Diaspora*, (Guelph, 2009).
  - *Ourselves and Others, Scotland 1832-1914*, (Edinburgh, 2012).
- Morton, James, 'No. IX, The Poetical remains of the Late Dr. JOHN LEYDEN, with Memoirs of his Life, by the Rev. James Morton,' *The Annual Biography and Obituary, for the year 1821., Vol V.*, (London, 1821).
  - *Memoirs of the life and writings of the celebrated literary character the late Dr. John Leyden, of the honourable East India Company's Establishment*, (1819: Calcutta, 1825).
- Mossner, Ernest C., *The Forgotten Hume (Le Bon David)*, (Bristol, 1990).

- Mowbray, Paul Wheeler, *America Through British Eyes: A Study of the Attitude of the Edinburgh Review toward the United States of America from 1802 until 1861*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1935).
- Müller, F. Max, *Biographical Essays*, (London, 1884).
- Muir, Edwin, *Scott and Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1936).
- Muirson, David, *The Guid Scots Tongue*, (Edinburgh, 1977).
- Mugglestone, Lynda, *Talking Proper, The Rise of Accent as a Social Symbol*, (Oxford, 1995).
- Mure MacKenzie, Agnes, 'The Renaissance Poets, (I) Scots and English,' Kinsley, James ed., *Scottish Poetry A Critical Survey*, (Edinburgh, 1955).
- Murphy, Sean, 'Scotland, 'Greater Britain,' and the Kailyardic Contra(-)diction,' *Scottish Literary Review*, Vol. 8, 1, (Spring/Summer 2016), 69-91.
- Nairn, Tom, *The Break-Up of Britain*, (London, 1981).
  - *The Break-Up of Britain*, (Edinburgh, 2003).
- Nash, Geoffrey, 'Orientalism,' John M. MacKenzie ed., *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, (Chichester, 2016), 4 vols., III, pp. 1571-77.
- Newton, Michael, 'Paying for the Plaid: Scottish Gaelic Identity Politics in Nineteenth-century North America,' Brown, Ian ed., *From Tartan to Tartanry, Scottish Culture, History and Myth*, (Edinburgh, 2012).
- O'Connor, Laura, *Haunted English, The Celtic Fringe, the British Empire, and De-Anglicization*, (Baltimore, Maryland, 2006).
- O'Flaherty, Patrick, *Scotland's Pariah. The Life and Work of John Pinkerton, 1758-1826*, (Toronto, 2015).
- Painter, Neil Irvin, *A History of White People*, (New York, 2010).
- Paterson, Lindsay, "'Scotch Myths" – 2,' *Bulletin of Scottish Politics*, (Edinburgh; Scottish International Institute), 2, (Spring 1981), pp. 67-71.
- Pennycook, Alastair, 'Language, Ideology, and Hindsight. Lessons from Colonial Language Policies,' Ricento, Thomas ed., *Language, Politics, and Language Policies. Focus on English*, (Amsterdam, 2000).
- Percy, Carol, 'Political perspectives on linguistic innovation in independent America. Learning from the libraries of Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826),' Dossena, Marina ed., *Transatlantic Perspectives on Late Modern English*, (Amsterdam, 2015).
- Perkins, Pam, 'Reviewing America: Francis Jeffrey, The *Edinburgh Review*, and the United States,' Carruthers, Gerard, Goldie, David and Renfrew, Alasdair eds., *Scotland and the 19th-Century World*, (Amsterdam, 2012).

- Pittock, Murray G., *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London, 1991).
  - 'Staff and Students: The Teaching of Rhetoric', *Scottish Literary Journal*, Vol., 23, 1, (May 1996), pp. 33-41.
  - *Inventing and Reinventing Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789*, (Basingstoke, 1997).
  - *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, (Manchester, 1999).
  - *The Road to Independence, Scotland Since the Sixties*, (London, 2008).
  - "'A Long Farewell to All My Greatness": The History and Reputation of Robert Burns,' Pittock, Murray G. ed., *Burns in Global Culture*, (Plymouth, 2011),
  - 'Plaiding the Invention of Scotland,' Brown, Ian ed., *From Tartan to Tartanry, Scottish Culture, History and Myth*, (Edinburgh, 2012).
- Pottinger, George, *Heirs of the Enlightenment. Edinburgh reviewers and writers, 1800-1830*, (Edinburgh, 1992).
- Power, Avril A., *Scottish Orientalists and India. The Muir Brothers, Religion, Education and Empire*, (Woodbridge, 2010).
- Pratt, Mary Louise, *Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London, 1992).
- Purdie, David, McCue, Kirsteen and Carruthers, Gerard, *Maurice Lindsay's The Burns Encyclopaedia*, (London, 2013).
- Ramsay, John, *Scotland and Scotsmen, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Allardyce, Alexander, (1888: Bristol, 1996), 2 vols.
- Ray, Celeste, *Highland Heritage, Scottish Americans in the American South*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2001).
  - 'Introduction,' Ray, Celeste ed., *Transatlantic Scots*, (Tuscaloosa, 2005).
  - 'Ancestral Clanscapes and Transatlantic Tartaneers,' Paper given at the Symposium on Return Migration, Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies, University of Edinburgh, (May 2010).
  - 'Ancestral clanscapes and transatlantic tartaneers,' Varricchio, Mario ed., *Back to Caledonia. Scottish homecomings from the seventeenth century to the present*, (Edinburgh, 2012).
- Reith, John, *Life of Dr John Leyden. Poet and Linguist*, (Galashiels, 1908).
- Rendall, Jane, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill,' *Historical Journal*, 25, 1, (1982), pp. 43-69.

- Rennie, Susan, *Jamieson's Dictionary of Scots: The Story of the First Historical Dictionary of the Scots Language*, (Oxford, 2012).
  - 'Jamieson and the Nineteenth Century,' Macleod, Iseabail and McClure, J. Derrick eds., *Scotland in Definition: A History of Scottish Dictionaries*, (Edinburgh, 2012).
- Riach, Alan, 'Heather and Fern: The Burns Effect in New Zealand Verse,' Brooking, Tom, and Coleman, Jennie eds., *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration and New Zealand*, (Otago, 2003).
  - *Representing Scotland in Literature, Popular Culture and Iconography: The Masks of a Nation*, (Basingstoke, 2005).
- Richard, Jeffrey, *Imperialism and music. Britain 1876-1953*, (Manchester, 2001).
- Richards, Eric, 'The Last of the Clan and Other Highland Emigrants,' Brooking, Tom, and Coleman, Jennie eds., *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration and New Zealand*, (Otago, 2003).
  - 'Ironies of the Highland Exodus, 1740-1900,' Prest, Wilfred and Tulloch, Graham eds., *Scatterlings of Empire*, (St Lucia, 2001).
- Ricklefs, M.C., *A History of Modern Indonesia, c. 1300 to the present*, (London, 1981).
- Robertson, Ian C., 'The Bard and the Minstrel,' *Scottish Literary Review*, Vol. 8, 1, (Spring/Summer, 2016), pp. 133-42.
- Romaine, Susan and Dorian, Nancy, *Scotland as a Linguistic Area*, (Glasgow, 1981).
- Safran, William, 'Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return,' *Diaspora* 1, 1, (1991), pp. 83-99.
- Salmond, Noel A., *Hindu Iconoclasts. Rammohun Roy, Dayananda Sarasvati, and Nineteenth-century Polemics Against Idolatry*, (Waterloo, Ontario, 2004).
- Sartori, Andrew, *Bengal in Global Concept history. Culturalism in the Age of Capital*, (Chicago, Illinois, 2007).
- Sassi, Carla, *Why Scottish Literature Matters*, (Edinburgh, 2005).
- Sassi, Carla and van Heijnsbergen, Theo, 'Introduction,' Sassi, Carla and van Heijnsbergen, Theo eds. *Within and Without Empire: Scotland Across the (Post)colonial Borderline*, (Newcastle upon-Tyne, 2013),
- Schoene, Berthold, 'A Passage to Scotland: Scottish Literature and the British Postcolonial Condition,' *Scotlands*, 2.1, (1995), pp. 107-122.
- Scott, Alex R., *Ours is the Harvest, A Life of Charles Murray*, (Aberdeen, 2003).
- Scott, Paul Henderson, *Scotland Resurgent. Comments on the cultural and political revival of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 2003).

- Scott, Walter, ed., *Poems and Ballads by Dr. John Leyden: with a Memoir of the Author by Sir Walter Scott, Bart., and a Supplementary Memoir*, (1858: Kelso, 1875).
- Shattock, Joanne, *Politics and Reviewers: the Edinburgh Review and the Quarterly in the early Victorian age*, (Leicester, 1989).
- Shepperson, George, 'Writings in Scottish-American History: A Brief Survey,' *William and Mary Quarterly Journal*, 3, Vol. 11, 2 (April 1954), pp. 163-78.
- Sher, Richard B., 'Introduction,' Sher, Richard B. and Smitten, Jeffrey R. eds., *Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment*, (Edinburgh, 1990).
- Simpson, Kenneth, *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth Century Scottish Literature*, (Aberdeen, 1988).
- Sinha, Mrinalini, *Colonial masculinity. The "manly Englishman" and the "effeminate Bengali" in the late nineteenth century*, (Manchester, 1995).
- Skoblow, Jeffrey, *Dooble Tongue: Scots, Burns, Contradiction*, (London, 2001).
- Smith, George, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, (London, 1879), 2 vols.
- Smith, Janet Adam, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Ideas of Scotland,' Phillipson, N.T. and Mitchison, Rosalind eds., *Scotland in the Age of Improvement, Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1970).
- Smith, Susan Harris, *American Drama, The Bastard Art*, (Cambridge, 1997).
- Smith, Jeremy J., *Older Scots. A Linguistic Reader*, (Edinburgh, 2012).
- Sorensen, Janet, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth Century British Writing*, (Cambridge, 2000).
  - 'Vulgar Tongues: Canting Dictionaries and the Language of the People in Eighteenth-Century Britain,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 37, 3, (2004), pp. 435-54.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, *Nationalism and the Imagination*, (Calcutta, 2010).
- St Clair, William, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, (Cambridge, 2004).
- Stein, Burton, *Thomas Munro. The Origins of the Colonial State and His Vision of Empire*, (Delhi, 1989).
- Stewart, Gordon T., *Jute and Empire*, (Manchester 1998).
- Streets, Heather, *Martial Races: The Military Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914*, (Manchester, 2004).
- Strande-Sørensen, Pernille, 'Authentication of National identity: Macpherson and Burns as Editors of Scottish Ballads,' Østermark-Johansen, Lene ed., *Angles on the English-speaking World, Volume 3. Romantic Generations: Text, Authority and Posterity in British Romanticism*, (Copenhagen, 2003).

- Swaim, Barton, *Scottish Men of Letters and the New Public Sphere, 1802-1834*, (Cranbury, New Jersey, 2009).
- Tait, R. Gordon, *The Piety of John Witherspoon, Pew, Pulpit, and Public Forum*, (Louisville, Kentucky, 2001).
- Thornton, Robert Donald, *James Currie. The Entire Stranger and Robert Burns*, (London, 1963).
- Trautmann, Thomas R., *Languages and Nations. The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras*, (Berkeley, California, 2006).
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland,' Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terrence eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1983).
  - *The Invention of Scotland. Myth and History*, (London, 2009).
- Trudgill, Peter, *Accent, Dialect and the School*, (London, 1975).
- Trumpener, Katie, *Bardic Nationalism. The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1997).
- Tulloch, Graham *The Language of Walter Scott*, (London, 1980).
  - 'The Scots Language in Australia,' Jones, Charles ed., *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, (Edinburgh, 1997).
  - 'The English and Scots Languages in Scottish Religious Life,' MacLean, Colin and Veitch, Kenneth eds., *Religion, Scottish Life and Society, a compendium of Scottish ethnology, Vol. 12*, (Edinburgh, 2006).
  - 'Styles of Scots in Australian Literary Texts', Kirk, John M. and Macleod, Iseabail eds., *Scots: Studies in Language and Literature*, (Amsterdam, 2013).
- Varisco, Daniel Martin, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the unsaid*, (London, 2007).
- Varma, Pavan K., *Becoming Indian. The Unfinished Revolution of Culture and Identity*, (New Delhi, 2010).
- Vermilye, Elizabeth B., *The Life of Alexander Duff*, (1890, New York).
- Viswanathan, Gauri, *Masks of Conquest, Literary Study and British Rule in India*, (London, 1990).
- Warfel, Harry R., 'David Bruce, Federalist Poet of Western Pennsylvania,' *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, (July-October, 1925).
- Walsh, W. Pakenham, *Modern Heroes of the Mission Field*, (London, 1882).
- Warraq, Ibn, *Defending the West: a critique of Edward Said's Orientalism*, (Amherst, New York, 2007).

- Waterston, Elizabeth, *Rapt in Plaid: Canadian Literature and Scottish Tradition*, (Toronto, 2001).
- Willinsky, John, *Learning to Divide the World. Education at Empire's End*, (Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1998).
- Wills, Elspeth, *Abbotsford to Zion. The Story of Scottish Place Names Around the World*, (Edinburgh, 2016).
- Wilson, Jon E., *The Domination of Strangers. Modern Governance in Eastern India, 1780-1835*, (Basingstoke, 2008).
- Withers, Charles, 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands,' Donnachie, Ian and Whatley, Christopher eds., *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh, 1992).
- Wittig, Kurt, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature*, (Edinburgh, 1958).
- Womack, Peter, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, (London, 1989).
- Wurtzburg, C.E., *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, (1954: Singapore, 1986).
- Young, Douglas, *'Plastic Scots' and the Scottish Literary Tradition*, (Glasgow, 1948).
- Zastoupil, Lynn, *Rammohun Roy and the Making of Victorian Britain*, (Basingstoke, 2010).
- Zumkhawala-Cook, Richard, *Scotland. As We Know It. Representations of National Identity in Literature, Film and Popular Culture*, (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2008).

## Online Resources

- Anon., 'Abbotsford to Zion. The Story of Scottish Place-names Around the World by Elspeth Wills,' <http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Abbotsford-to-Zion.html>. Accessed 06/10/2016.
- Anon., 'Glasgow 2014: City 'buzzing' ahead of Commonwealth Games,' *BBC News*, 22 July 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-28419108>. Accessed 16/08/2016.
- Chambers, Charlotte, 'Edinburgh sees the largest ever gathering of clan chiefs,' *Independent*, 26 July 2009, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/edinburgh-sees-the-largest-ever-gathering-of-clan-chiefs-1761486.html>, <http://www.tartanday.org/history>. Accessed 08/03/2014.
- Jack, Ian, 'The Commonwealth Opening Games Ceremony: just the right side of kitsch,' *Guardian*, 25 July 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jul/25/commonwealth-games-opening-ceremony-right-side-of-kitsch>. Accessed 16/08/2016.

- John Malcolm, 'Sir Walter Scott and Sir John Malcom,' <https://sirjohnmalcolm.wordpress.com/2014/08/30/sir-walter-scott-and-sir-john-malcolm/>. Accessed 04/09/2016.
- McDowall, Julie, 'TV Review,' Herald Scotland, 23 July 2014, [http://www.heraldscotland.com/arts\\_ents/13171459.TV\\_review\\_the\\_Games\\_opening\\_ceremony/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/arts_ents/13171459.TV_review_the_Games_opening_ceremony/). Accessed 16/08/2016.
- McLean, Iain, 'Scottish Enlightenment influence on Thomas Jefferson's Book-Buying: Introducing Jefferson's Libraries,' Oxford University, Nuffield's Working Papers Series, (2011): [https://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/politics/papers/2011/Iain%20McLean\\_working%20paper%202011\\_01.pdf](https://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/politics/papers/2011/Iain%20McLean_working%20paper%202011_01.pdf). Accessed 05/09/2016.
- O'Sullivan, Kevin, 'BBC going OTT in covering Commonwealth Games,' *Mirror*, 26 July 2014, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/tv/tv-reviews/bbc-going-ott-covering-commonwealth-3918194>. Accessed 16/08/2016.
- White, Jim, 'Commonwealth Games 2014,' Daily Telegraph, 23 July 2014, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/othersports/commonwealthgames/10987385/Commonwealth-Games-2014-Glasgow-is-first-winner-with-opening-ceremony.html>. Accessed 17/08/2016.

