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‘A Man’s a Man For a’ That’: Burns, Hogg, and *The Liberator*¹

The following paper is derived from an investigation of Hogg’s transatlantic literary publications, part of the AHRB-funded Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition of *The Collected Works of James Hogg* project.

When Maya Angelou visited Scotland in the 1990s, as Alan Rice has written,

in the tradition of her great forebear Frederick Douglass, [she] praised Scottish contributions to racial democracy encapsulated in Robert Burns’s famous expression, ‘A Man’s a Man for all that’; in a panegyric to Burns in a BBC documentary *Angelou on Burns*, she lauded his contribution to a discourse of transatlantic freedom: ‘The battle for freedom ... from Birmingham, Alabama, to Birmingham, Britain, from Dumfries, Scotland, to Dunbar, Ohio ... it is because of my identification with Robert Burns, with Wallace, with the people of Scotland for their dignity, for their independence, for their humanity, that I can see how we sing, “We Shall Overcome”’.²

As Rice contends, ‘this collective amnesia, which seeks to glorify a radical Scottish past of racial democracy obscures the contribution to British slavery of Scottish merchant entrepreneurs, sea captains and crew’, as well as others who were involved in the trade of human flesh. Nevertheless, Angelou’s twentieth-century admiration for Burns’s theme of ‘spontaneous and passionate democratic humanism’ was not unique, as Rice has indicated.³ William Lloyd Garrison, the editor of *The Liberator*, a weekly antislavery newspaper that was published in Boston from 1831 to 1865, also favoured ‘A Man’s a Man for a That’ from Burns’s song collections.⁴ Garrison frequently reprinted poetry and prose extracts from the writing of Scottish authors such as Burns, Scott and Hogg, alongside original contributions by American authors in the columns of *The Liberator*.⁵ Garrison’s philanthropic enterprise promoted ‘self-help’ founded on the premise that through education freed slaves could more eloquently argue their own cases, and thus more ably help promote the antislavery message. For example, an article entitled ‘Literature’ of 6th October 1832 advocates reading literature as the key to improvement because ‘literature seems designed by God as a direct means for increasing, not only our mental but our spiritual improvement’. Readers are urged to join in the work of the antislavery movement: ‘do something for yourselves’ [...] advance your own improvement, not only moral but intellectual’. Suggestions for such improvements include setting up ‘a small, but judiciously selected library ... social meeting ... At any rate, read something—if it be only the newspapers—they contain valuable and interesting matter, in the form of original essays, or elegant extracts, and these will serve to make you wiser and better’ (II, No. 40, 159).

Self-improvement, however, was only part of the appeal of literature. In her examination of the literary advertisements in *The Liberator*, Augusta Rohrbach has found that

the preponderance of literary wares offered for sale in Garrison's paper suggests that the power of narrative served his purposes. [...] unlike advertising practices in, for example, the *Atlantic Monthly*, none of the publishers of these books and magazines was affiliated with the *Liberator*. Many of the titles were advertised, however, through their connection—even if tangential—to Garrison's cause.⁶

The short stories, prose dialogues, and narrative poems that Garrison published in *The Liberator* frequently alluded to, or shared a metaphoric association with, Garrison's antislavery ideals. The following essay examines a short story entitled 'Emigration' by James Hogg that appeared in *The Liberator* on 11th July 1835, and reveals that Hogg's tale shares Garrison's advocacy of Burnsian 'democratic humanism'. The essay traces Hogg's story from its first publication in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* of May 1833 to its reprinting in America, and proposes that 'Emigration' is Hogg's humanitarian narrative of the Scottish diaspora that found its natural expression in the philanthropic enterprise of both *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* and *The Liberator* of Boston.

In his study of the publishing house of W. & R. Chambers, Robert Scholnick notes that 'no other publisher did more to bring high-quality, low-cost and useful reading material to the great body of aspiring readers hitherto excluded from print culture.' According to Scholnick, the Chambers brothers embarked from the first issue on a campaign through the pages of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (hereinafter referred to as *CEJ*) to alleviate the conditions of the working poor by publishing articles that 'address[ed] the hard social problems contributing to poverty', including such subjects as 'inadequate diet, atrocious housing, poor medical care, [...] unemployment, [and] low wages'. Scholnick has concluded that the Chambers brothers were 'proponents of self-help and modernization [who believed] ... that only large scale emigration, particularly to the United States [...] could bring immediate relief to the millions of Britons living in poverty'.⁷

'Emigration' was published in *CEJ* on 18th May 1833 as the result of an invitation from Robert Chambers to Hogg to become a regular contributor to the newly established Edinburgh journal.⁸ Hughes records that 'Hogg was sent some specimens of the journal and Chambers's own contributions to these were suggested as possible models for him. He was asked for "a rural tale or so, constructed as much as possible with a moral or useful object, and chiming in with the tone of our work"' (41–42). Hogg may also have read the 'Editor's Address to his Readers' of the first issue, which promised: 'for the express use of the poor man, I shall open a flow of information for his guidance, should he be disposed to emigrate'.

'Emigration' reveals the dislocating nature of emigration and conveys the uncertainties and sense of doubt experienced by the emigrants. In Hogg's tale, Adam Haliday is compelled to emigrate after having 'lost his farm' in the midst of the political and economic turbulence of the 1830s. In his study of nineteenth-century

emigration from the Scottish Borders, Edward J. Cowan has found that a number of factors combined in the years after the Napoleonic wars to make emigration appealing to a large number of different people, including ‘disaffected tenants, artisans and labourers [...and] radical weavers’. Cowan concludes his study of what he terms ‘the Lowland clearances’ by stating that ‘the landlords created the preconditions for migration. Market forces did the rest’.⁹ And so it is in Hogg’s tale. The Halidays are leaving Scotland ‘voluntarily’, but it is a stark choice between staying amid poverty, unemployment and homelessness or taking a chance that conditions ‘over the great divide’ will be better. The main plot of the story revolves around the dilemma faced by Haliday, who has insufficient funds to transport his entire family of ‘nine sons and daughters’ to America. Haliday is ‘obliged to leave his two oldest sons behind until they themselves could procure the means of following him’, even although, as Haliday tells his sons, they ‘wad hae been my riches, my strength, an’ shield in America, in helpin’ me to clear my farm’ (all subsequent quotations are from *The Liberator*, V, No. 28, 112). In the denouement of the tale, an old pedlar pays the passage for the two sons, allowing the family to leave together.

Owing to the coincidence of personal facts surrounding Hogg and emigration, the tale has been perceived as an ‘autobiographical fiction’ (Cowan 62). Certainly, as he explains in the opening paragraph of his story (‘my own brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces, are all going away’), emigration was a personally lived experience for the Hogg family. Hogg had three brothers: William, Robert, and David. In the summer of 1830, Robert’s two eldest sons, William and James, emigrated to America, followed in 1832 by their brother Samuel, and in June 1833, Robert Hogg emigrated with the remainder of his family. The following summer, Hogg’s youngest brother David joined them at Silver Lake, Pennsylvania.¹⁰ Furthermore, as Margaret Fraser has noted, Hogg was an ‘active participant in the selection and promotion of people with qualities that would enable them to survive in and contribute to the “New World”’. Fraser found that during the 1830s Hogg had performed the function of (albeit unpaid) ‘emigration agent’ for Selkirkshire by introducing suitable young men to William Dickson, Junior, a Canadian of Scottish descent whose family ‘had assembled 94,305 acres of land’ in an area of Upper Canada that came to be known as ‘New Dumfries’.¹¹ ‘Emigration’, then, was written with Hogg’s first-hand knowledge of the ordeal faced by many Scots, and can therefore be compared to many of Hogg’s ‘natural experiencing narratives’.¹² Ian Campbell has written of the advantages Hogg found while writing under the persona of the ‘Ettrick Shepherd’:

Hogg could escape from the conventions of the age through his natural status as shepherd, as experiencing recorder, as interpreter of distanced experience for his readers. They mostly had no first-hand experience by which to judge Hogg’s veracity and he could move smoothly from fiction to fact without risking detection. (12)

Unusually within Hogg’s fiction, the quayside spectacle depicted in ‘Emigration’ related to a contemporary issue; moreover, an issue with which Hogg was personally involved, and one which *CEJ* was editorially committed to promoting. Underlying the ‘natural narrative’, therefore, ‘Emigration’ also displays features of what Thomas Laqueur has termed the ‘humanitarian narrative’.¹³

Laqueur describes the humanitarian narrative as ‘characterised in the first place by its reliance of detail as the sign of truth’ (177). Hogg’s story is imbued with veracity through documented fact. For example, it includes the exact number of people (fifty-two) ‘already booked for transportation’ from ‘the industrious village of Galashiels’; the name of the ‘gallant ship, Helen Douglass’, was an actual ship used by emigrants on voyages to North America; and specific landmarks associated with emigration, such as ‘the Point of Cumberland’, ‘Montreal’, ‘New Dumfries’, and ‘Loch Eiry’, are mentioned.¹⁴ In the humanitarian narrative mimetic realism is often employed, whereby the ‘narrator’s claim that he or she is simply reporting creates a lived experience that gains authority by seeming to be a report of actual experience’ (Laqueur 200). Hogg, in the persona of ‘the Ettrick Shepherd’, narrates an eye-witness account of the ‘affecting’ spectacle of families preparing to emigrate.

The story itself revolves around the family of ‘Adam Haliday’, the ‘small farmer, who had lost his farm’, and described as someone who was ‘known intimately’ by Hogg ‘in my young days’. However, the actual facts surrounding Haliday’s family (‘[h]e had a wife, and I think, nine sons and daughters’), and the pedlar, ‘whom I think they named Simon Ainslie’, are described with less certainty. Such interconnections and frequent slippages between autobiography and fiction are a commonplace of Hogg’s mimetic realism; however, close examination of Hogg’s language reveals a political undercurrent. The ‘Ettrick Shepherd’ writes the introductory and closing paragraphs in literary English, while the ‘affecting tale’ is reported as spoken in Scots. For example, Adam Haliday warns his eldest son, ‘Now, Aidie, my man, ye’re to behave yoursel, and na be like a woman and greet. I canna abide to see the tears comin’ papplin’ ower thae manly young cheeks’. Common Scots words such as ‘greet’, ‘canna’, ‘thae’, are enhanced in the opening lines with the vividly descriptive Scots word ‘papplin’, defined in the *Concise Scots Dictionary* as ‘popples, flow, bubble up; [of persons] be extremely excited’.¹⁵ Hogg’s use of Scots is clearly intended to emphasise the intensity of the pathos prior to the moment of familial separation. However, Emma Letley has shown how in nineteenth-century Scottish fiction ‘the presence of Scots comes to suggest meanings and resonances beyond the primary content conveyed by the dialectical words.’¹⁶ Through young James Haliday’s reply, Hogg politicises the emigrant ordeal: ‘I ken weel how you are circumstanced, an’ how ye hae been screwed at home. But if there’s siller to be made in Scotland in an honest way, Jamie an’ me will join you in a year or twa wi’ something that will do ye good’. By juxtaposing the English ‘screwed’—*pp* of ‘screw’: ‘to put compulsion upon, to constrain, oppress; to oppress (a person, esp. a tenant) with exactions; to deprive, dispossess of by extortion’ (*OED*)—and ‘honest’, Hogg obfuscates the exact nature of the reason that Haliday ‘lost’ his farm. He implies that there is something deceitful within Scottish society that has caused their hardship and that prevents the sons travelling with the rest of the family. In the same way, in the introductory paragraph, Hogg hints, but does not explain just why ‘[t]he whole of our most valuable peasantry and operative manufacturers are leaving us. All who have made a little money to freight them over the Atlantic, and procure them a settlement in America, Van Dieman’s Land, or New South Wales, are hurrying from us as from a place infected with plague.’

In a revision of the usual binary opposition of literary English and Scots that sets English as the language of reason against comic or clownish Scots, or Scots as an

indication of integrity and worth against English ineffectiveness, the words of the narrator, or 'Ettrick Shepherd', are verified by the reported dialogue. And the reported dialogue is verified by the narrator. In this way, Hogg dignifies Scots language and invests the speakers of that language, the tenant farmers of the Scottish Lowlands, with integrity, while at the same time he exposes the 'deplorable' practices of landowners and the Government policies behind them. 'As T. M. Devine has written, "Basic to the Industrial Revolution in Scotland was a profound change in rural social and economic structure. In the Lowlands, farms were consolidated, sub-tenancies removed and the terms of access to land became more rigid and regulated' (Quoted in Scholnick 9).

Critics have noted that Hogg's tale appears out of place in the positive campaign that presented emigration as a welcome cure for poverty and unemployment. For example, Scholnick perceives the publication of Hogg's tale in *CEJ* as a compromise with the Chambers brothers' having 'to acknowledge the very real pain that emigration brought with it—both to those who left home and those who remained, particularly in Scotland' (11). Readers of *CEJ* were accustomed to weekly accounts, book reviews and letters promoting the positive benefits of emigration as a counter to economic instability, and therefore an editorial disclaimer denounced the sentimentality of Hogg's tale:

We willingly give insertion to this communication from Mr. Hogg—for, though the prejudice of place should never interfere to a great extent with the prospects which an individual may have of bettering himself through emigration, it cannot be denied that there is a sentiment of a sacred, and in one point of view, most useful kind, in one's attachment to one's native country; which sentiment appears to us to be developed in a most touching manner by our respected correspondent. [... however] abstractly amiable the love the place of our nativity may be [it is] an idea which certainly creates hordes of paupers, and ought therefore to be put aside by men of rational understandings. (Quoted in Scholnick 11)

The editors claim that they have chosen to print Hogg's tale because it is well written, while taking pains to insist that Hogg's sentimental depiction of human misery should not be taken seriously by 'men of rational understandings'. What marks out 'Emigration', both from the positive depictions of the experience of emigration appearing weekly in *CEJ*, and within Hogg's fiction generally, is that through his 'little affecting story', he exposes the realities and hardships of emigration experienced by many Scots, and suggests that there may be ways of ameliorating those hardships.

In his introductory paragraph Hogg compares the contemporary situation of emigration from the Scottish borders with that of the Highland clearances of the first decade of the nineteenth century that he observed first-hand on his many Highland excursions. Hogg writes:

It is long since emigration from the Highlands commenced; for, when clanship was abolished as far as government edicts could abolish it; the poor Highlanders were obliged to emigrate. But never till now did the brave

and intelligent Borderers rush from their native country, all with symptoms of reckless despair. It is most deplorable. [...] Every day the desire to emigrate increases, both in amount and intensity; in some parts of the country the movement is taking place to an immense extent.

The ‘deplorable’ fact that Hogg attests to is the economic and political climate that has led to emigration as a last resort. Hogg argues for regulated emigration to counter what T.M. Devine has termed the ‘haemorrhage of industrial Scotland’ (quoted in Scholnick 11). The humanitarian narrative is concerned with how ‘details about the suffering bodies of others engender compassion and how that compassion comes to be understood as a moral imperative to undertake ameliorative action’ (Laqueur 176). In Hogg’s humanitarian narrative, emigration in itself is not ‘deplorable’, nor does ‘Emigration’ oppose the principle of emigration as amelioration of the hardships suffered by families such as the Halidays that was promoted through the pages of *CEJ*. In this tale, Hogg is pressing for something more.

Just what Hogg was proposing in ‘Emigration’ can also be found in an early essay entitled ‘On the Utility of Encouraging the system of Sheep-Farming in some districts of the Highlands, and Population in Others’, in which Hogg addresses the issue of the Highland Clearances. He concludes his long, informed essay by stating:

That it is your interest, and the interest of the nation at large, which two are inseparable, to stock your mountains with sheep, and your valleys with men and cattle;—with men who are capable of manufacturing the wool of these sheep into cloth, and thereby tripling the already great sums received annually for the raw material;—with men ready and able to avail themselves of the inestimable sources of wealth, conveyed yearly to their shores in immense shoals of fishes; with men who will defend their native mountains, though the world combine in arms against them. It is thus, and thus only, that the real value of the Highlands of Scotland shall ever be thoroughly known, when, like a well-finished machine, one wheel always sets another in motion.¹⁷

In his eloquently argued and thought-provoking essay Hogg does not argue against the incoming of sheep, but against displacing the people who live and work in the region. Hogg puts the case that both people and sheep are necessary to the economic viability of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In a similar way, in ‘Emigration’, Hogg is not arguing against the idea of emigration. Marjory Harper has commented on the nature of government assistance for those wishing to emigrate. From the 1760s ‘soldier-settlers’ had been ‘eligible for land grants’, an offer which in 1815 was ‘extended to civilians’, albeit under certain conditions. Harper has noted that during the 1820s, ‘Emigration societies’ were formed as a means of raising financial assistance for those wishing to re-settle elsewhere, and after a ‘three-fold increase in the cost of emigration—a result of recent shipping legislation’, these groups lobbied the government for further subsidies.¹⁸ Hogg’s story, then, relates to a contemporary political debate over the extent and form of government assistance for those wishing to emigrate.¹⁹

Although Hogg contributed directly to at least one American periodical in 1834, I have not discovered that he sent his story to *The Liberator*.²⁰ Henry Mayer describes William Lloyd Garrison's intensive editorial methods in a way that suggests the story was obtained from a contemporary American periodical:

Even in absentia, he took an aggressive interest in the paper. Though he wrote nothing himself for several months, he had liberal amounts of contradictory advice for his deputies Henry Benson and Charles Burleigh, telling them first to 'make everything else give way' to full coverage of the debates on the abolitionists' petitions in Congress, then reminding them to run shorter articles that would not tax the reader's patience. Into each mailbag from Brooklyn [to Boston, where *The Liberator* was published] Garrison stuffed a fat bundle of clippings he had compiled from the exchange newspapers. The editors' workrooms always overflowed with newspapers waiting to be digested, and the sight of Garrison, shears in hand, making neat fan-shaped piles of material became a characteristic memory to his children.²¹

American reprinting of the tale in a literary periodical prior to its appearance in *The Liberator* has not as yet been located, but the editorial practice of the paper would point to this being the case. Rohrbach has noted that 'the *Liberator* [was] circulated throughout the country largely by means of "exchanges"—a systematic distribution of published articles to over one hundred periodicals [...] Thus, the *Liberator's* sphere of influence far exceeded the few white philanthropists and small communities of free people of color in New York and Philadelphia that made up its subscriber list' (730). This is demonstrated by the reprinting of Hogg's work, for example, when in July 1835, a short extract from Hogg's volume of *Lay Sermons* was reprinted in *The Liberator* a month after its first appearance in the *Christian Register*.²² As it was just over two years since its initial publication in *CEJ*, I would suggest that Hogg's story of 'Emigration' was reprinted into *The Liberator* from a contemporary American periodical rather than directly from *CEJ*. In the following discussion of 'Emigration' as it appeared in *The Liberator* in 1835, a step in the publishing history of this story may have been skipped; nevertheless, the 'aesthetic of reception', according to which the reader brings meaning to a text through a 'horizon of expectations' at its moment of publication, is still credible and gives valence to the additional layer of interpretation brought to Hogg's story by its crossing of 'the great divide'.²³

William Lloyd Garrison, a philanthropic humanitarian reformer from the North American State of New Brunswick, conceived and edited *The Liberator*. Garrison was idealistically committed to the immediate abolition of the slave trade by pacific means and through *The Liberator* he continuously promoted his non-violent ideals for almost thirty-five years. Critics have shown how Garrison utilised a variety of modes to promote the aims of antislavery. For example, Phillip Lapsansky has highlighted Garrison's propagandist abolitionist imagery in the newspaper's extensive use of graphic illustrations. The most often repeated of these was the figure of the supplicant slave. Garrison adapted the figure of the female supplicant slave from a famous antislavery representation of a chained and kneeling male slave that first appeared in 1787. Lapsansky has shown how the image was 'contrived' by British

abolitionists in 1828 and first appeared in 1830 in ‘The Ladies’ Repository’ section of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, an abolitionist paper also edited by Garrison. In 1832, ‘Garrison adopted the symbol with its motto as a running head for the ‘Ladies Department’ of *The Liberator*’, where the motto promoted the shared experience of sisterhood with: ‘Am I not a Woman and a Sister?’²⁴ Indeed, Garrison deployed the image so frequently that ‘by 1836, the female supplicant had become the unofficial emblem of the antislavery women.’²⁵

Karen Sanchez-Eppler has examined how the abolitionists deployed vivid descriptions of physical and emotional suffering to convey a sense of shared human experience, or ‘moments of identification’, in their literature’.²⁶ Sanchez-Eppler points out that while readers of *The Liberator* were not in any sense ‘slaves’,

[s]uch tactics did not attempt to identify woman’s status with that of the slave but relied upon the ties of sisterly sympathy, presuming that one woman would be particularly sensitive to the sufferings of another. Indeed such a strategy emphasized the difference between the free woman’s condition and the bondage of the slave, since it was this difference that enabled the free woman to work for her sister’s emancipation. (21)

By deploying such editorial techniques as fusing text with image and publishing sentimental stories and poems to appeal directly to female readers, *The Liberator* created an emotionally charged framework within which the idea of shared human experience was promoted. As Rohrbach has found in her examination of the advertisements and tales in *The Liberator*, Garrison used whatever means he could to convey his antislavery message:

From its inception, *The Liberator* pressed its readers towards ‘moments of identification’ by establishing parallels between the newspaper’s readership and the slave population Garrison wished to free. In one instance, he justifies his need to be ‘as harsh as truth’ by likening the ravages experienced by the nation’s slaves to the catastrophe of a white family trapped in a burning house. [...] Garrison’s elaborate metaphors, [...] used by abolitionists internationally, invoke socially defined and accepted relationships—in particular, the family bond—to encourage readers’ identification with slaves and a sense of responsibility for their plight. (745–46)

What Garrison (or one of his sub-editors) discovered in Hogg’s humanitarian narrative was that it imparted a sense of a shared human experience to their readers for whom the sentimental mode carried a political potency.

Indeed, the number of *The Liberator* in which Hogg’s tale appeared is one such vivid example. In the column parallel to ‘Emigration’, a poem entitled ‘The Slave Trade’ was reprinted from ‘*The Boston Weekly Magazine* for 1804. The startling similarity between the opening lines of the introductory paragraph of the poem and Hogg’s introduction to ‘Emigration’ enacts a ‘moment of identification’. The poem is introduced with the following statement:

The distress which the inhabitants of Africa experience at the loss of their children, which are stolen from them by the persons employed in the barbarous traffic of human flesh, is, perhaps more thoroughly felt than described.

Compare this with the beginning of Hogg's story, in which the opening paragraph sets the sentimental tone of the 'little affecting story' that follows:

I know of nothing in the world so distressing as the last sight of a fine, industrious, independent peasantry taking its last look of their native country, never to behold it more. I have witnessed several of these scenes now, and I wish I may never witness another; for each of them has made tears burst every now and then into my eyes for days and nights, and all the while in that mood of mind that I could think about nothing else.

Sanchez-Eppler has noted that 'the success of a [sentimental] story is gauged, in part, by its ability to translate words into heartbeats and sobs' (26). There is certainly excessive distress both in the poem and Hogg's story. In 'The Slave Trade', as the mother's children are violently torn from her grasp, she falls raving on the beach:

See, upon the shore she's raving,
Down she falls upon the sands;
Now she tears her flesh with madness,
Now, she prays, with lifted hands.

And in 'Emigration', when young James Haliday realises he is about to be left alone in Scotland, his father becomes inconsolable:

'But aince friends are partit, an' the half o' the globe atween them, there's but a sma' chance that they ever meet again,' said poor James, with the most disconsolate look. 'I wad hae likit to hae gane wi' ye, an' helpit ye, an' wrought wi' ye, an' leev'd an' dee'd wi' yea. It's an awfu' thing to be left in a country where ane has nae hame to gang to whatever befa' him.' The old man burst into tears. He saw the prospect of helpless desolation, that preyed on his boy's heart, in the event of his being laid on a bed of sickness; but he had no resource.

Sanchez-Eppler explains how 'tears designate a border realm between the story and its reading, since the tears shed by characters initiate an answering moistness in the reader's eye [...] the palpability of the character's emotional experience is precisely what allows it to be shared' (27). 'The Slave Trade' and 'Emigration' as they appeared together in *The Liberator* therefore invoked a parental bond through the sentimental portrayal of the distressing familial separation as it was portrayed in each of them.

Moreover, within *The Liberator*, Hogg's humanitarian narrative highlighted the emigrants' dislocation from their native culture as denoted by the image of the untended graves of their forebears:

They thought, without doubt, of the tombs of their parents and friends whose heads they had laid in an honored grave, and that, after a few years of the toil and weariness collateral with old age, they were going to lay down their bones in a new world, a far distant clime, never to mix their ashes with those that were dearest to them.

Stephen Butterfield has written that ‘the [African-American] was a transportee, a forced immigrant on a foreign soil with a shattered tribal culture, living within the colonizing power as a minority group.’²⁷ The publication of ‘Emigration’ in *The Liberator* associated Hogg’s description of the Scottish emigrant family’s distressing moment of separation from their native ties with the violent separation experienced by African-American slaves at a particular moment in the history of the antislavery movement. In 1835 one prominent contemporary issue frequently inflamed the editorial and letters of *The Liberator*: the forced emigration of freed slaves to the African state of Liberia that was promoted by the American Colonisation Society. One of the major arguments against the American Colonisation Society’s plan was that families would be separated.

Garrison published his vehement anti-colonisation principles in a pamphlet entitled *Thoughts on African Colonization* (June 1832) that was advertised extensively in *The Liberator*. When, in 1835, the debate once again turned to colonisation, *The Liberator*’s masthead (which was frequently changed) displayed the trade in slaves as a farmer’s market, where sign-posts advertising that at the ‘horse market’ such commodities as ‘horses, slaves and other cattle’ could be purchased were prominent. Within the columns of the ‘Ladies Department’, female readers were exhorted ‘to work for the immediate emancipation of their one million enslaved sisters, “exposed to all the violence of lust and passion—and treated with more indelicacy and cruelty than cattle” ’ (Sanchez-Eppler 21). Emigrants too were likened to cattle, as remarked upon by John Galt’s fictional emigrant, Lawrie Todd: ‘what a difference in the equipage of my return home to Scotland, and the caravan of human cattle in which I bade adieu to my native land.’²⁸ The metaphoric association of slaves and emigrants as cattle/chattels or beasts of burden, inhuman commodities to be bought and sold, reinforced the idea of shared [in]human experiences of slavery and emigration. And implicit in the parallel publication of ‘The Slave Trade’ and ‘Emigration’ in the columns of *The Liberator* was a reference to the policies of the American Colonisation Society.

To conclude: at the end of the introductory paragraph to his tale, ‘the Ettrick Shepherd’ addresses the reader directly and admits: ‘if I were not the individual that I am, I should be the first to depart. But my name is now so much identified with Scotland and Ettrick Forest, that though I must die as I have lived, I cannot leave them.’ Hogg is aware that his identity is firmly rooted within the ‘peasant-poet tradition’ stretching back to Burns, as through the geographical location of his home at Altrive, he claims the mantle of Scotland’s national poet. However, as close examination of the narrative style of ‘Emigration’ reveals, there was a further ‘vital connection’ between Burns and Hogg.²⁹ Since his early excursions into the Highlands Hogg had shown a concern and compassion for the displaced and the dispossessed. In the 1830s, when he witnessed first-hand the misery encountered by Scots caught up in

the ‘Lowland Clearances’, Hogg turned to Burns’s ‘democratic humanism’ to write the humanitarian narrative of the Scottish diaspora.³⁰

Is there, for honest Poverty
That hings his head, an’ a’ that;
The coward-slave, we pass him by,
We dare be poor for a’ that!
For a’ that, an’ a’ that,
Our toils obscure, an’ a’ that,
The rank is but the guinea’s stamp,
The Man’s the gowd for a’ that.³¹

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NOTES

1. This essay is a revised version of a paper entitled ‘James Hogg and *The Liberator*’, delivered at the fourth Symbiosis conference, ‘Across the Great Divide’, in Edinburgh, July 2003. I would like to thank delegates, and in particular, the ‘British Cultures and the Black Atlantic’ panellists for insightful comments. I would also like to thank Professor Douglas Mack and Dr. Adrian Hunter of the University of Stirling for generously giving scholarly advice while the paper was in preparation. I am grateful to the Department of English at the University of Stirling for contributing to the travel costs for a research trip to the American Antiquarian Society in November 2002, where the research for this paper began. I would also like to thank the gracious and hard-working staff of the AAS for their patience during my visit.
2. Alan Rice, *Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic* (London & New York: Continuum, 2003), 212–13. Rice quotes from Helen Taylor, *Circling Dixie: Contemporary Southern Culture through a Transatlantic Lens* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 189.
3. The publication history of ‘A Man’s a Man for a’ That’, Burns’s song of ‘the worthiness of “honest poverty” and democratic rights’, is discussed in *The Canongate Burns: The Complete Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, ed. Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics 104, 2001), 512–16. The quotation is from Thomas Crawford, *Burns: A Study of the Poems and Songs* (Edinburgh: Canongate Academic, 1994): see *The Canongate Burns*, 516.
4. See for example ‘Letter 100’ by Garrison to *The Liberator*, 24th May 1833, sent from Liverpool during his visit to England in the summer of 1833: ‘In England there is much wealth, but also much suffering and poverty. Undoubtedly the calls upon the liberality of her philanthropists are loud and frequent. Could I believe that the amount I may accumulate here will be just so much withdrawn from the fund for the relief of the poor and oppressed in this country and in the Colonies, I would not solicit a farthing, although the cause is a common one all over the globe. As Burns says—“A Man’s a man, for a’ that”’. *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, ed. Walter M. Merrill, 6 vols (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971–1981), I, 228–30 (229). Merrill notes this poem was ‘one of his favourite poems’, moreover, a poem that ‘Garrison used as the basis for antislavery versions of his own poetry’ (I, 230).
5. For example, ‘The Death of Keeldar’, Vol. II, No. 41 (13th October 1832), 164, and notice of the publication of Hogg’s volume of *Songs by the Ettrick Shepherd* was reprinted from the *Scotsman, or Edinburgh Political and Literary Journal* on 30th April 1831 (Vol. I, No. 18), 72. ‘The Ladies Evening Song’ together with the humorous editorial comment had first appeared in the *Scotsman* on the 5th of February 1831.
6. Augusta Rohrbach, “‘Truth Stronger and Stranger than Fiction’: Re-examining William Lloyd Garrison’s *Liberator*”, *American Literature*, 73:4 (December 2001), 727–75 (742).

7. Robert Scholnick, 'Intersecting Empires: W. & R. Chambers and Emigration, 1832–1844', *The Bibliothek*, 24 (1999), 5–17 (5). I am grateful to Gillian Hughes for drawing this important study to my attention.
8. Vol. II, No. 68, 124–25. Gillian Hughes, 'The Importance of the Periodical Environment in Hogg's Work for *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*', in *Papers Given at the First James Hogg Society Conference* (Stirling, 1983) 40–47. See also Gillian Hughes' unpublished PhD thesis: *James Hogg and the Periodicals* (University of Edinburgh, 1988). *Hogg's Prose: An Annotated Listing* by Douglas S. Mack (Stirling, 1985) provides useful bibliographical information.
9. Edward J. Cowan, 'From the Southern Uplands to Southern Ontario: Nineteenth-Century Emigration from the Scottish Borders', in *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society. Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1990–91* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), ed. T.M. Devine, 61–83 (67; 76).
10. Genealogical information is taken from Donald Whyte's two articles in *Scottish Genealogist*, 'American Links with the Ettrick Shepherd', 12:4 (1965), 69–85; 13:5 (1966), 35–38. See also Claude Howard, 'The Emigration of Hogg's Brothers I: Leaving Scotland', *Newsletter of the James Hogg Society*, 5 (May 1986), 11–13. This work was completed by Nancy Armstrong in 'The Emigration of Hogg's Brothers II: The Voyage and Life in America', *Newsletter of the James Hogg Society*, 6 (May 1987), 7–10.
11. 'Hogg as Emigration Agent', *Studies in Hogg and his World*, 5 (1994), 96–101.
12. Ian Campbell, 'James Hogg and Natural Narrative', in *Newsletter of the James Hogg Society*, 3 (May 1984), 11–15.
13. Thomas W. Laqueur, 'Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative', in *The New Cultural History*, edited by Lynn Hunt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 176–204.
14. Alexander Forrest emigrated from Annan to Richibucto, New Brunswick, as reported in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 2nd March 1830. See the passenger listings in David Dobson, *Ships from Scotland to America, 1628–1828*, Vol II (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2002).
15. *Concise Scots Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1985).
16. *From Galt to Douglas Brown: Nineteenth-century Fiction and Scots Language* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988), 4. For a more detailed examination of Hogg's use of language see especially 22–48.
17. Hogg's essay is appended to his volume entitled *The Shepherd's Guide: being a Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Sheep, Their Causes, and the Best Means of Preventing Them; with observations on the most suitable farm-stocking for the various climates of this country* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co.; London: John Murray, 1807), 252–323 (322). Hogg went on to develop his theory of the human soul as a 'well-finished machine, one wheel always sets another in motion' in his philosophical survey of the journey of the soul through 'worlds within worlds' in *The Pilgrims of the Sun* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: J. Murray, 1815).
18. Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London: Profile Books, 2003); see especially 36–55.
19. See also Hogg's letter to the *Edinburgh Evening Post* of the 2nd April 1833, in which he advises against pre-payment: 'Let them enter their names as passengers where they will, but never pay a sixpence until they are on board,' but not against emigration in itself. (Information from David Groves to Gillian Hughes who is currently editing Hogg's letters for the S/SC Research Edition.) I am grateful to Gillian Hughes for supplying a copy of this letter that was printed under the heading, 'The Ettrick Shepherd's Advice to Emigrants'.
20. Hogg corresponded with Simeon de Witt Bloodgood from the summer of 1833, and he eventually sent him, and Bloodgood arranged publication of, *Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1834). For the evolution of *Familiar Anecdotes*, see *Anecdotes of Scott*, ed. Jill Rubenstein, S/SC Research Edition 7 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999). See especially, 'The Note on the Genesis of the Texts' by Douglas S. Mack, (xxxi–lvi). In 1834 Hogg sent a story entitled, 'Tales of Fathers and Daughters' to Bloodgood (see Hogg's letter to Bloodgood of 25 January 1834, in the Gratz Collection, British Poets, Case 10, Box 39, at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania). The story was published in *The Zodiac, A Monthly Periodical devoted to Science, Literature and the Arts* (Albany, New York: Erastus Perry), 2 vols, July 1835 to January 1837, where it was serialised in the first three numbers beginning in the first issue of July 1835 (I, 2–4), continued in August 1835 (I, 25–26), and concluded in September 1835 (I, 39–41).

- See Janette Currie, 'From Altrive to Albany: James Hogg's Transatlantic Publication', *STAR Archive* (December 2003) <<http://www.star.ac.uk/Archive/Publications.htm>>
21. *All On Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 215–16.
 22. The extract entitled 'Fortune' was first printed in the *Christian Register* (Boston) Vol. 14 (June 1835), 180, and reprinted complete with title into *The Liberator* on the 18th July 1835 (Vol. V, No. 29), 116. Jill Rubenstein identified the extract from Hogg's essay, 'Sermon VIII. Virtue the Only Source of Happiness' from *A Series of Lay Sermons on Good Principles and Good Breeding* (London, 1834): see her note in *Studies in Hogg and His World*, 13 (2002), 128–29. I am grateful to Shannon Lanner at the University of South Carolina for her assistance with sorting out the publication history of 'Fortune'. A short extract of the whole of the introductory paragraph of 'Emigration' was reprinted in the *Christian Register* on the 3rd October 1835 from *The Liberator*: see Vol. 14, No. 738 (No. 60, New Series), 240. There is no indication of the source of the story, as is the case with the review from the *Scotsman*, but not the case with the extract from the *Christian Register*; this would appear to indicate that if the source was directly from the original that this was noted, but if it was derived from an American reprint this was not. Hopefully, as work continues on Hogg's transatlantic publications the contemporary American source will be located.
 23. Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, transl. Timothy Bahti, Introduction by Paul de Man (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1982), Chapter 1: 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', 3–45.
 24. Phillip Lapsansky, 'Graphic Discord: Abolitionist and Antiabolitionist Images', in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 201–30.
 25. Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women and Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 17.
 26. Karen Sanchez-Eppler, *Touching Liberty: Abolition, Feminism, and the Politics of the Body* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 20.
 27. Stephen Butterfield, *Black Autobiography in America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1974), 31.
 28. John Galt, *Lawrie Todd, or, The Settlers in the Woods*, 3 vols (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), III, 3.
 29. The phrase is borrowed from Fiona Stafford's expression of the literary relations between Burns and Wordsworth in her plenary lecture at the conference entitled 'Scotland, Ireland and the Romantic Aesthetic', sponsored by the AHRB Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen, 5–7th July 2002.
 30. Many of Hogg's early short stories demonstrate 'democratic humanist' sympathies: see, for example, Douglas S. Mack's introduction to *The Shepherd's Calendar*, S/SC Research Edition 1 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995). Hogg edited a long narrative by his close friend James Gray that included an attack on slavery: *The Spy*, No. 11 (10 November 1810), ed. Gillian Hughes, S/SC Research Edition 8 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 115–17.
 31. Robert Burns's 'A Man's a Man for a' That' was first published anonymously in *The Glasgow Magazine*, August 1795: *The Canongate Burns*, 516. Interestingly, the title of this poem forms the epigram to Simeon de Witt Bloodgood's edition of *Hogg's Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1834).