

Walter Scott's Bannatyne Club, Elite Male Associational Culture, and the Making of Identities

ABSTRACT:

Examination of the choice of George Bannatyne (1545–1607/8) as titular patron for the antiquarian printing society founded by Sir Walter Scott, the Bannatyne Club (1823–1861), casts new light on the elite male associational culture of the gentleman's club at a moment of transition from amateur scholarship to the professional academic work of universities and learned societies. In celebrating Bannatyne, the Club engages in self-conscious practices of myth-making that illuminate the members' sense of their own relationship to the past, and of the Club's function in endorsing a distinctive Scottish identity in the context of political union. Analysis of a unique collection of papers compiled by an ordinary club member, James Nairne, offers evidence of the complex intersection of personal and scholarly motivations at work in the antiquarian printing club, and of the significance of the past in shaping personal and collective identities.

ARTICLE:

The antiquarian printing society founded by Sir Walter Scott, the Bannatyne Club (1823–1861), plays an important part in the development of literary and historical studies in nineteenth-century Britain. Scott's Club was initially modelled on the elite Roxburghe Club (1812–), then a society of thirty-one members, primarily drawn from the aristocracy, but including a few gentlemen. Each Roxburghe member was to present a reprint of a rare book or edition of a manuscript to the Club, in a run strictly limited to one hundred copies, though in practice fewer were usually printed, and Roxburghe Club books were kept in private hands.¹ In contrast, the

Bannatyne Club from the outset encompassed a more diverse membership, including men involved in the trades of publishing and printing. The Club's more patriotic object was established from the outset by Scott in a statement minuted at the Bannatyne's inaugural meeting, and printed at the head of copies of the club's rules from 1823 onwards: 'to publish...in a uniform and handsome manner a regular series of works illustrative of the History, Topography, Poetry, and Miscellaneous Literature of Scotland'.² Although, in common with the Roxburghe, each member theoretically committed to publish a work at his own expense for distribution to the Club, the Bannatyne was a more collective enterprise: 'actuated by a desire to be instrumental in the preservation of the Ancient Historical and Literary Remains of our Country; and [...] fully sensible of the benefits which result from mutual and united exertion'.³ The Bannatyne Club published primarily as a collective organisation, with a committee to make selections and superintend production: from its inception, it published literary and historical works, with an increasing emphasis on history as the Club matured.⁴ This essay explores the significance of the Bannatyne Club's choice of the sixteenth-century compiler George Bannatyne as their titular patron, how this choice illuminates the Bannatynians' conception of the Club's function in mediating the past, and its contribution to the Club's role as a site where elite male associational culture participates in the construction of individual and collective identities.

In founding an antiquarian printing society inspired by the Roxburghe Club, Scott and his collaborators named their new venture after George Bannatyne, the son of an Edinburgh burghess, who compiled the largest collection of poetry in English and Scots to survive from early modern Scotland: the Bannatyne Manuscript, completed c. 1568. Modern criticism accords the Bannatyne Manuscript iconic status as a monument of Scotland's literary culture, an assessment reflective of the manuscript's remarkable size and generic range.⁵ Yet, as Priscilla Bawcutt argues, although the manuscript 'above all, is perceived as unique...few have questioned this

unique status, or made much attempt to relate it to other manuscript miscellanies', and its preeminent celebrity presents a contrast with the comparative neglect of other significant miscellanies, such as the group associated with Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (1496–1586).⁶ Although Maitland himself was recognized in the name chosen for the Bannatyne Club's Glasgow counterpart, the Maitland Club (1828–1859), his nineteenth-century fame did not translate into the personal and critical attention Bannatyne and his manuscript came to enjoy. Examination of the origins and usage of the Bannatyne Club's chosen name illuminates the Bannatynians' active involvement in the construction of their namesake's nineteenth-century reputation, and their own consciousness of their multifarious and conflicting motivations.

As a gentleman's club, the Bannatyne shares features of the elite male associational culture of Victorian clubland explored by Barbara Black, functioning as a site whose existence manifests and assuages anxieties inherent within contemporary constructions of masculinity. The club enables an escape from the differences of class, gender, and race into sameness, facilitating the expression of homosocial desire, and providing 'a social geography where identities were forged and recast'.⁷ In the Bannatyne Club, the exclusive modes of sociability that enable the formation of collective identity coincide with the construction of Bannatyne's reputation from the outset: the Club's inaugural dinner celebrated Bannatyne's memory with a drinking song composed by Scott, later published as the first of an occasional series, the Bannatyne Garlands. Scott's song identifies the Bannatynians as the latest inheritors of an editorial tradition stemming from the poet Allan Ramsay, whose 1724 collection *The Ever Green* first brought the contents of the Bannatyne Manuscript to public notice:

Assist me, ye friends of old books and old wine,
To sing in the praises of sage Bannatyne,
Who left such a treasure of old Scottish lore,

As enables each age to print one volume more.
 One volume more, my friends, one volume more,
 We'll ransack old Banny for one volume more.⁸

Scott's hyperbolic praise at once marks and belies the complex gestation of the Club's name, whose history is traced in a later Club publication, *Notices Relative to the Bannatyne Club* (1836). Published four years after Scott's death, the volume's 'Prefatory Notice' offers a retrospective account of the club's origins that bears witness both to the members' desire to offer the proper respects to their founder's memory, and to the ambiguous nature of their chosen epithet. A letter from Robert Pitcairn to the editor, James Maidment, dated March 21, 1836, explains:

With regard to the designation of the Club, you know I was all along anxious that it should be identified, in some way or another, with the name of SCOTT; and in this feeling I was keenly supported by my friend Mr Constable, who was very partial to the name suggested by me of 'The Abbotsford Club;' —but on Mr Constable taking an opportunity of hinting that name to Sir Walter, he most pointedly declined such a distinction. I think you ought explicitly to shew that there was no intentional neglect or oversight in this matter; for it may afterwards be considered, either that the original Members had been insensible to the merits of their illustrious founder, or that they had unintentionally, but most ungratefully, slighted him; and that, after all, they had adopted a very vague and pointless *nom de guerre*!⁹

Pitcairn's letter is supplemented by others documenting the emergence of an association whose distinctive combination of patriotic ambition and determined amateurism is already present in Scott's conception of the Club as 'something of a Bibliomaniacal Society...for the prosecution

of the important task of publishing dilettante editions of our national Literary Curiosities'.¹⁰ As a collection, the letters included in the 'Prefatory Notice' foreground the problem of naming: alongside the rejected 'Abbotsford', a name resurrected for a similar club founded in Scott's memory (1833–1866), Scott also vetoed 'The Scottish Roxburghe Club', wishing to mark the difference between the new association's objects and those of the elite English book club. Other proposals included 'Auchlinleck', in deference to the contemporary misconception that the celebrated medieval manuscript was of Scottish origin, and various names of Scottish printers and collectors from Thomas Bassandyne to William Drummond of Hawthornden. In all, the 'Prefatory Notice' brings some twenty-seven possible names into view, including Archibald Constable's doggedly ingenious suggestion of 'The Thomas of Ercildoune Club', since 'The Rymer's Glen is the property of Sir Walter Scott, and we should thus, in a delicate way, range under the banner of Abbotsford!'¹¹ George Bannatyne, however, goes unmentioned until the Club's name appears as a *fait accompli* in an extract of a letter from Scott to Thomas Frognall Dibdin advising him of the inaugural meeting. Here, Maidment draws attention to contemporary assumptions that the epithet was intended as a compliment to Sir William McLeod Bannatyne, one of the Club's prominent members, or was a misprinted tribute to James Ballantyne, the Club's printer.¹² In emphasising the obscurity of the Bannatyne Club's chosen namesake, the *Notices* draws attention to the Club's role in the making of Bannatyne's reputation: Bannatyne's relative anonymity facilitates practices of myth-making whose playfulness reflects a consciousness of their own audacity.

The whimsical nature of the Bannatyne's chosen name in itself signals the character of nineteenth-century club culture. As David Matthews argues in his groundbreaking study of the emergence of medieval studies, membership of clubs such as the Bannatyne functions as a means to display an aesthetic disposition that manifests itself in what Pierre Bourdieu terms an 'aptitude for practice without practical function...constituted within an experience of the world

freed from urgency and through the practice of activities which are an end in themselves'.¹³ A mark of educational and economic capital, membership of an antiquarian printing society demonstrates an ability to 'master time, through all those things whose common feature is that they can only be acquired in the course of time, by means of time, against time, that is, by inheritance or through dispositions which, like the taste for old things, are likewise only acquired with time and applied by those who can take their time'.¹⁴ At liberty from the pressures of need, free to take their time, clubmen are 'able to play the games of culture with the playful seriousness which Plato demanded'.¹⁵

The playful seriousness that signals the privilege of time is recognized as a defining characteristic of the Bannatyne Club itself in a contemporary review of the *Memorials of George Bannatyne* (1829) from the *Literary Journal*, reprinted in the *Notices*. For the anonymous reviewer, the Bannatyne's 'grave sportive style' also represents a specifically national trait: 'the reader will easily perceive that [the Club] has had its rise in that mixed spirit of jest and earnest which is the source of half the pleasures of cultivated minds. It is peculiarly the characteristic of Britons to transact grave affairs in a jesting manner, and to deliberate with a grave brow over trifles.'¹⁶ The reviewer's analysis recognizes the Scoto-British character of the nationalist agenda informing the work of the Bannatyne Club, a feature that complicates Matthews' analysis of the printing society as a form of conspicuous consumption, where 'It was not scholarship but *belonging* that mattered'.¹⁷ For the members of the Bannatyne Club, the publication of literary and, increasingly, historical texts serves to endorse a distinctive ethnocentric identity for Scotland during a period when the benefits of political Union with England were fundamentally accepted, but the precise nature of Scotland's position as equal or ancilliary partner within the Union remained in question.¹⁸ The mixture of jest and earnest characteristic of the Bannatyne Club facilitates an engagement with Scotland's past that both enables the sincere expression of

national pride and simultaneously marks its own distance from the gravity of political nationalism.

In George Bannatyne, the Club found a figurehead who might be styled as precursor to their own Scoto-British enterprise: in a statement recorded in the minutes, Scott clarifies their choice as ‘the name of the venerable and industrious Collector, to whose labour Posterity is obliged for the earliest and most important record of our National Poetry’.¹⁹ As a model for the Club’s antiquarian activities, George Bannatyne signals a shared conception of the Bannatyne Club as an institution more committed to the public good than to the satisfaction of the collector’s desire for the book as material object. As Ina Ferris argues, dissonance between the Bannatyne’s elite character and the desire to serve national interests gives rise to ‘a distinctive form of publication, straddling the polarities of public/private, collection/dissemination, professional/amateur that stratified the literary field’.²⁰ The difference between the Bannatyne’s objectives and the elitism of the Roxburghe is marked in the rapid expansion of its membership: enlarged from its original nucleus of thirty-one to fifty in 1825, by 1827 the Club had expanded again, to one hundred members, in line with Scott’s argument that an increase in available funds would assist their exertions in ‘bringing out works of great national importance too heavily expensive to be undertaken by Booksellers in the ordinary way of trade’. From its inception, the Club’s model encompassed the production of additional copies for presentation to libraries and other public institutions, and the option of printing an extra impression of works ‘of such importance, or magnitude as to render it inexpedient to confine their circulation within the Club’.²¹

With the publication of the *Memorials of George Bannatyne* in 1829, the Bannatyne Club refined the value of George Bannatyne as model. Scott’s opening piece, the ‘Memoir of George Bannatyne’, obscures the Bannatyne Manuscript’s status as a collection of popular verse, compiled by a man in his early twenties, who drew on printed books in making an anthology

atuned to the contemporary tastes of his particular social milieu. Bannatyne's concern with genre, rather than a specifically Scottish national provenance, or with older texts, is reflected in the admixture of poems of English, Scottish, medieval, and early modern origins.²² Scott's 'Memoir', however, mythologizes Bannatyne as heroic protector of Scotland's historic literature, elaborating on Bannatyne's own claim to have composed the manuscript during the last three months of 1568, 'in tyme of pest /Quhen we fra labor we compeld to rest':²³

In this dreadful period, when hundreds, finding themselves surrounded by danger and death, renounced all care save that of selfish precautions for their safety, and all thoughts save apprehensions of infection, George Bannatyne had the courageous energy to form and execute the plan of saving the literature of a whole nation.²⁴

Scott frames Bannatyne as a patriotic antiquarian, refracting the past through the prism of his own concerns to create a useable model for the present. Scott's image of Bannatyne prefigures Robert Crawford's analysis of Scott himself as one of a number of Scottish writers and collectors motivated by the desire to preserve Scottish culture in the context of the Union:

'Writing in a culture under pressure, each sought to bind that culture together, to preserve it and celebrate it through anthology, which was closely bound up with creative endeavour.'²⁵

Sympathetic identification with Bannatyne found material expression in the Club's publications:

'the Arms of George Bannatyne, as blazoned in his own Manuscript, charged with a scutcheon of pretence, containing a crescent *azure* in a field *or*, with the motto "Reparabit Cornua Phoebe"' were adopted as a device for use on title pages from the outset.²⁶ The introduction of the motto of the Scotts of Harden, translated idiomatically as 'We'll have moonlight again' and used by Scott himself, further reinforced the connections between the Club, Bannatyne, and their founder. By December of 1823, the Club had resolved that 'a pair of moulds should be made,

bearing the usual device of the Club, instead of the ordinary Water-mark'. Following the receipt of these moulds in May 1824, Club books and correspondence were printed on paper watermarked with the Bannatyne arms, together with the letters B C in a Gothic script, characteristic of early printed books.²⁷ Club publications, whether sponsored by individual members or the Club as a whole, were typically prefaced by a list of current members with the president at its head, so that each book serves to endorse and consolidate the members' mutually reinforcing identities, as individuals and as members of a corporate body with Bannatyne as its emblem.

The mixture of earnest and jest that characterised the Bannatyne's other activities is also manifest in their treatment of George Bannatyne, however: in contrast to the imposing image of Bannatyne as antiquarian hero is Scott's frank acknowledgment of Bannatyne's shortcomings as a poet. Commenting that 'the power of loving and admiring with discrimination the poetry of others, is very far from implying the higher faculties necessary to produce it', Scott offers wry criticism of Bannatyne's 'frigid extravagance' in the surviving poems included in the manuscript and published in the *Memorials*. Faced with 'two specimens of our father George's amatory poetry', he finds that the reader 'may probably be of opinion, that our Patron showed himself merciful in the sparing and moderate example which they afford of his poetical powers'.²⁸ An 1830 review of another Bannatyne Club publication suggests how this combination of praise and disparagement might in itself serve Club interests: lauding the 'tasteful and patriotic selection of the Bannatyne Club', Alexander Henderson comments

The title chosen to designate this association is peculiarly happy; it may well be ever afterwards a feather in the cap of him who suggested it. Bannatyne, an industrious and sensible compiler, comes down in his capacity to the nineteenth century with Dunbar, Henryson, and Scott. The

stream of time, which mixes names, blends our admiration of genius with calm gratitude to this humble plodder, whose labours assure posterity that poor Scotland had early native elegance²⁹

Lacking the poetic talents of Dunbar, Henryson, or Alexander Scott, Bannatyne's work as a collector nevertheless ensures that his name, too, survives for posterity. Henderson's insistence on the particular suitability of the Club's name stands in counterpoint to an anonymous piece on 'Clubs, Literature, Antiquities', reprinted alongside it in the *Notices*. Published in the *Scots Times*, a Glasgow paper, the writer maintains that the Maitland Club's chosen name 'is marked by still greater propriety than was displayed in the choice of the titles of the London and Edinburgh societies.' While Roxburghe and Bannatyne were merely collectors of poetry, Sir Richard Maitland is praised as 'a character which would have adorned the most enlightened times':

not only a poet and a collector of poetry, who, from his rank and character, enjoyed the best opportunities of gathering ample and correct stores of verse, but also a prose writer of no ordinary merit, a genealogist, biographer, historian, and an ardent student of the family and general annals of his country.³⁰

Bannatyne's more modest talents and status, however, in themselves increase his value as an object of identification. While the membership of the Bannatyne included a number of nobles and distinguished men, Bannatyne offers a paradigmatic example of the significant contribution that might be made by a private individual, without remarkable literary talents, working in his leisure time.

Bannatyne's social status, too, offered an inclusive model for a club whose membership was elite, yet which sought to differentiate itself from the more determined elitism of the

Roxburghe Club from its inception. If, as Scott claims in the ‘Memoir’, ‘the indefatigable preserver of Scottish literature was by birth, education, and fortune, above the middling class of society’,²³ as the son of James Bannatyne, a Writer to the Signet and notable man of law in the Edinburgh civic community, George Bannatyne had much in common with the membership of the Bannatyne Club, which, like many other Scottish antiquarian societies, was dominated by lawyers.³² In adopting a figurehead who might at once be recognised for a distinctive achievement, yet whose origins and talents resembled those of the general membership, the Bannatyne Club marks its own identity as a club in which the recreation of amateurs might serve public and national interests. Henderson’s astute analysis of the members’ happy identification with Bannatyne, as fellow humble plodders, is in tune with the whimsical attitude that distinguished the Club’s efforts from professional labour and political nationalism.

The playful mode of identification with the past manifested in the Bannatyne’s affiliation with George Bannatyne also finds expression in the Bannatyne Garlands, a series of ten occasional publications spanning 1823–48, printed in limited numbers of around forty copies each. Several Garlands mimic the appearance and language of early modern printed books: Robert Pitcairn’s 1830 Garland, ‘A Merie Conceittit Geste’ ‘Schawand howe and zounge clerke foirgadderit with ane maiden’, is printed in blackletter and attributed to the Edinburgh printer Robert Lekpreuik (*fl.* 1561–81). Emulating the language of an early modern moral tract, Pitcairn claims ‘I sette itt befor the, beseikand the to consider weill ye samin, and yeirby may ze eschew ye lyke inconvenientis, quhilk mycht othirwyis arryue [...] gif anis ze sould listen vnto sic perilous suggestiounis of Sathanas’.³³ Adapted to the tastes of an exclusively male audience incorporating bachelors and married men, for whom the Club might function as a retreat from the pressures of domestic life, Pitcairn’s Garland is an act of ventriloquism that enables him to play the part of an early modern subject like those whose voices were heard in the Club’s publications. In an earlier Garland, Patrick Fraser Tytler engages in a similar form of role play:

his 1826 Garland celebrates the Club in modern English, but is again printed in blackletter, and prefaced with a woodcut image of a man in early modern clothing, bearing keys and a strongbox. Labelled ‘Ane Bannatyne Garland Brevit be Maister Patrick of the Kingis Chekar’, the image and title allude to Tytler’s own role as king’s counsel in the exchequer, while the Garland’s place of publication is given its Gaelic form, Dunedin.³⁴ Like the totemic use of George Bannatyne, the Garlands articulate an intimate identification with the past that frames the clubmen’s present pursuits as a continuation of early modern practices.

The role of such acts of ventriloquism and emulation in defining the Bannatyne Club and its members is pointed by those Garlands that reflect on the Club itself. Styling himself ‘Doctor Johan of the Hall Ryal’ in 1828, John Jamieson sets the Bannatyne in the context of the contemporary vogue for club membership:

Of Clubs this, sure, maun be the age;
 For ilk man, be he sumph or sage *simpleton*
 Of competition feels the rage.³⁵

Set to the tune of ‘The Ewie wi’ the Crookit Horn’, Jamieson’s Garland speaks in a Scots whose use as a language of literary composition had been revived by the poet Allan Ramsay, through the publication of medieval and early modern Scottish poetry, and in the creative work he produced under its influence. Writing in a linguistic medium that itself endorses a distinctive Scottish identity, Jamieson marks the desire to preserve Scotland’s cultural difference in a British context, and offers a shrewd definition of the Bannatyne as an idealised community where political differences are insignificant, provided that the economic criterion of membership is met, through payment of the subscription:

Quhae'er brings some auldwarld screed,
 We're nae that nice about his creed;
 Here Whig and Tory have like meed, *reward*
 Gin they to us but pay the cain (ll. 25–8). *reckoning*

Again, playful engagement with the past functions to position the Bannatyne as a collective whose nationalism is cultural, rather than political.

Jamieson's Garland moreover displays a particular concern with contemporary debates about the value and purpose of club membership and the ethics of the printing society. Disclaiming the pleasures of conviviality so central to club culture as an end in themselves, Jamieson argues 'Some meet but for the drap o'drink /We frae sic degradation shrink' (ll. 31–32). Instead, the Bannatynians

...try to mak the warld mair wise,
 By puttin' out, before its eyes,
 Quhat lang in some dark neuk has lain,
 Worm-eaten, suddlit, smok't, and torn. — *soiled*
 Some chields, however, ask in scorn,
 (O, were sic smaiks put to the horn!) *rogues*
 For notes to mak the text mair plain (ll. 61–8).

Jamieson's image of the Bannatynian's work echoes Bannatyne's own claim to have brought his book 'till licht' (to light) through the transcription of 'copies old, maimed, and mutilated', reinforcing the parallel between the clubmen and their titular patron.³⁶ The Club's goal is framed as education, through the transmission of neglected and endangered works, yet this aim coexists

with Jamieson's wry analysis of those with the temerity to request notes as rogues who should be outlawed. In presenting the Bannatyne Club as a pedagogic enterprise, Jamieson addresses an objection levelled at club books as the elite productions of amateurs, rather than scholars, with a limited circulation: "Ye print," say they, "but publish not" (l. 81). Jamieson's ventriloquised opponent echoes contemporary critiques like that offered by the Icelandic scholar Thorleifur Repp, who disputes that the literary productions of the Roxburghe and Bannatyne Clubs 'be books, since those literary productions are in general *not published*.' Repp's analysis positions the clubs as 'literary *stills*', suggesting a profitable distillation of private pleasures from matter that should by rights be public property, arguing that where their choice

falls on works of general interest and utility, it would not be in bad harmony with the spirit of our age to complain of this system of exclusive dealing in literature; and the excuse, that men may do with their own money what they please, will hardly be sufficient to characterise the system as a liberal one.³⁷

Jamieson counters objections to the elitism of club printing in identifying it as the most appropriate pedagogical strategy, protecting the fruits of the Bannatynians' press from profanation: 'we thus to wisdom train; /And means, by far the meetest, choose; /Sae prone is man licht to abuse' (ll. 84–86). For Jamieson, a more accessible system of publication might itself devalue the books and their contents, in subjecting them to fluctuations in market value: 'for bukes are scarce thocht worth a plack, /Gin twa or three unsold remain' (a small sum of money, ll. 91–92). The nature of the debate marks changing attitudes to the role and function of the antiquarian printing society, however: the shortlived Iona Club, founded in 1833, adopted an open admission policy foreshadowing that of the more successful Spalding Club, in 1839, and its

English counterparts, the Camden and Surtees Societies.³⁸ Ultimately, the principle of public access superseded the ideologies of elitism and protective guardianship.

The desire to print texts from the past, combined with resistance to provision of the kinds of scholarly apparatus that might make those texts accessible, reflects a distinctive shift in the conception of the past's significance for the present. Jamieson's willingness to represent requests for notes as quasi-criminal acts of hostility, however facetiously, is indicative of the relative importance of legibility for the Club's enterprise. Ina Ferris traces the implications of the Club's approach through a characteristically jesting remark from another member, Henry Cockburn, on his election as vice-president. Cockburn identifies the Maitland and Bannatyne Clubs as

the best examples of bibliomania that Scotland has yet exhibited. Very few of us can read our books, and still fewer can understand them; yet type, morocco, and the corporation spirit make us print on, and this quite independently of the temptation arising from the marketable worth of what we get being far beyond what we pay.³⁹

The sense that clubmen did not necessarily read the books they collected is borne out in reports that the first set of Bannatyne Club books to come up for auction, in 1828, 'were all in an uncut state', and in Cosmo Innes' claim that only a dozen or so Bannatynians troubled to cut the leaves of his editions.⁴⁰ Yet, if such claims perhaps underplay the genuine interest some Bannatynians felt for Scottish cultural history, Cockburn's observation bears witness to the inconsequential nature of textual understanding for these amateur bibliophiles. As Ferris argues, 'When Cockburn cannot read or, reading, cannot understand the texts of the past yet remains somehow convinced of their worth, he highlights the turn whereby the value of the past no longer inhered in its intelligibility (as it has for classical or humanist history) but in an illegibility that was the sign of its authenticity'.⁴¹ The wish 'For notes to mak the text mair plain' is objectionable

because it seeks to efface the difference of the past, a quality acknowledged by the deliberate opacity of these products of antiquarian printing. Cockburn's sense of the 'corporation spirit' marks the cohesive effect of the Club's collective work, both at the level of the institution, and in its reinforcement of a Scottish identity compatible with unionism; at the same time, Cockburn recognises the materialistic appeal of the book as collectable object.⁴²

The importance the Bannatyne Club might assume as a site of personal identity, and the sincerity of ordinary members' commitment to the Club's antiquarian work is evidenced by a unique collection of documents compiled by James Nairne (1782–1847) relating to the membership he held from January 1829 to November 1834. A Writer to the Signet and Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Nairne had been forced to resign his membership through pecuniary losses sustained as the result of a controversial prosecution for falsehood and defamation.⁴³ Nairne's collection, now in the National Library of Scotland, reflects his careful preservation of these papers for a decade: in 1844, he had them bound into a book. Carefully arranged in chronological order, these documents bear the traces of repeated acts of reading: in 1845, he added a detailed table of contents, with each item numbered and annotated for ease of reference. Marginal annotations in Nairne's hand, sometimes in dialogue with one another, witness Nairne's shifting perceptions of his own experience as clubman, as the collection becomes the focus of commemorative activity for its owner and maker. The collection appears to have been primarily intended for personal use.

As an extensive and dedicated work of compilation performed by an individual over time, Nairne's collection suggests a tantalising echo of the Bannatyne Manuscript itself. The Bannatyne Manuscript evokes its own intended audience in a series of editorial addresses to the reader, endorsing the dominant ethical and religious values of the time as Bannatyne frames its contents in didactic terms: Bannatyne justifies his collection through an appeal to the 'trewth' of his sources, which is 'Tryd furth', or proven, while a section dedicated to 'luvaris

ballattis' (lover's poems) opens with advice to 'Luve first your god aboif all vder thing'.⁴⁴

Emphasising his own role in transmitting the tastes and values of the community to which he belongs, the young Bannatyne stakes a claim to an authoritative place within that community, and marks his possession of the educational, material, and temporal resources necessary to the making of such an impressive manuscript book. Incorporating the arms of the senior familial branch of the family, the Bannatynes of Kames, as its sole illustration, the Bannatyne Manuscript appears to have functioned as a family book, read by friends and relations, and preserved within Bannatyne's family until 1712. Like Bannatyne's only other known manuscript, a 'memoriall buik' recording information about his family, the Bannatyne Manuscript serves as a family heirloom in the sense described by Pierre Bourdieu, for whom heirlooms

not only bear material witness to the age and continuity of the lineage and so consecrate its social identity, which is inseparable from permanence over time; they also contribute in a practical way to its spiritual reproduction, that is, to transmitting the values, virtues and competences which are the basis of legitimate membership in bourgeois dynasties.⁴⁵

Bannatyne's Manuscript endorses and perpetuates a set of aesthetic and moral values that embody the standards and traditions of his social milieu. As a display of competence in appreciating and transmitting the tastes of his time that shapes individual and collective social identities, Bannatyne's work as a compiler bears comparison to the efforts by young men such as William Barclay Turnbull, in setting up the Abbotsford Club at the age of twenty-two, or of W. F. Skene and Donald Gregory, in establishing the Iona Club in the same year.⁴⁶ Such men's interest in the foundation of antiquarian publishing clubs offers an indication of the social capital associated with their work, and their potential as a site for the construction of personal identity.

For Nairne, as for Bannatyne, the making of a manuscript book serves to endorse and commemorate his claim to the social identity its contents manifest, marking his appreciation of, and participation in, the practices that distinguish the clubbable man. Already of mature years at the time of his election to the Bannatyne Club, on 28 January, 1829, Nairne reveals the depth of his investment in the Bannatyne as a mark of, and means to, social capital in annotations to printed lists of Club members carefully preserved in his collection. Here, Nairne notes the numbers of noblemen, baronets, judges, advocates and Writers to the Signet swelling the Bannatyne's ranks (item 3). Item five in Nairne's book is a further copy of the list of Club members as of July 1828. Identified in the contents as 'shewing those who voted for me', it offers evidence of Nairne's canvassing efforts in the run up to the election, with thirteen members 'not committed, but thought safe [...] so that I have 40 certain votes'.⁴⁷ A letter from Scott accepting an invitation to dine at Nairne's 'Bannatyne Party' celebrating his election, held on 6 March, 1829, must have been a source of particular pleasure, despite Scott's somewhat gloomy qualification: 'providing my vile Rheumatism does not bring me to our author' (p. 3, item 32).⁴⁸ Nairne's later reflections on his resignation illustrate the complex interactions between self-worth, economic value, and social distinction centring on club membership:

the first of worthy James Craig's Notes (no. 239) shews, that I rather had the wish to remain in the Club, Even after selling my Collection of its works; but, of course I at once yielded to his kindly-candid information & advice: Nor would I ever have sold, had not so Eminent a friend as Lord Fullerton set me the example; — & our prices were, I think, the same, or his was Guineas, while mine was pounds (contents, 18).

Nairne's desire for membership outlasts his possession of the books that are its ostensible object, and he finds consolation in remembering a socially prestigious counterpart, John Fullerton, who

resigned in 1841. Nairne's annotations witness his nostalgic return to the period of his membership, reviving the memory of a time when he was judged to be a clubbable man, able to enjoy the company of his fellows, and assuaging the pain of his own reduced circumstances. As a legacy surviving both Nairne's financial losses and Nairne himself, Nairne's book stands as testament to the legitimacy of his claim to the social status associated with club membership.

The memory of the Bannatyne as an enclave of convivial male associational culture may have been especially dear to Nairne given the particular source of Nairne's pecuniary losses: Lady Eliza Ramsay, estranged from her husband during his lifetime, prosecuted Nairne for damages relating to the claim that Sir Thomas Ramsay, for whom Nairne was acting, had intended to sue for divorce, his wife having 'been guilty of the grossest misconduct as a married woman, and of such repeated and flagrant violations of her marriage vows, as enable and justify Sir Thomas to institute proceedings'.⁴⁹ The death of Thomas Ramsay in June 1830 put an end to such plans. Lady Ramsay's ensuing legal action found in her favour, with the jury declaring her character to be unsullied, though only six of the seventeen charges laid against Nairne were upheld. The Advocate's Library copy of Lady Ramsay's own version of events, *The Trial, Before the Lord President of the Court of Session*, contains a handwritten note on the flyleaf offering the contemporary view of one of Nairne's legal colleagues that the judgement was unjust, and Lady Ramsay's action vindictive. Whatever the facts of the case, Nairne's situation as a man suffering from a woman's ability to resist and even revenge the strictures her husband and his legal representatives had sought to impose perhaps added to the Bannatyne Club's appeal as a place where men might escape into a homosocial world free of the challenges to masculinity such actions represent.

Nairne's compilation of the documents relating to his membership also counters another, more impersonal, source of anxiety relating to club activity: the challenge laid in some quarters that the work of the printing clubs was not simply elitist, but lacking in merit. Touched with

elements of an Enlightenment prejudice against antiquarianism as an irrational passion for the remnants of times best forgotten, it finds expression in a rather acerbic article from the *New Scots Magazine*, which the Club reprinted in the *Notices*, with typical composure: ‘Much of what they have brought to light might, without loss to mankind, have been left in obscurity. A Bannatynian is a sort of literary scavenger, whose duty it is to save from oblivion all kinds of rubbish.’⁵⁰ Nairne’s collection, in contrast, constructs the Bannatyne Club as an institution for whose members history and literature were serious matters. An undated note from the M.P. and book collector William Henry Miller to the Club secretary, the antiquary and librarian David Laing (1793–1878), appearing in Nairne’s book, at once marks a personal enthusiasm for late-medieval poetry, and the influence of member activism in fostering ostensibly private contributions: ‘I do not know whether your friend Mr. Nairn is favourable to poetry — should he be so might you not suggest that Henryson from the Mus. MS with the whole English version as an ap. would form a splendid vol’?⁵¹ Miller’s advocacy distinguishes him as an exemplary Club member in Nairne’s eyes: ‘Mr M. is a keen Bannatynian’ (item 92, and entry in contents). Nairne’s own historical contribution, John, Earl of Rothes’ *A Relation of Proceedings Concerning The Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland From August 1637 to July 1638*, was suggested by the then vice president, Thomas Thomson, and published in 1830. Nairne’s collection offers an insight into the processes of the antiquarian printing society and contemporary conceptions of its work. A letter from Dr James Cleland compliments Nairne’s scholarship, and attests to the patriotic ambitions of the Scottish Clubs:

a work replete with important and useful information — a work which must have cost you great pains and research. It does you great honour, and will be received by the Club as one of its most important Contributions [...] The Bannatyne Club of which you are a distinguished member is

of great importance, and does honor to the Country. In our humble walk, the Maitland Club promises also to be useful (2 October 1830, item 122).

Nairne's own response reflects both a characteristic tendency to self-deprecation, and the ubiquitous influence of David Laing: 'distinguished member' attracts the annotation 'Stuff'; the allusion to research a footnote: 'Alas! how little. D. Laing has all the Credit'. Elsewhere, Nairne praises 'my excellent & very learned friend, Mr D. Laing' for adding two illustrations to his volume, facsimiles of a letter in Rothes' handwriting, and of the signatures of prominent people mentioned in Rothes' work: Laing 'Enriched my Book with them Even without my knowledge; I did not know of either until I opened the Volume for the first time: He even paid the Expense of Engraving them'. Laing 'also arranged the ample Appendix, & relieved me of all the heavier work of revising the Proofs & otherwise getting up the Book'.⁵² Laing's practice in this respect highlights the materiality of the sources with which Club members worked: paralleled in the work of clubmen like Patrick Fraser Tytler and Cosmo Innes, such innovations focus attention on surviving documents in ways that anticipate the significance of primary sources for modern historical scholarship.⁵³ While Laing's impact on the Bannatyne's scholarly mission was considerable, however, Nairne himself was not simply a social member: amongst his consolations in later years is 'the Satisfaction of thinking, that as a Contribution, mine was, generally, approved, & indeed that it is held to be decidedly above par', and his support for Mr Tyndall Bruce, admitted at the first meeting after Nairne's resignation. Bruce 'presented a very valuable contribution to the Club, — the muniments of the Priory of St Andrews, which ranks with those of His Grace of Buccleuch and the Earl of Glasgow, (the chartularies of Melrose & Paisley) in importance and interest' (contents, 19–20). Nairne's concern with the relative value of the scholarship he was able to facilitate as a member, both personally and through his

influence, suggests at once the sincerity of his historical interests and scholarship's role as a significant factor contributing to Nairne's sense of his own social value.

Nairne's conception of the value of club scholarship is also reflected in the evidence his collection offers of his own work on the edition of Rothes: Nairne consulted archival material, corresponded and met with the most gifted palaeographer of the age, Frederic Madden (1801–1873), then assistant keeper in the department of manuscripts at the British Museum. Madden's letters to Nairne include descriptions of relevant manuscripts and discussion of other matters relevant to the Club's interests in antiquarian publication: in a letter of 23 April 1830, Madden shares the first stanza of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which he was to edit for a Bannatyne Club volume published in 1839, in line with Scott's mistaken belief that it was a Scottish romance (item 78). Madden's willingness to share his expertise with Nairne nevertheless coexists with scepticism about his abilities: after meeting with Nairne and another member, Madden comments 'Neither of them [...] although members of the Bann. Club, and both in their way admirers of Old Books, have the slightest knowledge of Bibliography or our early literature'.⁵⁴ Madden's criticism of Nairne marks the strain of his own position as a pathbreaking scholar of Middle English in the heyday of the antiquarian printing society: as Matthews argues, Madden's career 'is an example of an increasingly uneasy alliance between the discipline's two facets as a privatized technology of the self and its emergent national importance'.⁵⁵ Madden's own consciousness of the antagonistic relationship between social and scholarly distinction finds expression in a letter to Nairne: 'I am told you have lately had another election in your Club. Mr Petrie and Archdeacon Wrangham I know, sent votes for me. When you want a member who can be really useful to the Club in various ways, you will elect me, but so long as you only want titles or money, I have no chance' (3 December 1831, item 205). Knighted in 1832, Madden was admitted to the Bannatyne Club in February 1833, shortly before he became a Knight Companion of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order. He resigned in 1836. Madden's

connection with Nairne offers valuable evidence of the tensions at issue in the gradual transition between the selective antiquarian printing society, with its precarious fusion of scholarly work serving public interests with the elitism of male associational culture, and the emergence of modern scholarly practices.

If the ordinary members of the Bannatyne Club lacked Madden's genius for palaeography and bibliography, however, Nairne's collection bears witness to the intimate connection these amateur scholars felt to the past, their sense of its proximity, and its potential to impinge on the present. Finding fault with Nairne's *Roths*, John Gardiner Kinnear writes

I am truly sorry to think that you are disturbed with an evil conscience, haunted by the Ghost of *Roths*, or labouring under some other unhappy state of mind, that drives you from your warm bed in the middle of a winter night for your note to me is dated at an hour, when I and all other well disposed, easy minded men are at rest (December 1830, item 178).

Nairne's annotation suggests some perplexity at this letter, offering only the brief comment 'curious—Bookish' (contents, p. 13). Yet, Kinnear's serious image of the spectre of the past haunting Nairne finds a comic counterpart in Patrick Fraser Tytler's *Ane New Bannatyne Garland* (1829). Tytler's *Garland* takes the witches' invocation of the apparition of Scotland's kings as epigraph: 'Come like shadows, so depart' (*Macbeth* 4.1). Calling on the 'Shades of ye masters that worshipped Antiquity' to 'Bend o'er our orgies', Tytler imagines a visitation of the spirits of historians, from English antiquarians such as John Leland and Archbishop Usher to the Scottish chroniclers Andrew of Wyntoun, and John of Fordun, 'a thirsty old shade'. The party descends into riot, however, as spectral historians come to blows: the early modern Hector Boece and his eighteenth-century successor David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, 'swagger and swear in most classical Latin', and all head home.⁵⁶ Tytler's image of Hailes at the centre of a violent

historiographical controversy carries an irony of its own: Tytler's careful critique of Hailes' approach in his *History of Scotland* drew criticism from Scott, and ultimately frustrated his own prospects of appointment to the post of Historiographer Royal for Scotland.⁵⁷ Like the earlier Garlands, Tytler's light-hearted fantasy in black letter print matches the Club's chosen *nom de guerre* in claiming a congenial affiliation with the past, imagining their predecessors as sharing the convivial space of the Club itself, and a lively camaraderie in their antiquarian work. Such spectral fantasies also manifest a characteristically antiquarian sense of the past: as Ferris argues, 'Antiquaries [...] inhabited a more gothic modality in which the past could always return through its traces to disturb the clarity of linear flow'.⁵⁸ For Nairne and his fellows, the past is not resolved and determinate, but an animate force with an active role in producing the social formations of the present, shaping identities for individuals and for communities, both local and national.

The Bannatyne Club's choice of George Bannatyne as a model for their antiquarian work produces a version of the past that offers a usable model for the present, casting Bannatyne as a clubbable man, and his manuscript as an exemplary site through which a community of gentleman scholars could imagine the possibilities of their own labour. In the comic tone of their construction of the past and its continuities with their present roles, the clubmen mark the decided amateurism of their work as a conspicuous expression of their own possession of the temporal and economic resources expedient for such leisure pursuits. As the subject of a self-conscious species of mythmaking, Bannatyne becomes a means to imagine a convivial relationship with the collectors, printers, and historians of the past, as members of the same homosocial community. Necessary to the Bannatyne Club's maintenance of the elite status that made club membership a source of social capital, cultivation of an approach to Scotland's past that combines gravity and jest also enables the Club to manifest its own distance from the seriousness of political nationalism. Rather than representing a challenge to the politics of

Union, the Bannatyne Club gives expression to the distinctive voices of Scotland's past, and in doing so endorses Scotland's claim to preservation of a distinctive identity within a British context.

Through closer examination of the documents left by individual members like James Nairne, and in the more imaginative productions of the Bannatyne Garlands, it is possible to begin to trace the significance of the elite male associational culture of the antiquarian printing society as a transitional moment in the development of literary and historical studies. These documents offer evidence of the Club's construction of itself as a collective entity, and of its more private function as the locus of a personal identity intellectually and emotionally invested in the selectivity of club culture, in the prestige attached to scholarship itself, and in scholarship as a source of social capital. Uneasily poised between the elitism of its ancestor clubs, like the Roxburghe, the open policy of its successors, and the emergence of learned societies, the Bannatyne Club offers an insight into the complex tensions at issue in club membership, and its role in the emergence of professional historical and bibliographical scholarship. The particular impact of the Bannatyne Club is felt in the echo of its founding statement heard in the original constitution of the Scottish Text Society (1882–): 'the name of the Society shall be the Scottish Text Society for the Publication of Works illustrative of the Scottish Language, Literature and History prior to the Union'.⁵⁹ Through its amateur scholarship, the Bannatyne Club shaped the direction of future academic work, and of Scottish literature as a discipline, as a template for the learned society.

Acknowledgments

I am very grateful to the two anonymous readers, and to the period editor Thomas Keymer, for invaluable feedback that has enriched the article. I would also like to thank the Society of

Antiquaries of Scotland, the National Library of Scotland, and the Bodleian Library for their kind permission to reproduce unpublished manuscript material from their collections.

Footnotes

1. See David Matthews, *The Making of Middle English, 1765–1910* (London, 1999), 85–89.
2. Bannatyne Club Minutes, vol. 1, National Library of Scotland, Bannatyne Club, 2046, 5–6; *Rules of the Bannatyne Club* (Edinburgh, 1823), 3. I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce material from the Bannatyne Club Minutes.
3. Bannatyne Club Minutes, vol. 1, 3.
4. On the Bannatyne Club, see Marinell Ash, ‘Scott and Historical Publishing’, in A. A. M. Duncan (ed.), *Scots Antiquaries and Historians: Papers Read at the Silver Jubilee Conference of the Abertay Historical Society on 15 April 1972* (Dundee, 1972), 26–42, and *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh 1980), 59–86; Ina Ferris, ‘Printing the Past: Walter Scott’s Bannatyne Club and the Antiquarian Document’, *Romanticism*, 11 (2005), 143–60; Richard A. Marsden, *Cosmo Innes and the Defence of Scotland’s Past c. 1825–1875* (Farnham, 2014); Matthews, *The Making of Middle English*, 85–109; Padmini Ray Murray, ‘Antiquarianism’, in B. Bell (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland. Volume 3: Ambition and Industry 1800–1880* (Edinburgh, 2007), 278–85; and Alasdair Ross, ‘The Bannatyne Club and the Publication of Scottish ecclesiastical Cartularies’, *Scottish Historical Review* 85 (2006), 202–30. For a preliminary account of the research detailed here, see Elizabeth Elliott, ‘Ransacking Old Banny: The Bannatyne Manuscript, the Bannatyne Club, and the Making of Edinburgh Communities’, *Edinburgh Review 135: The Way Everyone Thinks We’re Supposed To Think* (2012): 89–97.

5. Indicative critical assessments of the Bannatyne Manuscript's importance include Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'The Cultural Repertory of Middle Scots Lyric Verse', in G. J. Dorleijn and H. L. H. Vanstiphout (eds), *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function and Dynamics* (Louvain, 2003), 59–86 (64); Sarah M. Dunnigan, 'Reformation and Renaissance', in Gerard Carruthers and Liam McIlvanney (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature* (Cambridge, 2012), 41–55 (43); Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Interaction between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context', in Alasdair A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch, and Ian Borthwick Cowan (eds), *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, 1994), 183–225 (183).

6. Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Manuscript Miscellanies in Scotland from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in Sally Mapstone (ed.), *Older Scots Literature* (Edinburgh, 2005), 189–210 (p. 190).

7. Barbara Black, *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland* (Ohio, 2012), 15, and see 5–32 for a concise overview of Black's larger argument about elite male associational culture, self-fashioning, and British identity.

8. *A Bannatyne Garland, Quhairin The President Speaketh* (Edinburgh, 1823), 3.

9. J. Maidment (ed.), 'Prefatory Notice', *Notices Relative to the Bannatyne Club* (Edinburgh, 1836), v–xvi (p. vii).

10. Letter from Scott to Pitcairn, cited in *Notices*, viii.

11. *Notices*, xi.

12. *Notices*, xii–xiii.

13. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London, 1989), 54; Matthews, *The Making of Middle English*, 100–104.

14. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 71; Matthews, *The Making of Middle English*, 100–104. On the premium placed on time as the hallmark of club culture, see Black, *A Room of His Own*, 42.
15. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 54.
16. Review of *Memorials of George Bannatyne* (Edinburgh, 1829), in *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*, 71 (1830), 171–73, reprinted in *Notices*, 163, 161–6.
17. Matthews, *The Making of Middle English*, 102.
18. Marsden, *Cosmo Innes*, 298, 319.
19. Bannatyne Club Minutes, vol. 1, 6.
20. Ferris, ‘Printing the Past’.
21. Bannatyne Club Minutes, vol. 1, 51, 15.
22. On the popular and fashionable character of the Bannatyne Manuscript’s contents, see especially van Heijnsbergen, ‘The Interaction between Literature and History’, and Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘The Contents of the Bannatyne Manuscript: New Sources and Analogues’, *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 3 (2008), 95–133 (96–97).
23. NLS Adv. MS 1.1.6, f.375^r. Cancelled dates within the manuscript suggest a longer period of gestation, from at least 1565: see Alasdair A. MacDonald, ‘The Bannatyne Manuscript—A Marian Anthology’, *Innes Review*, 37 (1986), 36–47 (37–40).
24. Scott, ‘Memoir of George Bannatyne’, *Memorials of George Bannatyne* (Edinburgh, 1829) 3–24 (11).
25. Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2000), 113.
26. Bannatyne Club Minutes, vol. 1, 12.
27. Bannatyne Club Minutes, vol. 1, 28, 32.
28. Scott, ‘Memoir’, 12.
29. Alexander Henderson, ‘Dempster’s Ecclesiastical History of the Scots’, *Caledonian Mercury* 4 February 1830, reprinted in the *Notices*, 129–34 (129, 130).

30. 'Clubs, Literature, Antiquities', *Scots Times*, 19 September 1829, reprinted in *Notices* 120–28 (125).
31. Scott, 'Memoir', 3.
32. Marsden, *Cosmo Innes*, 33.
33. [Robert Pitcairn], *Ane plesand Garland, Being ane lytill and Merrie Conceited Geste callit Ye Coirne-clyppis [...] Sanct Androis, Imprintit be Robert Lekprevik*, Bannatyne Garland 8 [Edinburgh, 1830], 5.
34. Patrick Fraser Tytler, *Ane Bannatyne Garlande, Brevit Be Maister Patrick, of the Kingis Chekar*, Bannatyne Garland 5 (Dunedin [Edinburgh]: 1826). Tytler had adopted this title for Garland 2, *Ane Ballat, Brevit be ane Learnit Councillar In the kings Chekar* (Edinburgh, 1823).
35. John Jamieson, *A New Bannatyne Garland*, Bannatyne Garland 6 (Edinburgh, 1828), 3, ll. 1–3.
36. NLS Adv. MS. 1.1.6, p. 59, translated by Scott, 'Memoir', 11. For a facsimile of the Bannatyne Manuscript, see *The Bannatyne Manuscript: a Facsimile*, Denton Fox and William A. Ringler, (London, 1980); for an edition, *The Bannatyne Manuscript Writtin in Tyme of Pest 1568*, ed. by W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols, STS, 2nd ser. 22, 23, 26, 3rd ser. 5 (Edinburgh, 1928–34).
37. T. G. Repp, Review of *The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane, accompanied by the French Text; with an Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary*. Ed. Frederick Madden (London, 1828), reprinted from the Edinburgh Evening Post in *Notices*, 48–56 (49), original emphasis. Repp is the subject of Andrew Wawn's *The Anglo Man: Þorleifur Repp, Philology and Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Studia Islandica 49 (Reykjavik, 1991).
38. Marsden, *Cosmo Innes*, 30–31.
39. *Journal of Henry Cockburn: Being a Continuation of the Memorials of his Time 1831–1854*, vol. 1, 3rd December 1832, 39. Cockburn's comment has also drawn attention in Murray,

‘Antiquarianism’, 280–81), Ash ‘Scott and Historical Publishing’, 32, and Marsden, *Cosmo Innes*, 229–30.

40. *Notices*, 275, and see Matthews, *The Making of Middle English*, 102; Marsden, *Cosmo Innes*, 229.

41. Ferris, ‘Printing the Past’, 144.

42. On the club book as fetish, see Murray, ‘Antiquarianism’, 280–81.

43. The outcome of the case is reported in *The Scottish Jurist*, vol. VI (Edinburgh, 1834), 95–100. The pursuer, Lady Eliza Ramsay, arranged the publication of her own view of events as *The Trial [...] of the Issues in the Action of Damages at the Instance of Lady Ramsay, Widow of the Late Colonel Sir Thomas Ramsay of Balmain, Baronet* (Edinburgh, 1833).

44. N.L. S. Adv. MS. 1.1.6, p. 59, f. 211^v.

45. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 76–77. On Bannatyne’s Memorial Buik and the Bannatyne Manuscript’s readership, see van Heijnsbergen, ‘The Interaction’.

46. Ash, *Strange Death*. 74, 79.

47. N.L.S Acc. 12693, items 3, 5, p 1. Nairne numbers the pages of his annotated contents, with pp. 1–10 at the beginning of the volume and pp. 11–21 at the back. He assigns item numbers to each document, and while he later adds foliation numbers, these are not continuous. I use his item numbers and contents page numbers here. I am grateful to the National Library of Scotland for their permission to quote this unpublished material, as owners of the collection.

48. In the event, Scott did attend, as a brief reference in his journal entry for Friday 6 March confirms, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by W. E. K. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1998), 594.

49. Nairne, letter to James Armott, W.S., 24 July 1829, quoted in *The Scottish Jurist*, vol. VI (Edinburgh, 1834), 95.

50. ‘Remarks Upon the Bannatyne Club’, *New Scots Magazine*, April 1829, reprinted in the *Notices*, 57–59 (58), and see Marsden, who quotes this in his discussion of antiquarianism old and new, *Cosmo Innes*, 38–39, and Ross, ‘The Bannatyne Club’, 205.

51. The ‘Mus. MS’ is British Library, Harleian MS 3865, containing Henryson’s *Morall Fabillis*.

52. Contents, 19. The facsimiles appear as item 243. John, Earl of Rothes, *Relation of Proceedings Concerning The Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland From August 1637 to July 1638* (Edinburgh, 1830), ix, and leaf opposite 216.

53. For Patrick Fraser Tytler’s attitude to historical records, see Ash, *Strange Death*, 87–123. On facsimiles, antiquarian printing societies, and the practice of Innes, see Marsden, *Cosmo Innes*, 205–208.

54. Journal of Sir Frederic Madden, 28 August 1829, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng Hist (c.147), 127^r. I am grateful to the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford as owners of the manuscript for permission to quote this unpublished material.

55. Matthews, *The Making of Middle English*, 109.

56. [Patrick Fraser Tytler], *Ane New Bannatyne Garland*, Bannatyne Garland 7 (Edinburgh, 1829), ll. 5, 8, 32, 47.

57. Ash, *Strange Death*, 103–107

58. Ferris, ‘Printing the Past’, 148.

79. Alexander Law, *The Scottish Text Society 1882–1982* (Edinburgh, 1983), 1. The publication of historical works was abandoned with the 1887 foundation of the Scottish History Society, see Law, *The Scottish Text Society*, 2.