EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTTISH FUNERAL ELEGIES, MEMORIALIZATION, AND THE EPHEMERAL

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Historical investigations of the construction of early eighteenth-century, post-Act of Union Scottish national identity have in the past focused on ways in which Scottish authors and artists emulated southern models of cultural sophistication and politeness. At the same time, scholars have studied the ways in which Scottish writers self-consciously developed alternative concepts of national identity that distinguished these models from the ideologically driven discourse of a united Great Britain.[1] The focus has traditionally been on individual, identifiable authorship, rather than on texts penned by writers who (or whose publishers), for whatever reason, chose not to append their names to publications or who deployed pseudonymous practices of authorship. Allan Ramsay (1686–1758) has featured centrally in narratives of early eighteenth-century Scottish identity formation, and accounts of the club culture in Edinburgh have provided insights into the numerous forces affecting cultural production.[2] Yet reading his work as the predominating influence on the literary culture of his day reduces the significance of the expanding literary landscape and the multifarious print culture of Edinburgh in the 1720s and 1730s, when the publishing of miscellaneous volumes of poetry was thriving. These collaboratively produced collections of poems were frequently the printed records of networks and associations of like-minded, aspiring writers who usually shared a background of having studied at the College of Edinburgh. Ramsay's periodical *The Eccho: or, Edinburgh Weekly Journal* (1729–34) created a virtual realm of print in which personae such as Mr Eccho, Lady Eccho, Philanthropos, Moses Mercator, and Prudentia Vantraffick exchanged ideas about the means of cultural improvement.[3] Embedding the venture within his programme of emulating southern standards of politeness (and especially the writings of Joseph Addison), Ramsay repeatedly offered information on Edinburgh writing communities, so-called 'academies' of young gentlemen with an interest in literature. *The Eccho* is a rich source of information on the cultural politics of early eighteenth-century Edinburgh, and it provides an excellent starting point for any investigation of the mechanisms by which the southern idiom was related to vernacular Scottish practices.

Even though Ramsay's periodical demonstrates the centrality of a print medium that was not issued in book form, it has not featured in accounts of Scottish print culture which remain largely focused on the

book as the dominant cultural product. Alternative publication formats and print forms have been neglected as a result.[4] The one-sided focus on the book excludes the experiences of many readers who would rarely have had access to this medium. A fuller understanding of the ways in which writers used the multifarious media of print can therefore only be achieved by means of a consideration of the whole range of print objects produced in the city. The emulation of southern cultural and literary standards encouraged students at the College of Edinburgh (now the University of Edinburgh) to utilize the opportunities of affordable printing for their juvenile productions. The College served as a hub of intellectual and creative energy; above all, it facilitated students' access to books and other print matter and frequently induced them to engage in scribal publication and, less frequently, to publish their works in print. Works as different as 'Verses spoken after the performance of Mr. Otway's tragedy, called the Orphan: at a private meeting in Edinburgh, December 9th, 1719. By a boy in the university'[5] and the 32-page *Account of the Fair Intellectual-Club in Edinburgh: in a letter to a honourable member of an Athenian Society there. By a young lady, the secretary of the club* (1720) were the result of communities of individuals gathering for the purpose of improvement. The first publication, 'Verses', is a single sheet publication commemorating the performance of Otway's tragedy and was disseminated among those who attended the play or were interested in the theatre. Even though its printing quality is superior to other single sheet publications such as broadside ballads, it was a medium of cheap print, and compared to *An account of the Fair Intellectual-Club*, it covered more broadly appealing, popular subjects.

Cheap print has hitherto largely been neglected in both the mapping of Scottish cultural development and identity formation and in the tracing of the emergence of intellectual communities.[6] Paper-based ephemera inspired by particular historical occasions or events in a community that were considered worthy of being recorded represent an important corpus for the historian interested in charting the complex issue of British national identity and the fashioning, in the eighteenth century, of Scottishness and Scottish national character. Chapbooks were central to the education of the lower classes in that they made cheaply printed, short and accessible narratives available to a large reading public.[7] Their illustrations, commonly in woodcut form, provided visual narratives that resonated with the public's collective memory. The practice of recycling woodcuts in different print materials and readers' identification of vernacular messages associated with them emphasize the importance of

visual and oral recall. To the historian of print culture, single-sheet items such as broadside ballads serve as gateways into the cultural politics of imagined communities. Their readers projected their own situation in life into the textual worlds of these productions and ballads, at least partially, function as mirrors of readers' preoccupation with issues of self-definition and national identity. They often reveal specific mentality-historical contexts and shared cultural practices; above all, they testify to readers' investment in an important Scottish oral culture of which the ballad—being sung or read out aloud—is a textualized record. Equally, these ephemeral publications sustained forms of occasion-defined authorship in a city that, at this stage and unlike London, did not have authors whose *profession* it was to cater to the demands of the print market and who could make a living by their pens. Broadside ballads, for instance, were, to a large extent, produced from within the community and sub-cultures they celebrated or commented on. It is possible that printers had links with the student members of the College of Edinburgh whose writing services, rather than the labours of hacks, could be recruited for their publications. This is suggested by the numerous elegies commemorating deceased professors of the College.[8] At a time when newspapers had not reached wide circulation and were too expensive to affect the masses, the function of publicizing particular news items, such as the death notice of an individual in whom the public would have had an interest, was fulfilled by broadsides. Funeral elegies, in this respect, served as obituaries in verse and facilitated a deceased individual's short-term monumentalization in print.

The comprehensive historiographical charting of this archive of ephemeral print material will recover a large body of information about both ordinary people and holders of public office. The archive comprises these multifarious texts in their textual and generic variety as they would have appeared in the eighteenth-century marketplace for print commodities. The largest body of these cheap print publications that previous scholarship has focused on comprises ballads on subjects as varied as history, including tales of national importance, criminal confessions, execution narratives, fairy tales, and bawdy material, the latter sometimes to be sung like festive Anacreontics. The subject range and diversity of the material has usually prevented genre-theoretical investigations by literary scholars who still largely focus on a historical canon of texts included on the basis of 'a hegemonic ideology of literary merit'[9] and an economically driven notion of cultural capital. The levelling of distinctions between different texts (and genres) in the course

of the revision of the eighteenth-century literary canon has determined that a greater level of attention be paid to popular print genres such as broadside ballads. Historians of cheap print have, however, also identified problems related to the recovery of the production of ballad material. Seeking to reconstruct print runs of individual titles, for instance, they are confronted with the fact that the 'cheap printing process [involved in the production of street literature] makes it difficult to estimate the numbers of broadsides and chapbooks produced by individual printers'.[10]

Recent histories of print culture acknowledge the significance of cheap print in terms of its social and literacy-enhancing function as a medium promoting knowledge in an economy that relates the printed word to practices of orality, including the sustaining of collective memory.[11] It can be understood as a central agent of print capitalism that sustains the partially recoverable imagined communities of early eighteenth-century Edinburgh. Chapbooks and broadside ballads have repeatedly been studied in terms of their vernacular traditions. Unlike what Benedict Anderson terms a book's 'eremitic self-sufficiency',[12] cheap print publications are collective items that do not usually assert their independence from each other but encourage cumulative and typological readings. Cheap print media such as broadsides were frequently outspokenly political and offered fairly extended narratives of a glorious Scottish past (including celebratory accounts in verse or prose of battles or such patriotic figures as William Wallace); at the same time, they popularized oral traditions of folklore and music to facilitate the communal consumption of ballad material.

Focusing on Edinburgh as the centre of Scottish publishing in the early eighteenth century, this essay aims to investigate a little known cheap print genre, the broadside funeral elegy, which flourished in Scotland from the late seventeenth century until the mid-nineteenth century. Like other ephemeral objects related to the commemoration of deceased individuals, the print culture industry's feeding demand for keepsakes inscribed with the memory of individuals has been insufficiently examined.[13] The genre of the funeral elegy focuses on celebrating local personages renowned for their contribution to their country or for their benevolence, and the elegies frequently memorialize members of the aristocracy and clergy. The elegy places particular emphasis on readers' (real-life or imagined) familiarity with these individuals and assumes that these funeral elegies were bought by individuals for whom the deceased carried a particular meaning. In one sense, they served as access gateways to a culture that was known only to those living in Edinburgh and for whom an individual's

passing had personal significance. These elegies were therefore clearly bound to a geographical community and, because of their referential specificity, did not circulate widely—unlike other cheap print media such as the chapbook or historical ballad, versions of which migrate and can be located in many different regions of Britain at the time. In print-historical terms the material form of the funeral elegy is closely related to the broadside ballad, although it is more specifically, formally defined by means of a generic repertoire that is shared by the majority of funeral elegies. Recognising the funeral elegy's generic characteristics, it is essential to differentiate the form from the multifarious range of ballads dealing with local superstitions, sensational news items such as public executions or murders, or the large number of songs that were also marketed in the single-sheet format. Like elite media, including subscription editions, funeral elegies were marketed among a clearly defined class of buyers, even though it is less clear whether this class was necessarily homogeneous. Purchasers of funeral elegies were united by their Presbyterian faith or political convictions.

In their circulation and dissemination funeral elegies are different from ballads owing to their more localized appeal and their necessarily exclusive nature, which prevented them from being conceived as mass media. While the study of print culture facilitates the genre's embedding within a culture of popular print and a niche market for funerary material in eighteenth-century Edinburgh, it is the literary study of the elegy's genre which contextualizes the form as a memorializing medium targeted at an audience of initiated readers, those who partake of the grief expressed and monumentalized in the funeral elegy. The generic pastoral repertoire and Milton's poetic diction, too, strikingly contrast with the vernacular language and motifs of the popular ballad. Read within the print culture of the period, the funeral elegy defies some of the associations of cheap print or street literature, and a recognition of its literary qualities and consumption will culminate in a rewriting of the history of the eighteenth-century landscape of ephemeral print material by accommodating forms that hitherto remained 'invisible'[14] or obscured by generalising accounts of print production.

This essay offers preliminary research results on the funeral elegy and will, eventually, form part of a consideration of the genre in eighteenth-century England, France, Germany, Ireland, and Scotland. To date, I have traced 95 of these Scottish broadside elegies produced between 1700 and 1799. It should be noted that after the mid-eighteenth century Scottish funeral elegies declined steadily. This account, therefore,

will concentrate on a variety of elegies published in the first half of the century, as these demonstrate the range and diversity, as well as the formal experimentation, that are increasingly lost through the standardisation of the genre beyond the mid-century. Of the broadside elegies identified, 59 are available for download as a text-transcript or a JPEG scan of the elegy through the National Library of Scotland's 'The Word on the Street' webpage, a site that hosts materials illustrating the media through which 'ordinary Scots' were kept informed of news.[15] The site provides an extensive repository of cheap print material and conveniently classifies different groups of printed items to illustrate both the physical and subject range of these ephemeral publications. In addition, the National Library of Scotland (NLS) holds 34 further Scottish funeral elegies that have not been digitized. The English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) lists another two not held by the NLS but that are available at the Mitchell Library and the University of Glasgow Library. Earlier, seventeenth-century examples can be consulted online via the University of California English Broadside Ballad Archive, which hosts 38 examples of printed funeral elegies.[16]

These broadside funeral elegies are printed interventions in a culture of mourning and remembering that is communal. In eighteenth-century Scotland, this act of remembering was usually linked with an act of recovery, an attempt to connect the deceased with narratives of cultural achievement, especially the exploits of national heroes and virtues associated with Scottish national character. Sold at a price of one penny, these elegies served the public function of monumentalizing the deceased and of formulating through the printed word a statement of their national affiliation and significance. They figure as spaces of negotiation in which debates regarding secularism and the spiritual needs of man are played out.

Ephemeral and perishable, they at the same time warrant being preserved: through the tangible medium of print, they are transformed into objects of meditation and bear witness to a sense of loss, showing how this loss can be harnessed for a project celebrating national identity. The physical gathering of these publications in collections partially erased their miscellaneity in that their physical proximity generated interconnections and relationships between different elegies and different figures memorialized, emphasizing their immersion in an imagined pantheon of worthies. The space of the album collection replicates spaces such as churchyards and churches that are replete with memorializing monuments like funerary inscriptions, plaques, and tombstones.

Through the accumulation of previously disparate material, a collection of these funeral broadsides—while promoting a sense of coherence – also testifies to the original, miscellaneous character of these elegies which were produced at a time when miscellaneous collections such as John Harvey's *A Collection of Miscellany Poems and Letters, comical and serious* (1726) were flourishing in Edinburgh. Like Harvey's volume, the large number of Scottish broadside elegies published in the eighteenth century also offers a repository of information on figures nowadays largely forgotten.[17] They offer information on communities, on the subjects they celebrate, but also on the writing culture from which they emerged. To access this archive is to understand not only how authors and readers engaged with individuals in public office or of known notoriety; rather, a study of these ephemera contributes to generating insights into a little known print-cultural form and a literary genre the existence of which in the eighteenth century literary history has rarely acknowledged. To gain an understanding of the funeral elegy, it is necessary to undertake recuperative and contextualizing research, and to read the genre in terms of its place and significance in the print-cultural economy of the period, while also investigating the ways in which the popular format of these elegies facilitated wide familiarity with a medium of public commemoration and mourning.

The Scottish funeral elegy is a generically and modally diverse form and ranges in subject matter from the serious contemplation of death and a belief in the afterlife to a comic and frequently bawdy celebration of notorious figures such as keepers of houses of ill repute, hangmen, and murderers. The anonymous 'Elegy on the much lamented Death of Merry Maggie, Poultry-Wife in Edinburgh'[18] (1720s) focuses on a lower-class individual, while the 'Elegy on Lucky Wood' (1718?),[19] attributed to Allan Ramsay, is representative of a small genre, the 'Luckies', portraying keepers of brothels.[20] Ramsay was one of the main proponents of the comic elegy,[21] but many more such comic and satiric productions, including 'Habiacks' (using the Scottish six-line stave),[22] by other authors were published in early eighteenth-century Scotland, frequently jarring with the tone of religious devotion and patriotism characteristic of the serious elegies. The broadside elegy is formulaic in that the titles of many of these productions frequently feature the genre-defining tag 'Elegy on the much lamented Death' or a variation of this title. This standard title element contributes to erasing fundamental differences between the deceased figures celebrated. It is not usually possible to tell from the title of such a broadside whether the elegy is comic or serious, even though
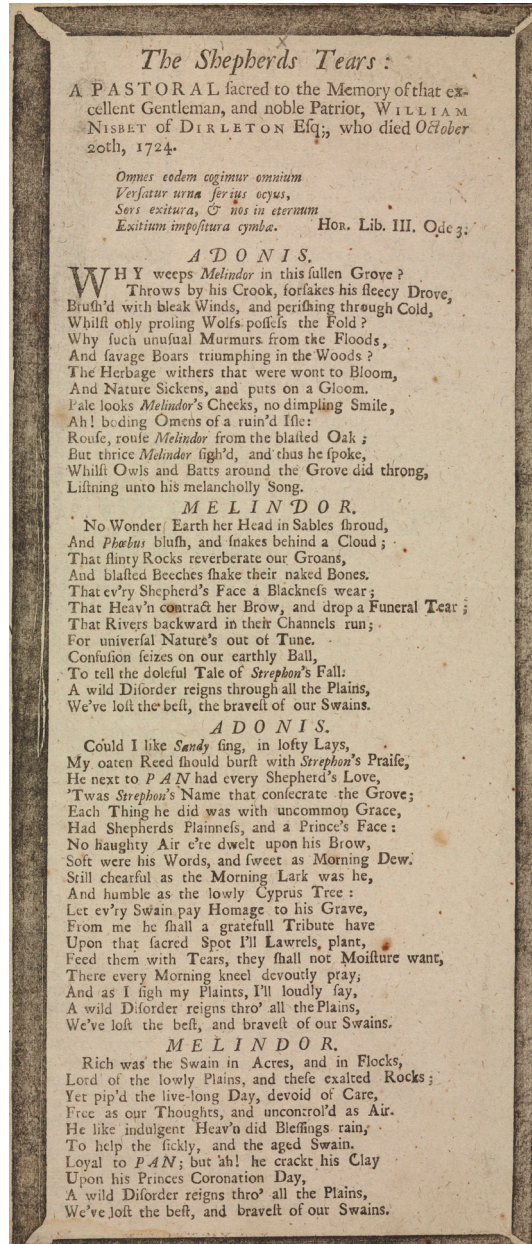
public figures, from lawyers, ministers, aristocrats, and members of the royal family, are celebrated in much the same ways as individuals of lesser note such as apothecaries, university professors, or medical practitioners. The formulaic character is also reflected in some authors' uses of the same motifs and tropes, a characteristic that makes it possible to identify a generic repertoire common to funeral elegies published in England, Ireland, and Scotland at the time. Equally, the recycling of printing devices and title elements was as central to the printing of these funeral elegies as their stylistic and generic repertoire, including the re-use of particular clusters of images from earlier elegies. Not only are Scottish elegies characterized by continuity in terms of the intertextual linking of individual elegies, but these elegies—read as a body of cultural memory—constitute a significant realm within which particular versions of Scottish national, religious, ethical, and patriotic identity could be formulated. This body of cultural memory was then disseminated as a model to readers as part of the early eighteenth-century improvement agendas advanced by many different kinds of publications issued in Edinburgh. Compared to English funeral elegies, the Scottish ones were 'rather less mortuary; for in England the elegy largely grew out of Calvinism, and in Scotland, largely in spite of it'.[23] According to John Draper, 'the preference for a melancholy conclusion is one of the few distinctive characteristics of the Scotch funeral elegy'.[24]

The broadside elegy defies a number of characteristics of cheap print and its association with simple reading.[25] Unlike the language of chapbooks, which is usually redacted and simplified, the language of these verse elegies, at least until the 1780s, deploys a linguistic register that is clearly rooted within the literary poetic diction of the early eighteenth century,[26] a diction that was influential for Ramsay's new-minted Scots at the beginning of the century.

The elegiac register frequently echoes intertextually the elegiac verse of Milton's *Lycidas* (1637) and, on occasion, adopts the format of a pastoral dialogue, as in the case of 'The Shepherds Tears: A Pastoral sacred to the Memory of that excellent Gentleman, and Noble Patriot, William Nisbet of Dirleton' (1724).[27](Figure 1) Adonis and Melindor engage in pastoral lamentation, bewailing the demise of Strephon, 'the best, the bravest of our Swains'. Melindor is cast as the pastoral swain whose song attracts owls and bats, harbingers of death, and who tells Adonis that it is 'No Wonder'

Figure 1. 'The Shepherds Tears: A Pastoral sacred to the Memory of that excellent Gentleman, and Noble Patriot, William Nisbet of Dirleton' (National Library of Scotland shelfmark Ry.III.c.36(099)). By permission of the National Library of Scotland.

The Shepherds Tears :

A PASTORAL sacred to the Memory of that excellent Gentleman, and noble Patriot, WILLIAM NISBET of DIRLETON Esq;, who died *October* 20th, 1724.

Omnes eodem cogimur omnium
Versatur urna serius ocyus,
Sors exitura, & nos in eternum
Exitium impositura cymbæ. HOR. Lib. III. Ode 3.

ADONIS.

WHY weeps *Melindor* in this sullen Grove ?
　　Throws by his Crook, forsakes his fleecy Drove,
Brush'd with bleak Winds, and perishing through Cold,
Whilst only proling Wolfs possess the Fold ?
Why such unusual Murmurs from the Floods,
And savage Boars triumphing in the Woods ?
The Herbage withers that were wont to Bloom,
And Nature Sickens, and puts on a Gloom.
Pale looks *Melindor*'s Cheeks, no dimpling Smile,
Ah! boding Omens of a ruin'd Isle :
Rouse, rouse *Melindor* from the blasted Oak ;
But thrice *Melindor* sigh'd, and thus he spoke,
Whilst Owls and Batts around the Grove did throng,
Listning unto his melancholly Song.

MELINDOR.

No Wonder Earth her Head in Sables shroud,
And *Phœbus* blush, and snakes behind a Cloud ;
That flinty Rocks reverberate our Groans,
And blasted Beeches shake their naked Bones.
That ev'ry Shepherd's Face a Blackness wear ;
That Heav'n contract her Brow, and drop a Funeral Tear ;
That Rivers backward in their Channels run ;
For universal Nature's out of Tune.
Confusion seizes on our earthly Ball,
To tell the doleful Tale of *Strephon*'s Fall.
A wild Disorder reigns through all the Plains,
We've lost the best, the bravest of our Swains.

ADONIS.

Could I like *Sandy* sing, in lofty Lays,
My oaten Reed should burst with *Strephon*'s Praise,
He next to PAN had every Shepherd's Love,
'Twas *Strephon*'s Name that consecrate the Grove ;
Each Thing he did was with uncommon Grace,
Had Shepherds Plainness, and a Prince's Face :
No haughty Air e're dwelt upon his Brow,
Soft were his Words, and sweet as Morning Dew.
Still chearful as the Morning Lark was he,
And humble as the lowly Cyprus Tree :
Let ev'ry Swain pay Homage to his Grave,
From me he shall a gratefull Tribute have
Upon that sacred Spot I'll Lawrels plant,
Feed them with Tears, they shall not Moisture want,
There every Morning kneel devoutly pray ;
And as I sigh my Plaints, I'll loudly say,
A wild Disorder reigns thro' all the Plains,
We've lost the best, and bravest of our Swains.

MELINDOR.

Rich was the Swain in Acres, and in Flocks,
Lord of the lowly Plains, and these exalted Rocks ;
Yet pip'd the live-long Day, devoid of Care,
Free as our Thoughts, and uncontrol'd as Air.
He like indulgent Heav'n did Blessings rain ;
To help the sickly, and the aged Swain.
Loyal to PAN ; but ah! he crackt his Clay
Upon his Princes Coronation Day,
A wild Disorder reigns thro' all the Plains,
We've lost the best, and bravest of our Swains.

> That flinty Rocks reverberate our Groans,
> And blasted Beeches shake their naked Bones.
> That ev'ry Shepherd's Face a Blackness wear;
> That Heav'n contract her Brow, and drop a Funeral Tear;

The two speakers narrate 'the doleful Tale of Strephon's Fall' and interpret his loss to the community of pastoral shepherds as disrupting fundamentally the harmony of their way of life. The pastoral landscape functions as a responsive prop, a rhetorical device only, which temporarily echoes the speakers' verbal lament; it does not convey an ethos of mourning and sadness, as English pastoral-elegiac verse by poets such as William Shenstone and James Woodhouse would a decade or two later.[28] The tone prominent in this pastoral elegy in which the death of one of the members of an all-male society causes serious disruption and threatens the future of the pastoral vision is repeatedly encountered in the pastoral poetry produced by members of Edinburgh clubs at the time. It is likely that the authors of these pastoral elegies were closely linked with the city's college, as both 'On the death of Mr. Brand, student of philosophy in the University at Edinburgh, who departed this life on the 10th December 1717, in the 17th year of his age, by J. C. one of his fellow-students'[29] and 'An Elegy on the much-lamented Death of a most ingenious young Gentleman, who lately died in the College at Edinburgh, where he was a student' (1778)[30] reveal personal knowledge of the deceased. On the whole, however, funeral elegies promote the celebration of an individual's public virtues. In the case of clergymen, their faith and commitment are singled out, and they are repeatedly linked to biblical figures renowned for their religious inspiration. In this regard, in 'The Faithful Sheepherd [sic]' (1726), the elegist likens his subject, Thomas Patterson, to Jesus Christ and Moses:

> His Life was all a Sermon, all a Prayer.
> Shind like a Moses in the holly Chair.
> Ev'n Sons of Belial, void of sence and Grace
> Receiv'd Correction when they saw his Face,
> 'Twas aweful, full of Beauty and of Love.[31]

Serious funeral elegies celebrated their subjects' status of distinction. Their authors cast their lament into tributes which were appropriated to patriotic purposes; less frequently, these elegies served the purposes of self-advancement through requesting patronage support. They could be read communally, recited to different groups, publicly displayed, or

talked about, thereby mediating through different performative reading practices their elegiac celebrations. The elegies focused attention on the individual whose life was textually recorded through the print medium and they were disseminated within a community in which knowledge of the deceased individual created demand for the printed memento. They were not simply entertaining media such as bawdy broadside ballads or comic elegies, but rather were rendered meaningful to a specific audience to whom the re-invention of the deceased's personality mattered and from the celebration of whose virtues they could derive moral exempla for their own edification. The economics of mourning should be borne in mind as well, as the monumentalizing of individuals, through scriptural media, took place within a competitive marketplace in which booksellers and printers clearly invested in projects of cultural patriotism.

In terms of design the physical appearance of funeral elegies varies. While some examples of the genre exclusively feature text on the quarto sheet, the printers of others more commonly used a border device that could be realized as a closed frame or they positioned the wooden printing devices in such a way that they did not constitute a closed frame made up of interconnected border parts. Most frequently, the broadside elegy resembles traditional funeral cards featuring a thick black border; at times, these elegies graphically imitate the appearance of tombstones.

There are further variations in these print objects' designs, especially in the case of deceased aristocrats, where the framing device sometimes contains an inverted ermine pattern in which the black spots of the white fur of the ermine are transformed into white spots on a wide black margin (Figure 2). Even in inverted form, the ermine pattern is clearly emblematic of the social status of the individual. Alternatively, more complex border ornaments feature skeletons, crossed bones, and crossed spades, as well as the frequently encountered *vanitas* phrase 'memento mori' (Figures 3 and 4). The image material fulfilled the emblematic function of reminding readers of their own mortality—both through the use of death-related iconography and the scriptural message that usually accompanied the image. Some printers of eighteenth-century funeral elegies took inspiration from seventeenth-century broadside elegies featuring a tympanum-like structure containing skulls or hour glasses as well as woodcut portraits of the deceased. In early eighteenth-century Scottish broadside elegies, a range of ornamental initials was also used, depending on the compositor's degree of ambition. More elaborate, wood-engraved borders, incorporating leaf patterns, were used in the early nineteenth century, and there are numerous variations in the typographical composition of individual broadsides.

Figure 2. 'An Elegie On the never enough Lamented Death, of the Right Honourable JOHN MURRAY LORD BOWHILL' (National Library of Scotland shelfmark: L.C.Fol.76(88)). By permission of the National Library of Scotland.
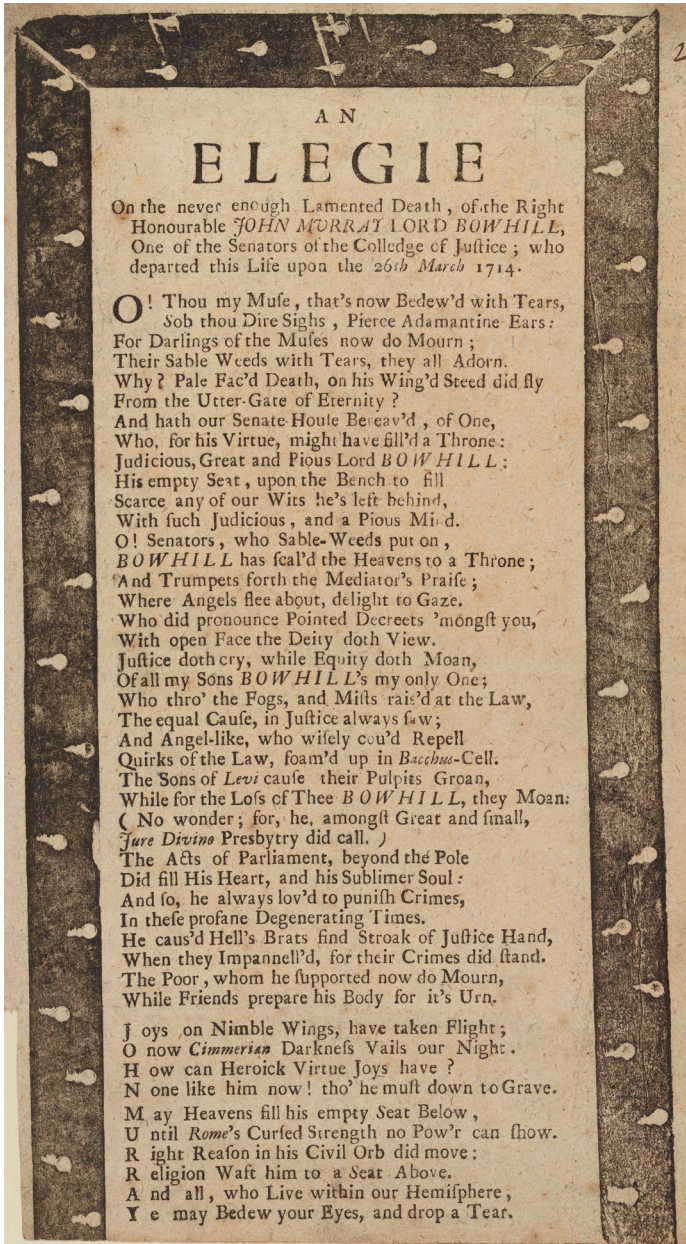
Figure 3. 'An Elegy on the much to be lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. John Wilson' (National Library of Scotland shelfmark: Ry.III.c.36(98)). By permission of the National Library of Scotland.
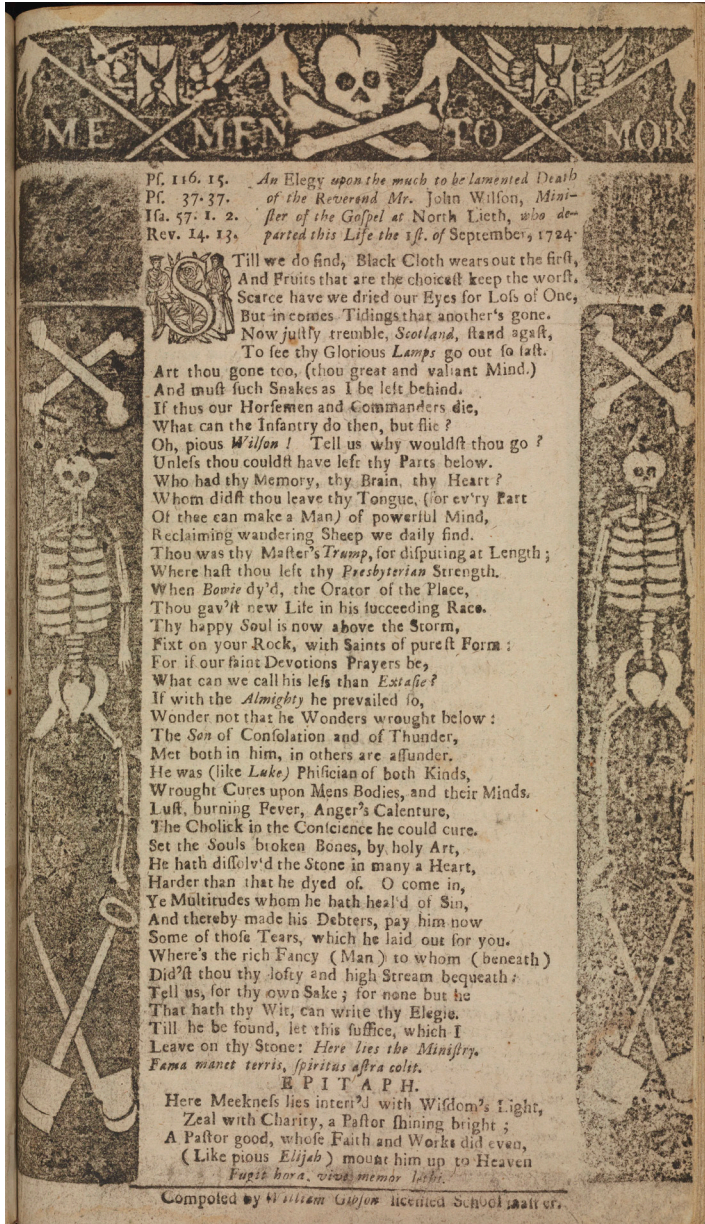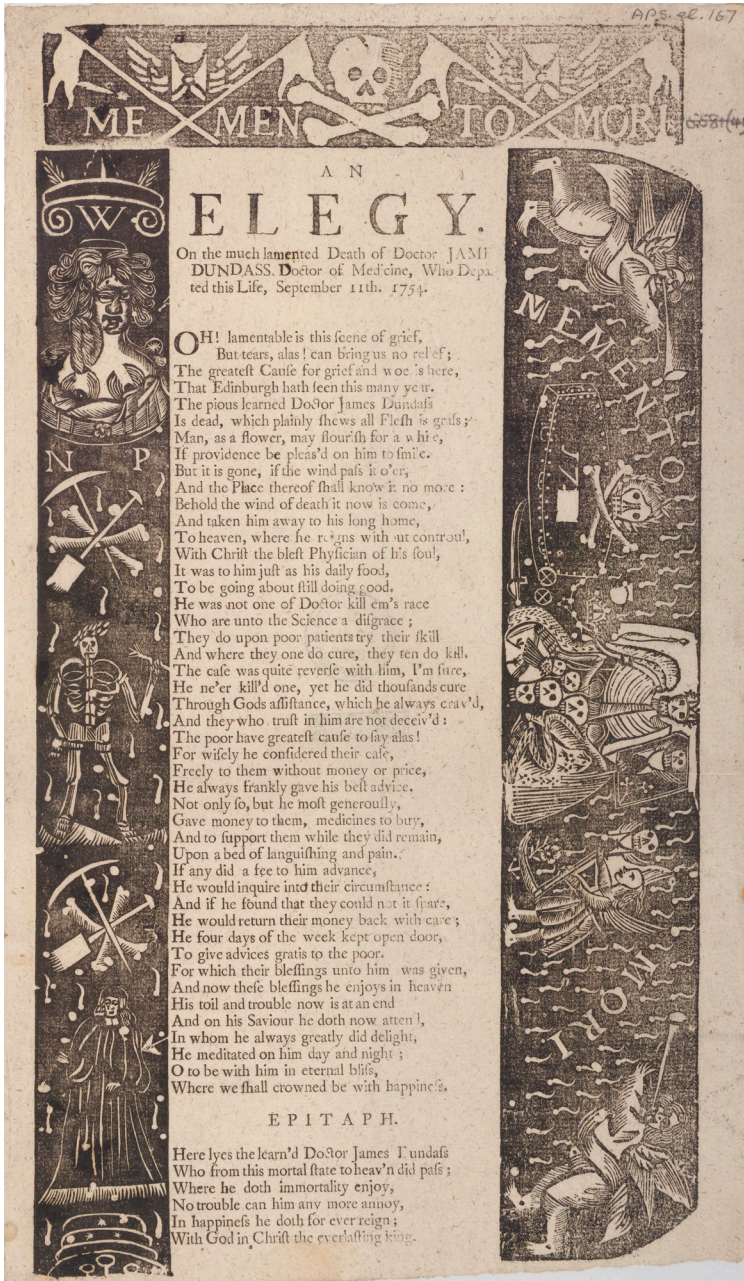
Figure 4. 'An Elegy on the much to be lamented Death of Doctor James Dundass' (National Library of Scotland shelfmark: APS.el.167). By permission of the National Library of Scotland.

In general terms, the quality of printing demonstrated by funeral elegy broadsides is superior to the printing of early eighteenth-century Scottish chapbooks and ballads. The broadsides do not usually list their printer or compositor, although some of the more elaborately designed ones do. Wherever ornaments or ornamental initials are used and a printer's name (such as John Reid's) is given, it is possible to gain a sense of which other funeral elegies may have been issued by the same printer. Large type and italics are generally used in more ambitious broadsides such as those commemorating James, Earl of Perth ('On the Death of the Right Honorable James Earle of Perth, Lord Drummond and Stobhall. Elegie' [1675]), or John, Lord Belhaven ('Elegy on The Deplorable Death of the Right Honourable John, Lord Belhaven, who was lost at sea, on the 10th of Nov. 1721').[32]

It is hazardous to make assumptions regarding the ornaments used in the printing of funeral elegies in Britain and the status of the subject memorialized, especially given the limited number of extant illustrated broadside elegies; yet, based on a consideration of available material published in Britain throughout the eighteenth century, it appears that Irish funeral elegies were generally illustrated more ornately, using more complex woodcuts, than those produced in Scotland, where the simple black border or a border featuring *memento mori* motifs dominate. Also, while printers' ornaments certainly add visual capital to these sheet elegies, the use of woodcut ornaments does not appear to be related to the social standing of an individual, as even merchants and those not holding public office or a position of rank were memorialized in illustrated funeral elegies featuring devices such as large rectangular headpieces depicting a death scene and coffin or a revived form of the seventeenth-century tympanum device.

It is rare that authors' names are given, but 'An Elegy upon the much to be lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. John Wilson, Minister of the Gospel at North Lieth [sic], who departed this Life the 1st. of September, 1724'[33] is acknowledged in print as being authored by William Gibson, schoolmaster, whereas the 'Elegy on the deplorable Death of the Right Honourable, John Lord Belhaven, who was lost at Sea' acknowledges the author Alexander Pennecuik (Figure 3). Pennecuik was a well-known Edinburgh writer, the author of *Groans from the Grave* (1730), a meditative graveyard poem, and of a collection of verse entitled *Streams of Helicon; or, Poems on Various Subjects* (1720). He produced numerous elegies, and his 'Elegy on the death of Nicol Muschet of Boghall' was issued as a broadside in 1721.[34] Pennecuik also authored 'The Faithful Shepherd; a funeral

poem', a poem which he subsequently included in his poetical works. Pennecuik was an active member of a number of Edinburgh societies linked informally to the College of Edinburgh. His elegies were produced within this community and, often with the financial support of a society, committed to a printer for production and dissemination. Pennecuik was not an exception in his use of pastoral elegy. In fact, many of the serious and patriotic elegies published at the beginning of the eighteenth century strike a note reminiscent of the literary societies thriving in Edinburgh at the time.

Funeral elegies that memorialized clergymen frequently used fairly complex textual allusions to the Bible or Milton's *Pardise Lost* to cast their subjects as pastors and as shepherds of a Christian fold.[35] Broadsides such as, among others, 'An Elegy upon the much lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. George Mair, Minister of the Gospel at Culross. Edinburgh, 1716', 'An Elegie on, the never enough to be lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. William Delape Preacher of the Gospel' (1720), 'An Elegy upon the much to be lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. John Wilson, Minister of the Gospel at North Lieth', the eight-page 'Elegy on the much lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. James Bathgate, late Minister of the Gospel at Orwel. Who died the 30 day of March 1724', 'An Elegy on the much lamented death of the Reverend Mr. Patrick Plenderleith, Minister of the Gospel at Saline. Written by a lover of his memory, at the desire of some friends', and 'The Faithfull Shepherd, a Funeral Poem. To the Memory of that pious and learned Pastor, the Reverend Mr. Thomson Paterson, Minister of the Gospel at St. Cuthbert's' (1726) single out their subjects as possessed of an innate quality to convey the import of the gospel.[36] These elegies represent only a fraction of the poems produced on the occasion of a pastor's passing. While it is improbable that every death of a clergyman called forth the printing of a broadside elegy, it would, at the least, have resulted in a memorial sermon, and some of these were printed. The sheet funeral elegy at times morphed into more complex and elaborate poems such as the eight-page *An elegy upon the much lamented death of a wise, mild, pious, sober, and hopeful youth Samuel Murray, who died out of the bachlour-class at Glasgow in the seventeenth year of his age, January Ist. 1715. being eldest son to Mr. J.M. minister at P------t*, which was published in quarto in Edinburgh.[37]

Elegies memorializing clergymen represent a significant group within the extant corpus of early eighteenth-century funeral elegies; yet the subjects of the poems—once well-known and respected—have faded from cultural memory. They have become as ephemeral as the publications

that were printed in their memory, even though these broadsides were certainly not considered ephemeral and disposable at the time they were produced. In order to make possible a more comprehensive understanding of the Scottish funeral elegy, it is necessary to bring it back to life, to penetrate the textual world of the poem beyond the varnish of poetic cliché, and to discover the real-life individual enshrined in the printed reality of the broadside. A reconstruction of some of the contexts affecting the production of one such elegy is, therefore, likely to illustrate the significance of these elegies as a distinct genre of print culture for the history and understanding of identity formation, cultural memory studies, and the community within which and for which these elegies were produced. I shall examine a production that is generically closely linked with the other elegies already mentioned and which serves a representative function in that it deploys the central devices that are characteristic of the form's pastoral mode and particular mourning practices. The anonymous 'An Elegy on the much to be Lamented Death, of the Reverend, Mr. Joseph Foord. Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh, who Departed this Life July the 15th, 1719. In the 26th Year of his Age' offers an opportunity for a study of this kind (Figure 1).

While most subjects of elegies are difficult to trace, it is fortunate that manuscript materials regarding Joseph Foord's affiliation with the activities of a society of young men thriving in Edinburgh in the second decade of the century have survived. The elegy thus serves as a gateway into the cultural environment of Scotland's capital in the second decade of the century. An exploration of its subject's membership of a club facilitates an understanding of not only polite Scottish writing culture in the 1720s but also the cultural agendas promoted by the environment of the College of Edinburgh within which this elegy was produced. Above all, it will result in an account of the ways in which the concerns of religion and nation are linked Scottish funeral elegies were frequently student exercises and tokens of friendships by members of a community of which the deceased had formed a part. Unlike many English examples, they were neither replete with stock formulas, nor were they the productions of hacks employed for the purpose of generating an occasion-inspired poem that lacked personal investment and commitment to a cultural vision. Their cultural impact was also more far-reaching in literary-historical terms than in England in that funerary verse can regularly be encountered in Scottish poetry collections of the first three decades of the century. Also, the production of one of the members of an Edinburgh club, Robert Blair's *The Grave* (1743) grew out of the widespread preoccupation with

Figure 5. 'An Elegy on the much to be lamented Death, of the Reverend, Mr. Joseph Foord' (National Library of Scotland shelfmark: Ry.III.c.36(10)). By permission of the National Library of Scotland.
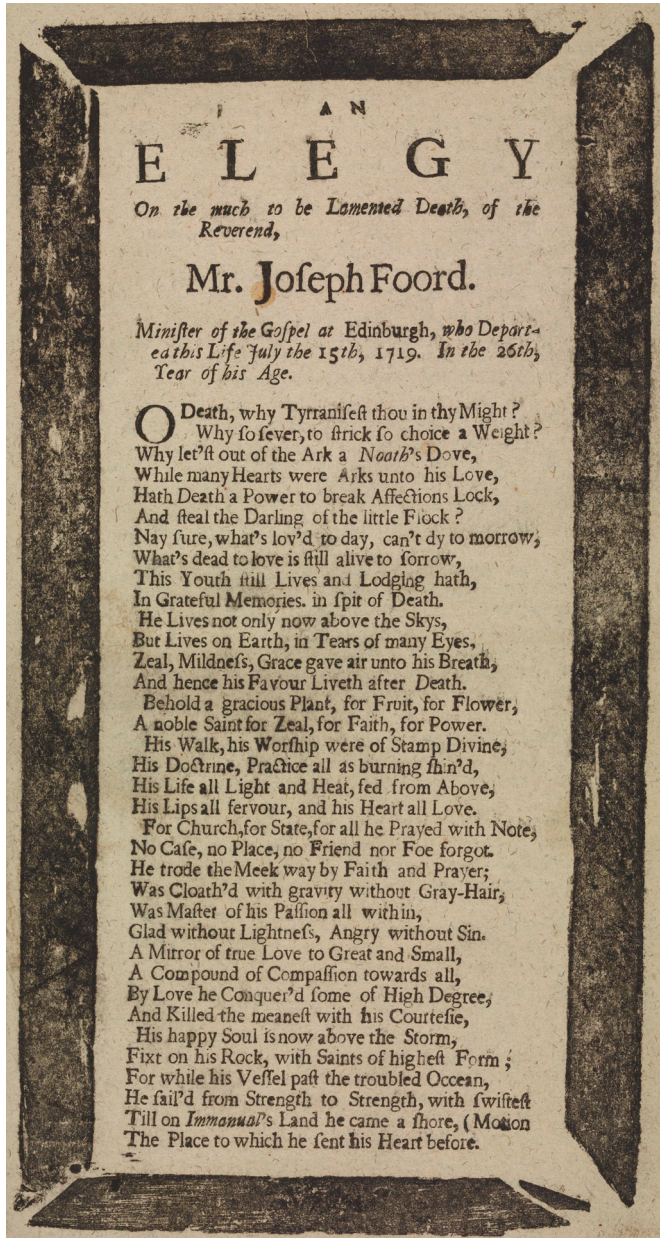
funerary verse, rather than the poorly understood beginnings of English graveyard verse, including Thomas Gray's celebrated 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard' (the titlepage of which uses the stylized, copper-engraved funerary ornaments that appeared as woodcut ornaments on original English and Scottish funeral elegies).[38]

Joseph Foord was a member of the Athenian Society, a group formed for the 'Improvement of…Knowledge' where men could 'refine their Conversation, inrich their Understanding, and polish, and render amiable, their Personal Deportment'.[39] He was a young Presbyterian minister who died in Edinburgh in 1719, at the age of 26. Foord had attended the College of Edinburgh, studied under Professor Robert Stewart, and graduated in 1714. On 22 December 1718, he had married Anne Campbell for whose benefit his sermons were published posthumously in 1719. Foord exemplified how a young Presbyterian minister, as a former student of the College of Edinburgh, had been engaged in a vibrant intellectual and literary culture in the social context of a club; his links with former fellow students appear to have remained strong, even though he chose to pursue a career as a minister, and it is likely that other ministers maintained similarly close ties with their peers and continued to engage in the literary-cultural activities that had characterized their student days. Unlike his better known associates, the Anglo-Scottish poets, Joseph Mitchell, David Mallet, and James Thomson, who had also been members of the Athenian Society and, at some time, had themselves contemplated becoming clergymen, Foord remained in Edinburgh to follow his religious vocation.

Mitchell (c.1684–1738) produced an extended elegiac tribute to Foord, *Melpomene: A Poem to the Memory of Mr Joseph Foord, V.D.P.* (1719).[40] In the preface to the poem, he defends his choice of title, contextualizing Melpomene as both the daughter of Mnemosyne and Zeus and the muse of tragedy. Through her association with Mnemosyne, she also bears associations with memory, especially the kind of affectionate memory of Foord that Mitchell conjures in his poem. Apart from praising his 'steddy [sic] Soul in Poverty', Mitchell commends his prudence and 'Patience'. Foord was also commemorated in 'A Pastoral Elegy to the Memory of Mr. Ford, by a Lady', a poem that was published in the *Edinburgh Miscellany* (1720), a miscellaneous volume of poems that was put together on behalf of the Athenian Society by 'W. C.'.[41] The elegy takes the form of a pastoral dialogue in which Belinda addresses her friends Celia and Evadne to find out the reason for their sadness. They respond that they are mourning the death of 'fair Alexis' who, it may be concluded from the poem, had

been ill before his demise, as there is a reference to the fact 'That late
has hap'ned what so long we fear'd'. The three speakers offer various
encomia, but it is Belinda who captures his memorable and remarkable
qualities as a pastor:

> Who can e'er forget the Things he said?
> So true his Words, so well he did persuade.
> Oft has he told us that the Store we have,
> All that from Heav'n in Bounty we receive,
> Shou'd be improven to the Giver's Praise.
> And, to its Spring, our Hearts, with Gladness, raise.
> That for our Use the Pasture and the Field,
> The Hills and Woods. Their various Products yield;[42]

In addition to Mitchell's poem, the elegy that had been published in the
Edinburgh Miscellany, and the anonymous broadside elegy, two further
elegies on Foord exist. These elegies are transcribed into a manuscript
album, now in the possession of Dr William Zachs of Edinburgh. This
album records the writing activities of a number of individuals from
about 1715 to 1722.[43] The volume contains 'An Elegiac Poem on the Death
of Mr Foord, by Mr. Pearse, 1719'. Foord is termed the 'Gospels-Goldfinch'
capable of singing the 'Divine Inchantment [that] Jesus sung'. From the
vision of Foord as singing bird, chanting the divine truths of the Gospel,
the poem moves to the morbid statement that the formerly beautiful
countenance of the youth 'Now mouldering in ye Silent Grave does ly'.
It is the task of poetry to restore the perfect image of Foord, to resuscitate
his spirit, and to create a lasting impression of his worth and devotion to
the Lord. While to man, the clergyman's death has been a great loss, to
Foord it is a gain, since he is now able to perceive 'Eternal Day'. The elegy
is motivated by friendship, reflecting the speaker's personal acquaintance
with, and recognition of the worth of, Foord.

Pearse's poem is strikingly different from the broadside 'Elegy on
the much to be Lamented Death, of the Reverend, Mr. Joseph Foord.[44]
While Pearse's elegy highlighted Foord's youth, the anonymous poem
stresses his piety, for 'For Church, for State, for all he Prayed with Note, /
No Case, no Place, no Friend nor Foe forgot'. He is at once the preacher of
Christianity and the patriot praying for the 'State'. The poem casts him as
a fervent believer, whose motions were characterized by 'Stamp Divine'.
He was 'the Mirror of true Love' and 'A Compound of Compassion
towards all' and, despite his youth, possessed both gravity and grace,
which disarmed disbelief. Like Pearse, the poet of the broadside elegy

introduces stock figures such as Death, the great tyrant, but also insists that Foord will live on in readers' memory of his pious actions. In all, the poem is less personal than Pearse's.

Apart from Mitchell's *Melpomene*, the most elaborate and thematically ambitious elegy to the memory of Foord, 'A Poem on the Death of Mr. Jos. Foord', was written by Joseph Compton and copied into Dr Zachs's album. Compton calls upon the aid of the 'Heaven-born muse' to offer his elegy to the memory of one whose 'Native Charms', 'melting Sweetness', and 'winning Smile' conquered envy and inspired piety and devotion. According to Compton, even nature was silenced by Foord's prayers, and it is nature which, now that he is dead, is encouraged to 'weep out young Fruitfull Springs' to communicate to 'Albions Climes' that one of the most valued of 'Scotias Sons' has died. In recruiting the forces of nature to proclaim 'A public Loss', Compton turns Foord's decease into an event of public (and national) importance. Foord is implicitly identified with Scotland, and Compton connects his homeland by extension with the virtues that characterized the deceased's active and religious life. It is for that reason that 'Edina weeps her princely Tears'. Moving from the elegiac celebration of Foord's inimitable qualities, the poem focuses on a more personal response to his person. The poet introduces an extended episode illustrating Foord's religious devotion, his complete trust in the power and benevolence of his maker, and his ability to convey the meaning of faith to others. Compton compares him to an angel who diffuses calm among the troubled. The poem ends in terms of a religious paraphrase, an exercise frequently required at the College of Edinburgh.[45] This religious focus in its diction is indebted to the diction of Milton, but emphasizes the saintly character of Foord who, in death, will partake of the glory of God that his faith trusted to when he was still a pastor to his flock.

The elegies suggest that Foord was regarded as closely associated with a community of young patriots such as the coterie represented in Dr Zachs's volume; he is not only affiliated with the members of the Athenian Society, but the elegy in his memory celebrates his public virtues and his significance as a man of God. Far from lamenting him in terms of religion only, the elegies are personalized and express the loss of a friend. The two elegies by Compton and Pearse demonstrate that both authors considered the occasion of Foord's death important enough to commemorate it through the medium of a poem that was then shared among the members who contributed to the miscellaneous manuscript volume. Equally, in *Melpomene*, Mitchell denominates Foord as a paragon

of the Christian religion and as a role model for others.[46] Mitchell's production reflects the community spirit that had been inspired by early eighteenth-century clubs. He addresses his (Scottish) readers:

> How shall his Country-men their Grief express?
> Great is their Loss, and great is their Distress,
> Chiefly the generous Youth's, who felt the Blow,
> To whom our Town and College so much owe,
> Who kind to Foord on all Occasions prov'd,
> And were by him, as ye deserve, belov'd.

Mitchell explicitly references the city and the College and their indebtedness to Foord who is apotheosized into a 'generous Youth' of national importance. Compton similarly had lamented Foord's death as an event of equal significance.

While the elegies collected in the miscellaneous manuscript album were circulated only among a limited number of readers who were 'initiated' into the club culture of a community such as the Athenian Society, Mitchell's *Melpomene* was most likely produced in order to obtain patronage and therefore acknowledged Mitchell's authorship. He paid tribute to a young man who, judging by the number of elegies written in his memory, must have been respected and amiable. This deceased individual thus served him as a means to exhibit his ability to eulogize the dead (and indirectly to advertise his services to others who desired to memorialize particular individuals). In early eighteenth-century Scotland, elegy could be used as an effective form of patronage negotiation, as is evidenced in an elegy that Mitchell sent to Sir John Clerk of Pennicuik on the occasion of the baronet's son's death.[47] In the same year that Mitchell composed *Melpomene*, he also published *Lugubres Cantus*, a collection of poems on 'several grave and important subjects, chiefly occasion'd by the death of the late ingenious youth John Mitchell', Joseph Mitchell's brother. *Lugubres Cantus*, like the elegies to Foord, evoke and construct a community of those sharing in the grief that Mitchell textualizes.[48]

The major difference between the anonymous broadside elegy and the other elegies introduced here consists in the less personalized approach that the author of the broadside takes. He makes Foord stand for cultural progress and patriotism in Scotland, much like many a Scottish broadside elegy at the beginning of the century aiming to provide a model of national identity, of religious faith, and of the cultural idiosyncrasy that supports Scottish identity after the Act of Union. Whereas scribally circulated elegies catered to consumption practices within exclusive

academic communities, the broadside elegy, because of its very origin as a commercial print object, had to mediate and carefully negotiate the genuine familiarity a writer may have had with a deceased person with the public's ability to realize the lamented person's emblematic, moralizing function. Serious broadside elegies sought to provide exempla and laudatory accounts of extraordinary merit and virtue. These productions catered to a niche market that was significantly smaller than that on which chapbooks or less serious broadsides, including mock elegies, were sold. Unlike the chapbook and the thousands of ballads produced in the period, writers of funeral elegies in broadside format had literary aspirations that warrant close attention to the language and style of these sheet publications. The shared experience of (a real or imagined familiarity with) an individual on which the writers of elegies commemorating Foord drew was made publicly consumable through a strategy of textual rewriting akin to that used in chapbook redactions of such popular texts as *Robinson Crusoe*.[49]

The chapbook author adapted Defoe's tale by shortening it substantially and by emphasizing its moral and episodic nature. The funeral elegist, by contrast, publicized the personal grief at the death of an individual, sanitized it, and transformed the specific qualities of persons memorialized into celebrations of universally approved values underscoring both the Presbyterian faith and Scottish patriotism. Funeral elegies enable others to access the grief that the elegist articulates textually; they invite sympathetic identification. 'Pastora's lament for Adonis; being the mournful complaints of my Lady Craighall, upon the death of her lovely darling child John Carstairs, who died the 14th. of February 1708, aetat. 8'[50] appears to be an exception where a close family relative is supposedly mourned by a member of the same family, but even this act of mourning is mediated through the pastoral mode the author deploys. Both Mitchell's *Melpomene* and the broadside elegy invite responses that testify to the sentimental authenticity of their elegies but also to their promotion of a programme of cultural improvement and the formation of a distinctly Scottish identity. The broadside funeral elegy, with its occasional, varied illustrative apparatus, condensed the elegist's lament into concise and memorable form. While longer elegies, such as the manuscript productions examined or those elegies that evolved into sermon-like celebrations extending over several pages, conveyed greater detail in terms of characterization, the sheet elegy served as a direct reminder of one's own mortality, especially when the phrase '*memento mori*' and its symbolic iconography in woodcut form accompanied the print object a reader held in his hands while reading it.

Given the exclusive appeal of funeral elegies and their consumption by a relatively small group of readers (as opposed to the much larger group of consumers reading and reciting ballad material), some reflections on print runs are in order. It is unlikely that funeral elegies would have been printed in numbers exceeding one hundred, unless the individual memorialized was widely known and his or her commemoration was embedded in a project of cultural patriotism. The presence of these elegies, then, would have been less pervasive than mass media such as chapbooks and ballads, but funeral elegies catered to a niche market that was fed by a cultural industry which also saw the production of xylographically embellished funeral invitations, sheets depicting funerals, and other related memorabilia, the products of jobbing printing. Rather than understanding the funeral elegy as a popular form for the masses, its target audience was popular in the sense that these print objects were purchased by a social community sharing the cultural politics underpinning the serious, poetic memorialization of individuals. This community existed within the larger, heterogeneous community of popular readers whose literacy rates and reading skills differed vastly. While mass-produced popular media, unlike the funeral elegy, catered to readers with varying degrees of literacy, the popular nature of the funeral elegy was more specifically aimed at those versed in biblical and Miltonic religious paraphrase rather than at readers familiar only with the vernacular tradition of ballad material. While ballads derived from oral tradition and were still largely embedded within communal contexts of singing and collective, oral consumption, the funeral elegy was a more literary and artistic form that could be used for recitation but that depended, more than the ballad, on the sharing of intellectual capital. As such it is an important ephemeral medium that needs to be taken into account in the writing of the cultural histories of eighteenth-century print traditions and identity formation.

NOTES

1   See Susan Manning, 'Post-Union Scotland and the Scottish Idiom of Britishness', *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707–1918)*, ed. Susan Manning & Murray Pittock (Edinburgh, 2006), and Sandro Jung, 'Print Culture and the Construction of an Enlightenment Scottish Literary Canon', in Ralph McLean, Kenneth Simpson & Ronnie Young, eds., *The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture* (Lewisburg, PA, 2013).

2   See Alexander M. Kinghorn & Alexander Law, 'Allan Ramsay and Literary Life in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', in Andrew Hook, ed., *The History of Scottish Literature II: 1660–1800* (Aberdeen, 1987), pp. 65–79.

3   See *The Eccho*, Wednesday, 29 January 1729 (Edinburgh: printed by R. Fleming and Company, and sold by J. McEuen), p. 14: 'I approve of your Undertaking, and tho' you should not come near these inimitable Pieces of this Kind, I mean the Spectators, yet you shall have my Encouragement. The Tatlers themselves were far inferior to what afterwards followed on that Plan, every Thing must have a Beginning, and suitable Encouragement improves whatsoever depends on Industry and Art or Ingine.' On 16 April 1729, another contributor noted: 'It is long since I had given over Hopes of seeing one of the *Scotish* Lineage who might deserve to be ranked with the *Spectator*, of such a Resemblance of Features, allow me to give that Welcome to your Appearance in publick, which I hope you will in due Time merit from all those of your Country-men, whose Applause is most worth valuing. I know nothing this Age has produced of more universal Use, or which hath contributed more to the Advancement of true Politeness, than the Writings of those ingenious Authors whom it is your Design to imitate. Nor could there be a better Document of the good Effect they produce, than the general Demand that still continues to be made for them over the whole Island' (p. 54). On *The Eccho*, see Michael Murphy, '*The Eccho, or Edinburgh Weekly Journal* (1729–1734): An Unidentified Ramsay Enterprise', *Bibliotheck*, vol. 23 (1998), pp. 19–26.

4   See Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America* (Chicago, 2006).

5   NLS Sund.15 (5).

6   See Adam Fox, 'The Emergence of the Scottish Broadside Ballad in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2 (2011), pp. 169–194. Also, by the same author, 'Approaches to Ephemera: Scottish Broadsides, 1679–1746', in Kevin D. Murphy & Sally O'Driscoll, eds., *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print* (Lewisburg, PA., 2013), pp. 117–41.

7   Leslie Shephard, *The History of Street Literature* (Newton Abbot, 1973); Victor E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature: A History and Guide from the Beginning of Printing to the Year 1897* (Harmondsworth,

1977); Matthew Grenby, 'Chapbooks, Children, and Children's Literature', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2007), pp. 277–303; Alexander Fenton, 'The People Below: Dougal Graham's Chapbooks as a Mirror of the Lower Classes in Eighteenth Century Scotland', in *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry, and History of Scotland and England and Poems Previously Unpublished* (Aberdeen, 1990), pp. 69–80; Patricia Fumerton & Anita Guerrini, eds., *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800* (Farnham, 2010), and John Morris, 'Scottish Ballads and Chapbooks', in Peter Isaac & Barry McKay, eds., *Images & Texts: Their Production and Distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Winchester, 1997).

8   See, for instance, 'Elegie on the death of Mr. George Campbell, Professor of Divinity in the College of Edinburgh, 1701',' Elegie on the death of Mr. Gilbert Rule, principal of the College of Edinburgh. Who departed this life, June 7th. 1701', and 'Elegie on the much to be lamented death, of the good and great Mr. George Meldrum, Professor of Divinity, and one of the Ministers of the Gospel in Edinburgh'.

9   Margaret J. M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore, 1999), p. 126.

10   John Scally, 'Cheap Print on Scottish Streets', in Stephen W. Brown & Warren McDougall, eds., *The Edinburgh History of the Book: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707–1800* (Edinburgh, 2012), 375. Scally's chapter does not mention funeral elegies.

11   Cathy Lynn Preston & Michael J. Preston eds., *The Other Print Tradition: Essays on Chapbooks, Broadsides, and Related Ephemera* (New York, 1995). Also, Todd S. Gernes, 'Recasting the Culture of Ephemera', in John Trimbur, ed., *Popular Literacy: Studies in Cultural Practices and Poetics* (Pittsburgh, 2002), pp. 107–127.

12   Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 2000), p. 34.

13   See Lorna Clymer, 'Noticing Death: Funeral Invitations and Obituaries in Early Modern Britain', in Helen Deutsch & Mary Terrall, eds., *Vital Matters: Eighteenth-Century Views of Conception, Life, and Death* (Toronto, 2012), pp. 265–305.

14   Margaret Ezell, 'Invisible Books', in Laura Runge and Pat Rogers, eds., *Producing the Eighteenth-Century Book: Writers and Publishers in England, 1650–1800* (Newark, NJ., 2009), pp. 53–54.

15   http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/index.html   Accessed   on   25

February 2013.

16   http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu

17   Harvey introduces, in general terms, the group of young poets whose works he featured in *A Collection of Miscellany Poems and Letters, comical and serious. By Jo. Harvey* (Edinburgh, 1726), pp. v–vi: 'There is a Set of young Gentlemen amongst us (to some of whom I have the Honour to be known) who are Masters of as polite and elegant a Stile, either in Prose or Numbers, as some perhaps, even celebrated Writers elsewhere. But such an extraordinary Bashfulness possesses them, that 'tis next to impossible to prevail with them, to favour One with a Sight of any Production of theirs, if it is not a very particular, intimate Friend.'

18   NLS RB.l.106 (089).

19   NLS Ry.III.a.10(112)

20   At times, broadsides such as 'An Elegy on Lucky Gibson, who departed this life January 20th, 1718' also triggered responses such as 'Luckie Gibson's latter-will, or comfort to her customers' (1718) [NLS Ry.III.c.36(117)].

21   Kenneth Simpson, 'Poetic Genre and National Identity: Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, vol. 30 (1998), pp. 31–42.

22   See, for instance, 'An Habbiack Elegy on the untimely and deplorable Death of Robert F-----s Kirk Treasurer's man, who dy'd November 3d. 1724.'

23   John W. Draper, 'The Funeral Elegy in Scotland', in his *The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism* (New York, 1967), p. 208.

24   Draper, 'The Funeral Elegy in Scotland', p. 216.

25   For an excellent account of the genre of the funeral elegy, see Renato Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge, MA., 1975), pp. 64–82. Also, Lorna Clymer, 'The Funeral Elegy in Early Modern Britain: A Brief History', in Karen Weisman, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 170–186.

26   See Geoffrey Tillotson, *Augustan Poetic Diction* (London, 1964).

27   NLS Ry.III.c.36(099).

28   See Sandro Jung, 'Shenstone, Woodhouse, and Mid-Eighteenth-Century Poetics: Genre and the Elegiac-Pastoral Landscape', *Philological Quarterly*, vol. 88, nos. 1–2 (2009), pp. 127–149.

29   NLS 6.146.

30   NLS [Al].1/1.13(18)

31   NLS Ry.III.c.36(034a).
32   NLS L.C.Fol.76(134) and NLS Ry.III.c.36(009)
33   NLS Ry.III.c.36(098)
34   NLS Ry.III.c.36(055)
35   On Milton's influence on the poetry of the century, see Raymond
       Dexter Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge,
       MA., 1922).
       Poems that do not follow the formulaic title structure used for the
       selection of my corpus or that are not clearly linked to the College
       of Edinburgh include: 'Elegie on the much lamented death of
       the Reverend Mr. David Williamson, one of the ministers of the
       West-kirk at Edinburgh, who dyed the 6 of August 1706' [NLS
       NG.1168.c.24(8)], 'An elegie upon the death of that famous and
       faithful minister, and martyr, Mr. James Renwick. / By the very
       reverend and eminently accomplished servant of Christ, master
       Alexander Shiels, lately minister of the gospel at St. Andrews'
       (1711) [NLS 2.239(4)], the 8-page elegy *Elias and Enoch. A dialogue
       on the death of the Right Reverend, Alexander, late Lord Bishop of
       Edinburgh* (1720), 'An elogie on the much lamented death of Mr.
       John Hamilton, Minister of the Gospel in the Gray-Friars Parish
       of Edinburgh; and sometime, formerlie in Ireland' (1702) [NLS
       Ry.III.c.36(105)], 'Truth's champion or an elegie on the much to be
       lamented death of that pious and godly minister of the Gospel. Mr.
       Alexander Shields' (1700?) [NLS 1.24(291)], and the 16-page *The
       Mourner. A funeral poem occasioned by the death of the Reverend, pious
       and learned Mr. James Brisbain, late minister of the gospel at Stirling;
       who died June 9. 1725* [NLS 2.643(4)].
36   NLS L.C.959(11); NLS Ry.III.c.36(067); NLS L.C.2901.C.(3); NLS
       Ry.III.c.36(098); Glasgow University Library Sp Coll. Mu29-f.26;
       and NLS Ry.III.c.36(034a).
37   Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Brit
       Tracts 1715 EL25
38   For general accounts on graveyard verse, see Amy Louise Reed,
       *The Background of Gray's 'Elegy': A Study in the Taste for Melancholy
       Poetry, 1700–1751* (New York, 1962), and Eric Parisot, 'Piety,
       Poetry, and the Funeral Sermon: Reading Graveyard Poetry in the
       Eighteenth Century', *English Studies*, vol. 92, no. 2 (2011), pp. 174–
       192.
39   Aaron Hill, *The Plain Dealer: Being Select Essays on Several Curious
       Subjects*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for J. Osborn, 1734), vol. 1, no. 393.

Hill introduced the Athenian Society to his readers as a club the members of which (especially Joseph Mitchell and David Mallet) were encouraged by Ramsay. The society supported the efforts of young and aspiring poets, as Mallet observed to his mentor John Ker: '"The Edinburgh Miscellany' was undertaken by an "Athenian Society" here, who received the poems [Mallet's], and published all they thought worthy of seeing the light.' See Sandro Jung, *David Mallet, Anglo-Scot: Poetry, Politics, and Patronage in the Age of Union* (Newark, NJ., 2008), pp. 31–32.

40   Sandro Jung, 'Joseph Mitchell (c.1684–1738): Anglo-Scottish Poet,' *Scottish Studies Review*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2008), pp. 43–69.

41   *The Edinburgh Miscellany: consisting of original poems, translations, &c. By various hands* (Edinburgh: printed by J. M'euen and Company, 1720), pp. 254–59.

42   *Edinburgh Miscellany*, p. 256.

43   Names that occur in the volume include Alexander Lauder, the author of 'The Lovers Case' (1717), John Harvey, the author of 'To / Sir Richard Steele / A Poem' and William Preston (c. 1680–1752), probably the author, among other works, of *On the Death of the Reverend Mr Patrick Wotherspoon, Minister of the West-Kirk; a poem* (1732). It is likely that Lauder was Sir Alexander Lauder of Fountainhill, fourth baronet (6 November 1698–17 May 1730) and that he was the centre of a club that was linked to the writing activities of the Edinburgh-based Athenian Society. Lauder, at times writing under the pseudonym of 'Adonis', engaged in verse exchanges with Orestes, alias Joseph Compton, as in 'A Poem addrest to my very ingenius Friend Mr Compton, 1719'. Lauder also contributed 'On our Saviours coming to ye World' and 'To my Ingenius Friend Mr Lawson on his Translation of Horaces Odes, 1715' to the volume. Harvey (fl. 1702–29) was a popular Edinburgh author in the early decades of the century and produced elegies such as *To the Memory of the Right Honourable, late Earl of Kintore* (1719), *A Collection of Miscellany Poems and Letters* (1726), and a life of Robert Bruce (1729).

44   NLS, Ry.III.c.36 [10].

45   Rhetorical and oratorical training in both Humanity and Theology at Edinburgh, stressing the production of paraphrases of religious texts and sermons account for the large number of elegies printed singly and included in collections that were published in the first half of the eighteenth century in Scotland. The Scottish ecclesiastical

tradition with its emphasis on composition contrasted with the burgeoning literary scene of London where rigid Church practice was less prominent and a wider variety of poetry and genres could be deployed than in Edinburgh. The hitherto unrecognized importance of Scottish elegiac verse for the development of (English) graveyard poetry should, therefore, be seen as rooted in the different contexts of the Church's influence on its ministers and students at the College of Edinburgh. Thomas Parnell and Edward Young, highly appreciated as poets in early eighteenth-century Scotland, used elegy in a way that was conducive to the Church's ideological favouring of didactic over dramatic writing.

46 In all Conditions hearty, and sincere,
    Pow'rful in Preaching, and intense in Prayer:
    Graceful without, and Orthodox within,
    A good Companion, and a sound Divine!
    All *Autumn*'s Ripeness, in his Spring was found,
    And blooming Youth, with hoary Wisdom, crown'd.
    He show'd Religion does not damp the Mind,
    And make its Vot'rys wretch'd and unrefin'd:
    That Clergy too, fine Gentlemen may be,
    And Grace, with Breeding, cannot disagree. (12)

47 See National Archives of Scotland, GD 1815325: Letter from Mitchell to Sir John Clerk, 1722.

48 *Lugubres Cantus. Poems on several grave and important subjects, chiefly occasion'd by the death of the late ingenious youth John Mitchell. In two parts* (London: printed for T. Cox, and for J. McEuen in Edinburgh, 1719).

49 Andrew O'Malley, 'Poaching on Crusoe's Island: Popular Reading and Chapbook Editions of *Robinson Cruso*e'**,** *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 35.2 (2011), pp. 18–38, and Pat Rogers, 'Classics and Chapbooks', in Isabel Rivers, ed., *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 27–45.

50 NLS Ry.III.c.35 (121).