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The Muriel Spark Archive

ROBIN SMITH

Biography, and literary biography in particular, has become a major literary genre. It has reached such extremes that literary biographers, despite scepticism about the possibility of re-creating a life in this way, now spend years immersing themselves in the evidence that remains of their subjects, and produce vast multi-volumed works that imaginatively recreate every moment of a writer's inner and outer lives. Before they are subjected to this minute examination, the more successful living writers can expect to face the sort of public attention previously enjoyed (or endured, according to temperament) by other celebrities. The cult of the author has meant that readers are more inclined than ever before to pry into the personal lives of authors. At the same time, literary criticism has increasingly tended to remove control over a text from the author and place it in the hands of readers. In the light of the changing nature of the view of authorship, writers can no longer assume that they will be regarded as the creative genius of a text and its meaning; rather they are a channel through which various meanings may be gathered and interpreted by readers.

Faced with this onslaught from biographers, critics and readers, how does an author preserve their own identity, and the integrity of their life-story and their work? Having made a study of the fortunes of the attempts of a number of authors to maintain a degree of privacy and to determine in advance the direction that their estates should take in preserving their life and work, Ian Hamilton concluded that writers should not leave the fate of their reputation in the hands of executors and researchers and should try to serve as their own 'keepers of the flame'. It is as a result of Muriel Spark's attempt to do exactly this that the National Library of Scotland is now in the process of acquiring her personal archive. The first batch of her papers arrived in the Library in 1992, and, with several additions since then, they now form one of the largest groups of personal papers in the national collection of literary manuscripts.

Spark has taken various steps to present her account of her life and work, and to ensure that it is this view of events to which scholars will apply themselves, rather than that presented by other people. She has written a number of autobiographical works, often with the express aim of correcting errors of fact that have been made about her. In her main volume of autobiography, *Curriculum Vitae*, she dwells on this at some length:

So many strange and erroneous accounts of parts of my life have been written since I became well known, that I felt it time to put the record straight … Lies are like fleas hopping from here to there, sucking the blood of the intellect. In my case, the truth is often less flattering, less romantic, but often more interesting than the false story. Truth by itself is neutral and has its own dear beauty; especially in a work of non-fiction it is to be cherished.

So concerned is she with the pursuit of the truth that, at one point in this work, she breaks off in the middle of her story to implore scholars to check with her before using any material from potentially unreliable sources. It is this concern with detail that has been the motivation for the collection of a personal archive that is in its nature quite extraordinary. For Muriel Spark documentary evidence is of primary importance, 'both as a means of personal defence against inaccuracies and as an aid to one's own memory.'

All groups of papers that come into the Library's collections must be considered with a view to disposing of any material that cannot be considered of integral importance, and that will not be of research value. Most contemporary writers' papers include ephemeral items that should be disposed of in the normal course of events, and ought to be weeded once the papers are transferred to the care of an institution. Gas bills, for example: most are just strays that have been quietly forgotten among more interesting correspondence, some may have been used in a back of the envelope way, or may bear the first drafts of an important piece of poetry. The Spark archive, however, includes neatly filed and sorted runs of not just gas bills, but documentation relating to all aspects of her life. These papers are, in effect, the archive of a business concerned with the creation, development, and support of a novelist.



'Almost every letter I have received, every note I have made, every cheque-book, every book of accounts, every appointments book, lists of names and addresses, my correspondence with publishers and agents throughout the world, with income tax departments, accountants, lawyers, turf accountants … all and everything I have conserved in a vast archive.'
(Muriel Spark, *Curriculum Vitae*).

Muriel Spark's personal papers in the National Library of Scotland form one of the Library's most extensive archives of a contemporary author. In its glorious plethora of detail, the Muriel Spark Archive offers an unparalleled insight into the author's life.



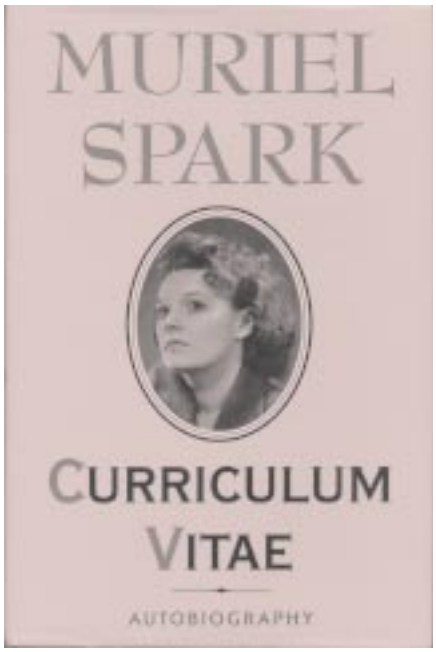


Cover photo: Muriel Spark in 1957 (Acc.10607/409). © Evening Standard

Opposite: Address books, 1965–72, from the Muriel Spark Archive (Acc.10607/400-401).

Above: The Junior Class of 1930 at James Gillespie's High School for Girls. Muriel Camberg (Spark) is second from the right in the third row (Acc.10607/409).

Left: Muriel Spark's prize certificate from James Gillespie's High School for Girls, 1932–33 (Acc.11231/3).



Muriel Spark describes herself as 'a hoarder of two things: documents and trusted friends' in *Curriculum Vitae* (1992) (H3.92.3132), an account of her childhood in Edinburgh, where she was born in 1918, and of her career as a writer.

These files present an interesting problem for the potential weeder. A group of papers relating to the storage of furniture and household goods in Rome, for example, may at first sight seem to have little bearing on an understanding of Spark's life and works. On closer examination, however, this file was found to include, alongside the receipts and invoices, lists of over two thousand books, a substantial part of Spark's library. Once the decision to dispose of files has been made, the question of where to draw the line between retention and disposal can be a very fine one.

The decision to preserve the archive in its glorious entirety was made for two reasons. Firstly, precisely because most of this sort of material is normally either lost or destroyed at some point, there are few collections which present such a rounded picture of one person's existence throughout the latter part of the twentieth century. Secondly, the very existence of an archive in this form speaks volumes about the nature of its creator and her attitude towards documentary evidence. This is a thread that runs through her fictional work. In this passage from *Loitering with Intent*, for example, Fleur Talbot's rereading of a letter from her archive is the starting point for the narrative of the novel:

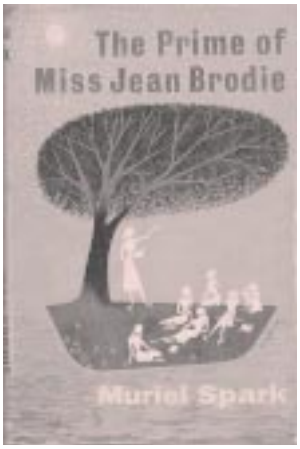
> Why did I keep these letters? Why? They are all neatly bundled up in thin folders, tied with pink tape, 1949, 1950, 1951 and on and on. I was trained to be a secretary; maybe I felt that letters ought to be filed, and I'm sure I thought they would be interesting one day. In fact, they aren't very interesting in themselves. For example about this time, just before the turn of the half-century, a bookshop wrote to ask for their money or they would 'take further steps'. I owed money to bookshops in those days; some were more lenient than others. I remember at the time thinking the letter about the further steps quite funny and worth keeping. Perhaps I wrote and told them that I was quite terrified of their steps approaching further, nearer, nearer; perhaps I didn't actually write this but only considered doing so.

To the curator who sat for many weeks sorting files of letters tied with red, pink and purple tape, this passage is rather striking. It became more so when three letters from Tower Bridge Publications, threatening 'further steps' to recover payment of a debt, were discovered in an early file of correspondence.

It is very likely that more examples of this intimate connection between the contents of the archive and the fictional works of its creator will be unearthed as researchers begin work on it. This is an interesting, if dangerous, game. Spark stands out as an author who has drawn on her own life as a source for her fiction in a way that is both direct and easily



Left: Muriel Spark in 1989 (Acc.10607/409).



Right: *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1961) (NF.669.b.6) draws from Muriel Spark's school experiences in 1930s Edinburgh, and has been adapted for stage and screen.



Below: Muriel Spark's membership certificate for the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, 1978 (Acc.11231/12).

identifiable, but at the same time very elusive. She has described fiction as being a kind of parable, based on truth but not fact. She has also been most emphatic about the danger of critics attempting a synthesis of her life and work. In a letter to Alan Bold, written in March 1986 when he was working on a critical study of her work, she advised him to 'avoid biographical comments as much as possible because details like that have so very little bearing on my work. I do assure you my work is designed to be self-sufficient.'

This, of course, is true of all creative work: art should be able to stand alone, separate from its creator, and ought to be viewed in isolation as a finished product. But it seems that the act of reading fiction, perhaps especially in the case of fiction such as Spark's where the nature of fictional reality is explored, often prompts the belief that a connection can be made between writer and reader, and that further insight into the writing can be gained by an understanding of the circumstances in which it was written. It is human nature to probe, and many of the letters received by Spark from her readers are personal, even intimate, in nature.

Researchers who seek to go further than readers of her novels, and who trawl the archive with the aim of pinning down its creator, may feel overwhelmed by the sheer extent of the collection, and by the mass of seemingly mundane or impersonal information. They should, however, bear in mind that *The Transfiguration of the Commonplace* was the book that propelled Sandy, one of the 'Brodie set', to fame as a writer, and should keep the following words of Fleur Talbot in the back of their minds:

When people say that nothing happens in their lives I believe them. But you must understand that everything happens to an artist; time is always redeemed, nothing is lost and wonders never cease.

Note on sources

Direct quotations in this article are from the novel *Loitering with Intent* (London, 1981) (N2.81.504) and *Curriculum Vitae* (London, 1992) (H3.92.3132), Muriel Spark's main volume of autobiography to date. The first batch of her papers, which were acquired by the Library in 1992, were the source material for this autobiography, which covers the years up to the publication of her first novel in 1957 (Acc.10607). These early papers have been supplemented by further accessions at regular intervals (Accs.10989, 11231, 11344 and 11621). Listing of the collection is in progress, and all completed inventories are available for consultation in the Library. An authorised biography has been commissioned from Professor Martin Stannard – chosen because of Muriel Spark's admiration for his biography of Evelyn Waugh – who is currently working through the archive. For a study of the perils of appointing authorised biographers, see Ian Hamilton, *Keepers of the Flame: Literary estates and the rise of biography* (London, 1992) (H3.92.3640). The Muriel Spark Archive is supplemented by related material in other groups of papers in the Library, the letters from Spark to Alan Bold, for example (Acc.10374/5), and papers relating to Derek Stanford (Acc.11050) and Alan Taylor (Acc.11426). The Library also has significant collections of printed material relating to Spark, including a collection of foreign translations of her works. All manuscripts referred to are in the National Library of Scotland, and all shelf marks given relate to collections in the Library.

The Muriel Spark Society has recently been formed in Edinburgh and plans a programme of talks, visits and other events. Anyone interested in joining the Society should contact its chairperson, Christine Lloyd, by telephone on 0131-672 3618 or via e-mail at lloyds@beeb.net.

On Editing Dunbar

I first visited Scotland as a schoolgirl, my imagination filled with romantic images of Burns, Scott, and Mary Queen of Scots. The places in Edinburgh that I most wished to see were the Castle and Holyrood Palace, and I was quite unaware of the elegant yet unobtrusive building that houses the National Library of Scotland. As an undergraduate in London, however, I began to extend my knowledge of Scottish literature, and discovered with excitement the poetry of Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas. These and other early Scottish poets, rather than the Romantics, were to become the focus for most of my later scholarly research. Now on my regular trips to Edinburgh the National Library is the place that I return to most frequently; its rich collections are indeed the chief reason for many of my visits.

Dunbar (*c.* 1460–*c.* 1513) is today widely recognised as one of Scotland's greatest poets, and he achieved considerable fame in his own lifetime, during the reign of James IV. But in between these two periods, roughly from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, Dunbar seems to have fallen into a literary Black Hole: throughout the seventeenth century no critic mentioned his name and no edition of his works was published. Changes in literary fashion and the growing archaism of his language were no doubt partly responsible. Yet why Dunbar was forgotten, when Douglas and Lindsay were still remembered, is not wholly clear, although one can venture suggestions, such as his orthodox Catholic faith and his perceived lack of high seriousness. Lindsay, who wrote in a plainer style, could be regarded as a precursor of the Reformation, or even as an early Protestant. The reputation of Douglas, the translator of the *Aeneid*, was probably enhanced by being associated with the great name of Virgil.

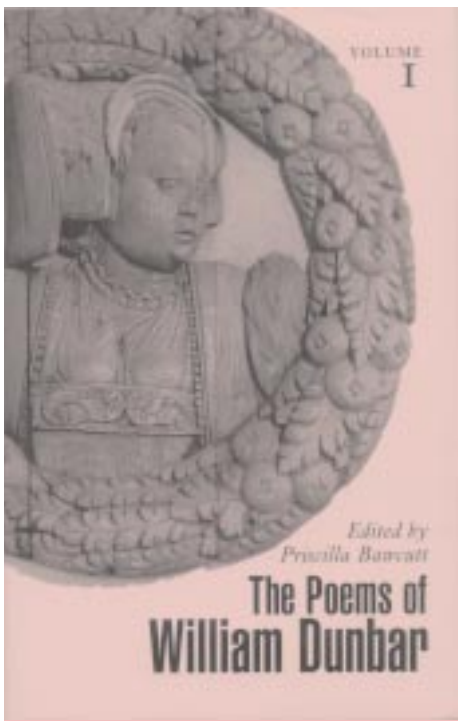
Whatever its causes, the neglect of Dunbar during the seventeenth century is responsible for many of his editor's problems today. It is this which largely accounts for the lack of information about Dunbar's life, the loss and dispersal of the earliest manuscripts of his poems, and the poor condition of some of those which still survive. Although Dunbar was a court poet, no 'de luxe' collection of his works exists; and, although he protested vigorously at the way texts of his poetry were 'magillit', or mutilated, when they left his possession, no holograph has been preserved. His poems are scattered in manuscripts and early prints of very different date and character. Some are so frail that it is a miracle that they still survive. The texts of a few poems are damp-stained and barely legible; and the correct sequence of stanzas in one poem was for long misunderstood, because the leaves were bound in the wrong order. These witnesses are widely dispersed: the farthest flung is a manuscript now in the Beinecke Library of Yale University; other poems are preserved in the Sasine Register, Aberdeen, in a devotional miscellany in the British Library, London, and in two manuscript anthologies, the Maitland Folio and the Reidpeth Manuscript, now in Cambridge. Three particularly important repositories of Dunbar's poems are among the greatest treasures of the National Library of Scotland: these are the Bannatyne Manuscript (Adv.MS. 1.1.6), the Asloan Manuscript (MS.16500), and the Chepman and Myllar prints (Sa. 6). It seems fitting that they should be in this location, since they were all produced in Edinburgh, where Dunbar spent much of his life.

The Bannatyne Manuscript, a poetic miscellany compiled *c.* 1568, is famous, not only because of the size and richness of its collection of medieval and renaissance Scottish poetry, but because of the part it played in later literary history. Its rediscovery by Allan Ramsay and partial publication in *The Ever Green* (1724) (L.C.10-11) prompted a great revival of interest in the early vernacular literature of Scotland. Ramsay's *Ever*

The genius of the sixteenth-century poet William Dunbar is celebrated today. Yet his writing was all but forgotten in the seventeenth century, only to be brought back into print in 1724 by Allan Ramsay, who included some of Dunbar's poems in *The Ever Green*. Dunbar's most recent editor is Priscilla Bawcutt, whose *The Poems of William Dunbar* won the Saltire Research Book of the Year Award for 1999. In her quest for accuracy and understanding she made crucial use of the resources of the National Library of Scotland where, she comments, 'three important repositories of Dunbar's poems are among [its] greatest treasures: these are the Bannatyne Manuscript, the Asloan Manuscript, and the Chepman and Myllar prints. It seems fitting that they should be in this location, since they were all produced in Edinburgh, where Dunbar spent much of his life'.

PRISCILLA BAWCUTT

The Poems of William Dunbar **(Glasgow: ASLS, 1998) (Lit.S.8.D.1.B), edited by Priscilla Bawcutt, presents the most accurate available texts of Dunbar's poems.**



Green was followed by a number of similar anthologies in the eighteenth century, and it also encouraged scholars to search for other texts of Dunbar and his contemporaries. In the early nineteenth century the compiler, George Bannatyne, became increasingly the object of a cult. A literary club was founded in his honour by Sir Walter Scott, who wrote enthusiastic verses in praise of 'Sage Bannatyne / Who left such a treasure of old Scottish lore'.

As far as Dunbar is concerned, the importance of the Bannatyne Manuscript is undoubted. It contains over forty poems attributed to him, some of them being unique copies, such as the fine poem on the wedding of James IV and Margaret Tudor to which Ramsay gave the title 'The Thistle and the Rose'. Bannatyne arranged the poems in simple generic categories, such as 'ballatis of moralitie' or 'ballatis of lufe'; it is interesting to see the categories in which Dunbar's poems are placed, and the company that they keep. The whole manuscript is well preserved, and the texts of Dunbar's poems are remarkably legible. Yet there has been a long scholarly tradition of over-privileging Bannatyne's texts, partly because the Bannatyne Manuscript was the first to be discovered, partly because of the powerful advocacy and great influence of Sir Walter Scott, and – perhaps even more – because of editorial inertia. One editor after another assumed that Bannatyne's texts of Dunbar were better than those preserved in other witnesses. But this is by no means always the case. A striking illustration occurs in Dunbar's 'The Tabill of Confessioun'. One stanza in this highly orthodox Catholic poem is devoted to the seven sacraments; Bannatyne, writing in the 1560s, changed these to two, in order to conform to Protestant doctrine on the sacraments. This Protestantised version of the Catholic original long continued to be printed by editors of Dunbar, and may still be seen in reprints of Mackay Mackenzie's 1932 edition.

Ramsay treated his texts of Dunbar with even greater freedom than Bannatyne, bowdlerising those that he thought blasphemous or obscene, omitting some passages, and adding phrases and even stanzas of his own invention. The cheekiest of these was the



Some of Dunbar's poems were published in his own lifetime by Scotland's first printers, Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar. The Chepman and Myllar prints are now among the greatest treasures of the National Library of Scotland.

jocular 'Postscript' that he added to 'that I in heill wes and gladnes':

Then sen our warks sall neuir die
Timor mortis non turbat me.

Most readers will probably know this famous poem by the title which derives from Ramsay, not Dunbar: 'The Lament for the Makars'. He devised titles for many other poems, which subsequent editors, unfortunately, took to be Dunbar's own.

The Asloan Manuscript is a large miscellany containing both prose and verse, compiled *c.* 1515, early in the reign of James V by John Asloan, an Edinburgh notary and scribe. This much-travelled manuscript belonged at one time to Lord Auchinleck, father of James Boswell; it was purchased by the National Library of Scotland in 1966. One reason why this manuscript is so valuable to an editor of Dunbar is because it belongs to his own age. His poems were copied by a contemporary, someone who shared his religious beliefs, and who was still familiar with his language and poetic traditions. The Asloan Manuscript thus contains the unique text of Dunbar's 'Ballat of Our Lady', along with poems by other poets in honour of the Virgin Mary. Later in the sixteenth century, such poems smacked of papistry, and were often omitted or censored. So too with Dunbar's language: in a highly alliterative poem, sometimes known as 'The Tournament of the Tailor and the Sowtar', Asloan's text retains various old words characteristic of the alliterative diction that later copyists of the poem, such as Bannatyne and Maitland, omitted or modernised.

A few of Dunbar's poems, such as 'The Goldin Targe' and the 'Welcome to Bernard Stewart', were printed in his own lifetime by Scotland's first printers, Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar. The royal patent granted to Chepman and Myllar in 1507 authorised them to print books of law, chronicles, mass books and breviaries. Nothing was said of vernacular literature, yet the first products of the press in 1508 were small booklets, containing popular romances and poems by Dunbar, Henryson and Lydgate. Another booklet, typographically distinct but probably printed by Myllar, contains 'The Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo' and other poems by Dunbar. Although it is unlikely that Dunbar actually supervised their printing, as David Laing conjectured, the texts of 'The Goldin Targe' and 'The Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo' are far superior to those found in the later manuscript miscellanies, which occasionally misunderstand or modernise the diction. The Chepman and Myllar prints were apparently unknown to scholars until the end of the eighteenth century, when they were discovered and presented to the Advocates' Library 'by a gentleman from Ayrshire'. These small, fragile prints are

The title page of the Library's 1571 edition of Robert Henryson's *Moral Fables*, published in Edinburgh by Bassandyne (F.5.b.48).



now unique, and seem to have survived only by accident; yet it is unlikely that only single copies were printed, and illustrates how much may have been lost.

Any scholar who is carrying out research on Dunbar and his contemporaries knows the advantages of working in the National Library of Scotland, with its wealth of secondary material on Scottish history, literature, language, law, heraldry, archaeology, and many other topics. Dunbar is a highly allusive poet, frequently joking about friends and enemies, or mentioning curious incidents at the court of James IV. But topical allusions soon lose their point, especially after the lapse of five centuries. In elucidating Dunbar it is valuable to have access to the information found in the specialised publications of the Scottish antiquarian clubs and learned societies. Good university libraries elsewhere may have many of these publications, but rarely all of them. Only in the National Library of Scotland are they easily accessible, many on the open shelves of the Reading Room. Support for the scholar also comes from the learned curators of manuscripts and printed books. I have found it invaluable to be able to consult one expert over a difficult script, and to learn from another the location in Fife of a strangely spelt place name.

A great library can enhance one's comprehension of the past in innumerable ways. In Dunbar's 'Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo' the Widow holds a 'bright buke' on her knee, as an adjunct to flirting in church. What, a modern reader might well wonder, was this 'bright buke'? It is most likely to have been an illuminated book of hours, or prayer book: a splendid example from Dunbar's own court circle is that which belonged to James IV and Margaret Tudor. A scholar who wishes to examine the beautiful original must travel to the Austrian National Library in Vienna, but in the National Library of Scotland an excellent facsimile can be seen, and the Library has some of the actual books of hours that belonged to men contemporary with Dunbar, such as master James Brown, Dean of Aberdeen in the 1490s.

Dunbar did not write in isolation, but belonged to a flourishing tradition of vernacular poetry. He mentions several poets who influenced him or were his



Allan Ramsay included some poems by Dunbar in *The Ever Green* in 1724 (L.C. 10-11), bringing him back into print after a lapse of over 200 years.

personal friends – Richard Holland, Robert Henryson, and Walter Kennedy. Such poets not only provide a valuable context for Dunbar, but are important in their own right. The Library owns what is probably the richest collection in the world of their manuscripts and early printed texts, dating chiefly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To mention two out of many, it possesses the unique manuscript of Blind Harry's *Wallace* (Adv.MS.19.2.2), and a particularly valuable edition of Henryson's *Moral Fables* (Edinburgh: Bassandyne, 1571) (F.5.b.48). The latter, like so many other early Scottish prints, now survives in a single copy. William Beattie, a former director of the Library, noted how large a number of early printed Scottish books it possesses, and how it has systematically acquired photographic copies and microfilms of those in other libraries throughout the world. It is, in his words, 'the best single place' to survey the subject of early Scottish printing. It is also therefore a good place to study the contents of these books.

Those interested in exploring less familiar areas of the culture of early Scotland might note, in addition, that the Library also contains many examples of 'fugitive verses': short scraps of poetry copied by readers on the flyleaves or other blank spaces of printed books and manuscripts. These are often found in unexpected and incongruous locations: advice on love, written by a Dumfries notary, in a thirteenth-century Latin bible; two poems in praise of the Virgin on a copy of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*; and a number of short satires on women, written in Scots in one of the great treasures of Gaelic verse, the Book of the Dean of Lismore (Adv.MS.72.1.37).

In editing Dunbar for the Association of Scottish Literary Studies, my aims were to present the best possible texts of his poems, and to elucidate them for a modern audience. Other subjects, however, remain to be explored, one of which is the shifts and changes in Dunbar's reputation over the centuries. Many are no doubt familiar with Scott's enthusiasm for Dunbar as 'the darling of the Scottish Muses', or have encountered some version of Hugh MacDiarmid's rallying-cry to twentieth-century poets: 'Not Burns, Dunbar!' Yet if we wish to understand the strange vicissitudes in Dunbar's reputation, the tributes of the great must be supplemented by the works of obscure and half-forgotten writers: the eighteenth-century *Caledoniad* (H.29.d.10-12), perhaps, or Hugh Haliburton's *Dunbar: Selections from the Poems of an Old Makar* (1895) (Hall.286.q). This too is a story which can best be tracked, in all its fascinating detail, in the National Library of Scotland.

Note on sources

For research purposes later versions of the fragile originals of the Bannatyne Manuscript (Adv.MS.1.1.6), the Asloan Manuscript (MS.16500), and the Chepman and Myllar prints (Sa. 6) are available in the Library: there are two editions of the complete text of the Bannatyne Manuscript, the most accurate being that published by the Scottish Text Society (1928-34) (SCS.STES2.22; SCS.STES2.23; and SCS.STES3.5); there is also a Scottish Text Society edition of the Asloan Manuscript (1923-25) (SCS.STES2.14, SCS.STES2.16). Scottish Text Society volumes are available on the open shelves of the Main Reading Room. An excellent facsimile of the Bannatyne Manuscript, published by the Scolar Press and the National Library of Scotland (1980) (NRR), is available on the open shelves of the North Reading Room. There is a good facsimile of the Chepman and Myllar prints (Edinburgh Bibliographic Society, 1950) (6.656) and digitised images of the complete Chepman and Myllar prints are available on the Library website, www.nls.uk, as well as a selection of folios from the Asloan Manuscript. All shelf marks given relate to collections in the National Library of Scotland.

The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels

and the Manuscript Holdings of the National Library of Scotland

The production of the Waverley Novels was a landmark in publishing history. This complex process is documented in manuscripts in the Scott collection of the National Library of Scotland, which has proved to be an invaluable resource for the editors of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, a new edition which offers Scott's texts as he first envisaged them – and as they have never appeared before.

ALISON LUMSDEN



An engraving of Scott from a painting by T. Lawrence. (MS.23141, no. 89)

The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels was set up in 1984 with the aim of providing the first authoritative edition of Walter Scott's fiction. Its intentions are to provide an 'ideal first edition', reinstating Scott's words lost through accident, error and misunderstanding, and to restore the freshness with which the novels were offered to a nineteenth-century readership. The edition is co-ordinated by the editor-in-chief Professor David Hewitt of the University of Aberdeen and involves scholars from around the world. The first volumes appeared in 1993 and seventeen have been published to date. The edition is due to be completed in thirty volumes shortly after 2003.

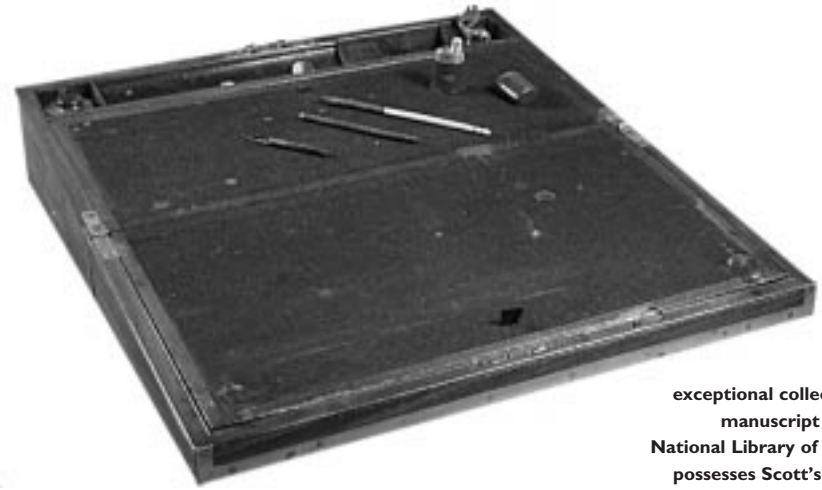
It is impossible to imagine that such an edition of Scott's fiction could have been undertaken without the resources of the National Library of Scotland. The editorial policies of the Edinburgh Edition rely upon access to both the manuscripts and proofs of Scott's fiction where these are available and the editors also makes use of publishing archives. Many of these materials are held by the National Library of Scotland and when they are lodged elsewhere – the largest collection outside Scotland is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York – the reputation of the National Library of Scotland has allowed materials to be temporarily located in Edinburgh so that they might be easily consulted by the editorial team.

By far the most significant of these materials are the original manuscripts of the novels, the Library owning *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (MS.1548), *Redgauntlet* (Adv.MS.19.2.29), *Quentin Durward* (MS.23046), *The Betrothed* (MS.23047), *The Chronicles of the Canongate* (MS.23048), and most of the extant manuscript of *Waverley* (Adv. MS.1.1.0). Because of the unique way in which Scott's novels were produced these manuscripts provide a significant body of evidence for editors of a modern edition. For most of his writing career Scott was in partnership with James Ballantyne in a firm of printers which James managed and for which Scott produced much of the work. Contracts stipulated that Ballantyne and Company retained control over printing, offering Scott a unique degree of authorial control. James Ballantyne in turn acted not only as printer, but essentially as 'editor' of Scott's work, picking up anomalies and advising Scott on matters of taste and style. In addition, until 1827 when insolvency forced him to admit

authorship, Scott's novels were published anonymously, his name never appearing on the title page. His handwriting, however, was well known in the printing-house and, in order to maintain the anonymity of the 'Great Unknown', the manuscripts were copied out, beginning a process of translating them into printed, readable texts.

With Scott enjoying this level of authorial control over his fiction and with James Ballantyne taking such a high level of interest in its production, it might be imagined that the Waverley Novels would be amongst the most accurately produced of all nineteenth-century texts. However, careful collation of the first editions against the manuscripts reveals thousands of discrepancies; there is a significant gulf between Scott's holograph and its appearance in print. Several reasons for this situation emerge. Firstly, the Waverley Novels were produced at speed and Scott's handwriting is not always easy to read. While it is in general fairly clear, individual letters, particularly vowels, can be difficult to distinguish, so that words such as 'these' and 'those' are frequently misread. In addition, Scott's manuscripts demonstrate several layers of revision; his normal working practice appears to have been to read over his work of the previous day as he began to write each morning, often altering and revising his text. All the manuscripts examined to date show a range of revision, from single words to several paragraphs, work frequently being altered and re-altered several times. These changes are made on the versos of facing sheets, above the line of the text, in the margins and sometimes on other bits of paper sent separately to the printer. Consequently, it was easy for this material to be misread or wrongly assimilated, a situation exacerbated, of course, as Scott's holograph was copied.

In the Edinburgh Edition many emendations have resulted from such obvious misreading of Scott's manuscript. In *Redgauntlet*, for example, the manuscript's 'enumeration of difficulties' appears in the first edition as a 'communication of difficulties' (22.39) and Scott's 'culinary utensils' was mis-read as 'ordinary utensils' (25.4–5). Later, Darsie Latimer's face mask is found in the manuscript to be secured by a 'spring', not 'string' as in the first edition (289.12). Similarly, in *The Fair Maid of Perth*, in the first edition the shouts at Conachar's father's funeral are described as being so loud that 'the deer fled from their caves for miles around' (287.17), while in the manuscript they fled 'from their cover'. Many other emendations have resulted from manuscript evidence which shows that material, particularly from revisions, has been missed or wrongly assimilated. In *Redgauntlet*, over 150 words and phrases present in the manuscript are omitted in the first edition, including a whole sentence, probably because of an eye-slip, and a whole manuscript line, printed in the Edinburgh Edition for the first time. At 235.28–29 an addition on the facing verso was overlooked, thus omitting a phrase of seventeen words. In *The Fair Maid* (38.33) Scott writes in manuscript 'a small purse made of links … as if it had been designed for a hauberk to King Oberon'. In the first edition the words 'King Oberon' are replaced by 'to a king' thus making nonsense of the sentence.



As well as its exceptional collection of Scott manuscript material, the National Library of Scotland also possesses Scott's writing desk.

Misreading, omissions and wrong assimilation of manuscript material accounts for many of the emendations in the Edinburgh Edition, but a second source of error in the first edition results from what Jerome McGann has described as the 'socialisation' of the nineteenth-century printed text. While Scott's manuscripts offer a remarkably coherent 'first draft', they are not fully realised for publication but were intended to undergo a process of 'translation' into printed texts. For example, in the manuscripts Scott provides only minimal punctuation; a new sentence is usually indicated by a dash and new paragraph by the shorthand signal 'NL' (new line). Scott expected punctuation to be supplied by what the Edinburgh Edition refers to as the 'intermediaries' – James Ballantyne and the compositors in the printing house who were responsible for turning Scott's holograph into printed text. Punctuation was, moreover, only one aspect of the work for which they had responsibility; they were also expected to eliminate repetition of words in close proximity, identify obvious factual errors in Scott's text, and correct matters of solipsism.

In most instances the 'intermediaries' did their job remarkably well. However, not even James shared Scott's range of knowledge or language – Latin, for example, is often misprinted – and there are many instances where they have failed to pick up the intellectual, aesthetic and linguistic subtleties in Scott's text. In addition the intermediaries often fail to grasp Scott's meaning or intentions as they seem apparent on returning to the manuscript. In *Redgauntlet*, for example, an intermediary has failed to understand Scott's allusion to *King Lear* in 'moppings and mowings' (130.5), a phrase which consequently appears in print as 'mockings and mowings'. Similarly, in *The Fair Maid*, Scott's reference to an 'Inglish Makar' becomes distorted in print as an 'English Maker' (242.14). There is also a typical failure to interpret Scott's punctuation in *The Fair Maid*, as in all other novels worked on to date. For example, while in manuscript Scott distinguishes between inverted commas followed by a long dash, and a long dash concluded by inverted commas (the first indicating interrupted speech and the second speech that trails away) this is a distinction which has been haphazardly rendered in print until consistently restored by the Edinburgh Edition.

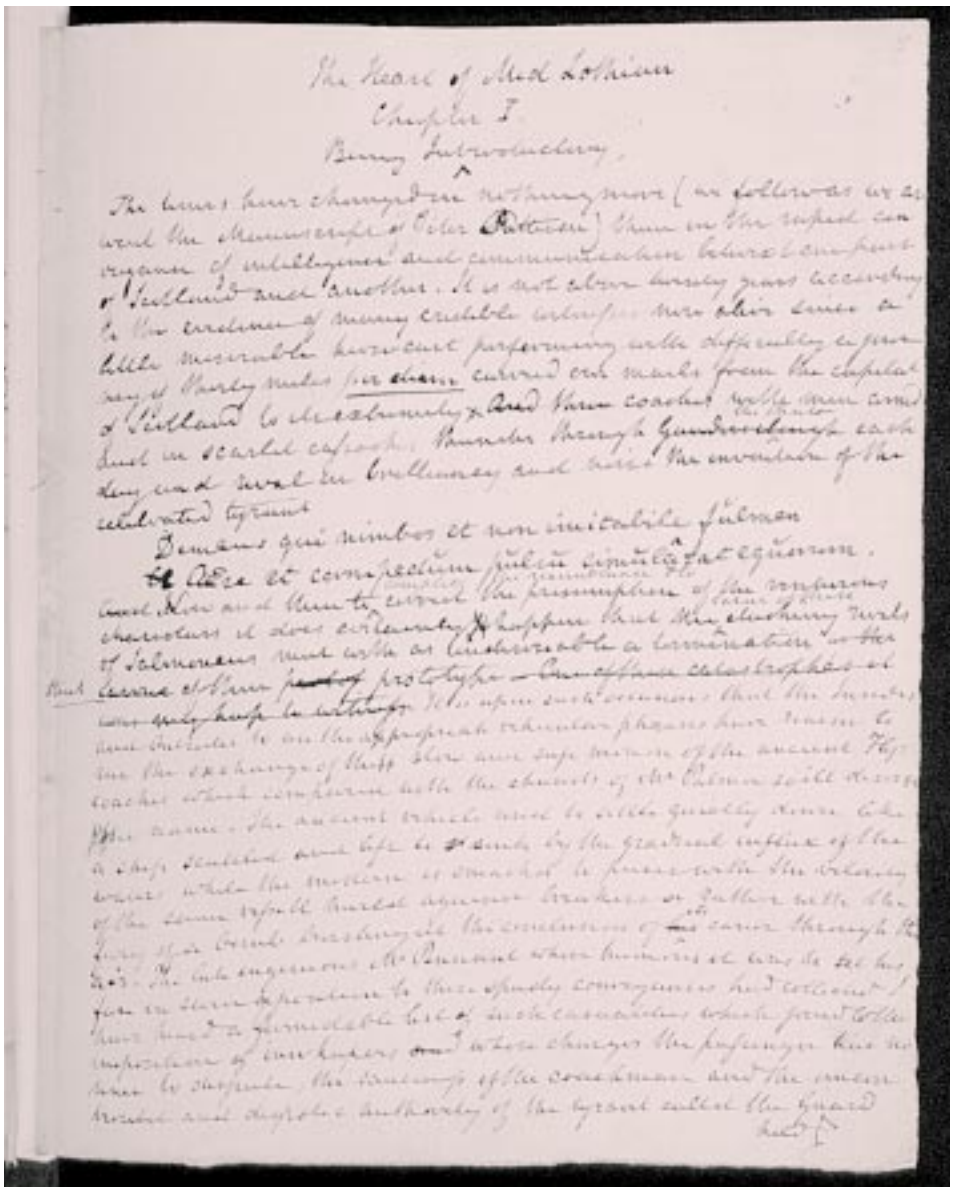
Rich as Scott's manuscripts are as a source of emendation, they do not mark the end of Scott's creative input in the production of his fiction; he was also involved in revising the novels at proof stage. The novels went through several stages of proof in the course of their journey to a published text. The first set was read in-house and, in addition to the normal checking for mistakes, these proofs were used to correct punctuation and spelling. A revised set was then prepared for James who read these carefully, acting as 'editor' as he drew Scott's attention to gaps in the text and inconsistencies in the story and requested

Scott to standardise names. He acted himself to insert the names of speakers in dialogue, to change incorrect punctuation, to add punctuation where he thought it necessary, to correct grammatical errors and remove close verbal repetitions. He also acted as the 'common reader' to tell Scott when he could not follow what was happening, and occasionally, to object to what he saw as Scott's lapses in taste and style. These proofs were then sent to Scott who responded to James's suggestions – sometimes making changes and sometimes justifying his text – and made alterations of his own. Scott cut words, refined punctuation and sometimes extensively reworked passages and wrote new material. When the proofs were returned to Ballantyne he again transcribed the new material to protect Scott's anonymity and further revises were prepared. Occasionally the proofs went back to Scott, particularly when Latin or heavy revision was involved, but usually these were dealt with only by Ballantyne who continued the process of punctuating and tidying, thus installing a layer of revision never seen by Scott until the novels appeared in print. A final proof was then prepared to check the final imposition of the print.

Again, with such a level of activity taking place one might expect the end result to be something close to 'ideal'. However, the copying of Scott's changes again provided an opportunity for error, and while Ballantyne's work is usually sound his judgement is not impeccable; his changes at times result in a deterioration or corruption of Scott's text. The Library owns at least partial sets of proofs for *Ivanhoe* (MS.3401), *The Abbot* (MS.3401), *The Bride of Lammermoor* (MS.3401), *Chronicles of the Canongate* (MSS.23135-36), *A Legend of the Wars of Montrose* (MS.3401), *Quentin Durward* (MSS.3403-05), *The Fortunes of Nigel* (MSS.3402-03), and for *Castle Dangerous* and *Count Robert of Paris* (MSS.3776-80). As these are predominantly the stage of proof seen by Scott himself they too offer a potential source of emendation. *Ivanhoe*, for example, has at least thirty proof derived emendations. Scott's hand was as likely to be misread in proof as manuscript. In *Ivanhoe* he altered 'Inch-Moray' to read 'Inch-Merrin' (11.27) but this appeared in print as 'Inch-Mervin'. Errors in punctuation are also common as Scott's proof alterations are wrongly taken in and, as with the manuscripts, some of Scott's proof revisions are wrongly assimilated. In *The Bride of Lammermoor* the first edition's 'and the medical person present' is emended according to Scott's proof revision to read 'and a medical person present, related to the family' (260.14). Close examination of the proofs also identifies unauthorised changes made by James and where these seem to result in a corruption of Scott's text the Edinburgh Edition emends. Thus, in *The Bride*, Ballantyne's alteration of 'death chamber' to 'cottage' at 240.35 has been emended so that Scott's choice of words is restored.

A third group of manuscripts held by the Library, known to Scott scholars as 'the Interleaved Set', is also of significance in the production of the Edinburgh Edition (MSS. 23001-41). A collected edition of Scott's fiction, known as the 'Magnum Opus', was published between 1829 and 1833 in forty-eight volumes. The Interleaved Set, comprising interleaved editions of the majority of the novels, was used in its preparation and contains Scott's revisions and corrections. For many years this important document containing Scott's last creative input into his fiction was lost to scholarship, but it was purchased by the National Library of Scotland in 1986 marking, in the words of one of the Library's principal curators, 'an addition of incalculable value to the greatest collection in the world of Scott's literary manuscripts, papers and correspondence'. The full story of its rediscovery and purchase is told by that curator, Iain Gordon Brown, in *Scott's Interleaved Waverley Novels* (Lit.S.22).

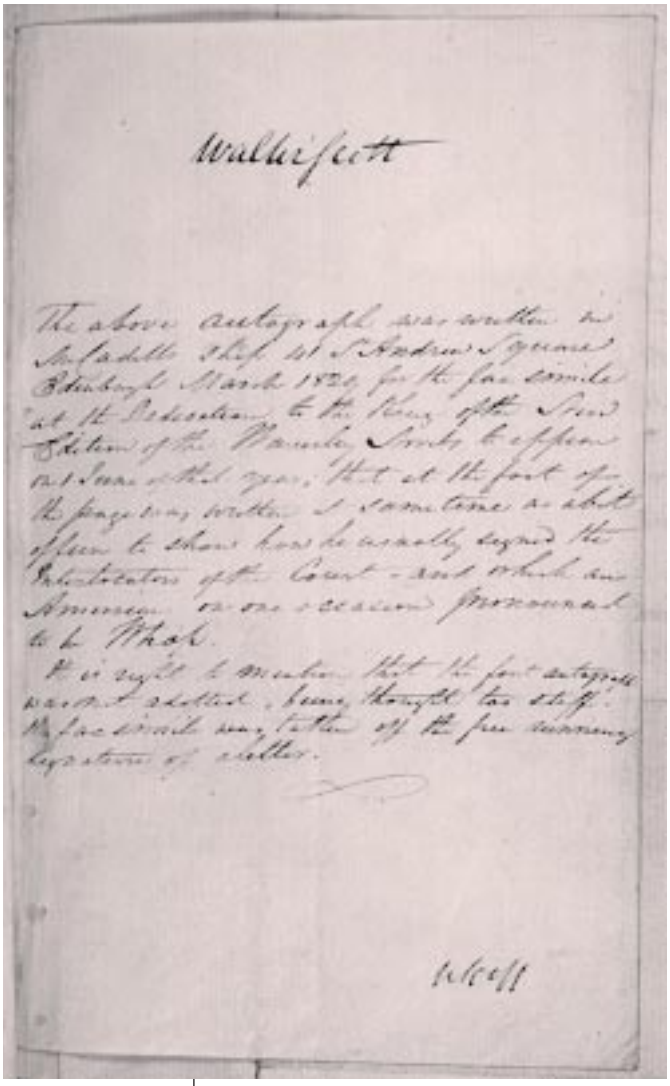
For the Edinburgh Edition editors the role of the Interleaved Set is in some ways problematic. While the revisions Scott makes here mark his last creative input into his great works of fiction, they belong to a later stage of creative activity and to a period where Scott's priorities had changed. While some interventions are inspired, many are pedestrian, some showing Scott adding material simply for


The Heart of Mid Lothian

Chapter I

Entry Introductory.

The manuscript of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (MS. 1548).



The Interleaved Set (MS. 23001) includes, among copious notes and changes, this example of Scott's signature which had been intended for use in facsimile, but was rejected for such purposes.

the sake of satisfying the format of the Magnum edition. Whatever the aesthetic value of Scott's late revisions, these cannot, by modern editing practice, be incorporated into a text which purports to be producing an 'ideal first edition'. These revisions formed no part of the initial creative process and cannot satisfactorily be included. However, the Interleaved Set is of significant value when it is necessary to sort out obvious errors in the first edition. Often these go unnoticed throughout editions of Scott's novels published in his lifetime and it is not until Scott examines them in the Interleaved Set that a solution is found. Where Scott provides a solution to a muddle which, according to its policies, the Edinburgh Edition must resolve, Scott's solution is, of course, preferable to that of a modern editor. In *The Antiquary*, for example, Scott, in the Interleaved Set, corrects his own Latin at 29.32, emending an error in one of Jonathan Oldbuck's quotations; the emendation is accepted in the Edinburgh Edition since Oldbuck's Latin is usually sound, and since the error would probably have been picked up in the production of the first edition if the printing of Latin had not caused Ballantyne's men such persistent problems. However, the most important material in the Interleaved Set is Scott's introductions and notes to his own work. Much of it seems only obliquely relevant to the novels, but it constitutes a coherent intellectual endeavour in which Scott comments as social anthropologist and cultural historian upon his own fiction. This material will be presented together in the final two volumes of the Edinburgh Edition.

One final group of manuscripts held by the National Library has been of immeasurable assistance in the production of the Edinburgh Edition. This is the vast collection of Scott's own correspondence, of the papers of James and John Ballantyne and of Scott's publishers Archibald Constable and Company. This provides a unique record of the most impressive publishing venture in the history of the novel. It is impossible here to describe the significance of these papers to the Edinburgh Edition, but it is certain that without these documents we would have a far poorer understanding of Scott's working practices, and of the detailed arrangements involved in the production of a Waverley Novel sometimes from first moments of inspiration and contract through to the distribution of these remarkably successful novels throughout Britain and beyond. Many of these papers are used to describe the production of the novels in the 'Essays on the Text' in the Edinburgh Edition; a few snippets will give a flavour of the information they provide. In *Saint Ronan's Well*, for example, Mark Weinstein offers a convincing timetable for the composition of the novel (see MSS.320 and 323) and demonstrates that by May 1822 Scott was contracted for four novels to be written in just over two years (see MS. 683). In *Guy Mannering*, Peter Garside offers an insight into Scott's printer and publisher's response to the fiction, quoting Ballantyne writing to Constable to say 'I am delighted to hear of your relish for *Guy* … The scenes in Edinburgh beat the Dutch. I promise you a pro-di-gi-ous roar' (see MS. 23230). Graham Tulloch gives us the wonderful detail of Scott, struggling against illness and pain to dictate *Ivanhoe*, so that his amanuensis, John Ballantyne, is 'writing to his dictation from morning to night' (see MS.23230). In the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, Scott's own words are being brought into print accurately for the first time, a process that has been made possible by the Scott holdings at the National Library of Scotland.

Note on sources

All manuscripts referred to are in the National Library of Scotland, and all shelf marks given relate to collections in the Library. More information on the Library's extensive Scott collection can be found in Iain Gordon Brown's 'Collecting Scott for Scotland: 1850-2000', *The Book Collector*, 49, no. 4 (2000), 502-34 (HJ3.1191). All page references for Scott's fiction are to the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels. The editorial philosophy of the Edinburgh Edition is explained at some length by Professor David Hewitt in the 'General Introduction' to the Edition, a document on which this article draws extensively, and is fully articulated in David Hewitt et al, *The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels: A Guide for Editors* (HP2.96.4545). Examples of emendation in the Edinburgh Edition given here are all elaborated upon and further explained by individual editors; for more information see the 'Essay on the Text' and 'Emendation List' in the novels. The author of the present article would like to acknowledge these examples as the work of Edinburgh Edition editors, and of the editorial team as a whole. The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels is published by Edinburgh University Press, www.eup.ed.ac.uk.

One small portion of a large Empire

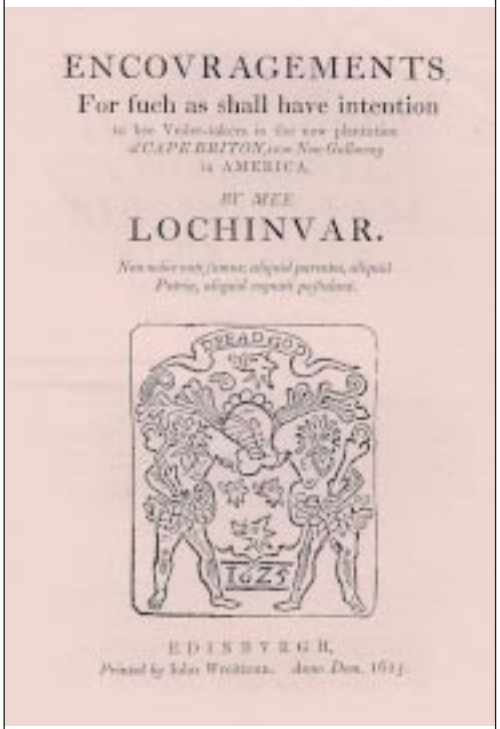
A look at the emigrant's guide to North America

KEVIN HALLIWELL

The emigrant's guide to North America constitutes a discrete genre. The collections of the National Library of Scotland reveal a fantastic spectrum of such publications, ranging from individual pamphlet to multi-volume work, from personal account to government document, from detailed description of an individual settlement to consideration of emigration across the globe, from eulogy to condemnation, from dry statistic to passionate declaration.

The emigrant's guide to North America, as it is reflected in the collections of the National Library of Scotland, has a surprisingly long and distinguished pedigree. Not long after the successful establishment of settlements in Virginia and in Ulster, three significant works were published: John Mason's *A Brief Discourse of the Nevv-found-land* (1620), Sir William Alexander's *An Encouragement to Colonies* (1624) (H.34.d.1) and Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar's *Encouragements for Such as Shall Have Intention to Bee Under-takers in the New Plantation of Cape Briton* (1625) proposed the establishment of Scottish colonies in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. These are among the earliest works addressed directly to intending emigrants to North America, and they represent in embryonic form a bibliographical genre that was to grow and flourish as the numbers of emigrants to the continent increased. Although it might be said that these represent not so much the emigrant's guide as such, being 'encouragements' akin to the many political pamphlets on the need for emigration that were produced in great number over the years, they do indicate how closely the emigrant's guide *per se* is allied to other related genres, and the two main forms from which the guide grew organically: the political pamphlet on the need for emigration and the travel account.

From the early years of settlement in North America, many visitors to the colonies felt compelled to publish an account of their travels, and to their observations were appended a variety of 'hints', 'advice' or 'information' for intending emigrants. Some of the titles betray the anthropological zeal of the enterprise, for example James Bryce Brown's *Views of Canada and the Colonists* (1844) (E.139.g.12). In the early nineteenth century emigrants' guides were still very much based on personal experience, either of visits to the colonies or of emigration itself, and throughout the nineteenth century individual voices and viewpoints are given prominence. As emigration increased and information from the colonies was more widely disseminated, it became possible for individuals with no personal experience of the settlements to produce guides, often quoting extensively from emigrants' correspondence. From the mid-nineteenth century, colonising and peopling the Empire became a politically expedient means of relieving the poor, and official government publications eclipsed in number the emigrants' guides based on personal interest or experience. By the early twentieth century, these were being produced in vast numbers by the Emigrants' Information Office (established in 1886; earlier by the Emigration Commission). Government departments abroad also produced their own guides. By the mid-twentieth century, restrictions on emigration had increased, and by the end of the century an emigrant's guide was more likely to deal with the navigation of legal and bureaucratic complexities. The emigrant's guide had come full circle, from the early personal and often qualified encouragement or even discouragement, through the growth of eulogistic enticement and government propaganda, back to the restrained commendation or warning of difficulties.


ENCOVRAGEMENTS
For fuch as shall have intention
LOCHINVAR.
EDISBVRGH,

Above: Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar's *Encouragements*, originally published in 1625, is reproduced in the Bannatyne Club volume for 1867 (SCS.BC.114), to be found on the open shelves of the Library's Main Reading Room.

What, if anything, could such a variety of works have in common? Even the very earliest illuminate a number of themes and particular concerns that were addressed throughout the centuries. Of special interest in this respect is the 1625 *Encouragements*, in which Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar details the motives behind his proposal to establish a North American colony. The first of these is 'the propagation of the Gospell of IESVS CHRIST amongst the heathen people', the second 'the service of my Prince, and native Countrie', in which he underlines the need to enlarge the kingdom abroad, and the third 'to live happilie, plentifullie, and at ease'. Here, emigration is laid out as a dual enterprise, for personal development and the greater good, and this duality underlies the development of the guide itself, in the earlier period dominated by descriptions of personal experience, in which negative portrayal and discouragement were not uncommon, and later, under the imperialist impulse, dominated by positive eulogistic accounts.

Two eighteenth-century texts are of special interest, although both may be said to fit awkwardly into the pattern of development. The first, of which only two known copies survive, is

Informations Concerning the Province of North Carolina, Addressed to Emigrants from the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland (1773) (RB.s.1193(10)). Signed 'Scotus Americanus', this has been attributed to the Rev. Thom of Govan, although there is no evidence that he visited North America. However, the dual aspect of emigration is reiterated in British terms: not only will emigrants escape high rents and landlords and 'no longer remain in a starving and grovelling condition at home', but 'here they still belong to the British Empire, and are happy under the benign influence of its administration'. The timing of this statement, a mere three years before the Declaration of Independence, is perhaps further evidence of a lack of acquaintance with North America. By the time Benjamin Franklin published his *Two Tracts: Information to Those Who Would Remove to America, and, Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America* (1784) (Crawford.FR.976(9)), however, he was speaking very much as a spokesman for an independent country, with a different system of values, where birth status means little, there are no extremities of rich and poor and 'it is rather a happy mediocrity that prevails'.

Franklin further states: 'America is the land of labour' – a sentiment repeated again and again throughout the entire spectrum of emigrants' guides, where despite the variety of publications there is much in common in terms of treatment, subject, and advice. Only those prepared to work hard were encouraged to emigrate, and in the case of British North America (i.e. Canada) clearing the land was certainly hard work. 'Canada is no place for the idle or the dissipated, and none of this class should think of coming.' (*Dominion of Canada: a Guide Book Containing Information for Intending Settlers,* Government of Canada, Department of Agriculture, 1886) (AB.3.82.6). Despite efforts to attract the right sort of emigrant, it is apparent that unscrupulous and 'undesirable' types were a danger, as the very frequently offered advice not to remain in the port of arrival but to proceed straight to the planned destination attests. The treatment of class, alongside nationality, is a surprisingly common feature of the guides. John Howison, another Scot visiting Canada (*Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local, and Characteristic*, 1821, repr. 1970) (HP2.96.5610) hardly seems to descend from horseback in his journey among the 'Canadian peasantry'. Even Catherine Parr Traill, whose *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836) (E.133.e.28), was held in some regard as a guide, shares with Howison a certain *hauteur*, her intended audience 'the wives and daughters of emigrants of the higher class'.





The Library's copy of *Work and Wages* (5th edition, 1855) is bound in a volume of 1850s and 1860s pamphlets offering guidance to prospective emigrants. Priced at one penny, *Work and Wages* was aimed at the poorer strata of society. The cameos 'As I was' and 'As I am' graphically present the transformation of circumstances that might result from emigration.

The 'Britishness' of what became Canada is reiterated again and again in the guides. After the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad and the opening up of the Canadian west, the need to people this vast country as a British Dominion increased. In a series of lantern lectures produced in 1913 by the ominous-sounding Visual Instruction Committee of the Colonial Office (1913.25), potential emigrants were reassured that even the French Canadians were loyal to the Crown and, despite the influx of other European immigrants, 'The predominant type is British while most of the business of the country is in the hands of Canadians of British descent'. Even in 1947 the Canadian Information Service is reassuring emigrants that 'even the non-British and non-French immigrants tend to absorb the Anglo-Saxon type of Canadian culture'. After independence the USA had ceased to be an imperial destination of the same order, although its advanced manufacturing base and settlement opportunities, especially after the opening up of the West, still attracted emigrants. When Canada started to lose immigrants to the USA, guides began to compare and contrast the two destinations, and this became a particular theme, especially in the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. A minority of writers in the earlier period disagreed: William Cobbett (*The Emigrant's Guide, in Ten letters, Addressed to the Tax-payers of England*, 1830) (T.161.f) called Canada 'the *offal* of North America, while the UNITED STATES are their sirloins, the well-covered and well-lined ribs, and the suet'. Later claims about the USA could be outrageous. William Fraser (*The Emigrant's Guide: or Sketches of Canada by a Scotch Minister*, 1867) (APS.1.87.27) detailed at great length the usual objections: the US prairies are too open, the climate of most of the country is unhealthy, there is a lack of religious observance and the citizens are morally corrupt, lawless, unmannered and, worst of all, democratic. In *The British Colonist in North America: A Guide for Intending Emigrants* (1890) (E.139/2.e.3) the writer could hardly contain his prejudices: 'In selecting any part of North America as a permanent residence, the British emigrant, who is not infected with republicanism, will give weight to the superior social advantages the Dominion of Canada offers'. In such a way, settlement in the USA was constructed as unpatriotic.

There seems to have been general agreement on the reasons people might have been contemplating emigration and on the advantages they expected to find in the new country. The inadequacies of British landlordism and the possibility of land ownership in the new land are often referred to. Freedom from excessive taxation is given as a bonus, as are opportunities for employment and advancement. There are also references to a more nebulous feeling of freedom which only North America could offer. Howison, for example, ends a rather gloomy portrait of Upper Canada with the observation: 'There is a freedom, an independence, and a joyousness, connected with the country, which dazzle those who have visited it into a forgetfulness of its defects'.

Much practical advice was given to prospective agriculturalists on how to proceed, what and when to plant and so on. Advice was also offered on choosing land and house building. It was only later, when there were large manufacturing enterprises and proper urban development, that advice was offered to the emigrant intending to work in the city. Vere Foster's widely published *Work and Wages, or, The Penny Emigrant's Guide* (1855) (3.280(10)) offered advice to a number of different tradesmen, artisans or 'mechanics', as well as the traditional labourers, farmers and female servants. Along with practical advice, the use of statistics, lists of prices and wages, transportation routes and costs, etc. is common.

Not all commentators enthused over the countries they were writing about. There does seem to have been some agreement, especially in the early nineteenth century, that in certain aspects life in Canada left room for improvement, though not all writers were equally prepared to admit this. These were the lack of decent education, especially in remote areas, and the lack of adequate communications. John M'Donald's *Emigration to Canada: Narrative of a Voyage to Quebec, and Journey from Thence to New Lanark …* (1823) (HP1.78.5196) goes into great detail about the hardships caused by the bad roads during his brief and distressing experience of emigration. There was much complaint, probably allied to the fact that so many of the guides were written by ministers, on issues of intemperance and religious observance. Most guides also had something to say about the transatlantic voyage. Before the development of steam travel had a profound effect on journey times, the sea voyage was regarded as at best an ordeal. In some guides, this somewhat traumatic experience received the fullest treatment. One moving description of the hardships of the voyage can be found in William Amphlett's *The Emigrant's Directory to the Western States of America* (1819) (E.137.d.3), where, in addition to describing the usual unsanitariness, sickness and death on board, he tackles the problem of boredom. His ship struck an iceberg in the fog; others report calamities such as being attacked by the French and being struck by lightning.

Amphlett also makes the observation, 'climate does not influence moral character', but this sentiment was not shared by many. The climate and the landscape of the country were usually treated in depth. Especially in the nineteenth century, however, and before the provision of adequate roads, a number of guides stressed the benefits of the much-feared Canadian winter, which were both practical and social: practical because communication was much easier when sledges could be used, and social because there was little hard work to do, and it was the season of social intercourse. The snow also had a beneficial effect upon the soil. Later, when the more wealthy entrepreneurs were invited, the winter was seen as particularly appealing to the sportsman. The Canadian climate was invariably described as wholesome and healthy, and especially suited to the British constitution. Much grandeur was noted in the North American landscape as a whole and a lot of interest shown in exotic flora and fauna, though the Canadian forest was frequently perceived as gloomy, with M'Donald making the characteristic remark: 'It is dull travelling through the woods'.

Yet it is beyond the shared themes and concerns that we need to look in order to complete an overview of this fascinating literature. In addition to the differences in focus, tone and so on, a number of guides were written for very specific audiences, and one of the strengths of the National Library of Scotland's collections is the number of works written by and/or for Scots, especially from the first half of the nineteenth century and even earlier. One of the most notable of these was Robert MacDougall's *Ceann-iùil an fhir-imrich do dh'America mu-thuath; or, The Emigrant's Guide to North America* (1841; Eng. Trans.1998) (HP2.99.3768), an extremely personal, detailed, thoughtful and homely guide for Gaelic-speaking Highlanders, which makes extensive use of proverbs, poetry and quotes from Scripture.

Catherine Parr Traill is well-known for her female emigrant's guide, but the female emigrant is more notable for her absence in the literature as a whole. Although married women participated fully in the emigrant experience alongside the male, opportunities for single women were limited to domestic servitude, until the rise of an urban middle class and the increase in manufacturing. *The Emigrants' Information Office Handbook: Canada* (1888) (GCF.7) advised: 'women above the grade of servants … should not emigrate'. In Canada, 'reception lodges' were set up for women around 1910, and a substantial section of *The Canadian Settlers' Handbook* of 1911 (S.48.i) could then be devoted to



The cover image of *The Settlers' Guide: Greater Britain in 1914* is captioned 'new homes under the old flag'. Advertisements in the guide compete to attract settlers: Nova Scotia offers 'unsurpassed opportunities' and 'advantages to the agriculturalist and fruit grower', British Columbia tempts settlers with 'excellent prospects' and an ideal climate, while the south-eastern states of the United States announce that farmers can buy good freehold land there for as little as £3 an acre.

the female emigrant, although opportunities were still limited.

If we were to examine, finally, one area which betrays a superficial diversity of viewpoints against a shared ideology in the emigrant's guide it would be the treatment of the native populations. For the majority of writers of the emigrant's guide, the native Americans appear to have ceased to exist in any meaningful sense and are often completely absent from description or statistics. In the early period, when contact was more widespread, some space was allotted to the indigenous population in the text. Yet converting the 'savages' (for centuries the commonest term in use) was the first of Robert Gordon of Lochinvar's motives, and it remained a primary goal of emigration. As settlement increased and the native populations were pushed further and further off the land, contact with any except the converted tribes, and even then in the most superficial way, was almost non-existent.

By the time Edward Hepple Hall published his *Lands of Plenty: British North America for Health, Sport, and Profit* (1879) (E.139/e.2) the native American had become a ghost in the land, glimpsed fleetingly, from afar. By this time too, guidebooks, as the title attests, were being written for the tourist and sportsman, in which the 'Indian' at best provided local colour. Although it was possible in the earlier period for Robert MacDougall, for example, to show some understanding and appreciation of the native Americans and their way of life (even regarding their language as a branch of Gaelic), his view was rare.

The inevitable decline of the native population, especially where there was resistance to British civilisation and to Christianity, was very much taken for granted. In the early years of the twentieth century, when settlement of 'Britain Overseas' was at its height, the British Government, through its Visual Instruction Committee lantern lecture, could reassure potential emigrants to Canada that 'the Indian hardly counts as a factor in Canadian development in the future'. By which imperialist token, the settlement of North America, and British North America in particular, could be deemed to have been a great success. The emigrant, beyond his personal betterment, had a role to play in this expanding British civilisation; as *The Key to Empire* (1911) (R.24.i) noted, 'He must be prepared to work, and to work hard, always bearing in mind that he is one small portion of a large Empire'.

'Enjoying a Highland Fling on a Canadian Pacific Liner' and 'Scottish brides for Canada'. Photographs from *Canadian Settlers' Handbook* (London: William Stevens, 1926) by Keith Morris. He comments, 'what was regarded, not without reason, by the early pioneers as something to be feared, should now be regarded as an enjoyable experience'. He advises women that 'Canada offers many opportunities of employment and advancement to the right type of woman, the great demand being for household workers. Women trained in housework or willing to learn by experience readily obtain good positions in desirable Canadian households'.





Note on sources

The historical range and diversity of the National Library of Scotland's holdings of emigrants' guides to North America reveal above all the richness of the Library's main collections, which are composed largely of items received via legal deposit. The Library retains to this day the right to claim all British and Irish publications, a right it has enjoyed since 1710. The guides are mostly scattered through the main collection and they can be located in the main online catalogue. Very few are held in special collections, although a number of the shorter pamphlets are bound together by subject, and many of the earlier items are available as reprints. The seventeenth-century items, for example, were reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1867 (*Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, Relating to the Colonization of New Scotland …*) (SCS.BC.114). A number have been copied onto preservation microfilm and a number are available on microfilm only. *A Chronological Checklist of Emigrants' Guides to North America in the National Library of Scotland* can be consulted in the Main Issue Hall. All shelf marks given relate to collections in the National Library of Scotland.

Notes on contributors

ROBIN SMITH is a curator in the Manuscripts Division in the National Library of Scotland where she is responsible for the collection of papers of contemporary Scottish writers; among these holdings are major archives of Muriel Spark and Alasdair Gray. Her current research interests centre on women writers of the twentieth century, such as Naomi Mitchison.

KEVIN HALLIWELL is curator for US and Commonwealth Collections in the Collection Development Division of the National Library of Scotland where he is responsible for the acquisition and promotion of materials relating to the United States and the Commonwealth. Emigration from Scotland is central to his research interests and he is working on a bibliographical database of Scottish emigration.

ALISON LUMSDEN is University of Aberdeen AHRB research fellow with the Edinburgh University Press Edition of the Waverley novels, to be completed shortly after 2003 in thirty volumes. She wishes to thank the staff of the National Library of Scotland for their invaluable assistance, particularly Iain Gordon Brown of the Manuscripts Division.

PRISCILLA BAWCUTT is a professor in the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Liverpool. She is a Vice-President of the Scottish Text Society. Her publications include *The Poems of Gavin Douglas* (edited by Priscilla Bawcutt, Scottish Text Society, 1967), *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh University Press, 1974), *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford University Press, 1992) and *The Poems of William Dunbar* (edited by Priscilla Bawcutt, Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1998). Her latest publication is an article on women and their books in medieval and renaissance Scotland.

NLS diary dates

4 May 2001
The winner of the inaugural Callum Macdonald Memorial Award is announced at the Library. The Award, created in honour of the Scottish literary publisher Callum Macdonald, celebrates the publishing of poetry in pamphlet form by publishers of Scottish origin, living in Scotland, or engaged with Scottish culture. The Callum Macdonald Memorial Award is supported by The Michael Marks Charitable Trust with additional assistance from the Saltire Society.

May 2001
The Library launches its new travelling display, entitled *Scotland's Pages*, based on last year's popular summer exhibition. Tracing the history of the Scottish nation through the treasures held in the Library's collections, the display begins its tour at the Dumfries and Galloway Arts Festival, and continues to travel to venues around Scotland during 2002.

1 June 2001
The Library's summer exhibition, *The Write Stuff*, opens to the public. The exhibition features a series of photographic portraits of some of Scotland's greatest contemporary literary figures, from Hugh MacDiarmid on, taken by Edinburgh-based photographer Gordon Wright. Reinforcing the images will be examples of the writing of those portrayed, including manuscripts and key first editions. Running alongside the exhibition will be a programme of talks and readings, called *Writing Scotland*, which will include three events at the Edinburgh International Book Festival between 11 and 28 August. The exhibition runs until 31 October.

August 2001
Throughout August, various events will focus on the Library's 400-year-old Pont maps, the oldest detailed maps of Scotland. A travelling display will be on show in the Library's Board Room during August and September, a new website featuring the maps will be launched, and a book on Timothy Pont and the maps will be published by the Library in association with Tuckwell Press. A seminar on Pont, organised by the Project Pont steering committee, will take place in the Royal Society of Edinburgh on 29 September.

29 September 2001
The Library will be taking part in the Cockburn Association's annual Doors Open Day. The George IV Bridge Building will open during the afternoon and conducted tours will be provided.

In the next *Folio (Autumn 2001)*

MICHEL BYRNE, editor of The Collected Poems and Songs of George Campbell Hay, outlines the significance to the edition of previously unpublished writing held in the George Campbell Hay Archive at the National Library of Scotland, and tells the story of how culturally invaluable material in the archive was almost lost to the nation. Michel Byrne is a Lecturer in Scottish Gaelic in the Department of Celtic at the University of Glasgow.

DAVID FINKELSTEIN shows how the Blackwood Papers at the National Library of Scotland illuminate the production and editing of John Hanning Speke's 1863 *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, revealing the distinct shift of emphasis introduced in the process. David Finkelstein is Head of the Media and Communication Department at Queen Margaret University College, Edinburgh.

RUARI MCLEAN, an influential figure in the development of twentieth-century book and magazine design, browses through the National Library of Scotland's archive of his own books and papers. As well as books he designed himself, the archive includes volumes from his own collection. Ruari McLean is author of the Thames and Hudson *Manual of Typography*. His 'typographical autobiography', *True to Type*, was published last year.

IAN RANKIN, author of the acclaimed Inspector Rebus novels, explains how the resources of the National Library of Scotland have been useful to him in his background research; in particular, he focuses on *Black and Blue*, for which he turned to the extensive holdings of Scottish newspapers in search of contemporary reports on the Bible John case. In the novel, his fictional detective also beats a track to newspaper files at the Library.

LOUISE YEOMAN, curator of early modern manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland and co-director of the Survey of Scottish Witchcraft, discusses a particularly tragic seventeenth-century witchcraft case from the Library's collections. She examines what the case can tell us about the accused woman, Anna Tait, and how her contemporaries viewed her real and imaginary crimes.

CONTACT DETAILS

National Library of Scotland
George IV Bridge
EDINBURGH
EH1 1EW
Tel 0131-226 4531
Fax 0131-622 4803
www.nls.uk

If you have any comments regarding *Folio*, or would like to be added to the mailing list to receive it, please contact Jackie Cromarty, Deputy Head of Public Programmes, by telephone on 0131-622 4810 or via e-mail at j.cromarty@nls.uk

Folio is edited by Jennie Renton