



BSU International Journal of Humanities and Social Science

Available Online: <http://buijhs.journals.ekb.eg/>

Online ISSN: 2314-8810 Print ISSN: 2314-8802



A "Dissociation of Sensibility": The Gaelic Dilemma in the Poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid and Sorley MacLean

Dr. Hoda Soliman Mohammed

Associate Professor, Dept. of English, Faculty of Arts, Menoufia University

Email: dr.hodas@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

ARTICLE INFO

Received
2023-05-04
Accepted
2023-06-17

Keywords

Dissociation
of Sensibility,
Hugh
MacDiarmid,
Sorley
MacLean

Hugh MacDiarmid [Christopher Murray Grieve] (1892 - 1978) and Sorley MacLean [Somhairle MacGill-Eain] (1911 - 1996) are two Scottish poets whose works represent a painful dialogue between their native Gaelic identity and the identity of an overriding, neighbouring English culture. MacDiarmid, born in Langholm, Dumfriesshire in 1892, engages in the exploration of a lost Scottish identity; the cultural effects of the loss of nationhood. He laments the loss of a living Gaelic culture which has been cut off by historical accidents and which should have provided him with the tradition within which to express his awareness. His situation is that of a volatile castaway; a poet who is able to appreciate the extent of the loss of his tradition and the need for recovery, and yet is unable to effect that recovery because of the very nature of the original loss. MacLean, likewise, is a Gael, born on the Hebridean island of Raasay in 1911. He has written poetry in both languages (Gaelic and English) and similarly evolved a divided lyric voice between his Gaelic and non-Gaelic worlds. This dichotomy involves a split not only aesthetic, but linguistic as well. MacLean envies the eighteenth-century Gaelic poet who did not suffer a split of cultural sensibility like his modern

counterpart, such as himself, who engages simultaneously in unrest and division when confronting the Gaelic and non-Gaelic, particularly the English, worlds.

The poetic situation of both MacDiarmid and MacLean is that of a “dissociation of sensibility,” (289) to use T.S. Eliot’s words; a clash of the warring elements of the self in which there exists a constant tug of war between their native Gaelic identity and the identity of an overwhelming, neighboring English culture. This paper is an exploration of these divided loyalties.

The larger bulk of Hugh MacDiarmid's poetry deals with the dire loss of the national identity of his dear Scotland. Early in his childhood, he experienced the anguish of having to forfeit his native Scots language:

Well, at school—I think we all spoke Scots in Langholm, at home my parents spoke Scots—at school we were punished if we lapsed into Scots. We were supposed to speak what they would call “standard English,” which is peculiar to Scotland, of course; you don't find it in England itself at all. (“Interview with Hugh MacDiarmid” 1)

So, early in his poetry MacDiarmid weaves his subversive Scottish theme in “The Mavis of Pabal” which mourns the forfeiture of his native Scottish tradition, and the ominous outcomes of such a loss for him as a poet:

For poetry's no' made in a lifetime
And I lack a livin' past;
I stand on the tap o' the hill
-But the miracle canna last!

(*Collected Poems* 191) ¹

This is MacDiarmid's misfortune and the misfortune of many of his contemporaries who are fully aware of what their role should be within their native tradition. The poet, here, is dissociated from his past and the tradition that is the cultural carrier of this past:

A pool cut off frae the sea,
A tree without roots that stands
On the ground unsteadily. ²

(*CP* 191)

Increasingly, MacDiarmid came to realize the magnitude of the demise of his Gaelic tradition and believed that "its recovery would release the Scottish psyche in a way that

¹ Quotations from this edition will henceforth be identified as *CP*; and since pagination is continuous in the two volumes which constitute this edition, no volume number will be given.

² This necessary correlation between the poet and tradition is paramount in T.S. Eliot's essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent."

Lowland Scots with its close relationship to England could not do" (McCulloch 176). This is evident in his prose written in the late twenties and thirties of the 20th century which often investigates issues related to Gaelic Scotland. As an rational principle, he made the connection between the Gaelic idea and Dostoyevsky's Russian idea which was "in no way devalued by the difference of the actual happenings in Russia from any Dostoyevsky dreamed or desired" (MacDiarmid 67). McCulloch, furthermore, aptly elaborates on this parallelism:

He [MacDiarmid] believed the recovery of the Gaelic tradition to be a necessary balance to the emergence of proletarian Russia which threatened to upset the traditional oppositions of North and South in European culture, and he saw the Celtic heritage as having affinities with Eastern culture, an interest in which his later poetry increasingly displayed. (176)

As such, MacDiarmid's Gaelic idea from the start was an elusive concept with "no relationship whatever with the Celtic Twilight" (68). Noticeable, therefore, in this context is that despite his perception of the necessity to bring together the diverse elements of his Scottish tradition to merge with his poetry, he always seemed to encourage his preeminent, contemporary Gaelic writer, including Sorley MacLean.

Yet, however much MacDiarmid sensed the significance of the Gaelic tradition, much of his poetry shows that what Neil M. Gunn labelled "getting the Gaelic aristocratic idea in Lallans harness" (361) was certainly not an effortless undertaking. It seems evident that MacDiarmid's use of his native Scots dialect in his poetry is due to his indebtedness to the eighteenth-century Scottish vernacular tradition. The Scots vocabulary in his poetry testifies to this genuine indebtedness. It is interesting how MacDiarmid repeatedly confronts the idea of dichotomy between Scots and Gaelic. In his interview with Alexander Scott, he is passionate in his argument:

I never believed in a real gulf between Scots and Gaelic. I thought that had been accentuated for reasons of divide and conquer, you know—British imperialism. After all, Scottish Gaelic literature is very largely a song literature, and the actual lyric curve of Gaelic songs is almost identical with the best of Scots songs. So, there was no fundamental difference between the two and I wanted to see a unification and an

understanding. (13)

However, in practice problems abound for MacDiarmid. He praises Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair, for example, with apparent unease: “I saw a wee clood that awa doon / In Glen Guisachan lay” (CP 209); certainly, too commonplace to be the forerunner of the talented eighteenth-century Gaelic bard. Inadequate too is his acclaim of MacMhaighstir using the Scottish vernacular, “wee” meaning “small”. MacDiarmid, here, resembles Burns in being adept in the use of this idiom for ironic intentions, but certainly not for praise. In his article, “Hugh MacDiarmid and Gaelic Literature,” Douglas Sealy points out that the excerpts dealing with Gaelic literature in a poem like *To Circumjack Cencrastus* are based on a naïve interpretation of Aodh de Blacam’s *Gaelic Literature Surveyed* (175). Certainly, throughout these Gaelic parts, there is a translucent sentimentality in the poet’s subject matter which is indicative of his own disapproval of the novels of Neil M. Gunn: “I think the real criticism of Gunn’s work as a whole is that he perpetuates the myth of Highland and Island spiritual superiority” (Scott and Gifford 367), and which is typical of MacDiarmid’s oeuvre.

It is apparent that MacDiarmid campaigns so vociferously for the use of vernacular Scots in poetry, and yet attempts in other poems, like *Cencrastus*, to bring together the traditions of Gaelic and Lowland Scots. This is a poet who is endeavouring to assimilate the extent of the defeat of his Gaelic heritage and the necessity for a recovery that seems too elusive:

O wad at least my yokel words
Some Gaelic strain had kept.

(CP 225)

Throughout his poetry, there is the constant expression of Scottish literary barrenness and lost identity. The satire of “El Rey de Escocia no es nada” (CP 227) where little connection is detected between historic Scottish heroic figures and their native land has its counterpart in “Oor four universities” (CP 203); universities that excel in all fields of knowledge except that which is related to Scotland. Denis Saurat disagreed, in a review of *Cencrastus* in 1931, to this invective on the “four universities,” in a similar manner to MacDiarmid’s ironic target, “the stupid folk” in the lyric “Lourd on my hert” (64 - 65). In both cases, however, Saurat seems oblivious to the ulterior meaning of MacDiarmid’s satire and perhaps did not perceive its resemblance with its Scottish tradition. As McCulloch notes: “*Cencrastus* demonstrates to those who wish to listen to the tragedy of a lost culture, and a country’s universities cannot escape their share of the communal responsibility for this”

(178).

“Lourd on my hert,” on the other hand, is a lyric in which “the Scottish winter weather is both a correlative for the poet’s mood of grief as he contemplates his country’s condition and a symbol of the deadness which lies over Scotland” (McCulloch 178). The condensed satiric “And no’ for guid!,” which tracks the exquisite initial dirge, foretells the transition into a more overt satire in the second stanza where we find the “stupid folk” who, to Saurat, do not deserve the poet’s poetic talent, but who “Diffusin’ their dullness roon and roon / Like soot;” an element the poet views as necessary for keeping “the sunlight oot” of his country’s existence (CP 204 - 5). This dullness is again a central concern in the *Cencrastus* poem:

For the eternal evil’s no’
Tragedy, but the absence o’t,
No senseless extremes but the sordid mean
No poorer but a poorless lot,
No’ the sharp and deep, but the dull and flat,
No’ Hell but no’ ha’ en even that,
And the triviality o’ a’
But the haill o’ human thocht.

(CP 221) ³

MacDiarmid’s predicament is aggravated by the circumstances surrounding the cultural dilemma of Scotland, and the poet’s plea to locate his poetic identity, but who yet is consternated by the fact that he emotionally connected to his apathetic country:

I look at Scotland and dumfounded see’t

³ One can refer, here, to eighteenth century Augustan England for comparison. Alexander Pope notes that folly and triviality constitute the tragic fate of mankind, and not in his inclination towards evil. Dullness in *The Dunciad* is awesome in its foolishness and Pope’s *Moral Essays*, likewise, explore man’s folly in a manner similar to MacDiarmid’s poetic themes. So, for MacDiarmid:

Progress? There is nae progress; nor shall be,
The cleverest men aye find oot again
For foolish mobs that follow to forget.

(CP 243)

This resonates in in Pope’s “Epistle to Burlington.” The eighteenth-century conception of a rational universe enables Pope to wittingly find a place for mankind’s folly within the wider whole.

A muckle clod split off frae ither life,
Shapeless, uncanny, unendurable clod
Held in an endless nightmare (like a foetus
Catcht up in a clood) while a voice
Yowls in my lung: 'You'll find nae way oot.
Its spell is no' to brak.'

(CP 275)

In *Cencrastus*, MacDiarmid resists fearlessly his restricted environment. In "Up to the een in debt" (CP 252), his poetic vision merges poet and universe, becoming the remnants of "the foul diurnal sea," where the meaninglessness of animal life and human waste is poignant; a vision contrastingly reminiscent of how harmonious the universe is in the closing lines of Wordsworth's poem, "Lucy:"

No motion has she now, no force;
She neither hears nor sees;
Rolled round in earth's diurnal course,
With rocks, and stones, and trees. (76)

"Hokum," which instantly follows "Up to the een in debt," reveals how scornful the poet is of his fellow countrymen, achieving thus some form of poetic stability. He emphasizes their need to be intellectually and artistically humble, symbolically referring to this process as drinking "Hokum;" something he finds near impossible to achieve. Notwithstanding its humour, this poem is a somber criticism of the relationship between artist and society, its principal topic being that the art of the devoted artist "canna gang back to ignorance o' itsel" (CP 196).

Although MacDiarmid's native Scotland continued to form the crust of his oeuvre, *Cencrastus* is the last long poem in his poetic career, either as the subject or the metaphor of his satire. There is the sense that the poet in him has gained the upper hand, rather than the propagandist for the Scottish Renaissance Movement, realizing that his role as a poet precludes him from continuing in this path of self-deceit. It was now the time he must move on from Scots and Scotland, from self to identity. "Lament for the Great Music" (1934), the most noted example of the Scottish Identity theme after *Cencrastus*, has attained a foothold within this context, its English language being the primary reason for its perseverance. It no longer laments the loss of the Scottish people's Gaelic heritage, but optimistically looks far and beyond.

III

On the other side of the spectrum, Sorley MacLean is often depicted as the epitome of British patriotism. He was almost killed in El-Alamein, Egypt in 1942, when he was blown up by a land-mine. A Communist and Scottish Nationalist, he joined the British army because of his conviction Hitler would attack Russia, and because (as he wrote to MacDiarmid in 1941) his hatred of the Nazis was greater than his detestation of "the English Empire" (MacLean Letter 27). Driven by an obligation to his native language, and the need to modernize and update its repressive insularities, Maclean was to be noted as the icon of a nation, the bard of his native language.

Though his first language was Gaelic, MacLean chose to focus on English at university because the job prospects for graduates in Celtic were discouraging. His own background in Gaelic culture was strong and grew in his student days; yet alongside that growth there developed his interest in English-language writing, an interest already potent in the schoolboy MacLean.⁴ If the poet most familiar to many is the "Somhairle MacGill-Eain," whose Gaelic work began to be collected in print in the 1940s, then there was also the English language poet "S. MacLean" who used this form of his name when he published poetry in English in 1933. The young MacLean wrote poetry in both languages. The mature work is written in the language to which MacLean is so admirably committed; Gaelic. Yet, what is noteworthy in the range of reference and styles is that it has evolved out of a dialogue between the Gaelic and non-Gaelic worlds; a dialogue between "Somhairle MacGill-Eain" and "Sorley MacLean."

MacLean has remarked how "in my later teens a dichotomy took me psychologically: my 'pure' aesthetic idols of old Gaelic songs, and my humano-aesthetic idols of Blake and Shelley" (*Ris a' Bhruthaich* 10). This dichotomy involves not only aesthetics, but also a split

⁴ MacLean's 1989 edition of his *Collected Poems* opens with a preface in which MacLean recalls his undergraduate years studying English at Edinburgh University around 1930 when the influence of Professor Herbert Grierson on him was quite strong. MacLean has described Grierson as "outstanding among the Professors of English Literature in the British Isles" and recalls that "he was an awfully good lecturer" (MacLean "Impressions" 5). Noted for his anthology of *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century* which had occasioned T. S. Eliot's review article, "The Metaphysical Poets" (1921), Grierson delivered to MacLean's first year English Literature class in 1929 - 30 a series of lectures on English poetry from Chaucer to Swinburne.

between languages. Sometimes in his career, MacLean has had to defend one language against the encroachments of another, but his bilingualism has also been a source of strength, allowing him to learn from another literature and to pursue in Gaelic a dialogue with the modern world, though a dialogue often conducted through an interpreter's parallel text. If "Somhairle MacGill-Eain" has achieved poetic dominance, many of his readers continue to rely on the facing English-language translations of "S. MacLean." The dichotomy and the dialogue which were known to the student of MacLean have continued, in modified forms, in his mature work.

The young MacLean wrote English poems (now lost) in the poetic style of T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound⁵, the style of Pound in his renowned "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley." "Mauberley's" wrath at the "botched civilization" of Europe which sent a young generation to its doom, seems to have influenced MacLean who was ever more enraged at the oppression of his own Gaelic nation. More illuminating, however, is MacLean's early orientation towards Eliot⁶. As a young student, MacLean preferred Eliot's work to that of Pound, admiring his control of language. For MacDiarmid, Eliot's poetry was gripped with the sense of division – at one time, the division between thought and action in the early verse; at another time, between life and redemption in *The Waste Land* and *Ash-Wednesday*; and finally, between a "dissociation of sensibility;" or "Between the emotion / And the response" in "The Hollow Men." Division was the ultimate inspiration for MacLean:

*Choisich mi cuide ri mo thuisge
a-muigh ri taobh a' chuain;
bha sinn còmhla ach bha ise
a' fuireach tiotan bhuam.*

⁵ When MacLean was a new student at Edinburgh, he recalls, the undergraduates were very keen on the works of Eliot, Pound and Hopkins; none of whose poetry was taught as part of the university syllabus. One lecturer in particular, Arthur Melville Clark, was especially hostile to Eliot, though this may only have encouraged the students' enthusiasm. MacLean began to read Eliot, Pound and Hopkins in his first year at university, ignoring Yeats who was then unpopular amongst the students. (*Ris a' Bhruthaich* 115)

⁶ MacLean's attitude to Eliot is a complex one which has altered over the years. Tomás Mac Síomóin reminds us that MacLean wrote in his verse of rejecting "the way, trifling, mean and arid / of Eliot, Pound and Auden, / MacNeice, and Herbert Read and their crew." Yet, the poem which Mac Síomóin quotes goes on to suggest that MacLean came close to following a Modernist path. (Mac Síomóin 112). If in 1970 MacLean could write sceptically of "the preciously consistent humility of Eliot," then such an attitude marks a considerable revision of the view of Eliot which MacLean held during his early years as a student. (*Ris a' Bhruthaich* 117)

I walked with my reason
out beside the sea
We were together but it was
keeping a little distance from me.

(CP 22-3)⁷

Throughout his poetry, MacLean labors "with the divisive passion of my spirit" ("Glen Eyre," CPGE 43), while sticking to the traditional forms of writing. Poetic merit, as a concept for MacDiarmid, is firmly connected to division; with "acute Shakespeare struggling in the strife of his nature." The long poem, "An Cuilithionn" ("The Cuillin"), written sporadically in English in 1939, but published in its entirety in the 1989 *Collected Poems*, has its reciter standing with "a foot in the morass / and a foot on the Cuillin" (CPGE 95). This poem, which spans thirty-three pages, is a sorrowful lamentation over the fate of Gaelic and European cultures on the threshold of a devastating war. It hearkens in dignity and woe towards the "saw-toothed" mountains of Skye, depicting them within the context of fascination and sorrow.

Considering "Realism in Gaelic Poetry" in 1938, MacLean remarks: "As far as I can see the 18th Century Gaelic poet did not dissociate his sensibility from any aspects of life." MacLean is, here, contrasting Gaelic poetry with English poetry, but his phrasing also shows how deeply his thought had been affected by Eliot whose disputed notion of "a dissociation of sensibility" had first appeared in his 1921 review of Grierson's anthology (MacLean's *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 38-9 and Eliot 288). MacLean's 1938 essay, his most substantial critical work, focuses on Gaelic texts, yet it is also produced out of a dialogue with the world of non-Gaelic critical theory, poetry, and aesthetics. He formulates his own cultural and poetic identity through engaging simultaneously in a study of Gaelic poetry and a dialogue with the non-Gaelic world. His greatest poetic subject may be division but the poetry in which that is expressed is also cultivated by the dialogue.

The poetry written throughout the Second World War intensifies MacLean's early divided lyric voice which had been polished against that of Eliot before the student poet was converted to the idea that Yeats was as great a poet as Eliot, and before he read for himself

⁷ All quotations from MacLean's verse in this article are taken from his *O Choille gu Berradh / From Wood to Ridge: Collected Poems in Gaelic and English*. Manchester: Carcanet, 1989; hereafter abbreviated in the text as CPGE.

Yeats's later poetry. MacLean's poem, "The Knife" opens:

*Rinn sgian m'eachainn gearradh
air cloich mo ghaoil, a luaidh...*

The knife of my brain made incision,
my dear, on the stone of my love...

(CPGE 144-5)

This continuous notion of division in MacLean's poetry engenders a sense of *luasgan* ("unrest") in him. This word is often repeated in "The Woods of Raasay;" a long 1940 war contemplation on war written in 1940. The persistent themes of unrest and division are also prevalent in his love lyrics, which, though sensitive and tender, yet are replete with war and conflict, and the plea to protect Gaelic values against Imperialism and Fascism in 1930s Spain, or during World War II. Love relationships in his poetry are internal battles, and the resolution to go to "the proper war" is merely an exchange of one battle for another. The large bulk of MacLean's poetry written during the war was love poetry directed to a persona who is both a mixture of a beloved woman and his Gaelic culture. Encompassing Gaelic leitmotifs of bravery, lamentation, love and patriotism, these poems are taunted by political strife and apprehension, resulting in their amalgamation with poems that are principally about the conflict of World War Two.

Love, for Maclean, is so much of a detrimental commitment that he exchanged it for a prolific outpouring of war poetry. His passionate love poetry leans towards war, composed in a manner detached from "every loved image of Scotland," in a place where "a foreign sand in History" is "spoiling the machines of the mind." Here, one detects such profound sympathy, almost unconditional love, for the enemies he elsewhere disdains (CPGE 205). The dead bodies of Nazi soldiers scattered in the desert are envisioned as *neoichiontach* ("innocent") in the poem "Going Westwards." Currently:

*Chan eil gamhlas 'na mo chridhe
ri saighdearan calma 'n Nàmhaid*

*ach an càirdeas a tha eadar
fir am prìosan air sgeir thràghad ...*

There is no rancour in my heart
against the hardy soldiers of the Enemy,

but the kinship that there is among
men in prison on a tidal rock ...

(CPGE 204-5)

Here, the poetry is reminiscent of Owen's "I am the enemy you killed, my friend," and of Eliot too who could glimpse in "Little Gidding" a German military plane as the Dove of Pentecost. MacLean, in this context, is not writing as an Englishman, but as a war poet making the most of his Gaelic tradition, and his intense sense of division to compose poetry that cuts across the linear lines of history. In "Heroes," there is the shift from the valiant Culloden to honoring the valour of a nameless Englishman, "knees grinding each other," (CPGE 209) killed in the desert during a vicious confrontation with the enemy. "Death Valley" is another poem which begins with the spectacle of a "slate-grey" face of a dead German boy-soldier, and which overlooks the atrocities of the Nazis and their accomplices. The poem ends poignantly that:

*Ge b'è a dheòin-san no a chàs,
a neoichiontas no mhìorun
cha do nochd e toileachadh ' na bhàs
fo Dhruim Ruidhiseit.*

Whatever his desire or mishap,
his innocence or malignity,
he showed no pleasure in his death
below the Ruweisat Ridge.

(CPGE 212-13)

These are prominent examples of Maclean's war poetry, and which resonate vibrantly in the war poems of Scottish idols such as George Campbell Hay, Hamish Henderson and Edwin Morgan. MacLean's work, like that of those other Scottish poets, is all the stronger because it is produced out of a painful dialogue between his Gaelic identity and the identity of several "significant others": the desert, the enemy, and English culture.

MacLean's poetry is the product of warfare i.e., the clash of opposing parts of the self, and the result of divided loyalties, as well as out of the heroic determination to preserve his

people's language and values. It is not a coincidence that "Scrapadal," the last poem in this volume, is a contemplation on both the clearance of Raasay in 1846, and on the prospects of a newer, more significant clearance. The last line of the poem is pertinent: "*Bom idrigin is neodroin*," which is the Gaelic for "hydrogen and neutron bomb" (CPGE 312-13).

MacLean's *Collected Poems* is the testament of a great poet for both Gaelic and non-Gaelic readers. This is an opportunity which should not be missed because it is in Maclean's poetry that one may feel about Zbigniew Herbert's poems: that even in English their sense of struggle, and fortitude sways the reader to the idea that "if the City falls but a single man escapes ... he will be the City" (Herbert 77). MacLean is, here, like Eliot: his language, and technique, is distant from the polylingual articulates of Modernism. This remarkable poet of division managed to make the most of his culture in a manner representative of marginal cultures around the world. His poetry is also of importance to his counterparts writing in major languages other than Gaelic, and who are honest enough to acknowledge the fervent lucidity of a major poet writing in a "minor language," and who can be seen as inspiring the world of Pound's "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley" and Eliot's *The Waste Land*, as well as the various cultures of the worlds.

IV

Sorley MacLean's achievement, like Hugh MacDiarmid's, and like that of most major poets who have identified with a particular nation or territory, has been made possible through a dialogue between the sense of his native culture and that of other cultures against which he can define his own work to reinforce his native tradition. His Gaelic poetry has been highlighted because the poet's poetic identity has been cultivated by elements which are not purely Gaelic. MacLean's poetry has reached across language differences, and at the same time resists any suggestion that these language differences should be eradicated. His ambitions, reaching out from his strong Gaelic base, have allowed him to enter a creative dialogue with the major writers of our century, just as MacDiarmid too was able to weave native and non-native materials, forms, and techniques in his own work. The latter's dissociation from his Celtic heritage; his persistent desire for a recovery of his tradition through assimilation of Gaelic and Lowland Scots, and his manipulation of satire as a means of struggle to reclaim the psyche of an indifferent tradition have all eventually led to MacDiarmid condescending to his usage of English as a language to move him from Scots as a fading heritage to Scotland as a springboard for cultural interaction. It is pertinent that MacDiarmid should have requested MacLean to translate Gaelic poetry for him, and that he

should have produced his own verse "translations" from MacLean's prose interpretations. Here is one of the most visible signs of a creative dialogue within modern Scottish writing. MacDiarmid may have erred by failing to let MacLean look over the versions before they were published, but then as MacLean, the dialogic poet, remarks: "I could have forgiven him anything."

Works Cited

- [Christopher Murray Grieve]. *Hugh MacDiarmid Complete Poems 1920 - 1976*. Ed. Michael Grieve and W.R. Aitken, 2 Vols. London: Martin Brian & O’Keeffe, 1978.
- Eliot, T.S. “The Metaphysical Poets” (1921). *Selected Essays*. Third Enlarged Edition. London: Faber and Faber, 1951: 286 - 291.
- Gunn, Neil M. Quoted by Hugh MacDiarmid in “Neil Gunn and the Scottish Renaissance.” *Neil M. Gunn: The Man and the Writer*. Ed. Alexander Scott and Douglas Gifford. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1973: 357 - 366.
- Herbert, Zbigniew. *Report from the Besieged City*. Trans. John and Bogdana Carpenter. Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1987.
- Mac Síomóin, Tomás. “Poet of Conscience: The Old and the New in the Poetry of Somhairle MacGill-Eain.” J. Ross and Joy Hendry eds. *Sorley MacLean: Critical Essays*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1986: 111-15.
- MacDiarmid, Hugh. “The Caledonian Antisyzygy and the Gaelic idea.” Duncan Glen ed. *Selected essays of Hugh MacDiarmid*. London: Hutchinson, 1969: 64 - 76.
- MacGill-Eain, Somhairle. *Ris a’ Bhruthaich: The Criticism and Prose Writings of Sorley MacLean*. Ed. William Gillies. Stornoway: Acair, 1985.
- MacLean, Sorley. “Edinburgh Impressions.” *Alumni Bulletin: University of Edinburgh Alumni Magazine* (1990): 4 - 8.
- , Letter to Hugh MacDiarmid, 8 March 1941 (Edinburgh University Library), Cited in Joy Hendry, “Sorley MacLean: The Man and His Work.” J. Ross and Joy Hendry eds. *Sorley MacLean: Critical Essays*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1986: 25 - 28.
- , *O Choille gu Berradh / From Wood to Ridge: Collected Poems in Gaelic and English*. Manchester: Carcanet, 1989.

McCulloch, Margery. "The Undeservedly Broukit Bairn: Hugh MacDiarmid's *To Circumjack Cencrastus*." *Studies in Scottish Literature*. Vol: XVII. Ed. G. Ross Roy. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina, 1982: 165-185.

Pope, Alexander. *The Dunciad*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2004.

-----, *An Essay on Man – Moral Essays and Satires*. NY: Nuvision Publication, 2003.

Saurat, Dennis. "Review of *To Circumjack Cencrastus*." *The Modern Scot*. Vol. 1, No. 4 (January 1931): 64 - 66.

Sealy, Douglas. "Hugh MacDiarmid and Gaelic Literature." Duncan Glen ed. *Hugh MacDiarmid: A Critical Survey*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972: 170 - 186.

Scott, Alexander. "An Interview with Hugh MacDiarmid." *Studies in Scottish Literature*. Vol. XIII. Ed. G. Ross Roy. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1978: 1 -22.

Wordsworth, William. *Selected Poems*. Ed. Stephen Gill and Christopher Ricks. London: Penguin Classics, 2004.