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Henderson, Jonathan M.J. (2016) The Historical Thesaurus and the Sentimental Language of Robert Burns. PhD thesis

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The *Historical Thesaurus* and the Sentimental Language of Robert Burns

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy (Ph.D.)

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May 2016

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Abstract

This thesis demonstrates a new methodology for the linguistic analysis of literature drawing on the data within *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (2009). Developing ideas laid out by Carol McQuirk in her book *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* (1985), this study offers a novel approach to the cultural connections present in the sentimental literature of the eighteenth century, with specific reference to Robert Burns. In doing so, it responds to the need to “stop reading Burns through glossaries and start reading him through dictionaries, thesauruses and histories”, as called for by Murray Pittock (2012).

Beginning by situating the methodology in linguistic theory, this thesis goes on firstly to illustrate the ways in which such an approach can be deployed to assess existing literary critical ideas. The first chapter does this testing by examining McQuirk’s book, while simultaneously grounding the study in the necessary contextual background.

Secondly, this study investigates, in detail, two aspects of Burns’s sentimental persona construction. Beginning with his open letter ‘The Address of the Scotch Distillers’ and its sentimental use of the language of the Enlightenment, and moving on to one of Burns’s personas in his letters to George Thomson, this section illustrates the importance of persona construction in Burns’s sentimental ethos.

Finally, a comprehensive, evidence-based, comparison of linguistic trends examines the extent to which similar sentimental language is used by Burns and Henry Mackenzie, Laurence Sterne, William Shenstone and Samuel Richardson.

This thesis shows how this new methodology is a valuable new tool for those involved in literary scholarship. For the first time in any comprehensive way the *Historical Thesaurus* can be harnessed to make new arguments in literary criticism.

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Acknowledgements

I would particularly like to thank my family – my mother, my late father, my brother and my fiancée Laura - for their unending support throughout the last four years. This thesis is dedicated to my father, who sadly passed away during the course of writing. Rest in peace, Dad. All is well.

I would also like to sincerely thank my primary supervisor Professor Jeremy Smith for his unwavering positivity, enthusiasm and inspiration, without which this thesis would not have come to fruition. I have thoroughly enjoyed all the many conversations pertaining to (and not pertaining to!) this project over the last few years. Thanks also goes to my secondary supervisor Professor Murray Pittock for his help in finding the direction for this thesis as well as providing one of its starting points.

I have been fortunate to be able to draw on the knowledge, experience and support of the staff on the Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century Project – in particular Gerard Carruthers, Kirsteen McCue, Rhona Brown and Pauline Mackay – which have been of great value in this endeavour. I am also particularly grateful to my fellow Ph.D. candidate on the project, Arun Sood, for his all help along the way. Thanks must also go to all involved in the Scottish Literature subject area at the University of Glasgow for their encouragement.

I also want to express my gratitude to my examiners, Joe Bray and Nigel Leask, as all of their advice led to this thesis becoming a stronger piece of work.

I am very thankful for the funding I have received from the Arts and Humanities Research Council as part of my association with the Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century project.

For Dad.
Each word is your own.

Author's Declaration

The work presented in this thesis is the candidate's own, and has not been submitted for a degree in another institution.

Jonathan Henderson, March 2016

Chapter 1: General Introduction

Research Questions

This thesis will examine the ways in which, and to what extent, Robert Burns engages with the language of Sentiment present in writings of the eighteenth century. It will place Burns, and his sentimental rhetoric, within broader literary, social and philosophical contexts. This contextualisation will be achieved through analysis of linguistic trends and intertextual studies on particular word-use in the time period, with reference to linguistic usages in the sentimental era, and their grounding in the philosophical thought of the Enlightenment.

It is apparent, particularly in his early work, that Burns's expressions of his own philosophical/political ideas are delivered through a particular language of sentiment and emotion (the early verse epistles would perhaps be the most obvious examples¹). However, new resources, both theoretical and digital, allow a focused linguistic examination of how Robert Burns engages with the language of sentiment used by contemporary writers. Such an examination can help to situate Burns in clear literary/social contexts.

Burns was very much an advocate of a new school of thought when it came to religion and morality. He famously appeared to abhor 'Auld Licht' Presbyterianism and scathingly (and perhaps, sometimes, a little unfairly) attacked, in his poetry, those who supported it. The reasons for this abhorrence are numerous, but perhaps the main motivation was his engagement with Enlightenment thought and his agreement with its principles of the assertion of human reason, the inherent goodness of man, and the ability of man to alter the environment for the benefit of the people. The influence on Burns from Enlightenment figures such as Adam Smith and David Hume, to name just two, is clear as he, on a number of occasions, paraphrases or quotes Smith, perhaps most famously in his poem 'To a Louse'.²

The foundations of many of the moral principles discussed by Enlightenment authors often lay in their conceptions of morality being based in what they called **sympathy**. Adam Smith, for example, opens his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) with a chapter on sympathy. Such philosophical discussions in the eighteenth century formed the basis of much of what we now consider to be the literary sentimental era. Works such as Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768) and Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771) portray characters whose lives seem to be lived through *sympathising* with other people and

¹ See Carol McQuirk, *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* (Athens: University of Georgia Press: 1985), Chapter 1

² "O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us/To see oursels as others see us!" is a paraphrase of Smith in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759)

creatures that they come across. The authors, at least in part, construct their ‘sentimental heroes’ in this way in order to investigate the consequences of the period’s Enlightenment thought.

Burns clearly states that his early literary influences lay with the authors of a “sentimental kind” such as Mackenzie and Sterne.³ Their ideas of moral living and the importance of individual emotion appeared to appeal to the young Robert Burns. It is therefore important for any student of Burns's evolving thinking to ascertain, evidentially, the extent to which Burns takes his lead from authors such as those mentioned above, how much he engages with them, and how far he develops the sentiments and sensibilities that are present in the literature of his time.

This thesis will deploy a new methodology with which to inform such an evidence-based study. It will attempt to show that, by harnessing new resources such as the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (2009) as well as digital textual analysis software, an effective new approach can provide the focused evidence necessary in order to illustrate Burns’s intertextuality with the sentimental authors, and his involvement in the textual cultures surrounding them.

Research Contexts: The Sentimental Era (Carol McGuirk and Erik Erämetsä)

Although Erik Erämetsä, in his book *A Study of the Word ‘Sentimental’* (1951) noticed an occurrence of the adverb **sentimentally** a year earlier in the Postscript to *Clarissa* (1748) by Samuel Richardson),⁴ the earliest use of the word **sentimental** cited in the *Historical Thesaurus of the OED* (2009) - drawing upon the *OED*, as we shall see - appears in a letter by Lady Bradshaigh dated 1749. Lady Bradshaigh remarked at the new word, not fully understanding what it meant when it was attributed to all number of things, and yet it was “so much in vogue among the polite”.⁵ It was, it would seem, highly fashionable to be seen as being ‘sentimental’. To be seen as having cultivated your feeling and emotion and fully comprehended the consequences would have shown that you were not only well read in the thought and philosophies of the day, but also in a position to become an example to others: a moral pillar of society, perhaps. This didactic focus forms a significant aspect of the early sentimental era.

³ Robert Burns, Letter to John Murdoch, January 5th 1783, in G. Ross Roy, *The Letters of Robert Burns*, 2nd Edition [henceforth *Letters*], 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), Vol. 1, letter 13 [henceforth in the format 1:13], p. 17

⁴ Erik Erämetsä, *A Study of the Word ‘Sentimental’* (Helsinki: Helsingin Liikekirjapaino Oy, 1951), p. 18

⁵ A. Alvarez, ‘Introduction’, in Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (London: Penguin, 1967), p.11-12

Carol McGuirk's *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* (1985) situates Burns in a sentimental tradition as well as his own sentimental timeline. Her ideas relate to different aspects of Burns's career, beginning with his early poems of direct address such as 'To a Mouse', 'To a Louse' and 'To a Mountain Daisy', through to Burns's time as a 'sentimental hero' in Edinburgh, up to his later works on Scottish songs and the emotive sentimentality attributed to them.

McGuirk draws attention to Burns's similarities to previous sentimental novelists, such as Sterne and Mackenzie, as well as his affection for them, and aligns these similarities with a number of stylistic and thematic choices that Burns made in the composition of his works. McGuirk then goes on to illustrate how sympathy for the outcast is of high importance in poems such as 'The Jolly Beggars' and how this sympathy can be seen as being similar to that perceived by contemporary audiences in the sentimental protagonists created by Mackenzie and Sterne.

The second part of the book focuses on Burns in Edinburgh, how Burns was received by the Edinburgh literary public and how he becomes the 'mouse of his own creation'; the sympathy of the public appears to be drawn to Burns as a poor ploughman-poet. The ways in which Burns's farmer in 'To a Mouse' addresses the creature is replicated in the way the Edinburgh literary public appear to address Burns himself: with "benevolent condescension" (McGuirk, p. 71). This idea suggests that Burns himself was treated as the same kind of "object of compassion" as the sentimental authors treated the numerous objects that seemed to rouse their protagonists' emotions.

The theories that McGuirk has developed with regards to Burns's work and life in parts one and two of her book are backed up with firm circumstantial and critical evidence, as well as rigorous interpretative criticism. Her theories will be further examined below, but the main area of criticism that is largely absent from McGuirk's analyses is a linguistic study of the writing of Burns. A study of this sort will be conducted here and the results compared to McGuirk's conclusions. McGuirk herself says that her "study begins – and it is only a beginning – to make some... cultural connections. It will have served a good purpose if it stimulates wider interest in Burns as a poet of his time" (McGuirk, p. xxviii). This study will provide new evidence for the cultural connections created by Burns in his works.

As mentioned above, sentimentalism has its roots, in part, embedded in the thought and philosophy of the time. The Enlightenment saw figures such as Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Hume and Smith concerning themselves with the nature of morality, and the inherent 'goodness' of man. Born out of scientific progress, the Enlightenment thinkers

(most notably Hume) adopted a level of scepticism that foregrounded people as individuals, rather than as a pious collective.

During the Enlightenment, religion still played a major part in peoples' lives, but there was a high importance also placed on the self and the individual's development of their own being. Questions of morality and where it comes from emerge in the eighteenth century: Are morals born out of intellect, or through emotion? Are humans inherently moral creatures, or is morality learned? The literature in question here relies on, and responds to, the questions that were emerging in the philosophies of the Enlightenment. Lady Bradshaigh's remarks on the word **sentimental** not only illustrate the fashionable nature of some social repercussions of the philosophical thought of the time being labelled as 'sentimental', but it also marks the start of referring to the literature concerned with these ideas as sentimental literature.

The exploration of this new thought in literature brought with it a language that makes clear these themes and topics to the reader of sentimental literature. The early part of the sentimental era, as Erämetsä explains, was "a predominantly moral" method of writing that later changes to a "predominantly emotional" method, or "the dominant quality [was] transferred from the head to the heart" (Erämetsä, p. 39). The earlier "predominantly moral" writing was based very much on didacticism and instruction: a guide to how we should live and how humans should behave towards each other; the latter, "predominantly emotional" writing was more focused on the manifestation of feeling. This later movement was also developed on questions as to the motivation of morality and whether someone would behave benevolently purely for someone/something else's good, or whether they gained from it themselves, perhaps by others' opinions of them being elevated.

Erik Erämetsä's study lists all of the words that he saw as being crucial "catchwords" in the sentimental era. Although being well-informed and well-read in the writers of the period, he is not able to offer linguistic evidence in support of his study. There is also room for discussion on how these words operate within the parameters of sentimental literature.

As Carol McGuirk's study is "only a beginning" (McGuirk, p. xxviii), it is a the starting-point for the current study. Necessarily, McGuirk is not able to offer linguistic evidence of the kind that is available with the publication of the *Historical Thesaurus* (2009). The methodology for the thesis will be explained further below, but the evidence available through the use of the *Historical Thesaurus* can shed light on the cultural aspects of the period (which McGuirk invites in her introduction), through the study of the ways in

which specific significant words operate in works of literature written at the time. McGuirk's claims of Burns becoming a 'sentimental hero' within a 'sentimental' Edinburgh public can now be given the evidential and linguistic grounding that they very much deserve.

Enlightenment Philosophy and the Terms 'Sentiment', 'Sensibility' and 'Sympathy'

With its focuses on morality and feeling, the sentimental era can be argued to have been a development in literature originating, at least in part, from the Enlightenment. Authors such as Sterne and Mackenzie use and manipulate concepts brought to light by Enlightenment thinkers. When discussing how Robert Burns engages with the eighteenth-century language of sentiment, it is important, first of all, to establish a clear idea of what is meant by the term, beyond Lady Bradshaigh's attempted definition. The *Historical Thesaurus* defines a mid-eighteenth-century use of the word 'sentiment' as "a thought or reflection coloured by or proceeding from emotion"⁶, but when discussing the relationship of different eighteenth century texts this definition is not detailed enough. The *OED* does however offer a more artistically focused definition as "an emotional thought expressed in literature or art; the feeling or meaning intended to be conveyed by a passage, as distinguished from the mode of expression"⁷, which places emphasis on the attempted conveyance of emotion in literature.

While maintaining specificity to the art of writing and the techniques involved in such undertakings, the definition lacks the social and cultural background information that would illustrate the importance of the use of language of sentiment around the time of Burns. There is, therefore, a requirement for a discussion of the ideas that give rise to a language of sentiment: a focused discussion of contemporary ideas regarding human understanding and morality.

It is perhaps no coincidence that Robert Burns was writing during the tail end of what has come to be known the Scottish Enlightenment, during which emerging thoughts spanning subjects such as the mind, morals, creativity and aesthetic taste and society (amongst many others) were all being investigated by such figures as Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), David Hume (1711-1776), Adam Smith (1723-1790) and Thomas Reid (1710-1796). Burns, being a widely read and educated man, was familiar with the works of

⁶ *OED Historical Thesaurus* Online, <http://oed.com/view/th/class/123513> [accessed 16/02/2012]

⁷ 'Sentiment' in *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, Definition 8b, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/176056?redirectedFrom=sentiment#eid> [accessed 11/05/15]

some of these figures, even explicitly citing Smith as a direct influence on his writing of his poem 'Remorse'⁸.

It is clear from his own words, then, that Burns does engage with the philosophical thought of the time. However, in order to give these assertions an evidential basis, it is important to develop an understanding of the development of the language of the sentimental era, and it is logical to begin by considering its possible origins in the philosophical thought of the time.

To begin, however, for the purposes of this thesis, a short discussion of key terms associated with the period needs to be conducted in order to make clear the nuances in the differences in meanings of 'sentiment' and 'sensibility', as "the concept of sensibility developed in complex relationships to sentiment judgement and reason in the eighteenth century."⁹ The terms are closely related, but as Ann Jessie Van Sant suggests, they are distinguishable:

...sensibility and sentiment/sentimental are in one respect easy to separate: sensibility is associated with the body, sentiment with the mind. The first is based on physical sensitivity and the process of sensation; the second refers to a refinement of thought.¹⁰

The meaning of the term 'sensibility', in the context of eighteenth-century thought, stems from the physiological term describing the processes associated with the nervous system. The ability to sense the physical world is at the heart of the meaning of the word. The term developed, in a philosophical sense, to encompass the idea that morality has a basis in feeling, including emotional feeling.

This 'moral sense' as it were, became an important consideration in the eighteenth century, as sensibility – the ability to sense, or feel – became seen as a crucial aspect of individual morality. As Stephen Ahern explains, "the individual's immediate sensory and affective experience becomes the basis for a new empiricist epistemology and a new model of moral agency"¹¹

It is with this inclusion of sensory experience into the realms of moral thought that the term 'sentimental' begins to become popular. As Michael L. Frazer notes, this focus on sensation formed a primary part of enlightenment moral philosophy, opposing those that

⁸ Robert Burns, 'Remorse', ed. James Kinsley, *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns* [henceforth *Poems & Songs*], 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), vol. 1, p. 37

⁹ Peggy Thompson, *Beyond Sense and Sensibility: Moral Formation and the Literary Imagination from Johnson to Wordsworth* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2014), p. 2

¹⁰ Ann Jessie Van Sant, *Eighteenth-Century Sensibility and the Novel: The Senses in Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 4

¹¹ Stephen Ahern, *Affected Sensibilities: Romantic Excess and the Genealogy of the Novel 1680-1810* (New York: AMS Press, 2007), pp. 11-12

favoured the primacy of reason alone.¹² The “refinement of thought” developed from the philosophical ideas regarding the importance of sensibility is what becomes labelled ‘sentimental’. For this reason, Frazer differentiates the enlightenment philosophers into the broad categories of the rational and the sentimental, with the later favouring sensibility as a moral agency. Philosophers who can be thought of as working in this sentimental mode are figures such as the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, Joseph Butler, Francis Hutcheson, David Hume and Adam Smith. Their efforts to establish thought concerning moral understanding through sensibility, and their refinement of thought based on feeling is what allows them to be seen as ‘sentimental’.

Similarly, the writers of the period who respond to and interrogate such philosophies display a similar refinement of thought with regards to sensibility. Samuel Richardson, Laurence Sterne and Henry Mackenzie, for example, all allow their characters to display their moral capacity through their ability to feel. The literature they produced, therefore, illustrates thought processes based on their characters’ sensibilities, and it is such thought that allows the literature they produced to fall under the label of ‘sentimental’.

The moral aspects of the terminology detailed above has its roots in the philosophy of the period. John Locke, in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), put forward thoughts on the origins of ideas. Bertrand Russell summarises Locke’s position as follows: “[o]ur ideas are derived from two sources, (a) sensation, and (b) perception of the operation of our own mind, which may be called ‘internal sense’. Since we can only think by means of ideas, and since all ideas come from experience, it is evident that none of our knowledge can antedate experience.”¹³ Locke’s belief that all knowledge is the product of experience allowed his successors to place importance on different aspects of sensation. After all, if experiences are all-important, then how the experiences are created – how we perceive the world – and how we reflect on experience, is of vital significance with regards to human understanding.

For Locke then, a person is born as a ‘blank slate’ (*tabula rasa*) and formed only through experience, which is something that his one-time student, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, vehemently disagreed with. For many, Shaftesbury marks the beginning of what would come to be called sentimental philosophy, with his ideas concerning an innate moral sense. As Janet Todd explains, Shaftesbury wrote of an “inborn

¹² See Michael L. Frazer, *The Enlightenment of Sympathy: Justice and the Moral Sentiments in the Eighteenth Century and Today* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 4

¹³ Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy and its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, 2nd Edition (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1961), p. 589

conscience [that] is the source of moral distinctions and heads humanity towards benevolence”.¹⁴ Shaftesbury combines his ideas on an innate moral sense with an aestheticizing of morality. He equated goodness and virtue with beauty, concluding that philosophical contemplation was “to learn what is *just* in Society, and *beautiful* in Nature, and the Order of the World”¹⁵, which, as Todd surmises as “to be good was to see the beauty of virtue” (Todd, p. 25). Shaftesbury, then, equates beauty with morality, which in essence is an inclusion of the concepts of pleasure and pain into the moral discussion. Beauty is pleasurable for humanity, and so therefore can be descriptive of morality. Peoples’ innate moral sense will find pleasure in ‘beautiful’ morality and pain in ‘vulgar’ immorality, thus they are able to automatically tell the difference between right and wrong, moral and immoral, by way of emotion.

Francis Hutcheson carried forward Shaftesbury’s ideas on moral aesthetics, but developed the discourse into ideas on action based on morality. Chris Jones explains that “Hutcheson insists that passions and affections, not reason, are the causes of actions, but that the moral sense approves of benevolent actions and especially of those actions producing the widest good”.¹⁶ Hutcheson, therefore, bases positive action, and the principles behind such action, firmly on the “passions and affections”, basically stating that benevolence is a product of feeling. It is the thoughts on principled action being based on emotion that “is encapsulated in the shifting semantics of the word ‘sentiment’ in the middle decades of the eighteenth century”.¹⁷

With the term ‘sentiment’ beginning to combine the notions of ‘principle’ and ‘feeling’ (Bell, p. 19), David Hume wrote in his *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (first published under that title in 1758) that “were we to attempt a *definition* of [a] sentiment, we should, perhaps, find it a difficult, if not an impossible task; in the same manner as if we should endeavour to define the feeling of cold or passion of anger, to a creature who had never had any experience of these sentiments”¹⁸. By pointing out that defining a particular sentiment is all but a futile exercise, Hume actually give us an idea of what it is he means by ‘sentiment’ in the general sense. “The passion of anger” here, exemplifies the use of the term ‘sentiment’ to describe what in modern times would

¹⁴ Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 25

¹⁵ Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times etc.* (London, 1714), quoted in Todd, p. 25

¹⁶ Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (London: Routledge, 1993), p.25

¹⁷ Michael Bell, *Sentimentalism, Ethics and the Culture of Feeling* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 19

¹⁸ David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Tom L. Beauchamp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 40.

be put into the semantic field of Emotion. Hume chooses that particular notion to represent all feeling in his explanation of the difficulty involved in defining ‘sentiment’.

However, to say that the language of sentiment is simply the language of emotion would be too much of an unhelpful generalisation. Hume helps to deepen our understanding of the term:

All polite letters are nothing but pictures of human life in various attitudes and situations; and inspire us with different sentiments, of praise or blame, admiration or ridicule, according to the qualities of the object which they set before us. An artist must be better qualified to succeed in this undertaking... [of] the workings of passions, and the various species of sentiment which discriminate vice and virtue. (Hume, p. 8)

Hume then, attributes “praise or blame, admiration or ridicule” which are products of emotional reactions involved in a natural process of judgement, to concepts of a sentimental nature. For example, if someone does something disapproved of by another then the preceding feel a basic emotional reaction (anger, sadness), a product of which could be the sentiment of “blame”. We can therefore look at language of sentiment being the description of the product of an emotional reaction to a given situation. Just as Hume points out the importance of the artist’s level of understanding “the workings of... the various species of sentiment”, we can now look to the artistic work of Burns to help illustrate the definition:

Wee, sleekit, cowran, tim’rous *beastie*,
O, what a panic’s in thy breastie!
Thou need na start awa sae hasty,
Wi’ bickering brattle!
I wad be laith to rin an’ chase thee,
Wi’ murd’ring *pattle!*

I’m truly sorry Man’s dominion
Has broken Nature’s social union,
An’ justifies that ill opinion,
Which makes thee startle,
At me, thy poor, earth-born companion,
An’ *fellow-mortal!* (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p. 127, lines 1-12)

Robert Burns displays both an acute attention to detail and an accurate understanding of sentiment here in ‘To A Mouse’, one of his most famous poems.

The first stanza begins with a description of the mouse. The description is simple, but that does not detract from its purpose. The idea that the mouse is “cowran” not only helps to describe the mouse, but also indicates the mouse’s fear, its primary emotion at the particular moment in time.

The second stanza displays a clear philosophical awareness of the mouse's difficult situation. The mouse itself acts purely instinctually, of course, but the speaker of the poem adds the sentiment on its behalf (Adam Smith wrote, "That we often derive sorrow from the sorrow of others is too obvious to require any instances to prove it"¹⁹). Because of this sympathy for the mouse's fear, the speaker is deeply apologetic for causing it, which is the product of that basic emotion present in the first stanza. Burns expresses this apology in an elaborate fashion, taking us through it step by step. This process not only leads the reader to think that perhaps the speaker is experiencing his own comparable situation, but also describes the product of the original emotion. It is this description of the product of the original emotion that results in the use of sentimental language.

Hume also attributes sentiment to being a defining factor in the difference between a fiction of the imagination and a belief of the mind. Sentiment is attributed to belief in the way that it allows belief to be a more "vivid, lively, forcible, firm, steady conception of an object than what the imagination alone is ever able to attain" (Hume, p. 41). The sentiment is built from a variety of experiences (both emotional and sensory) from which we are able to build up a strong belief in our minds. For example, on hearing a familiar voice in the next room from him at the time of writing, Hume was able to "paint [the person, together with surrounding objects]... as existing at present, with the same qualities and relations, of which [he] formerly knew them possessed" (Hume, p. 41).

The word 'sentiment', to Hume, it seems, is often interchangeable with the word 'feeling' in the modern sense. Today we use 'feeling' to describe both emotion and sensory perception, and 'sentiment' was no different in its use by Hume. It could be said then that Hume's use of the term 'sentiment' is representative of all inner experiences of humanity, but inner experiences as consequences to external factors, such as those detected by our senses, as well those constructed through experience. With regards to the creation of art therefore, a writer is able to evoke the sentiments of a reader through providing them with fictitious 'external factors' created through the experience of the writer, which in turn triggers the sentiments within the reader via their imagination. From Hume's use of the term 'sentiment' then, it is possible to derive a definition of 'language of sentiment' as the language used to describe and interrogate the product of our inner experiences, be that emotional or sensory.

¹⁹ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, eds. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), p. 159

In order to ensure the accuracy of this definition, it is worth testing it against other writers of the time. Adam Smith is possibly one of the most suitable prominent Enlightenment figures with which to do so:

The infant feels... the uneasiness of the present instant... With regard to the future it is perfectly secure, and in its thoughtlessness and want of foresight possesses and antidote to fear and anxiety, the great tormentors of the human breast, from which reason and philosophy will in vain attempt to defend it when it grows up to be a man. (Smith, p. 162)

Here Smith employs allusions to emotion in the explanation of his philosophical ideas. By contemplating on what “fear and anxiety” do to us as humans, and in doing so evoking the feeling of “torment”, he is describing the product of emotions in writing. The descriptions of emotions have the effect of producing sympathy in the reader with someone experiencing torment, which in turn provokes a sentimental reaction to the writing. It is the disclosure of the product of emotion in writing therefore, that can be described as sentimental language.

This idea of sentimental writing can be paralleled in some of Burns’s prose works. For example, Burns frequently describes the product of emotion in his letters:

Whatever comes from you wakens always up the better blood about my heart, which your kind little recollections of my parental friends carries as far as it will go. (*Letters*, 1:48, p. 53)

Burns, then, in his letter to John Kennedy, illustrates a product of emotion in a more poetic way. By describing a product of his being pleased or happy as wakening “the better blood about [his] heart” he is illustrating how the emotion affects him, which is more likely to engage the reader’s sentiments than simply naming the emotion itself. Burns is using a physiological language of sensibility to portray an emotional reaction as a consequence to external factors, and therefore composing his letter in sentimental language.

Another aspect of Burns’s sentimental technique here is an ability to evoke a sympathetic response in the reader – one that allows a sharing of the emotion described, and it is the concept of sympathy that plays another major role in both sentimental philosophy and literature of the time. Hume and Smith are the two key philosophical figures for a discussion on sympathy, and, for Hume, the importance of sympathy lay in its communicative capacity:

Sympathy is not a distinctive kind of motivation but a mechanism through which the sentiments of another are communicated to us; communicated, that is to say, in

the sense that *we* come to experience a sentiment of the very same type as the one they are experiencing.²⁰

The communication of emotion is particularly important when considering the implications for human motivation. If morality is based in feeling a primary emotion, then benevolent behaviour towards others is borne out of sympathetic communication between the primary sufferer and the person who becomes benevolent towards them. The benefactor literally feels the emotion of the sufferer and is motivated to act. Through a similar process of sympathetic communication, as Philip Mercer explains, “[s]ympathy also explains how beliefs, opinions and attitudes are disseminated within a community.”²¹ Sympathy for Hume, therefore, acts as a mechanism for the conveyance of emotion and (therefore) principle, which is, in essence the mechanism of a key attribute of humanity – sociability. John Mullan explains the significance of this concept:

Sympathy, then, expresses two aspects of the ‘social and communicative’ capacities of humans, and revealingly does so according to the social positions of those who experience it. First there is the possibly ‘infectious’ nature of ‘passions’ and ‘affections’ and the ‘panic’ which is their spread; then there is the assertiveness of an authority which finds in sympathy a means for the re-establishment of social order and harmony. Sympathy, which is the mutuality of ‘affections’, can bring people together, but there is always the risk that it can do so in the wrong way.²²

When the mechanism of sympathy is applied to a community of people, then, it creates a “mutuality of ‘affections’”, which can then be the motivating factor for principled action. The “infectious”, or contagious, aspect detailed above, with regards to a community’s capacity for social unrest, will be further discussed in chapter 2, but the communicative power of sympathy that this description suggests, and the motivation it has the potential to inspire, are key aspects of eighteenth-century sentimental thought.

Adam Smith further indicates the importance of sympathy as a basis for sentimental communication. Smith builds into his philosophy on sympathy an imaginative element. He disputes the idea that passions are automatically communicated and suggests there is further cognition at work:

A spectator’s sympathy may seem almost automatic when she is faced with strong, simple emotions such as sudden grief or joy, but will necessarily involve considerable imaginative effort with more complex and nuanced sentiments. In this way, Smith’s account of the operations of sympathy differs quite strikingly from Hume’s... (Frazer, p. 96)

²⁰ Craig Taylor, *Sympathy: A Philosophical Analysis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 10

²¹ Philip Mercer, *Sympathy and Ethics: A Study into the Relationship Between Sympathy and Morality with Special Reference to Hume’s Treatise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 26

²² John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 26

For Smith, there is a sense that the sympathiser must draw on their own imaginative faculties in order to fully comprehend the complexities of another's emotional state. In this regard, the mechanics of sympathy is less automatic. There is a sense that, in order to inspire action within a community, there is first the requirement for key individuals to take the action of inspiring motivation within a crowd. The imaginative faculties of the people within the crowd must be engaged in order for the transference of sympathy to take place.

Such thoughts concerning human understanding, and particularly sympathy, are at the heart of eighteenth-century sentimental philosophy on human understanding and sociability. And, as John Mullan argues, it is this discovery of sociability dependent upon the communication of passions and sentiments that “was formative of the fashion of eighteenth-century fiction now called ‘sentimental’”, as the authors of such fiction endeavoured to examine the ideal of harmonious sociability (Mullan, p. 2) and the production of a sympathetic society. Harnessing the language of Enlightenment thinkers, literary authors of the sentimental era extrapolate discussions on the nature of feeling and understanding, as well as principled action based on an emotional moral sense, to something of an extreme. Authors such as Richardson, Sterne, Mackenzie and Shenstone, who will form the basis for a linguistic trend comparison with Burns in chapter 4, frequently exemplify the language of sentiment in a ‘poetic form’, as described with reference to Burns’s letter above. The ‘sentimental heroes’ in the works of these writers actively seek out people and creatures with whom to sympathise. They perform the creation of sentiment as both ‘feeling’ and ‘principle’, in the Humeian sense, by actively seeking out the “external factors” that produce the inner experiences attributed to emotion.

Such a performance of an emotional reaction is a hallmark of the literature of sentimental era. Chapter 2 of this thesis will examine a particular case of this moralising aspect of sentimental writing, and how Burns writes in this manner in order to utilise the Enlightenment philosophical thought through a constructed sentimental personae. Chapter 3 will follow-on from this study, showing how, later in his career, Burns adapts to what Erämetsä calls the “predominantly emotional” second ‘wave’ of sentimentalism by way of examination of his letters to George Thomson concerning Scottish song.

Burns cites both Sterne and Mackenzie as “glorious models” after which he endeavours to form his conduct, and it is important therefore to evidence the extent to which he engages with such ‘hallmarks’ of the literature of these writers. In order to do so, a methodology has been developed which has the ability to analyse the literature for the linguistic signatures associated with the sentimental era. This thesis will outline the methodology here, before conducting a number of studies into the main criticism of Burns

as a sentimental writer. Chapters 2 and 3 will outline two key sentimental personae that Burns constructs for himself in his writing, and a general comprehensive comparison of sentimental linguistic trends between Burns and the other sentimental authors mentioned above can be found in chapter 4.

Methodology and Theoretical Context

The Historical Thesaurus of the OED (2009)

The *Historical Thesaurus* is a complete database of all the words in the second edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, arranged by semantic field and date. It categorises all the words that are, and have been, recorded in writing in the English language under three main headings, which are The External World, The Mind and Society. These are then broken down into sub-sections within each category:

Section I – The External World

- 1.The Earth
- 2.Life
- 3.Physical sensibility
- 4.Matter
- 5.Existence
- 6.Relative properties
- 7.The Supernatural

Section II – The Mind

- 1.Soul, spirit, mind
- 2.Emotion/feeling
- 3.Judgement, opinion
- 4.Aesthetics
- 5.Will/faculty of will
- 6.Expectation
- 7.Having/possession
- 8.Languages

Section III – Society

- 1.Society/life in association with others
- 2.Inhabiting/dwelling
- 3.Relations between social groups
- 4.Authority
- 5.Law
- 6.Education
- 7.Religion
- 8.Communications
- 9.Travel/travelling
- 10.Work / Serious occupation
- 11.Leisure/The Arts

Within these sub-sections every recorded word in the history of the English language is arranged in a hierarchy moving from the most general meaning to the most specific. Each entry is numbered and each level of specificity is indicated by a further number after a dot, for example:

- 03. Society
 - 03.03 Armed hostility
 - 03.03.16 Military equipment
 - 03.03.16.01 Weapon
 - 03.03.16.01.01 Club/stick
 - 03.03.16.01.02 Other blunt weapon
 - 03.03.16.01.03 Sharp weapon
 - 03.03.16.01.03.01 Spear/lance
 - 03.03.16.01.03.02 Pike
 - 03.03.16.01.03.03 Halberd
 - 03.03.16.01.03.04 Axe
 - 03.03.16.01.03.05 Scythe
 - 03.03.16.01.03.06 Side-arms
 - 03.03.16.01.03.06.01 Sword
 - 03.03.16.01.03.06.01/01 (.broadsword)
 - 03.03.16.01.03.06.01/02 (.scimitar)
 - Knife/dagger

Use of the *Historical Thesaurus*

Section II of the Historical Thesaurus contains entries on Emotion/feeling which were used for this project to identify words that make up the language of specific semantic fields in use within the eighteenth century. These words were then put in a spreadsheet along with the part of speech, the dates of the usage, the meaning/context of the words and any other notes relevant to each. This process created a comprehensive database of the recorded eighteenth-century English vocabulary of each semantic field in question.

Scots Thesaurus

Obviously, Robert Burns frequently wrote in Scots and, therefore, for the sake of comprehensiveness, a Scots supplement to the eighteenth-century English language of excitement was required.

The *Scots Thesaurus* (2001), based on the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (CSD, 1985), arranges every word in the CSD arranged by semantic field. It is laid out in fifteen categories, which are:

- Birds, Wild Animals, Invertebrates
- Farm Animals
- Water Life
- Plants
- Environment

Water, Sea, Ships
Farming
Life Cycle, Family
Physical States
Food and Drink
Law
War, Fighting, Violence
Trades, Building(s), Architecture
Religion, Superstition, Education, Festivals
Character, Emotions, Social Behaviour

Each category is then further broken down into a number of sub-categories in order to increase specificity of searching. It is worth noting at this point that the *Scots Thesaurus* does not include words that are shared with English, so therefore its use partial and supplementary for the purposes of this thesis.

Use of the *Scots Thesaurus*

In order to achieve a full list of the complete language of any complete semantic field that was available to Robert Burns a search of the *Scots Thesaurus* for all the words pertaining to the semantic fields was required. A search, therefore, of the category of ‘Character, Emotions, Social Behaviour’, including all seventy-two sub-categories was required. As there is no online version of the *Scots Thesaurus*, this process needed to be carried out manually.

Project Gutenberg *Complete Works of Robert Burns*

In order to establish which words of the language available that Burns actually used, a collection of his works needed to be searched. The most efficient way of doing this was to locate a machine-readable corpus of Robert Burns’s works. Project Gutenberg had published *The Complete works of Robert Burns* (2006) as an online publication for free use. This resource includes poems, songs and prose writings of Burns.

This publication is the only sizable digital corpus of Burns’s works currently obtainable in a suitable, freely available digital format. The text in this edition, however, is problematic. It is based on Allan Cunningham’s edition of *The Complete Works of Robert Burns: Containing his Poems, Songs and Correspondence. With a new Life of the Poet and Notices, Critical and Biographical* (1855), which, in turn, is based on his original publication of Burns’s *Works* from 1834. Cunningham is known to have fabricated material in his publication of Burns’s work, and his commentary is, at best, untrustworthy, earning him the nickname ‘Honest’ Allan. For instance, Nigel Leask notes, with reference

to Burns's tour journals "the most egregious tampering with R[obert] B[urns]'s manuscripts, involving the insertion of bogus material... seems to be the later work of Allan Cunningham",²³ yet Cunningham's "tampering" was not limited to the journals. It is for this reason that all of Cunningham's commentary has been disregarded and all questionable material in the publication has been removed for the purposes of this thesis. Once the data has revealed a potential point of interest in the poems of Burns, all examples have been double-checked against James Kinsley's authoritative three-volume edition of *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns* (1968).

Cunningham's edition also excludes some works and many of the letters of Burns that are now available, but as this study is one of linguistic trends, and not a complete concordance, the works in Cunningham's edition offer a good *sample* of Burns's literary and epistolary output, to be analysed and/or compared to trends in other writers' works. Again, due to the untrustworthy nature of Cunningham's edition, all the letters used as examples in this thesis have been double-checked against G. Ross Roy's authoritative edition of *The Letters of Robert Burns* (1985). Where a more recent authoritative text is available (in chapter 2, for 'The Address of the Scotch Distillers', for example), Nigel Leask's *Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns* containing the 'Commonplace Books, Tour Journals, and Miscellaneous Prose' (2014) (CBTJMP) has been cited. It is because of the process of checking Cunningham's edition against Kinsley's, Roy's and Leask's publications that the latter editors are cited as the sources for all of the quoted examples of Burns's works in this thesis.

Searching and Concordancing

Although it is possible to search for individual words in many word processing packages, this project needed a more efficient way of searching the corpus. Therefore, a concordancing programme that was available to download was made use of. The programme was called *Antconc 3.2.4w* (2011) and it allowed every occurrence of each word to be viewed at the same time, along with each word's context. From this concordance search, it was relatively easy to verify the correct words, used as the correct part of speech, corresponding to the spreadsheets of the eighteenth-century language.

²³ Nigel Leask, *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns*, vol. 1, 'Commonplace Books, Tour Journals and Miscellaneous Prose', ed. Nigel Leask (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 4

The *OED*

Having undertaken the task of assembling the contents of the relevant semantic fields, it is possible to refer back to the *OED*. The dictionary includes citations of dated uses of each word examined in the *HT* data. These citations are useful to gauge the commonality of word use at a given point in history; moreover, the citations themselves enable intertextual linking.

The *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (DSL) Online

The *DSL* (www.dsl.ac.uk) is an online dictionary of vocabulary in Scots, the distinctive Germanic linguistic variety used in Scotland and (to an extent) in Ulster. The results are displayed with extracts from example texts, and the lexeme's currency in terms of geography (dialect) and date.

Use of the *DSL* Online

The *DSL* was used in this project to verify the data taken from the *Scots Thesaurus* as well as allow for the words in the database to be dated. This resource enabled the narrowing down of the data taken from the *Scots Thesaurus* to words that were in use within the eighteenth century.

Data Entry

As each word used, as the part of speech defined by the spreadsheet, was identified, and each word was then entered into a new spreadsheet for Robert Burns's language for each particular semantic field. The new spreadsheet included each word's part of speech, meaning/context, the word's location in Burns's works, the format of the work in which each entry was situated (poem, song, prose), the date of the work (if available), the *Project Gutenberg Complete Works of Robert Burns* reference number, and the location of each word within each entry (stanza/paragraph number, line number/paragraph estimate).

The Semantic Fields of Sympathy and Excitement

The semantic fields predominantly made use of in this thesis are those of Sympathy and Excitement. Firstly, the semantic field of sympathy has been utilised due to the sentimental authors' engagement with the philosophical ideas surrounding the concept of sympathy (see pp. 17-19). Sympathetic communication is one of the main traits of sentimental literature, evident in all of the texts used in this study. The stories of Yorick in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, or Harley in Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, for instance, tell of each

protagonist encountering people and objects with which they sympathise, and use to illicit feeling within themselves. In the texts of the sentimental era it is the idea “that sympathy demonstrates man’s social nature, and hence that emotions exhibit morality”²⁴ that underpins and signifies the authors’ engagements with the philosophies on sympathy and feeling of the time. It is therefore apparent that the semantic field of sympathy is important to a study of the language of sentimental literature, such as this one.

Secondly, the procedures involved in the sympathy and emotion being displayed by the characters in sentimental literature is also examined by the authors in question. Often, the processes of feeling being elicited, is described in the period as emotion being ‘excited’, as Ann Jessie Van Sant explains:

...independent modes of gazing on suffering naturally coincide because of the understanding of sensibility as a basic responsiveness that invites a provocative disturbance.

Two terms, *excite* and *stimulate*, are particularly useful for an understanding of this idea. They can refer equally to procedures for arousing the passions or to procedures for creating a disturbance in the nervous system. Both terms occur regularly in descriptions of psychological and physiological sensibility. “To *stimulate* benevolence,” writes a periodical essayist, to *excite* horror and indignation against savage and ferocious practices” – these are the “happy fruits of sensibility” (emphasis added [by Van Sant]). (Van Sant, p. 50)

This process of emotion being said to be ‘excited’ is indicative of the ways in which the emotions described in the sentimental texts are presented. This can be further exemplified by taking note of the amount of exclamations present in passages of sentimental literature:

Damnation! a common prostitute to the meanest of ruffian” – ‘Calmly, my dear sir,’ said Harley, ‘did you know by what complicated misfortunes she had fallen to that miserable state in which you now behold her, I should have no need of words to excite your compassion. Think, Sir, of what she once was! Would you abandon her to the insults of an unfeeling world, deny her opportunity of penitence, and cut off the little comfort that still remains for your afflictions and her own! ‘Speak,’ said he, addressing himself to his daughter; ‘speak, I will hear thee’ – The desperation that supported her was lost; she fell to the ground, and bathed his feet with her tears!’²⁵

In this short excerpt from chapter XXIX of Henry Mackenzie’s *Man of Feeling*, there are four exclamations, which is fairly typical of passages in sentimental texts where characters’ emotions are being elicited. The number of exclamations present in such passages are indicative of an excitability in the temperament of the characters when matters of emotion are under consideration. Furthermore, another example of referring to

²⁴ Barbara M. Benedict, *Framing Feeling: Sentiment and Style in English Prose Fiction* (New York: AMS Press, 1994), p.3

²⁵ Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 51

emotion being ‘excited’ is present in the excerpt (“no need of words to excite your compassion”). It is this ‘excitability’ with regards to emotion that has led to the semantic field of Excitement being included in this study. The combination of the semantic fields of Sympathy and Excitement, therefore, have been selected as search material for this thesis because these offer insights into matters central to sentimental literature.

Burns Concordances

Concordance work has already been done on the works of Robert Burns. Firstly, in 1886 John Brown Reid published his *A Complete Word and Phrase Concordance to the Poems and Songs of Robert Burns, Incorporating a Glossary of Scotch Words, with Notes, Index, and Appendix of Readings*, which was intended to remedy a “difficulty of verifying a quotation, finding a phrase, a happy expression, or the exact words of a passage”.²⁶ The early publication of this concordance makes the text problematic, as it was produced before the Wallace-Chambers and Henley-Henderson editions, and other scholarly work on Burns raised issue with the spurious nature of a significant amount of material attributed to Burns. Reid’s concordance, therefore, is untrustworthy as it includes entries of words that are present in works that are no longer considered to be by Burns.

More trustworthy is James Mackay’s *Burns A-Z: The Complete Word Finder* (1990), which was commissioned by the Burns Federation in order to replace Reid’s *Concordance* with a more accurate publication. This edition is still not completely accurate by today’s standards, as in recent years further forgeries have been discovered and new manuscripts uncovered. The main problem with these publications with specific regards to this study, though, is that neither include the letters of Burns in the concordances. An important part of the searching process in this thesis is to sample Burns’s poetry, song and his prose works. While the concordance works by Reid and Mackay have been referred to during the course of this study in order to compare trends in the data with past concordance work, there will, of course, be differences in numbers of word-occurrences. This is due to both to the problematic nature of the Project Gutenberg edition used in this study (as mentioned above), and the absence of the letters in the Reid and Mackay volumes (as well as the inherent problems of the concordances themselves). The importance of the disparity in search results is limited, however, in the case of this study because it is not an attempt to achieve a definitive concordance of Burns’s languages relating to sentimentalism. The

²⁶ John Brown Reid, *A Complete Word and Phrase Concordance to the Poems and Songs of Robert Burns, Incorporating a Glossary of Scotch Words, with Notes, Index, and Appendix of Readings* (1886), quoted in James A. Mackay, *Burns A-Z The Complete Word Finder*, Subscribers’ Edition (Dumfries: James Mackay Publishing, 1990), p. 7

emphasis on establishing linguistic trends in this study makes it less important to base the searching procedures on an exhaustive edition of Burns's works, and the interesting points raised from searching the sample of Burns's works are checked against authoritative editions.

Initial Uses of the Data

The spreadsheets created from the data entry allowed a very fast analysis of certain aspects of Burns's language of each semantic field under consideration. For instance, can allow charts to be quickly drawn up of Burns's most common words within each field, which could then be further split into the most common English and the most common Scots words for each semantic field.

Most importantly, however, the spreadsheets became searchable documents containing all the words pertaining to each semantic field that Robert Burns used in his writings, supplying data that could be deployed in answering several research questions, some of which are to be addressed in this thesis.

Further uses of the Data

By referring back to the *OED* and the *DSL* which include dated quotations after the entries to exemplify how the target words are used, a list of other writers using the same words as Burns was constructed.

From this process, it will be possible to conduct a detailed analysis of the intertextuality, as demonstrated by the writers in question. In achieving this aim, the study will examine the intertextual connections between different writers concerned in different ways with sentimental literature, thus situating Burns in a sentimental framework. Firstly, though, the concepts behind these terms will be examined in order to ground the methodology in existing linguistic theory.

Methodological Issues

This methodology can be referred to as a corpus-based study, as opposed to a corpus-driven study. That is to say that the texts are used to evidence preconceived ideas as Tony McEnery and Andrew Hardie explain:

Corpus-based studies typically use corpus data in order to explore a theory or hypothesis, typically one established in current literature, in order to validate it, refute it or refine it.²⁷

This study will be used to evidence ideas relating to Burns, Shenstone, Richardson, Sterne and Mackenzie and their involvement in the literary sentimental era, as opposed to a corpus-driven study that claim that “the corpus itself should be the sole source of our hypotheses about language” (McEnery & Hardie, p. 6). In doing so, the method encourages searching particular words or phrases prevalent in the eighteenth century in order to view linguistic trends that could be used to evidence the writers’ involvement in the era’s common literary culture, as exemplified by extant criticism by literary scholars.

A further issue regarding this methodology is the question of its representativeness. In the 1950s Noam Chomsky criticised corpus linguistics for its inability for corpus studies to be representative of real language. “Chomsky took the view that because a corpus *did* constitute only a small sample of a large and potentially infinite population – namely the set of possible sentences of a language – it would be skewed and hence unrepresentative of the population as a whole”.²⁸ Similarly, the limited and varying sizes of the corpora in this study cannot be said to be representative of sentimental literature as a genre, nor completely representative of the output of each individual writer. Therefore, there can be no general conclusions made with regards to the genre nor the writers based solely on the data produced by this methodology. Where such conclusions may be suggested, they are made from a subjective, qualitative study of a point of interest highlighted by the data. The method at work in this study is simply an effort to evidence linguistic trends amongst the authors in question, with regards to the semantic fields searched for in their works.

Quantitative and Qualitative Studies

Corpus analysis is often associated with quantitative studies, that is to say a study that breaks language down into categories and counts the number of linguistic elements that occur in each category, based on a given corpus. Such a study has the ability to create detailed statistical observations on language use. There are issues with such a study of language however, particularly with regards to the categorisation. Often words can belong to more than one category, for instance McEnery & Wilson use the example of the word ‘red’ which can describe colour or political persuasion (red signifying socialism or

²⁷ Tony McEnery and Andrew Hardie, *Corpus Linguistics: Method Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 6

²⁸ Tony McEnery and Andrew Wilson, *Corpus Linguistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 63

communism) (McEnery & Wilson, p. 62). In a study of a purely quantitative nature, the analyst would have to decide which category to put the term in, thus denying possible meanings/intentions behind the term by making “a decision which is perhaps not a 100 per cent accurate reflection of the reality contained in the data” (McEnery & Wilson, p. 63).

Corpus analysts, however, can also utilise qualitative analyses into their studies. In such analyses “the data are only used as a basis for identifying and describing aspects of usage in the language”, which can then be exemplified. The advantage of this type of study is that the strict categorisation is not required and all senses of specific linguistic elements can be considered, thereby offering “a rich and detailed perspective on the data” (McEnery & Wilson, p. 62).

While this study does quantify the individual terms at work within the corpora it searches, it is largely a qualitative approach. The data offers the number of word occurrences in the corpus searched, along with its location of the search term in the body of work. As the compilation of the occurrences is observed, certain points of interest within the data can be examined. Such examinations are done on a purely qualitative basis. As the corpora cannot be said to be representative of the language of the period, or of each individual author’s works, a qualitative approach can assign the necessary significance to the interesting phenomena in the data, in a manner akin to standard literary criticism. This combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses offers a method of study that utilises different aspects of language and literature study that can identify significant details as a matter of course.

Similarly, as will be the focus of chapter 4, linguistic trends can be noted and analysed. Again, these trends cannot be said to be definitively characteristic of a whole genre of literature, but in a qualitative analysis they can be said to provide some evidence of potential similarities or differences in linguistic trends between authors. An attempt at an explanation of such trend occurrences can then be made with reference to already existing literary theory and criticism.

Intertextuality

The term ‘intertextuality’ is subject to much debate as to its definition, having been used by different literary theorists to mean slightly different things; as Graham Allen explains:

The term [intertextuality] is defined so variously that it is, currently, akin to such terms as ‘the Imagination’, ‘history’, or ‘Postmodernism’: terms which are, to employ a phrase from the work of the US critic Harold Bloom, underdetermined in meaning and overdetermined in figuration. Intertextuality, one of the central ideas in contemporary literary theory, is not a transparent term and so, despite its

confident utilization by many theorists and critics cannot be evoked in an uncomplicated manner. Such a term is in danger of meaning nothing more than whatever each particular critic wishes it to mean.²⁹

This thesis, like Allen's book, will not attempt to make an overarching definition of the term; instead it will seek to establish its novel methodology as a tool for identifying intertextual links.

The concept of the inter-relatedness of language use was first brought to scholarship by Ferdinand de Saussure, when he wrote about the concept of the relational word, which Allen goes on to discuss:

Language as it exists at any moment of time is referred to as the *synchronic* system of language, rather than the *diachronic* element of language, which evolves through time. When humans write or speak they may believe that they are being referential, but in fact they are producing specific acts of linguistic communication (*parole*) out of the available synchronic system of language (*langue*). The reference of the sign is to the system, not directly to the world. (Allen, p.9)

This reference to the system of language, as opposed to references to actual objects, is a key idea. No users of a language can be said to refer to an object directly; instead they refer to the linguistic indicator of the object as part of the system in which their language exists. For instance in the simple sentence 'There is a tree', the tree as a concept is referred to through abstract linguistic signification - not through concretely evoking the substance of the tree. This idea becomes important particularly when referring to intertextuality in literature, for which theories have been developed concerning signifiers and signifieds:

Every verbal sign can be said to consist of a *signifier* (made up of acoustic and/or graphological features) and a *signified*, a concept, thing, or meaning to which the signifier points. The connection between the two is never straightforward, since every signifier has a range of possible signifieds to which it can point, and every signified can be more or less encoded by a range of signifiers.³⁰

This is an excerpt from John Stephen and Ruth Waterhouse's *Literature, Language and Change* (1990) in which they explain a number of ways the language of literature generally operates. Using terminology that was first introduced by Saussure in his *Course in General Linguistics* (1916), they discuss how a text of any size can be thought of in terms of a syntagm, or a 'chain' of connected syntactical parts. This 'chain' can be thought of as a syntagmatic axis, or timeline, along which there can be an intersection by the paradigmatic axis at given points where signified words appear. This axis can be seen as a visual

²⁹ Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.2

³⁰ John Stephens and Ruth Waterhouse, *Literature, Language and Change: From Chaucer to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 13

representation, in a very simple form, of the signifier/signified relationship affecting the syntagm in a given literary work.

The discussion in this thesis deploys the concepts in a slightly different way to Stephen & Waterhouse, but the points remain equally valid. Each signifier ‘points’ to something that readers comprehend in a way based on their own experiences. In its very simplest form, for example, if the signified indicated is a word such as ‘light’ in the context of a source of illumination, readers’ conceptions of this term will all be different; each person will have a different ‘version’ or different idea of what notion the term ‘light’ maps onto. Each conception can be thought of as a paradigmatic axis intersecting the syntagmatic axis or timeline:

Fig. 1



Figure 1 is a visual representation of the concept of how the paradigmatic axes intersect the syntagmatic axis or timeline using the simple sentence ‘The light was very colourful’. The paradigmatic axes intersect at the points where the signifieds (in square brackets) in the sentence occur. Each paradigmatic axis can be seen as a point where a choice has been made by the writer as to which signified to use, and therefore it follows that each has a number of other choices that the writer could have deployed in its place.

The description above gives a two-dimensional illustration of the signifier/signified relationship affecting the syntagm. There are, however, further complications. In literary works, signifiers can operate in a way that is not explicitly encoded in the graphology of the text. Many have “hypersignification” associated with them, which is the “deeper signification that lies behind the discourse” (Stephens & Waterhouse, p. 9). Each choice along the paradigmatic axis, that a writer could choose to deploy, carries its own set of linguistic/textual cultural connotations. If, for example, the simple sentence in figure 1 was changed to ‘The lantern was very colourful’, the reader is presented with a different

proposition entirely, one in which there is more of a cultural indicator present, and one in which the likelihood of hypersignification being perceived is greater.

A slightly more complex discourse could serve as a better example:

Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flow'r,
 Thou's met me in an evil hour;
 For I maun crush amang the stoure
 The slender stem:
 To spare thee now is past my pow'r,
 Thou bonie gem. (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p. 228, lines 1-6)

This is the opening stanza of Robert Burns's 'To a Mountain Daisy' and it contains many examples of hypersignification. Firstly, the term "crimson-tipped" signifies the colour of the flower. However, it also carries with it, on the one hand, connotations of beauty, which helps to set up the poem's exploration of remorse towards the ill-fated object. On the other hand, however, the colour crimson can also carry connotations of blood, violence and evilness, which adds another dimension to the opening of the poem, by suggesting the theme of necessary destruction. Each of these dimensions can be seen as significances that lie behind the actual text, i.e. not encoded in the graphology. Therefore, each selection on the paradigmatic axis carries further significances in the dimension behind which allow the hypersignification to be represented:

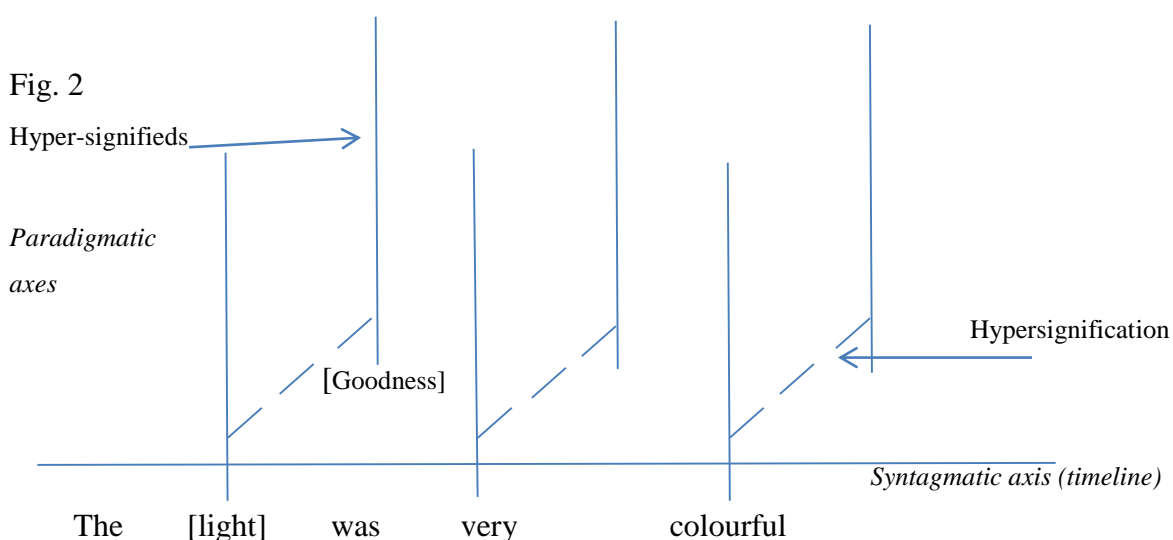


Figure 2 is a visual representation of how hypersignification operates in a text with the added dimension allowing for the conceptual understanding of meaning that lies behind the actual written signifieds. Obviously, not all signifieds selected will have a hypersignification dimension, a case in point here is the neutral word "very". However, if a

shift along the paradigmatic axis took place, and another signified was selected, the syntagm would look different. If the word ‘awfully’ were to be substituted in for example, then a new set of cultural connotations are brought to the text.

The above is an analysis of what readers may well take for granted and what literary critics argue about. It is important, however, to begin a linguistic analysis of an author on such terms to avoid any over-generalisation that can occur in criticism:

If Burns had wished to express his real judgement on that night among the rigs of barley he would have turned to English, as he did in *Tam o' Shanter* in the one passage where he makes a serious reflection on life. Everybody knows it:

But pleasures are like poppies spread,
You seize the flower, its bloom is shed;
Or like the snow falls in the river,
A moment white--then melts for ever;
Or like the borealis race,
That flit ere you can point their place;
Or like the rainbow's lovely form
Evanishing amid the storm.

I had often wondered why Burns suddenly dropped into English at this point [...] until I saw that it was the touch that made the poem perfect [...] The point to be noticed, however, is that when Burns applied thought to his theme he turned to English [...] it is clear Burns felt he could not express it in Scots, which to him was a language for sentiment but not for thought.³¹

This passage is an excerpt from Edwin Muir's famous *Scott and Scotland*, first published in 1936, in which he illustrates a crisis in Scottish literature due to the lack of an homogenous language. He claims that Scots people think in one language (English) and feel in another (Scots), and that this disconnection is a factor that prevents Scottish people from producing an autonomous literature; Burns, he argues, is an example of such disconnection.

It does very much appear to be the case that Burns does “turn to English” to express this particular thought in the ‘Tam o’ Shanter’; however on analysis of the choices in the language here, within the context of the syntagm, it would appear that there are further hypersignifications that add other dimensions worthy of consideration.

When set in the context of the rest of the poem it becomes apparent that this passage may well have been written with the tongue firmly in cheek. To find the right direction in which to add the hypersignificational dimension on to the actual signifieds that Burns has written, the subject of “pleasures” must have a point of reference; in this case the object of the philosophising is closing-time at the pub. With this point of reference in

³¹ Edwin Muir, *Scott and Scotland* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1982), pp. 12-13

mind the possibilities of hypersignification are focused for the signified “pleasure”, reducing the vast range of other, more abstract and philosophical connotations. It would appear, therefore, that this passage’s syntagmatic axis is cut through by a series of paradigmatic selections that are designed to convey a sense of humour.

But if there is humour being conveyed, what is the subject of the humour? This question leads us into discussions of intertextuality. The choices of signifieds in this passage are from a very different paradigm from the rest of the poem, and it is the juxtaposition that offers the reader an indication that Burns, in writing this part of ‘Tam o’ Shanter’, is mimicking other works that operate within a similar paradigm.

Burns selects signifiers that are so frequently used in the Augustan era as to be almost clichéd such as the floral and seasonal images. Even Edwin Muir points out that “[t]he reflection in this passage is neither deep nor original” (Muir, p. 13). Bearing in mind the subject for the humour at this point in the poem, there is a possible hypersignification linked to Burns’s choice of signifiers that creates a mocking tone. On one level Burns can be seen to be mocking a style of literature, perhaps indicating that ‘Tam o’ Shanter’ could be read as being a variety of mock epic (there are sources of further evidence for this). Similarly, this passage could also be read as a mocking of the kind of behaviour expressed in the poem through a simple use of irony. There is also nothing to suggest that both hypersignifications are not at work here.

The syntagmatic axis can be seen as operating in the parameters of the minute single clause, as describing whole texts, or even describing a macrocosm of literature. It is indeed possible that the whole of literary history can be described as a single syntagmatic axis, or timeline. As this axis journeys through literary history, there are varying constraints put on the paradigmatic axis. For example, in certain literary eras particular signifieds would be deemed inappropriate to be used. This restriction is because the excluded signifieds would carry obviously undesirable connotations for writers who are intent on exploring particular issues. Therefore, writers operating within a particular genre or within a particular era create noticeable linguistic patterns. These patterns, made up of the signifieds selected from within the constraints imposed on the paradigmatic axis, offer clues as to the cultural climate the writers are operating in. Therefore, certain genres can create certain linguistic patterns that should be detectable. This thesis will attempt to detect such patterning in the works of Burns with regards to the sentimental era.

Two kinds of intertextuality are commonly identified: intentional, and unintentional. Burns deploys usages intentionally very frequently, often relating to satire or critique, and this intentional intertextuality will be looked into in chapters 2 and 3.

However, there are also other links that are not intentional but are just as important. “[T]he mysteries of influence”³² as David B. Morris describes it in his article entitled ‘Burns and Heteroglossia’ become a focus in any intertextual study, and are also relevant to this study, most prevalently in chapter 4.

Heteroglossia of course is a term that was first coined by Mikhail Bakhtin early in the twentieth century. Bakhtin was primarily concerned with the discourse of the novel when he was considering his theories on heteroglossia, but his notions are important for a modern intertextual study of any literary (or indeed non-literary) form of writing.

Bakhtin introduces the term in his essay ‘Discourse in the Novel’. Bakhtin succinctly explains what he means by heteroglossia by saying it is the presence of “another’s speech in another’s language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way”³³. In doing so he is suggesting that authors employ languages other than their own in the construction of their work. The languages of the characters and of the narrator compete within the discourse, resulting in dialogic communication.

Bakhtin’s theories on heteroglossia go further however, as he discusses ideas regarding language more generally. He discusses the realisation that no word exists in isolation (he thus shares Saussure’s insight that no *sign* exists in isolation), and argues that every utterance has connections to similarly constructed utterances that have preceded them. Likewise, every future utterance will have connections to the words used in the past. Essentially, the very act of language use, by its nature, must recall the language use of the past in order for it to make sense. Bakhtin also argues “the primacy of context over text” (Bakhtin, p. 428) in his *Dialogic Imagination* (1975), highlighting the concept of meaning only being valid due to previous language use. A writer using a certain ‘utterance’ will evoke the meanings of similar utterances that have preceded theirs, and as other writers produce further similar utterances that are also linked, meanings shift over time.

These ideas have clear repercussions for those involved in the study of intertextuality. The meanings behind the words used by Robert Burns do not exist without them having been used in writings previously, and the same words will have been used again by those who succeeded him.

This interconnectedness of language forms a central concern of this thesis. As Joe Bray and Ruth Evans point out, “Literary history is “involute”: it does not evolve “linearly

³² David B. Morris, ‘Burns and Heteroglossia’, *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 3-27 (Winter 1987), p.6

³³ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 324

but as a web of connections, a weaving that recalls the root meaning of the word *text*.”³⁴ This thesis, by exposing the interconnectedness of texts through the minutiae of studying the historical meanings of individual words that writers have in common, aims, through its distinctive methodology, to reveal the textual cultures – that is to say the ideological formations surrounding the production of texts³⁵ – with regards to the use of sentimental language in the literature of the eighteenth century. The syntagm becomes constrained when certain ‘ideological formations’ impact on word choice in a given period, and this thesis attempts to detect such constraints and reveal linguistic patterning pertinent to the cultures surrounding the production of sentimental texts.

The Data

The chapters that follow will all be studies that utilise observations made from that raw data of the semantic fields of Sympathy and Excitement, identified using the *Historical Thesaurus* and the supplementary thesauruses and dictionaries. A complete list of the data resulting from the process of the methodology (that is to say, Robert Burns’s own language of each particular semantic field) is offered as appendices. As the words are almost all taken from the *Historical Thesaurus*, the definitions are all from the *OED*. Where the data has been taken from the *Scots Thesaurus* or the *DSL*, a note has been provided with the entry.

The remainder of this thesis draws upon the notions, methodology and data set out in this introductory chapter. This chapter will now deploy the methodology in examining extant criticism of the sentimental era and Robert Burns’s involvement in it. In doing so the chapter will provide some interesting findings with regards to existing literary criticism as well as providing the necessary contextual details. Chapters 2 and 3 will examine specific terms that the data show to be significant in particular aspects of Burns’s work. Firstly, chapter 2 will look at Burns’s language in his open letter ‘The Address of the Scotch Distillers to the Right Hon. William Pitt’, and chapter 3 will examine particular word-use in Burns’s letters to George Thomson. Chapter 4 will then perform wider analyses of aspects of language use associated with the sentimental era.

³⁴ Joe Bray and Ruth Evans, ‘Introduction: What is Textual Culture’ in *Textual Cultures*, eds. Joe Bray and Ruth Evans (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2007), p. 3

³⁵ A loose ‘manifesto’ for what Bray and Evans envisage for the study of textual cultures is based on studies outlined on Stirling University’s ‘Textual Culture’ website: <http://www.textual-culture.stir.ac.uk/> [accessed 11/02/15]

Testing the Sentimental Theories and Developing Context – Carol McGuirk, *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era*

The Early Poems

Burns wrote, to his former tutor John Murdoch, of his sentimental readings in his young years:

My favourite authors are of the sentim[ental] kind, such as Shenstone, particularly his Elegies, Thomson, Man of feeling, a book I prize next to the Bible, Man of the World, Sterne, especially his Sentimental journey, Mcpherson's Ossian, &c. these are the glorious models after which I endeavour to form my conduct...
(*Letters*, 1:13, p. 17)

In the first chapter of her book, McGuirk theorizes that the impact of Burns's enthusiasm for the writers of "the sentimental kind" was great on the writer's early poems of direct address. In order to illustrate this influence of earlier writers on Burns, and to make the necessary cultural connections, McGuirk first looks at Sterne's and Mackenzie's works in order to establish the defining sentimental mechanisms at work within them.

Beginning with Sterne, McGuirk establishes her first key point in illustrating what makes a work of literature play an active part in the sentimental era:

The sentimental process, as [Sterne's protagonist] Yorick defines it, is to look around, select an object, "fasten" the attention on it, and finally identify it as somehow the property of the sentimental spokesman. (McGuirk, p.4)

McGuirk establishes this tendency as part of Yorick's "parasitic nature" with which he picks out objects to admit into his sentimental world. This sentimental world exists, both separate from normal society, and entirely in the mind of the sentimental hero; "the objects that he admits into his world are the rejected – lunatics, beggars, convicts – of the society he rejects".

This careful selection of what to observe sentimentally can be seen as a form of subordination of the objects to "his domineering sensibility":

The customary perspective of the sentimental hero, then, is a downward view of pathetic objects. This process of condescension is essential to sentimental rhetoric (McGuirk, p.5)

This "downward view" is essential to sentimental literature because it is the protagonist's ego that drives the sentimental ethos: "the lower the object he encounters and reclaims the more status he achieves in perceiving its significance". The characters' response within themselves is just as important (if not more so) than the act of curious benevolence that characterises such sentimental behaviour:

Watching the responses of a provoked sensibility may, then, satisfy an observer's curiosity and/or create pity for the object of observation. There is however, a further complexity in the alliance of curiosity and pity: observers may be interested not only in the sensibility being displayed before their eyes but also in the responses raised in themselves by the distress. (Van Sant, p. 57)

The seeking of pitiable people/objects, for the purpose of being interested in the "responses raised in themselves", illustrates an objectification of the unfortunate people or things that the characters of sentimental literature observe. It is this 'condescending objectification' that, McGuirk points out, is one of the clear hallmarks of sentimental literature that is present in the writings of Sterne, Mackenzie, and, as McGuirk theorizes, the early poems of direct address of Burns.

McGuirk then conducts an analysis of Burns's poem 'To a Mouse' in light of her theories on sentimental literature, concluding with a number of observations that place the poem firmly within a sentimental tradition:

When Burns's farmer spares the field mouse, he is acting as if there is only one field mouse in the world – his field mouse. He takes up its cause as if its vermin status is irrelevant to his transcendent response to its suffering. (McGuirk, p. 10)

Here, McGuirk illustrates how Burns treats the mouse as "the property of the sentimental spokesman", in a similar way to how Sterne's Yorick treats objects he selects on his journey. According to McGuirk, "Burns's peasant persona is just like Yorick or Harley in that everything he encounters is grist to his sentimental mill". (McGuirk p.7) This theory is made clear through the way the apparent sympathy for the mouse in the poem is undercut at the point "when Burns shifts in line 43 to an explicitly italicized "*me*", he shifts from compassion to self-pity". (McGuirk, p. 9) It is this movement from the speaker expressing sympathy for the 'sentimental' object to discussing himself and/or his own situation that is the result of the ego-driven sentimental ethos.

Barbara M. Benedict further exemplifies this ethos, with reference to Sterne, stating that *A Sentimental Journey* "is not a burlesque of sentimental fiction, but an example of it, applauding natural benevolence, noting natural selfishness and reproving Yorick's self-indulgence" (Benedict, p. 88). Such "selfishness" and "self-indulgence" on the part of the sentimental characters, such as Sterne's Yorick, is a common trait of much sentimental fiction of the second half of the eighteenth century. They sentimentalise the objects or people they encounter, at least in part, for the purposes of monitoring their own reactions. They then offer their reactions as part of their narrative performance, under the expectation that their reactions prove their emotional capabilities, and therefore their morality. It is this self-serving desire to illustrate their own moral aptitudes that is the result of the

‘condescending objectification’ examined above. It is this narrative technique that ensures that Burns’s mouse becomes the “property of the sentimental spokesman” in the poem. Once the mouse has been claimed as sentimental “property”, McGuirk suggests, the ‘condescending objectification’ begins, along with the emotional performance of the narrator.

McGuirk then moves on to discuss Burns’s poem ‘To a Mountain Daisy’ in a similar way. Although she states that of the poems of direct address, ‘To a Mountain Daisy’ is the only one that “fails to charm”, she argues that the daisy cannot escape being grist to Burns’s sentimental mill:

...in “To a Mountain Daisy” Burns has been so intent on finding what he likes (and what is like him) in the image of the flower that he has failed to acknowledge through description that it is something meaningful in its own right.

Trenchant Sterne called such impositions of individual-penchant-as-universal-regulator a “hobby horse.” In “To a Mountain Daisy,” Burns has revealed his search for pathetic images is a hobby horse – that his is not a disinterested compassion. His expressions of pity for a wild flower thus seem more self-serving than moving. (McGuirk, p.13-14)

Here McGuirk effectively situates Burns alongside both Sterne and Mackenzie in a sentimental tradition. Through highlighting Burns’s search for sentimental objects that he can allow his protagonists to objectify condescendingly, McGuirk argues that the protagonists of the early poems are driven by the motivation to achieve status in perceiving significance in apparently inconsequential objects in a very similar way to Sterne and Mackenzie’s protagonists.

Such ‘status seeking’ can be further illustrated by Stephen Ahern’s work on Mackenzie’s *Man of Feeling*:

Mackenzie’s text manifests a constant preoccupation with the performative nature of the individual’s dealings with the public world. In particular the narrative emphasizes that every public act is monitored by a present or potentially present audience. This preoccupation is a function of a model of intersubjective agency that is predicated on the display of moral virtue proven through sympathetic behaviour. (Ahern, p. 119)

Ahern exemplifies the motivation for each of the sentimental protagonists in ‘seeking’ objects with which to sympathise. The “hobby-horse” of seeking pathetic images belonging to the speaker in Burns’s ‘To a Mountain Daisy’, McGuirk argues, is similar to the constant preoccupation with the “display of moral virtue” associated with the other sentimental authors. Burns, Sterne and Mackenzie all have their characters pursue pathetic images with which to sympathise. Through the sympathy, it is supposed, the characters’ “moral virtue [is] proven”. For McGuirk, the sentimental characteristics on display in the

novels of Sterne and Mackenzie are replicated by Burns in his poems of direct address. These poems, and McGuirk's associated theories will be examined below, using the methodology outlined in the Introduction, illustrating how it can be used as an aid for engaging with existing literary criticism.

Testing the Early Poems

McGuirk's main focus is on the compassion directed towards the various objects to which Burns's protagonists attach themselves. A study of the semantic field of **sympathy** will allow for detailed evidence relevant to McGuirk's theories to be examined. It is also important to investigate Sterne's and Mackenzie's texts in order to establish any linguistic similarity to Burns, supporting or challenging McGuirk's theories.

The Data

The data concerning words from the semantic field of sympathy in the early poems of direct address are quite striking. Across all three poems, 'To a Mouse', 'To a Louse' and 'To a Mountain Daisy', only four words of sympathy are present. These words are **4. b. Social** (adj), meaning 'sympathetic', **1. Sorry** (adj), meaning 'expressing compassion/term of pity', **1. a. Spare** (vi), meaning 'show mercy', and **5. Poor** (adj), meaning 'exciting pity'³⁶. The first two of these words both appear in 'To a Mouse', **Poor** (adj) appears in 'To a Louse' and **Spare** (vi) appears in 'To a Mountain-Daisy'. The sparseness of the data indicates that there is very little direct language of sympathy present in 'To a Mouse' and even less in 'To a Louse' and 'To a Mountain-Daisy'.

There are, however, words from related semantic fields that play a role in creating a sense of sympathy:

To a Mouse

Union
Companion
Fellow
Thy-lane (alone)
Compar'd

To a Mountain Daisy

Tender
Unseen
Alane
Unassuming
Low

³⁶ Short definitions taken from the *Historical Thesaurus*

Betrayed
Whelm
Suffering
Wants and woes
Mis'ry
Ruined
Mourn'st
Doom

To a Louse

Fear
Dread

These words, from various semantic fields, add to the sense of sympathy created in the poems by inducing a form of pity for the subject matter, rather than the object directly. 'To a Mouse' contains five words of this sort, 'To a Mountain Daisy' contains thirteen, and 'To a Louse', contains only two.

Analysis and Testing

'To a Mouse'

McGuirk tells us of the sentimental 'mechanism' that involves 'condescendingly objectifying' something in order to draw out emotion or feeling in the speaker or narrator; how the narrator "finds things to "fasten" on and claim as subjects of discourse, objects of compassion." (McGuirk, p. 7)

There are, however, far fewer compassionate or sympathetic words than would be expected for a discourse on an object of compassion. The words from the related semantic fields, though, do add a little more weight to the sense of compassion in the poem. Burns's speaker, therefore, is linguistically compassionate towards the mouse, but only up to a point. Of course, the sympathy for the mouse is implicit throughout the poem through an imagining of the suffering of the mouse due to the destruction of its nest, but direct statements of sympathy are largely absent.

The two words that make up the complete direct language of sympathy in the poem, **Sorry** (adj) and **Social** (adj), both occur in stanza 2, immediately after the poem's opening that describes the mouse. Therefore, it would appear that stanza 2 is the only point at which the speaker of the poem is directly stating his sympathy for the mouse, and yet, even at this point, the focus of the speaker is not completely on the mouse:

I'm truly sorry Man's dominion,
Has broken Nature's social union,
An' justifies that ill opinion,

Which makes thee startle,
At me, thy poor, earth-born companion,
An' fellow-mortal! (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p. 127, lines 7-12)

It is arguable if the word “social” here is meant strictly in the sympathetic sense. The term ‘nature’s sympathetic union’ could be seen as meaning the same as “nature’s social union”, adding depth to the meaning of the poem by drawing on the philosophical thought on sympathy and sociability as outlined earlier. With multiplicity of meaning being a staple of poetic language however, the benefit of the doubt has been given, and the word included in the data.

The fifth line here directs the attention back on to the speaker within the same stanza, immediately after the small amount of directly sympathetic language. The direct sympathy for the mouse, therefore, is relatively short lived. McGuirk points out here, as seen previously, that “when Burns shifts in line 43 to an explicitly italicized “*me*”, he shifts from compassion to self-pity”, but the language study suggests that Burns moved away from a direct display of compassion at the end of stanza 2. Again, the sympathy in the rest of the poem is implicit through the description of the destruction of the nest and the mouse’s suffering, but the presence of the speaker in the poem is evident earlier – where the speaker refers to himself in stanza 2 – than the suggestion made by McGuirk.

Burns’s speaker, then, uses the mouse as an image that is simply “grist to his sentimental mill”, in the way McGuirk described. However – and this conclusion would seem to challenge McGuirk’s interpretation of the poem – he does so in order to create a presence for himself in the poem almost immediately, and it is not until line 43, the point where McGuirk says that the focus of the poem shifts, that Burns makes this self-reference explicit.

It is therefore apparent, through the testing of McGuirk’s theory against the data gathered, that Burns’s speaker does objectify the mouse through direct sympathy in stanza 1. McGuirk does put forward a case for Burns’s speaker seeing the mouse of the poem as part of a “sentimental process”, which he looks down at with ‘condescending objectification’, but McGuirk tells us that the point at which this becomes apparent is late in the poem. The analysis of the language of the poem, in uncovering a pattern of sympathetic language that is overt and direct in stanza 1 before becoming implicit after the speaker’s reference to himself, indicates that McGuirk’s ideas on aligning the poem with a sentimental tradition may well be warranted, but the character of the speaker, as a figure deserving of attention in the poem, is implicitly present earlier. Therefore, McGuirk’s

conclusion that the self-pity apparent in the poem is true, but it would seem that this is implied earlier in the poem than McGuirk suggests.

‘To a Louse’

McGuirk only really mentions the poem ‘To a Louse’ in passing and does not perform any sustained critical analysis of it to shed light on the sentimental rhetoric of Burns’s early poems of direct address. This omission is interesting in itself, and can be paralleled with the fact that there are almost no data at all to support any evidence of compassion, whether veiled or not. It seems that ‘To a Louse’, although similar in construction, and having a similar theme to the other poems of direct address, is doing something altogether different.

The sentimentality of ‘To a Mouse’, for example, relies on the illusory compassion towards the mouse in order for the ‘condescending objectification’ to operate effectively and the sentimental rhetoric to be performed in accordance with McGuirk’s theories. ‘To a Louse’ however, focuses on an object that is not given any sympathy from the speaker. In fact the louse is even encouraged, and almost applauded for daring to climb on the upper-class lady’s clothes. Even the opening word of the poem conveys the humour at the sight of it simply through the expression “HA!” (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p. 193, line 1)

McGuirk does however attempt to link this poem to the others of direct address in accordance with a sentimental tradition:

People do not have to read the Bible to know in their bones that pride goeth before the fall, but “To a Louse” restates this admonition in such unusual terms that Burns’s moral takes on the story’s concreteness along with its “novelty.” Still, it is the competitive benevolence of the cult of feeling that underlies this poem’s pious parable. Otherwise, Burns’s speaker might well be subjecting himself to the sermon of the minister (the poem takes place during a church service) rather than using the louse to construct a rival sermon on vanity. (McGuirk, p. 10)

Whether Burns is really constructing a “rival sermon” is up for debate. The poem could be read with the lady being the object of the speaker’s sentimental condescension, which would imply a sense that there is a moral warning about vanity at work, which would be reinforced as a “sermon” by the religious setting of the poem. The title, however, addresses the louse, and the lady is a static presence throughout the poem. Burns’s speaker is one of a number of people, probably of the same social order, that have noticed the louse on the lady’s clothes and are responsible for “Thae *winks* and *finger-ends*” (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p.194, line 41) of recognition in the penultimate stanza. The entertainment that the louse has spread among those sitting behind the lady (a position symbolic of the order in social class) is drawn from the juxtaposition of the lowly creature taking advantage of one of high

order. The poem, therefore, can be read more as an observation of the absurdity of human behaviour towards class, than a “pious parable”.

The poem as a whole moves at a faster pace than ‘To a Mouse’ because of the excitement among those gathered, drawn from the daring creature. However, although silent and static in the poem, the lady is as much a protagonist as the louse. The interest in this piece does not derive from an unfortunate situation that a creature finds itself in, but from the lowly creature travelling into a place and (social) station where it does not belong. Rather than looking downwards to a creature of lower order and appearing to sympathize with it, the speaker is fixing his gaze upwards this time, towards a person who is of a higher class than he is. There is no compassion warranted in this situation, and a ‘condescending objectification’ is impossible. Therefore, at the very least, the sentimental ‘mechanism’ that McGuirk points out in the first chapter of her book is altered, at most, non-existent, which may explain why McGuirk did not go into detail on this poem, and why the data on the language of sympathy for this study have provided very few results.

‘To a Mountain Daisy’

McGuirk’s conclusions on ‘To a Mountain Daisy’ are more critical of the poem’s merit than of the other two poems of direct address. She writes that, of the three, ‘To a Mountain Daisy’ is the only one that “fails to charm”. This is because of the sheer amount of symbolism that Burns tries to impose onto the flower:

Burns’s eagerness to take on the wretchedness of a crushed flower seems ultimately more strange than novel, and the description Burns needs to authenticate his message is too often interrupted by digression. When the sentimental amplification comes in stanza 6, it rings false. Burns tries to make the daisy a symbol for too many things and the poem becomes hysterical. (McGuirk, p. 11)

The poem is very busy with different images and this does have the effect of minimising the kinds of description that Burns used to great effect in ‘To a Mouse’ and ‘To a Louse’. Although there is only one word of directly sympathetic language in the poem (**spare** (vi), in stanza 1), there are many more from related semantic fields, thirteen in total, that do add up to create a much deeper sense of sympathy than in either of the other two poems. The lack of description that McGuirk points out allows there to be more space for this creation of apparent, implicit compassion.

The speaker turns the attention overtly on to himself, however, as he talks of the “simple Bard” (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p. 229, line 37) in stanza 7, just after the “sentimental amplification”, as McGuirk describes it, in stanza 6. Although the speaker does talk of the louse again after stanza 7, the introduction of himself into the narrative of

the poem means that his figure never recedes from the main focus of the images. He is now a competing image, along with the flower, until the end of the poem.

This intrusion by the speaker into his own apparently sympathetic monologue about the destruction of a flower means that much of the sympathetic language from semantic fields related to sympathy is diverted, at least in part, from the flower and onto the speaker. McGuirk describes this by quoting Shaftesbury:

Whatever is void of mind, is void and darkness to the mind's eye. This languishes and grows dim whenever detained on foreign subjects, but thrives and attains its natural vigour when employed in contemplation of what is like itself.³⁷

McGuirk writes that this “vigour... in contemplation of what is like itself” is descriptive of the ego (in the commonly used sense of the word) of Burns's speaker in ‘To a Mountain Daisy’. The flower is like the speaker in the sense that (the speaker feels) he himself is deserving of all the sympathy shown by him towards the flower. The speaker's mind “thrives and attains its natural vigour” because the flower is like him, and therefore, “his expression of pity for the flower is more self-serving than moving” (McGuirk, p. 14).

The data supports these claims. There is far more implicit sympathy in the language used in ‘To a Mountain Daisy’ than in the other poems of direct address, but, in a similar manner to the other poems, there is very little evidence of directly sympathetic language. Burns then composes his speaker's sympathy in such a way that it is apparent, but never lets the focus of the poem drift too far away from the speaker. This self-indulgence of the speaker, created by the suggestion of sympathy, which is easier to manipulate poetically than explicit sympathy, helps to form the ‘condescending benevolence’, which, in turn, forms part of the sentimental ‘mechanism’ that McGuirk depicts in the first chapter of her book.

Further to this idea of self-indulgence, the same self-sympathy shown by the speaker is more explicit in the novels of the previous sentimental authors than in the works of Burns, according to McGuirk. McGuirk suggests that ‘To a Mountain-Daisy’ “is more reminiscent of Mackenzie's Harley at his most lachrymose” (McGuirk, p. 14) than to the less obviously sentimental aspects of Burns's poetry. For the most part, then, the ideas in McGuirk's book generally are supported by the method at the heart of this study, and her theories on the sentimental rhetoric of two of the early poems of direct address have been supported even if qualified.

³⁷ Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. John W. Robertson (1900; Reprint Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), 2:144, in McGuirk, p. 13

With some similarity to a sentimental tradition established, it is now possible to strengthen the links – flagged at an early stage by McGuirk – to the previous sentimental novelists, Sterne and Mackenzie. This linkage can be done through a direct linguistic comparison. David B. Morris, using a Bakhtinian approach to Burns’s work, illustrates how this is possible:

...All poets reveal traces of their dialogical relation to previous or contemporary writers, if only through allusion, through choice of genre and subject, or through the mysteries of influence. Burns’s uniqueness thus must lie in the specific nature and degree of his literary commerce, not in writerly dialogue itself, and we must recognise dialogical relations implicit even in his attempts to deny or to conceal them. (Morris, p. 6)

The compassion of Burns’s speakers, or lack thereof, is framed as an address. This form of communication means that the speaker in ‘To a Mouse’, for example, ultimately denies the mouse her side of the conversation, instead imposing the emotions and the situation on to the mouse. This imposition, as McGuirk quite correctly suggests, is the sentimental speaker taking ownership of the sentimentalised object. Rather than seeking “Burns’s uniqueness” in such an imposition, it is possible to retrace the use of the words from the semantic field of sympathy, and related fields, in order to establish whether or not Burns’s language use, as explained above, is similar to language use in texts by the sentimental novelists McGuirk identifies. This process will help to partly de-mystify the “mystery of influence” and “reveal traces of [Burns’s] dialogical relation” to the previous writers.

As seen earlier, Burns does attempt to “deny or conceal” his agendas in two of his poems of direct address by disguising them under veils of sympathy of varying concentrations. According to McGuirk this is a trait that is shared with Sterne and Mackenzie in their construction of their sentimental narratives. For a linguistic comparison to work effectively, an examination of similar words and phrases must be analysed in order to gather evidence for whether or not a direct “dialogical relation” between these writers and Burns exists.

The only four words of the semantic field of sympathy that Burns used in his poems of direct address that were looked at by McGuirk are **Sorry** (adj), **Social** (adj), **Spare** (vi) and **Poor** (adj), and these all feature to varying degrees in Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey* (*SJ*) and Mackenzie’s *The Man of Feeling* (*MoF*). **Sorry** (adj) features five times in *SJ* and six times in *MoF*. **Social** (adj) only features twice in each. **Spare** (vi), which is a frequently occurring word in the corpus of Burns’s works, makes only one appearance in each of the novels, yet **Poor** (adj), which is Burns’s most used term

of sympathy in the corpus searched, occurs sixty-eight times in *SJ* and twenty times in *MoF*.

The commonality of these words, generally, are comparable relatively to the number of times that Burns uses them. Similarly, words that are from related semantic fields have a far higher count, as we would expect if observing similarities to the sentimental works of Burns:

Heart (n) – 58 in *SJ* and 42 in *MoF*
Fellow (n/adj) – 26 in *SJ* and 18 in *MoF*
Companion (n) – 10 in *MoF*
Alone (adj) – 10 in *SJ*

These data are representative of more common uses of words that are related to terms of sympathy and compassion than words that directly express them, which is in turn indicative of linguistic tendencies that are similar between the two novelists and Burns. To be significant, however, the similarities cannot end here. A closer reading of some passages from the books can confirm whether or not these similar usages can be concretely identified as stylistically influential on Burns:

The bird in his cage pursued me into my room; I sat down close to my table, and leaning my head upon my hand, I began to figure to myself the miseries of confinement. I was in the right frame for it, and so I gave full scope to my imagination.

I was going to begin with the millions of my fellow creatures born to no inheritance but slavery; but finding, however affecting the picture was, that I could not bring it near me, and that the multitude of sad groups in it did but distract me. –
- I took a single captive, and having first shut him up in his dungeon, I then look'd through the twilight of his grated door to take his picture.³⁸

This excerpt is one from Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* that McGuirk referred to, describing the caged bird as being a sentimentally "suggestive" prop (McGuirk, p. 3). There are a number of areas where this passage overlaps with the writing of Burns, both notionally and lexically. The central image here is the caged starling, yet the focus of the narration is not on the bird, but on the narrator. He "gives full scope to his imagination" in order to create an emotional reaction in himself, rather than simply reacting to the image in a natural way. Parallels can be drawn here with Burns's speakers in 'To a Mouse' and 'To a Mountain Daisy'. As described earlier, the evidence gathered exposes the earlier poems' speakers for their self-reference in a linguistically measurable way. The narrator in Sterne's novel forces the main image, the sentimental object itself, out of the way, so to speak, in order to make an attempt at developing a response to it, and, just as in Burns's

³⁸ Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey and Other Writings*, eds. Ian Jack and Tim Parnell (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2003), p.61

poetry, it is his response that takes precedence in the narration. Such emphasis being placed on the emotional response to pathetic stimuli portrays Sterne's protagonist as a moral being, as "mid-eighteenth century... cultural movement [was] devoted to tear-demanding exhibitions of pathos and [therefore] unqualified virtue" (Todd, p. 8), which is a hallmark of sentimental literature.

Lexically, the lack of direct terms of sympathy is all too apparent. The narrator 'figures' to himself the "miseries of confinement", but does not react in any proactive way to change the situation; he merely contemplates it and the contemplation is for the benefit of himself. The few words that are related to the semantic field of sympathy serve only to veil these actions in a weak sympathetic disguise: both reader and narrator realise that sympathy is warranted, but the narrator focuses it all onto himself. He seems to use the created sense of sympathy to urge the reader to sympathise with him not being able to "bring [the picture] near [him]" in order to effectively contemplate the consequences of the object of his condescension.

When turning to examine Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, however, ideas on the 'mechanism' of sentimental benevolent condescension become far more problematic. Mackenzie's protagonist Harley seldom 'fixes' his attention on objects or animals, instead preferring to examine people:

Though this story was told in very plain language, it had particularly attracted Harley's notice: he had given it the tribute of some tears. The unfortunate young lady had till now seemed entranced in thought, with her eyes fixed on a little garnet-ring she wore on her finger: she turned them now upon Harley. 'My Billy is no more!' said she, 'do you weep for my Billy? Blessings on your tears! I would weep too, but my brain is dry; and it burns, it burns, it burns!' – She drew nearer to Harley. – 'Be comforted young lady,' said he, 'your Billy is in heaven.' 'Is he indeed? and shall we meet again? And shall that frightful man' (pointing to the keeper) 'not be there? – Alas! I am grown naughty of late; I have almost forgotten to think of heaven...' (*Man of Feeling*, p. 26)

Although the people that Harley focuses on, for the most part, are people who are disadvantaged compared to himself, there is not much evidence to suggest that he does so for a self-serving purpose. The passage quoted here is from the section where Harley visits 'Bedlam' and the conversation he has is with a mentally-ill young woman, disturbed by the loss of her partner. Harley, at no point attempts to focus attention onto himself and his comforting of the woman appears to be a far more genuine act of benevolence.

There is an important difference between the narrative of *Man of Feeling* and that of *A Sentimental Journey* and the speaker in Burn's poems of direct address, which is that

Man of Feeling is narrated in the third person. The narrator acts as a way of distancing the reader from any direct sentimentality or portrayal of emotion:

[The] significant difference which exists between Mackenzie himself and Harley his hero: the author's sympathy is tempered with common sense and worldliness and his hero's is not.³⁹

Just as the keeper at 'Bedlam' tells the young lady's story, Mackenzie's narrator tells of Harley's stories in "plain language", and though he reports Harley's speech, this has an effect on the amount of data that can be submitted to a linguistic study. There are two egos at work: the narrator's and Harley's, and both work in different ways.

The data that can be compared to the language of Sterne and Burns are those of the language of Harley and the characters he focuses on. These usages, although they contain similar words and phrases, contain, relatively, far more words of direct sympathy. The directly sympathetic words in the excerpt above are **tears** (n), **weep** (vi) and **comforted** (vt), which, coming from one short passage in *Man of Feeling* almost equal the total in all three of Burns's poems of direct address and demonstrably exceed the count in the previous extract from *A Sentimental Journey*. The commonality of these direct terms would suggest a far more authentic sympathy than shown either by Sterne or by Burns.

Mackenzie's novel was produced later than Sterne's, in 1771, and this is a time when most assume that sentimental literature was at its height of popularity. The 1760s/70s, however, were not as receptive to sentimental literature as these assumptions would have us believe, as William J. Burling describes:

A brief survey of works from the late 1760s and 1770s reveals that sentimentality was often either seriously questioned or even outright ridiculed. Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768), Samuel Foote's *Piety in Pattens* (1773) and R.B. Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* (1777) are but a few of the more well-known examples of works from the same period which either satirize sentimentality or, at best, present the topic in an ambiguous light.⁴⁰

The satirical side of Sterne's book will be dealt with in chapter 4, but Mackenzie was a man who was well aware of the literary criticism of his day, being the editor of various literary publications including *The Lounger*, in which he praised the work of Burns. This "ambiguous light" cast over overtly sentimental works of the period in question may well have influenced the composition of *Man of Feeling* in a way that meant Mackenzie may wanted to have a distance from the overtly sentimental and include an aspect of reason and

³⁹ David G. Spencer, 'Henry Mackenzie, A Practical Sentimentalist', *Papers on Language and Literature*, 3.4, pp. 314-335 (1967), p. 317

⁴⁰ William J. Burling, 'A "Sickly Sort of Refinement": The Problem of Sentimentalism in Mackenzie's 'The Man of Feeling'', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Vol. 23, Iss. 1, pp. 136-149 (1988), p. 137

common-sense, which he did through the narrator. This gives the impression that the narrator, as Van Sant explains, can be seen as possessing the “treat-life-as-an-experiment attitude recommended by Hume in his introduction to the *Treatise*” (Van Sant, p. 54). The narrator therefore can be seen as being an interested observer in the sentimental activities of Harley. This experiment-like observation of the narrator has often been read as Mackenzie creating an ironic critique of sentimentalism generally, operating in conjunction with Harley’s narrative.

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that, despite McGuirk’s suggestion, the differences in linguistic choices here are indicative of the writers acting on different stylistic motivations: Sterne and Burns use the mechanism of ‘condescending objectification’ and therefore write sentimentally in the way described by McGuirk, whereas Mackenzie’s Harley appears to act on more genuine sentiments for others; Mackenzie’s narrator played a role of common-sense mediation between the characters of misfortune and Harley, who largely authentically sentimentalizes them.

In part two of her book, McGuirk goes on to examine ways in which Burns can be seen as a sentimental ‘hero’ himself upon his move to Edinburgh. His lowly social status and persona of ‘ploughman-poet’ allowed the Edinburgh literary public to view Burns sentimentally:

A poet’s suffering, not a poet’s work, was the basis of his attraction for the critic – the factor that allowed both critics and the literary public to exercise their own benevolent natures. (McGuirk, p 60)

According to McGuirk, Burns’s background of tough manual labour and apparent suffering endeared him, as a poet, to the Edinburgh literati. This idea says more about the literary public than it does Burns. There is a suggestion here by McGuirk that the literary public were following the fashion of the characters in their literature; they were behaving like sentimental protagonists in ‘condescendingly objectifying’ the apparently sympathy-worthy Burns.

McGuirk cited Adam Smith, whose *Theory of Moral Sentiments* she describes as “a treatise on self-interest, benevolence and society that was particularly influential on Scotland”, as a motivation behind such treatment of Burns. Burns’s own engagement with Adam Smith will be examined more closely in chapter 2, but if McGuirk’s idea on the influence of Smith is accurate, there should be some measurable linguistic traits that support the claim. McGuirk quotes Smith:

Mankind, though naturally sympathetic never conceive, for what has befallen another, that degree of passion which naturally animates the person principally concerned. That imaginary change of situation, upon which their sympathy is

founded, is but momentary. ... the thought that they themselves are not really the sufferers, continually intrudes itself upon them; and though it does not hinder them from conceiving a passion somewhat analogous to what is felt by the sufferer, hinders them from conceiving anything that approaches the same degree of violence. The person principally concerned is sensible of this, and at the same time passionately desires a more complete sympathy. He longs for ... the entire concord of the affections of the spectators with his own ... But he can only hope to attain this by lowering his passion to that pitch, in which the spectators are capable of going along with him.⁴¹

McGuirk suggests then that Smith's influence runs deep, and it is this model of sympathetic behaviour that both the characters of the sentimental literature follow, and the Edinburgh literary public are replicating when addressing Burns. In showing their capacity for sympathy, they are both showing compassion, and then congratulating themselves on their ability to show compassion. This 'self-congratulation' shows that the characters' sympathy, as Smith's explanation suggests, can be equated to a lower pitch of suffering than that of the primary sufferer in the novels, thus allowing them to show more manipulated emotion and 'perform' their sympathetic responses in order to gain the approval of others around them. Similarly, it would appear that the Edinburgh literati's level of sympathy for Burns forces the poet to lower the pitch of his own feeling, so as his "spectators are capable of going along with him", which allows the literary public to behave in a similar manner to the sentimental protagonists.

McGuirk then goes on to use examples from Henry Mackenzie's critical works to illustrate how this sentimental literary public can be seen operating, with Mackenzie as their "spokesman" (McGuirk, p. 64). It is possible then to re-analyse the examples that McGuirk uses, in light of the new linguistic data available now, in order to trace any linguistic signatures of McGuirk's ideas on a sentimental public. If Mackenzie can be seen as a "sentimental spokesman", the language he uses should conform to a sentimental textual culture:

We have had repeated instances of painters and of poets, who have been drawn from obscure situations, and held forth to public notice and applause by the extravagant encomiums of their introducers, yet in a short time have sunk again to their former obscurity; whose merit, though perhaps somewhat neglected, did not appear to have been much undervalued by the world, and could not support, by its own intrinsic excellence, that superior place which the enthusiasm of its patrons would have assigned it.

I know not if I shall be accused of such enthusiasm and such partiality, when I introduce to the notice of my readers a poet of our own country, with whose writings I have recently become acquainted; but if I am not greatly deceived, I

⁴¹Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1853; reprint New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1966) pp. 22-23, quoted in McGuirk, p. 61

think I may safely pronounce him a genius of no ordinary rank. The person to whom I allude is ROBERT BURNS, an *Ayrshire* ploughman.⁴²

McGuirk attempts to draw such a statement, Mackenzie's essay of introduction of Burns to the Edinburgh public in *The Lounger*, into the realms of the sentimental, by way of suggesting there is both an inherent Smithian sympathy involved in it, along with an inherent self-serving attitude. It should be possible to trace any sympathetic language, then, in order to test this theory.

Of the eighteenth-century language of sympathy, no items are present in this excerpt. There are, however, certain words from related semantic fields that play a role, such as **obscure**, **sunk** and **neglected**, but these words are not used with direct reference to Burns. They are referring to other unnamed "painters" and "poets" who have had the misfortune of falling from public note. These cannot be included, then, in any data that is searched for the ways in which Mackenzie, as an Edinburgh 'sentimental spokesman' condescendingly sentimentalises Burns.

Aside from these words, there are no Sympathy search results to be found in this passage. Of the eighteenth-century language of Excitement however, the other semantic field chosen for the purposes of this thesis, there is one key term present. The word **enthusiasm**, meaning 'Ill-regulated or misdirected religious emotion, extravagance of religious speculation' can be transferred from the realms of religion into the realms of public praise of a poet. Mackenzie is referring to the potential misdirected celebration of a poet who may, or may not, be worthy of such a reception. In this sense, it is the 'enthusiasm' of the "introducer" that is the potential fault; he may be extravagantly misjudging the merit that is to be placed on the person being introduced.

Interestingly, this term from the semantic field of Excitement actually helps in the construction of a sense of sympathy. The implication of the possibility of Burns becoming another artist to fall from the fashionable acclaim of the Edinburgh public, despite his poetic genius, creates an implicit pre-emptive sympathy. Mackenzie almost expresses a sympathetic sentiment for Burns's 'fall from fame' before it actually has a chance to happen. This implicit sympathy does appear to enable a condescension towards Burns in the way that McGuirk describes. The reception of Burns in Edinburgh, as portrayed in this example, does illustrate an implicit objectification of the poet.

The methodology, therefore, by drawing attention to an interesting use of the word **enthusiasm**, which then was interrogated through a qualitative study, has managed to

⁴² Henry Mackenzie, *British Essayists* (London, 1817), p. 300, quoted in McGuirk p. 66

provide evidence in support of McGuirk's analysis of criticism of Burns on his arrival in Edinburgh, through the analysis of Mackenzie's review.

In the next chapter of her book, McGuirk goes on to argue that "the sentimental basis for the attention Burns's speaker devotes to the mouse" was similar to the way that "the Edinburgh public reacted to Burns" (McGuirk, p. 71). In the light of the testing of the theories on the early poems of direct address, there is a fundamental sense of (self-serving) sympathy associated with Burns's mouse. If McGuirk's observation is to be found to agree with the data, then, the examples that she uses to illustrate her point should have detectable emotional discourse. McGuirk quotes an observation from Andrew Dalzel, professor of Greek at the university in Edinburgh at the time Burns arrived in the city:

We have got a poet in town just now, whom everybody is taking notice of – a ploughman from Ayrshire – a man of unquestionable genius, who has produced admirable verses, mostly in the Scottish dialect, though some nearly are in English.... He runs, however, the risk of being spoiled by the excessive attention paid him just now by persons of all ranks. Those who know him best, say he has too much good sense to allow himself to be spoiled.... He behaves wonderfully well; very independent in his sentiments, and has none of the *mauvaise honte* about him, though he is not forward.⁴³

This is the first example among several that McGuirk uses to illustrate her argument of Burns, in Edinburgh, becoming 'the mouse of his own creation'. Again, in this example, and in all of the others, the language of sympathy that would be expected if the Edinburgh public are treating Burns like Burns's speaker treats the mouse is absent. There are, however, aspects of the passage that create a sense of sympathy without the direct language. Burns is described as possessing "unquestionable genius" and a lack of "*mauvaise honte*", which shows Dalzel's admiration of the poet. This admiration, set in the context of the "risk of [Burns] being spoiled by excessive attention" constitutes a form of emotional sympathy without the direct terminology from the semantic field of sympathy being present. This implied sense of sympathy, again, can be seen as pre-emptive, portraying sorrow for an "unquestionable genius" who has fallen from public acclaim before he has actually had the chance to do so. Therefore, McGuirk's theory of Burns's sympathetic reception is well-founded. The sense of sympathy created through the emotional admiration of Burns could be read as a sympathetic objectification of Burns as a renowned personality.

McGuirk is also correct in another sense. The public are taking ownership of Burns. The possessive "[w]e have got a poet", for instance, does 'condescendingly objectify'

⁴³ Franklin Bliss Snyder, *The Life Of Robert Burns* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), pp. 196-197, quoted in McGuirk, p.70,

Burns, and therefore, a trait of the sentimental ethos is being applied. The ‘condescending objectification’ is present then, in the way McGuirk describes. This excerpt, along with the other studies on the poems of direct address, provide a good examples of the importance of the qualitative aspect of the methodology. The theories being tested here could not be supported nor refuted solely on the (lack of) evidence gained from tracing words from a particular semantic field. There is a need for further qualitative analyses in order to make sense of the data. This provides a good example of how the methodology works in this thesis.

Interestingly, where the examples cited by McGuirk do reveal matches in the data, is when a “resentful comment” (McGuirk, p. 74) by Burns is recorded in his Edinburgh commonplace book:

When he descends from his pinnacle and meets me on equal ground, my heart overflows with what is called, *liking*: when he neglects me for the meer carcase of Greatness, or when his eye measures the difference of our points of elevation, I say to myself with scarcely any emotion, what do I care for him or his pomp either?⁴⁴

Here, when Burns makes comment on the behaviour of Dr Blair towards him, he reveals the only small amount of sympathetic language available in any of the examples used in this chapter of McGuirk’s book. Even then it is not data included in the direct data of the semantic field of Sympathy, but in a related semantic field. The word “heart” here in collocation with “overflowing” is suggestive of a sympathetic act. When Blair behaves well towards Burns a sympathetic response is activated, and Burns claims his “heart overflows”. Burns says it a “liking” that he feels, not a sympathy, but the usual semantics of the metaphorical reference to heart are firmly grounded in a sympathetic frame of reference. To put this idea into McGuirk’s terms then, Burns feels he can ‘like’ Dr Blair when he feels he can sympathetically ‘objectify’ him. Burns’s appreciation of the man, then, is dependent on feelings of Burns’s “heart” – a trait that is demonstrably more sentimental, in the sympathetically emotional sense, than the concept of the ‘ownership’ of Burns by the Edinburgh literary public.

Burns then, as well as his critics, and his public in Edinburgh, create the sentimental ethos surrounding his arrival in the city. While the public seem to be taking a sentimental ownership of him, Burns is a ‘man of feeling’ when he is in the company of the people in the city. Burns does become a condescendingly viewed object; he is claimed as property by those that receive him, but Burns’s is their sentimental equal when his own “heart” enters the equation.

⁴⁴ Robert Burns, ‘Second Commonplace Book’, ed. W. Jack, *Macmillan’s Magazine* 39 (November 1878-April 1879), p. 455, quoted in McGuirk, p. 74

In her next chapter, McGuirk explores what she calls the ‘Naïve and Sentimental Burns’, in which she points out that “[i]t is surprising... on first reading the letters of Burns, to observe how indefatigably Burns himself indulges in bizarre sentimental postures with his correspondence”. McGuirk goes on to make the observation that “Burns is consistently, disappointingly, and derivatively sentimental in nearly all his letters”, before she points out that “Burns never quite composed a persona to suit his taste: he kept shifting ground.” (McGuirk, p. 86-87)

McGuirk then goes on to exemplify her observation by quoting two letters by Burns to show his constantly “shifting ground”:

It never occurred to me, at least never with the force it deserved, that this world is a busy scene, and man a creature destined for a progressive struggle; and that, however I might possess a warm heart and inoffensive manners, (which last, by the by, was rather more than I could well boast,) still, more than these passive qualities, there was something to be *done*. (*Letters*, 1:53, p. 59)

No! if I must write, let it be Sedition, or Blasphemy, or something else that begins with a B, so that I may grin with the grin of iniquity, & rejoice with the rejoicing of an apostate Angel

– “All good to me is lost; /

“Evil, be thou my good!” (*Letters*, 2:697, p. 382)

McGuirk reasons that “neither pose [in these letters] express Burns with the distinction of his best poetry”, and that like Boswell and Goldsmith (two other notable letter-writers of the time) Burns “wanted to seize attention on his own terms... [and] was not consistent as to what his own terms were” (McGuirk, pp. 87-88).

McGuirk is right in her observation: Burns’s style, in the sense of his manipulations of genre, is inconsistent and sometimes, by modern standards, overly emotional. Burns, however, self-consciously shifts his style and alters his persona in his letters, depending on the motivation for writing the letter and who he is addressing. A detailed study of this kind of persona-tailoring, and its sentimental repercussions are discussed in chapters 2 and 3, using one of Burns’s open letters and his correspondence with George Thomson as cases in point. Further to this self-conscious ‘posturing’, however, Burns is writing his letters at a time when certain individuals are engaging in a distinct, sentimentally-orientated epistolary culture, which is explored in more detail in the final part of chapter 4 of this thesis. Rather than attempt what would be a lengthy testing of McGuirk’s theories in this chapter, then, McGuirk’s points serve to introduce the ideas at the heart of subsequent sections of this study.

The penultimate chapter of McGuirk's book bring forward ideas on the sentimentality of Burns's songs. McGuirk aligns Burns's song revisions with the critic John Aikin's views on the sentimental song:

Aikin's first and most primitive song type, the ballad, primarily tells a story. His second, the sentimental song, primarily conveys a feeling. Both song types confine themselves to a rustic subject matter; what separates the two is the level of emotional integration. Aikin's sentimental song is in fact an internalized "refinement" and "improvement" on the ballad: the ballad's emphasis on narrative has become subordinated to the expression of some powerful feeling. (McGuirk, p. 124)

This idea, which McGuirk develops from Aikin's theories on songs, is congruent with Eric Erämetsä's ideas on the 'second wave' of sentimentalism: that the songs, with their focus on refinement of feeling, are part of this second wave, as discussed on page 10 of this thesis. McGuirk's ideas on the emotionality of the songs are astute and her theories on a development in the sentimentalism of Burns's work at this stage in his career can be tested. Rather than attempt to simply point out the sympathetic and emotional aspects of Burns's songs, then (because that would result in the methodology here being used to point out the obvious), the comprehensive study in chapter 3 will examine the ways in which Burns thought about his songs, by examining certain significances in his language use in his letters to George Thomson. McGuirk's ideas on the emotionality of Scottish song will become important when that chapter uses the data at the heart of this study to examine the sympathetic nature of the songs – what Burns frequently called their 'pathos'.

This chapter has firstly exemplified how the methodology, outlined in the introduction, can be used in such a way that it can test existing literary theories, with Burns's sentimentalism as its subject. Using McGuirk's book *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* as a starting-point, this study harnessed the methodology and the data unearthed for the present study to test her conclusions. Some of McGuirk's ideas, such as those on Burns's early poems of direct address, were found to be largely consistent with the data and method, but requiring slight modification in order to be completely in agreement. Others were supported through a complete exemplary rehearsal of the methodology, including the qualitative aspect.

Secondly, this chapter used McGuirk's book, which McGuirk herself considered "only a beginning", in order to supply a context for the rest of the thesis. Being the most comprehensive study of the sentimental Burns, McGuirk's book provides many points from which to continue the research into these aspects of Burns's literary conduct.

This study will now begin to look at the ways in which Burns shifts his epistolary style by altering the personae he creates within his letters. Chapter 2 will begin by focusing

on a point of interest in the data that shows some rare words in the corpus searched are all at work within Burns's published open letter 'The Address of the Scotch Distillers'. The letter will be compared against a 'control' study of one of Burns's 'Clarinda' letters, which is more conventionally sentimental and uses Burns's most frequent terms of Sympathy. This study will attempt to view Burns's changing epistolary style through difference in word choice, when composing letters for different audiences.

Chapter 2:

‘The Address of the Scotch Distillers’ and the Language of the Enlightenment

When considering significant data in an intertextual study, it is not only important to examine words and phrases that have high frequencies in a corpus; it is also possible that a writer can link his language use to that of others on a more occasional (but no less important) basis. When looking at the data for Robert Burns’s language of sympathy, it is particularly interesting to note that the word **sympathy** (n) itself is rare in the corpus searched. Burns’s letter ‘Address of the Scotch Distillers to the Right Hon. William Pitt’ is one of the few places in which it occurs, and interest in it is further heightened by the fact that two further directly-related words appear in this letter and nowhere else in the Burns corpus. These words are **fellow-feeling** (n) and **sympathizing** (n). Other words that are deployed in this letter from the same semantic field are **remorse** (n), **condolence** (n) and **envy** (n).

There are clear intertextual links – identified through the methodology outlined in chapter 1 - in this letter with Adam Smith’s writings, particularly the first chapter of his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Intertextual links between Burns and Smith are common; Burns’s line “O wad some Pow’r the giftie gie us/*To see oursels as others see us!*” in the poem ‘To a Louse’ (*Poems & Songs*, p. 194, lines 43-44) is a well-known paraphrase of Smith, for example. However, this particular letter is, it would appear, understudied and yet contains very strong intertextual links to Smith and other Enlightenment figures using a sympathetic discourse.

Burns’s persona construction in his poetry and his prose is an interesting area for research. Commonly Burns’s adherence to the problematic persona of ‘heaven-taught ploughman’ is cited in criticism, but this is just one of many personae that Burns develops for himself (although Henry Mackenzie is the source for this particular persona, Burns cultivates it). Burns uses the construction of personae effectively to subvert expectations in getting what he feels are important points across. In the poetry we can look works such as ‘The Vision’, ‘The Twa Dogs’ and Holy Willie’s Prayer’ to see the development of the ways in which Burns likes to convey meaning through constructed fictional personae. Burns, however, allows this aspect of his writing to play an important part in his prose writing, too. In his personal letters, it could be argued that Burns adopts a sentimental persona, particularly when addressing certain people. In chapter one, it was noted that Carol McGuirk propagates the common scholarly opinion (for references, see McGuirk, p. 87) that Burns’s sentimentality in his letters is “disappointingly and derivatively

sentimental in nearly all his letters” (McGuirk, p. 87). This section of the thesis, chapters 2 and 3, will play a role in revealing the ways in which Burns’s ‘epistolary performances’ are often more than “derivative”, and can be seen as having complex cultural connections in their sentimental construction. There is also the matter of a sentimentalised epistolary culture at work in the eighteenth century, in which Burns is active, which is a further reason as to the, perhaps, overly sentimental tendencies (to modern readers) in the letters of Burns. This issue will be examined much more closely in the chapter 4.

The main focus of this chapter, however, is Burns’s open letter entitled ‘Address of the Scotch Distillers, to the Right Hon. William Pitt’. The letter is striking for its use of sentimental language that is different from much of Burns’s other writings. In fact, there are sentimental terms deployed in this letter that appear nowhere else in the Burns corpus searched for this study, and others that are rare elsewhere in Burns’s writing. Another prominent feature of the letter is its irony. The letter ironically attacks the Prime Minister, William Pitt, in a letter that was publicly available. This chapter will attempt to ascertain to what end Burns’s deployment of his sentimental terms is meant, and whether the ironical aspect of the letter alters his word choice.

It is important, however, in a study such as this, to analyse a piece of written work that is similar in form, but written with more ‘standard’ Burnsian sentimental language, that will act as a ‘control’ study for the ironical ‘Address’. It is for this reason that this chapter will first examine one of Burns’s letters to ‘Clarinda’.

Agnes MacLehose was a correspondent of Burns during his time in Edinburgh. Although a married woman, she shared very intimate conversations with Burns. They used the pseudonyms ‘Sylvander’ (Burns) and ‘Clarinda’ (MacLehose), presumably to provide some measure of anonymity to anyone who might read their ‘sensitive’ correspondence. These letters provide good examples of Burns at his most overtly sentimental, and therefore, one of the ‘Clarinda’ letters will be the subject of a short study here, ahead of a more in-depth analysis of ‘The Address of the Scotch Distillers’.

The full text of a letter by Burns to ‘Clarinda’, dated the 15th January 1788 is transcribed below:

That you have faults, my Clarinda, I never doubted; but I knew not where they existed, and Saturday night made me more in the dark than ever. O, Clarinda, why will you wound my soul by hinting that last night must have lessened my opinion of you! True; I was “behind the scenes with you;” but what did I see? A bosom glowing with honour and benevolence; a mind ennobled by genius, informed and refined by education and reflection, and exalted by native religion, genuine as in the climes of heaven; a heart formed for all the glorious meltings of friendship, love and pity. These I saw. – I saw the noblest immortal soul, creation ever shewed me.

I looked long, my dear Clarinda, for your letter; and am vexed that you are complaining. I have not caught you so far wrong as in your idea, that the commerce you have with *one* friend hurts you, if you cannot tell every tittle of it to *another*. Why have so injurious a suspicion of a good God, Clarinda, as to think that Friendship and Love, on the sacred, inviolate principles of Truth, Honour and Religion, can be any thing else than an object of His divine approbation?

I have mentioned, in some of my former scrawls, Saturday evening next. Do, allow me to wait on you that evening. Oh, my angel! how soon must we part! and when can we meet again! I look forward on the horrid interval with tearful eyes! What have I not lost by not knowing you sooner. I fear, I fear my acquaintance with you is too short, to make that *lasting* impression on your heart I could wish.

SYLVANDER

(*Letters*, 1:197, pp. 207-208)

In this letter, it seems that MacLehose is ‘accusing’ Burns of having a lesser opinion of her due to events that preceded this communication. Burns appears to be hurt by such a suggestion, and uses this letter to, in no uncertain terms, allay MacLehose’s fears.

Interestingly, the letter contains an occurrence of “pity” (line 8 above) – Burns’s most common word in his semantic field of sympathy – and “tearful” (line 17 above), which is a variant of Burns’s second most common sympathetic term, **tears**. Using these terms, among others, Burns constructs a sentimental identity for MacLehose. By saying she is “exalted by native religion”, and has “a heart formed for all the glorious meltings of friendship, love and pity”, Burns begins to use the language of sentimentalism to make positive comments on MacLehose’s character. These compliments shared by Burns, showing MacLehose to be a person displaying such traits, is an attempt to raise MacLehose’s character to the level of one seen to be showing sentimental traits, and therefore to be someone of high esteem, as Stephen Ahern explains with reference to fiction:

...the sentimental mode in eighteenth-century British fiction is typically driven by a performative imperative that compels a character to demonstrate the kind of fervent emotional response that establishes his or her sentimental pedigree. (Ahern, p. 119)

In the case of this letter, the performative imperative is being displayed by Burns, as he uses the letter (one of his “epistolary performances”) to display his literary-epistolary prowess. However, the performance creates a character for MacLehose, one that displays “friendship, love and pity”, which establish her “sentimental pedigree”, and thus as a person who should be held in high regard, at a time when such traits were fashionable among the polite.

Towards the end of the letter, Burns attempts to draw such traits and emotions out of MacLehose by drawing attention to the fact that the two must part ways. Of course there is genuine emotion attached to this heart-breaking sentiment, but it could also mean that Burns is using his letter to reinforce the character that he has created for MacLehose in this letter, thus cementing his good opinion of her in his reader's mind. When saying "Oh, my angel! how soon must we part! and when can we meet again! I look forward on the horrid interval with tearful eyes!" Burns invites MacLehose to reflect on the same thought, and therefore feel the emotion associated with their parting. It is through MacLehose's 'readerly reflexivity' that Burns further illustrates his high opinion of her. As Michael Bell explains, again with reference to fiction:

... the assumed psychology of sentiment as an immediate, even visceral, reaction to the fact of distress encouraged a literalistic mode of fiction. At the same time, the concern for arousing a properly sentimental response within the narrative was inextricable from the reader's response to the narrative itself. The fictional ordeal of the hero, or more likely the heroine, was also a testing of the reader. Hence, along with the motive of affective literalism was a counter-motive of readerly reflexivity. (Bell, p. 57)

Realising there was such a "counter-motive" at work within the popular fictional mode of sentimentalism at the time in which he was writing to MacLehose, Burns uses it to his advantage in his correspondence. He portrays MacLehose as a highly sentimental figure at the beginning of the letter and then invites a sentimental readerly response in at the end. Such a response is important as it forms part of the motive/counter-motive, which Bell associates with sentimental fiction generally. It is therefore apparent that Burns displays key traits of sentimental fiction in his letter to MacLehose, firstly by constructing a sentimental character for her, and then by inviting the readerly sentimental response all but expected of the literature of the time. Burns does this by employing the two most common terms from his language of Sympathy, or at least a variant thereof, in "pity" and "tearful". This short analysis of one of Burns's 'Clarinda' letters, therefore, suggests that when Burns constructs an overtly sentimental narrative, he does so with the sentimental terminology that is generally frequent in his works overall. This is in interesting contrast to the more ironical letter of 'The Address of the Scotch Distillers', which is examined below.

Burns, when writing letters that are meant for public consumption, does, it seems, develop concrete and direct personae in order to address his intended issues. His 'Address of the Scotch Distillers' is one such letter that overtly takes on a named persona of John Barleycorn, as developed in some of his poetry and song such as 'John Barleycorn' itself, 'Scotch Drink', and 'Tam o' Shanter'. In these poems John Barleycorn emerges as a

character that represents alcoholic drink, but in ‘Address of the Scotch Distillers’, Burns appears to noticeably take on the persona.

This first overt persona that is apparent in this letter has a number of functions. First, and foremost, it correlates with intertextual links to Burns’s own poetry. On a first look at the connections made by the act of taking on the character of John Barleycorn, the reader is aware of Burns’s previous evocations of the name. For instance, ‘Scotch Drink’ is opened with an interpretation of one of ‘Soloman’s Proverbs’ in Scots:

*Gie him strong Drink until he wink,
That’s sinking in despair;
An’ liquor guid, to fire his bluid,
That’s prest wi’ grief an’ care:
There let him bouse an’ deep carouse,
Wi’ bumpers flowing o’er,
Till he forgets his loves or debts,
An’ minds his griefs no more.* (Poems & Songs, vol. 1, p. 173, Epigraph

lines 1-8)

This poem appears to be celebrating alcohol as a substance for not only forgetting difficult times, but for poetic inspiration, a celebration legitimised by the citing of Solomon at the beginning. The proverbs, in the tradition of Biblical Wisdom, are didactic in nature, and presented in the form of a Scots rhyme. Burns may be making a comment on the legitimacy of translating the Bible into Scots here, but the language that he selects is interesting. The word **fire** (vi) for instance, meaning ‘to inspire or excite’ (*HT*) is part of the semantic field of Excitement, and is a key term when considering Burns’s sentimental writing (chapter 4 discusses this importance in detail). In fact, it is one of the most frequently occurring words from the semantic field of Excitement that occur in the Burns corpus. It seems that Burns is elaborating on the proverbs which, in the Bible, are more sympathetic:

31:6 Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy hearts.

31:7 Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more.⁴⁵

The biblical proverbs treat “strong drink” as if it is a pain-killing medicine that is to be given to those “of heavy hearts”, but Burns takes this further. His line “*An’ liquor guid, to fire his bluid,/That’s prest wi’ grief an’ care*” brings to the proverb a sense that drink can be more than a pain-killer. His version of the proverb suggests that strong drink actually has the capability of exciting or inspiring people out of their misery. Alcohol, according to

⁴⁵ Rev. Dr. A. Cohen, *The Proverbs* (Surrey: The Soncino Press, 1945), p. 210

the proverb, can be used to forget the struggles of a poverty-stricken life. This is an idea that is important in many of Burns's works and his version of the proverbs match the sentiment with the lines "*Till he forgets his loves or debts,/An' minds his griefs no more*". The "debts" and "grief" here are used to imply the state of poverty that is overtly stated in the proverb. Burns then, on one level, is using the biblical proverbs in order to give his poem didactic authority in an idiom that recognisably Burnsian and consistent with the rest of the poem. Burns illustrates that Scots can be used effectively in the communication of biblical wisdom and uses this to allow alcohol into the realm of the moral and the wise; a key issue, as we shall see, when considering the 'Address of the Scotch Distillers' letter. The poem then goes on to praise "auld SCOTCH DRINK" by evoking John Barleycorn:

Let husky Wheat the haughs adorn,
And Aits set up their awnie horn,
An' Pease an' Beans, at een or morn,
Perfume the plain,
Leeze me on thee *John Barleycorn*,
Thou king o' grain! (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p. 173, lines 13-19)

In this stanza Burns builds on the medicinal value of alcohol that is expressed via his intertextual link to Solomon's Proverbs. By discussing foodstuffs such as "Wheat", "Pease an' Beans" and then by saying "Leaze me on thee *John Barleycorn*,/Thou king o' grain!", Burns is suggesting that alcohol such as beer and whisky can be staple foods, almost replacing the other foods such as wheat, peas and beans. Obviously there is humour involved in this sentiment, however the point remains that Burns does this to underline the perceived importance of alcohol, not only as a pain-killer, but now also as a source of 'nutrition' for those in poverty; perhaps less of a nutrition in the common sense, and more a nutrition for the mind, in order to enable inspiration. Rhona Brown states that in this poem "Burns describes whisky as his muse, borrowing both his theme and his outrageously drunken rhymes from Fergusson's 'Caller Water' (1773)."⁴⁶ This "borrowing" from Fergusson deepens the intertextual connections emanating from Burns's poem and increases a sense of cultural authority accompanying his ideas.

As we have seen, Burns develops this idea further. He takes the ideas from Solomon's Proverbs (and from Fergusson's poem) regarding the abilities of alcohol as a cure for ailments and builds into the pre-existing literature a sense that alcohol is a source of nutrition for the physical, emotional and poetic self. These intertextual links create a sense of history and historical authority regarding the merit and importance of alcoholic

⁴⁶ Rhona Brown, 'Burns and Robert Fergusson', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Robert Burns*, ed. Gerard Carruthers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 96

drink. When Burns, therefore, turns his hand to his open letter to the Prime Minister in order to draw attention to the unfair legislation imposed on the distilling industry in Scotland, he evokes this cultural authority by adopting the persona of John Barleycorn and with it, the intertextual links thereof. In doing so, his letter carries with it the weight and power of the Bible and past literature (including his own poetry) into the realms of politics.

The ironical letter was never sent to the Prime Minister, William Pitt, but published in *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* on the 9th of February 1789. It was written in protest of the Wash Act, controversial legislation passed by the British government that restricted the whisky industry in Scotland. It is clear from the data that much of the letter is written within a sympathetic frame of reference. On one level Burns chooses this language in order to create a sense of irony with which to attack the Prime Minister. Burns appears to sympathise with William Pitt for the difficulties he may face in the future:

While porsy Burgesses croud your gate, sweating under the weight of heavy
Addresses, permit us, the quondam Distillers in that part of G[reat] B[ritain] called
S[cotland] to approach you, not with venal approbation, but with fraternal
condolence; not as what you just now are, or for some time have been, but as what,
in all probability, you will shortly be. (CBTJMP, p. 263)

Here Burns immediately attempts to grab the attention of the reader, by strangely offering sympathy for the most powerful person in the country. He mentions the number of addresses the statesman must have. He also, however, reinforces the sympathetic nature of the letter by saying that his address is not meant with “venal approbation”, a comment that might reveal an assumption that such addresses to the Prime Minister are commonplace, but meant with “fraternal condolence”. Here we have right at the very beginning the first word found through searching the sympathy data (**condolence**). But the adjective associated with it, “fraternal”, suggests equality between the addresser and addressee. Burns however goes on to say that the Prime Minister will soon become ‘dethroned’, as it were, by saying the sympathy is warranted because of “what [he] will shortly be”.

The “fraternal condolence” then is given to Pitt from two points of view at the same time. Firstly, it suggests that the two are on equal footing, sharing a level of power; suggesting that if this address is not listened to there may well be consequences. Secondly, and simultaneously, it offers a more apparently genuine sympathy from the point of view of the common people of the country, offering condolences to a man who has failed and welcoming his return as ‘one of them’ with a ‘pat on the back’. These two points of view work together by attempting to persuade Pitt that this address needs to be adhered to. Burns engineers the sympathetic discourse to suggest that Pitt is deserving of sympathy because of his impending downfall, but by implying the equality of power between the addresser

and addressee, there is a suggestion that Pitt's downfall could actually be brought about should he choose to ignore an "honest address" (CBTJMP, p.263) such as this one.

This passage will be returned to, but the next sentence draws the sympathetic nature of the letter into sharper focus:

You are well acquainted with the dissection of human nature; nor do you need the assistance of a fellow-creature's bosom to inform you, that Man is always a selfish, often a perfidious being. (CBTJMP, p. 263)

The "dissection of human nature" here is a reference to the Enlightenment philosophical work on morals and morality by philosophers in the eighteenth century, and may well have been included to draw the attention of the reader towards the letter's intertextuality with such writers as Adam Smith. This conception is confirmed by the mentioning of the selfishness of mankind so close to the beginning of the letter:

How selfish man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortunes of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it. Of this kind is pity or compassion, the emotion which we feel for the misery of others... For this sentiment, like all other original passions of human nature, is by no means confined to the virtuous and humane... The greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator of the laws of society, is not altogether without it. (Smith, *Moral Sentiments*, p. 9)

This quotation is from the beginning of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), and like Burns's letter, opens on a discussion of selfishness. The language of sympathy of interest in Burns's work is also found here with the words "pity" and "compassion" being used. Smith is setting up his ideas on sympathy being of the highest importance in moral sensibility. The fact that Burns mentions selfishness in the opening paragraph of his letter and Adam Smith begins to discuss the same idea at the very beginning of his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* is no coincidence, as this is one of a number of allusions to Smith in Burns's letter. Burns is aware of the importance of Smith's work to the political world, due to Smith also being the author of *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), which helped to forge modern economic theory, and, therefore, begins by evoking Smith in order to deploy the language used by the political class. Burns intertextually evokes Smith here in order to compound his sympathetic discourse. It is here that Burns begins to turn the sympathetic discourse away from the Prime Minister and on to the common people.

Smith's opening chapter, entitled 'Of Sympathy', begins by pointing out that people from all aspects of society, whether the "virtuous and humane", or the "greatest ruffian" experience sympathetic feeling towards others. Furthermore, this feeling of sympathy directly interests them in "the fortunes of others". This idea continues the duality

of Burns's discourse by, on one level, providing an intertextual motivation for Burns to have written the letter in the first place, as Burns's letter expresses an interest in the fortune of the Prime minister. Also, by evoking Smith's passage on all sections of society feeling sympathy, however, the intertextual link also operates in the opposite way; it reveals an expectation that Pitt should similarly be interested in the fortunes of the people. Therefore, Burns is pointing out that Pitt should be "well acquainted" with, Burns's own sympathetic discourse due to its intertextuality with Adam Smith. This assertion does threaten the Prime Minister's position by suggesting that Pitt should sympathise with the people, a thought which both reminds Pitt of what should be proper behaviour, in philosophical terms, as well as making a much more direct comment on the nature of governance: the Prime Minister should be aware that the happiness of the people is "necessary to him".

Smith's chapter, interestingly, goes on to discuss ideas on sympathy for the dead. This is a passage that illustrates, as Esther Schor points out, sympathy for the dead being the "motivation for all subsequent occasions of sympathy".⁴⁷ This point is meant by way of sympathy between people being a way of avoiding the 'unpayable debt' of sympathy for the dead. Robert Mitchell develops this point:

Smith ... positions this sympathy with the dead as a potential double bind. On the one hand, the closer we seem to come to forgetting about the dead (and thus ending our indebtedness to them), the more our sympathy seems "doubly due"; on the other hand, the more sympathy we give to the dead, the more we are aware that in fact "our sympathy can afford them no consolation [which] seems to be an addition to their calamity".⁴⁸

Smith seems to base his ideas on the origin of sympathetic feeling for the living, in part, on an avoidance of having sympathy "doubly due" as it would be after the death of the receiver of sympathy, or a similar avoidance of an 'unpayable debt' of sympathy.

Burns also appears to connect intertextually with this aspect of Smith's work in his letter. Not only does the ominous sounding phrase quoted earlier, suggesting that sympathy is offered to the Prime Minister for "what [he] will shortly be", carry an implication of metaphorical decease (the decease being a metaphor from his potential fall from office), but Burns immediately goes on to compound the notion by echoing Smith's work:

We will have the merit of not deserting our friends in the day of their calamity, & you will have the satisfaction of perusing at least one honest address. (CBTJMP, p. 263)

⁴⁷ Esther Schor, *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 5

⁴⁸ Robert Mitchell, *Sympathy and the State in the Romantic Era: Systems, State Finance and the Shadows of Futurity* (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), p.80

Smith's tactful use of the word "calamity" in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, quoted by Mitchell above, to replace the word 'death' is replicated here by Burns, and is suggestive of the peoples' intent to offer sympathy to the Prime Minister in a bid to avoid the "unpayable debt" that would be owed to Pitt after his figurative death. A reinforcement of this idea occurs towards the end of the first paragraph and into the second, but not before Burns offers a link to yet another aspect of Smith's work:

As it is the nominal or money price of goods, therefore, which finally determines the prudence or imprudence of all purchases and sales, and thereby regulates almost the whole business of common life in which price is concerned, we cannot wonder that it should have been so much more attended to than the real price.⁴⁹

This quotation is an excerpt from Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, in which he deliberates on economic practice and how wealth is, and can be, generated. Even today this is a work of great importance for modern economic theory. Having said this, Smith never draws any great distinctions between his economic thought and his ideas on morality. Although he knew of the importance of economic progress for nations, he was aware of the potential for a tension between economic gain and moral virtue, as Fonna Forman-Barzilai explains:

Despite Smith's general commitment to the project of Enlightenment, and his firm commercial commitments in eighteenth-century Scottish political debates, he never simply leaped without hesitation from the "Gothic" world of "virtue" to the "commercial" world of "wealth," as posterity would have it.⁵⁰

Burns, towards the end of the first paragraph of his letter, briefly touches on this economic discourse and engages with the tension between Smith's two main areas of study:

You are a Statesman, & consequently are not ignorant of the traffic of these Corporation Compliments. – The little Great Man who drives the Borough to market, & the very Great Man who buys the Borough in that market, they two, do the whole business; & you well know, they, likewise, have their price. (CBTJMP, p. 263)

Bartzilai suggests that the tension between the economic theory and ideas on morality have been forgotten in modern times, but Burns very much draws on the idea in his letter. The reader is presented with aspects of the language of economic politics. The phrase "they two do the whole business" is highly reminiscent of Smith's idea on "almost the whole business of common life in which price is concerned." This, again, is an attempt on Burns's part to intertextually invoke Smith. Smith's sentence on "attending to... the real price" as opposed to the price imposed on goods from the "prudence or imprudence" of

⁴⁹ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature And Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 43

⁵⁰ Fonna Forman-Barzilai, *Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy: Cosmopolitanism and Moral Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 203

those involved in selling and purchasing, can be seen as a reminder that without a moral compass as a guiding hand in economics, the “real price” of goods is lost (the implication being that those of “common life” may suffer as a result). Burns highlights this tension between markets and morals with particular attention paid to the Prime Minister. By incorporating Pitt’s status as a “Statesmen” and connecting that position with the idea of those playing their parts in the “market” having “their price”, Burns is implying a sense of corruptibility in economic practice. By having “their price” those in commerce are willing to forgo their moral duty in the name of profit. Burns highlights this issue, and suggests that Pitt is perhaps using his position as a “Statesman” to name the price that allows for action that runs counter to what Burns sees as moral: the generation of wealth through unfair taxation on the whisky industry. Bearing in mind the sympathetic discourse earlier in the paragraph, which draws on the Prime Minister’s knowledge of Smithian moral sense, Burns is appealing to Pitt’s morals in order to illustrate how Pitt himself has forgone his moral duty in the creation of the controversial wealth generation policy. Burns then turns his focus directly on to Pitt:

With that sullen disdain which you can so well assume, rise, illustrious Sir, & spurn these hireling efforts of venal stupidity. – They are the compliments of a man’s friends on the morning of his execution: they take a decent farewell, resign to your fate, & hurry away from your approaching hour. (CBTJMP, p. 263)

Burns is suggesting that Pitt has allowed himself to be corrupted by “corporation compliments”, which has resulted in a “sullen disdain” towards the common people. Burns, or John Barleycorn, then urges the Prime Minister to use that “sullen disdain” against the corporations, because it is with the common people that his sympathy, in the Smithian sense, should lie. Burns is attempting to show Pitt how he has been corrupted by “hireling efforts of venal stupidity”, in an attempt to ‘win back’ the Prime Minister’s sympathy for the common people. Burns then returns to his directly sympathetic discourse. The compliments to Pitt from the corporations are, Burns writes, “the compliments of a man’s friend on the morning of his execution”. The discourse returns therefore, to a discussion of sympathy for the dead. In writing the “corporation compliments... take a decent farewell”, Burns is suggesting that by allowing himself to be corrupted by those “corporation compliments”, Pitt is in fact signing his own ‘death warrant’, or manufacturing his own downfall. The final part of the sentence, however, offers a sympathetic ‘helping hand’ to Pitt. By encouraging him to “hurry away from his approaching hour”, Burns is suggesting that by showing the sympathy for the common people and turning his back on the corrupting “corporation compliments” he can escape the figurative death, which would leave no “unpayable debt” of sympathy towards the Prime

Minister, and the Prime Minister would have his ‘moral compass’ restored in his guidance of the marketplace.

Burns then invokes and combines two aspects of Smith’s work here. From *The Wealth of Nations* he takes the economic language that attempts to argue that morality should be a guide in commerce, as discussed above, and applies it directly to William Pitt’s situation. Simultaneously, Burns deploys language that is related to Smith’s discussions of sympathy for the dead, which is suggestive of the Prime Minister’s possible exit from office; his only saving grace being a last ditch attempt at restoring his morality by showing sympathy for the common people, so that the “unpayable debt” will not be owed. The importance placed on Smith’s work by the political class means that the intertextual evocations of these two aspects of Smith’s work combine to construct a highly persuasive political argument against the actions of the government.

In the short second paragraph, Burns further complicates the issue. Immediately after writing that Pitt could “hurry away from his approaching hour”, the hope for the Prime Minister retaining his position of “Statesman” is all but withdrawn:

If Fame say true, & omens be not very much mistaken, you are about to make your exit from that world where the sun of gladness gilds the paths of prosperous men: permit us, Great Sir, with the sympathy of fellow-feeling to hail your passage to the realms of ruin. (CBTJMP, p. 263)

This paragraph also develops the letter in two distinct ways. Firstly, it almost denies Pitt the hope that was offered in the previous paragraph, by suggesting that people in similar positions to Pitt in earlier times had failed to correct their official behaviour, and were ruined because of it. Thus the “omens” are proclaiming the Prime Minister’s own “passage to the realms of ruin”. However, this paragraph also returns us to the important data from Burns’s semantic field of Sympathy. Burns compounds two terms that he very rarely uses anywhere else in the corpus searched: **sympathy** (n) and **fellow-feeling** (n). The fact that these are so rare in Burns’s works, and they are deployed in conjunction with each other here, is highly suggestive of a deliberate manipulation of sympathetic discourse. Once again, Burns is returning to the language of the Enlightenment, and of Adam Smith. Smith uses the word **sympathy** (n) no less than ninety-eight times in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and **fellow-feeling** (n) is used in the same work twenty times. To compound matters, another Enlightenment philosopher, David Hume, uses the word **sympathy** (n) no less than one-hundred and fifty times in his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1738). It is all but confirmed therefore, at least quantitatively, that the likelihood of Burns’s Enlightenment language here being intertextually linked to language of Adam Smith and David Hume is

high. Therefore, if there was any doubt as to the interpretation of the sympathetic discourse used previously, it is clarified with force here.

Bearing this evidence in mind, Burns can be seen to recall and develop his earlier discussion of Smithian selfishness. The idea of sympathy for the dead is again evoked. The “omens” suggest that Pitt is “about to make his exit... to the realms of ruin.” This language is highly suggestive of decease, and the indication of the Prime Minister’s metaphorical death (or potential fall from office) is again foregrounded. This time however, Burns explicitly deploys the word **sympathy** (n). This word carries with it more than the idea of compassion or understanding that we, in modern times, would understand it to mean, as Mary Fairclough explains:

Sympathy was not always an ethical principle, nor was it an individualised property. Rather it was understood at the period to operate as a catalyst of collective behaviour and a medium for the transmission of social and political unrest.⁵¹

The meaning of the term **sympathy** (n) in the eighteenth century then is inclusive of a collectivisation of people through their ‘fellow-feeling’. The collective that can be constructed through this means is problematic for Smith and Hume with regards to regulating its effect on social structures (see Mullan, chapter 1). For Hume, sympathy is a physiological contagion that is easily passed from person to person⁵² and, under normal circumstances, has the effect of creating a moral self-regulating society through means of allowing each person to be morally aware of the struggles and distresses of others. As with any contagion however, there is concern regarding the control of it. Those bound by the social cohesion of sympathy, if allowed to grow to great numbers with concern over a specific issue, can be a force that raises “social and political unrest”.

For Fairclough, there is a tension, therefore, between the ‘sympathetic club’ and the ‘sympathetic crowd’ in the philosophical thought of the eighteenth century. By making reference to the Edinburgh Club, a platform for the discussion of thought, and juxtaposing its sympathetic cohesion with a wholesale sympathetic populace, the difficulty of the regulation of mass sympathy becomes clear. The sympathy becomes a driving force for disruption when adopted by a “large, public collective” (Fairclough, p.25).

Fairclough goes on to discuss Smith’s “greater discomfort at the potential social misapplication of instantaneous sympathetic communication”. Smith’s ideas on the

⁵¹ Mary Fairclough, *The Romantic Crowd: Sympathy, Controversy and Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.21

⁵² David Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, 2nd Edition, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), book 3, part 3

dissemination of feeling through sympathy are not as automatic as Hume's. Smith suggests that the transmission of feeling "results from the ability of distinct individuals to engage their imaginative faculties" (Fairclough, p.27). Although, as we have seen, Smith discusses sympathy as a universal principle, for him, a collective sympathy creating a crowd ready for public action is more problematic. This mass dissemination of sympathy depends on the persuasive attributes of key individuals to transmit the emotions to a wide audience in order to 'excite' them into action.

By compounding the terms of **sympathy** (n) and **fellow-feeling** (n) then, Burns is making a direct comment on the possibility for unrest over the injustice he has perceived. In Hume's terms, this process is automatic and therefore, if the Prime Minister were to continue with the "hireling efforts of venal stupidity", a public display of social unrest would be inevitable. The letter was published publicly though, so there is a sense that Burns was attempting to share his concerns with the wider society. This attempt to raise awareness then can be seen as a challenge to Pitt, through the medium of Adam Smith's ideas on sympathy: Burns, or John Barleycorn, is becoming the 'key individual' who engages their imaginative faculties with the purpose of widely disseminating the motivation for public action through widespread sympathetic feeling. Burns therefore, is not only developing a persona as a man of the Enlightenment, willing to use the communicative power that such intellectual thought carries, but he is taking this one step further; he is illustrating his willingness to become a motivated "distinct individual", using his "imaginative faculties" to inspire public action, which can also be seen as Burns evolving his radical tendencies and, as Nigel Leask explains, play on "the fear of the potential *flammability* of the Scottish mob"⁵³, or volatile 'sympathetic crowd'.

In the next paragraph of his letter Burns begins to illustrate his own thoughts on conceptions of sympathy. Beginning, once again, at a similar point to where Smith begins his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, at a discussion of selfishness, Burns appears to profess ideas on sentiment:

Whether the sentiment proceed from the selfishness or cowardice of mankind is immaterial; but to a child of misfortune, pointing him out those who are still more unhappy, is giving him some degree of positive enjoyment – In this light, Sir, our downfall may be again useful to you... (CBTJMP, pp. 263-264)

Burns is referring to sympathetic sentiment here, and by questioning whether it is derived from "selfishness or cowardice" is in fact pre-empting a certain critical response to his

⁵³ Nigel Leask, *Robert Burns and Pastoral: Poetry and Improvement in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 132

letter. Along with thought on the importance of sympathy came discussions of the possibility of a selfless act. It can be conceived that an apparently selfless act derived from sympathy or compassion can in fact be interpreted as an act of selfishness: the apparently selfless act could be seen as means by which the benefactor can generate personal esteem from those around them. Burns foresees this as a possible criticism by which his letter could be dismissed, but rather than then attempt to deny it, he incorporates it into his letter. This is achieved by way of creating a similar duality of meaning as expressed in the beginning of the letter. In a similar manner as the “fraternal condolence” is given to Pitt in two simultaneous ways, Burns here illustrates two simultaneous renderings of the “selfishness” and “cowardice”. Firstly, Burns admits to a possible interpretation of his act of sympathy being inherently selfish by stating that his own “sympathy of fellow-feeling” in the previous passage is “the sentiment” that may be derived from either “selfishness or cowardice”. This, however, is followed immediately by a statement of its immateriality. As we have seen, Burns has been carefully engineering his sympathetic discourse in order to firstly enable a reaction in the Prime Minister that may result in a positive outcome for the people. Secondly, Burns is attempting to elicit action from a sympathetic public, and therefore, in the opinion of Burns at least, any accusation of his motivation being inherently selfish or cowardly, is “immaterial” due to the forceful action and reaction that his letter is intended to provoke. Simultaneously, however, Burns implicitly turns any perceived selfishness on to Pitt, resulting in yet another scathing attack on the Prime Minister. By commenting on the “positive enjoyment” deriving from pointing out to a child of misfortune “those who are still more unhappy”, Burns positions himself alongside those “children of misfortune” and, in doing so, implies that the “positive enjoyment” resulting from sympathy with the people in their misfortune, in comparison to the misfortunes of himself, Pitt is acting through either “selfishness or cowardice” in order to gain esteem as a statesman, which is a morally reprehensible position to take, philosophically speaking.

This point is developed as the paragraph progresses. The downfall of the “children of misfortune”, Burns writes, “may again be useful” to Pitt. The ‘usefulness’ is once again a display of sympathy, in that Burns’s depiction of the people of Scotland and their suffering allows Pitt to become aware of others who are suffering more than he is due to his “downfall”. In order to increase the potency of his argument here, however, Burns first describes the situations of both the Prime Minister and the “children of misfortune” in Scotland. First of all, Burns shows the circumstances of Pitt:

In an age when others are the votaries of Pleasure, or underlings in business, you had attained the highest wish of a British Statesman; &, with the ordinary date of human life, what a prospect was before you! – Deeply rooted in Royal favour, you overshadowed the Land; the birds of passage, which follow Ministerial sunshine through every clime of Political faith & manners, flocked to your branches; & the beasts of the field, the lordly possessors of hills & vallies, crouded under your shade. (CBTJMP, p. 264)

William Pitt was twenty-four when he became Prime Minister, and Burns comments on this fact here. There is a slight hint at an underhand process that took place in his appointment, through the use of the phrase “Deeply rooted in Royal favour”, with which he was able to ‘overshadow the land’. This “Royal favour” can be seen as a way by which Pitt was able to take power without necessarily gaining general support. Burns, however, doesn't explicitly state this, nor does he choose to elaborate on the idea. Rather, once he has set up the image of “[t]he birds of passage” and “the beasts of the field, the lordly possessors of hills & vallies)”, or the political classes, ‘crowding under his shade’, he quotes the Bible in opposition to Pitt.

“But behold a watcher, a holy one came down from Heaven, and cried aloud, & said thus, Hew down the tree, & cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, & scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it & the fowls from his branches.” – A blow from an unthought of quarter, one of those terrible accidents which peculiarly mark the hand of Omnipotence, upset your career, & laid all your fancied honours in the dust. (CBTJMP, p.264)

This excerpt begins with a quote from Daniel 4:13, which continues the image of the animals and the tree. As Nigel Leask notes, this passage incorporates a sense of biblical satire, as Burns parodies the text of the Authorised Version of the Bible, with “Daniel interpret[ing] the dream of Nebuchadnezzar as portending the downfall of the tyrannical king of Babylon” (Leask, CBTJMP, p.403, n. 374). In the context of the letter, Burns uses such a parody to suggest that the downfall of William Pitt was caused by divine intervention by comparing Pitt to Nebuchadnezzar. This idea becomes vital when considering the letter's sympathetic discourse. Burns never wrote explicitly that Pitt was acting immorally or his election was unjust in the passage quoted above, but his invocation of Biblical text here suggests that Pitt's position is so untenable that God himself must correct the situation. This means that no sympathy from the people should be warranted, given that Pitt's position was taken away by “the hand of Omnipotence”, one which cannot be mistaken in moral judgement. In doing so Burns is appealing to another aspect of the philosophy of moral sentiment:

For Christian sentimentalists such as Butler and Hutcheson, the normative authority of our moral sentiments ultimately derives from the fact that they were built into our nature by God for the achievements of his intended ends. (Frazer, p. 15)

Burns then, it seems, may have realised that his discourse that deployed Smithian/Humian conceptions of sympathy may not be as well received by those reading the letter if they were of a more religious-philosophical persuasion. To this end Burns develops his comment. The idea that this action from the “Omnipotent” hand was from an “unthought-of quarter” reveals that Burns, or John Barleycorn at least, believes that Pitt and his supporters had forgone, or forgotten, their duties to their Christian faith and let the power they had gained corrupt them, which was in turn to be punished by God. Burns then, didn't need to state outright any accusations of immorality or unjust behaviour on the part of the Prime Minister because he evokes the hand of God to do it instead. This idea is the means by which Burns ultimately portrays Pitt as not deserving of the sympathy of the people over which he governs; he is undeserving of sympathy because it has been judged that he failed to show sympathy himself, at a time when he was trusted as a statesman.

Burns then goes on to contrast Pitt's circumstance to the situation the common people of Scotland have found themselves in:

But turn your eyes, Sir, to the tragic scenes of our fate. – An ancient Nation that for many ages had gallantly maintained the unequal struggle for independence with her much more powerful neighbour, at last agrees to a Union, which should ever after make them one People. – In consideration of certain circumstances, it was covenanted that the former should enjoy a stipulated alleviation in her share of the public burdens; particularly in that branch of the revenue called the Excise. – This just privilege has of late given great umbrage to some interested, powerful individuals of the more potent half of the empire, & they have spared no wicked pains; under insidious pretexts to subvert what they yet dreaded the spirit of their ancient enemies too much, openly to attack. (CBTJCB, p. 264)

Burns then uses the sympathetic discourse that he has constructed, which he briefly departs from here, to make a broad political point. Here, he drives a wedge between Scotland and England by bringing forward the fact that Scotland was once independent from England, and that the union between them was supposed to be one that benefitted Scotland, as well as England. It is here that Burns begins to address the main subject of his letter: the whisky industry. After illustrating that Scotland was a country of substance, able to maintain “the unequal struggle for independence”, Burns then goes on to mention that Scotland should have maintained her “stipulated alleviation in her share of the public burdens; particularly in that branch of the revenue called the Excise” that was set out in the terms of the Act of Union 1707. The implementation of the Wash Act (which Pitt repealed, but the problem emerged again in 1788 with further legislation⁵⁴) Certain “powerful individuals”, or the

⁵⁴ For a fuller discussion of the legislation, see Nigel Leask, *Robert Burns and Pastoral*, p. 125-133

English distillers, who offer “corporation compliments” to the Prime Minister have been given “great umbrage” with which to underhandedly make money from the Scottish distilling industry themselves, to the detriment of the Scottish economy. Such individuals have been allowed to do so, according to Burns (or John Barleycorn) through underhand means and “insidious pretexts” due to the dread which they entertained “the spirit of their ancient enemies”. Burns is saying here that underhand means by which money was being diverted from Scotland to the hands of “powerful individuals” was “insidious” in order to avoid the anger of the Scottish people: they underhandedly take money from the Scottish spirit of whisky, while “dreading” the spirit of the Scottish people themselves. Although the issue at the heart of this letter is the rise of Excise duty in Scotland, this separation of Scotland and England in the discourse here is, as Liam McIlvaney states, “Burns reflect[ing] a growing Scottish anxiety at the restricted scope for civic participation in the new British state”.⁵⁵ This paragraph is a continuation of the comparison between the sympathy-deserving (or not) situations of the Prime Minister and the Scottish people, only Burns has extrapolated the entity of the people of Scotland to include whole country as a political entity, thus adding to the Scottish public threat to William Pitt. By adding the anxiety of the common Scottish people towards the union to a possible “sympathetic crowd” developing, and creating unrest in Scotland, Burns is drastically upping the stakes in the perceived political conflict between the whisky industry in Scotland and the government of Britain.

In the next paragraph the letter returns to the sympathetic discourse, with significant words from the data, **remorse** (n) and **envy** (n), being deployed:

In this conspiracy we fell: nor did we alone ~~fall~~ suffer; our Country was deeply wounded. – A number of, we will say it, respectable individuals, largely engaged in trade, where we were not only useful, but absolutely necessary to our Country in her dearest interests; we, with all that was near & dear to us, were sacrificed without remorse, to the Infernal deity of Political Expediency! Not that sound policy, good of the Whole; we fell to gratify the wishes of dark Envy, & the views of unprincipled Ambition! (CBTJMP, p. 264)

Firstly though, the sympathetic discourse is resumed through words from semantic fields that are related to sympathy. The words “suffer” and “wounded” here create a sense that sympathy is deserved for the people who have suffered and the country that has been “deeply wounded.” The letter then goes on to say that those people, and the country of Scotland were “sacrificed without remorse”, which, once again is reminiscent of Adam

⁵⁵ Liam McIlvaney, ‘Robert Burns and the Calvinist Radical Tradition’, *History Workshop Journal*, No. 40, pp. 133-149 (Autumn, 1995), p.142

Smith. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith writes about life after the fall of the Roman Empire:

The lords despised the burghers, whom they considered not only as a different order, but as a parcel of emancipated slaves, almost of a different species from themselves. The wealth of the burghers never failed to provoke their envy and indignation, and they plundered them upon every occasion without mercy or remorse. (Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, p.250)

Smith is writing about the ways in which the common people of England were treated by the Lords in the time just after the Roman Empire collapsed, but the rhetoric is similar to the way in which Burns treats the perceived political tension between Scotland and England after the union of the parliaments. It appears that Burns has replicated the two words of sympathy that were highlighted by the data from Adam Smith. We see in Burns's letter that the people "were sacrificed without remorse... to gratify the wishes of dark Envy", which resembles the final sentence of the excerpt from Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. This intertextual link with *The Wealth of Nations* has the effect of making the treatment of the people affected by the taxation of the Wash Act comparable to the way in which the "burghers" were treated by the Lords in post-Roman English history. This is, in effect, an attempt to defamiliarise Pitt's conception of the situation of the common Scottish people by evoking the political and philosophical authority of Adam Smith. It is through such defamiliarisation of the particular situation, making it directly comparable to a point in history where it is agreed that the people of England were being mistreated by the Lords in England, that this intertextual link functions and Burns's argument is strengthened. The letter is, therefore, pointing out that history has told us that such mistreatment of the people by those of 'higher orders' is morally wrong, and that it is due to this that, in the comparison of sympathy-deserving situations, the people of Scotland are more deserving than Pitt. In fact, not only is Pitt less deserving, but the people of Scotland, who are more deserving of sympathy, have come to be in such a situation by the actions of Pitt and the "powerful individuals" that he has enabled. This idea carries the implication of guilt on the part of the Prime Minister, which the paragraph goes on to address:

...our enemies, to compleat our overthrow, contrived to make their guilt appear the villainy of a Nation. – Your downfall only drags with you, your private friends & partisans; in our misery are, more or less, involved, the most numerous & the most valuable part of the Community; all those who immediately depend on the cultivation of the soil, from the landlord of a province down to his lowest hind. (CBTJMP, p. 264)

The perception of the "insidious" nature of the way in which the people of Scotland have been treated, as quoted earlier, culminates here in a manipulation of the guilt that it

provokes. The contriving “to make [the] guilt appear the villainy of a Nation”, combined with the reference to those involved as “enemies” portrays the idea that the actions of Pitt and the “powerful individuals” have been justified by themselves through the creation of an idea that the people in the whisky industry, and by extension, the common people of Scotland are not deserving of sympathetic treatment, and therefore, because one foundation of morality is sympathy, not deserving of being treated morally.

This letter then, on one level, is an attempt to portray the common people of Scotland as being deserving of sympathy. In fact, they could be seen as being more deserving of sympathy than the Prime Minister, which calls upon the morals of those in power, in a Smithian sense. This is included here in an attempt to make those in power alter their actions towards the whisky industry and the people of Scotland more generally. The final paragraph of the letter further compounds this sentiment:

There is, however, one part of your public conduct which our feelings will not permit us to pass in silence; our gratitude must trespass on your modesty; we mean, worthy Sir, your whole behaviour to the Scots Distillers. – In evil hours, when obtrusive recollection presses bitterly on the sense, let that, Sir, come like a healing angel, & speak the peace to your soul which the world can neither give nor take away. (CBTJMP, p. 265)

It would appear that this last section of the letter anticipates a positive reaction from Pitt. It mentions the “behaviour to the Scots Distillers” that the letter has argued has been immoral, but in recollection of the biblical imagery invoked earlier, it offers some hope to the Prime Minister. In assuming that Pitt will do what Burns sees as the right thing, he says that “in evil hours” Pitt can remember he corrected the immorality present in the politics of the day towards the “Scots distillers” and this will “come like a healing angel, & speak peace to [his] soul”. The motivation is therefore set out for Pitt on the grandest of terms. The “blow from an unthought of quarter” marked by “the hand of Omnipotence” that will leave all Pitt’s “fancied honours in the dust” can be consoled by the “healing angel” of knowing that he did the right thing for the people of Scotland, and for this act the people will express their “gratitude”.

The letter is, as mentioned at the beginning, signed off as John Barleycorn, the name bringing with it a cultural and historical authority. Preceding the sign-off, however, are the lines:

We have the honour to be, Sir, your sympathising fellow-sufferer, & grateful humble serv. ... (CBTJMP, p. 265)

This section is the only point in the entire Burns corpus searched that the word **sympathising** is found. When combined with the term “fellow-sufferers” which can be

seen as being related to the term **fellow-feeling** (n) which is also found in the significant data, Burns's intention of drawing on the language of the Enlightenment, and of Adam Smith, is once again reinforced. Burns's persona of John Barleycorn, therefore, is one that is representative of the whisky distiller and of the common people of Scotland, but is also a man of the Enlightenment, able to engage in the language and the thought of the time, and engineer it for political ends.

Just as the philosophers of the Enlightenment, such as Hume and Smith, underpin much of their thought on morality with conceptions of sympathy, Burns develops his sympathetic discourse to cover many aspects of moral thought. By reflecting the multifarious means by which the concept of sympathy is foregrounded by the philosophers, Burns uses his sympathetic language to repeatedly attack the political world and the Prime Minister by using the language of philosophical texts (such as Smith's and Hume's), that were so prevalent at the time, to highlight unfair and immoral behaviour on their part.

The creation of the persona that delivers this letter, and the fact that it was meant for public consumption, shifts the work away from being a non-literary letter, into the realms of satire. John C. Weston, arguing against the perception of Burns's poetical satire being tame, states "that Burns's satires are not tragic, black, visceral does not mean that they are merely gently bantering and wittily amusing. Their power derives from the fierceness of Burns's hatreds and his intention to wound his adversary".⁵⁶ Weston however, also argues that Burns's best satires are written in "vernacular Scots" because with it he was able to turn to his advantage "the device of the enemy's voice" (Weston, p. 55). This, in all probability, is true when considering the early satires from 'Holy Willie's Prayer' to 'A Dream', but as soon as the 'enemy' of the satire is not from within a Scottish local frame of reference this letter illustrates Burns's capability to write a scathing attack in a different language. In this case that language is the language of Adam Smith and of the Enlightenment. The same "intention to wound" is there, compounded with the sentimental construction of sympathy for the victim, in poems such as 'To a Mouse', 'To a Louse' and 'To a Mountain Daisy', but it is done so through language that is 'borrowed' from Smith and others. This 'borrowing' of language creates a letter that is written in the language of its victim, which turns the political discourse and the texts that are the foundations of their political constructs back on to themselves, in order to create a scathing, yet highly persuasive piece of political satire.

⁵⁶ John C. Weston, 'Robert Burns's Satire', in *The Art Of Robert Burns*, ed. R. D. S. Jack and Andrew Noble (London: Vision Press Limited, 1982), p. 36

In the short analysis of one of Burns's 'Clarinda' letters at the beginning of this chapter, we saw one means by which Burns constructs an overtly sentimental epistolary narrative. Through the use of the words **pity**, Burns's most frequent sympathetic term, and **tearful**, a variant of Burns's second most common sympathetic term, Burns creates an emotional 'argument', portraying Agnes MacLehose as a respectable 'person of feeling'. An interesting point to note when considering the 'Clarinda' letter and the 'Address of the Scotch Distillers' letter is that when composing the more straight-forwardly sentimental narrative, Burns turns to the emotional words that are most common in his corpus. When turning his hand to the ironical satire in the 'Scotch Distillers' letter, Burns deploys terms that are very rare elsewhere in the corpus searched. The irony present in the open letter then becomes the motivation for Burns to alter his sympathetic discourse. He engages more directly with philosophical texts, suggesting a desire to construct a letter that is dealing more with moral sentimentality than the predominantly emotional sentimentality, present letters to 'Clarinda'. Burns's satirical style alters his language selection to mimic the language of his victim – in this case the Prime Minister and the political class.

In the 'Address of the Scotch Distillers' then, Burns constructs a persona that is actively demonstrating what Eric Erämetsä calls the first 'wave' of sentimentalism. This earlier form of sentimental literature, as pointed out in the introduction to this thesis (page 10), involves the writings of the period exploring a "predominantly moral" sentimental engagement. In this example of it, Burns successfully deploys emotional language, (in this case sympathetic) in order to actively interrogate the morality, or lack thereof, of the ruling politicians of Burns's day. This chapter argues, then, that the persona construction by Burns in the 'Address of the Scotch Distillers' open letter is very much a sentimental creation, but one that is different in scope to the more 'emotional' 'Clarinda' letter.

The second 'wave' of sentimentalism, according to Erämetsä, uses similar forms of language, but to interrogate the properties and repercussions of the very emotions that it overtly simulates. The critical complexities involved in this later sentimentalism, along with the study of another of Burns's sentimental personae, shall form the basis for the next chapter of this study. The significant data here though, gathered through the methodology outlined in the introduction, provided the evidence for the intertextual links between Burns and the Enlightenment authors, particularly Adam Smith. The subject matter allowed for further links to be found between the letter and Burns's own poetical works, such as 'Scotch Drink'. Burns also wrote 'The Author's earnest Cry and Prayer' in response to the same legislation that the letter campaigns against, but whether the letter's political goal of the protection of the whisky industry constitutes an attainment of liberty, or whether it is

the defence of the rights of the Scottish people, or indeed whether it is a suggestion that political independence could safeguard the people from financial exploitation, an intertextual link is apparent between the letter and this poem too: the idea that “FREEDOM an’ WHISKY gang thegither!” (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p. 191, line 185).

Chapter 3: 'Pathos' in the Thomson Letters

One word that the data on Burns's language reveals as interesting is one that has a particular sentimental semantic function, especially in the works of Burns. The word **Pathos** is defined by the *OED* as:

1. An expression or utterance that evokes sadness or sympathy, esp. in a work of literature; a description, passage, or scene of this nature. Now rare.
2. A quality which evokes pity, sadness, or tenderness; the power of exciting pity; affecting character or influence.
3. Physical or mental suffering; sorrow. Obs. Rare
4. The quality of the transient or emotional, as opposed to the permanent or ideal (contrasted with *ethos*); emotion, passion. Chiefly with reference to ancient Greek rhetoric and art.

It is clear, then, how this word carries a definite sentimental meaning when the obvious connections to sympathy are considered. It is worth noting, however, that, although Burns uses the word a total of fourteen times in the corpus searched, he only uses the word once in his poetry. The use of the word by Burns is almost exclusively limited to his letters, and the one poem that contains the word is a poetic response to a letter he received from Dr Blacklock. What is more, the letters in which he uses the term are almost all to the editors of books of Scottish song to which Burns contributed, namely Thomson and Johnson. When we think of Burns as a sentimental writer, it comes as a surprise to see that a word with such sentimental importance as **Pathos** is being used by Burns in a way that is relatively barren of actual emotion.

Below is a concordance of the word **Pathos** in the Burns corpus used in this study:

But to conclude my silly rhyme,
(I'm scant o' verse, and scant o' time,)
To make a happy fireside clime
 To weans and wife,
That's the true *Pathos* and *Sublime*
 Of Human life. –

– 'To Dr. Blacklock' (*Poems & Songs*, Vol. 1 p. 491, lines 49-54)

In my family devotion; which, like a good presbyterian, I occasionally give to my household folks, I am extremely fond of that psalm, "Let not the errors of my youth," &c. and that other, "Lo, children are God's heritage," &c. in which last Mrs. Burns, who, by the by, has a glorious "wood-note wild" at either old song or psalmody, joins me with the pathos of Handel's Messiah ...

– To Mr. M'Auley, 4th June 1789 (*Letters*, 1:346, p. 415)

Àpropos, if you are for *English* verses, there is, on my part, an end of the matter. – Whether in the simplicity of *the Ballad*, or the pathos of *the song*, I can only hope to please myself in being allowed at least a sprinkling of our native tongue.

– To Mr. Thomson, 16th September 1792 (*Letters*, 2:507, p. 149)

There is a naïveté, a pastoral simplicity, in a slight intermixture of Scots words & phraseology, which is more [in more (*deleted*)] in unison (at least [in (*deleted*)] to my taste, & I will add, to every genuine Caledonian taste,) with the simple pathos, or rustic sprightliness, of our native music, than any English verses whatever.

-To Mr. Thomson, 26th January 1793 (*Letters*, 2:535, p. 181)

Give me leave to criticise your taste in the only thing in which it is in my opinion reprehensible: (you know I ought to know something of my own trade) of pathos, Sentiment & Point, you are a compleat judge; but there is a quality more necessary than either, in a Song, & which is the very essence of a Ballad, I mean Simplicity – now, if I mistake not, this last feature you are a little apt to sacrifice to the foregoing.

-To Mr. Thomson, April 1793 (*Letters*, 2:554, p. 196)

Fee him, father – I enclose you, Frazer's set of this tune when he plays it slow; in fact, he makes it the language of Despair. – I shall here give you two stanzas, in that style; merely to try, if it will be any improvement. – Were it possible, in singing, to give it half the pathos which Frazer gives it in playing, it would make an admirably pathetic song.

-To Mr. Thomson, September 1793 (*Letters*, 2:586, pp. 244-245)

Saw ye my father – Is one of my greatest favourites. – The evening before last, I wandered out, & began a tender song, in what I think is its native style. – I must premise, that the old way, & the way to give most effect, is to have no starting note, as the Fiddlers call it, but to burst at once into the pathos. – Every country girl sings –

Saw ye my father? &c.

I saw not &c. –

-To Mr. Thomson, September 1793 (*Letters*, 2:586, p. 245)

Todlin hame – Urbani mentioned an idea of his, which has long been mine; that this air is highly susceptible of pathos: accordingly, you will soon hear him, at your concert, try it to a song of mine in the Museum, “Ye banks and braes o' bonnie Doon”

-To Mr. Thomson, September 1793 (*Letters*, 2:586, p. 246)

What pleases me, as simple & naïve, disgusts you as ludicrous & low. – For this reason, “Fee him, father,” “Fye gie me my coggie Sirs,” “Fye let us a' to the bridal,” with several others of that cast, are, to me, highly pleasing; while “Saw ye my father or saw ye my mother” delights me with its descriptive, simple pathos. – Thus my song, “Ken ye what Meg o' the mill has gotten” pleases myself so much, that I cannot without disgust try my hand at another song to [it (*deleted*)] the air; so I shall not attempt it.

-To Mr. Thomson, September 1793 (*Letters*, 2:588, pp. 252-253)

I assure you that to my lovely Friend you are indebted for many of your best songs of mine. – Do you think that the sober, gin-horse routine of [life (*deleted*)] existence could inspire a man with life, & love, & joy – could fire him with enthusiasm, or melt him with pathos, equal to the genius of your book? – No! No!!! –Whenever I want to be more than ordinary *in song*; to be in some degree equal to your diviner airs; do you [think (*deleted*)] imagine I fast & pray for the celestial emanation? – Tout au contraire! I have a glorious recipe, the very one that for his own use was invented by the Divinity of Healing & Poesy when erst he piped to the flocks of Admetus. – I put myself in a regimen of admiring a fine woman; & in proportion to the adorability of her charms, in proportion you are delighted with my verses. –

The lightning of her eye is the godhead of Parnassus, & the witchery of her smile the divinity of Helicon!

-To Mr. Thomson, 19th October 1794 (*Letters*, 2:644, pp. 315-316)

I am also of your mind, as to the “Caledonian hunt;” but to fit it with verses to suit these dotted crotchets will be a task indeed. – I differ from you, as to the expression of the air. – It is so charming, that it would make any Subject in a song go down; but pathos is certainly its native tongue.

-To Mr. Thomson, 19th November 1794 (*Letters*, 2:647, p. 328)

This protracting, slow, consuming illness which hangs over me, will, I doubt much, my ever dear friend, arrest my sun before he has well reached his middle career, [*sic*] & will turn over the Poet to far other & more important concerns than studying the brilliancy of Wit or the pathos of Sentiment! – However, Hope is the cordial of the human heart, & I endeavour to cherish it as well as I can.

-To James Johnson, About 1st June 1796 (*Letters*, 2:696, p. 381)

So what is Burns doing with the word **pathos** here? If we take the letters to Thomson, in which the word appears most commonly, we can see that Burns is beginning to construct a critical argument on certain songs that Thomson is unsure about publishing. Burns is trying to persuade Thomson that these songs are worthy of inclusion in his publication, and therefore worthy of preservation.

Bearing in mind the *OED* definitions of **pathos** above, it is clear that Burns is arguing for the inclusion of these songs on the back of their emotional significance and their ability to rouse a reaction of pity or sympathy in the reader/listener. For any editor faced with an abundance of material, as Thomson was, it is likely that he would have had to be quite ruthless in his selection for publication. This ‘emotional’ argument may not have been convincing enough. With the benefit of hindsight, however, we can see that Burns’s recommendations were frequently adhered to. So, was Burns, in actuality, constructing a more forceful argument for the inclusion of particular songs?

Often, in the letters of Burns above, the word **pathos** appears in close proximity to the word **simplicity**, or a variant thereof. This term is one that would normally be associated with language of sentiment, as simplicity of the expression of feeling can frequently be found in eighteenth-century sentimental discourse.⁵⁷ Similarly, the idea of immediate sentimentality through the pathos of a song being linked to its simplicity appears to be an important idea for Burns. This idea, it would seem, is a means by which Burns criticised Scottish song. For a motivation behind such criticism, we must look to other forms of literary commentary where these terms are prominent.

Such an endeavour takes us to criticism of classical literature. More precisely, discussions on pathos and simplicity are prominent in discussion of writers from the

⁵⁷ See William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads Wordsworth and Coleridge*, Second Edition, eds. R. L. Brett and A. R. Jones (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 254

Greeks such as Aristotle and Homer, to the Romans such as Virgil. As we have seen, the fourth definition of **pathos** above states that the term is “chiefly with reference to ancient Greek rhetoric and art.” The dates that the *Historical Thesaurus* gives for this definition are between 1739 and 1988, so Burns was very much operating within the time period that this term was in use. Therefore, in an attempt to ascertain Burns’s motivations for using these terms, we must firstly begin the investigation with criticism of ancient literature.

To begin, we must attempt to understand what is meant by the term **pathos**, in terms of ancient literature. **Pathos**, in the Aristotelian sense, has been a difficult concept for scholars to define accurately. Although Aristotle outlined the term as signifying an important aspect of Greek theatre, the explanations of the term in modern criticism have often lacked clarity. Such lack of clarity is, in this case, explicable due to the difficulties of translating from the ancient Greek, through many centuries, therefore, it is “reasonable to assume that the terms used by Aristotle to describe his three μέρη of tragedy - περιπέτεια, ἀναγνώρισις, and πάθος - were all part of the technical vocabulary of the contemporary theatre, and that if only we were familiar with that vocabulary, we should not find Aristotle’s vagueness and carelessness in explanation such a hindrance to understanding.”⁵⁸

Despite Aristotle’s “vagueness and carelessness”, **pathos** is clearly a term that involves emotion felt by people other than the primary sufferer, through means of sympathetic communication. After a comprehensive literature review, B. R. Rees reaches a similar definition of **pathos**:

...pathos, the action bringing pain or destruction, is essential to tragedy, whether it takes place or is avoided, whether it is seen or imagined, whether it is an incident in the plot or one of its antecedents. ‘The one thing absolutely essential to a tragedy was a pathos of heroic quality and scope.’ (Rees, p. 11)

Rees finishes this sentence by quoting from Gerald Frank Else’s book *The Origin and Early Form of Greek Tragedy* (1965), with which he earlier argues. For Rees, then, pathos is an action that involves emotion and is central to Greek tragedy. Although, Rees appears to reach a satisfactory conclusion for the purposes of his paper, further definition is required here. To extrapolate from Rees’s work then, it is possible to say that the sympathetic nature of the pathos in Greek theatre lies distinctly with the audience. The audience often knows more than the characters do, and so can anticipate the misfortune of those involved in the plot. The qualities that make a tragedy tragic, for example, are then experienced by the audience across a far wider time period within the play, than the expressions of anguish from the characters involved.

⁵⁸ B. R. Rees, ‘Pathos’ in the ‘Poetics’ of Aristotle’, *Greece and Rome*, Second Series, Vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 1-11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 1

Scholars such as Rees and Else have managed to shed some light on the concept of Aristotelian pathos. More recent criticism, however, brings the temporal aspect of pathos in art into sharper focus:

...the emotion presupposes either anticipation or recognition in the past of some misfortune for the pitier. Pity occupies a unique position in Aristotle's theory for two reasons. Firstly, it is a pathos caused by the sufferings of others. Secondly, it can be reached only by contemplating the future or the past. Different kinds of emotions can be provoked by what other people experience, such as "indignation" and "envy", which are the opposites of pity. Although they resemble pity because they are oriented toward others and not toward the self, neither requires, however, a temporal detachment.⁵⁹

Pity, it would seem, "is a pathos" which takes its definition from being the action of a witness to suffering, and Munteanu, above, appears to define it as a category of emotion in itself. 'A pathos' can be reached "only by contemplating the future or past", and this "temporal detachment" is important when the idea is applied to theatre or literature. Both require an audience, and it is the audience that experiences the pathos. In tragedy, the suffering, or potential suffering, of a character engages the audience in a pathos that not only allows them to experience the emotion of the character, but also predict the emotional state of the character as the plot unfolds. It is through this act of experiencing the pathos that certain philosophies can be didactically imparted to the audience through the medium of the art. The morality of the work is then experienced directly by the audience through the pathos, and philosophical ideas on the nature of morality are conveyed. This pathos, as a category of emotion able to be imparted on to an audience, is a factor that, for Aristotle, underpins much of Greek literature, particularly tragedy.

Even having described **pathos** as being a quality of emotion in itself, set within the temporal understanding of an audience there is still some clarity required. Aristotle did not categorise emotion in such a way. His intention appears to be more an effort of description of different forms of artistic rhetoric.

The key term here is 'artistic'. The artifice of the literature, according to Aristotle, must be taken into account. The audience is not simply reacting to emotional, or potentially emotional, situations that the characters find themselves in. The author of the work of literature has crafted it in order to affect the audience. There is a means by which the writer 'persuades' the audience to feel an emotion by way of pathos:

⁵⁹ Dana LaCourse Munteanu, *Tragic Pathos: Pity and Fear in Greek Philosophy and Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.77

Aristotle organizes his material according to what were later called *official oratoris*, and his theory of invention is, apart from the non-technical means of persuasion, based upon the threefold division of *pisteis* into rational arguments, ethos and pathos.⁶⁰

Jakob Wisse has illustrated how pathos, according to Aristotle, can be seen as one of three means by which an author can ‘persuade’ their audience. Wisse, in his introduction, simplifies his definition of pathos, saying it is “the playing upon the feeling of the audience” (Wisse, p.5) but goes on to unpick the complexity of the issue by arguing that, when viewed as a ‘technical’ method by which an author persuades, the didactic purposes of a piece of literature can be seen as being conveyed by way of the constructed manipulation of the audience’s emotions.

By drawing from these three critics’ ideas on the nature of the term **pathos** with regards to the literature of ancient Greece, it is possible to come to a satisfactory definition of the original concept. Pathos is a means of sympathetic communication in art. The recipient of the art experiences the pathos with a “temporal detachment.” That is to say the audience considers the future and/or past of the plot and their sympathetic reaction is induced from full comprehension of it. However, the sympathetic reaction of the audience can be seen as being carefully calculated by the author, and therefore, is a means by which the author can ‘persuade’ the audience to take heed of any didactic purposes they have in writing the work of literature.

Such a complex response to a term such as **pathos** is required, but, perhaps ironically, it betrays the fact that, often, a main trait of certain aspects of ancient literature is simplicity. It would appear that the two terms **pathos** and **simplicity** are often associated, as they are in many of the letters of Burns above. This association can be illustrated by examining one of the most enduring authors of the ancient world.

“Simplicity, it would seem, is a simple matter”⁶¹ wrote Raymond D. Havens in 1953. To explain why something is simple, however, can become a complicated undertaking. We can begin to exemplify simplicity in the literature of the ancients by examining the work of Homer:

ACHILLES’ wrath, to Greece the direful spring
Of woe unnumber’d, heavenly goddess, sing!
That wrath which hurl’d to Pluto’s gloomy reign
The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain:

⁶⁰ Jakob Wisse, *Ethos and Pathos From Aristotle to Cicero* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert (publisher), 1989), p.28

⁶¹ Raymond D. Havens, ‘Simplicity, a Changing Concept’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 3-32 (January 1953), p.3

Whose limbs unburied on the naked shore
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore:
Such was the sovereign doom, and such the will of Jove!⁶²

Now heaven forsakes the fight: the immortals yield
To human force and human skill the field:
Dark showers of javelins fly from foes to foes;
Now here, now there, the tide of combat flows;
While Troy's famed streams, that bound the deathful plain
On either side, run purple to the main. (*The Iliad*, p. 109)

So warr'd both armies on the ensanguined shore,
While the black vessels smoked with human gore.
Meantime Patroclus to Achilles flies;
The streaming tears fall copious from his eyes:
Not faster trickling to the plains below,
From the tall rock the sable waters flow.
Divine Pelides, with compassion moved,
Thus spoke, indulgent, to his best beloved:
 "Patroclus, say, what grief thy bosom bears,
That flows so fast in these unmanly tears? (*The Iliad*, p.288-209)

The above extracts are taken from different points in Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad*. The first quotation is from the beginning of Book I, the second from the beginning of Book VI and the third from the beginning of Book XVI. Book I begins at the point where the Greeks sack Troy and the surrounding villages, Book VI describes how the Gods leave the field of battle and allow the Greeks to prevail, and Book XVI tells of how Patroclus persuades Achilles to accompany him in going to the assistance of the Greeks with his troops.⁶³

From these excerpts we can see immediately that the form of the poem changes little as we progress through the book. It is written in persistent rhyming couplets and almost entirely in iambic pentameter. Of course these excerpts are from Pope's translation of the work, but it is this formative simplicity that Pope saw as "the pitch of [Homer's] style" (*The Iliad*, p. xx). Bearing in mind these quotations are from parts of the poem that are distantly separated, the form, rhyme scheme and meter remain constant, only altering towards the end of the third excerpt when the poem shifts from largely descriptive of battles, to largely descriptive of emotion.

Of course none of the quotations are exclusively descriptive of either plot or emotion, but the emotion in the poem's various points is often singularly and uncomplicatedly stated outright. For instance, lines such as "Pluto's gloomy reign" and

⁶² Homer, *The Iliad*, translated by Alexander Pope (London: Frederick Warne & Co., ND), p.1

⁶³ Short summaries taken from Pope's 'Argument' at the beginning of each book of *The Iliad*

“with compassion moved” are statements of emotion. The narrator tells of emotional significance in the poem in a similar way as he tells of the plot. Such simplicity of expression is further explained by Erich Auerbach:

...a problematic psychological situation... is impossible for any Homeric heroes, whose destiny is clearly defined and who wake every morning as if it were the first day of their lives: their emotions, though strong, are simple and find expression instantly.⁶⁴

This instantaneous expression of emotion is typical of the Homeric technique of narrative composition. There is little or none of the interrogation of emotion that we have come to expect from more modern literature. The emotion here can be seen to act almost in an allegorical way, providing an otherwise absent motivational foregrounding to the ‘historical’ significance of the plot. It would appear that Raymond D. Havens was correct when he wrote that “Homer was direct and naive” (Havens, p.7).

Such naivety is by no means a shortcoming. As Pope writes, in his introduction to his translation of *The Iliad*, “there is a pleasure in taking a view of that simplicity, in opposition to the luxury of succeeding ages” (*The Iliad*, p. xvii). Pope is suggesting that the simplicity and directness of style exhibited by Homer should be taken in its historical context, and only in doing so can the text of Homer’s poem be fully appreciated.

Early twentieth-century critics, such as Milman Parry and Albert Lord, suggested that Homer may have been documenting the poetry of what was an ancient oral tradition. It is not to be assumed that these were the first of such claims, but thinking of the Homeric style in an historical context such as this may be vital in understanding the importance of its simplicity, as John Miles Foley begins to examine:

If the modern (re-)discovery of oral tradition was chiefly the accomplishment of the previous century, then its consequences provide a formidable critical agenda for the twenty-first century. In short, we have come to recognize that Homer’s epics circulated in oral tradition for a substantial period before they were recorded, and so now we have before us the exciting and demanding prospect of applying that new understanding to our present-day reading. That the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* stemmed from an oral tradition is beyond doubt, but how does that complex reality affect our grasp of the poems?⁶⁵

Foley’s question here leads us into understanding the simplicity of Homer’s poetry further. If, Homer was in fact documenting poetic stories that were previously part of an oral tradition, then the simplicity in the style of his poetry has a deeper function. Foley is

⁶⁴ Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), p12

⁶⁵ John Miles Foley, “‘Reading’ Homer Through Oral Tradition’, *College Literature*, 34.2, pp. 1-28 (Spring, 2007), p.2

correct in stating that the origins of Homer's poetry stem from a "complex reality" of being told, retold and modified through time, in a similar way, incidentally, to the way in which the Scottish folk song oral tradition once operated. Even though the individual lines may have varied from time to time, the overall plot and emotion of the poetry would have remained largely constant. Such a formulaic approach is evident in Homer's repeating patterns and styles, and is indicative of the poetry once being conveyed orally, with the repetitions, emotional simplicity and systematic nature of the plot lending ease to the ability for a bard to perform the poem from memory. Albert Lord famously added credence to this idea by noting that he had witnessed twentieth century Yugoslavian bards reciting poems of four thousand lines in such a way. Lord suggests that it is very possible that the bards of ancient Greece may well have recited long poems in a similar way before Homer began writing the poems down.⁶⁶

The simplicity of Homer's poetry, then, may well stem from an oral performative tradition in ancient Greece, and therefore the simplicity of the emotion can be seen as being very much linked to the performative pathos which Aristotle attempted to describe. Poetic emotion portrayed in such a way allows for the Aristotelian theatrical pathos to be comprehended by an audience. In the act of skilfully transcribing the poetry of an oral tradition, maintaining the elements of simplicity in the recounting of emotion, the reader of Homer can experience the poetic pathos as closely as it was intended in the performative sense as possible:

Our reactions are direct, not mediated by the reactions or feelings of the characters. How are we to know how to react? We cannot receive our emotional clues from audience reaction; there is no fictitious audience mediating between the poet and us. When there is no audience in the poem, the poet merges with the character in whose voice he speaks, and we merge with the person addressed. The character speaks directly to us and we respond directly to the character. We are drawn into the action and become part of it. No longer merely listeners to a bard's performance, we are now witnesses of the action and interested listeners to the heroes' - here Achilles' - words.⁶⁷

Obviously, there are differences in the way in which the pathos is understood, depending on whether the poem is performed or read, but the simplicity of the portrayal of emotion in Homer's writings allows for a replication of the direct conveyance of emotion possible via the oral culture. As Wyatt has explained, there becomes no "mediation" between bard and audience. The audience becomes one individual reader, experiencing the words of the

⁶⁶ See Albert B. Lord, 'Homer as Oral Poet', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 27, pp. 1-46 (1968)

⁶⁷ William F. Wyatt, Jr., 'Homer in Performance: "Iliad" I.348-427', *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 83 No. 4, pp. 289-297 (April-May 1988), p. 291

characters alone. In this sense, there is a ‘conversation’ between the characters and the reader, which can be seen as a change that increases the focus, and therefore the potency, of the pathos; an effect which justifies the commonly held opinion of the genius of Homer.

As mentioned earlier, the tradition of Scottish song is one that once operated in a similar way to the oral tradition of Greece described here. General themes of songs and their structures remained largely constant as they were passed from performer to performer, but the individual lines were open to alteration. The major difference between the two traditions is that the Scottish oral tradition, at least latterly, operated within a largely text-based society. Whether the tradition was an oral one through an unfortunate lack of literacy, and whether the tradition was perpetuated due to its orality being valued by those involved is a matter of on-going research,⁶⁸ but it certainly appears that the tradition was one largely of the lower classes.

Interestingly, however, the fact that the oral tradition existed within a text-based society is of value to a researcher of Scottish song, as there were people who strived to record what they heard being sung. Therefore, it would appear that some song enthusiasts would record songs in writing, despite the value placed on the culture of oral dissemination. So much so, it has been noted, that since the advent of printing, and particularly broadside publication, “the broadside ballad and the folksong [were] mutually dependent upon one another.”⁶⁹ This mutual dependence meant that, rather than folk song being enveloped by the world of the literary tradition as some have claimed, the dissemination of Scottish song became more widespread, which enabled the oral culture to perpetuate further. The broadside publications became a new means by which songs were learned, but they were still open to change by any given performer. Print culture, at this point, can be viewed as working in conjunction with the oral culture of Scottish song. It is possible, therefore, to look to broadside publications of Scottish songs in order to illustrate the similarities with the Greek oral tradition, along with the simplicity and pathos that accompany it. Below are two excerpts from transcripts of the song ‘The Golden Glove’ from publications held by the National Library of Scotland:

THE

GOLDEN GLOVE.

⁶⁸ See David Atkinson, ‘Folk Song in Print: Text and Tradition’, *Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 456-483 (2004)

⁶⁹ Robert S. Thomson, *The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and Its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs*, (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1974), p. 24.

There was a young squire in the north country we hear,
Was courting a Nobleman's daughter so dear,
Now, for to marry her, it was his intent,
All friends and relations did give their consent.

The time as appointed for the wedding day,
The Farmer was sorry to give her away;
Instead of being married she went to her bed,
And the thoughts of the Farmer still ran in her head.

A coat and blue trowsers this Lady put on,
And she's gone a hunting with her dog and her gun,
Oft times she fired but nothing she kill'd,
Till, at length the young Farmer enter'd the field.

To discourse with him it was her intent,
With her dog and her gun to meet him she went,
She say's was you not at the wedding last night,
To wait on the squire and to give him his bride ? ⁷⁰

THE

GOLDEN GLOVE

A wealthy young squire in Tamworth we hear,
He courted a nobleman s daughter so fair,
And for to marry her it was his intent,
All friends and relations gave their consent.

The time was appointed for the wedding day,
A young farmer was appointed to give her away
As soon as the farmer the young lad spied,⁷¹
He inflamed her heart, O my heart she cried.

She turned from the Squire but nothing she said,
Instead of being married she took to her bed,
The thoughts of the farmer so ran in her mind,
A way for to get him she quickly did find.

Coat, waistcoat, and trowsers she then did put on,
And a hunting she went with her dog and her gun,
She hunted all round when the farmer did dwell,
Because in her heart she did love him full well. ⁷²

⁷⁰ Transcript of MS Broadside publication of 'The Golden Glove' (Probable Publication: 1830-1860), NLS Website: <http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/15142/transcript/1> [accessed 01/10/14]

⁷¹ Transcription of broadside on NTS website suggests this word is "piad", however this has been re-transcribed from a digital copy of the publication as "spied"

⁷² Transcript of MS Broadside publication of 'The Golden Glove' (Probable Publication: 1852-1859), NLS Website: <http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/14790/transcript/1> [accessed 01/10/14]

These examples are from quite late in the history of broadside dissemination. Because the survival rate of earlier publications is fairly low, it appears that it is relatively hard to find two separate broadside manuscripts of the same song from an earlier point in history. It is clear that these manuscripts detail the same song. However, the songs are far from identical. Although the general rhythm of the two is very similar, there are small differences in their meters. Their rhyme schemes, although they begin with the same rhymes, differ as the songs progress. Even the verses change. Verse three in the first excerpt becomes verse four in the second, as there is a new verse inserted. Despite these considerable differences, it would be impossible to argue that these are not broadsides of the same song. These differences are a product of the oral tradition into which these songs were borne. The people who committed this song to print did so probably after hearing differing versions of the song performed in different ways.

The excerpts from the manuscripts here provide us with a good case study of one of the challenges facing Thomson, as well as Burns, in selecting songs for publication. We have one song that, hypothetically, may be published, but two separate versions from which to choose. The deciding factor must be an assessment of quality. Such an assessment is always going to be a subjective one, but if we look at the differences in opinion between Burns and Thomson, in one of the letters cited at the beginning of this chapter, we can gain an insight in the way, Burns at least, navigated this issue of quality:

What pleases me, as simple & naïve, disgusts you as ludicrous & low. – For this reason, “Fee him, father,” “Fye gie me my coggie Sirs,” “Fye let us a’ to the bridal,” with several others of that cast, are, to me, highly pleasing; while “Saw ye my father or saw ye my mother” delights me with its descriptive, simple pathos. (*Letters*, 2:588, pp. 252-253)

If, therefore, the features we look for when gauging the quality of a folk song, as specified here by Burns, are simplicity and naivety in the expression of descriptive pathos, then we can look to the ways in which these have been described in this chapter to exemplify such an assessment. Both first stanzas are the same, but the second stanzas differ in their expressions of emotion. The first excerpt states that “the Farmer was sorry to give her away”, whereas the second excerpt mentions that “A young farmer was appointed to give her away”. The line from the second excerpt provides a less emotionally focused description; the farmer is young, and the lack of a definite article suggests that he is unknown to the family of the girl, and therefore he is “appointed”, rather than emotionally involved in the wedding. The first excerpt on the other hand opens with the definite article when signifying “The farmer”, which suggests he is familiar. The same line expresses that the farmer is “sorry”, which is a direct, simple statement of emotion. This statement, it

could be argued carries a sense of pathos. It opens a temporal detachment for the audience, who are now able to both imagine a possible past relationship between the farmer and the girl that would make the farmer “sorry to give her away”, but also an ability to predict future distress for both parties. This example is a small one. It is, however, through analysing a song via an understanding of pathos and simplicity, as laid out by Burns in his letters, in the context of the critical frameworks applied to literature of the ancient Greeks that it becomes possible to understand the emotional resonance that Burns was seeking in songs that he would have deemed worthy of publication. The pathos delivered to an audience through the simple and direct conveyance of emotion allows an audience to become emotionally invested in a song, thus becoming more easily ‘persuadable’ towards any morals that may be imparted, as well simply achieving a higher level of enjoyment from the song.

Having defined and exemplified the notions of pathos and simplicity as used by Burns in his letters to Thomson, it is now possible to apply the concepts to a selection of Burns’s songs. One tune that Burns recommends in his letters to Thomson is ‘Saw ye my father’. Burns mentions that it is one of his “greatest favourites” and that he had been writing a “tender song” to match the air. He also recommends that the song should “burst at once into the pathos” (*letters*, 2:586, p. 245). The song that Burns wrote became entitled ‘Where Are the Joys I Have Met?’ and Thomson accepted the song for publication. The appearance of the song in Thomson’s book allows us to examine a song that was included in the volume on the back of a recommendation by Burns in which he cites the song’s pathos as a mark of its quality:

Where are the joys I have met in the morning,
That danc’d to the lark’s early song?
Where is the peace that awaited my wand’ring,
At evening the wild woods among?

No more a-winding the course of yon river,
And marking sweet flowerets so fair;
No more I trace the light footsteps of pleasure,
But sorrow and sad sighing care!

Is it that summer’s forsaken our valleys,
And grim surly winter is near?
No, no! the bees, humming round the gay roses,
Proclaim it the pride of the year.

Fain would I hide what I fear to discover;
Yet long, long too well I have known,
All that has caused this wreck in my bosom,
Is Jenny, - fair Jenny alone!

Time cannot aid me, my griefs are immortal,
Not hope dare a comfort bestow;
Come then, enamour'd and fond of my anguish,
Enjoyment I'll seek in my woe.⁷³

This song contains very little in the way of plot or background description. The reader, or listener, is presented with an outpouring of emotion from the beginning. The speaker is clearly in some emotional turmoil, but there is no indication as to why, until the end of stanza four. Up until this point it is almost as if the speaker themselves is confused as to the source of their emotion. The song opens with a temporal distancing. The questions that arise from the speaker's anguish are questions that denote a happier past. The questions lead into the second stanza which continues the development of the temporal detachment of the speaker and their thoughts. "No more a-winding the course of yon river" is suggestive of time running out. When combined with the line "No more I trace the light footsteps of pleasure" the reader draws from the metaphors that the speaker could be lamenting a lost youth, and is treating what future may be left with some trepidation. The third stanza, again metaphorically, confirms the emotional resonance being linked to the passage of time. However, the confirmation of this emotion is in the form of a question. The question, "Is it that summer's forsaken our valleys,/And grim surly winter is near?" contains a recognisable metaphor for youth fading to old age. The complication arises, however, when the second half of this stanza answers the question in the negative. The reader discovers that the speaker is not lamenting a lost youth, or is at least refusing to. The introduction of the natural images of spring time suggest the speaker has already forsaken the notion that they may be near life's end.

At this point in the song, then, the reader/listener has the temporal line of the song, which achingly looks to the past, disrupted by a temporary conception of a present 'proclamation' of "pride". The apparent confusion in the temporal metaphor is relieved in the fourth stanza, when the reader discovers that the anguish felt by the speaker has been caused by a woman called Jenny. Such a discovery, however, is once again not inclusive of any contextual information. There is no plot, or back story, that allows the reader to become aware of who Jenny is or why specifically the speaker has been hurt by her. The line "Yet long, long too well I have known" is a powerful indicator that the speaker's anguish has in fact been present for a while; long enough, perhaps for it to be combined

⁷³ Robert Burns, 'Where are the Joys I have Met?', ed. George Thomson, *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice* (1826), p. 102

with a general lament for times gone by, thus creating the confusion in the narrative of the song.

The final stanza alters the temporal line of the song again. No more is the reader encouraged to consider the past. In fact, time is almost entirely removed from the song at this point. The line “Time cannot aid me” is suggestive of a present disregard for the passage of time, an idea that “my griefs are immortal” confirms. However, this apparent disregard is legitimised by the final two lines of the song: “Come then, enamour’d and fond of my anguish,/Enjoyment I’ll seek in my woe” are lines that subvert expectations in a way that resonates with powerful emotion. The beginning of the song, which is so dependent on images and metaphors of the passage of time, is contrasted sharply here by a bravery in the face of ‘immortal grief’. Seeking ‘fondness’ in “anguish”, and “enjoyment” in “woe” are paradoxical acts, and therefore impossible. These two lines are the most emotionally charged in the song, and this is achieved by way of the reader/listener finding deep sympathy with the speaker, due to them bravely facing the impossible task of removing themselves from the temporal line of their life and their grief.

Another song that Burns mentions in his letters to Thomson is ‘Ken ye what Meg o’ the Mill has Gotten’. Burns wrote this song to accompany another well-known air and tells that the reason why this song is so appealing to him is due to its “descriptive simple pathos.” Thomson considered this song for publication but ultimately did not include it:

O ken ye what Meg o' the mill has gotten,
An ken ye what Meg o' the mill has gotten?
She's gotten a coof wi' a claut o' siller,
And broken the heart o' the barley Miller. ----

The Miller was strappin, the Miller was ruddy,
A heart like a lord, & a [skin *deleted*] hue like a lady;
The Laird was a widdefu', bleerit knurl;
She's left the gude-fallow & taen the churl. ----

The Miller he hecht her, a heart leal & luvig,
The Laird did address her wi' matter mair muving
A fine pacing horse wi' a clear chainet bridle,
A whip by her side, & a bony side-sadle. -----

O wae on the siller, it is sae prevailing;
And wae on the luvie that's fix'd on a mailin!
A tocher's nae word in a true luvie's parle,
But, give my luvie, & a fig for the war!⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Robert Burns, ‘Ken ye what Meg o’ the Mill has Gotten’, Manuscript held at Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, Ayr. Digital copy transcribed at: <http://www.burnsmuseum.org.uk/collections/transcript/2181> [accessed 06/10/2014]

This song is drastically different to the one looked at previously. The meter of this song is indicative of a higher tempo, much more lively song. As Burns alluded to in his letter, this song is almost entirely description of character and of events, all preceded by a question, which is repeated at the beginning of the song.

The majority of the rest of the song is detailing the narrative. Meg has “broken the heart” of the miller by eloping with a Laird. The reader/listener is presented with two conflicting descriptions of the men involved. We are first told that “The Miller was strappin, the Miller was ruddy/A heart like a lord, & a [skin *deleted*] hue like a lady” which comically tells of the physical appeal of the miller. The idea that he has the heart of a lord as well indicates that there is a question over Meg’s motivation for leaving him for a “Laird”.

Such description of detail continues in contrast to the Laird, who is portrayed as “a widdefu’, bleerit knurl” which can be translated as someone who is ‘rascally, out of control, or fit to be hanged (widdefu’), dim-sighted (bleerit) deformed person or dwarf (knurl (fig.)).⁷⁵ It is clear therefore, by the end of the second stanza, that Meg’s motivation for eloping with the Laird was purely in order to gain societal status, in the opinion of the narrator. The song goes on to elaborate further on the details of the affair. Although the miller was “leal” (loyal) and “luing”, the Laird could buy the affection of Meg with “a fine paced horse wi’ a clear chained bridal,/A whip by her side, & a bony side-saddle.” Here, once again, the reader/listener is presented with direct statements of emotion. The miller’s loyalty and love are stated outright for the sole purpose of contrasting them with the Laird’s lack of emotion in his ‘bribery’ when attracting Meg.

The final stanza puts forth the morality of the song. The stanza expresses “wae” (woe) on the silver that “is sae prevailing”, as well as love that is “fixed on a mailin” (a leased bit of land), which laments love that is dependent on social order. The term “tocher” refers to a bride’s dowry, which, the song goes on to say, does not feature in the “true luvver’s” mind, which reinforces the sentiment raised at the beginning of the stanza, and the moral of the song is then stated outright in the final line.

The pathos that is present in this song begins to become evident right at the very beginning. If we return to the questions raised at the start, “O ken ye what Meg o’ the mill has gotten?” the first question that could be raised is, who is the narrator of the song addressing? The answer to this is simply the audience. This direct address of the

⁷⁵ Definitions from *Dictionary of the Scots Language*: <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/widdiefu>, <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/blear>, <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/knurl> [all accessed 09/10/2014]

reader/listener can be seen as Aristotelian pathos in its most basic form. The questions at the beginning set up a dialogue with the audience in which they become the recipients of a form of ‘gossip’ of which the character of Meg is at the centre. The reply by the audience is conducted through their pathos formed by the emotion in the song, which in turn leads to a satisfactory consumption of the didacticism through the morality of the song.

Where the emotion is present, it is stated outright, in a similar fashion to the previous song. The reader/listener is told that the miller is ‘broken hearted’ and the relevant aspects of the personalities of the men are specified simply. The simplicity that is associated with the pathos in this song is reminiscent, in a number of ways, of how Homer constructed the emotion in his works, as described earlier. Firstly, the emotion is simple and immediate. The narrators in each case state the emotion outright, leaving no room for a further interrogation of the psychological states in question. Secondly, the engagement with the audience fulfils that role that requires the transmission of pathos, thus the audience can experience the pity for the miller, in a similar manner to the ways in which Aristotle described how audiences become pitiful towards characters in Greek tragedy. This engagement with the audience then is an illustration of how a Scottish folk song can be written in such a way as to deliberately manipulate an audience’s emotion in order for them to be more ‘persuaded’ by the morality involved in the narrative. This ‘persuasion,’ as outlined earlier, is also present, in very similar form, in the literature of the ancients. The previous song too contains elements in its construction that are similar to Greek literature. The temporal distancing at play in it echoes the poetic technique on display in the writings of Homer, illustrated in the excerpts from the *Iliad* above.

Burns links the term **pathos** with **simplicity** because they are necessarily conjoined concepts. There can only be the transference of pathos if the literature or performance in question has at its heart a basic simplicity. The effect of the pathos can only be interpreted by the reader/listener if there is no room for the kind of psychological or philosophical exploration that other forms of literature allow.

Scottish song, then, as seen by Burns, should be constructed by means of this simple pathos. The focus on the direct, immediate display of emotion, it seems, appealed to Burns, perhaps because of the sentimental tendencies he demonstrated throughout his poetic life. In chapter one of this thesis, Carol McGuirk noted that she agreed with John Aikin’s idea that the folk song of the time was shifting from the ballad to the sentimental song: that is to say “the ballad’s emphasis on narrative has become subordinated to the expression of some powerful feeling” (McGuirk, p. 124). The sentimentalism that McGuirk attributes to this development in Scottish song, a development in which Burns

was a key figure, showed that Burns remained an active sentimental author, even after leaving behind what McGuirk sees as a sentimental Edinburgh Literary public. This idea is clearly true. There are, however, deeper sentimental resonances in the area of Burnsian sentimental song that come into view when the data is brought in to the study of them. In a similar way to how we saw Burns constructing a sentimental persona for himself in his ‘Address of the Scotch Distillers’ open letter in chapter 2, Burns is using the term **pathos** in the construction of another, equally sentimental, persona when addressing George Thomson.

Burns is attempting to evoke the sense of cultural authority that is commonly associated with the ancient classical literary canon. This manipulation of ideas relating to cultural authority is something Burns did rather frequently, as Robert Crawford notes:

Robert Burns’s poetic career is a subtle, full-throated flyting with cultural authority. Burns crosses swords with Kirk, language, literati, King, government and, not least, himself. Yet after his death in 1796 at the age of 37, the Burns who had so slyly contested cultural authority in his work was made into a posthumous patron whose name might validate a bewildering variety of projects. Clubs, ceilidhs, countries and causes, not to mention critics and writers, all boasted that directly or indirectly they bore his *imprimatur*.⁷⁶

Burns’s frequent “flyting with cultural authority” stood him in good stead to be able to effectively argue in favour of the publication of particular songs by essentially creating a sense of cultural authority for the Scottish song tradition. Burns’s constructed persona, in this case, is a development of personae discussed in other chapters of this thesis. By using language that the well-read would normally associate with the ancient classical canon, Burns effectively ‘borrows’ the cultural authority associated with it. By then describing Scottish song with the same language, Burns subtly transfers the authority to the Scottish songs he describes. If, for Burns, a particular song was blessed with “pathos and simplicity”, it formed part of a canon in Scottish literary history. In essence, then, Burns, through this persona, slyly creates a canon for the Scottish tradition, and the canon he creates is one that matches the ancient classical literature in its cultural authority.

It would be dangerous for Burns to use a genuinely honest voice when corresponding with a man of letters on such a subject, so it was crucial that this cultural authority concept was delivered through one of his many epistolary personae. The persona at work in these letters to Thomson is a sentimental one. In alignment with Eric Erämetsä’s notion of a second emotional ‘wave’ of sentimentalism, as opposed to an earlier moral

⁷⁶ Robert Crawford, *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. i

‘wave’, Burns’s later-career personae, such as this one, deal in the overtly emotional. The authority of the song for which he argues, is delivered through not only a linguistic convergence with criticism of ancient classical literature, but a linguistic convergence with the criticism of specifically emotional aspects of ancient classical literature.

To refer back to chapter 1 for a moment (page 56), it can be said that, even though the theories outlined by Carol McGuirk regarding Burns’s involvement in the emotional aspects of Scottish song define him as being a sentimental figure at this point in his career are true, her analyses do not quite go far enough. There is a deeper, more complex, sentimental aspect to Burns, and his created personae here. The language study, along with the data available for it, here, has on one hand proved McGuirk’s ideas to be correct, but insufficient. The sentimental and emotional ‘cultural authority’ figure present in the persona of Burns’s letters to Thomson shows that McGuirk’s theories again are shown to require slight alterations in light of this new linguistic evidence.

Robert Crawford, in the excerpt above, hints at an irony, when pointing out that even though Burns spent his career challenging cultural authority, he became a “patron” for all sorts of individuals, clubs and organisations. The observations in this chapter may offer a reason as to why this might be. Burns, through this sentimental persona, is acting as a sort of ‘cultural guardian’ figure. He is claiming a sentimental ownership of the Scottish songs that he tries to promote. By defending the literary merit of the songs, through an emotional ‘transference’ of cultural authority, and by acting as Scottish canon creator, his persona can be seen to defend aspects of older Scottish culture. It perhaps is not too much of a stretch of the imagination, then, to think about this kind of sentimental persona, acting out a cultural guardian figure, to be one reason why Burns is so ardently celebrated – it might not only be Burns the man that is being celebrated, but also the idea that Burns stood up for a culture that otherwise might not have been preserved so well.

This idea brings with it a sense that part of the reason why celebration of Burns relates to cultural nostalgia. By commemorating Burns, we are commemorating his efforts in cultural preservation, and thus there must be a nostalgia for the culture he helped to preserve embodied within the celebration of Burns himself; a nostalgia that meets:

[t]hat condition in which the symbolic objects are of a highly public, widely shared familiar character, i.e., those symbolic resources from the past which can under proper conditions trigger off wave upon wave of nostalgic feeling in millions of persons at a time.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Fred Davis, quoted in Janelle L. Wilson, *Nostalgia Sanctuary of meaning* (New Jersey: Associated University Press, 2005), p. 30

It could well be, then, that through this ‘cultural guardian’ persona that Burns himself sentimentally constructs, he has come to be seen, and celebrated, symbolically. Burns himself developed a sentimental pathos with the Scottish culture of the past, brought to life through a constructed character in his letters. Nonetheless, this constructed character held the potential to represent the “symbolic resources from the past” – the old folk culture of Scotland – which year after year triggers waves of “nostalgic feeling in millions”.

When considering that this nostalgia may well have, at least in part, been brought about through Burns’s engagement with the emotional aspects of the second ‘wave’ of sentimentalism, along with the emotional criticism of ancient literature, and that the populous response is a “feeling”, it is all but impossible to ignore the idea that everything associated with, and resultant from, this persona construction by Burns (including the modern celebration of Burns himself) is, in the eighteenth-century sense, sentimental.

The methodology at the heart of this thesis has shown its potential for making significant linguistic patterning efficiently and easily findable. In doing so, it creates an ability to concretely situate the particular significant language use within the context in which it was originally meant to be read.

In the case of this chapter, the data from Robert Burns’s language of Sympathy signalled a significance in the use of the word **pathos** by Burns, particularly with reference to his correspondence with the song collector George Thomson. Through similar methodological means, Burns’s use of the term was, relatively easily, situated within a critical paradigm of relating to the ancient classical canon. Through analysis of the results of the method, the literary-epistolary conduct of Burns was evidenced as being sentimental in nature, through the various emotional aspects of the thought behind the construction of Burns’s epistolary persona at work in the letters.

It is therefore apparent that the methodology adopted in this thesis enables more precise study of “Burns as a poet of his time” (McGuirk, p. xxxviii), as well as in more general terms by flagging its wider applicability to the study of literary works. Having exemplified the ways in which individual significances in the data can be analysed case by case in chapters 2 and 3, the next chapter will attempt to use the method to compare linguistic trends more generally amongst Burns and other eighteenth-century sentimental writers.

Chapter 4: Burns, Mackenzie, Sterne, Shenstone & Richardson: Comparisons of Sentimental Linguistic Trends

With clear sentimental tendencies in the language of Robert Burns established, this chapter will endeavour to evidence some concrete links between the language use of Burns and that of other sentimental authors. As David B. Morris points out, Bakhtinian literary theory suggests that language, being a social force, “inescapably draws [writers] into dialogue” (Morris, p. 6). Although Bakhtin also provides an extensive critique of ‘monologic discourse’, Burns admits to the dialogic nature of his writing by listing some of his influences. It is a good assumption therefore that writers of the same, or similar, ‘genres’, such as Burns and the other sentimental authors, are likely to be in dialogue, in the Bakhtinian sense, with each other, and as a result, share similar linguistic tendencies.

“The mysteries of influence” (Morris, p. 6), therefore, could well have shaped the language use of Burns when it comes to the literature of the ‘sentimental kind.’ A key outcome of the methodology at work within this thesis is the ability to ‘demystify’ such “mysteries of influence” by way of documenting and analysing similar linguistic tendencies between authors. The provision of such evidence has the potential to have a profound effect on the way we view Burns’s literary connections, as well as historical cultural commerce more generally. This chapter endeavours to gather robust linguistic evidence which can situate Burns, and his linguistic choices, within the context of his contemporaries and near-contemporaries – those who played an active part in the relevant literatures of the period.

Some work has been done to this end already, most notably by Jeremy Smith. Smith’s article “‘Copia Verborum’: The Linguistic Choices of Robert Burns’ provides some fascinating insights into the extent of the language at Burns’s disposal. The ease with which Burns could adapt to company of different classes; his social mobility, is mirrored by his language use. Burns’s “copia verborum” (literally, “abundance of words”) allowed him to adequately change his language use to suit any social situation that he found himself in. Transposing his ideas on Burns’s linguistic abilities on to his literary works, Smith alludes to the poet’s “*inventio*” (literally, “finding”) and points out that this ‘finding’ of language “was the first step in the poetic composition, as defined and approved by classical and medieval literary theory.”⁷⁸ It is from this point of view that importance of the attempt here to ascertain textual links between sentimental authors becomes clear. This chapter

⁷⁸ Jeremy Smith, “‘Copia Verborum’: The Linguistic Choices of Robert Burns’, *The Review of English Studies* Vol. 58, No. 233, pp. 73-88 (February 2007), pp. 76-77

will, therefore, attempt to answer the question: does Robert Burns's *inventio* harness the language of the sentimental writers of the period, in his attempt to form his sentimental conduct?

Further to the concepts of Burns's *copia verborum* and *inventio*, Kenneth Simpson has also pointed out the ability of Burns to convey "remarkable powers of recall, [a] capacity for mimicry... [with a] diversity of voices and styles."⁷⁹ Such mimicry of voices and styles by Burns may well indicate at least an ability, if not a tendency, to contribute to the literature of the sentimental era by way of creating his own works that are linguistically similar to the authors that have preceded him in the endeavour.

Burns himself, as we have seen, early on in his career, cites certain authors who have influenced him:

My favorite authors are of the sentim[ental] kind, such as Shenstone, particularly his Elegies, Thomson, Man of feeling, a book I prize next to the Bible, Man of the World, Sterne, especially his Sentimental journey, Mcpherson's Ossian, &c. these are the glorious models after which I endeavour to form my conduct... (*Letters*, 1:13, p. 17)

It is interesting to note that two of the writers that Burns wishes to form his conduct after are the "Man of Feeling", by which he means Henry Mackenzie, author of the book of the same name, and Laurence Sterne. These two writers produced sentimental novels, which, it could be argued, was the dominant form of sentimental literature in the eighteenth century, but what is interesting is the fact that Burns cites them as influences, and yet, formally, Burns as a poet was completely different. Carol McGuirk, in her book *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* (1985), as we have seen, uses these two novelists as her yardstick with which to compare to the sentimental aspects of Robert Burns's works, and so too in this study these two authors will be a focal point for linguistic comparison. Stylistically, the two authors are slightly different; they have different methods of narration, for example, and so this chapter will offer a comprehensive linguistic analysis in order to ascertain to what extent these authors have 'formed the conduct' of Burns linguistically.

Burns was primarily a poet, however, and he also lists a number of poets as authors who had influenced his sentimental conduct. This study will also look at one of the poets that Burns lists, William Shenstone, in order to ask the same questions regarding their impact on Burns's linguistic trends. Further interest shall be explored with regards to how similar or different the sentimental languages are between the poets and the sentimental novelists.

⁷⁹ Kenneth Simpson, 'Epistolary Performances: Robert Burns and the Arts of the Letter', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Vol. 37, Iss. 1, pp. 58-67 (2012), p. 58

In order for the study to be fully comprehensive, without exhaustively gathering data from every author involved in the sentimental era, a control writer must be analysed. For this to be effective, a writer that we know that Burns was familiar with, but one that he does not appear to align himself with in terms of literary influence, requires to be subjected to the same linguistic analysis as the other writers. There are several options for this exercise. Burns notes that he had read books by Tobias Smollet, Henry Fielding and Samuel Richardson. Indeed he writes to Dr. Moore:

In fact, I have gravely planned a Comparative view of You, Fielding, Richardson & Smollet, in your different qualities & merits as Novel-Writers. (*Letters*, 2:404, p. 37)

Ultimately, it appears that Burns never did produce such a comparative critique, but the intention to do so is indicative of a familiarity he had with texts produced by the authors in question. All three of the above authors therefore were candidates for the purposes of this thesis to become the control author in this sentimental language comparison.

The first author examined with regards to using their work as the control corpus was Henry Fielding. Burns himself seemed to include Fielding among the sentimental writers, mentioning to Dr. Moore:

Original strokes, that strongly depict the human heart, is your & Fielding's province, beyond any other Novelist, I have ever perused. (*Letters*, 2: 437, p. 74)

Such a statement, focusing on the portrayal of "the human heart," is highly indicative of Burns's consideration of Fielding, as an author, operating within a sentimental framework. On the face of it, this would have made Fielding a prime candidate for a control writer in this study. There are, however aspects of Fielding's language use that, in all probability, would skew the resulting data which could well produce false results. Fielding, in response to Richardson, often wrote satirical passages that attacked Richardson's brand of sentimentality.⁸⁰ Further to the satirical episodes, Fielding often included legal language in his work. When discussing Fielding's interrogations of sexual violence in his fiction, Simon Dickie points out:

Fielding's fictional episodes of sexual violence seem to gravitate towards the language of legal judgement. The judicial contexts are already there in *Rape upon Rape*, but in the novels Fielding seems specifically to be wondering how he would judge the woman if she were to come before him on the bench. The forensic

⁸⁰ For instance, Fielding wrote 'An Apology for the life of Mrs Shamela Andrews'. 'Shamela' can be seen as a direct satirical comment on Richardson's *Pamela*. For the text, please see: Henry Fielding, 'An Apology for the Life of Shamela Andrews' in *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon, Shamela and occasional Writings*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Oxford: Clarendon, 2008), pp. 133-195

influence on Fielding's point of view has long been noted, but less often with scenes of sexual violence.⁸¹

Such legal rhetoric throughout Fielding's works, carries with it a tendency to remove emotion from the legal equation. This tendency means that the data on the language of sentiment that could be taken from Fielding's novels run the risk of being skewed towards a slightly more emotionally barren linguistic inclination. Although, an interrogation into Fielding's emotional and sentimental language would be of great interest, the complicating factors stemming from Fielding's frequent uses of differing languages results in his work being unsuitable for use as a control study in the context of this thesis.

Tobias Smollet is also a problematic author when it comes to being a control in the framework of this language comparison study. Perhaps stemming from his involvement in translating *Don Quixote*, for example, Smollet's fiction has a propensity for moving in generic circles closer to that of the picaresque than the overtly sentimental. Traditionally, in a picaresque work of fiction, the protagonist, although normally retains the sympathy of the reader, often has questionable moral attitudes. *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* notes that:

'picaresque' as a "form of novel accurately described as 'picaresque' first appeared in 16th-cent. Spain with the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1553) and Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599–1604), which relate the histories of ingenious rogues, the servants of several masters, who eventually repent the error of their ways..."⁸²

Although it is very possible to construct a picaresque hero within a sentimental narrative, which is an area of research that would be very interesting for a linguistic study, the dishonest, 'roguishness' associated with picaresque heroes has the potential to dramatically alter the language use. Once again, this complicating factor – that may skew any sentimental data – is one that rules out Tobias Smollet as being the control author for this particular sentimental language comparison study.

Although it would be impossible to find an author who constructs a novel that is purely sentimental, and not responding to any other aspects of cultural phenomena, the most suitable author out of the three under consideration is Samuel Richardson. This suitability for Richardson being the control author on this study stems from the fact that he is not listed by Burns as a "model", yet is connected with Burns through readership⁸³ (Burns also mentions Richardson or his novels twice, as we have seen, when comparing

⁸¹ Simon Dickie, 'Fielding's Rape Jokes', *Review of English Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 251, pp. 572-590 (September 2010), p. 585

⁸² *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 'Picaresque', <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100325942> [Accessed 23/01/15]

⁸³ Robert Crawford, *The Bard: Robert Burns, a Biography* (London: Pimlico, 2010), p. 54

Richardson to Dr. Moore's sentimental novel-writing, and once in describing how he had read "two stray volumes of Pamela" (*Letters*, 1:125, p.143) in another letter to Dr. Moore).

Richardson is very much a sentimental author. His novels are almost entirely built on characters narrating, through letters, their experiences in a way can only be inclusive of a high level of emotional communication, as Victor J. Lams explains:

...reflection moves from the psychological domain into social fact through a process of rehearsal. Because the English verb "to rehearse" has for its Old French root an agricultural instrument, the harrow, one could define re-hearse in *Clarissa* to mean harrow-again; for Clarissa and Lovelace, to rehearse just-past events means not only to give an account of, to describe at length and in detail what took place, but also to cut, wound, lacerate, to inflict or suffer the pangs of distress or torment.⁸⁴

Such consistent 're-hearsing' performed by Richardson's characters is due to the novels being series of letters. The characters are reporting events that have happened to them previously. This method of narration allows for an abundance of reflection, self-reflection and comprehensive emotional response – all of which are indicators of a sentimental narrative technique. So much so that, as Lams states earlier in his book, "*Clarissa* is intended to probe the motives lodged in the recesses of the heart" (Lams, p. 2). In a sense, this statement places Richardson at the heart of the sentimental movement in literature. It shows that Richardson is responding to aspects of the Enlightenment by probing human motives and reasoning emotional responses, in an attempt to illustrate, or enquire into, the morality of the thoughts and actions that result. It is this engagement with the sentimental literary ethos, combined with his omission from the list of Burns's "glorious models" after which he endeavoured to form his conduct, which makes Richardson a good control author for a sentimental linguistic comparison in this chapter.

A study into the sentimental novelists, and how trends in their languages of Sympathy and Excitement compare to those of Burns, will form a major part of this chapter. With Burns's primary medium being poetry, however, a similar study will first be conducted into one of the poets that Burns cites as helping to 'form his conduct'. It is difficult to get sufficient digital poetic material from any of the poets that Burns lists, but it was possible to use a poetry website to obtain about 53,000 words of William Shenstone's works, which is enough to perform the methodology on and gain an insight into any linguistic trends that Shenstone and Burns have in common. The ways in which the methodology has been employed with the sentimental novelists and William Shenstone in mind will be detailed below.

⁸⁴ Victor J. Lams, *Clarissa's Narrators* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2001), p. 8

The Method Revisited

The methodological aspects of this comparative study of linguistic trends are very similar to those outlined in the introduction. However, the data comprising the search terms for the study are, in this case, not taken from the *Historical Thesaurus*, or the other reference material. The search-term data here is the product of the original methodology, Robert Burns's language of each particular semantic field.

The data originally taken from the *Historical Thesaurus* and the other reference material to comprise the language of each semantic field that was available in the eighteenth century, was then searched across a corpus of Burns's work. The result was complete databases of Robert Burns's languages of each semantic field. These 'Robert Burns's language' databases were then searched across the corpora of each of the other writers' works in order to compare their language use specifically to that of Burns. This comparison allowed for a detailed and accurate view of similar (or different) linguistic trends between these writers and Burns.

For each writer, the respective bodies of work used in this study were comprised of what was available as a machine-readable, digital publications. For the most part these were gained through the Project Gutenberg catalogue. This meant that of Mackenzie's writings, only *Man of Feeling* could be utilised, of Sterne's novels, *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey* could be included and for Richardson, the novels *Clarissa* and *Pamela* were searchable. There was no formal publication of Shenstone's poetry that was available in a suitable digital format, so a corpus had to be constructed from his poetry published on www.poemhunter.com. All of his poems available on this site were copied into a document. As this resource is by no means one of an academic standard, certain safeguards had to be put in place. Before any point of interest discovered in the Shenstone corpus could be included, the accuracy of the poem had to be verified by cross-referencing it with a publication of Shenstone's poetry that was more appropriate for scholarly research. As a thorough scholarly edition of Shenstone's work is still lacking,⁸⁵ reference was made to a nineteenth-century publication of Shenstone's poetry.

On its most basic level, this study is one of linguistic trends. Therefore, the size of each corpus has limited significance. Where a corpus is larger than another, there will very likely be more significant word occurrences. As this study is one of linguistic trends, however, the interest lies in the *relative* significant usage of certain words and phrases, and not their overall frequency.

⁸⁵ Paul Baines, 'Shenstone, William (1714-1763), writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25321?docPos=1> [accessed 01/01/2016]

One of the most obvious products of a study of this sort is the commonality of words between authors and the extent to which they use words that they have in common. This aspect of the study alone can provide reliable evidence to suggest intertextual links or signs of influence between the writers. There are, however, other ways to analyse the data that can reveal more about the language use. The concordance software (*Antconc*) used to view each occurrence of the words in question, provides the ability to view each word in context. It is possible therefore to isolate and study other important aspects of the writers' works, such as punctuation, form, style and context. This particular method allows for a study such as this to be conducted in a relatively speedy and efficient manner, as it homes in on the important data as a matter of course.

Where there are matches in language use and potentially significant similarities in the other important aspects of the written work, there are a number of possible generic conclusions that might be drawn. The study will allow for linguistic matches between Robert Burns and the other writers to be seen which could provide evidence for intertextual links between the studied authors, but also be a possible sign of literary influence. As well as these potentially important outcomes of a study such as this, there is the more general area of interest that lies in the linguistic tendencies of authors who were operating at a similar point in history, within similar generic parameters: if there are concrete links to be found between these authors, there is evidence of a definite literary movement at play, with writers from different backgrounds, showing evidence of conforming to similar linguistic trends.

If there are significant non-matches however, all is not lost. Interesting points of linguistic diversion are just as important as the similarities. In the case of significant non-matches, the data that does exist, it could be argued, needs to be investigated even more thoroughly for particular reasons for the points of departure between writers. A stylistic examination, for instance, might reveal that the authors' intentions may have differed. Importantly for this study though, an absence of matching data may mean that Burns's *inventio* may be utilising different literary sources, which could indicate, importantly, an absence of any significant literary connection between Burns and the other, sentimental, writers at all.

It must be noted at this stage that the works used in the following study were selected according to the free availability of suitable digital editions of the writers' works. There is only one of Mackenzie's novels included, for instance, as no others are currently available in a format that can be used in this study. Of course, the study would benefit from more works being included, so that each novel's stylistic differences could be included in

the analyses, but as this study is one of linguistic trends, and not of complete concordances or overall frequencies, as mentioned earlier, the size of each corpus has limited significance.

It should also be noted that the words studied in this chapter are not exclusively used by the writers to the effect outlined by this study. The words can be, and often are, used in ways that are less sentimental. This chapter should not be regarded as making general points on all of the uses of the words by the writers in question, but more a discussion of certain ways and means by which the words are used to help construct sentimental narratives and literature in the examples cited. As the quantitative aspect of the methodology points out potential points of interest from within the corpora, a qualitative assessment is then carried out, analysing the specific examples to ascertain any particular significances. In this manner, more nuanced cultural and linguistic commerce can be considered.

Working Assumptions

As with many academic endeavours, this study carries with it some expected outcomes. With Burns writing of his attempt to form his conduct around the writings of figures such as Shenstone, Sterne and Mackenzie, it is reasonable to assume that there will be similarities in their language use. And because each of the writers has been an active participant in what has come to be known as the sentimental era, it is also reasonable to assume that at least some of these significant similarities between the authors will be within semantic fields pertinent to the genre; the semantic fields of Sympathy and Excitement, for example.

It was therefore expected that there would be detectable linguistic similarities between Burns and the poet William Shenstone. With both primarily operating in the medium of poetry, at a similar time, and with both often writing on similar topical foundations of nature and human emotion, it was thought there would be some language cross-over. Also with Burns listing Shenstone as an influence, it was expected that there would be similar linguistic trends of some significance. The studies into Shenstone's similarity in language use to the other authors will shed light on whether or not there are considerable differences in language use between the sentimental poets and the novelists.

As for the novelists, given current critical and historical understanding, two working assumptions seemed reasonable at the outset of the research into the novelists. Firstly, there was an expectation that the most similar author to Burns would be Henry Mackenzie. Although from different backgrounds, their physical proximity (both being

Scottish) would mean that they may well have had similar linguistic tendencies in their everyday lives, which could translate into their written material. Also, having spent time in the same, or similar, social/literary circles (both in communication with contemporary, educated literati), there could well be similar stylistic tendencies in their writings, whether fiction or not. It was expected therefore that there would be significant similarities in the sentimental language between Burns and Mackenzie.

With Laurence Sterne being a highly popular author of the period, and working in a self-described sentimental way, certain similarities between Burns and Sterne were also expected. With the literature of the sentimental era investigating similar developments in thought (stemming from the Enlightenment) and the similar sympathetic ‘condescending objectification,’ as McGuirk described it, at work in the writings, a certain amount of similar emotive language use was assumed. The lack of physical or social proximity, however, might allow for the expectation of Sterne’s similarity to Burns to be at a lesser degree than that of Burns to Mackenzie.

Richardson, as the control author, was included to provide a ‘baseline reading’, as it were. Because Fielding is an author only loosely connected to Burns through Burns’s readership of some of his work, but operating in a sentimental fashion, it was expected that the similarities to Burns would be only through that of commonalities of certain sentimental expression, or by chance. Richardson’s inclusion was really to provide a platform from which to gauge how significant the data was for the other two writers, by way of illustrating a ‘normal’ level of linguistic similarity. It was therefore expected that Richardson’s data would be the least similar to Burns out of the four authors in question.

The Data

Of the semantic fields available to be searched through the use of the *Historical Thesaurus*, the two most pertinent to sentimental language are those of Excitement and of Sympathy (see pages 24-26). Therefore, Burns’s languages of these two semantic fields were searched across works by the authors in question. These searches give good indications of the level of similar trends in language use between authors, which could be an indicator of influences and/or similar practices going on amongst the authors operating within similar literary parameters.

The first semantic field to be searched was that of Excitement across the works of William Shenstone. The most important point of note in this study was the lack of comparative linguistic cross-over with Robert Burns. The majority of the words comprising Robert Burns’s Language of Excitement, when searched across the created

Shenstone corpus, returned either no results or an insignificant number of results. The few words that did return significant results, however, are very interesting when compared with all of the other writers in question, and these points of interest will be detailed in this chapter.

Beginning with Shenstone, then, the first interesting word used that has commonalities with Burns is the word **inspire**. Burns mentions that is “especially” Shenstone’s Elegies that he finds influential and an important use of this term appears in Shenstone’s Elegy entitled ‘He Compares his Humble Fortune with the Distress of Others, and his Subjection to Delia, with the Miserable Servitude of an African Slave’:

See the poor native quit the Libyan shores,
Ah! not in Love's delightful fetters bound!
No radiant smile his dying peace restores,
Nor love, nor fame, nor friendship, heals his wound.

Let vacant bards display their boasted woes;
Shall I the mockery of grief display?
No; let the Muse his piercing pangs disclose,
Who bleeds and weeps his sum of life away!

On the wild beach in mournful guise he stood,
Ere the shrill boatswain gave the hated sign;
He dropp'd a tear unseen into the flood;
He stole one secret moment, to repine.

Yet the Muse listen'd to the complaints he made,
Such moving complaints as Nature could inspire;
To me the Muse his tender plea convey'd,
But smooth'd and suited to the sounding lyre.⁸⁶

In this poem, the speaker is telling of a man journeying from the “Libyan shores”, and it appears that it is the act of telling the man’s story that is one focus of the poem. The speaker tells of the ways in which the man’s tragic story enlivens his “Muse”, allowing him to compose his poetry. There is a sense that this awakening of the muse allows the poet to fulfil some kind of purpose for writing poetry in the first place. The lines “Let vacant bards display their boasted woes;/Shall I the mockery of grief display?” suggest that there are “bards” who compose “vacant” verses based on their own, perhaps less sympathy-deserving griefs. The speaker ‘decides’ here to focus on the more tragic case of the travelling man, escaping a land that bore his woes.

⁸⁶ William Shenstone, ‘He Compares his Humble Fortune with the Distress of Others, and his Subjection to Delia, with the Miserable Servitude of an African Slave’, in *British Poets in One Hundred Volumes*, Vol. XLVIII, Shenstone, 2 Vols., Vol. 1 (Chiswick: C. Whittingham, 1822) [Henceforth *British Poets*], p.113

There is a deeper ‘purpose’, then, to the poetry here, of expressing sympathy for those that deserve it. The speaker’s muse is awoken by the story of the journeying man, and, when set in contrast to the “vacant bards”, there is a suggestion that the ‘muse’-inspired, sympathetic poetry is more worthwhile.

The word highlighted by the data, **inspire**, appears in the last of the quoted stanzas above, and further strengthens the sense of there being a manifest purpose to the poetry. With the muse listening to “the complaints” made by the man, “such moving plaits as Nature could inspire”, there is a sense that this sympathy-driven poetry carries a strength that other poetry may not. The equation with the inspiration of “Nature” is reminiscent of Burns, and reinforces the idea that the sympathy for the man from the “Libyan shores” is a powerful motivation for a high form of poetry. Shenstone here, almost replaces nature as the main inspiration for poetry, with a deep sense of sympathy – taking on the man’s tale of woe and raising awareness of his struggles becomes the main focus of his speaker’s muse, bringing into the poem a kind of poetic manifesto, or a higher purpose for poetic composition. The word **inspire** is at the heart of this idea, as Shenstone makes the claim that this one man’s story can produce poetry of the quality of which “Nature” could “inspire”.

The most striking finding of the search for Burns’s language of Excitement across Mackenzie’s work is that there is, again, comparatively little cross-over of language at all (with one exception, to be discussed below). That is to say that there are very few matches between the languages of Excitement of Burns and Mackenzie. The significance of this finding will be analysed here.

The one point of linguistic similarity between Burns and Mackenzie, within the semantic field of Excitement, is remarkably similar to the rare point of convergence in language between Burns and Shenstone. It is through a variant of the word **inspire** that interest is drawn by the data. The word **inspiration** is the most common term used by Mackenzie, and it is also present in the works of Burns. Mackenzie uses the word six times in *The Man of Feeling*, three of which occur in very close succession in chapter XXXIII. At this point in the novel the protagonist Harley is having a debate with a stranger about poetic inspiration:

‘It is natural enough for a poet to be vain,’ said the stranger: ‘the little worlds which he raises, the inspiration which he claims, may easily be productive of self-importance; though that inspiration is fabulous, it brings on egotism, which is always the parent of vanity.’

‘It may be supposed,’ answered Harley, ‘that inspiration of old was an article of religious faith; in modern times it may be translated a propensity to compose; and I believe it is not always most readily found where the poets have fixed its residence, amidst groves and plains, and the scenes of pastoral retirement. The mind may be there unbent from the cares of the world; but it will frequently, at

the same time, be unnerved from any great exertion: It will feel imperfect ideas which it cannot express, and wander without effort over the regions of reflection.'

'There is at least,' said the stranger, 'one advantage in the poetical inclination, that it is an incentive to philanthropy. There is a certain poetic ground, on which a man cannot tread without feelings that enlarge the heart: the causes of human depravity vanish before the romantic enthusiasm he professes; and many who are not able to reach the Parnassian heights, may yet approach so near as to be bettered by the air of the climate.' (*Man of Feeling*, pp. 60-61)

In this chapter of the novel, Harley is leaving London on a stagecoach which he is sharing with a number of strangers. He attempts to "examine, as usual, the countenance of his companions" (*Man of Feeling*, p.57) which is an action that has come to be known by the reader as an element of his sentimental characterisation.

The argument Harley has with the stranger, about poetic inspiration, is very interesting. The stranger links the act of producing poetry with the concept of vanity, suggesting that a poet's inspiration for writing is the boost to the poet's own ego. Very quickly, however, the stranger also links poetic inspiration to the idea of philanthropy. He suggests that the poet needs to be acutely aware of the "the causes of human depravity." This last concession by the stranger to include the concept of philanthropy to his otherwise cynical view of poetic inspiration, was pre-empted by Harley, who suggests that poetic inspiration has moved away from drawing on religious ideas only, into dealing with issues of humanity.

These points begin dealing with issues surrounding what the purpose of literature is. Mackenzie is, in effect, stating what his novel is, on one level, trying to achieve. Mackenzie is looking to the hardships of others in order to interrogate the condition of their character. By creating a sympathetic character, congruent with the literature of the period, he is not (only) attempting to show his readers that he has the knowledge of others' suffering (and the ability to sympathise), and thereby perhaps increase his personal reputation, but he is trying to suggest that fiction such as his, is capable of more, as Maureen Harkin suggests:

Mid-century sentimentalism is also a phenomenon that extends well beyond the borders of fiction, to poetic, dramatic, essayistic and philosophical texts, part of the culture's fascination with the relation between emotion and judgement, and the nature of the human ability to comprehend and imaginatively recreate the experiences of others.⁸⁷

Mackenzie, therefore, is in essence also revealing a sort of literary manifesto in this passage, while simultaneously creating a defence for sentimental literature. The stranger

⁸⁷ Maureen Harkin, 'Introduction' in Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling* (Plymouth: Broadview Editions, 2005), pp. 9-10

with whom Harley argues over poetic inspiration becomes the ‘Devil’s Advocate’ character in questioning the merit of the writer’s inspiration, which Harley is quick to defend. The quickness with which the stranger is won round to Harley’s point of view serves to reinforce Harley’s argument, and thus defend Mackenzie’s participation in the writing of sentimental fiction; his “fascination with the relation between emotion and judgement” is legitimised by this staged, fictional argument. Mackenzie is all but stating that he is engaging in topics that his culture finds fascinating. The clustered use of the term **inspiration** at this point in Mackenzie’s novel therefore, has revealed, it would seem, an interesting admission of literary motivation buried within the text.

The word **inspiration** is also relatively common in the works of Robert Burns. Interestingly, nearly all of the ten occurrences of the word in the Burns corpus are within Burns’s letters. This frequency of the word amongst the letters is revealing, as it actually shows that Burns is often using the word in a rather similar way to Mackenzie, as can be seen in these two examples:

...to sit and muse on those once hard-contended fields where Caledonia, rejoicing, saw her bloody lion borne through broken ranks to victory and fame; and catching the inspiration, to pour the deathless Names in Song. – But, my lord, in the midst of these delighting, enthusiastic Reveries, a long-visaged, dry, moral-looking Phantom strides across my imagination, and with the frigid air of a declaiming Preacher sets off with a text of Scripture – “I, Wisdom, dwell with Prudence”
(*Letters*, 1:82, p. 91)

...in the first place, since I left Coila’s native haunts, not a fragment of a Poet has arisen to cheer her solitary musings by catching inspiration from her; so I more than suspect that she has followed me hither, or at least, makes me occasional visits: secondly, the last stanza of this song I send you, is the very words that Coila taught me many years ago, & which I set to an old Scots reel in Johnson’s Museum.
(*Letters*, 2:580, p. 233)

Although these examples do not reveal a ‘literary manifesto’ as such, they do point out a tendency in Burns’s correspondence to discuss the origin of his poetic inspirations. In these examples, addressed firstly to the Earl of Buchan, and secondly to George Thomson, Burns is telling of the inspiration he gains from his native land. Possibly as an extension of the sentimental persona examined in Chapter 3, we see Burns almost sentimentalising himself in these letters. He is the one musing “on those once hard-contended fields” of Caledonia, and he is the one that is the object of Coila’s inspirational attentions. These excerpts add weight to the idea, discussed in the previous chapter, that Burns builds a persona that links him strongly to the concept of a past Scottish culture – we celebrate Burns so ardently because he is a self-created ‘cultural guardian figure’ – and he does so in a very sentimental way. Through the ‘objectification’ of himself as a pathetic object in the “hard-

contended fields”, or the object of Coila’s imagined visits, Burns effectively places himself at the centre of the sentimental rhetoric when discussing ideas on poetic inspiration.

One of the very few textual links between Burns, Shenstone and Mackenzie in the semantic field of Excitement therefore, reveals a similarity in thought within their written work. Mackenzie uses his characters within his novel to explore ideas relating to poetic inspiration in order to legitimise his participation in the sentimental literary genre. While Burns’s use is primarily in his letters, he is still constructing rather similar fictitious sentimental persona for himself. Through his created persona he is legitimising his own literary output; he is evoking ‘higher authorities’, in his native land and his muse, in order to situate his work within an established literary traditional context. Such personae can be revealed through his similar discussions on the origins of poetic inspiration. Similarly, Shenstone’s use of the word **inspire** has drawn focus to one way in which he highlights a motivation for composing poetry. His focus on his muse being awoken by the sympathy for a deeply troubled man, suggesting that his story is as poetically inspirational as “Nature” herself, actually suggests a motivation for composing poetry, in a similar way to how Mackenzie reveals his ‘literary manifesto’ and how Burns finds poetic purpose in his native land.

Therefore, the term **inspire** in Shenstone’s poetry analysed above, and the similar occurrences of the variant **inspiration** in Mackenzie’s and Burns’s works have revealed a point of linguistic crossover, of intertextuality, between all of their sentimental languages; as all of these writers create a sense of motivation for constructing their own sentimental literatures.

The language of the Senses (Heat)

The discovery of the similar uses of the word **inspire** and its variants between Burns, Shenstone and Mackenzie, as it turns out, is actually an indicator of more significant similarities between all of the sentimental authors in question. They all use, to varying extents, the concept of a metaphorical sensation of heat to depict sources of inspiration. Words such as **fire**, **heat** and **warm(th)** feature relatively frequently in this context. An examination will be conducted here as to how this use of language is similar between all of the test authors and Burns, as well as an attempt to chart the development of certain uses of these terms in the literature of the period.

According to the *Historical Thesaurus* there are relatively few instances of the word **fire** in this figurative sense appearing in English before the eighteenth century. Despite documenting that the word was used between 1596 and 1877, the first citation is

from 1656 by Abraham Cowley. Interestingly there is only one citation included stemming from the entire eighteenth century and that is a usage of the word by Alexander Pope. The fact that the *Historical Thesaurus* only cites one eighteenth-century example of the figurative use of **fire** does not of course mean that this is the only time it occurred in eighteenth-century discourse, but it may be an indication that there were not many usages of the term in the time period.

Pope's use of the word **fire** is in his *Imitations of Horace* (1733–38), within the 1st Epistle of the 2nd book. He uses the word in a section that appears to comment on both the English and French literature of the period:

Late, very late, correctness grew our care,
When the tir'd nation breathed from civil war.
Exact Racine, and Corneille's noble fire,
Showed us that France had something to admire.⁸⁸

Pope uses the word **fire** to describe the French poet and play-write Pierre Corneille who, it would seem came to writing literature as if by accident after becoming a lawyer first, and was not, by appearance, a likely source for poetic genius:

Marville says, that when he saw Corneille he had the appearance of a country tradesman, and that he could not conceive how a man of so rustic appearance could put into the mouths of his Romans such heroic sentiments.⁸⁹

The “noble fire” therefore refers to two things: firstly, a comment on Corneille's, and Racine's, nobility in their characters, as well possible comments on the nature of how Corneille's own apparent rise to fame may have been an unlikely one, with his “rustic appearance” helping to create a sense that his talent for literature was due to a natural (or in this case “noble”) genius, despite his education.

This whole idea is recognisably Burnsian, reminiscent of the ‘Heaven-taught ploughman’ persona that Burns develops, as well as the contrast between Burns's ‘rustic’ appearance, to the Edinburgh public, and his level of genius.

It is interesting to note that within French literature, the word **fire**, or the French equivalent (**feu**) is used figuratively to mean inspiration comparatively frequently. For instance Molière uses it at least four times in *La Depit Amoureux* (1656) alone, Corneille himself uses it at least six times in *Le Cid* (1637) alone, and Racine uses it no less than thirteen times in *Phèdre* (1677) alone. When compared to the relatively sparse citations

⁸⁸ Alexander Pope, *Imitations of Horace*, ed. Joseph Warton, *The Works of Alexander Pope esq.*, vol. IV (London: NP, 1797), p. 189.

⁸⁹ Isaac D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, 2nd Edition (Boston: Lilly Wait Colman & Holden, 1834), p. 191

that the *OED* contains for the word, it could be assumed that the figurative use of **fire** was much more common in the French language than in the English of the time.

With the figurative use of **fire** being uncommon in English when Pope was writing, it becomes possible that Pope used a French figurative concept to describe the French writers. The metaphorical concept behind **feu/fire** then could well have been borrowed from the French language, and perhaps the French writers themselves, and used to portray aspects of their own characters. With the language of sensibility increasing in English and writers adopting it to focus on sentimental concepts, the word fire could be seen as being adopted and included in sentimental discourse.

The figurative use of **fire** later in the eighteenth century, then, by such writers as Laurence Sterne might well have been the product of a development in language use. Sterne uses the word **fire** in this sense four times in his novels *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey* which is relatively common when considering the rarity of the word that the *HT/OED* would suggest. One particularly revealing use of the word appears in *Tristram Shandy*:

I would go fifty miles on foot, for I have not a horse worth riding on, to kiss the hand of that man whose generous heart will give up the reins of his imagination into his author's hands — be pleased he knows not why, and cares not wherefore.

Great *Apollo*! if thou art in a giving humour — give me, — I ask no more, but one stroke of native humour, with a single spark of thy own fire along with it, — and send *Mercury*, with the *rules and compasses*, if he can be spared, with my compliments to — no matter.⁹⁰

This excerpt is from Volume III, chapter 12 (p. 182) of the novel, at a point where Uncle Toby, looking for mental stimulation while he recovers from his war injury, re-enacts the battles in which he fought, in order to discover how and where he was injured. The narrator, Tristram, expresses frustration due to his assumption that the reader cannot visualise Uncle Toby's models of the battle fields. This frustration, it seems, is borne out of a shortcoming in his own desired relation to his readers, resulting in his particularly cynical view of what he calls "the cant of criticism" (*Tristram Shandy*, p182). Patricia Meyer Spacks explains further:

The ideal bond between narrator and reader depends on a willing submission, acceptance of guidance for the unruly imagination... [A] moral term (*generous*) carries much weight. The submissive reader obviates the necessity for the narrator to mock and tease and cajole. It is an act of true generosity freely to allow the storyteller that dominance that he will instantly claim with or without the reader's

⁹⁰ Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. James Aiken Work (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1940), p. 182

consent. Such a reader, to be sure, does not necessarily exist. Tristram wishes for him; he does not necessarily in his imagined being's actuality.⁹¹

Once again, therefore, we can see an eighteenth-century sentimental novelist writing what appears to be a highly self-conscious passage at work within their novel. At his point Sterne is all but attempting communication directly with his reader, just as we saw Mackenzie laying out a kind of 'literary manifesto' above, here Sterne is almost telling the reader how to behave.

The narrator evokes the figure of Apollo, the Greek and Roman God of not only the Sun and of light, but also of truth, prophecy, music and poetry. Tristram is asking Apollo for "a single spark of thy own fire." This simple request is suggestive of an inadequacy in the storytelling of the narrator, as if the frustration of Tristram himself is a result of an inadequacy in his literary abilities: his need to tell his reader how to behave is due to his own shortcomings.

The novel, as we know, is not known for its shortcomings. It has become a piece of classic literature, and Sterne would certainly not have been keen to divulge any weaknesses that he thought the novel had. Rather, Sterne is creating a character that is very much a sentimental one. Tristram is setting himself up as an 'underdog' character; one that is self-consciously objectified. Rather than simply tell the story, and/or be a narrating character at play within the story, he 'strikes a pose'; he places himself directly between the novel and the reader, and becomes an object of (literary) misfortune. In essence he directly invites the reader to view him as a sentimental object both within (as a character in the novel) and removed from (as a narrator) the novel as a whole.

The use of the word **fire** here becomes crucial in aligning such a sentimental character with the literature of the era. Returning to Pope's work, we see the use of the word to describe Corneille, the 'unlikely' genius. Pope, as we have seen, may well have been 'borrowing' the concept of **fire** in the figurative sense from the French language, introducing it to the eighteenth-century English literary language. In the case of *Tristram Shandy*, we see Sterne adopting the word for a very similar purpose. Just as Corneille was seen to have had the gift of natural poetic 'fire', the character of Tristram is seen to lack it. Sterne, then, is carrying on a development in literary language. The appropriation of the figurative concept of **fire** from the French, by Pope, has developed into a fully sentimental trope by the time Sterne deploys it in his narrator's, perhaps rather tongue-in-cheek, objectification of himself.

⁹¹ Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003), p. 51

Burns, at times, it would appear, combines both of these uses of the word **fire**, by Pope and Sterne. Burns, of course, developed the persona bestowed upon him by Henry Mackenzie as a 'Heaven-taught Ploughman.' For Burns though, almost from the very beginning of his career, this was a persona that he had spent time creating for his poetic self. By the time he moved to Edinburgh it was a fully-fledged performance that he delighted the Edinburgh literati with. What is interesting about this performance is that from the start, Burns constructs it through the use of the word **fire**:

A set o' dull, conceited Hashes,
Confuse their brains in *College-classes*!
They *gang in* Stirks and *come out* Asses,
Plain truth to speak;
An' syne they think to climb Parnassus
By dint o' Greek!

Gie me ae spark o' Nature's fire,
That's a' the learning I desire;
Then tho' I drudge thro' dub an' mire
At pleugh or cart,
My Muse, tho' hamely in attire,
May touch the heart. (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p. 87, lines 67-78)

Here, in the poem 'To J. Lapraik' from 1785, is the voice of Burns's poetic self, spurning the value of education in the pursuit of poetic achievement. Burns, it would seem, is observing that the "*college-classes*" only serve to "Confuse" the "Stirks" that come out from their education as "asses" before sarcastically mocking their new-found desire upon finishing their education to "climb Parnassus."

Carol McGuirk suggest the line "Gie me ae spark o' Nature's fire" is a poetic conversion of Shenstone's line "Write from thy bosom – let not art control / The ready pen, that makes his edicts known" from his elegy, 'He Arrives at his Retirement in the Country'. However, her admission that "there are other literary sources, including *Tristram Shandy*, for this sentiment" (McGuirk, p.54) may actually be a more accurate observation. The first two lines of the second stanza quoted above have similarities to both the Sterne example and the Pope example of the use of the word **fire** in this study. We see its use in collocation with the word "spark", which is reminiscent of the way in which Sterne deployed the word in *Tristram Shandy*. Apollo, however, has been replaced by Nature in the Burns example, but the allusion to the Greek remains in close proximity. Burns is attempting something very similar to Sterne in his use of the word **fire** here. It is not only the sentiment that is similar, as Carol McGuirk mentions. Burns's narrator is placing himself at the centre of the poem. He is the object of the poem and is, in a similar way to Sterne's Tristram, objectifying himself. Once again he is an underdog figure, trying to have

his work recognised despite not having an education. Of course, we know that Burns was actually an educated and very well-read man, but this poem sees Burns creating a self-consciously objectified narrator. As with Tristram, Burns's speaker is directly addressing his reader, whether that be by creating a poem of address to Lapraik, or by forcing his speaker into the centre of the poetic discourse. While Tristram receives his sentimental 'underdog' status by admitting he is without "fire", Burns's speaker achieves a similar status by claiming he has natural poetic "fire" in a literary landscape that places too much value on the educated.

Fire is also relatively common in Shenstone's work, and is often used in a very similar sense. In Shenstone's poem 'Love and Music, Written at Oxford, When Young' a very interesting parallel between art and natural emotion becomes apparent:

Shall Love alone for ever claim
An universal right to Fame,
 An undisputed sway?
Or has not Music equal charms,
To fill the breast with strange alarms,
 And make the world obey?

The Thracian bard, as poets tell,
Could mitigate the powers of Hell;
 E'en Pluto's nicer ear:
His arts, no more than Love's, we find,
To deities or men confined,
 Drew brutes in crowds to hear.

Whatever favourite passion reign'd,
The poet still his right maintain'd
 O'er all that ranged the plain;
The fiercer tyrants could assuage,
Or fire the timorous into rage,
 Whene'er he changed the strain. (*British Poets*, vol. 2, p. 51)

In this poem, Shenstone highlights the power of music, and art more generally, in invoking powerful emotions. This is achieved, foremostly, by asking the question "has music not equal charms" to love, in exciting emotion? The argument of the poem then goes on to suggest that poetry and music have the ability to perform such feats as "fill the breast with strange alarms" or "mitigate the power of hell". In essence, this poem explains the power of art over its audience, by inextricably linking it with familiar primal emotion.

The use of the word **fire** appears in the third stanza and helps to exemplify the argument of the poem further. Here, the image is portrayed of a poet that is able to "fire the timorous into rage,/Whene'er he changed the strain." While Shenstone's use of the word is in a slightly different context to that of Burns and Sterne, there is still a significant

semantic connection. While Burns and Sterne use the word to talk of where poetic inspiration may come from, Shenstone uses it to highlight the result of poetic inspiration. An inspired poet, or artist, can in turn inspire rapturous emotion in the audience of their work. Therefore, the speaker in this poem equates the poet with the powerful inspiration. The speaker narrates the act of ‘firing up’ the people receiving the poetry, thus giving voice to the other side of the cultural exchange of poet and reader, using very similar language to that seen above.

There is a definite similarity in language use, therefore, between Burns and Sterne in their creation of sentimental narrators. Simultaneously, there are however, clear similarities to the work of Pope cited earlier, within the same sentiment expressed by Burns. Burns could speak French and it is known that he had read works by French writers such as Voltaire, Molière and Montaigne in French, and in a letter he requested others, including works by Corneille and Racine (*Letters*, 2:395, p. 20) It would therefore be possible for Burns to have read Pope’s *Imitations of Horace* and recognised the figurative use of **fire** as a French ‘way of speaking’ used to describe French writers, and in particular Corneille, who’s genius Pope attributes to his “noble fire”.

Burns himself uses the word fire in this figurative way twelve times over the course the corpus searched, which is a far more common usage of the word for an English speaker than the *Historical Thesaurus* suggests for the time period. It could be, therefore, that Burns borrowed this term directly from Pope, and the French literature. In his poem ‘Nature’s Law’ the comparison of the use of the word is remarkably similar:

Auld cantie Coil may count the day,
As annual it returns,
The third of Libra's equal sway,
That gave another Burns,
With future rhymes, an' other times,
To emulate his sire,
To sing auld Coil in nobler style,
With more poetic fire. (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, p.297, lines 33-40)

The figurative use of **fire** actually forms one of the central, multi-layered images of this poem which would appear to allude to Burns’s involvement with Jean Armour. It carries sexual connotations (“The liquid fire of strong desire”) as Burns explores his relationship with Jean and a resultant child. Further to the expression of sexual feeling/desire, the use of the word **fire** is also used to refer to poetic inspiration, similarly to the way in which Pope employs the word. In a repeat of the earlier image, in this poem Burns seems to talk of himself as a “lowly bard” who had been given a “sacred fire” by Nature. He refers to himself then as a “hero of these artless strains”, acknowledging he has some talent for

poetry, but goes on to hope for his offspring, “another Burns... To sing Auld Coil in nobler style,/With more poetic fire”. He is then expressing the desire to see his child possess more “fire” than he, or to be more poetically inspired.

The striking similarity to Pope’s use of the word also becomes apparent in the same two lines of the stanza quoted. The “nobler style” and the “poetic fire” are obviously akin to the “noble fire” with which Pope asserts that Corneille possessed. Burns’s familiarity with both the French language and the work of Pope allows this similarity to be viewed as no coincidence. It is possible that Burns, if not alluding to Pope, is drawing on what Pope had written of the French writers. Perhaps he is expressing the hope that his child could be as skilful and as recognisable as such literary figures as Corneille.

The similarities in image of the Burns and Corneille as “rustic” in appearance, or as the “lowly bard” could well be indicative of a further possible reason for an allusion to Pope’s comment on Corneille. By aligning himself (and his child) with Pope’s portrayal of Corneille, it is very possible that Burns is drawing on Pope’s image of Corneille as a writer who has an apparent natural ability for poetry. By associating himself with Pope’s portrayal of Corneille in this way, Burns could be perpetuating the myth of his persona as the ‘heaven-taught ploughman’, or the naturally inspired poet.

With the use of the word **fire**, then, Burns can be seen to do two things simultaneously. Firstly, he is using a trope that has been an active part of the overtly sentimental writing of the eighteenth century, by all but repeating an image designed and deployed by Sterne in *Tristram Shandy*. The use of a self-objectifying narrator to achieve sentimental characterisation is common to both Sterne’s and Burns’s work and is constructed using similar collocations of language. Sterne does so in order to create a sentimental ‘performance’ for his narrator, while Burns uses such a performative technique to perpetuate the ‘Heaven-taught Ploughman’ persona. As both do so to illustrate ideas on poetic inspiration, there is also a similarity here with Shenstone, who uses the word **fire** to discuss the inspirational effect poetry and art can have on those that consume it. Also, however, Burns, it seems, has recognised a development in the use of the figurative **fire** from the French, adopted by Pope earlier in the century. In doing so, he is aligning his created poetic persona with the so-called ‘natural genius’ that preceded Burns in France: Pierre Corneille. Such appropriation of language by the writers in question, it would appear, plays a part in producing a linguistic tendency amongst these sentimental writers of the eighteenth century. The language of the senses used to figuratively depict such things as sources of inspiration and effects of emotion, becomes a central metaphor in sentimental literature.

Language of the Senses

All of the writers in question in this chapter make use of terms denoting notions of sensing heat in order to describe effects of inspiration or excitement. For instance, one term that each of the writers deploy relatively commonly is the word **warm**, or **warmth**, meaning excited, or pleasurable excitement respectively. Such language use transfers notions of physical sensation into notions of mental experience, which can be seen as a literary process of transforming the language of sensibility into the language of sentiment. Although understood, rightly so, as being used figuratively in modern times, the concepts behind this kind of language use were not always entirely metaphorical:

During the eighteenth century, philosophy combines with physiology in such a way that, for some philosophers, all human faculties are traced back to their origins in sensation. As a result, mental experience is often contextualised by writers – by novelists as well as philosophers – within the sensory networks of the physical body.⁹²

The language of physical sensation then played a role in describing certain cognitive and emotional responses in eighteenth-century and pre-eighteenth-century philosophical thought, which played a direct role in the literary linguistic output of the era. The cult of sensibility then developed, making responsiveness to physical sensation a fashionable quality in the refined person of the day. To be seen as being receptive to sensation or feeling, showed that one was not only capable of sophisticated thought, but also that one was aware of the philosophy of the day. This awareness, in turn, allowed for the artistic interrogation of issues of humanity, as “the greater one’s nervous sensibility, the more one is capable of delicate writing.”⁹³

The use of the word **warm(th)**, used in the figurative sense, although occasionally used as early as 1390, becomes very popular towards the end of the seventeenth century, and is widely used in the eighteenth century, according to the *Historical Thesaurus*. It is one term that is common to all the writers involved in this linguistic comparison.

One work by Burns in which the term plays an important role is ‘The Vision’, in which Coila, the speaker’s muse from his native land, visits the speaker:

‘I saw thee seek the sounding shore,
‘Delighted with the dashing roar;
‘Or when the *North* his fleecy store
‘Drove thro’ the sky,

⁹² Ross King, ‘*Tristram Shandy* and the Wound of Language’, *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 92, pp. 291-310 (Summer 1995), p. 291

⁹³ George Sebastian Rousseau, *Enlightenment Crossings: Pre- and Post-Modern Discourses*, Vol. 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 133

‘I saw grim Nature’s visage hoar,
‘Struck thy young eye.

‘Or when the deep-green-mantl’d Earth
‘Warm-cherish’d ev’ry floweret’s birth,
‘And joy and music pouring forth,
‘In ev’ry grove,
‘I saw thee eye the gen’ral mirth
‘With boundless love.

‘When ripen’d fields, and azure skies,
‘Call’d forth the *Reaper*’s rustling noise,
‘I saw thee leave their ev’ning joys,
‘And lonely stalk,
To vent thy bosom’s swelling rise,
‘In pensive walk.

‘When *youthful Love*, warm-blushing, strong,
‘Keen-shivering shot thy nerves along,
‘Those accents, grateful to thy tongue,
‘Th’ adored *Name*,
‘I taught thee how to pour in song,
‘To soothe thy flame. (*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, pp. 111-112, lines 211-234)

The excitement denoted here by the word “warm” is derived from several places at once. Firstly, Coila talks of the delight of the poet at what he sees around him, whether that be the “sounding shore” or a “flow’ret’s birth”, the poet responds with “boundless love”. Also, however the warmth (excitement) is, it would appear, an intrinsic aspect of youth. The poet’s “young eye” is the catalyst for his poetic feeling. There is a sense that youth plays a significant role in his excitable temperament, suggesting a joy at the sight of the world, before experience dulls it. His “young eye” then is central to his warmth of feeling; his own physical vision, as well as his dream-like vision of the title, realises his inspiration.

At the same time though, the poet is experiencing “youthful love” which brings about a “warm-blushing” of its own. The excitement, leading to poetic inspiration, then, is cumulative here. All the experiences of the young poet are warming his imagination and exciting his poetic inspiration. The last line once again brings us back to the notion of metaphorical heat. Coila, the muse, tells the young poet she has “taught thee how to pour in song / To soothe thy flame” which reveals poetic inspiration as something that needs to be released. There is a suggestion that the “flame” in the poet, kindled by the excitability of a young man discovering the world around him, discovering the nature of love and fear, is one that could be destructive if it is not ‘soothed’, and Coila has given the poet the means by which he can release himself from the metaphorical heat of the inspired poetic mind.

Henry Mackenzie uses the term in a very similar way to Burns, when talking of “the culture of the mind:”

‘But as to the higher part of education, Mr. Harley, the culture of the Mind;- let the feelings be awakened, let the heart be brought forth to its object, placed in the light in which nature would have it stand, and its decisions will ever be just. The world

Will smile, and smile, and be a villain;

and the youth, who does not suspect its deceit, will be content to smile with it. — Men will put on the most forbidding aspect in nature, and tell him of the beauty of virtue.

‘I have not, under these grey hairs, forgotten that I was once a young man, warm in the pursuit of pleasure, but meaning to be honest as well as happy. I had ideas of virtue, of honour, of benevolence, which I had never been at the pains to define; but I felt my bosom heave at the thoughts of them, and I made the most delightful soliloquies. — It is impossible, said I, that there can be half so many rogues as are imagined. (*Man of Feeling*, pp.87-88)

At this point near the end of Mackenzie’s novel, an unnamed narrator is telling of his youth, and in doing so reveals why he takes an interest in Harley’s story. The narrator tells the young protagonist to allow his “feelings to be awakened” because he will then see the world’s “deceit” and he will be able to make better decisions. The narrator later reveals that he, while in Milan, became friends with a man who sent a friend to prison because he was attracted to the man’s wife. Disgusted by what he had heard, he immediately left the city. The implication in this being that Harley would have seen the best in the prisoner and all but ignored the injustice.

The narrator, here, telling of how the world will “smile, and smile, and be a villain,” (a Shakespeare line from *Hamlet* Act 1, Scene 5) and of how the young person “does not suspect the deceit,” is giving a warning to Harley about being a young man with his sentimental temperament in an unjust world. The narrator goes on to say that he “was once a young man, warm in the pursuit of pleasure”, that he thought the world as one “of virtue, of honour, of benevolence”, and that in his youthful excitement at such a world he “made the most delightful soliloquies.” In this short section then, Mackenzie engages in a very similar process of thought as Burns does in ‘The Vision’. There is a direct link between the ‘warmth’ of the mind and imagination to youth and inexperience of the true nature of the world. Mackenzie’s narrator talks of his composing of “soliloquies” in the past tense: now that he is older, he no longer composes – he has lost his youthful ‘warmth’. Once again therefore, the metaphor of heat representing excitement and inspiration is portrayed as a potentially destructive force. Mackenzie is beginning to conclude his novel with a lesson on the limitations of the man of feeling. The unnamed narrator punctuates the

narrative here with a very direct warning of how, as John Mullan explains, “sentimental morality cannot reflect at all on the practice of any existing society.” (Mullan, pp. 118-119) Mackenzie’s narrator is telling Harley that he should temper his enthusiasm for the world and begin to “suspect its deceit.” Just as the speaker’s muse, Coila, in Burns’s poem reveals that she has been present with the speaker in order to teach him to “soothe [his] flame,” here we see a mysterious, wise-man figure entering the narrative of Mackenzie’s novel in order to teach Harley the need for him to also soothe his own flame of youthful excitement and inspiration.

The poet, William Shenstone, also uses the word **warmth** and the sense of metaphorical heat to illustrate concepts associated with youth and age. In his long poem ‘Economy, A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets’ Shenstone’s speaker offers guidance for the younger generations of poets. One section of the poem discusses the effects of age on mankind:

But Fate assents not. Age contracts
His meagre palm, to clench the tempting bane
Of all his peace, the glittering seeds of care!
O that the Muse's voice might pierce the ear
Of generous youth! for youth deserves her song.
Youth is fair Virtue's season, Virtue then
Requires the pruner's hand; the sequent stage
It barely vegetates; nor long the space
Ere, robb'd of warmth, its arid trunk display
Fell Winter's total reign. O lovely source
Of generous foibles, youth! when opening minds
Are honest as the light, lucid as air,
As fostering breezes kind, as linnets gay,
Tender as buds, and lavish as the spring!
Yet, hapless state of man! his earliest youth
Cozens itself; his age defrauds mankind.
(*British Poets*, vol. 2, p. 207)

At this point in the poem there is a sense that Shenstone’s speaker is placing great importance on youth and the inspiration that inevitably accompanies it. Yet, as an older person, the speaker is warning of difficulties for the young poets in the future. In this poem youth is connected to “fair virtue’s season”, which gives a sense of youth being innocent and intrinsically moral, an aspect that Shenstone suggests “deserves her song.” This immediately links the aspects of purity and virtue associated with youth, with poetic composition. There is a sense that the young “deserve” to be poetically inspired.

As the passing of time ensues, signified here by “Fell Winter’s total reign”, the young are “robb’d of warmth”, their open minds are lost and their ‘honesty’ and ‘lucidity’ “require the pruner’s hand”. The use of the word **warmth** here, then, and the sense of

metaphorical heat that accompanies it is very similar in its use to that of Burns and Mackenzie. There is a connection between warmth and youthful inspiration that is common to them all, highlighted here by the use of very similar terminology. There is a definite sense that these writers are responding to a common cultural phenomenon; a sentimental literary movement that is inclusive of common ideas about youth and age, signified by common language use.

The engagement with, and critique of, the cult of sensibility, as seen above, through the use of sentimental language is not unique to these writers. Laurence Sterne also makes comment on the fashionable outpouring of emotion that characterises the certain aspects of the era, using very similar language:

Tears are no proof of cowardice, *Trim*.— I drop them oft-times myself, cried my uncle *Toby*.— I know your honour does, replied *Trim*, and so am not ashamed of it myself.— But to think, may it please your honour, continued *Trim*, a tear stealing into the corner of his eye as he spoke — to think of two virtuous lads with hearts as warm in their bodies, and as honest as God could make them — the children of honest people, going forth with gallant spirits to seek their fortunes in the world — and fall into such evils! — poor *Tom*! to be tortured upon a rack for nothing — but marrying a *Jew*'s widow who sold sausages — honest *Dick Johnson*'s soul to be scourged out of his body, for the ducats another man put into his knapsack !—O! — these are misfortunes, cried *Trim*, — pulling out his handkerchief — these are misfortunes, may it please your honour, worth lying down and crying over.
(*Tristram Shandy*, p.275)

At this point in Sterne's novel, Uncle Toby discovers sermons, written by Yorick, which Trim begins to read aloud, while impersonating Yorick. Trim finds the discussions in the sermons, and the remarks by the other characters, remind him of how his brother, Tom, was imprisoned in the Portuguese Inquisition, and he finds he cannot read on. The "tears" spoken of in the passage above are the result of Trim's contemplation.

This passage is less overtly critical of the cult of sentimentality in the eighteenth century, but the actions of the character of Trim here do suggest a certain level of cynicism towards it. Once again, there is a discussion of youth and the excitement of life that goes along with it. The "virtuous lads with warm hearts" who are "the children of honest people" are the ones that "fall into such evils," as Tom did. There is a very similar comment here on the nature of the 'warmth' of youth as in both the excerpt from Mackenzie's novel and Burns's poem. It is the "gallant spirits" of the youth with 'warm hearts' that are subject to the world's cruelty, and so there is an implicit need for the young to be educated in the ways of such a world.

Trim discusses his emotional response with the other characters, concluding that shedding tears is nothing to be ashamed of, as the fashion for the sensibility of the time

would suggest, but Trim's actions (or, perhaps, lack of them) betray his words. Trim declares, as best as he can through his tears, that "these are misfortunes... worth lying down and crying over." Yet, such an action serves nobody, other than perhaps the one doing the crying. It is likely that in the real world the abhorrence of the subject of this conversation, kidnap and torture, to those who truly feel disgust at social injustice, particularly at injustice towards a family member, would be motivated into positive action to counter it. Here, Trim, after delaying his final line as if to build the expectation of him about to utter something profound, finally says that he will lie down and cry over it.

Such an anti-climax to this passage then reveals Sterne's satire towards the cult of feeling:

[Sterne] realised, as did Swift by the time he wrote *Gulliver*, that satire must now be aimed at the public itself, that a satirist could only weaken the influence of Grub Street by making the public more alert. The appeal, then, in *Tristram Shandy*, as in *Gulliver's Travels* is not to the discriminating few, but to the indiscriminating many, in an attempt to make them more discriminating.⁹⁴

At a point where clear action is required, none is intended but the outpouring of emotion. Such a weak reaction by Trim can be seen as a social satire on an over-feeling polite society. It is the public that are being satirised for their over-reliance on their sense of feeling and their contriving of their own emotional reactions. Such satire, then, being an attempt to make the public "more discriminating," makes the point that such an over-reliance on the emotional response to misfortune actually results in poor decision-making, which, as the seriousness of Tom's situation reveals, has a detrimental impact on the society at large.

Through the use of the word **warm** then, we have traced an implicit criticism of the over-emotional, and over-emotionally inspired, behaviour of eighteenth-century 'people of feeling' back from Burns's 'The Vision', through Makenzie's *Man of Feeling*, to a satire on the cult of sentimentality by Sterne. We have also seen Shenstone's engagement with common ideas revealed through similar word use to the other writers. What, though, of the control author in this study, Samuel Richardson?

Although **warm(th)** is not one of Richardson's most common words of the semantic field of Excitement, he does use it nine times over the course of his novel *Clarissa*. One such usage is particularly revealing in the context of this chapter, occurring in letter XXII of volume four of the novel:

⁹⁴ J. M. Stedmond, 'Satire and *Tristram Shandy*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 53-63 (Summer 1961), p. 55

Let what I have written above have its due weight with you, my dear; and then, as warm imaginations are not without a mixture of enthusiasm, your Anna Howe, who, on reperusal of it imagines it to be in a style superior to her usual style, will be ready to flatter herself that she has been in a manner inspired with the hints that have comforted and raised the dejected heart of her suffering friend; who, from such hard trials, in a bloom so tender, may find at times her spirits sunk too low to enable her to pervade the surrounding darkness, which conceals from her the hopeful dawning of the better day which awaits her.⁹⁵

Here, Miss Anna Howe is writing to Clarissa at a time when she is experiencing great misery due to the actions of other characters that are intent on her suffering. In the letter, Anna attempts to raise “the dejected heart of her suffering friend” by placing the blame for her torment squarely on the characters surrounding her.

This excerpt from the letter to Clarissa again shown the word **warm** being used in the context of inspiration. Anna mentions that due to her “warm imaginations” while composing the letter, it is in a “style superior to her usual style.” The inspiration in this case is taken from Anna’s desire to lift the spirits of her friend, and such a motivation has raised the temperature, so to speak, of her inspiration.

Clarissa’s suffering then is the catalyst for Anna’s improved skill as a letter-writer. This notion, however, runs deeply into the earlier sentimental ethos. Clarissa’s suffering is not the only reason for Anna’s increased inspiration as such, but it is the fact that she is suffering emotionally that signifies that she is deserving of her friend’s endeavour:

[T]he sentimental hero or heroine is like a refined patient nobly suffering through nervous indispositions, the feminised symptoms of which are emblematic of moral sensitivity. Certainly illness and signs of physical weakness are essential to the vocabulary of sentimentalism, but what is typically understated or ignored is the manner in which illness and weakness are mediated through conventions and frameworks which have much in common with the stage as a sickbed.⁹⁶

Clarissa then is, in her suffering, displaying the symptoms of moral sensitivity. At this point in the letter, Anna has information regarding certain individuals in Clarissa’s life being ‘villains’. She does not disclose where she got her information, nor what the individuals have done. All the reader knows is that their actions have caused Clarissa’s torment. The effect of Richardson only telling one side of the story here is that Clarissa’s suffering endears her to the reader as a moral character. In a true eighteenth-century sentimental manner, Clarissa must be a character of morality, because she feels to such a potent extent. It is the potency of her emotion, and therefore her display of being a highly

⁹⁵ Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa, or, The History of a Young Lady*, ed. Angus Ross (London: Penguin, 1985), p. 579

⁹⁶ Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 144

moral individual, that also ‘warms’ her friend’s imagination, and allows, in an almost miraculous way, Anna to become a more skilful writer.

Anna, however, appears to recognise the impact of Clarissa’s ‘display’ by tempering her statement on the extent of her inspiration. Anna writes “warm imaginations are not without a mixture of enthusiasm” which reveals an admission that her inspiration may well be founded in extravagance. Although the meaning of the word “enthusiasm”, in this case has its religious aspects removed, its meaning remains very similar to the usual eighteenth-century sense. Rather than directly referring to an “extravagance of religious speculation” (*OED*), it could be said that Anna is responding to an ‘extravagance of *emotional* speculation.’ Anna herself is at least allowing for the possibility that her warmth of imagination is being fuelled by an exaggerated sense of her friend’s morality, and thus her own inspiration is borne of enthusiasm.

Richardson, it would seem, is aware of the reliance on such high levels of emotion in the culture of the polite in the eighteenth century, and, while composing a narrative that is very much an overtly sentimental one, utilising and reflecting the culture surrounding the cult of feeling, he has tempered his own reliance on emotion, using language that would normally be associated with religion. The enthusiasm at work in the excerpt above then, at least allows for the possibility of the cult of sensibility, and its ‘beliefs’ regarding the links between displays of emotion and morality, to carry with them an enthusiasm of their own.

While Richardson recognises the emotional enthusiasm, the other writers in this study criticise it. Mackenzie and Burns point out that the metaphorical heat surrounding their youthful and emotional responses to the world have the potential to be destructive, if they’re not tempered, thus making comment on the problems with, and even the futility of, grounding moral beliefs entirely on the ability to have an emotional reaction. Sterne goes further by directly satirising the same aspect of the cultural importance of feeling among the polite society of the eighteenth century.

All of the authors here are sentimental authors. They are engaging with the same concepts surrounding the literary and philosophical ideas on morality of the day, and do so in an emotional capacity. They are, however, doing so to varying degrees. In the particular case of their language of Excitement, it is clear that the only point at which the language of all of the authors in question here significantly overlap is when they use the language of the senses. The language of feeling metaphorical heat, used to depict poetic and literary inspiration, is a particularly prevalent case in point. Albeit there is a clear development in thought from the earlier writer, Richardson, and the later writers, Sterne, Mackenzie and Burns, their language uses significantly converge when they all use sensory metaphors in

their languages of Excitement. Interestingly, the same concepts are also denoted in William Shenstone's poetry, where, like Burns and Mackenzie, he uses the same concepts of metaphorical heat to discuss ideas on youth, and the excitement and (poetic) inspiration that can accompany being young. Also like Burns and Mackenzie there is a suggestion of a loss, or a tempering of, such metaphorical warmth as youth fades with age. The use of the word **warm(th)**, therefore, is one area where the language use of all of the authors in question in this study converge. There is even a detectable similarity between the poets and the novelists.

The Language of Sympathy

Perhaps a more dominant aspect of the language of eighteenth-century sentimental literature is the language of Sympathy. It is the capacity, or at least apparent capacity to feel, that is the main hallmark of the sentimental era. Carol McGuirk describes an "[a]ssiduous cultivation of the reader's sympathy" (McGuirk, p. xxv) at work throughout the sentimental era that can span both the characterisation of honest and false feeling. Borne out of the Enlightenment philosophical ideas pertaining to sympathy being an important aspect of human nature, the characters of sentimental literature strived to 'show off' their capacity for sympathy.

As expected, therefore, there are significant tendencies towards sympathetic rhetoric in the works of the sentimental authors forming the basis of this study. Although each author's sympathetic language may not be as directly connected to each of the others, as with the language of the senses seen earlier in this chapter, there are points at which their literary languages converge. Once again, this study will reveal the relationship that the authors' points of convergence of language have to each other, and in doing so will provide insights, backed up with quantitative and qualitative evidence revealing aspects of the roles that each of these writers play in the era of sentimental literature.

Tears

One of the most common terms from the semantic field of sympathy in the works of Robert Burns, and one that is shared in the works of all the writers in this study, is the word **tears**, with a meaning specific to being moved through sympathy (*HT*). Burns uses the word a notable thirty-eight times in the particular corpus searched. As discussed in chapter one of this thesis, Burns, as Carol McGuirk points out, becomes a kind of sentimental hero himself on his move to Edinburgh. This persona, imparted onto him by the Edinburgh literary public, is one that Burns played along with, at least for a while.

While in Edinburgh Burns produced *The Edinburgh Edition* of his poems, which included his ‘Address to Edinburgh’ in which we can see his sentimental character coming to the fore, at least in part, through his use of the word **tears**:

With awe-struck thought, and pitying tears,
I view that noble, stately Dome,
Where *Scotia*’s kings of other years,
Fam’d heroes! had their royal home:
Alas, how chang’d the times to come!
Their royal Name low in the dust!
Their hapless Race wild-wand’ring roam!
Tho’ rigid Law cries out, ’twas just!

Wild-beats my heart, to trace your steps,
Whose ancestors, in days of yore,
Thro’ hostile ranks and ruin’d gaps
Old *Scotia*’s bloody lion bore:
Ev’n I who sing in rustic lore,
Haply, *my Sires* have left their shed,
And fac’d grim Danger’s loudest roar,
Bold-following where your Fathers led!

(*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1, pp. 309-310, lines 41-56)

In this poem Burns is ‘striking a pose’ with which to greet the Edinburgh literary public, with whom he intends to associate himself. The pose that he strikes is a sentimental one, and one that is carefully designed to ease his passage into the favour of the Edinburgh critics. As McGuirk notes, “[a] poet’s suffering, not a poet’s work, was the basis of his attraction for the critic – the factor that allowed both critics and literary public to exercise their own benevolent natures” (McGuirk, p. 59-60). Not content with becoming a kind of sentimental figure through his exaggerated ‘peasant-poet’ persona, Burns reinforces his sentimental persona with the Harley-esque sentimental rhetoric in this poem.

If Burns was to construct a parody of sentimental literature, it might well look something like ‘Address to Edinburgh’. His speaker is overtly combining “thought” with “tears” which is sentimental to the point of caricature. Being “awe-struck” at the sight of the city, and comprehending the tragic events of the past, the speaker objectifies the very environment that he is entering and views it through a highly sentimental lens. While the poetic merit of this work might be questioned, the calculation behind it is noteworthy. Burns is allowing himself to become a ‘sentimental hero’ by sentimentally observing Edinburgh, which has the knock-on effect of allowing the Edinburgh literary public to also become ‘sentimental heroes’ themselves. By comprehending Burns’s speaker’s “tears” at the sight of their city, they are being invited to sympathise with him, and therefore view him as a sentimental object in return. In falling for this ‘trick’, the Edinburgh literati

effectively ignore the quality of the poem in favour of the sentimental persona lurking behind it.

The sentimental rhetoric in the poem is evident in this excerpt. Words such as “awe”, “pitying”, “tears”, “heart” and “sing” are all carefully selected words that, as we shall see, are designed to echo the previous sentimental literature, and situate Burns’s character in the same frame of reference as the likes of Yorick or Harley. The five exclamation marks present in the two stanzas quoted serve to underline the observation: the speaker is putting his emotion on vivid display through the semantic choices and through the punctuation.

Tears is one of the few words that Henry Mackenzie selected frequently for use by his *Man of Feeling*, that he has in common with Burns. The Edinburgh author’s own sentimental hero, Harley, finds a great many things over which to shed “pitying tears”:

When Edwards had ended his relation Harley stood a while looking at him in silence; at last he pressed him in his arms, and when he had given vent to the fulness of his heart by a shower of tears, ‘Edwards,’ said he, ‘let me hold thee to my bosom; let me imprint the virtue of thy sufferings on my soul. Come, my honoured veteran! let me endeavour to soften the last days of a life, worn out in the service of humanity: call me also thy son, and let me cherish thee as a father.’ Edwards, from whom the recollection of his own sufferings had scarce forced a tear, now blubbered like a boy; he could not speak his gratitude, but by some short exclamations of blessings upon Harley. (*Man of Feeling*, p. 71)

At this point in Mackenzie’s novel, Harley meets the ageing Edward and offers to carry his bags. Edward begins to tell Harley of his troubles and Harley’s sympathy provokes an emotional reaction from the old man. On hearing Edward’s sorrowful tale, Harley gives “vent to the fullness of his heart by a shower of tears”. Harley’s reaction to Edwards suffering is as dramatic as it is revealing. In this context, the term **tears** is deployed in a way that is symbolic. The outpouring of sympathetic emotion was, at the time, seen to be a mark of enlightenment. Only the enlightened, it would seem, were capable of sharing in the suffering of others, and, therefore, to be seen to be feeling such strong sympathetic emotion was a way of showing-off one’s intellect.

During the course of the novel, Harley, as we have seen, does exhibit genuine sadness (when visiting the women at Bedlam, for instance), but at this point it could be argued that Harley is over-reacting. While Edward appears grateful for the recognition of his suffering, Harley’s tears are perhaps more symbolic of his own ego. While, therefore, Harley is responding to the cult of sentimentality; the fashion of showing-off one’s capacity for sympathy, Burns is creating an ego with which to introduce himself to the

people of Edinburgh. In effect he addresses the city and its people by constructing a narrative that they would recognise from Harley's adventures.

Harley appears awe-struck by the stories told by Edward, and so Edward becomes an object with which he can sympathise. This 'condescending objectification' (McGuirk, p. 6) is similar to the way in which Burns's speaker treats the city of Edinburgh. Firstly, both excerpts are responding explicitly to perceived unfortunate pasts. Burns's speaker focuses on "fam'd heroes" and the Scottish "royal name" being "low in the dust", which could be seen as an echo of Harley's proclamation of Edward as an "honoured veteran" whose suffering contains a "virtue". Both examples attempt to raise the profile of their subjects by making past misfortunes into positive aspects of their respective histories. Harley concludes his emotional outburst by asking to be considered Edward's son. It appears that Harley wants to benefit from Edward's experiences, as if perhaps "Bold-following where [his] fathers led", as is in Burns's poem.

The word **tears**, then, is shown by this example to be indicative of a deeply rooted penchant in the literature of the sentimental period. It is illustrating not only the importance of sympathy, but the importance of *demonstrating* sympathy. By showing the capacity to which one can feel, others become aware of one's enlightenment, and therefore one's merit as a person of morality. Mackenzie's Harley frequently shows his propensity to feel others' torment, and Burns replicates the rhetoric in an attempt to make himself into a personality that would be recognised and welcomed by a discerning Edinburgh literary public. Perhaps Burns, with an eye to selling his poems, was marketing himself through adopting the sentimental rhetoric, as exemplified in Mackenzie's novel, as thoroughly as he does in 'Address to Edinburgh'.

As would be expected, then, for a term so rooted in the ethos of sentimental literature, the word **tears** is also common in the works of Laurence Sterne. There are interesting parallels in the usages of the term between all of the writers in question:

Excuse me, Monsieur le Count, said I; — as for the nakedness of your land, if I saw it, I should cast my eyes over it with tears in them; — and for that of your women (blushing at the idea he had excited in me) I am so evangelical in this, and have such a fellow-feeling for whatever is weak about them, that I would cover it with a garment if I knew how to throw it on: — But I could wish, continued I, to spy the nakedness of their hearts, and through the different disguises of customs, climates, and religion, find out what is good in them to fashion my own by: — and therefore am I come. (*Sentimental Journey*, p. 70)

At this point in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, the protagonist, Yorick, is visiting a French Count. They talk of Shakespeare and other literary matters, as well as Yorick's motivations

for his journey. The Count jokes that Yorick has “not come [to France] to spy the nakedness of the land,” but rather “that of our women”, which Yorick is quick to counter.

Yorick mentions that if he were to view “the nakedness of the land”, he would do so with tears in his eyes, which at first could be read as being somewhat of an insult to the French land: he would shed tears over it because it deserves pity. There is however, a deeper significance to Yorick’s statement. Yorick is attempting to illustrate his sense of feeling to a Frenchman who he believes does not fully understand the sentimental ethos. Yorick then, by countering the, rather miscalculated joke by the count, is demonstrating his sensibility. He would cry at the land and look for the “nakedness” of the “hearts” of the women, rather than their bodies. He wants to discover the land and meet the people, not mock the land and seduce the people. In constructing this argument however, Sterne actually links the ethos of sentimentality with the land and the environment.

The idea that Yorick would shed tears over the land, even though he has not yet seen it, reveals, once again, a central feature of sentimental literature. Yorick knows that he would have an emotional response to seeing the “nakedness of the land” even though he has nothing as yet to ‘fix’ his emotion to. It is his ability to react, with feeling, to his surroundings that he is explaining to the count. It is this ability, which all of the sentimental protagonists in question possess, that the respective authors are putting on display.

Yorick is displaying a tendency that is similar in scope to the speaker of Burns’s ‘Address to Edinburgh’. While Burns’s speaker is “awe-struck” by his the Edinburgh cityscape and in tears because of it, Yorick expresses hypothetically that he would have a similar response to the French landscape, simply because that is the manner in which he conducts himself. Bearing in mind Burns’s letter quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Yorick’s attempted explanation of this sentimental conduct to the Count, then, is possibly the same “glorious model” after which, Burns wrote, he endeavoured to form his own “conduct”.

The similarities of language use do not end here though. Yorick’s wish to see the “nakedness” of the French women’s “hearts” compounds the evidence for this conduct being a central feature of sentimental literature. Yorick wants to find out about the French peoples’ “customs, climates and religion”, presumably, given his argument, so that he can sentimentally attach an emotional reaction to them too. This intent to observe the people and respond emotionally bears similarities to Harley’s conduct when speaking with Edward in Mackenzie’s *Man of Feeling*. Yorick’s intent of discovering the people’s stories in order to share sympathy with them is realised by Harley. Harley’s emotional

(over-) reaction to the stories of Edward, and Edward's perception of Harley because of it, is what Yorick intends to achieve, regardless of what the landscape or the people of France actually turn out to be like. These two characters, alongside Burns's speaker in 'Address to Edinburgh' (as well as other poems) are all 'men of feeling', intent on their emotional reactions regardless of actual events. Each author's use of the word **tears** has revealed aspects of their works that very closely align. The characters all shed tears, and want to shed tears, because it is part of the sentimental conduct, so fashionable at the time. The notice of such an alignment in language use then has evidenced a key characteristic of the literature of the period.

Interestingly, the word **tears** is actually the most common word that William Shenstone has in common with Burns's language of sympathy, in the corpus searched. Shenstone's use of the word appears to be, on the whole, slightly different to the other sentimental authors. Rather than finding people or objects at which to portray an emotional reaction, Shenstone's speakers tend to focus on characters that are in the midst of displaying emotion themselves:

One favour'd son engaged his tenderest care;
 One pious youth his whole affection crown'd;
 In his young breast the virtues sprung so fair,
 Such charms display'd, such sweets diffused around.

But whilst gay transport in his face appears,
 A noxious vapour clogs the poison'd sky,
 Blasts the fair crop-the sire is drown'd in tears,
 And, scarce surviving, sees his Cynthio die!

O'er the pale corse we saw him gently bend;
 Heart-chill'd with grief - 'My thread, (he cried) is spun!
 If Heaven had meant I should my life extend,
 Heaven had preserved my life's support, my son!

'Snatch'd in thy prime! alas, the stroke were mild,
 Had my frail form obey'd the Fates' decree!
 Bless'd were my lot, O Cynthio! O my child!
 Had Heaven so pleased, and had I died for thee.'

Five sleepless nights he stemm'd this tide of woes;
 Five irksome suns he saw, through tears, forlorn:
 On his pale corse the sixth sad morning rose;
 From yonder dome the mournful bier was borne. (*British Poets*, vol. 1, pp.
 97-98)

This excerpt is from Shenstone's elegy 'In Memory of a Private Family in Worcestershire' and it is a good example of the way in which the poet's speakers focus on emotional

characters. The poem focuses on a family facing the loss of a child and their grief associated with such a loss. The first stanza quoted here revisits the virtue associated with youth that was evident in much of the sentimental literature analysed thus far. We are presented with a “pious youth” with “virtues sprung so fair”, echoing the sentiments on display in ‘Economy, A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets’ cited earlier in this chapter. This time, however, tragedy strikes and the youth dies. The main focus of the poem is the emotional reaction of the surviving father.

This poem’s focus is slightly different to that of the other writers’ works, in that it is deliberately set on aspects of genuine emotion. Rather than a character seeking out people or objects to sentimentalise, and create an emotional reaction over, the speaker here depicts the ‘real’ emotion associated with the loss of a child. The piece contains many exclamations and statements of emotion, which are both typical of sentimental literature, but there is much less of the objectification at play in this example.

The word **tears** occurs twice in this excerpt alone, firstly forming the main focus of the father “scarce surviving, sees his Cynthio die”, which illustrates a genuine desperation at his tragic situation. Secondly, the word occurs again when the description of the father’s grief in the days following is given. The father saw “five irksome suns... through tears forlorn!” This depiction of genuine emotion is typical of Shenstone’s poetry, and he is even, at times, critical of poetry conveying less authentic feeling which, as we have seen, is common in the sentimental era:

Still may the mourner, lavish of his tears,
For lucre's venal meed invite my scorn!
Still may the bard, dissembling doubts and fears,
For praise, for flattery sighing, sigh forlorn!

Soft as the line of love-sick Hammond flows,
'Twas his fond heart effused the melting theme;
Ah! never could Aonia's hill disclose
So fair a fountain, or so loved a stream.

Ye loveless Bards! intent with artful pains
To form a sigh, or to contrive a tear!
Forego your Pindus, and on --- plains
Survey Camilla's charms, and grow sincere. (*British Poets*, vol. 1, p. 72)

These stanzas are from Shenstone’s elegy ‘He Arrives at his Retirement in the Country’, which is the poem that Carol McGuiirk mentions as a possible source for Burns’s sentiments concerning learned art in his 1785 poem to Lapraik. Here, though, we can read into the speaker’s distaste for the kinds of created emotion evident in the writing of the

other sentimental authors. The poem mentions “the bard, dissembling doubts and fears,/For praise, for flattery”, which can be seen as a criticism of using heartfelt emotion in order to gain esteem amongst the poet’s peers. This idea is strongly reinforced as the speaker labels such writers as “loveless Bards” who “form a sigh, or... contrive a tear!” The stanza ends with an encouragement for these poets to “grow sincere”. In the context of the sentimental literature in question in this chapter, then, Shenstone’s common use of the word **tears** is indicative of a definite engagement with similar aspects of sentimental literary language to the other writers. Shenstone, however, shows a discomfort with certain traits of the sentimental literary era, and places himself in opposition to the creation of to the kind of condescending objectification that the characters and narrators in the other writers’ texts perform in order to create an ‘artificial’ emotional response. Shenstone, it would appear, prefers to align his poetic characters with emotion that is as genuine as the art form will allow, by portraying tragic circumstances that legitimately warrant the ‘tears’ and the sympathy so apparent in the literature of the sentimental authors.

The word **tears**, in combination with another word that is common in the works of all the sentimental authors in question, **pity**, and the other words in this part of the chapter (**awe**, **pitying**, **tears** and **heart**) allow us to build a ‘picture’ of sentimental rhetoric, revealing facets of each writer’s work that have similar literary motivations behind them. In doing so, this chapter is evidencing an association between the writers (poets and novelists), and therefore a ‘movement’, albeit one to which the authors may respond very slightly differently, in the literature of the time.

Wretch

One word of similar semantic consequence to **tears**, but one that operates in a slightly different way within the literature in question, is **wretch**. Used in a sense referring to a pitiable person (*OED*), **wretch** is used a notable thirty-one times by Robert Burns, making it one of his most frequent words in his semantic field of sympathy in the corpus searched. One poem in which Burns uses the sympathetic term is ‘A Winter Night’. In this poem, which represents Burns’s attempt at Pindaric ode, Burns visits a recurring theme of his – poverty and misfortune:

‘Oh ye! who, sunk in beds of down,
 ‘Feel not a want but what yourselves create,
 ‘Think, for a moment, on his wretched fate,
 ‘Whom friends and fortune quite disown!
 ‘Ill-satisfy’d keen Nature’s clam’rous call,
 ‘Stretch’d on his straw he lays himself to sleep,
 ‘While thro’ the ragged roof and chinky wall,

'Chill, o'er his slumbers, piles the drift heap!
 'Think on the dungeon's grim confine,
 'Where Guilt and poor Misfortune pine!
 'Guilt, erring Man, relenting view!
 'But shall thy legal rage pursue
 'The Wretch, already crushed low
 'By cruel Fortune's undeserved blow?
 'Affliction's sons are brothers in distress;
 'A Brother to relieve, how exquisite the bliss!'

(*Poems & Songs*, vol. 1 p. 305, lines 73-88)

Pindar was the first Greek poet to examine the role of the poet in society,⁹⁷ and, on one level, Burns is replicating such an examination, as well as Pindar's poetic form. In constructing a Pindaric ode based around a sympathetic response to the unfortunate in society, there is a suggestion that Burns is placing the role of the poet in a sympathetic context. An extrapolation of this suggestion leads us into the assumption that Burns is drawing on ideas that a poet should be sympathetic in nature, able to embody the unfortunate to those of the powerful classes – a figure representing a kind of conscience of mankind.

In this context, the word **wretch** plays an important role. Burns employs the word twice in two different forms in this excerpt, the first of which describes the unfortunate's "wretched fate". The poor man's fate, then, as opposed to himself, being described as "wretched", is pitiful in itself. The effect of drawing attention to the "fate" of the man, rather than the man himself, makes the reader consider the concept of fate, put in contrast with their own "beds of down" and their lack of "want" at the beginning of the excerpt. There is a definite sense that a "wretched fate", in contrast to a privileged fate, is down to nothing more than chance and the reader is invited to reflect upon this idea here.

By deploying the word **wretch** to describe the man himself later in the excerpt, Burns inextricably links his audience with the unfortunate man. The reader is reminded of the notion that fate and chance are the deciding factors in fortune or misfortune earlier by the repetition of the idea of the "wretch" ("wretched"/"wretch"). Thus the poem is intending to portray the unfortunate man as a victim of the same chance that allowed the fortunate to prosper. Burns then brings in the idea that the fortunate are further victimising the poor man. By asking "But shall thy legal rage pursue/The wretch", Burns is illustrating that through the means available to the educated or prosperous, the "wretch" becomes yet more wretched, yet more ill-fated. Therefore, the combination of inviting the reader to consider their own fate in contrast to the poor man of the poem, with the sense that the

⁹⁷ Douglas E. Gerber, *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishing, 1997), p.261

fortunate are doing further harm to the poor, Burns displays a kind of overarching conscience. The sympathy, displayed through the sentimental language at work here, reveals a kind of Pindaric statement. Burns's role as a poet is to act as a sentimental spokesman in defence of the unfortunate. By drawing out the sympathy for the poor in those who victimise them, Burns is making an attempt to correct an injustice in society and therefore fulfils a societal poetic 'purpose', in the Pindaric sense.

Henry Mackenzie also uses the word **wretch** relatively frequently in his *Man of Feeling* – again, one of the few occurrences matching Burns's language. In fact Mackenzie uses the word in a very similar way to that in which Burns does above:

'On something like a bed lay a man, with a face seemingly emaciated with sickness, and a look of patient dejection; a bundle of dirty shreds served him for a pillow; but he had a better support – the arm of a female who kneeled beside him, beautiful as an angel, but with a fading languor in her countenance, the still life of melancholy, that seemed to borrow its shade from the object on which she gazed. There was a tear in her eye! the sick man kissed it off in its bud, smiling through the dimness of his own! – when she saw Mountford, she crawled forward on the ground and clasped his knees; he raised her from the floor; she threw her arms round his neck, and sobbed out a speech of thankfulness, eloquent beyond the power of language.

“Compose yourself, my love,” said the man on the bed; “but he, whose goodness has caused that emotion, will pardon its effects.” – “How is this, Mountford?” said I; “what do I see? what must I do?” — “You see,” replied the stranger, “a wretch, sunk in poverty, starving in prison, stretched on a sick bed! but that is little: — There are his wife and children, wanting the bread which he has not to give them! Yet you cannot easily imagine the conscious serenity of his mind; in the gripe of affliction, his heart swells with the pride of virtue! ... (*Man of Feeling*, pp. 90-91)

This section comes from the same chapter of Mackenzie's novel examined earlier, entitled 'The Pupil – A Fragment', in which an unnamed narrator divulges his interest in Harley's story. This excerpt, taken from near the end of the chapter, describes the man who has been put in prison because of the other's desire for his wife.

There are very clear parallels between this section of Mackenzie's novel and Burns's 'A Winter Night'. Firstly, the image of a 'wretched' man on a bed is common to them both. The conditions of the unfortunate man's predicament in Mackenzie's book, revealed here by the image of the "dirty shreds" the man is using as a pillow, is reminiscent of Burns's character's "bed of straw" under the "ragged roof". Where, however, Burns's poem explores the poet's sentimental 'role' through the overtly sympathetic language used in constructing the sentimental image, Mackenzie uses his image for a slightly different sentimental purpose. The focus of the narrative in *Man of Feeling* is less on the misfortune of the man himself, and more focused on the misfortune of his family. Although the man is

graphically described as “emaciated with sickness”, looking dejected and a “wretch, sunk in poverty”, it is the nobility of the man, in his time of crisis, that is the main point of this excerpt. The reader is drawn into thinking about the ways in which the man cares for his emotionally suffering wife by retaining his virtue during his sickness. The man “kissed [his wife’s tear] off in its bud, smiling through the dimness of his own”, illustrating that the man cares more for the emotional wellbeing of his wife, than his own physical wellbeing. He nobly prioritises his wife over himself. The narration, then, focusing on this man and his behaviour is, once again, creating a sentimental object. The character of the man is sentimentalised, used as an example of noble and moral conduct in the real world, and sentimental conduct in the literary world. The sympathy that the family’s predicament evokes in the narrator, through the man’s nobility in the face of death, becomes a moral statement in the novel: a ‘wretch’ is just as capable of nobility as the ‘noble’. Through this sentiment the character himself becomes objectified by the narrator. The character becomes a story used to exemplify the narrator’s sympathetic ability, his ability to ‘feel’, and, by extension, his sentimentality.

Interestingly, then, Burns has created an image reminiscent of this scene in *Man of Feeling*, in his ‘A Winter Night’. Although on this occasion Burns appears to be doing something different (but no less sentimental in its approach), the idea of the ‘noble wretch’ is recognisably Burnsian. From Burns’s early poems of direct address, to the later songs, it is a subject that Burns frequently returns to. Perhaps then Mackenzie, in his depictions of such characters being noble in their poverty, is in fact a “glorious model” after which Burns did form his conduct. This idea is one that is evidenced then by an examination of the word **wretch** by way of the methodology at work within this thesis.

Another of Burns’s “models”, Laurence Sterne, also uses the word **wretch** in his sentimental novels. Interestingly, however, Sterne’s only uses the word four times in *Tristram Shandy* (and not all in *Sentimental Journey*), and he does so in a very different way:

“Perhaps HE was gone out in company with HONOUR to fight a duel; to pay off some debt at play; — or dirty annuity, the bargain of his lust: Perhaps Conscience all this time was engaged at home, talking aloud against petty larceny, and executing vengeance upon some such puny crimes as his fortune and rank of life secured him against all temptation of committing; so that he lives as merrily,” [If he was of our church, tho', quoth Dr. Slop, he could not] — “sleeps as soundly in his bed; — and at last meets death unconcernedly; — perhaps much more so, than a much better man.” [...]

“Another is sordid, unmerciful,” (here *Trim* waved his right hand) “a strait-hearted, selfish wretch, incapable either of private friendship or public spirit. Take notice how he passes by the widow and orphan in their distress, and sees all the miseries

incident to human life without a sigh or a prayer.” [An' please your honours, cried Trim, I think this a viler man than the other.] (*Tristram Shandy*, p.128)

At this point in Sterne's novel, Trim is attempting to read some sermons, but is constantly interrupted by Slop, who takes issue with the sermons themselves, and the other characters who attempt to stop Slop from interjecting. The result is a very muddled section with many voices intermingling at once. Such interwoven voices actually reflect the nature of the sermons themselves, as Allen Permar Smith explains:

At this point, perhaps the reader should begin to ask himself, 'who am *I* in this gathered crowd of people?' And, the same questions continue to emerge as the sermon continues. 'Where is *my* place in the world?' 'What time do *I* find myself in?' 'Who am *I* in conversation with and who is talking to *me*? And the sermon itself seems to ask these questions of the reader, distracted though he is by the comic world of Slop, Toby and Tristram's father.⁹⁸

The voices of the characters, set in contrast with the reading of the sermon create something of a sentimental argument between the characters. All voicing their displeasure at once, their constantly interjecting voices, each arguing about morals and/or manners provide a rather confused grounding for a very potent use of the word **wretch**.

Amid all the confusion, Trim, reading the sermon, uses **wretch** in way that is nothing short of an insult. The beginning of the excerpt quoted above is Slop's interruption of Trim's reading, putting forth a moral question. Trim continues, calling an unmerciful character in the sermon "a strait-hearted, selfish wretch, incapable either of private friendship or public spirit". This insult, towards an apparently un-sentimental character, creates a complex situation. On first reading it would seem, from a sentimental point of view, that Trim is justified in attacking the "unmerciful" character, implicitly contrasting him with a more moral 'man of feeling'. However the very act of so angrily criticising the values of a person is in itself un-sentimental. To complicate things further, the angry outburst might be read as being directed towards the constantly interrupting Slop. Slop is challenging the sermons that Trim reads, questioning the morals within them. It could be that the act of questioning the morals that Trim seems to hold, is what provokes the angry insult.

Strangely then, Sterne seems to have constructed a highly fragmented narrative, of multiple voices, that questions the very idea of the sentimental 'man of feeling'. Out of the two characters mainly involved in the exchange, Slop and Trim, it is Slop that comes across the more sentimental. Slop is allowing the good to be seen in a character of the

⁹⁸ Allen Permar Smith, *From Pulpit to Fiction: Sermonic Texts and Fictive Transformations* (Bern: Peter Liang, AG International Academic Publishers, 2007), p. 149

sermon who is supposed to be seen as immoral. Trim's angry response, being un-sentimental, can be read in contrast with Slop's observations. Slop's questioning of the morals here, though, is comedic, which adds yet another complicating factor to the situation. The lack of manners that Slop portrays while constantly interrupting Trim could also be seen as being un-sentimental. What results then is a confused scene that undermines the very notion of a sentimental narrative. Here we have an apparently sentimental narrative in miniature. The fragmented narration, caused by the multiple interjections imitates the fragmented narrative commonly associated with a sentimental novel. Such imitation affords Sterne the opportunity to comment on the sentimental literature in question. The arguments of morals and interjections aimed at correcting manners is a miniature exploration of those very concepts, highlighting flaws in the conception of a 'man of feeling'. What results then, is a satire of the sentimental. Sterne seems to be suggesting that there are moral flaws in everyone, even those reading a sermon, and so to see the world from the condescending point of being a 'man of feeling' is, in actuality, seeing the world from a point of view that the 'man of feeling' himself would criticise.

Mackenzie and Burns, then, in these examples, use the word **wretch** in a highly sympathetic and very sentimental way. Sterne's use of it as an insult, while creating a satire of the sentimental is revealing. Although Sterne was writing before either of the other authors, it could be seen that Sterne is critiquing the cult of sentimentality that gave rise to the character of Harley as well Burns's poetic speaker. Sterne's insult containing the word **wretch**, then, is undermining the expectation of the meaning of the word. A word that, at the time, was commonly used in a very sympathetic way, is used to insult the very sentimentality at the heart of the literature. Sterne's playful satire then can be seen to use sentimental sympathetic language to insult the very rhetoric from where it is expected to stem.

William Shenstone also uses the word **wretch** relatively frequently, in comparison to the other search terms used in this chapter. In a similar way to that of Burns and Mackenzie, Shenstone's use is often of a very sympathetic nature. In his poem 'The Ruined Abbey, or the Affects of Superstition', Shenstone appears to make a comment on the history of Britain/England:

Yet yielded not, supinely tame, a prince
Of Henry's virtues; learn'd, courageous, wise,
Of fair ambition. Long his regal soul,
Firm and erect, the peevish priest exiled,
And braved the fury of revengeful Rome.
In vain! let one faint malady diffuse

The pensive gloom which Superstition loves,
 And see him, dwindled to a recreant groom,
 Rein the proud palfrey while the priest ascends!
 Was Coeur-de-Lion bless'd with whiter days?
 Here the cowl'd zealots with united cries
 Urged the crusade; and see! of half his stores
 Despoil'd the wretch, whose wiser bosom chose
 To bless his friends, his race, his native land. (*British Poets*, vol. 1, p. 222)

Here, Shenstone's speaker takes the reader through various aspects of significant figures in the history of Britain. Firstly, we are told of Henry VIII's "virtues" leading him to brave "the fury of revengeful Rome" alluding to Henry's creation of the Church of England, in order to escape from Rome's religious laws. The speaker goes on to say that Henry's "virtues" which include courage and wisdom were "in vain", suggesting that not only was there a possible misguidedness associated with Henry's actions, but led him to be seen as "dwindled to a recreant groom".

In the next stanza, the speaker asks if "Coeur-de-Lion [was] bless'd with whiter days?" which is a reference to Richard I, and translates directly to the name by which Richard I was commonly known – 'Lionheart'. In this section of the poem, it is suggested that the crusades in which Richard I was involved were backed by "zealots with united cries" and it is with reference to the crusades that the word **wretch** appears. The speaker's sympathy lies with a victim of the crusades who have become "Despoil'd". It is therefore clear that the speaker of the poem is intent on displaying those affected by the crusades as worthy of our sympathy, which is suggestive of a deep questioning of the morals at play in the history of England and, therefore, Great Britain. The speaker then deepens the thought, stating that the "bosom" of the "wretch" is "wiser" in choosing "to bless his friends, his race, his native land". The poem suggests, therefore, that the sympathy-worthy "wretch" is a being of a higher moral standing than Richard I and the "zealots" that supported the crusades. There is a suggestion that it is in this morality, as opposed to the immoral act of crusading, that the 'wretch's' wisdom lies, and it is through their moral wisdom in the face of a crusade that the sympathy from the speaker is evoked.

There is a clear parallel in language use here between the all of authors analysed and their use of the word **wretch**. Burns and Mackenzie and their focus on suffering characters has echoes of Shenstone's "wretch"-victim of the crusades. The sentimentality comes from each characters' honour and sympathy-worthy nature brought out by their respective misfortunes. Sterne's character, also analysed above, responds to a similar aspect of sentimental culture, but in this case Sterne chooses to satirise it. In all the cases,

however, each writer, whether constructing poetry or prose is evidently responding to a very similar aspect of literary sentimentalism.

Richardson – Tears and Wretch

This study, on aspects of sentimental language shared between the authors of the period, is evidencing a common linguistic tendency at work in the eighteenth century.

Commonalities between different authors' language uses are suggestive of commonalities in linguistic purpose in narrative creation. Further evidence of such a culture, however, can be sought with reference to the control author for this study. Samuel Richardson, arguably a more overtly sentimental author than any other in this study, uses the sympathetic terms of **tears** and **wretch** a vast one hundred and ninety-one times and one hundred and nineteen times respectively, in his novels *Clarissa* and *Pamela*.

The terms are used in ways that are similar in purpose to the sentimental authors already analysed here. When examining *Clarissa*, for example, a very similar use of the word **tears** to Mackenzie's and Burns's uses can be seen:

She said it would break the heart of my father to have it imagined, that he had not a power over his own child; and that, as *he* thought, for my own good: a child too, whom they had always doted upon! – Dearest, dearest miss, concluded she, clasping her fingers, with the most condescending earnestness, let me beg of you, for *my* sake, for *your own* sake, for a *hundred* sakes, to get over this averseness, and give up your prejudices, and make every one happy and easy once more – I would kneel to you, my dearest Niece – nay, I *will* kneel to you! –

And down she dropped, and I with her, kneeling to her, and beseeching her not to kneel; clasping my arms about her, and bathing her worthy bosom with my tears!

O rise! rise! my beloved aunt, said I: you cut me to the heart with this condescending goodness. (*Clarissa*, p. 202)

At this point of Richardson's novel, in the very first letter of volume two, *Clarissa* is writing to her friend and confidante Anna Howe about a visit from her family. *Clarissa*'s mother tries to argue with *Clarissa* that she should marry Solmes, rather than Lovelace, citing his riches as reason to do so. Affronted by her argumentative mother, *Clarissa* is more receptive of her Aunt, who attempts to persuade with more emotional tact.

In fact *Clarissa*'s Aunt falls to her knees in pleading with *Clarissa* not to "break the heart of her father" by refusing to marry Solmes – an action that brings out *Clarissa*'s sympathetic nature. It is this sympathy afforded by *Clarissa* that is a sentimental act, signified by the word **tears**, which, as we have seen with the other sentimental writers, is often a sentimental term. In this excerpt *Clarissa* drops to the floor along with her Aunt and expresses her sympathy with her Aunt's emotional outburst by "bathing her worthy bosom

with... tears". Placing the behaviour of Clarissa's mother in contrast with that of her Aunt is revealing when considering this statement. Clarissa's mother, who confronts the protagonist, almost aggressively, is all but disregarded by Clarissa, whereas the Aunt's emotional behaviour means that she is deemed "worthy" of her niece's tears, and therefore worthy her attention.

Interestingly, the word **tears** here is also used in collocation with the word "condescending". It is Clarissa's Aunt's "condescending earnestness" and "condescending goodness" that Clarissa remarks upon, while demonstrating her tearful sympathetic response. What this collocation reveals is a two-way sentimental exchange. The Aunt's "condescending goodness" is reminiscent of what Carol McGuirk calls a sentimental hero's "condescending objectification" with which a sentimental protagonist would view an object that was to be sentimentalised. The Aunt's "condescending goodness" can be read, then, as her treating Clarissa in a sentimental manner – condescendingly objectifying her and her emotional responsiveness, as if she knows that by appealing to Clarissa's sympathies, she will get the reaction she desires. Simultaneously, Clarissa is acting sentimentally towards her Aunt, seeming to feel the emotion on display and intellectually responding to it, in a way reminiscent of Mackenzie's Harley, for instance. This one example of Richardson's use of **tears**, a word he deploys very often, illustrates that he is doing so within very similar stylistic parameters as the other sentimental authors, which is indicative of its importance in the sympathetic language of what we could call a sentimental movement.

Similarly, Richardson often deploys the word **wretch**. As we have seen in the study of the word above the writers in question use the word in slightly different ways. Burns and Mackenzie use the word primarily to mean a 'pitiable person', whereas Sterne uses it solely as a (satirical) insult. Richardson, uses the word three hundred and eighty-eight times in all senses in the corpus searched, with one hundred and nineteen of these used sympathetically to mean 'pitiable person'. It is clear then that Richardson actually uses the word most frequently in a way more similarly to Sterne than the other writers. Inputting the data into a concordance reveals that insults such as 'wicked wretch', 'vile wretch' and 'deceitful wretch' are stylistically typical for Richardson. In fact even when appearing to use the word sympathetically, Richardson seems to allow for the reading of the term to be offensive:

'I am so wretched, and ill-treated by this Mrs. *Jewkes*, and she is so ill-principled a Woman, that as I may soon want the Opportunity which the happy Hint of this Day affords to my Hopes; so I throw myself at once upon your Goodness, without the least Reserve; for I cannot be worse than I am, should *that* fail me; which, I dare

say, to your Power, it will not: For I see it, Sir, in your Looks, I hope it from your Cloth, and I doubt it not from your Inclination, in a Case circumstanced as my unhappy one is. For, Sir, in helping me out of my present Distress, you perform all the Acts of Religion in one; and the highest Mercy and Charity, both to a Body and Soul of a poor Wretch, that, believe me, Sir, has, at present, not so much as in Thought swerved from her Innocence.⁹⁹

At this point in Richardson's novel, we learn of the treatment of Pamela by Mrs Jewkes, who has some responsibility over her while 'imprisoned' in Mr B's house in Lincolnshire. Here Pamela is recounting to her parents a letter she sent to Mr Williams, a clergyman who offers to help Pamela, even to the point of marrying her to get her out of her situation with Mr B. Pamela ultimately refuses, but Mr Williams makes clear his intention to help Pamela regardless.

Initially, through Pamela's reference to herself as "wretched, and ill-treated", and as having "a soul of a poor wretch", it seems as though Pamela is portraying herself and her situation of imprisonment as being worthy of sympathy. Such self-deprecation, through calling herself a "wretch", provides us with an instance in which Richardson merges his two main usages of the term. Richardson displays a radical feminism for the time in which he was writing. He portrays his female characters as being conscious individuals over and above their role as sexual and marital partners of men. Pamela, in this excerpt then, is struggling with her role in her apparent partnership with Mr B. and her relationship with Mrs Jewkes. She is in a society where she is expected to be submissive, but her conscious urge is to resist Mr B's advances, and Pamela questions the urge:

For Richardson's heroines are obliged not by feeling but by moral law. Because their motive is conscious, it is subject to rational evaluation and, therefore, questioning.¹⁰⁰

It is through the word **wretch** that Richardson makes this moral questioning clear. Pamela is clearly struggling with her malicious urges because she cannot rationalise them. Therefore, through calling herself a "wretch" in response to her own situation, she is saying that she is a person who is questioning her own morals. She is, in effect, insulting herself with the use of "wretch", in a way that is similar to frequent other uses of the term by Richardson elsewhere. Simultaneously, however, she is using the term to make herself out to be a pitiable person, eliciting a sympathetic response from a character from which she is seeking help.

⁹⁹ Samuel Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, ed. Albert J. Rivero (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 114-115

¹⁰⁰ Katherine M. Rogers, 'Sensitive Feminism vs. Conventional Sympathy: Richardson and Fielding on Women' in *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 256-270 (Spring 1976), p. 257

This particular example of the use of the word **wretch** illustrates the ways in which Richardson, the control author for this study, uses the word in a similar way to both Mackenzie's and Burns's sympathetic usages, as well as Sterne's insulting usages. It allows us to see that Richardson provides a basis for this sentimental term to be used in both senses while retaining its position among the terms of sentimental rhetoric. While being used in a sympathetic sense, the sentimentality stems from its capacity to evoke a sympathetic response, either in the reader or in the surrounding characters, while in the insulting sense, its attachment to aspects of moral thought – questioning a character's morality – allows it to be read as being a term central to sentimental rhetoric.

Linguistic Trend Comparison – General Overview

The words from the semantic fields associated with sentimentalism that Richardson deploys, and has in common with Robert Burns, such as **tears** and **wretch**, are symptomatic of a much more comprehensive linguistic similarity between the two writers. When analysing the data as a whole, including all four of the writers in question, Burns, Sterne, Mackenzie and Richardson, a highly surprising trend emerges. Of all the writers considered in comparison with Burns's languages of Excitement and Sympathy, it is Samuel Richardson's linguistic choices that are most similar to Burns's.

Analyses were performed allowing for the graphical representations of the linguistic choices that each writer has in common with Burns. The graphs below show the data of Robert Burns's semantic field of Excitement, in blue, overlaid with each of the other writers similar language use, in red. These graphs allow for significant similarities in linguistic choices from across the spectrum of data as a whole to be visualised efficiently. Figure 1 shows Burns's language of Excitement overlaid with Henry Mackenzie similar language use:

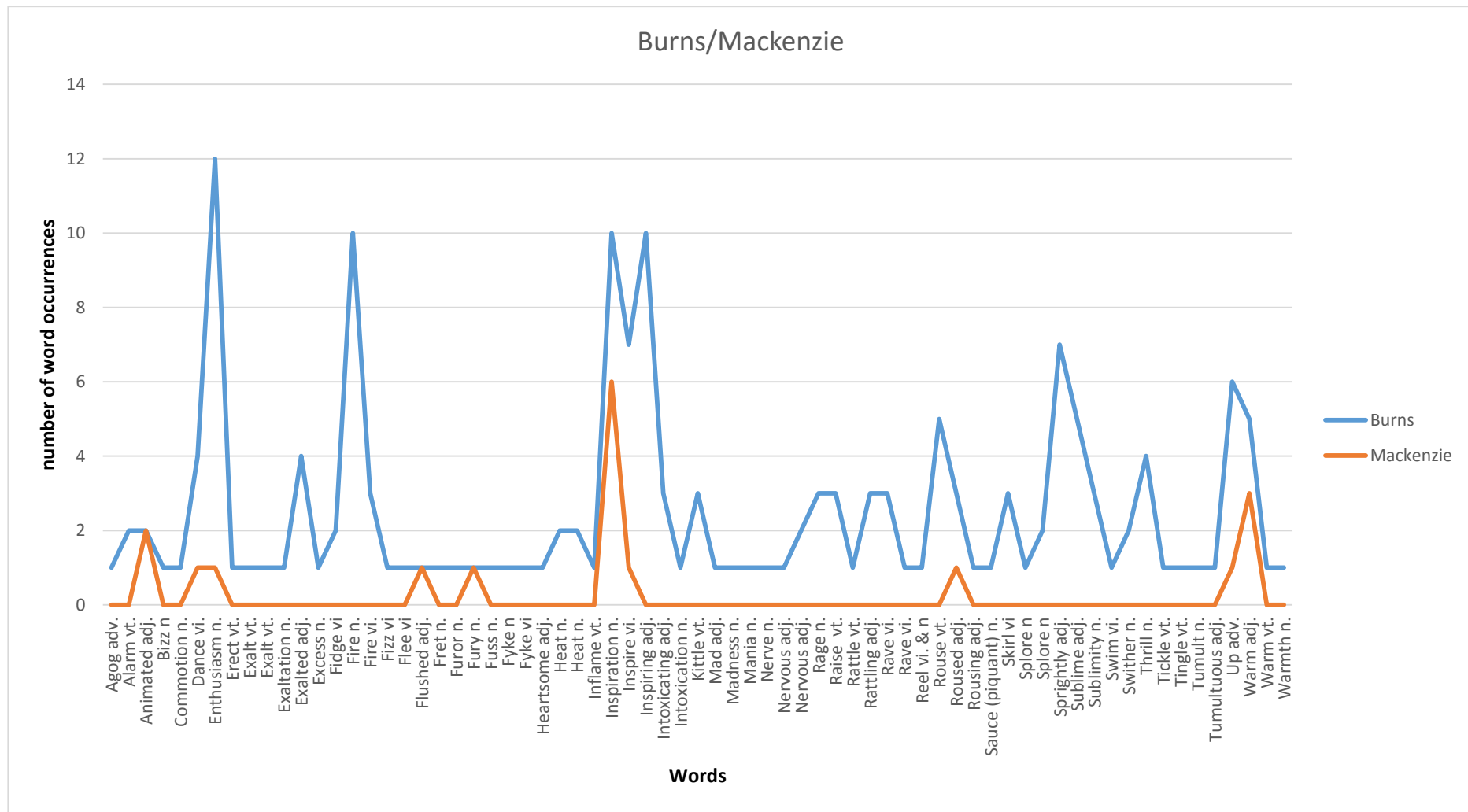


Fig. 1

The x-axis represents the words found in Burns's semantic field of Excitement, corresponding to the spreadsheet in appendix D. The y-axis represents the number of times each word is used. This graph shows the commonality with which Burns uses the words found in his semantic field of Excitement, represented by the blue line. As it was Burns's linguistic data that were searched across the other authors' works, the red line illustrates the points at which the other writers' language use intersects with Burns's.

In the case of figure 1, the graph shows the points at which the language uses of Burns and Mackenzie intersect. The similar language use analysed earlier through studies of the words **fire**, **heat** and **warmth**, for example, can be seen via the blue and red peaks. Interestingly however, for most of the words in Burns's language of Excitement, Mackenzie's graph remains at zero. This fact means that, in the majority of cases, Mackenzie does not use words present in data of Burns's language of Excitement.

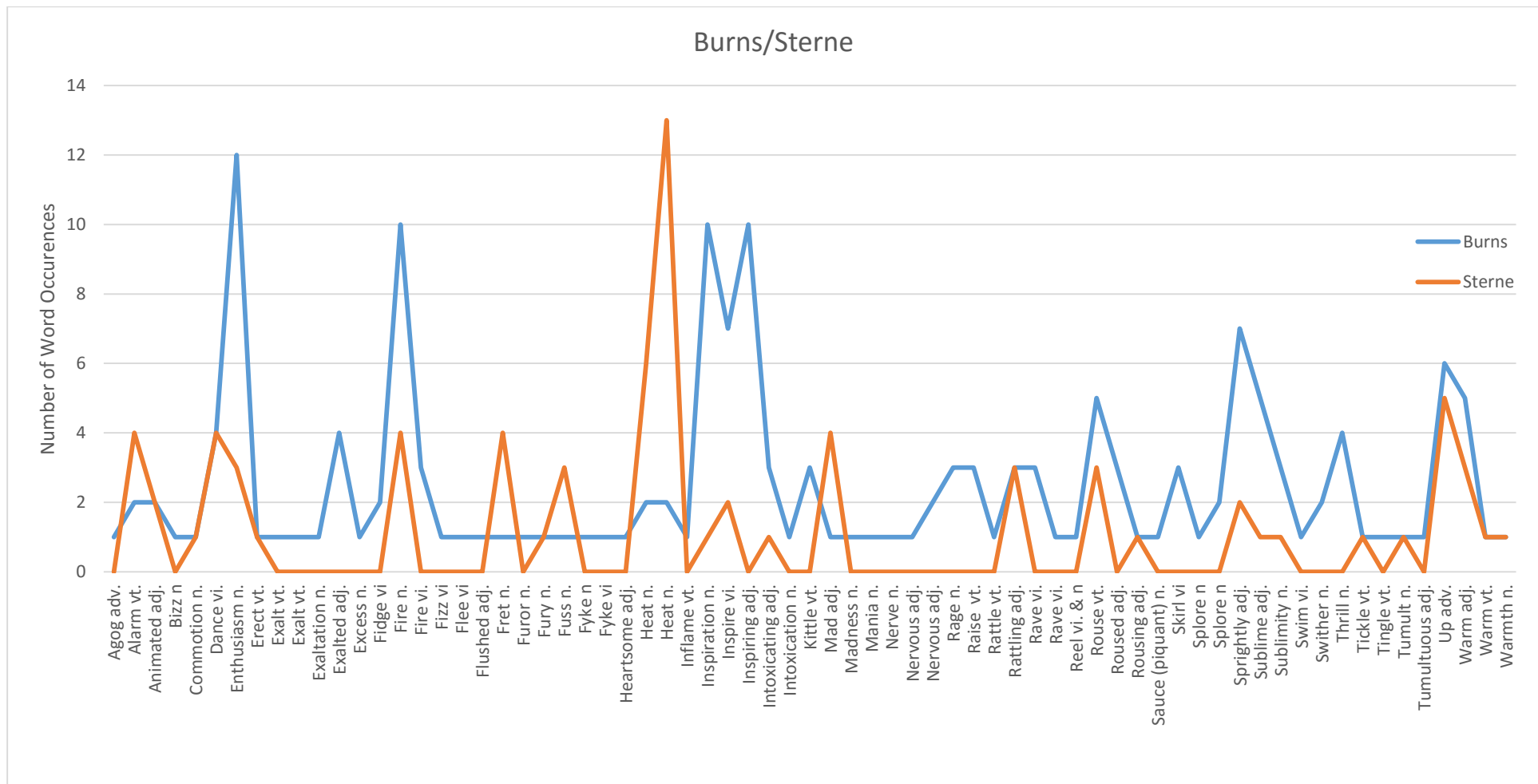


Fig. 2

Figure 2 shows a similar graph, but with the results of Burns's language of Excitement being searched across Sterne's works shown in red. Once again the significant matches in linguistic trends can be illustrated by the blue and red lines rising in phase. Similarly, though, there are still a significant amount of words for which Sterne has no matches at all, and many that are present, but only in insignificant frequencies. It is uncommon, for instance, for a word from Burns's language of Excitement to have more than four occurrences in Sterne's corpus. It is, however, visible from this graph then that Burns's language of Excitement has more matches when searched across Sterne's works, than Mackenzie's, although significant matches are still relatively uncommon.

Burns/Shenstone

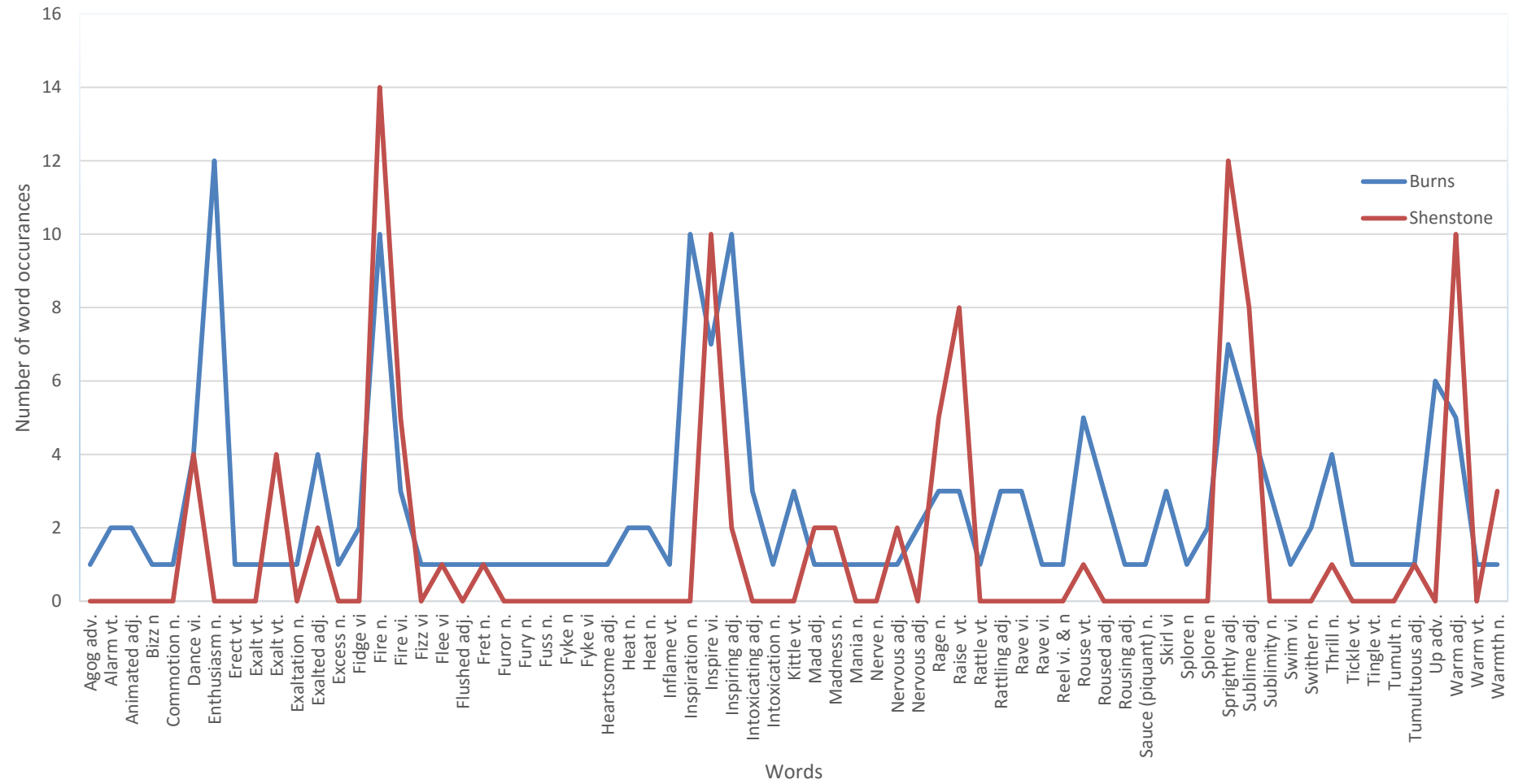


Fig. 3

In figure 3, once again the Robert Burns Excitement data is shown in blue, but this time the search data from William Shenstone's corpus is shown in red. The first thing to note is the amount of words that have no search results at all, showing that there are relatively few occurrences of Burns's language of Excitement in the Shenstone corpus. What is interesting about Shenstone, however, is that the words that are present with some significance are often words that are significant for many or all of the other writers in this study. Particularly, in the case of these Excitement data, it is the language of metaphorical heat that is the most significant, with words such as **fire** and **warmth** returning the most significant results. Although Shenstone's language, on the whole, contains few commonalities with Burns, it is clear that Shenstone does engage with a similar linguistic trend relating to metaphorical heat and the language of the senses.

Burns/Richardson

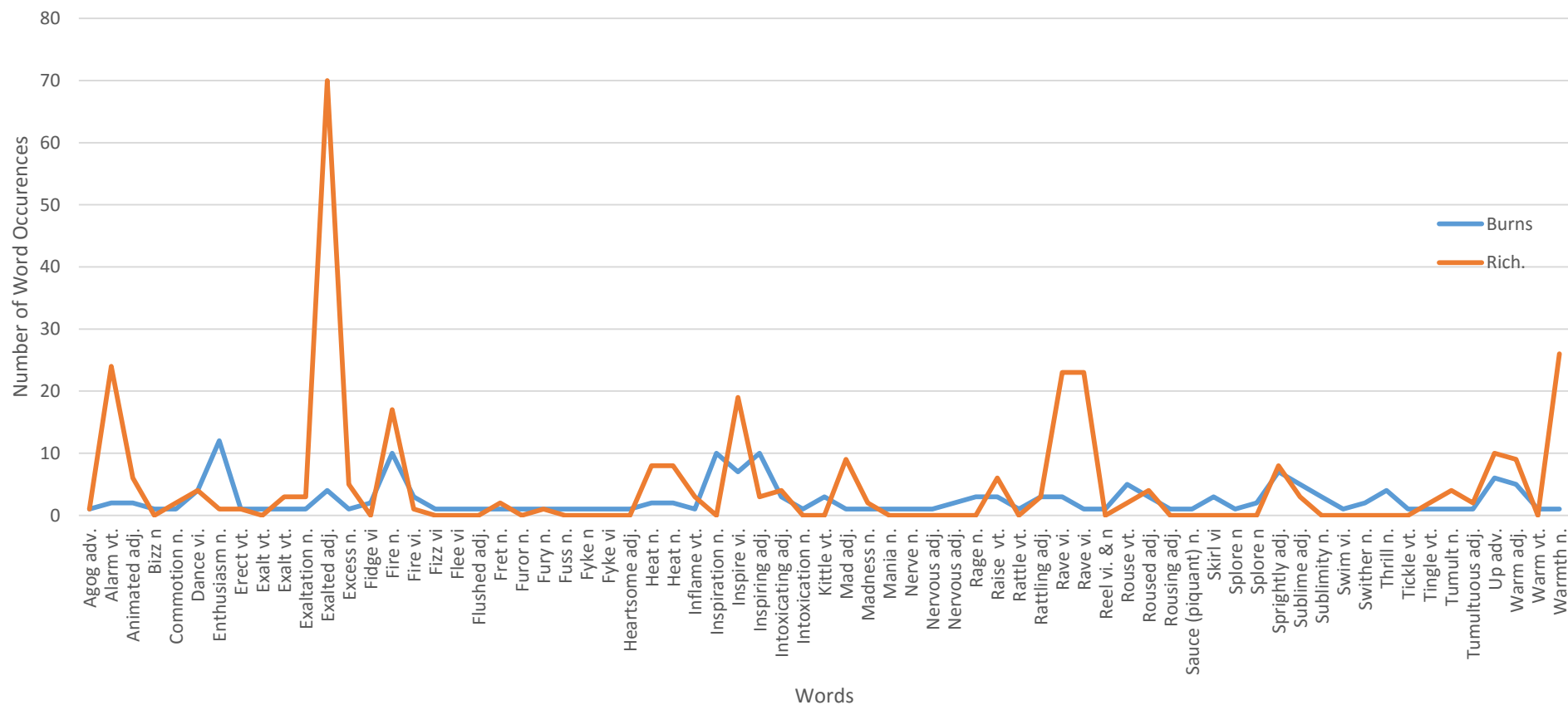


Fig.4

Figure 4 contains the same Burns Language of Excitement data in blue, but this time with the results of the data being searched across Richardson's novels. In this case, due to the multi-volume novels, the Richardson data shows higher numbers of matches than any of the other writers for almost every word. To some extent, this higher match rate in the works of Richardson can be accounted for by the sheer size of his publications. The Burns data is inherently more likely to match more frequently with Richardson because the works of his that were searched are of larger scale. Even when this is accounted for in the normalisation of the graphic representation by the change of scale on the x-axis, however, there are still, visually, a higher number of significant linguistic matches between Burns and Richardson, than between Burns and the other writers. Burns's language of Excitement, then, seems to have more in common with Richardson, than with Sterne, Mackenzie or Shenstone. In fact, surprisingly, the results reveal the reverse of what was anticipated as a working assumption, outlined earlier in this chapter, is true.

Burns/Mackenzie

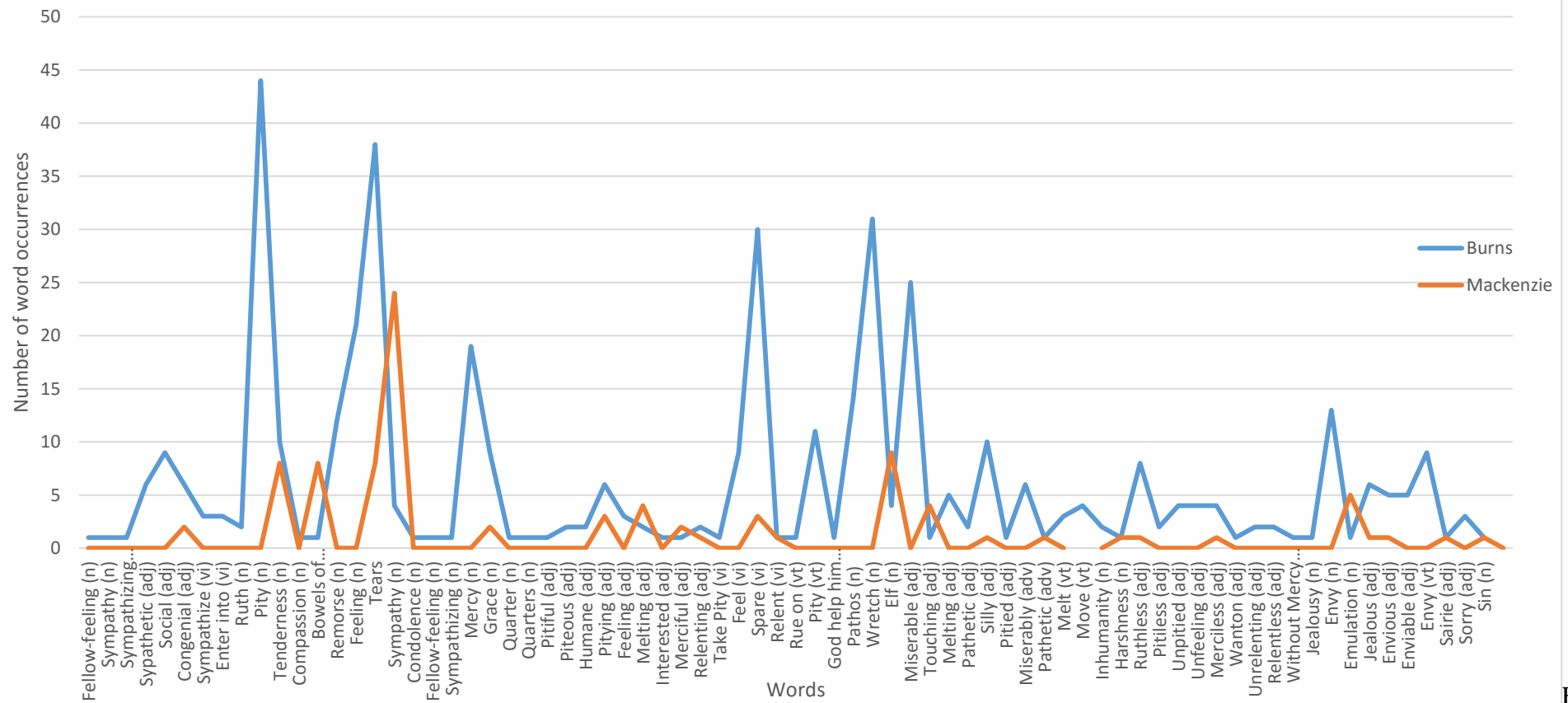


Fig.5

A more complex picture develops when the data from Burns's language of Sympathy is examined. Figure 5 shows the trends of each entry in Burns's language of Sympathy in blue, with the same data searched across Mackenzie's work in red. When compared with the Excitement data, there are more linguistic matches between Burns and Mackenzie in Burns's semantic field of Sympathy. Mackenzie's characterisation of Harley, with his intent to sympathetically 'condescendingly objectify' almost anything he comes into contact with is evidenced here by the more frequent matches in the data. Of the two semantic fields that are related to sentimentalism used in this study, Mackenzie's sympathetic language has more in common with Burns than his language of Excitement.

Burns/Sterne

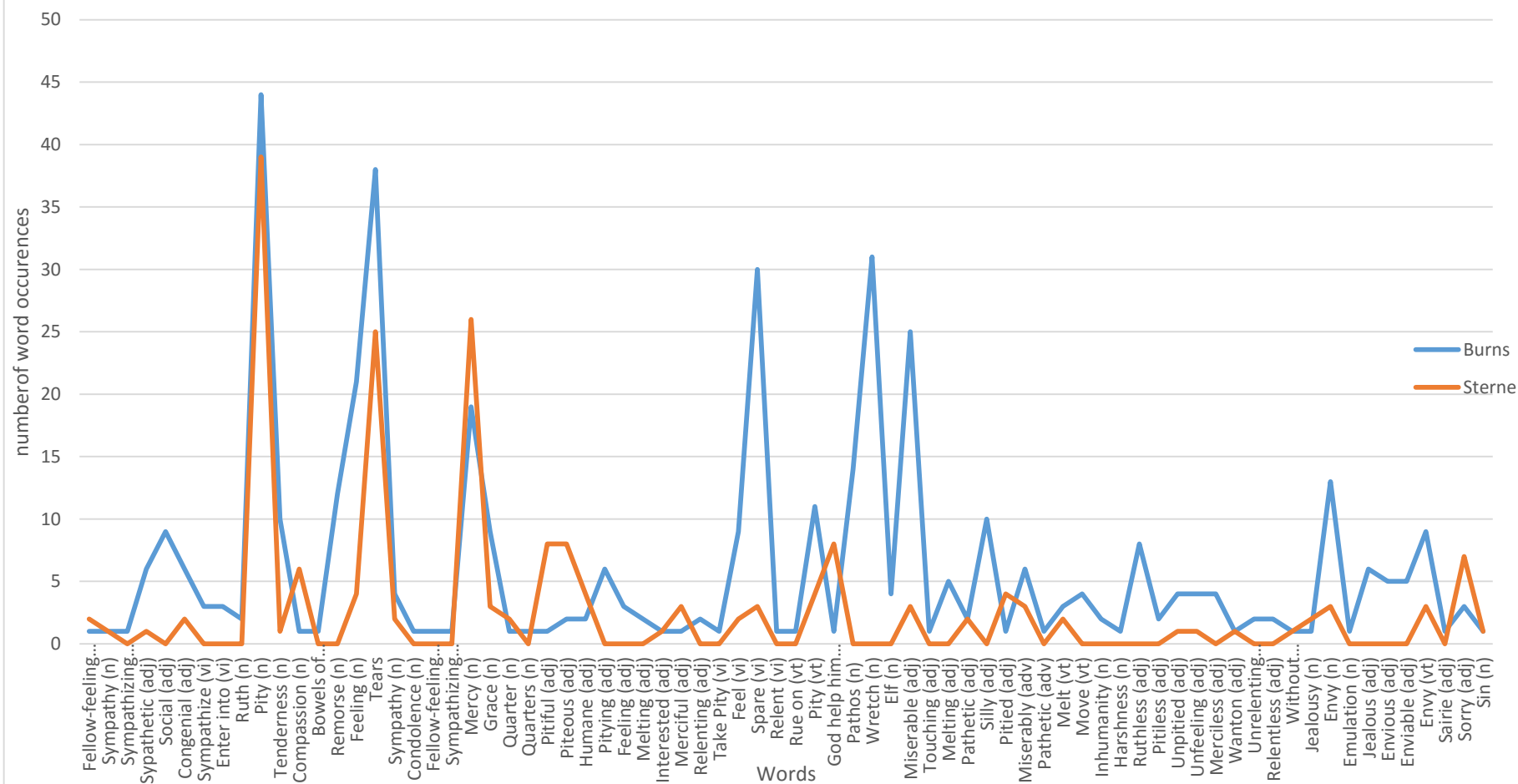


Fig.6

The similarities in Burns's and Mackenzie's languages of sympathy are, in a similar manner to the Excitement data, superseded by matches between Burns and Sterne. Figure 6, here, shows, once again, Burns's language of Sympathy in blue, with the data searched across Sterne's work in red. There are more peaks in Sterne's line and fewer instances where the data doesn't have any matches, than with the Mackenzie graph. Once again, then, Sterne's overall language of Sympathy has more in common with that of Burns than Mackenzie's language of Sympathy. The ideas discovered earlier in this chapter, of Sterne using the sentimental language in two distinct ways (constructing a sentimental narrative and satirising sentimentalism) accounts for the increase in matches between the two authors. Sterne is using a broader sentimental lexicon because his dual purposes demand it. It is due to the increase in the breadth of language use, required by the combined approaches of creating a sentimental narrative while also satirising sentimental literature, that there are more matches in the data over a larger number of words, compared with Mackenzie.

Burns/Shenstone

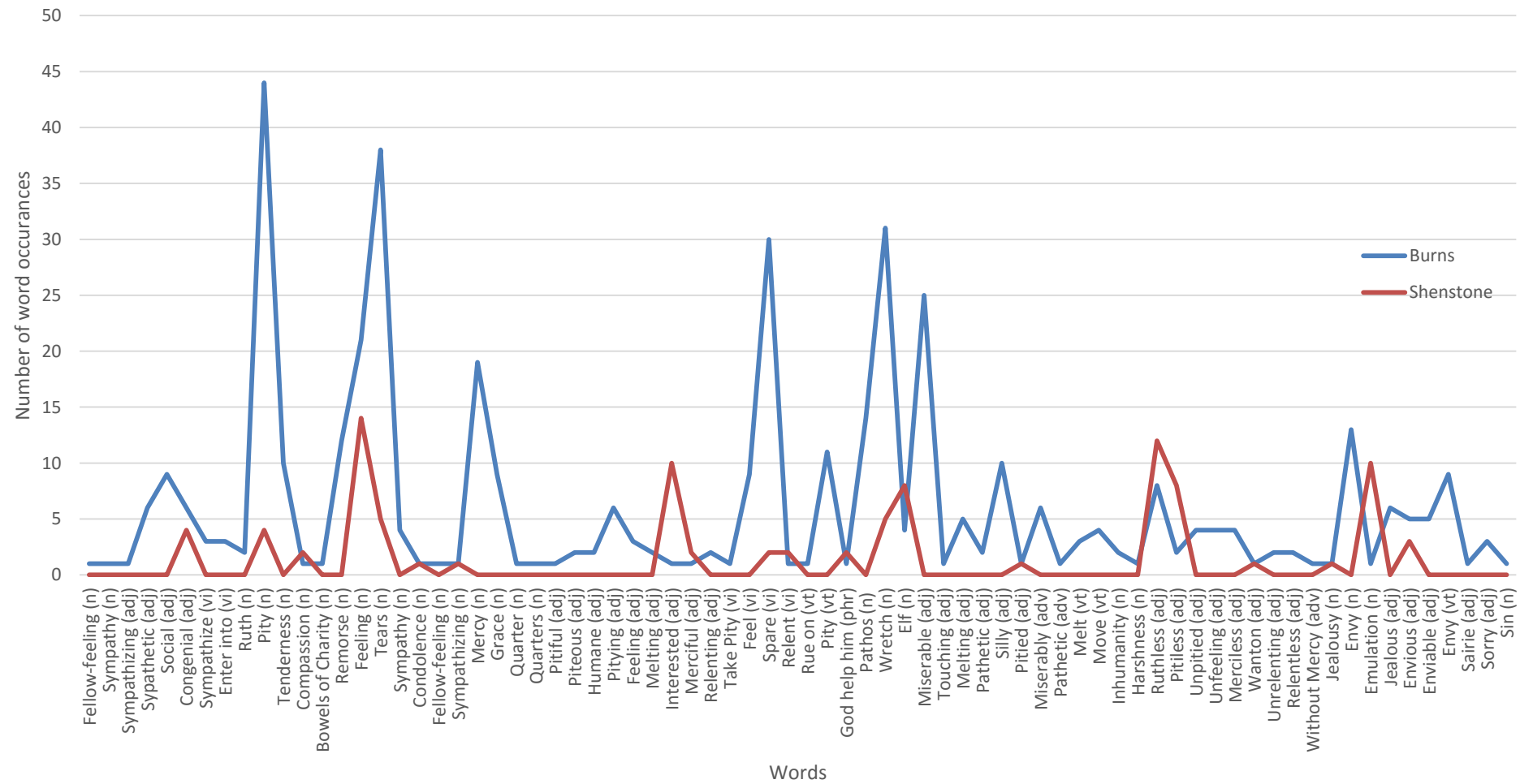


Fig. 7

Once again, figure 7 shows Burns's language of Sympathy in blue, but this time it is the search results from the Shenstone Sympathy data that are shown in red. Quite an interesting picture emerges when the sympathy data are considered. Once again, the most obvious point to take from the graph is that there is very little in the way of linguistic cross-over between Shenstone's and Burns's languages of Sympathy. There are similarities in two main areas, however. For example, directly emotional terms, such as **feeling**, and **interested** produce significant search results, offering an indication that both Burns and Shenstone are indeed responding to an overtly emotional linguistic trend. Interest is also drawn by Shenstone's use of words pertaining to jealousy, such as **envy**, **emulation**, **jealousy** itself and **envious**, where Burns uses them relatively less frequently than his more dominant words of sympathy. There is an indication, therefore, that Shenstone is perhaps responding to a similar sympathetic framework, but one that is possibly from a slightly different philosophical origin. The most interesting point to note, however, from this graph and from the graph of Shenstone's language of Excitement searched across Burns (Fig. 3), is that the significant words that are common to all of the other writers that have been discussed above, also generally have some significance in the language of Shenstone. The words pertaining to metaphorical heat from the semantic field of Excitement, along with the words such as **wretch** and **tears** in the semantic field of Sympathy, are largely common to all of the writers in question. Shenstone, as a poet, therefore, does engage with similar linguistic trends to all of the other sentimental authors, showing a common engagement, across different forms, with a sentimental literary ethos.

Burns/Richardson

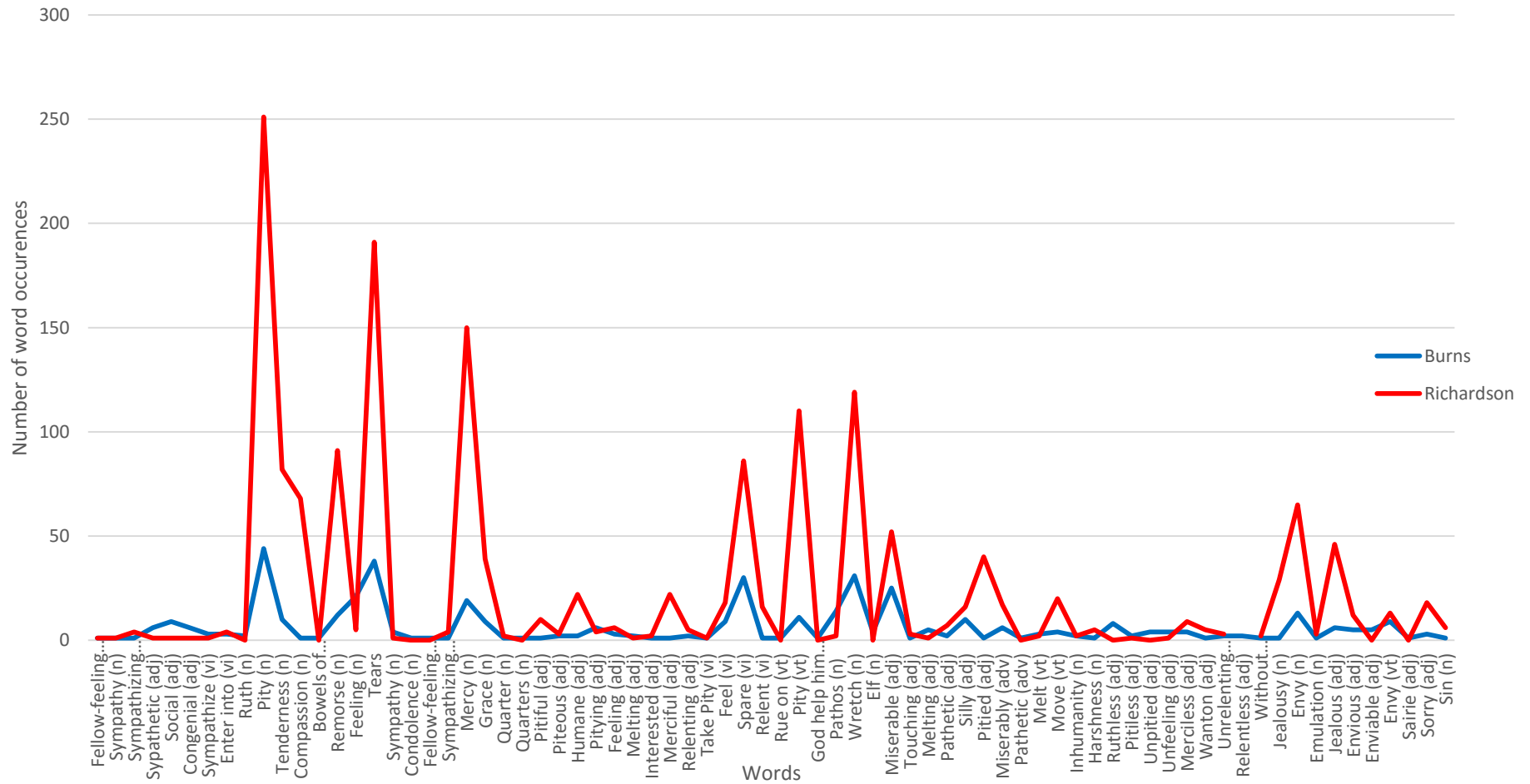


Fig.8

Figure 8 shows the same Burns language of Sympathy data in blue again, but this time with the data searched across Richardson's works in red. Immediately, due to the amount of peaks in the Richardson graph, showing where Burns's and Richardson's languages of sympathy converge, it is apparent that there are significantly more similarities between Burns and Richardson, than Burns and any of the other writers in their sympathetic languages. The significant similarities are confounded by the amount of peaks in the graphs that are in phase with each other. This aligning of the peaks show that, often, the most common words of sympathy used by Burns are also the most common matches when the data is searched across Richardson's novels. Therefore, not only are there more matches in Richardson's works than the other writers, but the most common words in the Burns corpus are often the most common words in the works of Richardson, which is suggestive of closely aligning sympathetic linguistic tendencies. Once again, then, counter to expectations, the control author for this study has turned out to be the most similar in sentimental language use to Burns than either Henry Mackenzie or Laurence Sterne.

The reasons for the considerable similarities in sentimental language between Burns and Richardson could well be down to form. The Burns corpus that was searched to form the original data included a high number of Burns's letters. With both of Richardson's lengthy novels being in an epistolary form, the linguistic matches are, at least in part, because of specific tendencies in letter-writing technique in the eighteenth century.

Burns, Richardson and Eighteenth-Century Letter-Writing

James Howe, in his book *Epistolary Spaces* (2003), argues that, in a similar way to how the internet and emails opened up a 'cyber space', the formation of the Post Office in England in 1516 opened up 'epistolary spaces' in which people could reliably communicate that lasted into the nineteenth century. Howe then goes on to ask "why study letter at all in the age of the email?" to which he responds himself, "because, in that they adopt a variety of literary techniques, the letters I have chosen are a form of literature and as worthy of study as any of the plays, poems or prose narratives of the period."¹⁰¹

Samuel Richardson's novels, are by definition (epistolary), comprised of a series of fictitious letters. But, as Howe stipulates, certain people's 'real' letters contain literary techniques and so are not only worthy of study, but may also have similar linguistic tendencies to the fictitious letters of Richardson.

¹⁰¹ James Howe, *Epistolary Spaces: English Letter Writing from the Foundation of the Post Office to Richardson's Clarissa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p.4

Robert Burns was one such figure who adopted literary techniques in his letter-writing. As already discussed in this thesis, one of the major ways in which he did so was to construct personae for himself within them. His letters became narratives in which his chosen adopted persona could play the protagonist. Burns himself proclaims that, in some of his letters at least, are his “epistolary performances” (*Letters*, 1:93, p. 103) that show the Bard “in his style in their native colours”. (*Letters*, 2:558, p. 210) This statement illustrates that Burns thought of his letters as another way by which to fulfil the role of the “Bard”; he viewed the occasion on which he could write a letter to be an occasion on which he could show off his literary talents.

Such a desire to ‘show-off’ in epistolary form has its origins in a particular letter-writing culture. Susan E. Whyman observes a “rise of a popular epistolary tradition that emerged from... classical foundations”¹⁰², which involves letter-writers from all parts of society. Letter-writing was a skill that the people of the Renaissance, for example, found to be of the utmost importance. They formed polite discourses, and particular language uses that were deemed suitable for use in epistolary correspondence. Come the eighteenth century, these forms of discourse were being emulated by all sections of society. Such a trend in letter-writing brought with it a demand for letter-writing manuals, which first become popular in the later part of the seventeenth century and enjoy continued popularity well into the 1700s.¹⁰³

There is evidence to suggest that Burns owned one of these letter-writing manuals¹⁰⁴, and his frequent engagement with issues of letter penmanship suggests that his interest in the matter was significant. For instance, Burns writes to his brother William:

I congratulate you on the prospect of employ, and I am indebted to you for one of the best letters that has been written by any Mechanic-lad in Nithsdale or Annandale or any Dale on either side of the Border this twelvemonth. – Not that I would have you always affect the stately stilts of studied composition, but surely writing a handsome letter is an accomplishment worth courting; and with attention & practice, I can promise you that it will soon be an accomplishment of yours. (*Letters*, I:318, p. 380)

¹⁰² Susan E. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.17

¹⁰³ For further reading on this subject, see Roger Chartier, Alain Boureau and Cecile Dauphin, *Correspondence Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997)

¹⁰⁴ Robert Crawford points out that Burns owned John Newbury’s *Letters on the Most Common, as well as Important Occasions in Life*, 5th Edition (London, 1760), containing a prefatory ‘Instructions on Epistolary Writing’, in *The Bard* (London: Pimlico, 2010), pp. 66-67

Such an attention to, and desire for, a “handsome letter” reveals a sense that Burns saw letters as an important aspect of the culture of the period. His encouragement urging his brother to “practice” his letter-writing shows that he saw it as a talent worth honing.

When examining the letter-writing manuals of the period, it is easy to see why Burns felt this way about the art of letter-writing. As Howe suggests, the popularity of letter-writing manuals was an indication of the “question for the English [or, perhaps British] of finding out just how they could behave, just what was newly possible, in the world of letter writing and reading” (Howe, p. 5). This preoccupation with discovering how to conduct oneself in the construction of a good letter is symptomatic of a particular desire for etiquette that, by the eighteenth century, had become a benchmark for portraying oneself as a member of polite society: a knowledge of the customs of letter-writing was a knowledge of how to conduct oneself in social circles.

Once practiced in letter-writing, as Burns urged his brother to become, the outcome of the social perception of the writer could be manipulated. Burns, as discussed in this thesis, was himself adept at such social manipulations. It was regularly through his sentimental personae, developed in his letters that he made the most headway in his persuasion, because, often, it was a public open to such sentimentality to which he was writing.

Burns’s open letters, the Clarinda letters, letters to Mrs Dunlop and even to George Thomson, among others, all exemplify Burns’s skill at being received well in writing letters of (a) sentimental persuasion:

I would regret that he was shut out from what, to me and to others, were such superlative sources of enjoyment. It is in this point of view, and for this reason, that I will deeply imbue the mind of every child of mine with religion. If my son should happen to be a man of feeling, sentiment, and taste, I shall thus add largely to his enjoyments. Let me flatter myself that this sweet little fellow, who is just now running about my desk, will be a man of a melting, ardent, glowing heart; and an imagination, delighted with the painter, and rapt with the poet. Let me figure him wandering out in a sweet evening to inhale the balmy gales, and enjoy the growing luxuriance of the spring; himself the while in the blooming youth of life. He looks abroad on all nature, and through nature up to nature's God. His soul, by swift delighting degrees, is rapt above this sublunary sphere, until he can be silent no longer, and bursts out into the glorious enthusiasm of Thomson... (*Letters*, 2:619 p. 283)

In this letter to Mr Cunningham, Burns lays out his wishes for what kind of man he would like his very young son to become. He mentions that his son becoming a “man of feeling, sentiment and taste” is important to him. In fact, it would appear that these are the same qualities that Burns himself wishes to be seen as possessing. The language in this letter, as with many more of Burns’s letters, reflect the very traits that he wishes to see in his son.

The very term “man of feeling” closely aligns Burns’s desire for his son with Henry Mackenzie’s prominent sentimental hero, Harley, and the close collocation with the term “sentiment” all but states that he wants his son to be a sentimental figure. Furthermore, the listing of desired traits such as a “glowing heart; and an imagination delighted with the painter, and rapt with the poet”, along with the rest of the list, portrays a desire for his son to actually become like a sentimental hero, such as a Harley or a Yorick, or even like one of Burns’s own sentimental poetic speakers. There are other terms of sentiment here including one that this study has shown to be used as part of a sentimental rhetoric, “enthusiasm”, which all lend weight to the idea that Burns is creating a sentimental individual for his son to grow into. It is this kind of rhetoric that Burns often deploys in his letters in order to develop his own sentimental personae. Perhaps, then, what Burns is saying, is that he wants his son to be a bit like him, or at least his sentimental persona.

As well as his epistolary novels, Samuel Richardson wrote a letter-writing manual entitled *Letters Written to and for Particular Friends, on the Most Important Occasions* (1741). This was a manual in the sense that it provided model letters from which the readers could learn how to write letters well. This book, along with Daniel Defoe’s earlier *The Complete English Tradesman* (1725), signified a development in the function of the letter-writing manual. These were not as concerned with emulating the letters of the classical world, in the way that previous manuals had, but were more focused on conveying a sense of morality in the writing of letters:

Urged on by what they conceived as a moral crisis in English society, particularly among the newly well-off middle classes, Defoe and Richardson pressed letter-writing instruction into the service of moral resuscitation and thereby not only gave new vitality to the genre but also laid the essential foundation for transforming collections of epistles into the epistolary novel.¹⁰⁵

The “new vitality” that Richardson helped to give to the genre of the letter-writing manual, with its concern with moral didacticism, meant that the mid-century manual became almost a lesson in sentimentality. The moral persuasion of the model letters involved in Richardson’s publication often brought with it a tendency to focus on the emotional. The fictional model letters often comprise of a persuasion on the part of the author. A multitude of different scenarios are played out in the letters such as a father warning his son about the dangers of keeping bad company, a brother urging his sibling not to pursue a particular lady and even a letter to a boy warning him of keeping a horse while he is so young. The

¹⁰⁵ Victoria Myres, ‘Model Letters, Moral Living: Letter-Writing Manuals by Daniel Defoe and Samuel Richardson’, in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 3/4, ‘Studies in the Cultural History of Letter Writing’, pp. 373-391 (2003), p. 373

attempted persuasions that the letters dramatise are very often grounded in sentimental emotion:

Then, as to another World beyond this transitory one, my Heart trembles for what most probably will be the Consequence to your poor Soul: For the human Mind is seldom at a stay; if you do not grow better, you will most undoubtedly grow worse, and you may run into those Sins and Evils, that you now perhaps think yourself incapable of; as already you are arrived at a Height of Folly and Wickedness, that once you would have thought you could not have been guilty of. Don't, my dear Son, let your poor Mother and me have the Mortification to think, that we have been the un|happy Means of giving Life to a Child of Perdition, instead of a Child of Glory; that our beloved Son with all the Pains we have taken to instil good Principles into his Mind, in hopes he would one day prove a Credit and Comfort to his Family, should, instead of answering our longing Wishes, when at Age, take such contrary Courses, as will make us join to wish he had never been born.¹⁰⁶

This excerpt is from a model letter entitled 'From a Father to an ungracious Son' and it exemplifies an attempt to correct the son's behaviour. Immediately, the attempt is seen to rely on the emotional plea. Again, there is the use of the word "heart" with reference to it "trembling" at the thought of the fate of the "poor soul" of a son, if he does not mend his ways. Such language is designed to show the attention the author pays to the emotions, and the sympathy with which he views others around him. Emotional terms such as "Wickedness", "Mortification" and "Glory" are all capitalised, illustrating the weight that these words carry within the letter. It goes on to mention the parents' attempts to "instil good Principles" that, if being exemplified by the author of the letter, are presumably ones based on sense and sympathy.

In a similar way to Burns's letter to Cunningham, this letter is addressing the subject of how a parent wants their child to behave. Although this letter is not as blatant in its use of overtly sentimental instruction, the effect in the sense it creates is similar. Rather than having his son "run into Sin and Evil", the father would rather see the son adopting, like him, a sympathetic, moralistic persona; the father, in essence wants his son to become more sentimental.

Often, the model letters in Richardson's publication are reminiscent of Burns's epistolary rhetoric, particularly when the letters are being signed-off. For instance, a selection of the letters are signed off as "Your affectionate and faithful Friend and Servant", "Your most obliged and obedient Servant" and "Your most affectionate, &c", among others which are all recognisably Burnsian. The similarities in content and rhetoric

¹⁰⁶ Samuel Richardson, *Letters Written to and for Particular Friends on the Most Important Occasions*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) (Michigan: University of Michigan Library, 2007), <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/004845953.0001.000?rgn=main;view=fulltext> [Accessed 03/04/15]

then are symptomatic of a definite epistolary culture in which both Richardson and Burns are both active and proficient.

Such an epistolary culture is the foremost reason as to why Burns's language of the two semantic fields associated with sentimentalism at the heart of this study has more similarities in the works of Richardson than in the works of either Sterne or Mackenzie. While Richardson's model letters both depict a sentimental epistolary culture in the eighteenth century, and form his conduct for his epistolary novels, Burns's letters illustrate his activity within said epistolary culture, which explains why his epistolary linguistic activity, and therefore the data from his corpus, is more akin to Richardson's. This study has made some headway in demystifying "the mysteries of influence" (Morris, p.6) on Robert Burns. It is clear that, although Burns intended to "form his conduct" after the "glorious models" of the writers such as Shenstone, Sterne and Mackenzie, it is the model letters of Richardson, and their development into his epistolary novels that seem to have had more of an impact on the literary conduct of Burns overall.

Another point of interest that must be noted is that the significant linguistic matches in all of the writers' works often contain the same sets of words. As we have seen there are correlations between different writers' uses of the words **inspire/inspiration, fire, warm(th), tears** and **wretch**, for example. What is interesting is that Shenstone's significant matches are often the same words as the matches in the works of the other writers. This similarity is suggestive, then, of a correlation in language use between writers of different forms of literature. Richardson's, Sterne's and Mackenzie's novels contain similar linguistic significances to Shenstone's and Burns's poetry. This chapter, therefore, has provided evidence suggesting that the linguistic traits of the sentimental era of the eighteenth century were present in the works of different authors, composing very different forms of literature. Whether it by the novelists, poets or even a model-letter-writer that is analysed, certain linguistic trends remain apparent across all of their works. These linguistic trends all show a tendency towards an engagement with emotion, morality and sympathetic objectification, which demonstrates that all of the writers in question in this chapter are evidenced to be operating within, and responding to, the literature of the sentimental era.

Conclusion

This thesis has been a two-fold endeavour. It aimed to contextualise Robert Burns in relation to the sentimental literary era of the eighteenth century, deploying a powerful new tool, the *Historical Thesaurus of the OED* linked to corpus-study, for the purposes of historically-orientated literary criticism.

The study begins with an examination of the last major work on Burns and sentimentalism, Carol McGuirk's *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* (1985), which lays out the extant criticism of Burns and his work in such a context. While providing the basis from which to continue the work on the criticism of Burns in a sentimental framework. The first chapter also examines some theories and ideas, using the new methodology. In doing so, not only are the foundations set for the criticism to be developed, but also the methodology is exemplified in its first main application – a means by which to examine existing literary critical conceptions. McGuirk's book, when subjected to analysis via this new method, was found to be largely supported by the linguistic data, with only a few slight modifications being made before the thesis began developing some key aspects of Burns's sentimental literary traits.

In chapters 2 and 3, two as yet understudied aspects of Burns's prose were examined. In chapter 2, Burns's open letter, 'Address of the Scotch Distillers to the Right Hon. William Pitt' – a letter that has not attracted much attention from scholars to date – was found to have a distinct linguistic 'footprint' of Adam Smith embedded within the text. It has found that Burns utilised a very Smithian sense of sympathy throughout the letter. Such a sympathetic framework, used to attack the Prime Minister of the time, being uncovered allowed for the examination of the links between Enlightenment thought and the sentimental literary movement, as well as Burns's role within it. In doing so it exemplified what Eric Erämetsä deemed a "predominantly moral" 'wave' of sentimental writing.

Developing the ideas further, chapter 3 analysed some of Burns's correspondence with the collector and publisher of Scottish song, George Thomson. The data collected through the use of the new methodology allowed for the term **pathos** to be seen as being significant in these letters, and a further qualitative study illustrated its importance. Burns, once again, uses language of a sympathetic nature with which to construct another sentimental persona for himself – one that may have resulted in being one of the reasons why Burns is celebrated so much throughout the world: that through this persona Burns became a sentimentalised 'cultural guardian' figure. This chapter also took Erämetsä's notion of a second, predominantly emotional, 'wave' of sentimental writing, and illustrated the critical complexities in unpicking the cultural connections at work within it.

Finally, a more general analysis of the sentimental language use of Burns's self-cited influences was conducted. The data from Burns's semantic fields of Excitement and Sympathy was searched across the works of Laurence Sterne, Henry Mackenzie and William Shenstone. A control author, Samuel Richardson, included because he is seen critically as a sentimental author, but not one overtly cited as influential by Burns, was also subjected to the same study. Particular significant linguistic convergences between the authors are discovered and examined in chapter 4. The overall findings, however, are surprising, as Samuel Richardson is found to be more linguistically similar in his sentimental language use than either of the other two writers; a fact that is very likely due to both Richardson's and Burns's involvement in an eighteenth-century epistolary culture.

The motivation for the development of the new methodology came from a desire, articulated by Murray Pittock, to "read Burns through dictionaries, thesauruses and histories", rather than through glossaries: a call to rediscover the meanings and senses of words and phrases that have been lost over the years since their use by Burns in the eighteenth century. Also, however, being in the age of technological linguistic analysis and digital humanities, there is a need for literary scholars to utilise the digital resources at their disposal.

As shown by this thesis, through the use of this new methodology, harnessing the data in the *Historical Thesaurus*, new and exciting observations on literature can be made. The studies conducted here are all products of observing significances in the data extracted from the corpus of Robert Burns by the means outlined in the introduction. The result is an evidence-based continuation of the study of the sentimental aspects of the works of Burns, which has enabled us to place the poet's writings more securely in relation to a wider sentimental linguistic framework.

There are further possibilities for further work in this field. For instance studies into the linguistic links to the chronologically adjacent literary and philosophical movements would be deeply insightful. This study has looked at certain linguistic commonalities between sentimental language and the language of the Enlightenment, but an important study for the future could be one looking towards the linguistic links between the sentimental and Romantic eras.

Poets such as William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and John Keats all found inspiration in the works and cultural memory of Robert Burns, and the kind of linguistic study that this thesis introduces would be ideal to further the knowledge of the linguistic and textual cultural ties between these writers.

Other Scottish writers' linguistic conduct would also be worthy of inclusion in this study regarding Robert Burns. Literary figures, such as Robert Fergusson, would be particularly interesting (especially now, after Rhona Brown's publication of her ideas on Fergusson's sentimentalism¹⁰⁷). Also Allan Ramsay would be another key Scottish literary figure whose linguistic choices would be worthy of a similar study in relation to Burns. As this is new methodology, used for the first time here, is developed, the possibilities are essentially endless.

For such a reason, this thesis has been conducted in the spirit of replicability, with all the data included as appendices and detailed descriptions of the process of data gathering supplied in the introduction. With access to the *Historical Thesaurus* now available to scholars, a method such as the one developed here can be used to examine any author, using the English language, from any point in literary history, and in relation to any particular semantic function. Recently, the process has even been made easier by the staff in the English language department at the University of Glasgow extracting data from the semantic fields themselves, which in effect, bypasses one of the key steps that this methodology relies on – in other words, since the research for this thesis began, the process has already become quicker.

In order for the methodology to become yet more efficient, there are certain steps in the procedure that could be slightly improved upon. Certainly, software that can allow a computer to read words as particular parts of speech (a POS tagger) could be applied to the works being searched by the concordance software. This would negate the need for the search results to be manually looked over in order to extract the search term as the correct part of speech, prior to entry into the spreadsheets, which would save a fair amount of time. Similarly, a procedure could be devised that allows the process of data capture to be fully automated. There is scope, for instance, for the results corresponding to each search term to be automatically databased, thus speeding up the data gathering process.

Another amendment to the methodology that could be made is the inclusion of punctuation in the data. Because punctuation can have a significant impact on the semantics involved in any given search term, the inclusion of punctuation in the concordance searches could increase the semantic accuracy of the methodology, and, in doing so, provide further insights into the literature in question.

¹⁰⁷ See Rhona Brown, "Beshrew the *Sombre Pencil*': Robert Fergusson and Sensibility in Scotland", in ed. Peggy Thomson, *Beyond Sense and Sensibility: Moral Formation and Literary Imagination from Johnson to Wordsworth* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2015), pp. 25-45

Despite the scope for amendments, this methodology, and therefore the studies it enables, has been shown to be a potentially powerful and practical tool for those involved in literary scholarship. Its grounding in literary-linguistic theory and the focus it allows for on the semantics, intertextuality and textual culture of individual words and their historical meanings, enables evidence-based linguistic studies on the very building blocks of literary works. The written word, after all, is all we have to call on when researching an historical author, and a research method, such as this one, can enable it to be contextualised and decoded.

This thesis, admittedly, could be strengthened by more works by the authors it surveys being included in the data capture and searching procedures. As work is on-going on a new, *Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns* at the University of Glasgow – which will eventually be available digitally – a more comprehensive picture of the trends in Burns’s language use could be gained in the future. Similarly, this study was regrettably limited by the availability of other writers’ texts in suitable digital formats. For instance, Mackenzie’s *Man of the World* (1773) or his other works, including his non-fiction, as well as other texts by Richardson, such as his *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (1753), remained unfortunately out of the reach of this thesis. The linguistic trends that were able to be discovered provided fruitful grounds for study, as this thesis has shown, but as more texts become available digitally, the studies could become more focused, and yet more nuanced observations could be made.

Carol McGuirk noted that her study into *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* was “only a beginning”. This thesis has used new resources to perform long overdue research, in order to build on McGuirk’s “beginning”, and concretely situate Burns in a sentimental era. Whether it be through Burns creating sentimental personae for himself, or for his poetic speakers, this thesis has proven, through the analysis of language in delicate and subtle ways, how Burns was deeply involved in the eighteenth-century sentimental literary movement.

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Appendix A

Eighteenth Century Language of Sympathy

<u>Word</u>	<u>GC</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Meaning/Context</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Pity	N	c1290-	Fellow-feeling	
Fellow-feeling	N	1613-	Fellow-feeling	
Sympathy	N	1662-	Fellow-feeling	
Sympathizing	N	1654/66-	Fellow-feeling	
Sympathetical	Adj	1650-1753	Action of sympathizing	
Fellow-feeling	Adj	1622-1708	Sympathetic	
Sympathizing	Adj	1683-	Sympathetic	
Sympathetic	Adj	a1684-	Sympathetic	
Social	Adj	1726-1745	Sympathetic	
Sympathetic	Adj	a1718-	Sympathetic (specifically of persons)	
Consocial	Adj	1657-1748	According to one's own feelings	
Elementary	Adj	1760	According to one's own feelings	
Congenial	Adj	1770-	According to one's own feelings	
Sympathetic	Adj	1789-	According to one's own feelings	
Sympathize	Vi	1605-	Fellow-feel	
Enter into	Vi	1797-	Fellow-feel	
Open	Vi	1709-1713	Expand in sympathy	
Ruth	N	1175-	Pity/compassion	Now arch.
Pity	N	c1290-	Pity/compassion	
Tenderness	N	a1300-1844	Pity/compassion	
Compassion	N	c1340-	Pity/compassion	
Bowels	N	1382-1865	Pity/compassion	
Compunction	N	1430-1773	Pity/compassion	
Bowels of charity/compassion/mercies	N	1526-1873	Pity/compassion	arch.
Remorse	N	a1547-1700	Pity/compassion	
Tender-heartedness	N	1607-	Pity/compassion	
Compassionateness	N	1611-	Pity/compassion	
Earning	N	1631-1711	Pity/compassion	
Ruthfulness	N	1674-1730	Pity/compassion	
Feeling	N	1588-	Capacity to feel	
Melting	N	1526-	State of being moved by	
Visiting	N	1605-1867	Instance of (being moved)	
Commiseration	N	1588-	Expression of (being moved)	
Tears	N	a1340-	Specific (to being moved)	
Pitier	N	1601-	One who pities	
Compassionator/compassionater	N	1684-1836	One who pities	
Self-pity	N	1621-	Self-pity	
Compunction	N	1712-	Pity combined with remorse	
Sympathy	N	1600-	Sympathy	
Condolence	N	1603-1721	Sympathy	
Fellow-feeling	N	1613-	Sympathy	
Sympathizing	N	1632-1711	Sympathy	

Compassivity	N	1667-a1860	Sympathy	
Condolency	N	1645-a1703	Quality of (sympathy)	
Sympathizing	N	1654/66-	Fact of feeling (sympathy)	
Condolence	N	1619-	Outward expression of (sympathy)	
Condolent	N	1670-	Outward expression of (sympathy)	
Condolences	N	a1674-	Outward expression of (sympathy)	
Compliment of condolence	N	1683-1747	Outward expression of (sympathy)	
Condoler	N	1727-1813	Sympathetic person(s)	
Mercy	N	a1225-	Mercy	
Grace	N	1297-1867	Mercy	
Misericord	N	a1315-1705;1922	Mercy	arch.
Mercifulness	N	1526-	Mercy	
Clemency	N	1553-	Mercy	
Pitifulness	N	1557-	Mercy	
Milk of human kindness	N	1605;1775-	Mercy	
Mercy	N	a1300-1852	An act of (mercy)	
Sparer	N	1572-	One who (commits act of mercy)	
Mercy	N	1303-1849	Mercy of conqueror/absolute lord	
Quarter	N	1611-	Quarter in battle	
Quarters	N	c1644-1747;1769	Quarter in battle	dict.
Relentment	N	1628-	Relenting	now rare
Relenting	N	1694-	Relenting	
Exorableness	N	1642-1760/6	Quality of being easily entreated	
Pitiful	Adj	1491-	Characterized by pity/compassion	
Yearning	Adj	a1704	Characterized by pity/compassion	
Piteous	Adj	c1350-c1750	Pitying/compassionate	
Compassionate	Adj	1587-	Pitying/compassionate	
Humane	Adj	1603-	Pitying/compassionate	
Compassive	Adj	1612-a1860	Pitying/compassionate	
Pitying	Adj	1650-	Pitying/compassionate	
Feeling	Adj	1618-	Inclined to (pitying)	
Melting	Adj	1593-	Moved by (pitying)	
Bleeding	Adj	1596-1713	Deeply (moved by pitying)	
Commiserative	Adj	1612/5-	Showing/expressing (pity/compassion)	
Compassionating	Adj	1635-a1711	Showing/expressing (pity/compassion)	
Commiserating	Adj	a1638-	Showing/expressing (pity/compassion)	
Self-pitying	Adj	1754-	Full of self-pity	
Compunctious	Adj	1605-	Compassionate and remorseful	
Interested	Adj	1665-	Characterized by sympathy	
Sympathetic	Adj	a1684-	Characterized by sympathy	
Sympathizing	Adj	1683-	Feeling sympathy	
Sympathetic	Adj	a1718-	Feeling sympathy	
Condoling	Adj	1590-	Expressing sympathy	
Condolent	Adj	1598-	Expressing sympathy	

Condolatory	Adj	1730/6;1737-1866	Expressing sympathy	1730/6 dict.
Merciful	Adj	a1300-	Merciful	
Sparing	Adj	c1375-	Merciful	
Clement	Adj	1483-	Merciful	
Relenting	Adj	1593-	Relenting	
Entreatable	Adj	1556-a1718	Capable of being easily entreated	
Exorable	Adj	1563/87-	Capable of being easily entreated	
Pitifully	Adv	1303-	With pity/compassion	
Compassionately	Adv	1611	With pity/compassion	
Condolingly	Adv	a1711-1824	In manner expressing (pity/compassion)	
Mercifully	Adv	a1340-	Mercifully	
Relentingly	Adv	1611-	Relentingly	
Melt	Vi	c1200-	Be moved by (feel pity/compassion)	
Yearn	Vi	1500/20-1866	Be moved by (feel pity/compassion)	
Unfreeze	Vi	1746	Be moved by (feel pity/compassion)	fig.
Have pity	Vi	c1290-	Show pity/compassion	
Have compassion	Vi	1382-1841	Show pity/compassion	
Take pity	Vi	1390-	Show pity/compassion	
Feel	Vi	1605-	Sympathize	
Condole	Vi	1651-	Sympathize	
Hearken	Vi	c1230-	Listen with sympathy	
Spare	Vi	a1225-	Show mercy	
Give quarter	Vi	1659-	(Show mercy) to conquered enemy	
Relent	Vi	1526-	Relent	
Rue of/on/upon	Vt	c1200-1632; 1788	Feel pity for	arch.
Pity	Vt	1529-	Feel pity for	
Commiserate	Vt	1606-	Show pity/compassion to	
Weep away	Vt	1762-	Wash away with tears of (pity)	
Sympathize with/in/at	Vt	1685-	Sympathize with	
Condole	Vt	1588-1779	Express sympathy with	
Condole with	Vt	a1603-	Express sympathy with	
Commiserate	Vt	1655-1767	Express sympathy with	
Sympathize with	Vt	1784-	Express sympathy with	
Condole	Vt	1596-1726; 1827-	Express regret at (a misfortune)	
Have mercy on/upon	Vt	c1400-	Have mercy upon	
Take to/into mercy	Vt	1523-1760/72	Have mercy upon	
Mercify	Vt	1596-1733	Have mercy upon	
Show mercy (to)	Vt	1792	Have mercy upon	
Spare	Vt	1794-	Refrain from afflicting	
God help him/them	Phr	c1250-	Expression of pity	
The heart bleeds	Phr	c1374-	Expression of pity	fig.
In mercy (to)	Phr	1769-1841	In the exercise of mercy	
Piteousness	N	a1586-	Quality of exciting pity	
Meltingness	N	1622-	Quality of exciting pity	

Pathos	N	1688-	Quality of exciting pity	
Pitiableness	N	1694-	Quality of exciting pity	
Touchingness	N	a1750-	Quality of exciting pity	
Pathos	N	1759-	Expression/sentiment	
Pathetics	N	1748-	Expression/sentiment	
Object	N	1605-	Object of pity	
Pity	N	1712	Object of pity	
Pity	N	c1369-	Cause/ground for pity	
Wretch	N	c1450-	Pitiable person	
Elf	N	1573-a1849	Pitiable person	
Poor heart	N	1599-1749	Pitiable person	
(Poor) pilgaric	N	1694-	Pitiable person	slang & colloq.
Miserere	N	a1616-	A cry for mercy	
Rueful	Adj	a1225-	Exciting pity	
Ruthful	Adj	a1225-	Exciting pity	
Poor	Adj	c1275-	Exciting pity	
Piteous	Adj	1279-	Exciting pity	
Lamentable	Adj	c1430-	Exciting pity	
Pitiful	Adj	c1450-	Exciting pity	
Pitiable	Adj	1456-	Exciting pity	
Miserable	Adj	1552; 1665-	Exciting pity	1552 Scots; Now rare
Touching	Adj	1601-	Exciting pity	
Compassionate	Adj	1630-1767	Exciting pity	
Compassionable	Adj	1635-1823	Exciting pity	
Melting	Adj	1656-	Exciting pity	
Pathetic	Adj	1737-	Exciting pity	
Little-boy-lost	Adj	1789-	Exciting pity	
Silly	Adj	c1425-1680; 1724-	Deserving pity	Scots & Northern English
Commiserable	Adj	1609-	Deserving pity	
Pitied	Adj	1728-	Pitied	
Piteously	Adv	c1290-	Pitiably	
Piteous	Adv	c1369; 1775	Pitiably	
Pitifully	Adv	c1420-	Pitiably	
Miserably	Adv	1432/50-	Pitiably	
Lamentably	Adv	1577/87-	Pitiably	
Meltingly	Adv	1680-	Pitiably	
Touchingly	Adv	1717-	Pitiably	
Pathetic	Adv	1725-1792	Pitiably	
Pathetically	Adv	1739-	Pitiably	
Cry mercy	Vi	a1225-1795	Excite pity	
Cry quarter	Vi	1720	Excite pity	
Melt < mieltan	Vt	OE; 1377-	Affect with pity	
Move	Vt	a1300-	Affect with pity	
Relent	Vt	1509-1787	Affect with pity	
Pity	Vt	1515-1835	Affect with pity	

Tenderize	Vt	1733-1772	Affect with pity	
Cry (one) mercy	Vt	a1225-1795	Ask for mercy	
To mean	Phr	c1330; 1535-1788	To be pitied	Scots
Inhumanity	N	c1477-	Pitilessness	
Pitilessness	N	1755-	Pitilessness	
Ruthlessness	N	1777-	Pitilessness	
Remorselessness	N	1648-	Pitilessness	
Unmercifulness	N	1545-	Mercilessness	
Mercilessness	N	1591-	Mercilessness	
Unrelentingness	N	1727-	Unrelentingness	
Harshness	N	c1375-	Inexorableness	
Inexorability	N	1606-	Inexorableness	
Inexorableness	N	1622-	Inexorableness	
Ruthless	Adj	c1327-	Pitiless	
Unpiteous	Adj	1390-1725; 1954	Pitiless	
Pitiless	Adj	a1412-	Pitiless	
Uncompassionate	Adj	1591-	Pitiless	
Tearless	Adj	1603-	Pitiless	
Unpitying	Adj	1065-	Pitiless	
Illachrymable	Adj	1623-1755	Pitiless	dict.
Bowelless	Adj	1649-1863	Pitiless	
Uncompassionating	Adj	a1711	Pitiless	
Unpitied	Adj	a1586-	Unpitied	
Unpitiable	Adj	1646-	Cannot be pitied	
Unpathetic	Adj	1775-	Cannot be pitied	
Remorseless	Adj	1593-	Remorseless	
Unfeeling	Adj	1596-	Unsympathizing	
Unsympathizing	Adj	1768/74	Unsympathizing	
Uncondoled	Adj	a1711	Not sympathized with	
Merciless	Adj	a1400-	Merciless	
Unmerciful	Adj	1481-	Merciless	
Wanton	Adj	1513-1764	Merciless	
Unsparing	Adj	a1586-1896	Merciless	
Spareless	Adj	1589-	Merciless	
Inclement	Adj	1621-1861	Merciless	
Unrelenting	Adj	1590-	Unrelenting	
Relentless	Adj	1592-	Unrelenting	
Mortal	Adj	c1386-	(Unrelenting) of an enemy	also fig.
Inexorable	Adj	1553-	Inexorable	
Ruthlessly	Adv	1586-	Unpityingly	
Unpitifully	Adv	1598; 1709	Unpityingly	
Pitilessly	Adv	1611-	Unpityingly	
Unpityingly	Adv	1741-	Unpityingly	
Remorseless	Adv	1593; 1742	Remorselessly	
Remorselessly	Adv	1612-	Remorselessly	
Without mercy	Adv	1470/85-	Mercilessly	

Unmercifully	Adv	1548-	Mercilessly	
Mercilessly	Adv	1609-	Mercilessly	
Inclemently	Adv	1798	Mercilessly	
Unrelentingly	Adv	1637-	Unrelentingly	
Harshly	Adv	1599-	Inexorably	
Inexorably	Adv	1610-	Inexorably	
(you cannot get) blood out of/from a stone/turnip	Phr	1662-	Pitilessness	
Envyings	N	1586-1864	Jealousy/envy	
Envies	N	1622-1888	Jealousy/envy	
Jaundice	N	1629-	Jealousy/envy	trans. & fig.
Jealousy	N	c1425-	Jealousy/envy	
Heartburning	N	1513-	Jealousy/envy	
Jealousy	N	1303-	(Jealousy/envy) of rival lover	
Envy	N	c1280-	Envy	
Emulation	N	1561-1771	Envy	
Enviousness	N	1561-	Envy	
Envying	N	1586-	Envy	
Grudging	N	1655-	Envy	
Envier	N	1509-	Envious person	
Invidious	Adj	1668-1829	Jealous/envious	
Jaundiced	Adj	1699-	Jealous/envious	
Jealous	Adj	c1385-	Jealous/envious	
Green-eyed	Adj	1596-	Jealous/envious	fig.
Yellow	Adj	1602-	Jealous/envious	
Jealous	Adj	a1250-	(jealous/envious) of a lover	
Unjealous	Adj	1673-	Not (jealous/envious)	
Envious	Adj	a1300-	Envious	
Envying	Adj	1382-	Envious	
Invidious	Adj	1688-1829	Envious	
Unenvious	Adj	1656-	Not (envious)	
Unenvying	Adj	1741-1820	Not (envious)	
Envable	Adj	1602-	That is to be envied	
Unenviable	Adj	1641-	Not (that is to be envied)	
Unenvied	Adj	1645-	Not enviously desired	
Unjaundiced	Adj	1775-	Not coloured with envy	
Asquint	Adv	1413-1729	Jealously	
Jealously	Adv	1718-	Jealously	
Unenviedly	Adv	1738	Not (enviably)	
Make (one's) nose swell	Vi	1743	Make one jealous/envious	
Envy	Vt	c1386-	Be jealous/envious of	
Envy (at)	Vt	1477-a1700	Be jealous/envious of	
Jaundice	Vt	1791-1867	Affect with jealousy/envy	fig.
Sour grapes	Phr	1760-	Jealousy/envy	
Bield	N	1721-1896	Protection, or one who protects	Scots
Breet	N	1797-	Fellow, creature, used as expresstion of sympathy	Scots (NE)
Faik, feike(t), fake	Vi	1779-1884	Spare, excuse, let (someone) go	Scots (BURNS)

Hert, hairt, hert	N	1488-	Heart, used in expression of pity	Scots
Leefu	Adj	1721-1884	Kind-hearted, sympathetic, considerate, compassionate	Scots
Object	N	1718-1935	Someone deserving of pity	Scots
Rue, Rew (on)	Vt	1788-1979	Have pity on, feel compassion for	Scots (BURNS)
Sairie, sorry	Adj	1721-1896	Expressing compassion, term of pity	Scots (BURNS)
Sin	N	ND	Pity, shame	Scots
Slake, Slak	Vt	ND	To relieve (a person) of sorrow, to comfort	Scots
Worm, wirm	N	ND	Applied to person expressing tenderness/commiseration	Scots
Eldnyng	N	ND	Jealousy	Scots
Invy	n/v	ND	Envy	Scots
Jolsey	N	ND	Jealousy	Scots

Appendix B

Eighteenth Century Language of Excitement

<u>Word</u>	<u>GC</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Meaning/Context</u>	<u>Notes</u>
(A) talking	n	1577-	Nervous excitement	
(jump/leap)out of one's skin	vi	1584-	Leap/skip with excitement	
(Make a)Reel	n	1725-1894	Behave riotously	
Actuation	n	1656-	Exciting	
Æolist	n	1704<	Pretender to inspiration	
Agig	adv	1797<	In state of nervous excitement	
Agitate	vt	1586-	Excite	
Agog	adv	1542-	In a state of excitement	
Ah/oh God	int	1340-	Exclamation of excitement	
Alarm	vt	1650-	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	
Alarum	vt	1650-	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	
All of a tremble	adv	1760/2-1830	In state of nervous excitement	
amove	vt		Affect with strong emotion, excite, be excited	No date
Animate	vi	1797-1782	Be/become excited	
Animated	adj	1585-	Excited	
Animatedly	adv	1784-	In an excited manner	
Animating	adj	1680-	Exciting	
Animative	adj	1755-1799	Exciting	Rare
Awakening	adj	1694-1810	Exciting	
Be enraptured	vi	1742-1827	Inspire/be inspired	
Birr	n	1721-	Enthusiasm, verve	
Bizz	n	1793-1934	State of commotion, uproar	
Camstairy	adj, n & adv	1769-1894	An uproar	Variant spellings
Carry away	vt	1570-	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	
Combustible	adj	1647-	Excitable	Fig.
Commotion	n	1581-1786	Nervous excitement	
Commov	vt	1393-1850	Excite	Also Scots
Dance	vi	c1325-	Leap/skip with excitement	
Deliration	n	1603-	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Delirious	adj	1599-	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Delirium	n	1650-	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	

Dementit	adj	1724-1915	Highly excited	
Dementit	adj	1724-	Highly excited	
Dindill	n & v		A thrill (of emotion)	No date
Dinnle	n & v		A thrill (of emotion)	No date
Dirdrum	N		Tumultuous noise, altercation, uproar	No date
Ebriety	N	1751<	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Ebullience	N	1749-	Exuberant outburst	
Ebulliency	N	1676-	Exuberant outburst	
Ebullient	adj	1664-	Bubbling over/unsubsidied (of feelings)	
Ecstasy	N	1670-1813	Spec. type of inspiration (of poets and prophets)	
Effervescence	N	1748-	Excitement	
Effervescency	N	1767<	Excitement	
Electric	adj	1793-	Exciting	
Electrical	adj	1775-	Exciting	
Electricity	N	1791-	Excitement	
Electrify	Vt	1752-	Excite	
Elevate	Vt	1634-1818	Affect with pleasurable excitement	
Elevated	adj	1624-1863	Pleasurably exciting	
Enrapt	adj	1606-	Inspired	
Enraptured	adj	1751-	Inspired	
Enthusiasm	N	1693-1779/91	Spec. type of inspiration (of poets and prophets)	
Erect	Vt	a1568-a1734	Excite	
Exagitate	Vt	1621-1724	Excite	
Exagitation	N	1603-1737	Exciting	
Exalt	Vt	a1533-1708	Affect with pleasurable excitement	
Exalt	Vt	1744-	Inspire	
Exaltation	N	1494-	Pleasurable excitement	
Exalted	adj	1712-1814	Characterised/influenced by inspiration	
Exalted	adj	1712-1814	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Excess	N	1423-1742; 1818	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	1818: Dict.
Excitable	adj	1609-	Excitable	
Excitant	adj	1607-	Exciting	
Excitation	N	1393-	Excitement	Now rare

Excitation	n	c1400-	Exciting	
Excitative	adj	1490-	Exciting	
Exciter	n	1670-	One who/that which excites	
Exciting	n	1387-	Exciting	
Excitive	adj	1774-1862	Exciting	
Excrescence	n	1648-1867	Exuberant outburst	
Exhilarating	adj	1643-	Pleasurably exciting	
Exhilaration	n	1626-	Pleasurable excitement	
Exhilaration	n	1623/6-1864	Thing/person giving (pleasurable excitement)	
Exuberantly	adv	1782-	Excitably	
Fairy	n		A dazed or excited state of mind	No date
Far gone	adj	1593-	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Farce (up)	vt	a1340-1834	Make piquantly exciting	Fig.
Ferment	vi	1671-	Be/become excited	
Ferment	n	1643-	One who/that which excites	
Ferment	vt	1667-	Excite	
Ferment	n	1672-	Nervous excitement	
Fermentable	adj	1732<; 1840	Excitable	Fig.
Fermentation	n	c1660-	Excitement	
Fermentation	n	c1606-	Nervous excitement	Fig.
Feuch	n	1756-1952	A commotion or state of great excitement/rage	
Fever	n	1596-	Nervous excitement	
Fevered	adj	a1653-	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	
Fevering	adj	1794-	Excited	
Feverish	adj	1634-	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	Fig.
Feverishness	n	1709<	Nervous excitement	
Feverous	adj	1603-	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	Fig.
Fidge	vi	1575-	Fidget; move restlessly from excitement	
Fiercelins	adv	1768-1862	Hurriedly, impetuously, violently	
Fieriness	n	1625/8	Excitability of temperament	
Fillip	n	a1700-	Thing/person giving (pleasurable excitement)	
Fire	vi	1568-	Be/become excited	
Fire	n	1596-1709	Source of (inspiration)	Transf. & Fig.
Fizz	vi	1773-1827	To make a fuss, to bustle, excite; to be in a great rage	
Flaunter	vi	1768-1938	Quiver, tremble with excitement or agitation	

Flavoursous	adj	1740-	Piquantly exciting	Fig.
Flee	Vi	1764-	Be violently excited	
Flesh	Vt	1573-1700	Excite	
Flichter	Vi	c1700-	Flutter, palpitate (of the heart) in state of excitement	
Flocht	N	1641-	Bustle, excitement, stress	2 entries only, around the same time
Flocht	adj	c1480-	state of excitement	
Flocht	N	1641-	A flutter, a state of excitement	
Flochster	N	1768-	A state of excitement	
Fluctuate	Vt	1788<	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	
Flurried	adj	1775-	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	
Flurry	N	1710-	Nervous excitement	Also transf.
Flush	Vt	1633-	Excite	
Flush	N	1614-	(Pleasurable excitement) arising from success	
Flushed	adj	1749-	Excited	
Flushing	N	1775<	Exciting	
Fluster	N	1728-	Nervous excitement	
Flustered	adj	1743-	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	
Flustration	N	1748-	Nervous excitement	
Flutter	N	1748-	Nervous excitement	
Flutter	Vi	1668-	Be in state of nervous excitement	
Flutter	Vt	1664-	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	Fig.
Flutteration	N	1754-1805	Nervous excitement	
Foment	Vt	1642-1724	Excite	
Foment	N	1793<	Nervous excitement	
French	adj	1749-	Piquantly exciting	
Fret	N	a1750	Nervous excitement	Fig.
Frission	N	1777-	Pleasure mixed with horror	
Furor	N	1589-1860	Spec. type of inspiration (of poets and prophets)	
Fury	N	1546<;1707<	Spec. type of inspiration (of poets and prophets)	
Fuss	N	1705-1813	Nervous excitement	
Fyke	Vi	1719-1952	To move about restlessly, to fidget, from discomfort, itch, excitement, etc.	
Fyke	N		A fuss, bustle, commotion, excitement	No date
Good God	Int	1586-	Exclamation of excitement	
Gowp	Vi	1796-1928	Beat strongly or wildly, palpitate (of the heart)	
Gustful	adj	1789<	Pleasurably exciting	Obs. Exc. Arch.

Gusto	n	1629-	Pleasurable excitement	
Hallach	n		Behave in a crazy, wild or irresponsible way.	No date
Halli-rakus	adj		A noisy restless person, a hoyden	No date
Hallockit	adj	1724-1931	A noisy restless person, a hoyden	Varient spellings, gen. applied to a flighty girl or young woman
Haut-goût	n	1650-1711	That which (makes piquantly exciting)	
Heady	adj	1577-	Causing extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Hearting	n	c1250-	Exciting	
Heartsome	adj	1596-	Exciting	
Heat	n	1588-	A state of excitement	
Heat	n	1689-1718	Excitability of temperament	
Hellicat	adj	1724-1931	A noisy restless person, a hoyden	gen. applied to a flighty girl or young woman
Hey-day/heyday	n	c1590	A state of excitement	
Hey-go-mad	phr	1759-	Riotous excitement	Dial.
High-wrought	adj	1604-	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	
Hot-blooded	adj	1598-	Excitable	
Hot-headed	adj	a1693-1712	Excited	
Humor	n	1600-1865	Public excitement	
Humour	n	1600-1865	Public excitement	
Hysteric	n	1776-	Fit of hysterics (unhealthy excitement)	
Hysteric	adj	1751-	Hysterical	
Hysterical	adj	1704-	Hysterical	
Hysterically	adv	1710-	In hysterical manner	
Hysterics	n	1727-	Hysterics (unhealthy excitement)	
In a tweak	adv	a1700-1779	In state of nervous excitement	
In alt	phr	1748-1784	In inspired state	
In such a tremble	adv	1719-1818	In state of nervous excitement	
Incendiary	n	1628-1726	One who/that which excites	
Inebriate	adj	1497-	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Inebriate	vt	1497-	Affect with extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Inebriated	adj	a1647-	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	

Inebriation	N	1526-	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Inebriety	N	1786-1829	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Inflame	Vt	1560-	Excite	
Inflammability	N	1787-	Excitability of temperament	
Inflate	Vt	1530-	Inspire	
Inspiration	N	1651-	Inspiration	
Inspire	Vi	a1400-	Inspire/be inspired	
Inspire	Vt	1390-	Inspire	
Inspiredly	adv	1591-	In inspirational manner	
Inspiring	N	a1340-	Imparting of (inspiration)	
Inspiring	adj	1717-	Inspiring	
Inspiriting	adj	1795-	Exciting	
Inspiritive	adj	1797-	Inspiring	
Instinct	adj	1667- 1715/20	Excited	
Intoxicable	adj	a1734<	Excitable	
Intoxicate	adj	c1500-	Excited	
Intoxicate	Vt	1591-	Affect with extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Intoxicated	adj	1692-	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Intoxicating	adj	1748-	Causing extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Intoxication	N	1712-	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Intumescence	N	1775<	Excitement	
Kindle (in/of/to)	Vt	a1300-	Excite	
Kink	Vi	1789-	Choke with laughter	
Kittle	Vt	a1340-	Titillate	Now dial. Chiefly Scots
Kittle	Vi	1725-	Stimulate, please, make excited	
Mad	adj	c1330-	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Madness	N	1596-	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Mania	N	1689-	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Mania	N	1689-	Public excitement	
Motion	N	1719<	Excitement	
Motion	N	1719<	Nervous excitement	
Nerve	N	1778-	Nervous excitement	
Nervous	adj	1775-	Characterised by/causing nervous excitement	
Nervous	adj	1763-	Nervous/easily agitated	
Nettle	Vt	a1592-	Excite	
Nettle	N	1723-1792	Nervous excitement	
Nympholepsy	N	1755-	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Oestrus	N	1663-	Spec. type of inspiration (of poets and prophets)	

Out	adv	1588-	In state of nervous excitement	
Over-stimulated	adj	1798-	Over-excited	
Overwork	vt	1645-1855	(excite) excessively	
Overwork	vt	1654-1855	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	
Piquant	adj	1695-	Piquantly exciting	
Pique	v refl	1736-1837	Be/become excited	
Pique	vt	1698-	Excite	
Poignant	adj	1649-	Piquantly exciting	
Pother	vi	1735-	Be in state of nervous excitement	
Pother	vt	1692-	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	
Proceleusmatic	adj	1773-	Exciting	
Pucker	n	1741-	Nervous excitement	Colloq.
Raciness	n	1798-	Quality (of making piquantly exciting)	
Rage	n	c1600-	Spec. type of inspiration (of poets and prophets)	
Raird	n	1718-1932	A loud uproar or clamour	
Raise	vt	1388-	Excite	
Raised	adj		Infuriated, wild, over-excited	No date
Rapt (with/by/away)	adj	1539-	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Rapt into	adj	1549-	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	
Rattle	vt	1781-	Excite	
Rattling	adj	1560-	Lively/animated (of things)	
Rave	vi	a1704-	Talk extravagantly/rapturously	
Rave	vi	c1374-	Talk wildly/deliriously	
Ravery	n	c1400-1721; 1895<	Wild/delerious behaviour	Dial.
Raving	n	c1440-1803	Wild/delerious talk	
Raving	n	c1475<; 1798-	Instance of (wild/delerious talk)	c1475: Scots
Reanimate	vt	1706<; 1792-	(Excite) again	1706<: Dict.
Red (heidit)	adj		Having red hair and thus popularly believed to be excitable and impetuous	No date
Ree	adj	1756-1953	Over-excited, delirious, crazy	
Reel	vi	a1796-	Become dizzy with excitement (of the mind/head)	
Reel	vt	1714-1836	Roll or revolve with excitement (of the eyes)	
Reevin	vi		Rash, excitable	No date
Reevin	adj		Rash, excitable	No date

Reid (heidit)	adj		Having red hair and thus popularly believed to be excitable and impetuous	No date
Reird	N	1718-1932	A loud uproar or clamour	
Reverie	N	1703-1958	Wantonness, wildness	
Rid (heidit)	adj		Having red hair and thus popularly believed to be excitable and impetuous	No date
Rocambole	N	1702<	That which (makes piquantly exciting)	
Rouse	Vt	c1586-	Excite	
Rouse	Vi		Become agitated, excited or enraged	No date
Roused	adj	1602-	Excited	
Rousing	adj	1641-	Exciting	Also transf.
Ruffle	N	1704-	Nervous excitement	
Salt	Vt	1576-	Make piquantly exciting	
Sauce	Vt	1555-	Make piquantly exciting	Fig.
Sauce (piquant)	N	a1500/20-	That which (makes piquantly exciting)	
Scene	N	1761-	Public excitement	
Season	Vt	1520-	Make piquantly exciting	Fig.
Seethe	Vi	1606-	Be in state of nervous excitement	
Sensation	N	1779-	Public excitement	
Set afloat	Vt	a1713<	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	
Skirl	Vi	1786-	Shriek with excitement	
Spate	n & vi	1731-	A torrent (of words etc); an outburst of emotion	
Spice (with)	Vt	1529-	Make piquantly exciting	
Spirit	Vt	1608-	Excite	
Spirit up	Vt	1712-	Excite	
Spirit-stirring	adj	1604-	Exciting	
Splore	N		A state of excitement or commotion, a fuss	No date
Splore	N	1785-1955	A revel, jollification, party, spree, freq. associated with drinking	
Sprightful	adj	1628-1898	Lively/animated (of things)	
Sprightly	adj	1606-	Lively/animated (of things)	
Stend	N	1721-1892	A sudden start, a thrill of excitement, fear etc	
Stericks	N	1765-	Hysterics (unhealthy excitement)	Vulgar
Stickle	N	1744-	Nervous excitement	Dial.
Stir	Vt	a1225-	Excite	
Stir<styrian	Vi	OE-	Be/become excited	
Stirred	adj	1483-	Excited	
Stirring	adj	1421-	Exciting	

Stirringly	adv	1382-	In exciting manner	
Stound	n	1768-	A pang of mental pain or emotion, a thrill of pleasure or excitement	
Strain	vt	1667-	Put into a state of tension	
Stramash	n		A state of great excitement	No date
Sublime	adj	a1700-	Sublimely exciting	
Subliming	adj	1794-	Sublimely exciting	
Sublimity	n	1779-	Sublimely exciting quality	
Suscitation	n	1646-1870	Exciting	
Sweat	n	1715-	Nervous excitement	Chiefly Scots & US
Swim	vi	1702-	Become dizzy with excitement (of the mind/head)	
Swither	n	a1768-	Nervous excitement	Scots & dial.
Take on	vi	c1430-	Be in state of nervous excitement	
Tensely	adv	1778-	In tense manner	
Thrill	n	a1680-	Thrill of (pleasurable excitement)	
Thrilling	adj	1761-	Exciting	
Tickle	vt	c1386-	Titillate	
Tickle up	vt	1567-	Excite	
Tickling	n	1548-	Titillation	
Tickling	adj	1558-	Titillating	
Tindery	adj	1754-1814	Excitable	
Tingle	vt	1572-	Titillate	
Titillating	adj	1712/14-	Titillating	
Titillation	n	c1425-	Titillation	
Titillative	adj	1736<	Titillating	
Tremor	n	1754-	Nervous excitement	
Tremulous	adj	1667-	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	
Tremulously	adv	1730/6-	In nervously excited manner	
Trepidate	vi	1623<; a1774-1854	Be in state of nervous excitement	1623: Dict.
Trepidating	adj	a1774-1866	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	
Trepidation	n	1607/12-	Nervous excitement	
Tumult	n	1663-	Nervous excitement	
Tumultuate	vt	1661-1820	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	
Tumultuous	adj	1667-	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	
Tumultuousness	n	1647-	Nervous excitement	
Turbulent	adj	1609-	Of/pertaining to public excitement	
Twittering	adj	1681-	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	Now dial.

Unrockit	N		A state of excitement	No date
Up	adv	1470/85-	In a state of excitement	
Up	adv	1340-	Into a state of excitement	
Uplifit	adj		Elated, in high spirits, proud	No date
Uproused	adj	1592; 1796-	Excited	
Upstirring	N	1613-a1861	Exciting	
Upstirring	adj	1751-1834	Exciting	
Visitation	N	1791-1841	Imparting of (inspiration)	
Vivacious	adj	1670-	Lively/animated (of things)	
Wall/well	N		Fever pitch, the heights of emotion	No date
Warm	adj	1390-	Excited	Now rare
Warm (up)	Vt	c1580-	Excite	
Warm-headed	adj	1609-1749	Excitable	
Warmth	N	1749<	Pleasurable excitement	
Whirl	N	1707-	Nervous excitement	
Wind	Vt	a1635-	Put into a state of tension	Fig.
Wind up	Vt	1602-	Put into a state of tension	
Work	v refl	1732-	Be/become excited	
Work	Vt	1605-	Excite	
Work up	Vi	1681-1709	Gradually (become more excited)	
Work up	Vt	1688/9-	Excite	
Work up	Vt	1688/9-	Inspire	
Work up	Vi	1681-1709	Become gradually (nervously excited)	
Wound-up	adj	1788-	In a state of tension	
Yerk/Yark	Vt	1593-	Excite	
Zest	N	1709-	That which (makes piquantly exciting)	
Zested	adj	1769-1801	Piquantly exciting	

Appendix C

Robert Burns's Language of Sympathy

Word	Meaning/context	Entries	Date	PG Ref.	Location
Fellow-feeling (n)	Fellow-feeling	1. Address of the Scotch Distillers. To the Right Hon. William Pitt (Pr)		1. CCCXXVI	1. Para. 2
Sympathy (n)	Fellow-feeling	1. Address of the Scotch Distillers. To the Right Hon. William Pitt (Pr)		1. CCCXXVI	1. Para. 2
Sympathizing (adj)	Sympathetic/Feeling sympathy	1. Address of the Scotch Distillers. To the Right Hon. William Pitt (Pr)		1. CCCXXVI	1. Sign-off (end)
Sympathetic (adj)	Sympathetic/characterized by sympathy/Feeling sympathy	1. First Epistle to Davie (P), 2. Letter to James Tennant of Glenconner (L), 3. On the Death of Robert Dundas Esq. (P), 4. On Captain Matthew Henderson, (P) 5. Gleniddell Manuscripts, (Pr) 6. To Mrs M'Murdo (L)	1. 1784, 4. 1789, 5. 1784, 6. 1789	1. IV, 2. LV, 3. LXXII, 4. CXII, 5. VIII, 6. CLVIII	1. S10, 2. L9, 3. S2, 4. Ep. S5, 5. P3, 6. P1
Social (adj)	Sympathetic	1. To a Mouse (P), 2. Tam Samson's Elegy (P), 3. Tam Samson's Elegy (P), 4. Address to Edinburgh (P), 5. 1st Epistle to Robert Graham (P), 6. Tam the Chapman (P), 7. The Fete Chapetre (P), 8. The Border Tour (Pr), 9. The Highland Tour (Pr)	1. 1785, 8. 1787, 9. 1787	1. XXXVI, 2. XL, 3. XL, 4. LXIX, 5. XCIII, 6. LXXII, 7. CCXLII, 8. N/A, 9. N/A	1. S2, 2. S15, 3. S17, 4. S3, 5. S5, 6. L7, 7. S4, 8. P25, 9. P10

Congenial (adj)	According to one's own feelings	1. To Miss Alexander (L), 2. To James Johnson (L), 3. To Miss Davies (L), To William Dunbar (L), 5. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 6. To Mr Thomson (L)	1. 1786, 2. 1787, 3. 1788, 4. 1790, 5. 1790, 6. 1795	1. XXX, 2. LX, 3. CXLIII, 4. CLXXXIV, 5. CXC, 6. CCCXI	1. P2, P2, 3. P1, 4. P5, 5. P3, 6. P1
Sympathize (vi)	Fellow-feel	1. To Miss E (L), 2. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 3. To Mr Thomson (L)	1. 1783, 2. 1795, 3. 1796	1. IV, 2. CCCXXI, 3. CCCXXXI	1. P1, 2. P1, 3. P2
Enter into (vi)	Fellow-feel	1. To R. Graham Esq. (L), 2. To Crauford Tait Esq. (L), 3. To Mr Thomas Sloan (L)	1. 1789, 2. 1790, 3. 1791	1. CLXXVI, 2. CXCIX, 3. CCXX	1. P3, 2. P2, 3. P4
Ruth (n)	Pity/compassion	1. To the Rev. John M'Math (P), 2. The Cottar's Saturday Night (P)	1. 1785	1. XXXV, 2. XLIII	1. S10, 2. S10
Pity (n)	Pity/compassion/object of pity/cause or ground for pity	1. A Winter Night (P), 2. Death and Dr Hornbrook (P), 3. Epitaph on Holy Willie (P), 4. Epitaph on Holy Willie (P), 5. The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer (P), 6. The Cottar's Saturday Night (P), 7. On Scaring Some Water-Fowl in Loch-Turrit (P), 8. First Epistle to Robert Graham (P), 9. Ode Sacred to the Memory of Mrs Oswald (P), 10. Fragment Inscribed to the Right Hon. C. J. Fox (P), 11. Prologue Spoken at the	11. 1790, 35. 1787, 36. 1788, 37. 1789, 38. 1789, 39. 1789, 40. 1790, 41. 1790, 43. 1792, 44. 1794	1. XII, 2. XV, 3. XVIII, 4. XVIII, 5. XXXVIII, 6. XLIII, 7. LXXXV, 8. XCIII, 9. XCIX, 10. C, 11. CV, 12. CXII, 13. CXII, 14. CXXXIX, 15. I, 16. LXXVIII, 17. XCIII, 18. CXIV, 19. CXXIX, 20. CLXXI, 21. CLXXXIV, 22. CLXXXVII, 23. CLXXXVIII, 24. CXCI, 25. CXCIII, 26. CCXXXIV, 27. CCXXXVII, 28. CCXXXVII, 29. CCXXXVIII, 30. CCXLVI, 31. CCXLVI, 32. CCXLVI,	1. S7, 2. S2, 3. S4, 4. S4, 5. S3, 6. S10, 7. S4, 8. S5, 9. S2, 10. S5, 11. S1, 12. S2, 13. S18, 14. S3, 15. S1, 16. S1, 17. S1, 18. S4, 19. S1, 20. S1, 21. S5, 22. S2, 23. S3, 24. S1, 25. S4, 26. S2, 27. S1, 28. S2, 29. S3, 30. S1, 31. S2, 32. S3, 33. S4, 34. S3, 35. Par 1, 36. Par 10, 37. Par 4,

		<p>Theatre Dumfries (P), 12. On Captain Matthew Henderson (P), 13. On Captain Matthew Henderson (P), 14. Verses to a Young Lady (P), 15. On the Author's Father (P), 16. There's a Youth in this City (S), 17. My Hearts is a-Breaking, Little Tittie (S), 18. What Can a Young Lassie (S), 19. Fair Eliza (S), 20. Wae is my Heart (S), 21. Duncan Gray (S), 22. Lord Gregory (S), 23. Mary Morison (S), 24. Open the Door to Me, Oh!, 25. The Poor and Honest Sodger (S), 26. Farewell, Thou Stream (S), 27. Canst Thou Leave Me Thus (S), 28. Canst Thou Leave Me Thus, 29. My Nannie's Awa (S), 30. O Lassie Thou Art Sleeping Yet (S), 31. O Lassie Thou Art Sleeping Yet (S), 32. O Lassie Thou Art Sleeping Yet (S), 33. Address to the Wook- Lark (S), 34. On Chloris Being Ill (S), 35. To Robert Ainslie Esq. (L), 36. To the Editor of "The Star"</p>	<p>33. CCXLIX, 34. CCL, 35. LXXII, 36. CXXXVIII, 37. CLII, 38. CLXXVII, 39. CLXXVII, 40. CLXXXI, 41. CLXXXII, 42. CCXXIV, 43. CCXXVIII, 44. CCLXXXII</p>	<p>38. Par 2, 39. Par 8, 40. Par 2, 41. Par 3, 42. Par 3, 43. Par 3, 44. Par 1</p>
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		(L), 37. To the Rev. Peter Carfare (L), 38. To Mrs Dunlop (P in L), 39. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 40. To Charles Sharpe Esq. (L), 41. To Gilbert Burns (P in L), 42. To Miss Davies (L), 43. To Mr W. Nicol, 44. To a Lady, In Favour of a Player's Benefit (L)			
Tenderness (n)	Pity/compassion	1. Glenriddell Manuscripts (Pr), 2. Glenriddell Manuscripts (Pr), 3. To Dr Moore (L), 4. To Gavin Hamilton Esq. (L), 5. To the Editor of "The Star" (L), 6. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 7. To Miss Davies (L), 8. To Mr Thomson (L), 9. To Mr Thomson (L), 10. To Mr Thomson (L)	1. 1783, 2. 1784, 3. 1787, 4. 1787, 5. 1788, 6. 1790, 8. 1794, 9. 1794, 10.	1. VIII, 2. VIII, 3. XLVI, 4. LXXXVII, 5. CXXXVIII, 6. CXC, 7. CCXXIV, 8. CCCII, 9. CCCIII, 10. CCCIV	1. Par 11, 2. Par 38, 3. Par 2, 4. Par 3, 5. Par 2, 6. Par 5, 7. Par 5, 8. Par 8, 9. Par 3, 10. Par 3
Compassion (n)	Pity/compassion	1. To Professor Dugald Stewart (L)	1. 1789	1. CXLVIII	1. Par 2
Bowels of Charity (n)	Pity/compassion	1. To Professor Dugald Stewart (L)	1. 1789	1. CXLVIII	1. Par 2

Remorse (n)	Pity/compassion	1. Remorse, A Fragment (P), 2. Remorse, a Fragment (P), 3. Man Was Made to Mourn (P), 4. Glenriddel Manuscripts (Pr), 5. Glenriddel Manuscripts (P), 6. To Mr Robert Aiken (L), 7. To Robert Ainslie Esq. (L), 8. To Mr Ainslie (L), 9. To Miss Davies (L), 10. To Mrs Riddell (L), 11. Address of the Scotch Distillers, to the Right Hon. William Pitt (L), 12. The Border Tour (pr)	4. 1783, 5. 1783, 6. 1786, 7. 1788, 8. 1791, 11. 1787	1. XIII, 2. XIII, 3. XXVI, 4. VIII, 5. VIII, 6. XXI, 7. CXXV, 8. CCXXII, 9. CCXXIV, 10. CCCXVIII, 11. CCCXXVI	1. Title, 2. S1, 3. S7, 4. Par 12, 5. Par 13, 6. Par 2, 7. Par 4, 8. Par 1, 9. Par 2, 10. Par 2, 11. Par 4, Par 30
Feeling (n)	Capacity to feel	1. To William Simpson (P), 2. Willie Chalmers (P), 3. Epistle to Major Logan (P), 4. To Robert Graham Esq (P), 5. On Sensibility (P), 6. Gloomy December (S), 7. To John Murdoch [ref to <i>Man of Feeling</i>] (L), 8. To Miss E (L), 9. Glenriddell Manuscripts (pr), 10. To John Ballantyne Esq. [ref to <i>Man of Feeling</i>] (L), 11. To the Rev. G. Laurie [ref to <i>Man of Feeling</i>] (L), 12. To Dr Moore [ref to <i>Man of Feeling</i>] (L),	1. 1785, 7. 1783, 8. 1783, 9. 1784, 10. 1786, 11. 1787, 12. 1787, 13. 1788, 14. 1789, 15. 1790, 16. 1790, 17. 1790, 18. 1794, 19. 1795, 21. 1787	1. XXXII, 2. LVIII, 3. LXX, 4. CXXVII, 5. CXLII, 6. CLXXIV, 7. II, 8. VII, VIII, 10. XXXVI, 11. XLV, 12. LXXIV, 13. CII, 14. CLV, 15. CLXXX, 16. CLXXXIX, 17. CXC, 18. CCXCII, 19. CCCXXI	1. S14, 2. S4, 3. S6, 4. S2, 5. S4, 6. S1, 7. Par 2, 8. Par 2, 9. Par 26, 10. Par 1, 11. Par 4, 12. Par 18, 13. Par 4, 14. Par 6, 15. Par 4, 16. Par 1, 17. Par 4, 18. Par 5, 19. Par 7, 20. Par 195, 21. Par 1

		<p>13. To Mrs Rose [ref to <i>Man of Feeling</i>] (L),</p> <p>14. To Mr Hill [ref to <i>Man of Feeling</i>] (L),</p> <p>15. To John Sinclair [ref to <i>Man of Feeling</i>] (L),</p> <p>16. To Peter Hill [ref to <i>Man of feeling</i>] (L),</p> <p>17. To Mrs Dunlop [ref to <i>Man of Feeling</i>] (L),</p> <p>18. To Mr Cunningham (L), 19. Spoken by Miss Fontenelle on Her Benefit-Night (To Mrs Dunlop) [ref to <i>Man of Feeling</i>] (pr in L), 20. Remarks on Scottish Songs and Ballads [ref to <i>The Man of Feeling</i>] (Pr),</p> <p>21. The Highland Tour [partial ref to <i>The Man of Feeling</i>] (Pr)</p>			
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Tears	Specific (to being moved)	<p>1. Poor Malie's Eligy (P), 2. A Prayer, Under the Pressure of Violent Anguish (P), 3. A Winter Night (P), 4. Tam Samson's Elegy (P), 5. Despondency, An Ode (P), 6. Lying at a Reverend Friend's House One Night, The Author Left the Following Verses in the Room Where He Slept (P), 7. Lying at a Reverend Friend's House One Night, The Author Left the Following Verses in the Room Where He Slept (P), 8. Address to Edinburgh (P), 9. Written Under the Portrait of Fergusson (P), 10. On the Death of Sir James Hunter Blair (P), 11. Epistle to Hugh Parker (P), 12. Elegy on Miss Burnet of Monboddo (P), 13. Lament for James, Earl of Glencairn (P), 14. To Robert Graham Esq., of Fintray (P), 15. The Rights of Women... (P), 16. Verses to a Young Lady (P), 17. The Vowels, A Tale (P), 18. The Vowels, A Tale (P), 19.</p>	<p>9. 1787, 15. 1792, 19. 1795, 21. 1794, 34. 1787, 35. 1788, 36. 1790, 37. 1790, 38. 1793</p>	<p>1. III, 2. IX, 3. XII, 4. XL, 5. XLII, 6. LIX, 7. LIX, 8. LXIX, 9. LXXIX, 10. XCIV, 11. XCV, 12. CXXIII, 13. CXXIV, 14. CXXVII, 15. CXXXI, 16. CXXXIX, 17. CXL, 18. CXL, 19. CXLIV, 20. XXXIV, 21. XXXVII, 22. XXXI, 23. XCIX, 24. CXVII, 25. CXVII, 26. CXXV, 27. CLIII, 28. CXC, 29. CXCVI, 30. CXCVI, 31. CXCVI, 32. CXXXX, 33. CXXXXIX, 34. LXXIV, 35. CXXX, 36. CLXXXIX, 37. CXC, 38. CCLXXI</p>	<p>1. S1, 2. S3, 3. S7, 4. S3, 5. S5, 6. S3, 7. S5, 8. S6, 9. S1, 10. S5, 11. S1, 12. S6, 13. S2, 14. S7, 15. S5, 16. S3, 17. S3, 18. S6, 19. S1, 20. S1, 21. S1, 22. S4, 23. S1, 24. S1, 25. S3, 26. S2, 27. S1, 28. S2, 29. S2, 30. S2, 31. S4, 32. S1, 33. S1, 34. P9, 35. P3, 36. P5, 37. P4, 38. P2</p>
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		Address, Spoken by Miss Fontenelle on Her Benefit Night (P), 20. The League and Covenant (P), 21. Lines on Mrs Kemble (P), 22. The Gloomy Night (S), 23. There'll Never Be Peace (S), 24. Ae Fond Kiss (S), 25. Ae Fond Kiss (S), 26. As I was Wandering (S), 27. Young Jamie, Pride of a' the Plain (S) 28. Wandering Willie (S), 29. Logan Water (S), 30. Logan Water (S), 31. Logan Water (S), 32. The Lover's Morning Salute to His Mistress (S), 33. O Wha is She That Loves Me (S), 34. To Dr Moore (L), 35. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 36. To Mr Peter Hill (L), 37. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 38. To Mr Thomson (L)			
Sympathy (n)	Sympathy	1. Address to the Toothache (P), 2. To Mr James Hamilton (L), 3. To Crauford Tait Esq. (L), 4. Address of the Scotch Distillers to the Right Hon. William Pitt (L)	1. 1789, 2. 1789, 3. 1790	1. XCVIII, 2. CLXII, 3. CXCIX, 4. CCCXXVI	1. S2, 2. P2, 3. P2, 4. P2
Condolence (n)	Sympathy	1. Address of the Scotch Distillers to the Right		1. CCCXXVI	1. P1

		Hon. William Pitt (L)			
Fellow-feeling (n)	Sympathy	1. Address of the Scotch Distillers to the Right Hon. William Pitt (L)		1. CCCXXVI	1. P2
Sympathizing (n)	Sympathy	1. Address of the Scotch Distillers to the Right Hon. William Pitt (L)		1. CCCXXVI	1. Sign-off (end)
Mercy (n)	Mercy/An act of mercy/Mercy of conqueror or absolute lord	1. Preface to the Kilmarnock Edition (Pr), 2. Stanzas on the Same Occasion (P), 3. Stanzas on the Same Occasion (P), 4. Holy Willie's Prayer (P), 5. Epitaph on Holy Willie (P), 6. To The Rev. John M'Math (P), 7. Scotch Drink (P), 8. Epistle to J. Rankine (P), 9. A Dedication to Gavin Hamilton Esq. (P), 10. Answer to a Political Epistle, Sent to the Author by a Tailor (P), 11. The American War, A Fragment (P), 12. To Mrs Williams, On Reading Her Poem of the Slave Trade (L), 13. To Miss Calmers (L), 14. To Miss Chalmers (L), 15. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 16. To Dr Moore (L), 17. To R. Graham Esq. (L), 18. To Collector Mitchell (L),	2. 1786, 12. 1787, 13. 1788, 15. 1788, 16. 1789, 17. 1789, 18. 1790, 19. 1792	2. XI, 3. XI, 4. XVII, 5. XVIII, 6. XXXV, 7. XXXVII, 8. XLIX, 9. LIII, 10. LXII, 11. LXXV, 12. XCIV, 13. CIX, 14. CXIV, 15. CXXII, 16. CXLVI, 17. CLXXVI, 18. CXCI, 19. CCXXVII	1. P5, 2. S2, 3. S2, 4. S15, 5. S4, 6. S10, 7. S11, 8. S3, 9. S8, 10. S1, 11. S5, 12. P4, 13. P2, 14. P1, 15. P9, 16. P3, 17. P3, 18. P1, 19. P2

		19. To Mr William Smellie, Printer (L)			
Grace (n)	Mercy	1. The Jolly Beggars (P/S), 2. Holy Willie's Prayer (P), 3. Holy Willie's Prayer (P), 4. The Inventory; In Answer to a Mandate by the Surveyor of the Taxes (P), 5. To J. Lapraik, An Old Scottish Bard (1st Epistle), 6. To the Rev. John M'Math (P), 7. Ode to the Sacred Memory of Mrs Oswald, of Auchencruive (P), 8. Address to the Shade of Thomson, on Crowning his Bust at Ednam with Bays (P), 9. Address to the Shade of Thomson, on Crowning his Bust at Ednam with Bays (P)	4. 1786, 5. 1785, 6. 1785	1. XIV, 2. XVII, 3. XVII, 4. XIX, 5. XXIX, 6. XXXV, 7. XCIX, 8. CXXXVI, 9. CXXXVI	1. S39, 2. S5, 3. S16, 4. S3, 5. S20, 6. S10, 7. S2, 8. S2, 9. S5
Quarter (n)	Quarter in battle	1. The Ordination (P)		1. XXI	1. S13
Quarters (n)	Quarter in battle	1. Tam, the Chapman (P)		1. LXXII	1. S1
Pitiful (adj)	Characterized by pity/compassion	1. To John Murdoch (L)	1. 1783	1. II	1. P2

Piteous (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	1. The Vowels, a Tale (P), 2. Duncan Gray (S)		1. CXL, 2. CLXXXIV	1. S3, 2. S5
Humane (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	1. On Scaring Some Water-Fowl in Loch Turit (P), 2. To Mrs Dunlop (L)	2. 1789	1. LXXXV, 2. CLXXVII	1. S4, 2. P3
Pitying (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	1. Address to Edinburgh (P), 2. On Scaring Some Water-Fowl in Loch Turit (P), 3. Address to the Toothache (P), 4. Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots, on the Approach of Spring (P), 5. On the Author's Father (P), 6. My Peggy's Face (S)		1. LXIX, 2. LXXXV, 3. XCVIII, 4. CXXI, 5. I, 6. CLXXIII	1. S6, 2. S4, 3. S2, 4. S5, 5. S1, 6. S2
Feeling (adj)	Inclined to (pitying)	1. Willy Chalmers (P), 2. Streams that Glide in Orient Plains (S), 3. Glenriddell Manuscripts (Pr)	1. 1785	1. LVIII, 2. LXII, 3. VIII	1. S4, 2. S3, 3. P51
Melting (adj)	Moved by (pitying)	1. To Mr John Kennedy (L), 2. To Mr Cunningham (L)	1. 1786, 2. 1794	1. XVII, 2. CCXCII	1. P2, 2. P5
Interested (adj)	Characterized by sympathy	1. To Sir John Whitefoord (L)	1. 1787	1. XCIII	1. P1
Merciful (adj)	Merciful	1. To Mr Cunningham (L)	1. 1792	1. CCXXXIII	1. P4
Relenting (adj)	Relenting	1. A winter Night (P), 2. The Cottar's Saturday Night (P)		1. XII, 2. XLIII	1. S7, 2. S10
Take Pity (vi)	Show pity/compassion	1. The Poor and Honest Sodger (S)		1. CXCIII	1. S4
Feel (vi)	Sympathize	1. Lament, Occasioned by the Unfortunate Issue of a Friend's Amour (P), 2. Despondency, an Ode (P), 3.	3. 1786, 4. 1787, 5. 1787, 6. 1788, 7.	1. XLI, 2. XLII, 3. XX, 4. XLV, 5. XLV, 6. CXXXVIII, 7. CXXXVIII, 8. CCXLIV, 9. CCCXLIII	1. S10, 2. S5, 3. P2, 4. P1, 5. P1, 6. P1, 7. P10, 8. P2, 9. P1

		To Mr David Brice (L), 4. TO the Rev. G. Laurie (L), 5. TO the Rev. G. Laurie (L), 6. To the Editor of the Star (L), 7. To the Editor of the Star (L), 8. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 9. To Mr James Burness (L)	1788, 8. 1792/3, 9. 1796		
Spare (vi)	Show mercy	1. Holy Willie's Prayer (P), 2. Holy Willie's Prayer (P), 3. The Ordination (P), 4. Tam Samson's Elegy (P), 5. To a Mountain Daisy (P), 6. Epistle to a Young Friend (P), 7. Epistle to J. Rankine (P), 8. Epistle to J. Rankine (P), 9. Lying at a Reverend Friend's House One Night... (P), 10. Lying at a Reverend Friend's House One Night... (P), 11. To Mr M'Adam (P), 12. To Robert Graham Esq (P), Poem on Life, 13. Addressed to Colonel De Peyster (P), 14. To the Same, On the Author Being Threatened with his Resentment (P), 15. The Banks of Devon (S), 16. Jockey's Ta'en the Parting Kiss (S), 17. Jockey's	13. 1796, 26. 1783, 27. 1786, 28. 1791,	1. XVII, 2. XVII, 3. XXI, 4. XL, 5. XLVI, 6. XLVII, 7. XLIX, 8. XLIX, 9. LIX, 10. LIX, 11. LXI, 12. CXXXVII, 13. CLIII, 14. LXI, 15. XLVIII, 16. CXXXVII, 17. CXXXVII, 18. CLXII, 19. CLXII, 20. CLXXXVII, 21. CCXXIV, 22. CCXXIV, 23. CCXXIV, 24. CCXXXIV, 25. CCL, 26. V, 27. XXV, 28. CCXVIII, 29. CCCXVIII, 30. CCCXVIII	1. S13, 2. S15, 3. S5 , 4. S16, 5. S1, 6. 4, 7. S3, 8. S3, 9. S2, 10. S3, 11. S6, 12. S7, 13. S2, 14. S1, 15. S2, 16. S1, 17. S1, 18. S7, 19. S7, 20. S6, 21. S2, 22. S2, 23. S2, 24. S1, 25. S3, 26. P3, 27. P1, 28. P3, 29. P2, 30. P2

		<p>Ta'en the Parting Kiss (S), 18. O, Wat Ye</p> <p>Wha's in Yon Town (S), 19. O, Wat Ye</p> <p>Wha's in Yon Town (S), 20. Lord Gregory (S), 21. On the Seas and Far Away (S), 22. On the Seas and Far Away (S), 23. On the Seas and Far Away (S), 24. Farewell, Thou Stream (S), 25. On Chloris Being Ill (S), 26. To Miss E (L), 27. To Mr John Richmond (L), 28. To Mr Cunningham (L), 29. To Mrs Riddell (L), 30. To Mrs Riddell (L)</p>			
Relent (vi)	Relent	1. Young Peggy (S)		1. XXII	1. S3
Rue on (vt)	Feel pity for	1. Fair Eliza (S)		1. CXXIX	1. S1
Pity (vt)	Feel pity for	<p>1. Verses Written under the Portait of Fergusson... (P), 2. 1st Epistle to Robert Graham Esq (P), 3. To John Taylor (P), 4. Lines Sent to a Gentleman Who he had Offended (P), 5. Written at Inverary (P), 6. Prayer for Adam Armour (P), 7. Prayer for Adam Armour (P), 8. Craigie-Burn Wood (S), 9. To Mr Ainslie (L), 10. To Mrs Riddell (L),</p>	9. 1791	1. LXXIX, 2. XCIII, 3. CXX, 4. CXLIII, 5. XXIV, 6. LXXXI, 7. LXXXI, 8. CCXLV, 9. CCXXII, 10. CCLXXXI, 11. CCCXVIII	1. S1, 2. S5, 3. S4, 4. S2, 5. S1, 6. S1, 7. S2, 8. S4, 9. P2, 10. Sign off (end) , 11. Sign off (end)

		11. To Mrs Riddell (L)			
God help him (phr)	Expression of pity	1. To R. Graham Esq. (L)	1. 1789	1. CLXXVI	1. P3
Pathos (n)	Expression/sentiment	1. To Dr Blacklock, in Answer to a Letter (P), 2. To Mr McAuley (L), 3. To Mr Thomson (L), 4. To Mr Thomson (L), 5. To Mr Thomson (L), 6. To Mr Thomson (L), 7. To Mr Thomson (L), 8. To Mr Thomson (L), 9. To Mr Thomson (L), 10. To Mr Thomson (L), 11. To Mr Thomson (L), 12. To Mr James Johnson (L), 13. Remarks on Scottish Ballads: Gramachree, 14. Remarks on Scottish Ballads: Lewis Gordon	1. 1789, 2. 1789, 3. 1792, 4. 1793, 5. 1793, 6. 1793, 7. 1793, 8. 1793, 9. 1793, 10. 1794, 11. 1794, 12. 1796	1. CII, 2. CLXIV, 3. CCXXXIV, 4. CCXLVI, 5. CCLIII, 6. CCLXXXIII, 7. CCLXXXIII, 8. CCLXXXIII, 9. CCLXXXVI, 10. CCCII, 11. CCCV, 12. CCCXXXVI	1. S9, 2. P2, 3. P1, 4. P3, 5. P7, 6. P15, 7. P18, 8. P20, 9. P9, 10. P1, 11. P10, 12. P2

Wretch (n)	Pitiable person	1. A Winter Night (P), 2. The Ordination (P), 3. To Ruin (P), 4. Lament, Occasioned by the Unfortunate Issue of a Friend's Amour (P), 5. The Cottar's Saturday Night (P), 6. Epistle to a Young Friend (P), 7. To Clarinda (P), 8. On Seeing a Wounded Hare Limp by Me, Which a Fellow Had Just Shot (P), 9. Address, Spoken by Miss Fontenelle on her Benefit Night (P), 10. On a Suicide (P), 11. McPherson's Farewell (S), 12. McPherson's Farewell (S), 13. Lovely Davies (S), 14. She Says She Loves Me Best Of A' (S), 15. Farewell, Thou Stream (S), 16. The Dumfries Volunteers (S), 17. The Dumfries Volunteers (S), 18. Now Spring Has Clad the Grove in Green (S), 19. To John Murdoch (L), 20. To Miss Alexander (L), 21. To Miss Williams, on Reading her Poem of the Slave Trade (L), 22. To Mrs Dunlop	19. 1783, 20. 1786, 21. 1787, 22. 1788, 23. 1789, 24. 1789, 25. 1791, 26. 1791, 27. 1792, 28. 1793	1. XII, 2. XXI, 3. XXVII, 4. XLI, 5. XLIII, 6. XLVII, 7. LXXVIII, 8. CI, 9. CXLIV, 10. LXV, 11. XXXVII, 12. XXXVII, 13. CXVIII, 14. CCXXVI, 15. CCXXXIV, 16. CCXLVIII, 17. CCXLVIII, 18. CCLVI, 19. II, 20. XXX, 21. XCIV, 22. XCVIII, 23. CLXIX, 24. CLXXVII, 25. CCIV, 26. CCXXII, 27. CCXXVIII, 28. CCL, 29. CCLXXXVI, 30. CCLXXXIX, 31. CCCXVIII	1. S7, 2. S10, 3. S2, 4. S1, 5. S10, 6. S8, 7. S1, 8. S3, 9. S4, 10. S1, 11. S1, 12. S5, 13. S1, 14. S1, 15. S2, 16. S4, 17. S4, 18. S5, 19. P2, 20. P2, 21. P2, 22. P2, 23. P1, 24. P6, 25. P1, 26. P1, 27. P1, 28. P2, 29. P3, 30. P3, 31. P1
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		(L), 23. To Miss Williams (L), 24. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 25. To Mr Peter Hill (L), 26. To Mr Ainslie (L), 27. To Mr W. Nicol, 28. To Miss Benson (L), 29. To Mrs Riddell (L), 30. To Mrs Riddell (L), 31. To Mrs Riddell (L)			
Elf (n)	Pitiable person	1. The Two Dogs, a Tale (P), 2. Epistle to Major Logan (P), 3. Address, Spoken by Miss Fontenelle on her Benefit Night (P), 4. Prayer for Adam Armour (P)	3. 1795	1. LXVII, 2. LXX, 3. XCLIV, 4. LXXXI	1. S8, 2. S12, 3. S4, 4. S1
Miserable (adj)	Exciting pity	1. Glenriddell Manuscripts (Pr), 2. Glenriddell Manuscripts (Pr), 3. To Miss ---- (L), 4. To Mr David Brice (L), 5. To Mr John Richmond (L), 6. To John Ballantyne Esq. (L), 7. To Mr Gavin Hamilton (L), 8. To Mr William Creech Esq. (L), 9. To Dr Moore (L), 10. To Miss	1. 1783, 2. 1783, 4. 1786, 5. 1786, 6. 1786, 7. 1787, 8. 1787, 9. 1787, 11. 1788, 13. 1788, 15. 1788, 16. 1789,	, 1. VIII, 2. VIII, 3. XI, 4. XX, 5. XXV, 6. XXXVI, 7. XL, 8. LXI, 9. LXXIV, 10. LXXXIX, 11. XCVIII, 12. CXIV, 13. CXVI, 14. CXXVIII, 15. CXXXII, 16. CLXVII, 17. CXC, 18. CXCI, 19. CXC VII, 20. CCXLIII, 21. CCL, 22. CCLXIX, 23. CCLXXXIX, 24.	1. P12, 2. P20, 3.P2, 4. P2, 5. P1, 6. P1, 7. P1, 8. P1, 9. P1, 10. P2, 11. P2, 12. P1, 13. P2, 14. P2, 15. P12, 16. P1, 17. P5, 18. P1, 19. P1, 20. P2, 21. P2, 22. P2, 23. P3, 24.

		M----n (L), 11. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 12. To Miss Chalmers (L), 13. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 14. To Robert Graham Esq. (L), 15. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 16. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 17. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 18. To Collector Mitchell (L), 19. To Dr Anderson (L), 20. To R. Graham Esq. (L), 21. To Miss Benson (L), 22. To Miss Craik (L), 23. To Mrs Riddell (L), 24. To Mrs Riddell (L), 25. To Mrs Riddell (L)	17. 1790, 18. 1790, 20. 1792, 21. 1793, 22. 1793, 25. 1796	CCCXVIII, 25. CCCXXXIV	P1, 25. P1
Touching (adj)	Exciting pity	1. Inscription on a Goblet (P)		1. XLI	1. S1
Melting (adj)	Exciting pity	1. The Brigs of Ayr (P), 2. Ode Sacred to the Memory of Mrs Oswald (P), 3. Farewell to the Brethren of St. James's Lodge (S), 4. Address to the Woodlark (S), 5. To Mr John Kennedy (L)	5. 1786	1. LXXI, 2. XCIX, 3. XXVII, 4. CCXLIX, 5. XVII	1. S10, 2. S2, 3. S1, 4. S2, 5. P2
Pathetic (adj)	Exciting pity	1. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 2. To Mrs Dunlop (L)	1. 1790, 2. 1790	1. CLXXXV, 2. CXC	1. P7, 2. P4
Silly (adj)	Deserving pity	1. The Death and Dying words of Poor Mailie (P), 2. A Winter Night (P), 3. Epitaph on Holy Willie (P), 4. To a Mouse (P), 5. Address Spoken by Miss	5. 1795, 9. 1787, 10. 1794/5	1. II, 2. XII, 3. XVIII, 4. XXXVI, 5. CXLIV, 6. LXV, 7. XXXII, 8. CLXXXV, 9. LXXVII, 10. CCCXXIV	1. S8, 2. S3, 3. S2, 4. 4, 5. S4, 6. S1, 7. S1, 8. S2, 9. P4, 10. P5

		Fontenelle on her Benefit Night (P), 6. On a Suicide (P), 7. O Whar Did Ye Get (S), 8. O Poortith Cauld (S), 9. To Gavin Hamilton Esq. (L), 10. To Mr Heron (L)			
Pitied (adj)	Pitied	1. The Carle of Kellyburn Braes (S)		1. CXXXVI	1. S11
Miserably (adv)	Pitiably	1. To John Murdoch (L), 2. Glenriddell Manuscripts (Pr), 3. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 4. To William Nicol Esq. (L) 5. To Miss Chalmers (L), 6. To Mr Thomson (L)	1. 1783, 2. 1784, 3. 1787, 4. 1787, 5. 1787, 6. 1793	1. II, 2. VIII, 3. XLIII, 4. LXV, 5. XCII, 6. CCLXXIV	1. P2, 2. P24, 3. P1, 4. P4, 5. P2, 6. P4
Pathetic (adv)	Pitiably	1. The Cottar's Saturday Night (P)		1. XLIII	1. S14
Melt (vt)	Affect with pity	1. By Allan Stream (S), To Mr Cunningham (L), 3. To Mr Thomson (L)	2. 1794, 3. 1794	1. CCI, 2. CCXCII, 3. CCCII	1. S3, 2. P3, 3. P1
Move (vt)	Affect with pity	1. The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer (P), 2. On the Birth of a Posthumous Child (P), 3. Poem on Pastoral Poetry (P), 4. To Mary (S)		1. XXXVIII, 2. LVI, 3. CXXXIV, 4. CCXVII	1. S3, 2. S1, 3. S9, 4. S1
Inhumanity (n)	Pitilessness	1. Man Was Made to Mourn (P), 2. To the Editor of the Star (L)	2. 1788	1. XXVI	1. S7, 2. P1
Harshness (n)	Inexorableness	1. To Mr Cunningham (L)	1. 1791	1. CCXVIII	1. P1
Ruthless (adj)	Pitilessness	1. The Vision (P), 2. The Brigs of Ayr (P), 3. Scots Prologue, For Mr Sutherland's Benefit Night		1. XXIV, 2. LXXI, 3. CVI, 4. CXXXVII, 5. LXII, 6. CCLIII, 7. CCLVIII, 8. LXIX	1. S18, 2. S2, 3. S2, 4. S4, 5. S2, 6. S2, 7. S3, 8. P5

		(P), 4. To Robert Graham Esq. , 5. Streams that Glide in Orient Plains (S), 6. How Cruel are the Parents (S), 7. Forlorn, My Love, No Comfort Near (S), 8. To the Earl of Buchan (L)			
Pitiless (adj)	Pitiless	1. A Winter Night (P), 2. To Mrs Riddell (L)		1. XII, 2. CCCXVIII	1. S5, 2. P1
Unpitied (adj)	Unpitied	1. On the Death of Robert Dundas Esq. (P), 2. Verses Written Under the Portrait of Fergusson (P), 3. Ode to the Sacred Memory of Mrs Oswald (P), 4. Lament for James, Earl of Glencairn (P)		1. LXXII, 2. LXXIX, 3. XCIX, 4. CXXIV	1. S5, 2. S1, 3. S2, 4. S5
Unfeeling (adj)	Unsympathizing	1. To Miss Williams, On Reading Her Poem on the Slave Trade (L), 2. To Miss Chalmers (L), 3. To Robert Ainslie Esq. (L), 4. To Mr Peter Hill (L)	1. 1787, 2. 1788, 3. 1788, 4. 1791	1. XCIV, 2. CIX, 3. CXXV, 4. CCIV	1. P12, 2. P2, 3. P4, 4. P1
Merciless (adj)	Merciless	1. In the Name of Nine. Amen (Pr), To Dr Moore (L), 3. To Mr Cunningham (L), 4. Remarks on Scottish Songs and Ballads (Pr)	2. 1787, 3. 1792	1. XXXII, 2. LXXIV, 3. CCXXXIII	1. P2, 2. P26, 3. P1, 4. P169
Wanton (adj)	Merciless	1. To Robert Graham Esq. (P), 2. My Wife's a Wanton Wee Thing 3. Letter to Robert Graham (L)		1. CXXVII	1. S4

Unrelenting (adj)	Unrelenting	1. A Winter Night (P), 2. Now Spring Has Clad the Grove in Green (S)		1. XII, 2. CCLVI	1. S7, 2. S2
Relentless (adj)	Unrelenting	1. On the Death of Sir James Hunter Blair (P), 2. To Robert Graham Esq. (P)		1. XCIV, 2. CXXVII	1. S9, 2. S7
Without Mercy (adv)	Mercilessly	1. The Preface to the Kilmarnock Edition (Pr)			1. P5
Jealousy (n)	Jealousy/envy	1. To Mrs Dunlop (L)	1. 1788	1. CXXII	1. P5
Envy (n)	Envy	1. To William Simpson (P), 2. A Dream (P), 3. To Mrs Scott (P), 4. Sketch. New Years Day. To Mrs Dunlop (P), 5. The True Royal Natives (P), 6. To the Men and Brethren of the Masonic Lodge of Tarbolton (P), 7. Young Peggie (S), 8. The Sons of Old Killie (S), 9. Bess and Her Spinning-Wheel (S), 10. To Miss E (L), 11. To Mrs Dunlop (P in L), 12. To Robert Graham Esq. (L), 13. Address of the Scotch Distillers, to the Right Hon. William Pitt (Pr)	1. 1785, 6. 1787, 10. 1783, 11. 1789, 12. 1792	1. XXXII, 2. LXV, 3. LXXXII, 4. CVII, 5. LXIV, 6. LXXIX, 7. XXII, 8. XXV, 9. CXXXVI, 10. IV, 11. CLI, 12. CCXLIII, 13. CCCXXVI	1. S17, 2. S7, 3. S2, 4. S5, 5. S1, 6. S1, 7. S3, 8. S2, 9. S4, 10. S1, 11. P5, 12. P2, 13. P4
Emulation (n)	Envy	1. To Mrs Dunlop (L)	1. 1788	1. CXIX	1. P1
Jealous (adj)	Jealous/envious or Jealous/evious of a lover	1. Epistle from Esopus to Maria (P), 2. What Can a Young Lassie (S), 3. What Can a Young Lassie (S), 4. To the Earl of Glencairn	4. 1787, 5. 1788, 6. 1792	1. CXXXIII, 2. CXIV, 3. CXIV, 4. XLVIII, 5. CXXXVIII, 6. CCXXXIII	1. S1, 2. S3, 3. S3, 4. P2, 5. P9, 6. P3

		(L), 5. To the Editor of the "Star" (L), 6. To Mr Cunningham (L)			
Envious (adj)	Envious	1. Elegy on Miss Burnet of Monboddo (P), 2. To John Maxwell of Terraughty on his Birthday (P), 3. Lines Written Under the Picture of the Celebrated Miss Burns (P), 4. Elegy on the Late Miss Burnet of Monboddo (To Mr Cunningham (L))(P in L) , 5. To Mrs Dunlop (L)	4. 1791, 5. 1792/3	1. CXXXIII, 2. CXXX, 3. XXI, 4. CCV, 5. CCXLIV	1. S1, 2. S3, 3. S1, 4. P5 , 5. P3
Enviably (adj)	That is to be envied	1. Remorse, a Fragment (P), 2. Despondency. An Ode (P), 3. To Mrs Riddell (L), 4. To a Lady in Favour of a Player's Benefit (L), 5. To Mrs Riddell (L)	4. 1794	1. XIII, 2. XLII, 3. CCLXXXI, 4. 1794, 5. CCLXXXVI	1. S1, 2. S5, 3. P3, 4. P1, 5. P1
Envy (vt)	Be Jealous/envious of	1. To J. Lapraik Second Epistle (P), 2. The Twa Dogs. A Tale (P), 3. The Cure For All Cares (S), 4. As I Was A-wandering (S), 5. To Miss E (L), 6. To Miss Chalmers (L), 7. To Miss Benson (L), 8. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 9. Remarks on Scottish Songs and Ballads	1. 1785, 5. 1783, 6. 1787, 7. 1793, 8. 1795	1. XXX, 2. LXVII, 3. XXIII, 4. CXXV, 5. IV, 6. XCII, 7. CCL, 8. CCCXXI	1. S11, 2. S24, 3. S2, 4. S4, 5. P1 , 6. P2, 7. P1, 8. P1
Sairie (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity	1. O Ay My Wife She Dang Me (S)		1. CCXXI	1. S2

Sorry (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity	1. To A Mouse (P), 2. Fragment Inscribed to the Right Hon. C. J. Fox (P), Sketch. 3. To Mrs Dunlop (P in L)	1. 1785, 3. 1789	1. XXXVI, 2. C, 3. CLVI	1. S2, 2. S1, 3. P5
Sin (n)	Pity/shame	1. To W. Nicol Esq. (L)	1. 1787	1. LXIII	1. P1

Appendix D

Robert Burns's Language of Excitement

Word	Meaning/context	Entries	Date	PG Ref.	Location
Agog <i>adv.</i>	In state of excitement	1. To John Murdoch (L)	1. 1783	1. II	1. P2
Alarm <i>vt.</i>	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	1. The Kirk's Alarm, A Satire (1st Version) (P), The Kirk's Alarm, A Ballad (Second Version) (P)		1. CIX, 2. CX	1. S7 L6, 2. S8 L5
Animated <i>adj.</i>	Excited	1. To Mrs. Dunlop (L), 2. To The Editor Of The Star (L) [int]	1. 1788, 2. 1788	1. CXXXVI, 2. CXXXVIII	1. P2, 2. P9
Bizz <i>n</i>	In a state of commotion, uproar	1. Address To The Deil (P)		1. VI	1. S17 L1
Commotion <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	1. To Mrs Dunlop (L)	1. 1792	1. CCXLII	1. P10 (mid)
Dance <i>vi.</i>	Leap/skip with excitement	1. Written in Friars-Carse Hermitage (P), 2. Address To The Toothache (P), 3. The Exciseman (S), 4. To General Dumourier (P)	1. 1788	1. XC, 2. CXVIII, 3. CXLVII, 4. CCLXII	1. S2 L5, 2. S6 L3, 3. S2 L2, 4. S2 L5
Enthusiasm <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	1. To John Goudie Of Kilmarnock On The Publication Of His Essays (P), 2. To William Burness (L), 3. To Robert Riddell Esq. Of Glenriddell (September 3) (L), 4. To Mrs. Dunlop (L), 5. To Mrs. Dunlop (L), 6. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 7. To Lady Glencairn (L), 8. To Mr. Thomson (L), 9. To Captain Miller (L), 10. To Mr. Cunningham (L), 11. To Mr. Thomson (L), 12. To Mr. Thomson (L)	2. 1781, 4. 1786, 5. 1788, 6. 1789, 8. 1793, 10. 1794, 11. 1794, 12. 1794	1. XXVIII, 2. I, 3. VIII, 4. XXVII, 5. CXXXII, 6. CXLV, 7. CCLXX, 8. CCLXXI, 9. CLXXXIV, 10. CCXCII, 11. CCCII, 12. CCCIII	1. S4 L1, 2. P3 (mid), 3. P1 (mid), 4. P5 (mid), 5. P12 (end), 6. P4 (mid), 7. P7 (mid), 8. P2 (mid), 9. P3 (mid), 10. P5 (end), 11. P1 (mid), 12. P6 (mid)
Erect <i>vt.</i>	Excite	1. The Vision (P)		1. XXIV	1. (Duan Second) S23 L4
Exalt <i>vt.</i>	Affect with pleasurable excitement	1. Lament For James, Earl Of Glencairn (P)		1. CXXIV	1. S4 L6
Exalt <i>vt.</i>	Inspire	1. Lament For James, Earl Of Glencairn (P)		1. CXXIV	1. S4 L6
Exaltation <i>n.</i>	Pleasurable Excitement	1. Holy Willie's Prayer (P)		1. XVII	1. S3 L2
Exalted <i>adj.</i>	Characterised/influenced by inspiration	1. Address To The Unco Guid (P), 2. To Miss E (L), To The Earl Of Eglington (L), 4. To Mrs. Dunlop (L)	2. 1783, 3. 1787, 4. 1787	1. XXXIX, 2. V, 3. XXXIX, 4. LII	1. S6 L1, 2. P3 (mid), 3. P1 (top), P4 (top)
Excess <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	1. First Epistle To Davie (P)		1. IV	1. S6 L10
Fidge <i>vi</i>	Fidget; move restlessly from excitement	1. The Ordination (P), 2. To William Simpson (P)	2. 1785	1. XXI, 2. XXXII	1. S1 L1, 2. S6 L1
Fire <i>n.</i>	Source of (inspiration)	1. To J. Lapraik (First Epistle) (P), 2. Nature's Law (P) (2), 3. A Dream (P), 4. Prologue, Spoken By Mr. Woods On His Benefit Night (P), 5. Written With A Pencil... (P), 6. On The Death Of Sir James Hunter Blair	1. 1785, 4. 1787, 11. 1788, 12. 1791	1. XXIX, 2. XXXIV, 3. LXV, 4. LXXX, 5. LXXXVI, 6. XCIV, 7. XCVI, 8. LIV, 9. VIII, 10. LXXXVIII, 11.	1. S13 L1, 2. S2 L5, S5 L8, 3. S5 L3, 4. S3 L3, 5. S3 L2, 6. S9 L1, S1 L2, S1 L6, S1 L1, 9. P1 (mid), 10. P1

		(P), 7. Lines Intended To Be Written Under A Noble Earl's Picture (2) (P), 8. Epitaph (P), 9. To Robert Riddell Esq. Of Glenriddell (April 2) (L), 10. To Charles Hay Esq. (L), 11. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 12. To Peter Hill (L)		CXLII, 12. CCIV	(end), 11. P4 (top), 12. P1 (mid)
Fire <i>vi.</i>	Be/become excited	1. Air (tune: O an ye were dead guidman) (S), 2. Scotch Drink (P), 3. To Mr. Thomson (L)	3. 1794	1. After Jolly Beggars (XIV), 2. XXXVII, 3. CCCII	1. Rec. S1 L6, 2. [Solomon's Proverb] L3, 3. P1 (mid)
Fizz <i>vi</i>	To make a fuss, to bustle, excite; to be in a great rage	1. Scotch Drink (P)		1. XXXVII	1. S10 L3
Flee <i>vi</i>	Be violently excited	1. To William Simpson (P)	1. 1785	1. XXXII	1. S13 L5
Flushed <i>adj.</i>	Excited	1. Prologue, Spoken At The Theatre, Dumfries (P)	1. 1790	1. CV	1. S2 L1
Fret <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	1. To John Murdoch (L)	1. 1783	1. II	1. P2 (end)
Furor <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	1. To Mr. Thomson (L)	1. 1794	1. CCCV	1. P8 (top)
Fury <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	1. The Twa Dogs, A Tale (P)		1. LXVII	1. S15 L10
Fuss <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	1. Poetical Address To Mr. W Tytler... (P)		1. LXXXVIII	1. S5 L1
Fyke <i>n</i>	Excitement/rage, a fuss, bustle, commotion	2. Tam o Shanter (P)		2. CXVIII	2. S15 L1
Fyke <i>vi</i>	To move restlessly, to fidget from discomfort, itch, excitement etc	1. Second Epistle To Davie (P),		1. V	1. S3 L4
Heartsome <i>adj.</i>	Exciting	1. To Mr. James Smith (L)	1. 1788	1. CXVII	1. P5 L1
Heat <i>n.</i>	Excitability of temperament	1. The Author's Earnest Cry And Prayer To The Scotch Representatives In The House Of Commons (P), 2. To Dr. Moore (L)	2. 1787	1. XXXVIII, 2. LXXIV	1. P11 S5, 2. P8 (end)
Heat <i>n.</i>	A state of Excitement	1. The Author's Earnest Cry And Prayer To The Scotch Representatives In The House Of Commons (P), 2. O Leave Novels (S)		1. XXXVIII, 2. XXI	1. S11 L5, 2. S2 L3
Inflame <i>vt.</i>	Excite	1. O Were I On Parnassus Hill (S)		1. LXXVII	1. S3 L2
Inspiration <i>n.</i>	Inspiration	1. Lovely Davies (S), 2. To Robert Riddell Esq. of Glenriddell (L) (Egotisms Of My Own Sensations, September (3)), 3. To Miss Alexander (L), 4. To The Earl Of Buchan (L), 5. To Miss Davies (L), 6. To Robert Ainslie (L), 7. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 8. To Mr. W Nicol (L), 9. To Mr. Thomson (L), 10. To Mr. Thomson (L)	3. 1786, 5. 1788, 6. 1789, 7. 1790, 8. 1792, 9. 1793, 10. 1794	1. CXVIII, 2. VIII, 3. XXX, 4. XLIX, 5. CXLIII, 6. CXLVII, 7. CCI, 8. CCXXVIII, 9. CCLXVII, 10. CCCIII	1. S1 L4, 2. P1 (mid), 3. P3 L1, 4. P3 (mid), 5. P2 (mid), 6. P2 (end), 7. P3 (mid), 8. P1 (mid), 9. P1 (mid), 10. P1 (end)

Inspire <i>vi.</i>	Inspire/be inspired	1. Preface (Kilmarnock Edition) (Pr), 2. To J. Lapraik (First Epistle) (P), 3. Scotch Drink (P), 4. Lines Intended To Be Written Under A Noble Earl's Picture (P), 5. To Robert Graham Esq. (L), 6. Young Peggy (S), 7. O Were I On Parnassus Hill (S), 8. To William Burnes (L), 9. To Mr Thomson (L)	1. 1786, 8. 1781, 9. 1794	1. -, 2. XXIX, 3. XXXVII, 4. XCVI, 5. CXXVIII, 6. XXII, 7. LXXVII, 8. I, 9. CCCII	1. P2 L3, 2. S1 L4, 3. S2 L5, 4. S1 L8, 5. S1 L1, 6. S4 L3, 7. S2 L1, 8. P3 (mid), 9. P1 (mid)
Inspiring <i>adj.</i>	Inspiring	1. Dedication (Edinburgh Edition) (D), Willie Chalmers (P), 3. The Twa Dogs, A Tale (P), 4. The Brigs Of Ayr (P) (2), 5. Tam o' Shanter (P), 6. To Mr. James Burness (L), 7. To Dr. Moore (L), 8. To Lady W. M. Constable (L), 9. To Mr. Thomson (L), 10. The Highland Tour (J)	1. 1787, 6. 1786, 7. 1787, 8. 1791, 9. 1793, 10. 1787	1. -, 2. LVIII, 3. LXVII, 4. LXXI, 5. CXVIII, 6. XXIX, 7. LXXXIV, 8. CCI, 9. CCLXVII, 10 -	1. P1 (mid), 2. S3 L5, 3. S17 L4, 4. S7 L5, S10 L11, 5. S9 L1, 6. P1 (end), 7. P10 (mid), 8. P1 (mid), 9. P1 (top), 10. P22 (mid)
Intoxicating <i>adj.</i>	Causing extravagant/rapturous excitement	1. To Robert Riddell Esq. Of Glenriddell (October) (L), 2. To Dr. Moore (L), 3. To Mr. Thomson (fig.) (L)	1. 1785, 2. 1787	1. VIII, 2. LXXIV, 3. CCCXIII	1. P1 (end), 2. P1 (mid), 3. P1 (mid)
Intoxication <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	1. To Mr. James Candlish (L)	1. 1787	1. L	1. P1 (top)
Kittle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	1. The Holy Fair (P), 2. To J.Lapraik (Second Epistle) (P), 3. To William Simpson, Ochiltree (P)	2. 1785, 3. 1785	1. XX, 2. XXX, 3. XXXII	1. S19 L8, 2. S8 L3, 3. S5 L5
Mad <i>adj.</i>	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	1. The Twa Dogs, A Tale (P)		1. LXVII	1. S26 L17
Madness <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	1. To Dr. Moore (L)	1. 1787	1. LXXIV	1. P22 (end)
Mania <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	1. To Mr. Thomson (L)	1. 1793	1. CCLXXI	1. P5 (end)
Nerve <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	1. By Allan Stream (S)		1. CCI	1. S3 L7
Nervous <i>adj.</i>	Nervous/easily agitated	1. To Mrs. Dunlop (L)	1. 1789	1. CLXXVII	1. P6 (top)
Nervous <i>adj.</i>	Characterised by/causing nervous excitement	1. The Twa Herds (P), To Miss Williams (L)	2. 1787	1. XVI, 2. XCIV	1. S17 L2, 2. P20 (mid)
Rage <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	1. The Vision (Duan Second) (P), 2. My Peggy's Face (S), 3. To Miss Chalmers (L)	3. 1788	1. XXIV, 2. CLXXIII, 3. CIX	1. S6 L3, 2. S2 L7, 3. P2 (mid)
Raise <i>vt.</i>	Excite	1. Address To The Deil (P), 2. The Cottars' Saturday Night (P), 3. To Robert Riddell Esq (L), 4. To Mr. Thomson (L)		1. VI, 2. XLIII, 3. VIII, 4. CCCXIII	1. S14 L2, 2. S13 L8, 3. P42 (mid), 4. P1 (mid)
Rattle <i>vt.</i>	Excite	1. Scotch Drink (P)		1. XXXVII	1. S17 L5
Rattling <i>adj.</i>	Lively/animated (of things)	1. To James Smith (P), 2. Tam o Shanter (P), 3. Rattlin' Roatin' Willy (S) 4. The Border Tour (J)		1. XXIII, 2. CXVIII, 3. -	1. S28 L4, 2. S6 L2, 4. P26 L5
Rave <i>vi.</i>	Talk extravagantly/rapturously	1. Scotch Drink (P), The Humble Petition Of Bruar Water...(P), 3. Streams		1. XXXVII, 2. LXXXIV, 3. LXII	1. S21 L3, 2. S9 L7, 3. S3 L6

		That Glide In Orient Plains (S)			
Rave <i>vi.</i>	Talk wildly/deliriously	1. Husband, husband (S)		1. CCXIV	1. S1 L2
Reel <i>vi. & n</i>	Behave riotously	1. O Leave Novels (S)		1. XXI	1. S2 L2
Rouse <i>vt.</i>	Excite	1. The Vision (P), 2. The Author's Earnest Cry And Prayer... (P), 3. To Robert Ainslie (L), 4. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 5. To Mrs. Riddell (L)	3. 1789, 4. 1790	1. XXIV, 2. XXXVIII, 3. CXLVII, 4. CXC, 5. CCLXXXVI	1. (Duan Second) S4 L3, 2. S3 L5, 3. P2 (end), 4. P3 (mid), 5. P1 (mid)
Roused <i>adj.</i>	Excited	1. To Dr. Moore (L) [int], 2. To Mrs. Dunlop (L), 3. To Mr. Thomson (L) [2]	1. 1789, 2. 1792,	1. CLIII, 2. CCXVII, 3. CCCXV	1. P2, 2. P3, 3. P 1 & 2
Rousing <i>adj.</i>	Exciting	1. Death And Dr. Hornbrook (P),		1. XV	1. S1 L5
Sauce (piquant) <i>n.</i>	That which makes (piquantly exciting)	1. Lines On Meeting With Lord Daer (P)		1. LXVIII	1. S6 L5
Skirl <i>vi</i>	Shriek with excitement	1. The Jolly Beggars (S), Halloween (P), Tam o' Shanter (P)		1. XIV, 2. XXV, 3. CXVIII	1. 2nd Recit. S1 L6, S6 L6, 3. S9 L19
Splore <i>n</i>	A state of excitement or commotion, a fuss	1. Holy Willie's Prayer (P)		1. XVII	1. S12 L2
Splore <i>n</i>	A revel, jollification, party, spree, freq. associated with drinking	1. The Jolly Beggars (S), 2. On a Scotch Bard Gone To The West Indies (P)		1. XIV, 2. L	1. S1 L9, 2. S2 L2
Sprightly <i>adj.</i>	Lively/animated (of things)	1. Halloween (P), 2. Written in Friars-Carse Hermitage (P), 3. Prologue Spoken At The Theatre, Dumfries (P), 4. The Lazy Mist (S), 5. To Mr Robert Muir (L), 6. To Mrs Dunlop (L), 7. To Mrs Dunlop (L)	1. 1788, 2. 1790, 5. 1787, 6. 1788, 7. 1791	1. XXV, 2. XC, 3. CV, 4. LXXXIII, 5. LXXXVI, 6. CXXII, 7. CCXV	1. S1 L4, 2. S2 L5, 3. S2 L1, S1 L3, 5. P4 L1, 6. P10 L3, 7. P1 L17
Sublime <i>adj.</i>	Sublimely exciting	1. To James Smith (P), 2. To Dr. Moore (L), 3. To Mr. Peter Hill (L), 4. To The Rev. Arch. Alison (L), 5. To Mr. Thomson (L)	2. 1787, 3. 1788, 4. 1791, 5. 1792	1. XXIII, 2. LXXXIV, 3. CXXXVII, 4. CCVIII, 5. CCXL	1. S4 L3, 2. P12 (end), 3. P6 (end), 4. P1 (mid), 5. P1 (end)
Sublimity <i>n.</i>	Sublimely exciting quality	1. To Robert Riddell Esq. Of Glenriddell (April 2), (September 1) (2) (L), To Mrs Dunlop (L)	2. 1789	1. VIII, 2. CLXVII	1. P3 (top), P2 (top), 2. P2 (mid)
Swim <i>vi.</i>	Become dizzy with excitement (of the mind/head)	1. To Mrs. Dunlop (L) [Heart swim in joy]	1. 1792	1. CCXXXII	1. P3 (mid)
Swither <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	1. Death And Dr. Hornbrook (P), The Author's Earnest Cry And Prayer... (Postscript) (P)		1. XV, 2. XXXVIII	1. S6 L2, 2. S3 L3
Thrill <i>n.</i>	Thrill of (pleasurable excitement)	1. Preface (Pr), 2. Nature's Law (P), 3. Address To Edinburgh (P), 4. My Peggy's Face (S)	1. 1786	1. -, 2. XXXIV, 3. LXIX, 4. CLXXXIII	1. P2 L4, 2. S4 L2, 3. S4 L4, 4. S2 L5
Tickle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	1. Air (tune: Auld Sir Symon) The Jolly Beggars (S)		1. XIV	1. S6 L2
Tingle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	1. To Mrs. Scott, Of Wauchope (P)		1. LXXXII	1. S3 L10
Tumult <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	1. Caledonia (S)		1. CCXL	1. S5 L2

Tumultuous <i>adj.</i>	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	1. Blooming Nelly (S)		1. LXVIII	1. S3 L5
Up <i>adv.</i>	In/into a state of excitement	1. Address To The Deil (P), 2. Air (Tune - Cout the Caudron) Jolly Beggars (S), 3. The American War. A Fragment.(P), 4. O Steer Her Up (S), 5. To Robert Riddel Esq. (L), 6. To Dr. Moore (L) (2)	6. 1787	1. VI, 2. XIV, 3. LXXV, 4. CCXX, 5. VIII, 6. LXXIV	1. S14 L2, 2. S4 L7, 3. S7 L8, 4. S1 L1, S2 L2, 5. P43 (end), 6. P13 (mid) & P18 (mid)
Warm <i>adj.</i>	Excited	1. To James Smith (P), 2. The Vision (P), 3. Tom o' Shanter (P) [int], 4. To Miss E (L), 5. To Mr. Gilbert Burns (L)	4. 1783, 5. 1787	1. XXIII, 2. XXIV, 3. CXVIII, 4. VII, 5. LXXIX	1. S21 L2, 2. (Duan Second) S17 L1, 3. S1 L12, 4. P2, 5. P2
Warm <i>vt.</i>	Excite	1. Tam o Shanter (P)		1. CXVIII	1. S1 L12
Warmth <i>n.</i>	Pleasurable excitement	1. To Mr. Peter Hill (L)	1. 1788	1. CXXXVII	1. P15 L1

Appendix E
Robert Burns's Language of Sympathy Searched Across Mackenzie

<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning/context</u>	<u>Book</u>	<u>Location/notes</u>	<u>No. of occurrences</u>
Fellow-feeling (n)	Fellow-feeling	n/d		0
Sympathy (n)	Fellow-feeling	n/d		0
Sympathizing (adj)	Sympathetic/Feeling sympathy	n/d		0
Sympathetic (adj)	Sympathetic/characterized by sympathy/Feeling sympathy	n/d		0
Social (adj)	Sympathetic	MoF x 2	Chapter XL, Chapter XL	2
Congenial (adj)	According to one's own feelings	n/d		0
Sympathize (vi)	Fellow-feel	n/d		0
Enter into (vi)	Fellow-feel	n/d		0
Ruth (n)	Pity/compassion	n/d		0
Pity (n)	Pity/compassion/object of pity/cause or ground for pity	MoF x 8	XVIII, XX, XX,XXVI, XXVIII, XXVIII, XXVIII, XL	8
Tenderness (n)	Pity/compassion	n/d		0
Compassion (n)	Pity/compassion	MoF x 8	XXV, XXVIII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXIX, XXIX, XXIX,XXXIV	8
Bowels of Charity (n)	Pity/compassion	n/d		0
Remorse (n)	Pity/compassion	n/d		0
Feeling (n)	Capacity to feel	MoF x 8	XIII, XXI, XXI, XXI, XL, LV, LVI, Concl.	8
Tears (n)	Specific (to being moved)	MoF x 24	XIV, XX, XX, XX, XX, XXVI, XXVI, XXVI, XXVIII, XXVIII, XXVIII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXIX, XXIX, XXIX, XXXIV, XXXIV, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVI, LV Common	24
Sympathy (n)	Sympathy	n/d		0
Condolence (n)	Sympathy	n/d		0
Fellow-feeling (n)	Sympathy	n/d		0
Sympathizing (n)	Sympathy	n/d		0
Mercy (n)	Mercy/An act of mercy/Mercy of conqueror or absolute lord	MoF x 2	XXVIII, XXXVI	2
Grace (n)	Mercy	n/d		0
Quarter (n)	Quarter in battle	n/d		0

Quarters (n)	Quarter in battle	n/d		0
Pitiful (adj)	Characterized by pity/compassion	n/d		0
Piteous (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	n/d		0
Humane (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	MoF x 3	XX, XXVIII, XXVIII	3
Pitying (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	n/d		0
Feeling (adj)	Inclined to (pitying)	MoF x 4	Title, XXII, XXXVI(t), XL(t)	4
Melting (adj)	Moved by (pitying)	n/d		0
Interested (adj)	Characterized by sympathy	MoF x 2	XXXIII, LV	2
Merciful (adj)	Merciful	MoF	XXVIII	1
Relenting (adj)	Relenting	n/d		0
Take Pity (vi)	Show pity/compassion	n/d		0
Feel (vi)	Sympathize	MoF x 3	XL, XL, LV 10 other entries in different senses.	3
Spare (vi)	Show mercy	MoF	XXVIII	1
Relent (vi)	Relent	n/d		0
Rue on (vt)	Feel pity for	n/d		0
Pity (vt)	Feel pity for	MoF x 2	XXVI, Concl.	0
God help him (phr)	Expression of pity	n/d		0
Pathos (n)	Expression/sentiment	n/d		0
Wretch (n)	Pitiable person	MoF x 9	XX, XXVI, XXVIII, XXVIII, XXVIII, XXVIII, XXIX, XL	9
Elf (n)	Pitiable person	n/d		0
Miserable (adj)	Exciting pity	MoF x 4	XXVI, XXVIII, XXVIII, XXIX	4
Touching (adj)	Exciting pity	n/d		0
Melting (adj)	Exciting pity	n/d		0
Pathetic (adj)	Exciting pity	MoF	XI	1
Silly (adj)	Deserving pity	n/d		0
Pitied (adj)	Pitied	n/d	2 as verbs	0
Miserably (adv)	Pitiably	MoF	XXVII	1
Pathetic (adv)	Pitiably	n/d		0
Melt (vt)	Affect with pity	0		
Move (vt)	Affect with pity	n/d		0
Inhumanity (n)	Pitilessness	MoF	XXXVI	1
Harshness (n)	Inexorableness	MoF	XXIX	1
Ruthless (adj)	Pitilessness	n/d		0
Pitiless (adj)	Pitiless	n/d		0
Unpitied (adj)	Unpitied	n/d		0
Unfeeling (adj)	Unsympathizing	MoF	XXIX	1
Merciless (adj)	Merciless	n/d		0
Wanton (adj)	Merciless	n/d		0
Unrelenting (adj)	Unrelenting	n/d		0
Relentless (adj)	Unrelenting	n/d		0

Without Mercy (adv)	Mercilessly	n/d		0
Jealousy (n)	Jealousy/envy	n/d		0
Envy (n)	Envy	MoF x 5	XXII, XXXIII, XXXIII, XXXVI, XL	5
Emulation (n)	Envy	MoF	XXII	1
Jealous (adj)	Jealous/envious or Jealous/envious of a lover	MoF	XL (t)	1
Envious (adj)	Envious	n/d		0
Envable (adj)	That is to be envied	n/d		0
Envy (vt)	Be Jealous/envious of	MoF	XL	1
Sairie (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity	n/d		0
Sorry (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity	MoF	XIV 5 uses in other senses	1
Sin (n)	Pity/shame	n/d		0

Appendix F

Robert Burns's Language of Sympathy Searched Across Sterne

<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning/context</u>	<u>Book</u>	<u>Location/notes</u>	<u>No. of Occurrences</u>
Fellow-feeling (n)	Fellow-feeling	SJ, TS	The Bidet, Ch 4. LXVII	2
Sympathy (n)	Fellow-feeling	TS	Ch 4. LXVII	1
Sympathizing (adj)	Sympathetic/Feeling sympathy	n/d		0
Sympathetic (adj)	Sympathetic/characterized by sympathy/Feeling sympathy	Tristram	Ch 2. XXI	1
Social (adj)	Sympathetic	n/d		0
Congenial (adj)	According to one's own feelings	Tristram, Tristram	Ch 1. X, Ch 3. XCVI	2
Sympathize (vi)	Fellow-feel	n/d		0
Enter into (vi)	Fellow-feel	n/d		0
Ruth (n)	Pity/compassion	n/d		0
Pity (n)	Pity/compassion/object of pity/cause or ground for pity	SJ x 8, TS x31	Common.	39
Tenderness (n)	Pity/compassion	TS	Ch 1. XXI	1
Compassion (n)	Pity/compassion	SJ, TS x 5	Maria, Ch 1. VII, Ch 1. XXI, Ch 4. XLIII, Ch 4. XC, Ch 4 XC	6
Bowels of Charity (n)	Pity/compassion	n/d		0
Remorse (n)	Pity/compassion	n/d		0
Feeling (n)	Capacity to feel	TS x3	Ch 1. XXI, Ch. 4 - LXIV, Ch 4. 78th 10 entries in the sensory meaning.	4
Tears	Specific (to being moved)	SJ x 6, TS x19	Common.	25
Sympathy (n)	Sympathy	TS x 2	Ch 1. XLII, Ch 4. XL	2
Condolence (n)	Sympathy	n/d		0
Fellow-feeling (n)	Sympathy	see above		0
Sympathizing (n)	Sympathy	n/d		0
Mercy (n)	Mercy/An act of mercy/Mercy of conqueror or absolute lord	SJ x 6, TS x 20	Common.	26
Grace (n)	Mercy	TS x 3	Ch 1. XLIV, Ch 2. XIII, Ch 2. LXVII	3
Quarter (n)	Quarter in battle	TS x 2	Ch 1. XL, Ch 1. XLII	2
Quarters (n)	Quarter in battle	n/d		0

Pitiful (adj)	Characterized by pity/compassion	TS x 8	Ch 1. V, Ch 1. XI, Ch 1. XVIII, Ch 1. XIX, Ch 2. LIV, Ch 3. I, Ch 3. XXXVII, Ch 3. LXXVII	8
Piteous (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	SJ, TS x 7	The Boubonnios, Ch 1. X, Ch 1. XLII, ch 3. XLVII, Ch 3. XLII, Ch 4. XCIV, Ch 4. LVII, Ch 4. LXXXIII	8
Humane (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	SJ x 2, TS x 2	Character, The Fragment, Letter (Vol. 2), Ch 4. LXXXI	4
Pitying (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	n/d		0
Feeling (adj)	Inclined to (pitying)	n/d		0
Melting (adj)	Moved by (pitying)	n/d		0
Interested (adj)	Characterized by sympathy	TS	Ch 2. LXII	1
Merciful (adj)	Merciful	SJ x 3	The Dead Ass, The Dwarf, The Passport	3
Relenting (adj)	Relenting	n/d		0
Take Pity (vi)	Show pity/compassion	n/d		0
Feel (vi)	Sympathize	SJ, TS	Le Demanche, Ch 2. XXXV	2
Spare (vi)	Show mercy	TS x 3	Ch 3. LXXVII, Ch 3. LXXVII, Ch 4. XLIII	3
Relent (vi)	Relent	n/d		0
Rue on (vt)	Feel pity for	n/d		0
Pity (vt)	Feel pity for	SJ x 2, TS x 2	The Snuff Box, In the Street, Ch 3. I, Ch 3. I	4
God help him (phr)	Expression of pity	SJ x 2, TS x 6	The Remise Door, The Passport, Ch 1. XCII, Ch 1. XCII, Ch 1. XCII, Ch 2. XXXV, Ch 4. XIII, Ch 4. LXXXIII	8
Pathos (n)	Expression/sentiment	n/d		0
Wretch (n)	Pitiable person	n/d	4 uses as an insult	0
Elf (n)	Pitiable person	n/d		0

Miserable (adj)	Exciting pity	SJ, TS x 2	The Remise Door, Ch 2. XIII, Ch 4. XLIII	3
Touching (adj)	Exciting pity	n/d		0
Melting (adj)	Exciting pity	n/d		0
Pathetic (adj)	Exciting pity	SJ x 2	Montreuil, Montreuil (Reference to Perseus and Cupid)	2
Silly (adj)	Deserving pity	n/d		0
Pitied (adj)	Pitied	SJ x 2, TS x 2	The Remise Door, Maria, Ch 1. XLII, Ch 3. L	4
Miserably (adv)	Pitiably	SJ x 2, TS	The Remise Door, Amiens, Ch 4. LXXXVII	3
Pathetic (adv)	Pitiably	n/d		0
Melt (vt)	Affect with pity	TS x 2	Ch 3. VI, Ch 4 LXV	2
Move (vt)	Affect with pity	n/d		0
Inhumanity (n)	Pitilessness	n/d		0
Harshness (n)	Inexorableness	n/d		0
Ruthless (adj)	Pitilessness	n/d		0
Pitiless (adj)	Pitiless	n/d		0
Unpitied (adj)	Unpitied	SJ	Calais	1
Unfeeling (adj)	Unsympathizing	SJ	The Postilion	1
Merciless (adj)	Merciless	n/d		0
Wanton (adj)	Merciless	TS	Ch 4. XLIX	1
Unrelenting (adj)	Unrelenting	n/d		0
Relentless (adj)	Unrelenting	n/d		0
Without Mercy (adv)	Mercilessly	TS	Ch 1. XLII	1
Jealousy (n)	Jealousy/envy	SJ, TS	Amiens, Vol. 4 dedication	2
Envy (n)	Envy	TS x 3	Ch 2. XIII, Ch 3. III, Ch 4. LXXI	3
Emulation (n)	Envy	n/d		0
Jealous (adj)	Jealous/envious or Jealous/envious of a lover	n/d		0
Envious (adj)	Envious	n/d		0
Envable (adj)	That is to be envied	n/d		0
Envy (vt)	Be Jealous/envious of	SJ, TS x2	The Passport, Ch 1. VII, Ch 1. XLII,	3
Sairie (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity	n/d		0

Sorry (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity	SJ x 2, TS x 5	In the Street, The Wig, Ch 1. X Ch 1. X, Ch 1. XLII, Ch 3. LXXXVIII, Ch 4. XVII	7
Sin (n)	Pity/shame	TS	Ch 4. XLVIII (19 entries in other senses)	1

Appendix G

Robert Burns's Language of Sympathy Searched Across Shenstone

<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning/context</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Fellow-feeling (n)	Fellow-feeling		
Sympathy (n)	Fellow-feeling		
Sympathizing (adj)	Sympathetic/Feeling sympathy		
Sympathetic (adj)	Sympathetic/characterized by sympathy/Feeling sympathy		
Social (adj)	Sympathetic	1. Elegy XXIII, 2. Elegy XXV, 3. The Judgement of Hercules, 4. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy (part 1st), 5. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy (part 2nd), 6. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy (part 4th), 7. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy (part 4th), 8. A Pastoral Ode to the Hon. Sir Richard Lyttleton, 9. A Pastoral Ode to the Hon. Sir Richard Lyttleton, 10. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 11. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 12. Elegy II	
Congenial (adj)	According to one's own feelings		
Sympathize (vi)	Fellow-feel		
Enter into (vi)	Fellow-feel		
Ruth (n)	Pity/compassion		
Pity (n)	Pity/compassion/object of pity/cause or ground for pity	1. Elegy XXIII, 2. Elegy XXVI, 3. Elegy XXVI, 4. Love and Honour, 5. Love and Honour, 6. The Progress of Taste or the fate of Delicacy, 7. A Pastoral Ballad II: Hope	

Tenderness (n)	Pity/compassion	1. Epilogue - To the Tragedy of Cleone, 2. The School-Mistress In Imitation of Spencer (note on Spencer), 3. A Pastoral Ballad II: Hope	
Compassion (n)	Pity/compassion	1. Love and Honour, 2. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 3. Elegy XVI	
Bowels of Charity (n)	Pity/compassion		
Remorse (n)	Pity/compassion	1. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 2. Elegy XVII	
Feeling (n)	Capacity to feel		
Tears	Specific (to being moved)	1. Elegy XXIV, 2. Elegy XXVI, 3. Love and Honour, 4. Song IX, 5. The Dying Kid, 5. To Friend, 6. Charms of Precedence - A Tale, 7. Cupid and Plutus, 8. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 9. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 10. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 11. To a Friend, 12. Elegy VIII, 13. Elegy VIII, 14. Elegy XIX, 15. Elegy XV, 16. Elegy XV, 17. Elegy XV	
Sympathy (n)	Sympathy		
Condolence (n)	Sympathy	1. Elegy VII	
Fellow-feeling (n)	Sympathy		
Sympathizing (n)	Sympathy		
Mercy (n)	Mercy/An act of mercy/Mercy of conqueror or absolute lord	1. Elegy XX, 2. Jemmy Dawson, 3. The Ruined Abbey or the Affects of Superstition	

Grace (n)	Mercy	1. Elegy XXII, 2. Elegy XXVI, 3. Love and Music, 4. Ode - So My Dear Lucio is to me, 5. Ode to a Young Lady, 6. Ode to a Young Lady, 7. Ode Written 1739, 8. An Irregular Ode After Sickness, 9. An Irregular Ode After Sickness, 10. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets	More uses in other senses
Quarter (n)	Quarter in battle		
Quarters (n)	Quarter in battle		
Pitiful (adj)	Characterized by pity/compassion		
Piteous (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	1. The School Mistress - In Imitation of Spencer, 2. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 3. Elegy III, 4. Elegy XVI	
Humane (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	1. A Pastoral Ode to the Hon. Richard Lyttleton	
Pitying (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	1. Song V, 2. Elegy XVI	
Feeling (adj)	Inclined to (pitying)		
Melting (adj)	Moved by (pitying)	1. Elegy XXIII, 2. Elegy XXIII, 3. Love and Music, 4. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 5. Elegy I,	
Interested (adj)	Characterized by sympathy		
Merciful (adj)	Merciful		
Relenting (adj)	Relenting	1. Elegy XVII	
Take Pity (vi)	Show pity/compassion	1. Ode to Cynthia on the Approach of Spring	
Feel (vi)	Sympathize	1. Elegy XXII, 2. Verses to William Lyttleton Esq, 3. Elegy XII, 4. Elegy XII, 5. Elegy XIV, 6. Elegy XIV, 7. Elegy XIV, 8. Elegy XVIII	

Spare (vi)	Show mercy	1. Elegy XXV, 2. Ode So My Dear Lucio is to Me, 3. The Poet and the Dun, 4. The Ruined Abbey or the Affects of Superstition, 5. An Irregular Ode After Sickness, 6. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets	
Relent (vi)	Relent		
Rue on (vt)	Feel pity for		
Pity (vt)	Feel pity for	1. Jemmy Dawson, 2. Ode - So My Dear Lucio is to Me, 3. Song VII, 4. To a Lady with Some Coloured Patterns of Flowers, 5. Elegy XV, 6. Elegy XVI	
God help him (phr)	Expression of pity		
Pathos (n)	Expression/sentiment		
Wretch (n)	Pitiable person	1. The Judgement of Hercules, 2. The Ruined Abbey or the Affects of Superstition, 3. The Ruined Abbey or the Affects of Superstition, 4. Elegy IX, 5. Elegy XV	
Elf (n)	Pitiable person		
Miserable (adj)	Exciting pity		
Touching (adj)	Exciting pity		
Melting (adj)	Exciting pity	1. Elegy XXIII, 2. Elegy XXIII, 3. Love and Honour, 4. Ode to Health 1730, 5. The Judgement of Hercules, 6. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy, 7. A Pastoral Ode to the Hon. Richard Lyttleton, 8. Daphne's Visit, 9. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young poets, 10. Elegy I, 11. Elegy XVIII	Often associated with music
Pathetic (adj)	Exciting pity	1. Charms of Precedence A Tale	
Silly (adj)	Deserving pity		
Pitied (adj)	Pitied		
Miserably (adv)	Pitiably		
Pathetic (adv)	Pitiably		

Melt (vt)	Affect with pity	1. The Judgement of Hercules	
Move (vt)	Affect with pity	1. Flirt and Phil, 2. The Judgement of Hercules, 3. Elegy XVI	
Inhumanity (n)	Pitilessness		
Harshness (n)	Inexorableness		
Ruthless (adj)	Pitilessness	1. The Dying Kid, 2. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 3. Elegy XIV	
Pitiless (adj)	Pitiless		
Unpitied (adj)	Unpitied		
Unfeeling (adj)	Unsympathizing	1. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets	
Merciless (adj)	Merciless	1. Love and Honour	
Wanton (adj)	Merciless		12 in other senses
Unrelenting (adj)	Unrelenting	1. Jemmy Dawson, 2. The Ruined Abbey Or the Affects of Superstition	
Relentless (adj)	Unrelenting	1. The Judgement of Hercules, 2. The Ruined Abbey Or the Affects of Superstition, 3. The School-Mistress In Imitation of Spencer, 4. Elegy XIX	
Without Mercy (adv)	Mercilessly		
Jealousy (n)	Jealousy/envy	1. Love and Honour	
Envy (n)	Envy	1. Elegy XXVI, 2. Love and honour, 3. Ode Written 1739, 4. The Judgement of Hercules, 5. The Judgement of Hercules, 6. The Judgement of Hercules, 7. The Judgement of Hercules, 8. The Judgement of Hercules, 9. The Ruined Abbey Or the Affects of Superstition, 10. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 11. Elegy II, 12. Elegy VII, 13. Elegy X, 14. Elegy XV	
Emulation (n)	Envy		

Jealous (adj)	Jealous/envious or Jealous/envious of a lover	1. Elegy XXVI, 2. Charms of Precedence - A Tale, 3. Charms of Precedence - A Tale, 4. Elegy XV	
Envious (adj)	Envious	1. Elegy XXVI, 2. The Judgement of Hercules, 3. The Judgement of Hercules, 4. The Rose-Bud, 5. The Ruined Abbey Or the Affects of Superstition, 6. The Ruined Abbey Or the Affects of Superstition, 7. The Ruined Abbey Or the Affects of Superstition, 8. Upon a Visit to a Lady of Quality, 9. Written in a Flower Book Of my own Colouring Designed for Lady Plymouth, 10. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 11. Elegy III, 12. Elegy VIII	
Envable (adj)	That is to be envied		
Envy (vt)	Be Jealous/envious of	1. To a Lady With Some Coloured Patterns of Flowers, 2. A Pastoral Ballad III: Solicitude, 3. A Pastoral Ballad III: Solicitude, 4. Colemira A Culinary Ode, 5. Elegy XVI	
Sairie (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity		
Sorry (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity		
Sin (n)	Pity/shame	1. The School-Mistress In Imitation of Spencer	

Appendix H
Robert Burns's Language of Sympathy Searched Across Richardson

<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning/context</u>	<u>Book</u>	<u>Location/notes</u>	<u>No. of Occurrences</u>
Fellow-feeling (n)	Fellow-feeling	Clarissa Vol. 7	Letter V	1
Sympathy (n)	Fellow-feeling	Clarissa Vol. 4	Letter XVI	1
Sympathizing (adj)	Sympathetic/Feeling sympathy	Clarissa Vol. 1, Clarissa Vol. 2, Clarissa Vol. 2, Clarissa Vol. 9	Letter XXXVII, Letter X, Letter XXIV, Letter XXVIII	4
Sympathetic (adj)	Sympathetic/characterized by sympathy/Feeling sympathy	Clarissa Vol. 6	Letter XL	1
Social (adj)	Sympathetic	Pamela	NLM	1
Congenial (adj)	According to one's own feelings	Clarissa Vol.1	Letter X	1
Sympathize (vi)	Fellow-feel	Clarissa Vol. 6	Letter II	1
Enter into (vi)	Fellow-feel	Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 7, Clarissa Vol. 9	Letter XXXI, Letter XXXVIII, Conclusion	4
Ruth (n)	Pity/compassion			0
Pity (n)	Pity/compassion/object of pity/cause or ground for pity	Clarissa Vol.1 - 26, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 18, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 12, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 18, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 18, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 30, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 35, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 20, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 23, Pamela - 51	Very common	251
Tenderness (n)	Pity/compassion	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 9, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 13, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 8, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 12, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 6, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 6, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 4, Pamela - 16	Common	82

Compassion (n)	Pity/compassion	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 8, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 7, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 11, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 8, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 6, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 7, Pamela - 13	Common	68
Bowels of Charity (n)	Pity/compassion	n/d		0
Remorse (n)	Pity/compassion	Clarissa Vol. 3 - 6, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 12, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 6, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 15, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 12, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 23, Pamela - 12		91
Feeling (n)	Capacity to feel	Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 6, Clarissa Vol. 7, Clarissa Vol. 9	Letter XL, Letter XVI, Letter LXIV, Letter XIX, Postscript	5
Tears (n)	Specific (to being moved)	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 14, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 10, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 16, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 25, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 22, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 16, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 16, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 26, Pamela - 42	Very common	191
Sympathy (n)	Sympathy	Clarissa Vol. 4	Letter XVI	1
Condolence (n)	Sympathy	n/d		0
Fellow-feeling (n)	Sympathy	n/d		0
Sympathizing (n)	Sympathy	Clarissa Vol. 1, Clarissa Vol. 2, Clarissa Vol. 2, Clarissa Vol. 9	Letter XXXVII,	4

Mercy (n)	Mercy/An act of mercy/Mercy of conqueror or absolute lord	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 15, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 9, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 7, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 30, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 11, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 30, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 17, Pamela – 23	Very common	150
Grace (n)	Mercy	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 5, Pamela – 21	Fairly common. Mainly in relation to religious grace.	39
Quarter (n)	Quarter in battle	Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 7	Letter VI, Letter XXXII	2
Quarters (n)	Quarter in battle	n/d		0
Pitiful (adj)	Characterized by pity/compassion	Clarissa Vol. 2, Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 8, Clarissa Vol. 8, Clarissa Vol. 9	Letter XLV, Letter XI, Letter XLIX, Letter LIV, Letter VIII, Letter XXXV, Letter XXXVI, Letter XVI, Letter XVII, Letter XXXVI	10
Piteous (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	Clarissa Vol. 8, Pamela, Pamela	Letter VII, NLM, NLM	3
Humane (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 6, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 6, Clarissa Vol. 9 – 2	Fairly common.	22
Pitying (adj)	Pitying/compassionate	Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 9	Letter XXXI, Letter XXXIII, Letter XXIV, Letter XXVI	4

Feeling (adj)	Inclined to (pitying)	Clarissa Vol. 1, Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 5	Letter VLII, Letter XXXVIII, Letter XXXVIII, Letter VIII, Letter XXXIV, Letter XXXV	6
Melting (adj)	Moved by (pitying)	Clarissa Vol. 5	Letter VIII	1
Interested (adj)	Characterized by sympathy	Clarissa Vol. 9, Clarissa Vol. 9	Letter IV, Postscript	2
Merciful (adj)	Merciful	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 2, Pamela - 7	Fairly common.	22
Relenting (adj)	Relenting	Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 6, Clarissa Vol. 9	Letter X, Letter LVI, Letter XXXIV, Letter XVIII, Letter XXX	5
Take Pity (vi)	Show pity/compassion	Pamela	NLM	1
Feel (vi)	Sympathize	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 7, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 4, Pamela - 1		18
Spare (vi)	Show mercy	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 11, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 8, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 10, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 10, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 7, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 7, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 11, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 7, Pamela - 11	Common	86
Relent (vi)	Relent	Clarissa Vol. 2 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 2, Pamela - 3	Fairly Common	16
Rue on (vt)	Feel pity for	n/d		0

Pity (vt)	Feel pity for	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 11, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 8, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 10, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 9, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 13, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 11, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 7, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 8, Pamela - 31	Very common	110
God help him (phr)	Expression of pity	n/d		0
Pathos (n)	Expression/sentiment	Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 7	Latter XXVI, Letter XXXVI	2
Wretch (n)	Pitiable person	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 18, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 12, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 12, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 17, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 18, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 17, Pamela - 10	Very common.	119
Elf (n)	Pitiable person	n/d		0
Miserable (adj)	Exciting pity	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 7, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 15, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 9, Pamela - 9	Fairly common.	52
Touching (adj)	Exciting pity	Clarissa Vol. 8, Pamela, Pamela	Letter XIII, NLM, NLM	3
Melting (adj)	Exciting pity	Clarissa Vol. 5	Letter VIII	1
Pathetic (adj)	Exciting pity	Clarissa Vol. 6, Clarissa Vol. 8, Clarissa Vol. 8, Clarissa Vol. 9, Clarissa Vol. 9, Pamela, Pamela	Letter XXXV, Letter XXIX, Letter LVI, Letter XXX, Postscript, NLM, NLM - 5 letters referred to as 'pathetic' in contents.	7

Silly (adj)	Deserving pity	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 2, Pamela - 7	fairly common.	16
Pitied (adj)	Pitied	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 6, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 10, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 4, Pamela - 5	Common	40
Miserably (adv)	Pitiably	Clarissa Vol. 2 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 3, Pamela - 3	Fairly common	17
Pathetic (adv)	Pitiably	n/d		0
Melt (vt)	Affect with pity	Clarissa Vol. 4, Pamela	Letter XXV, NLM	2
Move (vt)	Affect with pity	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 4	Fairly common.	20
Inhumanity (n)	Pitilessness	Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 7	Letter VII, Letter LXXI	2
Harshness (n)	Inexorableness	Clarissa Vol. 1, Clarissa Vol. 2, Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 6, Pamela	Letter VII, Letter VI, Letter XLI, Letter III, Letter XXV	5
Ruthless (adj)	Pitilessness	n/d		0
Pitiless (adj)	Pitiless	Clarissa Vol. 4	Letter XLIV	1
Unpitied (adj)	Unpitied	n/d		0
Unfeeling (adj)	Unsympathizing	Clarissa Vol. 2	Letter XXXV	1

Merciless (adj)	Merciless	Clarissa Vol. 6, Clarissa Vol. 7, Clarissa Vol. 7, Clarissa Vol. 8, Clarissa Vol. 8, Clarissa Vol. 9, Pamela, Pamela, Pamela	Letter XXI, Letter V, Letter XV, Letter LX, Letter LXX, Letter XXXVII, NLM, NLM, NLM	9
Wanton (adj)	Merciless	Clarissa Vol. 2, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 6, Clarissa Vol. 6, Clarissa Vol. 9	Letter XXXV, Letter XIV, Letter VII, Letter VII, Letter LXI	5
Unrelenting (adj)	Unrelenting	Clarissa Vol. 3, Pamela, Pamela	Letter LIV, NLM, NLM	3
Relentless (adj)	Unrelenting			
Without Mercy (adv)	Mercilessly	Clarissa Vol. 8, Pamela	Letter XVII, NLM	2
Jealousy (n)	Jealousy/envy	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 7, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 2, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 1, Pamela - 4	Fairly common.	29
Envy (n)	Envy	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 13, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 8, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 8, Pamela - 12	Common.	65
Emulation (n)	Envy	Clarissa Vol. 9, Pamela, Pamela	Postscript, NLM, NLM	3
Jealous (adj)	Jealous/envious or Jealous/envious of a lover	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 9, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 8, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 5 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 3, Pamela - 9	Common.	46

Envious (adj)	Envious	Clarissa Vol. 1, Clarissa Vol. 2, Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 3, Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 7, Clarissa Vol. 8, Clarissa Vol. 9, Pamela	Letter XX, Letter XXXVIII, Letter XLIII, Letter LIII, Letter LX, Letter XXXV, Letter XIV, Letter XXX, Letter XXXVII, Letter XXXII, Postscript, NLM	12
Enviably (adj)	That is to be envied	n/d		0
Envy (vt)	Be Jealous/envious of	Clarissa Vol. 5, Clarissa Vol. 7, Clarissa Vol. 7, Clarissa Vol. 7, Clarissa Vol. 8, Clarissa Vol. 9, Clarissa Vol. 9, Pamela, Pamela, Pamela, Pamela, Pamela, Pamela	Letter XXXII, Letter XXIII, Letter LII, Letter LIII, Letter XXXII, Letter XLVI, Postscript, NLM, NLM, NLM, NLM, NLM, NLM	13
Sairie (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity	n/d		0
Sorry (adj)	Expressing compassion/term of pity	Clarissa Vol. 1 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 2 - 5, Clarissa Vol. 3 - 3, Clarissa Vol. 4 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 6 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 7 - 1, Clarissa Vol. 8 - 4, Clarissa Vol. 9 - 1, Pamela - 1	Fairly common.	18
Sin (n)	Pity/shame	Clarissa Vol. 1, Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 7, Pamela, Pamela, Pamela	Letter XXXVI, Letter XLVI, Letter, XVIII, NLM, NLM, NLM	6

Appendix I

Robert Burns's Language of Excitement Searched Across Mackenzie

<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning/context</u>	<u>Book</u>	<u>Location/notes</u>	<u>No. of Occurrences</u>
Agog <i>adv.</i>	In state of excitement	n/d		0
Alarm <i>vt.</i>	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	n/d		0
Animated <i>adj.</i>	Excited	MoF	XL, LVI	2
Bizz <i>n</i>	In a state of commotion, uproar	n/d		0
Commotion <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Dance <i>vi.</i>	Leap/skip with excitement	MoF	XXXV	1
Enthusiasm <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	MoF	LVI 2 entries in a different sense	1
Erect <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d		0
Exalt <i>vt.</i>	Affect with pleasurable excitement	n/d		0
Exalt <i>vt.</i>	Inspire	n/d		0
Exaltation <i>n.</i>	Pleasurable Excitement	n/d		0
Exalted <i>adj.</i>	Characterised/influenced by inspiration	n/d		0
Excess <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d	2 entries in a different sense	0
Fidge <i>vi</i>	Fidget; move restlessly from excitement	n/d		0
Fire <i>n.</i>	Source of (inspiration)	n/d	14 entries as physical fire	0
Fire <i>vi.</i>	Be/become excited	n/d		0
Fizz <i>vi</i>	To make a fuss, to bustle, excite; to be in a great rage	n/d		0
Flee <i>vi</i>	Be violently excited	n/d		0
Flushed <i>adj.</i>	Excited	MoF	XIII	1
Fret <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Furor <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	n/d		0
Fury <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	MoF	XXVIII 1 entry in another sense	1
Fuss <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Fyke <i>n</i>	Excitement/rage, a fuss, bustle, commotion	n/d		0
Fyke <i>vi</i>	To move restlessly, to fidget from discomfort, itch, excitement etc	n/d		0
Heartsome <i>adj.</i>	Exciting	n/d		0
Heat <i>n.</i>	Excitability of temperament	n/d		0
Heat <i>n.</i>	A state of Excitement	n/d		0
Inflame <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d		0
Inspiration <i>n.</i>	Inspiration	MoF x 6	XVIII, XXI, XXXIII, XXXIII, XXXIII, LV	6
Inspire <i>vi.</i>	Inspire/be inspired	MoF	XIII	1

Inspiring <i>adj.</i>	Inspiring	n/d		0
Intoxicating <i>adj.</i>	Causing extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d		0
Intoxication <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d		0
Kittle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	n/d		0
Mad <i>adj.</i>	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d	2 entries in other senses	0
Madness <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d	3 entries in the insanity sense	0
Mania <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d		0
Nerve <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Nervous <i>adj.</i>	Nervous/easily agitated	n/d		0
Nervous <i>adj.</i>	Characterised by/causing nervous excitement	n/d		0
Rage <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	n/d		0
Raise <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d	1 entry in a different sense	0
Rattle <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d		0
Rattling <i>adj.</i>	Lively/animated (of things)	n/d		0
Rave <i>vi.</i>	Talk extravagantly/rapturously	n/d		0
Rave <i>vi.</i>	Talk wildly/deliriously	n/d		0
Reel <i>vi. & n.</i>	Behave riotously	n/d		0
Rouse <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d		0
Roused <i>adj.</i>	Excited	MoF	XXVIII	1
Rousing <i>adj.</i>	Exciting	n/d		0
Sauce (piquant) <i>n.</i>	That which makes (piquantly exciting)	n/d		0
Skirl <i>vi.</i>	Shriek with excitement	n/d		0
Splore <i>n.</i>	A state of excitement or commotion, a fuss	n/d		0
Splore <i>n.</i>	A revel, jollification, party, spree, freq. associated with drinking	n/d		0
Sprightly <i>adj.</i>	Lively/animated (of things)	n/d		0
Sublime <i>adj.</i>	Sublimely exciting	n/d		0
Sublimity <i>n.</i>	Sublimely exciting quality	n/d		0
Swim <i>vi.</i>	Become dizzy with excitement (of the mind/head)	n/d		0
Swither <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Thrill <i>n.</i>	Thrill of (pleasurable excitement)	n/d		0
Tickle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	n/d		0
Tingle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	n/d		0
Tumult <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Tumultuous <i>adj.</i>	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	n/d		0

Up <i>adv.</i>	In/into a state of excitement	MoF	XXVIII 47 entries in other senses	1
Warm <i>adj.</i>	Excited	MoF x 3	XXI, XL, XL, 7 entries in other senses	3
Warm <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d		0
Warmth <i>n.</i>	Pleasurable excitement	n/d	4 entries in other senses	0

Appendix J
Robert Burns's Language of Excitement Searched Across Sterne

<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning/context</u>	<u>Book</u>	<u>Location/notes</u>	<u>No. of Occurrences</u>
Agog <i>adv.</i>	In state of excitement	n/d		0
Alarm <i>vt.</i>	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	SJ, SJ, TS, TS	The Remise Door, The Remise, Ch 1. XLII, Ch 3. LXXV	4
Animated <i>adj.</i>	Excited	SJ, SJ,	The Remise Door, The Passport	2
Bizz <i>n</i>	In a state of commotion, uproar	n/d		0
Commotion <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	TS	Ch 2. XXXV	1
Dance <i>vi.</i>	Leap/skip with excitement	SJ, SJ, TS, TS	The Letter, The Grace, Ch 4. XIX, Ch 4. XXIV 13 entries in different senses	4
Enthusiasm <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	TS, TS, TS	Ch 3. XLV, Ch 4. XLIII, CH 4. LXXXIII	3
Erect <i>vt.</i>	Excite	TS	Ch. 3 XXVIII	1
Exalt <i>vt.</i>	Affect with pleasurable excitement	n/d		0
Exalt <i>vt.</i>	Inspire	n/d		0
Exaltation <i>n.</i>	Pleasurable Excitement	n/d		0
Exalted <i>adj.</i>	Characterised/influenced by inspiration	n/d	4 entries in other senses	0
Excess <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d	2 entries in other senses	0
Fidge <i>vi</i>	Fidget; move restlessly from excitement	n/d		0
Fire <i>n.</i>	Source of (inspiration)	SJ, TS, TS, TS, TS	The Monk, Ch 1. XII, Ch 2. V, Ch 3. VVI, Ch 3. LXXXIX 60 entries in other senses	4
Fire <i>vi.</i>	Be/become excited	n/d	64 entries in other senses	0
Fizz <i>vi</i>	To make a fuss, to bustle, excite; to be in a great rage	n/d		0
Flee <i>vi</i>	Be violently excited	n/d		0
Flushed <i>adj.</i>	Excited	n/d		0
Fret <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	TS, TS, TS, TS	Ch. 1 VIII, Ch 1. XVI, Ch 2. XIII, Ch. 3. XXVII	4
Furor <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	n/d		0
Fury <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	TS	Ch 2. XIII 3 entries in other senses.	1
Fuss <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	TS, TS, TS	Ch 3. L, Ch 3. C, Ch 4. XXVI	3
Fyke <i>n</i>	Excitement/rage, a fuss, bustle, commotion	n/d		0

Fyke <i>vi</i>	To move restlessly, to fidget from discomfort, itch, excitement etc	n/d		0
Heartsome <i>adj.</i>	Exciting	n/d		0
Heat <i>n.</i>	Excitability of temperament	SJ, TS, TS, TS, TS, TS	The Fragment, Ch 1. XXI, Ch 1. XXX, Ch 2. LIV, Ch 3. XXXVI, Ch 4. LX	6
Heat <i>n.</i>	A state of Excitement	TS x 13	Fairly common - Often "radical heat"	13
Inflame <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d		0
Inspiration <i>n.</i>	Inspiration	TS	Ch 1. XIX	1
Inspire <i>vi.</i>	Inspire/be inspired	TS, TS	Ch 4. LXI, LXXXIII	2
Inspiring <i>adj.</i>	Inspiring	n/d		0
Intoxicating <i>adj.</i>	Causing extravagant/rapturous excitement	TS	Ch 3. LXV	1
Intoxication <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d		0
Kittle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	n/d		0
Mad <i>adj.</i>	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	TS, TS, TS, TS	Ch 1. I, Ch 1. IX, Ch 1, XLIX, Ch 2. LV	4
Madness <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d		0
Mania <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d		0
Nerve <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d	4 entries in other senses	0
Nervous <i>adj.</i>	Nervous/easily agitated	n/d	1 entry in another sense	0
Nervous <i>adj.</i>	Characterised by/causing nervous excitement	n/d	1 entry in another sense	0
Rage <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	n/d	2 entries in other senses	0
Raise <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d	10 entries in other senses	0
Rattle <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d		0
Rattling <i>adj.</i>	Lively/animated (of things)	SJ, TS, TS	The Postilion, Ch 2. LV, Ch 4. XXIII	3
Rave <i>vi.</i>	Talk extravagantly/rapturously	n/d		0
Rave <i>vi.</i>	Talk wildly/deliriously	n/d		0
Reel <i>vi. & n</i>	Behave riotously	n/d		0
Rouse <i>vt.</i>	Excite	SJ, TS, TS	The Fragment, Ch 4. V, Ch 4. V	3
Roused <i>adj.</i>	Excited	n/d		0
Rousing <i>adj.</i>	Exciting	SJ	The Postilion	1
Sauce (piquant) <i>n.</i>	That which makes (piquantly exciting)	n/d		0
Skirl <i>vi</i>	Shriek with excitement	n/d		0
Splore <i>n</i>	A state of excitement or commotion, a fuss	n/d		0
Splore <i>n</i>	A revel, jollification, party, spree, freq. associated with drinking	n/d		0

Sprightly <i>adj.</i>	Lively/animated (of things)	TS, TS	Ch 3. II, Ch 4. XXIV	2
Sublime <i>adj.</i>	Sublimely exciting	SJ	The Wig	1
Sublimity <i>n.</i>	Sublimely exciting quality	TS	Ch 4. LXXII	1
Swim <i>vi.</i>	Become dizzy with excitement (of the mind/head)	n/d	2 entries in other senses	0
Swither <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Thrill <i>n.</i>	Thrill of (pleasurable excitement)	n/d		0
Tickle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	TS	Ch 2. XIII	1
Tingle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	n/d		0
Tumult <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	TS	Ch 2. XXXV	1
Tumultuous <i>adj.</i>	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	n/d		0
Up <i>adv.</i>	In/into a state of excitement		Many entries - infrequent in this sense.	
Warm <i>adj.</i>	Excited	SJ, TS, TS	Maria, Ch 2. XXXIX, Ch 3. LXVIII	3
Warm <i>vt.</i>	Excite	TS	Ch 4. XLIII	1
Warmth <i>n.</i>	Pleasurable excitement	TS	Ch 2. XXXI 3 entries in other senses	1

Appendix K

Robert Burns's Language of Excitement Searched Across Shenstone

Word	Meaning/Context	Location	Notes
Agog adv.	In state of excitement		
Alarm vt.	Cause nervous excitement/agitate		
Animated adj.	Excited		
Bizz n	In a state of commotion, uproar		
Commotion n.	Nervous excitement		
Dance vi.	Leap/skip with excitement	1. Love and Honour, 2. Ode to Cynthia on the Approach of Spring, 3. On Miss M--'s Dancing, 4. The School Mistress - in Imitation of Spencer	
Enthusiasm n.	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)		
Erect vt.	Excite		
Exalt vt.	Affect with pleasurable excitement		
Exalt vt.	Inspire	1. Love and Honour, 2. Rural Elegance An Ode to the Late Duchess of Somerset, 3. Colemira: A Culinary Eclogue, 4. Comparison	
Exaltation n.	Pleasurable Excitement		
Exalted adj.	Characterised/influenced by inspiration	1. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 2. Elegy IX He Described his Disinterestedness to Friend	1. Part third
Excess n.	Extravagant/rapturous excitement		
Fidge vi	Fidget; move restlessly from excitement		

Fire n.	Source of (inspiration)	1. Elegy XXI, 2. Ode Written 1739, 3. On Mr C of Kidderminster's Poetry, 4. The Judgement of Hercules, 5. The Judgement of Hercules, 6. To a Lady with some Coloured Patters of Flowers, 7. Upon a Visit to a Lady of Quality, 8. Colemira: A Culinary Eclogue, 9. Colemira: A Culinary Eclogue, 10. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 11. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 12. Elegy II, 13. Elegy VII, 14. Elegy XV	
Fire vi.	Be/become excited	1. Love and Music, 2. The Judgement of Hercules, 3. The Judgement of Hercules, 4. A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 5. Elegy XI	
Fizz vi	To make a fuss, to bustle, excite; to be in a great rage		
Flee vi	Be violently excited	1. Ode So My Dear Lucio is to Me	
Flushed adj.	Excited		
Fret n.	Nervous excitement	1. To a Friend	
Furor n.	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)		
Fury n.	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)		8 in the sense of anger/rage
Fuss n.	Nervous excitement		
Fyke n	Excitement/rage, a fuss, bustle, commotion		
Fyke vi	To move restlessly, to fidget from discomfort, itch, excitement etc		
Heartsome adj.	Exciting		
Heat n.	Excitability of temperament		
Heat n.	A state of Excitement		
Inflame vt.	Excite		
Inspiration n.	Inspiration		

Inspire vi.	Inspire/be inspired	1. Elegy XX, 2. Ode to Memory, 3. Rural Elegance, 4. The Judgement of Hercules, 5. To a Lady with some Coloured Patterns of Flowers, 6. Written in a Collection of Bacchanalian Songs, 7. A Pastoral Ballad IV: Disappointment, 8. Charms of Precedence - A Tale, 9. Colemira: A Culinary Eclogue, 10. Colemira: A Culinary Eclogue	
Inspiring adj.	Inspiring	1. Verses To William Lyttleton Esq, 2. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets	
Intoxicating adj.	Causing extravagant/rapturous excitement		
Intoxication n.	Extravagant/rapturous excitement		
Kittle vt.	Titillate		
Mad adj.	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	1. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy, 2. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets	
Madness n.	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	1. The Price of an Equipage, 2. Written in a Collection of Bacchanalian Songs	
Mania n.	Extravagant/rapturous excitement		
Nerve n.	Nervous excitement		
Nervous adj.	Nervous/easily agitated	1. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy, 2. Elegy XVIII	
Nervous adj.	Characterised by/causing nervous excitement		
Rage n.	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	1. Love and Music, 2. A Ruined Abbey or the Affects of Superstition, 3. Elegy VIII, 4. Elegy XIII, 5. Elegy XIII,	

Raise vt.	Excite	1. Elegy XXV, 2. Elegy XXVI, 3. Ode to Health 1730, 4. The Judgement of Hercules, 5. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy (part 4th), 6. Verses to William Lyttleton Esq., 7. Comparison, 8. Elegy XV	
Rattle vt.	Excite		
Rattling adj.	Lively/animated (of things)		
Rave vi.	Talk extravagantly/rapturously		
Rave vi.	Talk wildly/deliriously		
Reel vi. & n	Behave riotously		
Rouse vt.	Excite	1. Elegy XVII	
Roused adj.	Excited		
Rousing adj.	Exciting		
Sauce (piquant) n.	That which makes (piquantly exciting)		
Skirl vi	Shriek with excitement		
Splore n	A state of excitement or commotion, a fuss		
Splore n	A revel, jollification, party, spree, freq. associated with drinking		
Sprightly adj.	Lively/animated (of things)	1. Flirt and Phil, 2. Rural Elegance, 3. The Judgement of Hercules, 4. The Princess Elizabeth, 5. Upon a Visity to a Lady of Quality, 6. An Irregular Ode After Sickness, 7. Comparison, 8. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 9. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 10. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 11. Elegy VIII, 12. Elegy XI	

Sublime adj.	Sublimely exciting	1. Ode So My Dear Lucio is to Me, 2. Ode So My Dear Lucio is to Me, 3. The Judgement of Hercules, 4. A Ruined Abbey of the Affects of Superstition, 5. To a Lady with some Coloured Patterns of Flowers, 6. Economy A Rhapsody Addressed to Young Poets, 7. Elegy XIV, 8. Elegy XVI	
Sublimity n.	Sublimely exciting quality		
Swim vi.	Become dizzy with excitement (of the mind/head)		
Swither n.	Nervous excitement		
Thrill n.	Thrill of (pleasurable excitement)	1. The Rose-Bud	
Tickle vt.	Titillate		
Tingle vt.	Titillate		
Tumult n.	Nervous excitement		
Tumultuous adj.	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	1. Charms of Precedence A Tale	
Up adv.	In/into a state of excitement		
Warm adj.	Excited	1. Elegy XXIV, 2. Elegy XXVI, 3. The Judgement of Hercules, 4. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy, 5. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy, 6. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy, 7. The Progress of Taste or the Fate of Delicacy, 8. To a Lady with some Coloured Patterns of Flowers, 9. A Pastoral Ode to the Hon. Sir Richard Lyttleton, 10. Elegy X	
Warm vt.	Excite		
Warmth n.	Pleasurable excitement	1. A Pastoral Ode to the Hon. Sir Richard Lyttleton, 2. Elegy IV, 3. Elegy XIII	

Appendix L

Robert Burns's Language of Excitement Searched Across Richardson

<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning/context</u>	<u>Book</u>	<u>Location/notes</u>	<u>No. of Occurrences</u>
Agog <i>adv.</i>	In state of excitement	Clarissa Vol. 2	Letter XXIX	1
Alarm <i>vt.</i>	Cause nervous excitement/agitate	Clarissa Vol. 1, Clarissa Vol. 2 x 2, Clarissa Vol. 3 x 3, Clarissa Vol. 4, Clarissa Vol. 5 x 8, Clarissa Vol. 7, Clarissa Vol. 8 x 2, Pamela x 6	Common	24
Animated <i>adj.</i>	Excited	Clarissa Vols, 1, 1, 7, 9, 9, 9,	Letters II, XXXI, XL, XXXI, XXXIV, LV	6
Bizz <i>n</i>	In a state of commotion, uproar	n/d		0
Commotion <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	Clarissa Vols. 1, 4	Letters XXX, XXI	2
Dance <i>vi.</i>	Leap/skip with excitement	Clarissa Vols. 1, 8 Pamela x 2	Letters XXIX, L, L, NML	4
Enthusiasm <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	Clarissa Vol. 4	Letter XXIII	1
Erect <i>vt.</i>	Excite	Clarissa Vol. 8	Letter XXXVI 5 entries in other senses	1
Exalt <i>vt.</i>	Affect with pleasurable excitement	n/d	14 entries in other senses	0
Exalt <i>vt.</i>	Inspire	Clarissa Vols. 1, 3, 5	Letters XXVII, XVIII, XXXVI 11 entries in another sense	3
Exaltation <i>n.</i>	Pleasurable Excitement	Clarissa Vols. 1, 9, Pamela	Letter VII, Postscript, NLM	3
Exalted <i>adj.</i>	Characterised/influenced by inspiration	Clarissa Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, Pamela	Common	70
Excess <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	Clarissa Vols. 2, 4, 4, 5, Pamela	Letters XX, XI, XI, XXIV, NLM	5
Fidge <i>vi</i>	Fidget; move restlessly from excitement	n/d		0
Fire <i>n.</i>	Source of (inspiration)	Clarissa Vols. 1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 6, 6, 7, 8, 8, 8, 9, 9	Fairly common	17
Fire <i>vi.</i>	Be/become excited	Clarissa Vol. 2	Letter IX	1
Fizz <i>vi</i>	To make a fuss, to bustle, excite; to be in a great rage	n/d		0
Flee <i>vi</i>	Be violently excited	n/d		0
Flushed <i>adj.</i>	Excited	n/d		0
Fret <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	Clarissa Vol. 4, Pamela	Letter XXI, NML	2
Furor <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	n/d		0

Fury <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	Clarissa Vol. 4	Letter XLIV 24 entries in other uses	1
Fuss <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Fyke <i>n</i>	Excitement/rage, a fuss, bustle, commotion	n/d		0
Fyke <i>vi</i>	To move restlessly, to fidget from discomfort, itch, excitement etc	n/d		0
Heartsome <i>adj.</i>	Exciting	n/d		0
Heat <i>n.</i>	Excitability of temperament	Clarissa Vols 1, 1, 3, 3, 5, 5, 8, 8	Letters XXXIX, XLIII, XLV, LII, XVIII, XXI, XVI, XXXIX Not used in any other sense.	8
Heat <i>n.</i>	A state of Excitement	see above		
Inflame <i>vt.</i>	Excite	Clarissa Vols. 2, 2, 4	V, XL, IX	3
Inspiration <i>n.</i>	Inspiration	n/d		0
Inspire <i>vi.</i>	Inspire/be inspired	Clarissa Vols. 1, 2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 6, 6, 6, 8, 9, Pamela, Pamela	Fairly common	19
Inspiring <i>adj.</i>	Inspiring	Clarissa Vols. 2, 6, Pamela	Letters XXV, IV, NML	3
Intoxicating <i>adj.</i>	Causing extravagant/rapturous excitement	Clarissa Vols 6, 6, 6, 6,	Letters XVI, XXXVI, LXV, LXIX	4
Intoxication <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d		0
Kittle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	n/d		0
Mad <i>adj.</i>	Characterised by extravagant/rapturous excitement	Clarissa Vols. 1, 3, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 9, Pamela	Letters XII, XIV, XXI, I, I, VII, XLIX, VI, Pamela	9
Madness <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	Clarissa Vols 3, 8	Letters XLVII, XL	2
Mania <i>n.</i>	Extravagant/rapturous excitement	n/d		0
Nerve <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Nervous <i>adj.</i>	Nervous/easily agitated	n/d		0
Nervous <i>adj.</i>	Characterised by/causing nervous excitement	n/d		0
Rage <i>n.</i>	Spec. type of inspiration (poets and prophets)	n/d	43 entries in other senses	0
Raise <i>vt.</i>	Excite	Clarissa Vols. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	Letters XXXV, XVI, LXII, LXXVII, LX, IX	6
Rattle <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d		0
Rattling <i>adj.</i>	Lively/animated (of things)	Clarissa Vols. 3, 5, 9	Letters VI, XXII, XXXVIII	3
Rave <i>vi.</i>	Talk extravagantly/rapturously	Clarissa Vols, 1, 1, 2, 3, 3, 3, 3, 6,	Fairly common	23

		6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 7, 7, 8, 9, 9		
Rave <i>vi.</i>	Talk wildly/deliriously	see above		
Reel <i>vi. & n</i>	Behave riotously	n/d		0
Rouse <i>vt.</i>	Excite	Clarissa Vols. 3, 9	Letters XVI, XIII	2
Roused <i>adj.</i>	Excited	Clarissa Vols. 6, 7, 8, 8	Letters XXXI, VII, VII, XL	4
Rousing <i>adj.</i>	Exciting	n/d		0
Sauce (piquant) <i>n.</i>	That which makes (piquantly exciting)	n/d		0
Skirl <i>vi</i>	Shriek with excitement	n/d		0
Splore <i>n</i>	A state of excitement or commotion, a fuss	n/d		0
Splore <i>n</i>	A revel, jollification, party, spree, freq. associated with drinking	n/d		0
Sprightly <i>adj.</i>	Lively/animated (of things)	Clarissa Vols. 2, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 9	Letters XI, XIV, XXX, XXXVII, X, XXXII, XXXVII, Concl.	8
Sublime <i>adj.</i>	Sublimely exciting	Clarissa Vols. 6, 7, 9	Letters XLVIII, XXXI, LV	3
Sublimity <i>n.</i>	Sublimely exciting quality	n/d		0
Swim <i>vi.</i>	Become dizzy with excitement (of the mind/head)	n/d		0
Swither <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	n/d		0
Thrill <i>n.</i>	Thrill of (pleasurable excitement)	n/d		0
Tickle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	n/d		0
Tingle <i>vt.</i>	Titillate	Clarissa Vols. 2, 5	Letters XVI, VII	2
Tumult <i>n.</i>	Nervous excitement	Clarissa Vols. 5, 8, 8, Pamela	Letters XXXIII, X, LXIII, NML	4
Tumultuous <i>adj.</i>	Pertaining to nervous excitement/agitation	Clarissa Vol. 7, Pamela	Letter LII, NML	2
Up <i>adv.</i>	In/into a state of excitement		Many entries. Infrequent in this sense	
Warm <i>adj.</i>	Excited	Clarissa Vols. 1, 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 9	Letters XXVI, XV, XXIII, XXXII, XLIV, V, X, XXXVI, Postscript	9
Warm <i>vt.</i>	Excite	n/d		0
Warmth <i>n.</i>	Pleasurable excitement	Clarissa Vols. 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 7, 7, 8, 9, 9, 9, 9, 9, Pamela	Fairly common	26