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**‘TO “MEDDLE WI’ THE THISTLE”’: C. M. GRIEVE’S
SCOTTISH CHAPBOOK, THE LITTLE MAGAZINE, AND
THE DILEMMAS OF SCOTTISH MODERNISM**

Scott Lyall

The Scottish Chapbook, C. M. Grieve’s short-lived little magazine, published monthly from August 1922 to November–December 1923, is generally regarded as the birthplace of a modernist Scottish literary renaissance. There are several reasons for this. Grieve’s principal pseudonym, Hugh MacDiarmid, made his first appearance in the *Chapbook*’s opening two numbers as the author of the prose sketch ‘Nisbet: An Interlude in Post-War Glasgow’, and in the third number MacDiarmid was revealed as author of the Scots lyric, ‘The Watergaw’. These experimental works were published in the *Chapbook* in 1922, modernism’s *annus mirabilis*, suggesting that Scottish modernism was established simultaneously with important innovations in canonical Anglophone modernism such as James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, T. S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land*, and Virginia Woolf’s *Jacob’s Room*.¹ Moreover, the *Chapbook* was the site of Grieve’s announcement of a Scottish renaissance, a revival of the nation’s literature to be spearheaded by his own work and that of a group of new poets, now often considered to be analogous to Scottish modernism.

Critics have taken Grieve at his word on the importance of the *Chapbook* to the development of a modernist renaissance. Mark Gaipa is convinced that the *Chapbook* ‘forged the Scottish Renaissance by aligning Scottish vernacular and literary identity with modernist experimentation’.² Describing the *Chapbook* as ‘a new mould-breaking magazine’ that was ‘important for the revival of Scotland’s literary reputation’, Margery Palmer McCulloch aligns Grieve’s periodical with the canonical modernism of

¹ See Michael Levenson, ‘On or About 1922: *Annus Mirabilis* and the Other 1920s’, in *The Cambridge History of Modernism*, ed. by Vincent Sherry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 123–41.

² Mark Gaipa, ‘Modernism, Magazines, and the Creation of an American Literature’, in *Scottish and International Modernisms: Relationships and Reconfigurations*, ed. by Emma Dymock and Margery Palmer McCulloch (Glasgow: ASLS, 2011), pp. 47–62 (p. 47).

1922.³ Grieve's journal projects – he also edited *The Scottish Nation* (May–December 1923), *Northern Review* (May–September 1924), and *The Voice of Scotland* (1938–39; 1945–49; 1955–58/9) – ‘were seminal to the development of the Scottish Renaissance’, according to Glen Murray, but the *Chapbook*'s ‘influence was out of all proportion to its lifespan’.⁴ My intention in this article – the most comprehensive assessment of *The Scottish Chapbook* to date – is to trouble these critical perspectives. Bringing examination of Grieve's journal into conversation with commentaries in the field of modernist periodical studies, a critical framework generally overlooked in nation-centric readings of the publication, I argue that while the *Chapbook* was broadly a modernist little magazine in its aims and editorial perspectives, and typical of the form in the material difficulties it faced, it was not modernist in the full range of its creative outputs (predominantly poetry).

Like other little magazines, the *Chapbook* faced problems – some characteristic of the form, others more specific to the local contexts in which Grieve's journal was working. The first section of the essay examines the *Chapbook*'s ‘periodical codes’ – Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker's phrase for a magazine's physical and economic features, such as price point, typeface, use of illustrations, and publication cycle – to reveal the material hurdles Grieve faced in recruiting subscribers.⁵ Grieve's editorial positions are considered in the following section, which evaluates the effectiveness of the *Chapbook*'s challenge to what he regarded as a complacent Scottish literary culture by means of a manifesto intended ‘to “meddle wi’ the Thistle”’.⁶ ‘The Chapbook programme’ proposed to publish writers forming a modernist renaissance, but here Grieve ran into further problems.

³ Margery Palmer McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism and its Contexts 1918–1959: Literature, National Identity and Cultural Exchange* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 16.

⁴ Glen Murray, ‘MacDiarmid's Media 1911–1936’, in Hugh MacDiarmid, *The Raucous Tongue, Hitherto Uncollected Prose, Volume I: 1911–1926*, ed. by Angus Calder, Glen Murray and Alan Riach (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996), pp. x–xix (pp. xiii, xiv).

⁵ Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, ‘General Introduction’, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume I: Britain and Ireland 1880–1955*, edited by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1–26 (p. 6; emphasis in original).

⁶ ‘The Chapbook Programme’, *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.1, (August 1922), n.p. References to *The Scottish Chapbook* pertain to the holding in Special Collections, National Library of Scotland, RB.m.623. According to Kenneth Buthlay, “‘Wha daur meddle wi’ me?’” is the Scots version of the Latin motto, “Nemo me impune lacessit”, inscribed on the national emblem of the thistle’: Buthlay, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle: An Annotated Edition* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987), p. 31.

Addressing the current critical conflation of the Scottish renaissance with Scottish modernism, McCulloch maintains that ‘Scottish modernism [...] is not entirely synonymous with what we have become used to calling the Scottish Renaissance, although it is closely related to it’.⁷ Imagine a Venn diagram: those she regards as modernists – MacDiarmid, Lewis Grassie Gibbon, Edwin and Willa Muir, Neil M. Gunn, Catherine Carswell – belong to both the ‘Scottish modernism’ and ‘Scottish renaissance’ sets, while supporters of literary revival whose work was traditional rather than experimental, those of an older generation than the modernists, such as John Buchan, William Power, F. Marian McNeill, Helen Cruickshank, and Alexander Gray, sit solely, according to McCulloch, in the ‘Scottish renaissance’ set. Having usefully established this distinction, however, McCulloch claims that the *Chapbook* ‘was probably more modernist’ than Eliot’s *Criterion*, founded in the same year, even though, as I explain in the third part of the essay, the predominant formal modes of much of the poetry in Grieve’s periodical were late-Victorian and Georgian rather than modernist.⁸

My article’s larger intervention, then, is that the *Chapbook* represents the miscarrying of Scottish modernism, not the genesis envisaged by Grieve and his acolytes. While Grieve’s periodical faced many of the same dilemmas as other little magazines, such as money issues, these were exacerbated by the paradoxes of what Eric B. White terms ‘localist modernism’, discussed in the concluding section, which, while central to the *Chapbook*’s critical significance in Scotland, ultimately spelt its demise.⁹

Material: The *Chapbook*’s ‘periodical codes’

The *Chapbook* was published on the 26th of each month. There were fifteen issues in total: twelve numbers in volume 1, and three in volume 2. The final issue was a double number. The short lifespan of the *Chapbook* is typical for little magazines, but it lasted longer than some more influential modernist journals (Wyndham Lewis’s *BLAST* lasted for only two issues). Grieve printed his magazine at the Review Press where he worked as a local reporter and, in keeping with the traditionally homespun nature of the chapbook form, distributed it from his Montrose council house. As William Harvey states in *Scottish Chapbook Literature*, his classic study of 1903, ‘The

⁷ McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism*, p. 6.

⁸ McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism*, p. 17; see also McCulloch, ‘Scottish Renaissance Periodicals: Work in Progress Revisited’, in David Finkelstein, Margery Palmer McCulloch, and Duncan Glen, *Scottish Literary Periodicals: Three Essays* (Edinburgh: Merchiston Publishing, 1998), pp. 29–53 (p. 33).

⁹ Eric B. White, *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes: Little Magazines and Localist Modernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), passim.

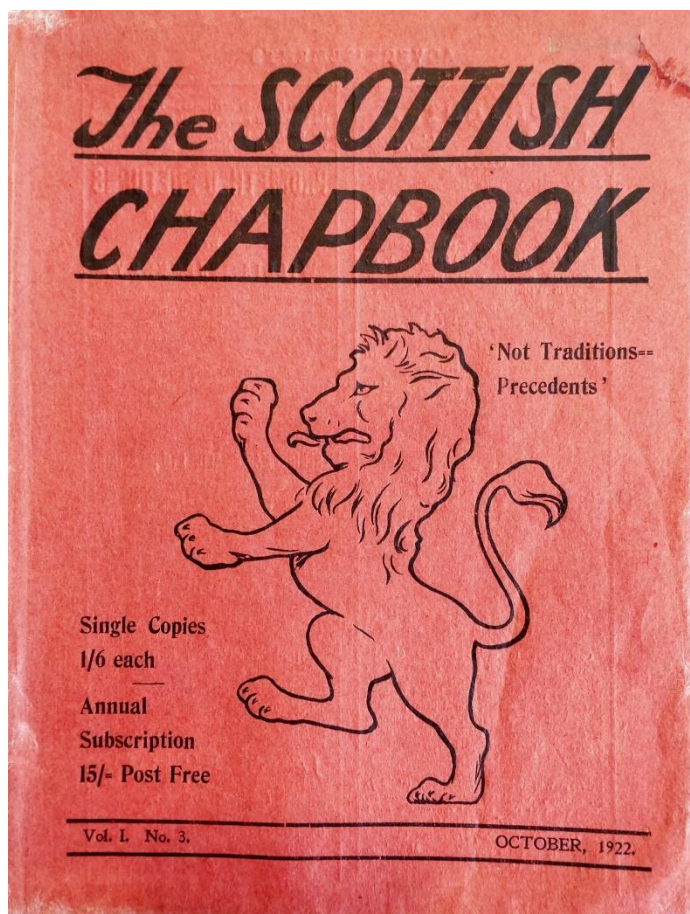


Fig. 1: The first cover design for *The Scottish Chapbook* (numbers 1.1 to 1.11, 1922–1923).

diffusion of knowledge by means of the Chapbook practically began with the introduction of printing into Scotland'.¹⁰ However, the traditionally popular roots of the chapbook as a type of street literature does not fit with Grieve's modernist aim to find discriminating subscribers for his *Chapbook* and would be the periodical's undoing.

The *Chapbook* had two covers. A red Scottish lion rampant motif was the cover for every edition up to number 1.11 (June 1923) (Fig. 1). The back

¹⁰ William Harvey, *Scottish Chapbook Literature* (Paisley: Alexander Gardiner, 1903), p. 5.

cover of the first edition carried an advertisement for Waterman's fountain pens, endorsed – with magnificent irony – by MacDiarmid's *bête noire*, Sir Harry Lauder, who represented the populist stereotype of the Scottish entertainer Grieve established the *Chapbook* to challenge.

With number 1.12 (July 1923), the front cover changed to an illustration by Pittendrigh Macgillivray on a muted turquoise-blue background, with lettering by Miss Campbell Muirhead (Fig. 2).

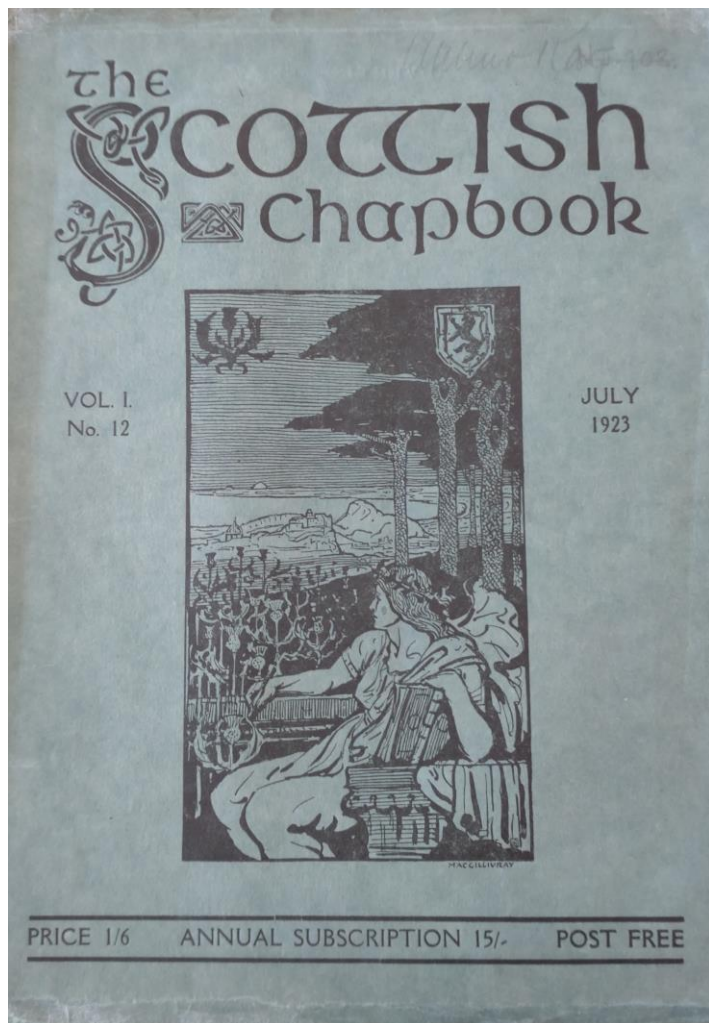


Fig. 2: The second cover design for *The Scottish Chapbook* (numbers 1.12 to 2.3, 1923)

Macgillivray's imagery appears dated for the early 1920s – the Scottish queen gazing across her thistle-clad realm to Edinburgh in the distance suggests a pseudo-*fin-de-siècle* symbolism – and lacks the clarity of purpose established by the national red lion.

The Macgillivray-cover numbers included occasional illustrations inside, a feature absent in the red lion issues, and the manifesto declaration 'Not Traditions – Precedents' on the original cover, a motto demonstrating the *Chapbook's* modernising purpose, was dropped from Macgillivray's design. Grieve included a note in number 2.2 (September–October 1923) to say that that the journal 'is now being set in type originally cut by Alexander Wilson, the first type-founder of Scotland', that would become known as 'Scotch Type'.¹¹ The covers and typeface signal Grieve's intention to position the *Chapbook* as a modern magazine with roots in Scottish cultural traditions, but its relatively crude appearance points to the challenging economic circumstances in which it operated.

The *Chapbook* was priced at 1/6 per copy and 15/ for an annual subscription (postage was free). This is cheap in comparison to other magazines of the 1920s; according to Brooker and Thacker, '2s. and 6d. seems to become a fairly standard price for both quarterlies and monthlies'.¹² Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible define little magazines as 'non-commercial enterprises founded by individuals or small groups intent upon publishing the experimental works or radical opinions of untried, unpopular, or under-represented writers'.¹³ Grieve certainly intended his journal to be avant-garde. In a letter of November 1920 to his ex-schoolteacher George Ogilvie, when he still hoped T. N. Foulis, publisher of the first two volumes of his poetry anthology, *Northern Numbers*,¹⁴ would publish the *Chapbook*, Grieve says he wants the journal 'to set a national standard, to sort the grain from the chaff, to discover and encourage new Scottish poets'.¹⁵ Claiming to have no concern for the magazine's profitability – 'In the *Chapbook* commercial conditions won't weigh' – he wrote to Helen Cruickshank a few months prior to the publication of the first number announcing that he was

¹¹ Anonymous [C. M. Grieve], *The Scottish Chapbook*, 2.2 (September–October 1923), p. 53.

¹² Brooker and Thacker, 'General Introduction', p. 23.

¹³ Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible, 'Introduction', *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches*, ed. by Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible (Aldershot, England and Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 1–18 (p. 6).

¹⁴ There were three series of *Northern Numbers*, the first two published by T. N. Foulis in 1920 and 1921, the third self-published by Grieve in 1922.

¹⁵ C. M. Grieve, letter to George Ogilvie (13 November 1920), *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid*, ed. by Alan Bold (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984), pp. 43–46 (p. 45).

'out for genuinely significant and experimental work wherever it is to be found', an aim it proved difficult to satisfy.¹⁶

Frederick J. Hoffman et al.'s suggestion that the *little* of 'little magazine' indicates not a journal's material size or thematic scope but its market for 'a limited group of intelligent readers' corresponds to Grieve's ambitions for the *Chapbook*, which due to its 'departure from conventional standards will not', according to its editor, 'readily find a public'.¹⁷ As Alistair McCleery points out, such demanding aims required the fashioning of 'a new readership for a new set of cultural values'.¹⁸ This proved tricky from a commercial perspective when the *Chapbook* 'venture is not to be a commercial one' but is 'intended to cover expenses and no more', as Grieve expressed when touting for subscribers in a Scottish newspaper in May 1922.¹⁹ His 'solution was self-publication without the need to depend on a consistent list of subscribers'.²⁰ However, the *Chapbook*'s subscription model proved problematic. Writing to Ogilvie later that month, Grieve wanted 'to enrol as many subscribers as possible as soon as possible' then 'curtail the circulation immediately I see my way to cover the costs'.²¹ Upon publication of the first edition he claimed 'The Chapbook has gone splendidly. Sold out', and he is 'Unable to supply scores of copies ordered'.²² Such initial optimism was short-lived and may be bluster. Although 'No circulation figures are available' for the journal, as Murray points out, 'they were probably modest'.²³ A notice in the February 1923 edition announces that 'Back copies of all numbers, with the exception of No. 1., are still available at 1/6 each post free'.²⁴ By May desperation has set in with a call for 'every present subscriber' to renew their current subscription and 'obtain only one more', otherwise the journal will not see its second year.²⁵

¹⁶ Grieve, letter to Helen Cruickshank (17 April 1922), *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid*, pp. 107-8 (p. 108).

¹⁷ Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, *The Little Magazine*; quoted in Brooker and Thacker, 'General Introduction', p. 12; Grieve, letter to Cruickshank, *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid*, p. 108.

¹⁸ Alistair McCleery, 'Modernity and Nationhood: "Little Magazines" in Scotland', in *Scottish and International Modernisms*, pp. 34-46 (p. 39).

¹⁹ Grieve, letter to *The Glasgow Herald* (11 May 1922), *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid*, pp. 756-57 (p. 757).

²⁰ McCleery, 'Modernity and Nationhood', p. 39.

²¹ Grieve, letter to Ogilvie (22 May 1922), *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid*, pp. 75-76 (p. 76).

²² Grieve, letter to Ogilvie (20 September 1922), *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid*, pp. 76-77 (p. 77).

²³ Murray, 'MacDiarmid's Media', p. xiv.

²⁴ *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.7 (February 1923), p. 207.

²⁵ *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.10 (May 1923), p. 296.

The material conditions of the *Chapbook*, along with its geographical and social provenance – produced in a small Scottish town by a working journalist – would doom it from the start. These experiences were characteristic of many little magazines, but were aggravated in the case of the *Chapbook* by the problems of being a localist project with ambitions to overhaul the national literary culture. This was a quandary borne out in the magazine's editorial positions, examined in the following section.

Manifesto: 'The Chapbook Programme' and 'Causerie'

Grieve signalled in his first editorial – he called his editorials 'Causeries'²⁶ – the kind of disruptive publication he wanted the *Chapbook* to be, denouncing what he perceived as the lack of innovative Scottish magazines and publishing houses happening elsewhere: 'None of those significant little periodicals – crude, absurd, enthusiastic, vital – have yet appeared in Auchtermuchty or Ardnamurchan. It is discouraging to reflect that this is not the way the Dadaists go about the business!'.²⁷ Positioning his magazine alongside international avant-garde developments, Grieve intended the *Chapbook* to be localist but not provincial, reformist yet trailblazing. Mark S. Morrisson's point that many early (1905–20) British and American modernists 'lamented art's loss of its public sociocultural function [...] and wished to forge a more significant public function for it' broadly characterises the *Chapbook's* programme, which sought by raising the aesthetic standards of Scottish literature to overturn what Grieve saw as a lacklustre national scene.²⁸

Grieve's aims for the journal are itemised in 'The Chapbook Programme' (Fig. 3), which appeared in the first two numbers, and are developed at greater length in his editorials. Taken together, these contain the magazine's manifesto, its Poundian 'declaration of policy'.²⁹ As Brooker and Thacker point out, there are 'close ties between the defiance of the manifesto form and the vehicle for that defiance, the magazine', and both were important to the development of modernism.³⁰ 'The Chapbook Programme' announces the journal's 'principal aims and objects', but has

²⁶ 'Causerie' (from the French, meaning 'talk, chat') indicates the short, personal, and often playful nature of Grieve's editorials.

²⁷ Anonymous [C. M. Grieve], 'Causerie', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.1, p. 5.

²⁸ Mark S. Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905–1920* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), p. 7.

²⁹ Ezra Pound, letter of 1950 to Robert Creeley, quoted in White, *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes*, p. 2.

³⁰ Brooker and Thacker, 'General Introduction', p. 2.

The Chapbook Programme.

*" Il far un libro meno e che niente
Se il libro fatto non rifa la gente. . . . "*

(*" To make a book is less than nothing unless the book, when made, makes
people anew."*)

The principal aims and objects of *The Scottish Chapbook* are :—

To report, support, and stimulate, in particular, the activities of the Franco-Scottish, Scottish-Italian, and kindred Associations; the campaign of the Vernacular Circle of the London Burns Club for the revival of the Doric; the movement towards a Scots National Theatre; and the "Northern Numbers" movement in contemporary Scottish poetry.

To encourage and publish the work of contemporary Scottish poets and dramatists, whether in English, Gaelic, or Braid Scots.

To insist upon truer evaluations of the work of Scottish writers than are usually given in the present over-Anglicised condition of British literary journalism, and, in criticism, elucidate, apply, and develop the distinctively Scottish range of values.

To bring Scottish Literature into closer touch with current European tendencies in technique and ideation.

To cultivate "the lovely virtue."

And, generally, to "meddle wi' the Thistle" and pick the figs.

*Should you wish to help us, kindly send us the names of friends
likely to be interested.*

Address :—THE SCOTTISH CHAPBOOK,
16 Links Avenue,
Montrose.

Fig. 3: 'The Chapbook Programme'.

also been read as the platform for a renascent Scottish modernist literature.³¹ As Cairns Craig notes, the programme outlines an 'ambitious if ambiguous agenda',³² demonstrated by the aphorism from nineteenth-century Italian poet Giuseppe Giusti (in English: 'To make a book is less than nothing unless the book, when made, makes people anew'), which indicates Grieve's lofty aspirations to renew the national literature and redevelop Scottish psychology.³³ However, the extent to which the *Chapbook* fulfilled its editorial objectives was mixed.

The goal to 'report, support, and stimulate' various associations, such as the Franco-Scottish and Scottish-Italian Associations, is not much in evidence, although there are in number 2.2 translations from three Russian poems of Nikolai Minsky by Sir Donald MacAlister, Principal of Glasgow University, who Grieve relates 'has been lecturing in Scotland recently under the auspices of the Russo-Scottish and Franco-Scottish Societies'.³⁴ 'At Birmingham' in number 1.2 (September 1922) is Grieve's report from the annual meeting of the Burns Federation arguing for the continued development of the revival of Scots; apart from MacDiarmid's own Scots lyrics, this item, and the Burns special issue of January 1923 (1.6), are the main ways in which the journal supports 'the campaign of the Vernacular Circle of the London Burns Club for the revival of the Doric'.³⁵ There is little engagement with 'the movement towards a Scots National Theatre',³⁶ and the "'Northern Numbers" movement in contemporary Scottish poetry' is supported mainly through several advertisements for these anthologies. The *Chapbook* wished 'to encourage and publish the work of contemporary Scottish poets and dramatists, whether in English, Gaelic, or Braid Scots', but contributions were mostly in English and Scots, although Ruairidh Erskine of Marr's Gaelic play, 'Fo Chromadh An Taighe' (literal translation: Under the roof of the house), is included in the March 1923 edition (1.8).

The remaining manifesto points – 'To insist upon truer evaluations of the work of Scottish writers than are usually given in the present over-Anglicised condition of British literary journalism', foregrounding what

³¹ 'The Chapbook Programme', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.1, n.p.; see McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism*, pp. 16-18.

³² Cairns Craig, 'Modernism and National Identity in Scottish Magazines: *The Evergreen* (1895-7), *Scottish Art and Letters* (1944-50), *The Scottish Chapbook* (1922-3), *The Northern Review* (1924), *The Scots Magazine* (1924-), *The Modern Scot* (1930-6), *Outlook* (1936-7), and *The Voice of Scotland* (1938-9, 1945, 1955)', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume I*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (2009), pp. 759-784 (p. 767).

³³ 'The Chapbook Programme', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.1, n.p.

³⁴ *The Scottish Chapbook*, 2.2 (September-October 1923), p. 46.

³⁵ 'The Chapbook Programme', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.1, n.p.

³⁶ The National Theatre of Scotland was finally established in 2006.

Grieve imagines to be ‘the distinctively Scottish range of values’, and ‘To bring Scottish Literature into closer touch with current European tendencies in technique and ideation’ – are polemical in purpose and their success harder to judge. The intended Europeanisation of Scottish literature is largely carried out through translation. In addition to MacAlister’s translations of Minsky, there are translations into French by Denis Saurat of several MacDiarmid poems (‘The Eemis Stane’, ‘The Bonnie Lowe’, ‘Feery O’ the Feet’, and ‘Cophetua’) in number 2.1 (August 1923) and in 2.3 (November–December 1923) there are several poems by MacDiarmid ‘after’ various foreign-language poets: ‘You Know Not Who I Am’ (after the German of Stefan George), ‘The Last Trump’ (suggested by the Russian of Dmitry Merezhkovsky), ‘The Dead Liebknecht’ (after the German of Rudolf Leonhardt), ‘Peace’ (from the Dutch of Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft), and ‘Sorrow and Song’ (suggested by the Polish of Adam Mickiewicz), as well as Grieve’s ‘Continental Sonnets’ in numbers 1.4 (November 1922) and 1.8, the latter including poems to the Russian poet Anna Akhmatova (‘U Samago Moria’) and the German-Jewish Expressionist Else Lasker-Schüler (‘Der Wunderrabbiner Von Barcelona’). While the *Chapbook* could not hope to wholly integrate Scotland with European modernist developments, an impressive attempt is made to engage with non-Anglophone cultures. This also takes place in the relatively regular ‘Book Reviews’ section: in the first number, for instance, Grieve reviews the Belgian writer Maurice Gauchez’s recently-published *Histoire Des Lettres Francaises De Belgique*, arguing that ‘Every young Scottish writer interested in the possibility of a Scottish Literary Revival should carefully study the history of modern Belgian literature’.³⁷ Belgium was an exemplar for Grieve of a small-nation culture mounting a literary revival to ward off the pressures of standardisation from more powerful neighbours, and his review of Gauchez’s book includes the first mention in the *Chapbook* of an emerging Scottish renaissance.

Such European perspectives were also an attempt to recalibrate and open out a local culture Grieve believed to be ‘over-Anglicised’. His consideration of Scottish writers and artists chiefly took place in the ‘Modern Scottish Bibliographies’ section, a feature spotlighting the work of lesser-known figures considered to be contributing to a Scottish renaissance. For example, Jessie Annie Anderson, a poetic contributor to the *Chapbook*, is the focus of ‘Modern Scottish Bibliographies’ in number 1.6, where Grieve praises what he regards as the authenticity of her work and character. However, Anderson was critical of the renaissance and the *Chapbook* programme specifically, writing to Macgillivray, ‘That anything like a genuine and independent love for the Arts and Literature is the back-bone of the Chapbook Movement I cannot see. There is a strongly Collectionist

³⁷ C. M. Grieve, ‘Book Reviews’, *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.1, pp. 27–28 (p. 28).

suggestion about the whole output'.³⁸ 'Collectionist' alludes to Anderson's conjecture that the *Chapbook* was Labour-funded, but is inappropriate in other ways: despite floating the prospect of a renaissance of Scottish literature in its pages, the *Chapbook's* editorial programme was decidedly a one-man band.

'Causeries' appeared in every number up to June 1923. The most important is 'A Theory of Scots Letters', which ran across three issues (February to April 1923) and promoted the prospect of a literature in Scots commensurate with wider modernist developments; MacDiarmid's Scots poems in the *Chapbook*, notably 'The Watgaw' and 'The Eemis Stane', substantiate the theory in practice. 'A Theory of Scots Letters' argues that for Scots to be suitable as a modern vehicle for creative work it must possess the potential to communicate future conditions and perspectives expressed from the standpoint of a unique Scottish subconscious and in a manner differentiating it from the assumed limitations of English; on these grounds Grieve based his 'belief in the possibility of a great Scottish Literary Renaissance' announced in *Chapbook* 1.7 (February 1923).³⁹ The need for a Scottish renaissance is not only premised on the potentialities of Scots, but on what Grieve identifies as the terminal decline of contemporary culture. Grieve alludes to Oswald Spengler, author of *The Decline of the West* (published in two volumes: 1918, 1922), to support his contention that 'Our literature is bankrupt. All forms of literary and artistic expression [...] have reached in our Western civilisation the point beyond which they can go no further'.⁴⁰ Spengler's philosophy of cyclical time appealed to modernists sceptical of linear progress and chimed with the return of the past in the present fundamental to revivalist movements such as the Scottish renaissance.⁴¹ Grieve combines Spenglerian catastrophising with a pessimistic diagnosis of Scottish cultural decline in 'A Theory of Scots Letters', especially in what he views as the debased level of Scots-language poetry and the overall lack of aesthetical discernment in the general population at home and elsewhere, expressed in his belief that 'literature to-

³⁸ Jessie Annie Anderson, letter to Pittendrigh Macgillivray (25 February 1924), quoted in Charlotte Lauder, "'Who were they?': Recovering Jessie Annie Anderson as a Case Study of the Scottish Women Poets in Hugh MacDiarmid's *Northern Numbers* (1920–22)", *Scottish Literary Review*, 14.1 (Spring/Summer 2022), 85–106 (pp. 98–99).

³⁹ Anonymous [C. M. Grieve], 'Causerie: A Theory of Scots Letters', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.7 (February 1923), pp. 180–84 (p. 182).

⁴⁰ 'A Theory of Scots Letters, II', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.8 (March 1923), pp. 210–14 (p. 213).

⁴¹ See Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*, trans. from the French by Willard R. Trask ([1954] Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 146, 153.

day is unintelligible to many highly-educated people even'.⁴² Worries over cultural degeneration and massification were common among modernists and were frequently expressed in periodicals. Modernists, as Morrisson points out, were heirs to complaints from the likes of Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold at the end of the nineteenth century regarding the culture of mass marketing and 'the villainous role of the commercialized press' in the corruption of public taste.⁴³ What Morrisson calls the 'myth of decline' provided modernists with 'a useful rhetorical enemy (the new commercial mass-market publications) against which to position their work – in effect, to *promote*, to *market* their own efforts to use modernist literature and art to reshape public culture' – and a key venue for this endeavour was the little magazine.⁴⁴ Grieve shared such perspectives, expressed in his declinist view of Scottish history and culture, and used the *Chapbook* to publicise a revivalist solution to perceived decline that sought to regenerate the national literature through the work of new writers.

Grieve summarised the creative aims of the *Chapbook* in the 'Causerie' for October 1922:

to conduct experiments into the assimilability into literature of the whole range of Scottish life – including the total content of Scottish minds, – to discover and counteract inhibiting agencies, and to compare the results with the most perfect assimilations into literary form of contemporary English life – or the life of other countries – with a view to determining the appropriate questions of technique and solving the appropriate problems of artistic economy.⁴⁵

For Grieve, Scottish literature, in line with English and other literatures, should be more representative of the diverse realities of Scottish experience than is depicted in kailyard literature, which he thought was outmoded, parochial, formally unadventurous, and prohibitive to the progressive development of the national literary culture. In an earlier editorial, Grieve included the Celtic Twilight poetry of William Sharp, written under the heteronym Fiona Macleod, in his assessment of Scottish literature that had failed to speak to the actualities of Scottish life, and although admiring the polymath Patrick Geddes, Grieve describes the *fin-de-siècle* 'Scottish literary revival' to which Sharp and Geddes were central as 'a promise that could not be kept'.⁴⁶ For Grieve, the apparent failure of that earlier revival to fully apprehend Scotland's contemporary material and political complexities was all the more reason for a renaissance of Scottish literature, his mission with the *Chapbook*. Grieve's editorial positions remain central

⁴² 'A Theory of Scots Letters', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.7, p. 182.

⁴³ Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism*, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism*, p. 9 (emphases in original).

⁴⁵ 'Causerie', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.3, pp. 62-63 (p. 62).

⁴⁶ 'Causerie', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.1, p. 4.

to the critical conceptualisation of Scottish modernism. However, as the next section shows, the nature of the creative work published in the *Chapbook* does not support this perspective.

Creative: The *Chapbook's* Poetry and Prose

Grieve took stock of the *Chapbook's* creative achievements in 'Towards a Scottish Renaissance' in number 1.9 (April 1923), where he argues that 'the real test of a new periodical is the new writers it brings to light'.⁴⁷ He defends the *Chapbook* and *Northern Numbers* against the charge that they 'are coterie-productions', contending that 'Both are as fully representative of contemporary Scottish literature, where it is *literature*, as is possible taking into consideration copyright and other exigencies. [...] The number of Scottish writers who matter outwith them is small in comparison to those included'.⁴⁸ Claiming the *Chapbook* is not designed to appeal to 'the great majority of people', Grieve acknowledges the different purposes of *Northern Numbers*.⁴⁹ The *Chapbook* concentrated mainly on 'a younger generation of Scottish poets than the majority of those represented in "Northern Numbers"', which, as its subtitle indicated, published 'representative selections from certain living Scottish poets', including established writers such as John Buchan and the Aberdeenshire poet Charles Murray.⁵⁰ Taking *Northern Numbers* and the *Chapbook* together, Grieve insists he has published around 80 writers – 'no small coterie!' – which, as far as he is concerned, corroborates his claims of a Scottish renaissance.⁵¹ What is not addressed in this item is the quality and type of poetry in the *Chapbook*.

The *Chapbook's* creative highlights are undoubtedly MacDiarmid's – or rather M'Diarmid's: he had not yet adopted the 'Mac' prefix – poetry. 'The Watergaw' (1.3, October 1922), 'The Bonnie Broukit Bairn' (1.5, December 1922), and 'The Eemis Stane' (1.8), among the most canonical of his Scots poems, were published in the *Chapbook* prior to their collection in *Sangschaw* (1925). 'The Watergaw', first published anonymously as 'The Water Gaw' in the *Dunfermline Press* on 30 September 1922, was the first poem to appear under MacDiarmid's name when published in the *Chapbook*. Grieve's 'Causerie' in the same number lauds MacDiarmid as 'the first Scottish writer who has addressed himself to the question of the extendability [...] of the Vernacular to embrace the whole range of modern

⁴⁷ Anonymous [C. M. Grieve], 'Towards a Scottish Renaissance', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.9 (April 1923), pp. 264-66 (p. 264).

⁴⁸ Grieve, 'Towards a Scottish Renaissance', p. 264.

⁴⁹ Grieve, 'Towards a Scottish Renaissance', p. 264.

⁵⁰ Grieve, 'Towards a Scottish Renaissance', p. 265.

⁵¹ Grieve, 'Towards a Scottish Renaissance', p. 265.

culture'.⁵² He claims of 'The Watergaw' that 'the temper of the poem is modern and the Doric is adequate to it', having 'none of the usual sentimentality' afflicting Scots poetry.⁵³ 'The Watergaw' therefore fulfils a key editorial intention to subvert the kailyard mawkishness lately prevalent in the Scots tradition. MacDiarmid's finest Scots lyrics, typified by what one critic describes as their impressionistic 'poetics of indeterminacy', are modernist too in being at once echoic of the national literary tradition and audaciously *sui generis*.⁵⁴ Ambiguity similarly characterises creative prose items such as 'Nisbet' and 'Following Rebecca West in Edinburgh: A Monologue in the Vernacular' (1.3), where the rural backdrop of the lyrics is replaced with an urban setting and sensibility. Set on a Glasgow street corner, 'Nisbet', MacDiarmid's first appearance in print, is a conversation between three characters, Nisbet, Duthie, and Young, two at least of whom have fought in the First World War together, expressing the alienation and search for spiritual and political meaning ensuing from the material and emotional challenges of post-war life. A dramatisation of modernist psychological fracture, the sketch also illustrates the multifariousness of Grieve's own personae.

Aspects of their author, the characters of 'Nisbet' embody the variousness of personality pointed to in Grieve's first 'Causerie' where he quotes the Russian philosopher Leo Shestov to the effect that people should not remain constant in their convictions, a contrariness that came to be the hallmark of MacDiarmid's cultural and political positions.⁵⁵ Grieve, MacDiarmid's orthonym, wrote some fine poetry issued in the *Chapbook*, such as 'A Moment in Eternity' (1.1), published subsequently in *Annals of the Five Senses* (1923), 'Continental Sonnets' and 'Science and Poetry' (both 1.4), that remains in the shadow of MacDiarmid's Scots lyrics. The depersonalisation typical of Grieve's work, especially the war-influenced 'Nisbet' and *Annals*, plus the critical priority now granted to MacDiarmid's work, makes Grieve appear in retrospect to be MacDiarmid's creation rather than vice versa. Further Grieve pseudonyms working in the *Chapbook* included A. K. Laidlaw, 'Advertisement Manager' of the magazine, and reviewer Martin Gillespie. W. N. Herbert argues that there is 'an associative nexus of personae' operating across Grieve's work in this period through which he might be 'trying to provide an anthology of possible trends in

⁵² 'Causerie', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.3, p. 63.

⁵³ *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.3, p. 63.

⁵⁴ Richard Alan Barlow, *Modern Irish and Scottish Literature: Connections, Contrasts, Celticisms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), p. 110.

⁵⁵ On Shestov, see 'Causerie', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.1, pp. 2-3.

Scottish poetry'.⁵⁶ The *Chapbook* was a key location for this kind of compilation. However, confuting Grieve's editorial aims, and excluding the work of his main pseudonym, the predominant trend of the poetry he published in the *Chapbook* was pre-modernist, old-fashioned even, for 1922–23. Bold may be correct to surmise of Grieve's attribution of the authorship of 'Nisbet' to MacDiarmid that 'He was probably initially created to swell the chorus of contributors to the *Scottish Chapbook*', but his claim that Grieve fashioned MacDiarmid to 'add one more modernistic voice to the journal's progressive theme' underestimates the extent to which MacDiarmid's contributions were the main or only modernist ones in the magazine.⁵⁷

There are broadly three classes of contributors in the *Chapbook*: modernists who are also revivalists; revivalists who are not modernists; and those who may or may not be revivalists but are certainly not modernists. Such categorisations are doubtless impressionistic, possibly reductive, and certainly porous: as noted in relation to McCulloch's hypothetical Venn diagram, sets overlap. They also lean heavily on current critical and canonical assumptions, although I apply a greater rigor in defining modernism – formal experimentalism in the spirit of Ezra Pound's 'make it new'⁵⁸ – than is usual in the present wider trend in 'weak' modernisms.⁵⁹

The modernist set comprises the already discussed MacDiarmid/Grieve, possibly Edwin Muir, and even less securely, Neil Gunn. Muir contributed 'Ballad of the Flood', 'Ballad of the Black Douglas', and 'Ballad of the Monk' to number 1.12. As McCulloch admits though, these are mostly 'undistinguished' Scots poems with none of the modernist flair of MacDiarmid's lyrics.⁶⁰ While some of Gunn's novels, such as *Highland River* (1937), might be modernist, his poems in the *Chapbook* are probably not, although the English poem 'O, Sun!' (1.12) has an impressively compressed energy lacking in his 'To a Redbreast' (1.10, May 1923).

The revivalists, assumed then or now to be part of the Scottish renaissance through their work – often Scots-language poetry – or

⁵⁶ W. N. Herbert, *To Circumjack MacDiarmid: The Poetry and Prose of Hugh MacDiarmid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 34, 33.

⁵⁷ Alan Bold, *MacDiarmid, Christopher Murray Grieve: A Critical Biography* (London: John Murray, 1988), p. 135.

⁵⁸ Admittedly, the ascription of Pound's phrase to modernist aesthetics has a complex history; see Michael North, *Novelty: A History of the New* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), pp. 162–70.

⁵⁹ See Paul K. Saint-Amour, 'Weak Theory, Weak Modernism', *Modernism/modernity*, 25.3 (2018), 437–59.

⁶⁰ Margery McCulloch, *Edwin Muir: Poet, Critic and Novelist* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), p. 3.

supportive attitude, include MacDiarmid/Grieve, Muir, Gunn, Christine Orr, Marion Angus, William Soutar, George Reston Malloch, Helen Cruickshank, Pittendrigh Macgillivray, Violet Jacob, and possibly Tamas Faed. Angus, for instance, contributes 'The Lilt' (1.2) and 'So Soft She Sings' (2.1), both poems of female loss and romantic yearning possessed of an unquestionable command of Scots poetic rhythms. However, as Christopher Whyte points out, the backgrounds of her work emerge from 'the Celtic Twilight in its Scottish manifestation' – condemned by Grieve in his first 'Causerie' – and 'the chaste pastoralism of the English Georgians and its Scottish transmutation'.⁶¹ These contexts are germane to the poetry of others in this set such as Soutar, best known for his Scots work but whose English-language poem 'The Quest' (1.1) is romantic and spiritual in theme. McCulloch's contention that the renaissance is not always modernist is illustrated by the work of many of the poets in this category.

The largest group includes some poets who *might* be placed in the renaissance set but whose work has not so far been canonised accordingly, along with those whose poetry, frequently conventional English- or Scots-language work, is neither revivalist nor modernist. The set includes: John Ferguson, Robert Crawford, Alexander Gray, W. H. Hamilton, A. Milne, Muriel E. Graham, Muriel Stuart, Jessie Annie Anderson, R. J. McLeish, A. J. M'Geoch, James Roxburgh M'Clymont, William McKay, Bessie J. B. McArthur, Alastair Cameron, Mairi Mowat, Peter Taylor, Murdoch Maclean, Mairi Campbell Ireland, T. F. Harkness Graham, Olga Wood-Sims, Ian Macgregor, Kenneth M'Cracken, Mina Charlotte Martin, Margaret Ormiston, Alasdair Alpin Macgregor, Wallace Gardiner, Hilda Skae, Margaret Sackville, Sir George Buchanan, Sir George Douglas, Lady Margaret Sackville, Dudley Beardmore, A. Clark Kennedy, W. M. Parker, Susan Miles, E. Isobel Cumming, J. A. Finlayson, David Horne, Barbara Drummond, and Duncan MacKenzie.

By far the largest set, it is also the trickiest to summarise, especially as some names remain obscure. Dudley Beardmore, for example, has two poems in number 2.1, 'Sister' and 'Love–Faith'. While it is not clear when they were written, they are *fin-de-siècle*-like in their decadent weariness, the 'rose' of 'Love–Faith' hinting at hidden faux-Yeatsian, Rosicrucian meanings:

Striving with perfumed lips my lips to close,
Singing new songs of life, till comes the moon
And sleep – not death – cease each tear-tortured sigh;

⁶¹ Christopher Whyte, 'Marion Angus and the Boundaries of Self', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, ed. by Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 373–88 (p. 375).

I know she sleeps; we know; the rose and I.⁶²

The poems are illustrated by a bookplate of a skull in profile (Fig. 4), a memento mori reflecting the themes of the deceased Beardmore's work, designed by artist, print-maker, and poet, James Guthrie.

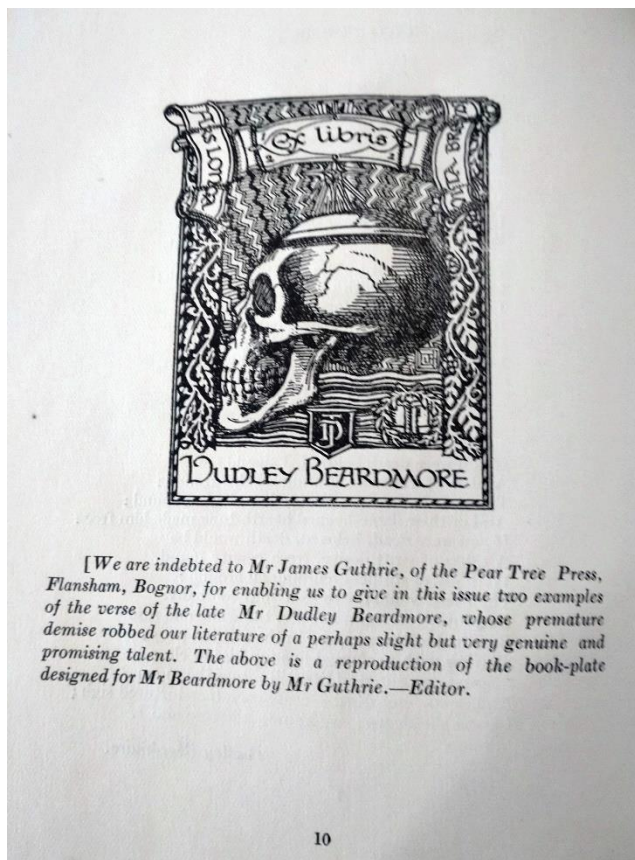


Fig. 4: James Guthrie's bookplate for the poems of Dudley Beardmore in *The Scottish Chapbook*, number 2.1.

Founder of Pear Tree Press, Guthrie is represented in 'Modern Scottish Bibliographies – No. 3' (1.3) as a vibrant Scottish personality who 'answers

⁶² Dudley Beardmore, 'Love-Faith', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 2.1 (August 1923), p. 9.

to no shibboleth'.⁶³ Guthrie's relationship to the elusive Beardmore is uncertain and the question of who Beardmore was remains open, but it seems unlikely he was another Grieve pseudonym as the poems are not in his range of styles. Notable, though, is Grieve's inclusion of poems in the *Chapbook* inspired by the motifs of a *fin de siècle* for which, as he made clear in his first 'Causerie', he had little time. This demonstrates the dearth of more sharply contemporary talents available to him for the magazine.

Additional examples, broadly representative of the unoriginal nature of much of the poetry in this set, further illustrate the problem. Appearing in the same edition as Beardmore are Susan Miles ('The Greenaways') and David Horne ('The Price'). Miles published *The Hares and Other Verses* in 1924. Writing in English, she had been published in *The New Age*, but her poems of the natural world and the life of the emotions, written in an intentionally minor key, are not especially innovative in a modernist vein. The Orcadian Horne – his *Songs of Orkney* appeared in 1923 – wrote in the predictable rhyme schemes ('embrace' | 'lay' | 'alane' | 'Day') of diminutive-laden Scots, offering little to challenge the more discriminating readers sought by Grieve for the *Chapbook*.⁶⁴ Muriel E. Graham is another poet not presently included in the renaissance canon. Grieve mentions her in *Contemporary Scottish Studies* as a writer 'who has a very considerable measure of dexterity in the manipulation of words and verse-forms, but who has little or no poetical gift of her own'.⁶⁵ Her 'An October Birthday' appears in number 1.3. Concerning the birth of a child in autumn and 'the gift of Life in Death' this brings, the diction is formal in a Victorian manner – Elizabeth Barrett Browning springs to mind – with the use of phrases such as 'But lo!', 'cheeks that vie with fair Pomona's fruit', and 'A maiden now'.⁶⁶ Harking back to the nineteenth century, the poem, like many others in this group, does not epitomise an experimental new form.

The point of these categorisations is not to claim that modernist poetry is superior per se to work not classed as modernist. Nevertheless, the *Chapbook's* final number may illustrate that Grieve had finally run out of even adequate contributions, being comprised almost entirely of MacDiarmid poems apart from Drummond's 'The Children of Lir' and McLeish's 'The Hammer of Scotland', derivative works that sit awkwardly

⁶³ Anonymous [C. M. Grieve], 'Modern Scottish Bibliographies, No. 3 – James Guthrie', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.3 (October 1922), pp. 80-86 (p. 83).

⁶⁴ David Horne, 'The Price', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 2.1 (August 1923), p. 28.

⁶⁵ C. M. Grieve, 'Various Poets (IV) Ladies' Choir', *The Scottish Educational Journal* (4 June 1926), reprinted in Hugh MacDiarmid, *Contemporary Scottish Studies*, ed. by Alan Riach (Manchester: Carcanet, 1995), pp. 336-41 (p. 339).

⁶⁶ Muriel E. Graham, 'An October Birthday', *The Scottish Chapbook*, 1.3 (October 1922), p. 78.

beside better poems such as 'The Dying Earth' and 'Braid Scots: An Inventory and Appraisement'. What these classifications are intended to demonstrate is that MacDiarmid was most likely the magazine's sole modernist. The *Chapbook* was not modernist in the range of its creative contributions. As the concluding section argues, this was a byproduct of the periodical's localism.

Conclusion: Dilemmas of 'Localist Modernism'

The *Chapbook* was a localist project with big ambitions. It formed part of Grieve's creative and propagandistic response to what he regarded as the need for a modernist Scottish literature to overhaul the nation's cultural provincialisation. It is extraordinary that this activity – creating Scots poems such as 'The Watergaw', conceptualising 'A Theory of Scots Letters', writing *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926), proposing a Scottish literary renaissance, and involvement in local and national politics – took place from the geographically provincial location of Montrose.⁶⁷ Robert Crawford is right to argue that 'Montrose allowed MacDiarmid both to maintain contact with international literary developments, and to keep faith with the peculiar grain of Scottish and minutely local affairs'.⁶⁸ The town proved to be a productive location for writing his best Scots poetry. Nonetheless, the limitations of localism hamstrung the *Chapbook*.

'Localist modernism' is a productive framework through which to illustrate what the *Chapbook* was up against. As White points out, a crucial factor in the importance of little magazines in modernism's development 'was their ability to catalyse and sustain the production of avant-garde artworks and specialised discourse networks'.⁶⁹ Magazines were the loci for the promotion of forms of literary experimentalism that were unlikely to find alternate publication venues. In proposing a 'localist modernism', White intends to 'complicate the boundaries that have traditionally divided modernist literature into canonical categories of "homemade" and "cosmopolitan" writing', but he 'also distinguishes cultural localism from the broader framework of locational modernism'.⁷⁰ Whereas 'locational readings have focused on how writers explored the relational metaphors of

⁶⁷ See Scott Lyall, *Hugh MacDiarmid's Poetry and Politics of Place: Imagining a Scottish Republic* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), chapter 3 (pp. 81–115).

⁶⁸ Robert Crawford, 'MacDiarmid in Montrose', in *Locations of Literary Modernism: Region and Nation in British and American Modernist Poetry*, ed. by Alex Davis and Lee M. Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 33–56 (p. 56).

⁶⁹ White, *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes*, p. 1.

⁷⁰ White, *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes*, p. 2.

place, time and geopolitics in the “global design” of literary modernism’, a localist aesthetic, which ‘emerged in response to these themes’, emphasises the non-parochiality of place-specific writing – MacDiarmid’s insistence that ‘The universal *is* the particular’ neatly articulates this localist principle.⁷¹

Grieve’s *Chapbook* and the renaissance project more generally were expressions of cultural localism, at once a striving to assert difference within a global market but also to be on a par with cosmopolitan and transatlantic modernist impulses. Grieve’s aim of Europeanising Scottish culture indicates part of his wider remit in these terms. However, as Murray suggests, as ‘a counterpart to Edward Marsh’s *Chapbook*’, *The Scottish Chapbook* was ‘derivative in concept’.⁷² Murray mistakenly ascribes editorship of *The Chapbook* to arts patron Marsh, editor of *Georgian Poetry*, rather than poet Harold Monro, whose *Chapbook* was a monthly survey of contemporary poetry published from his influential Poetry Bookshop in central London. Grieve claimed to have met Monro at the Poetry Bookshop in 1923, writing that he had ‘always been an admirer of his work’.⁷³ Monro had modernist credentials, publishing Pound’s influential anthology *Des Imagistes* (1914). Monro’s first *Chapbook* of July 1919 (then called *The Monthly Chapbook*) included contributions from H. D., Richard Aldington, and D. H. Lawrence, now regarded as modernists, alongside poets Joy Grant calls ‘Georgians of the war-time generation’, such as Siegfried Sassoon, W. P. R. Kerr, and Robert Nichols.⁷⁴ This impressive beginning was never equalled by subsequent editions. Like *The Scottish Chapbook*, Monro’s magazine had modernist ambitions that were not supported by the formally outmoded contents of most of its numbers. But unlike Grieve, who sought a few discerning readers for his journal, what Grant describes as Monro’s ‘catholicity’ of taste included the aim that his *Chapbook* should reach diverse audiences.⁷⁵ Monro’s magazine was not wholly successful in this objective; as Dominic Hibberd comments, ‘the *Chapbook* fell between two markets, appealing neither to the sort of [general] readership catered for by the Poetry

⁷¹ White, *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes*, p. 4; Hugh MacDiarmid, *In Memoriam James Joyce*, in Hugh MacDiarmid, *Complete Poems, Volume II*, ed. by Michael Grieve and W. R. Aitken (Manchester: Carcanet, 1994), p. 845.

⁷² Murray, ‘MacDiarmid’s Media’, p. xiii.

⁷³ Grieve, ‘Leaves from a London Scottish Diary’ (2 June 1923), reprinted in *The Raucle Tongue, Volume I*, pp. 38–51 (p. 49); Grieve notes what he regards as Monro’s complaint that *The Scottish Chapbook* ‘was a very serious production’ (p. 50).

⁷⁴ Joy Grant, *Harold Monro and the Poetry Bookshop* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 138.

⁷⁵ Grant, *Harold Monro and the Poetry Bookshop*, p. 142.

Society nor to the intellectuals who were to support *The Criterion*'.⁷⁶ Despite this, Monro's *Chapbook* 'survived longer than any other small literary magazine of the 'twenties' (from 1919 to 1925) because its editor had the private resources to finance it – funds denied to Grieve.⁷⁷ Improbably modelled on a prosperous metropolitan magazine, Grieve's *Chapbook* was a localist periodical publishing mostly late-Victorian and Georgian poetry out of step with the European modernist developments promoted in its editorials.

The tensions White points to between the local and the global form part of the localist-modernist paradox, which hinges on localist authors' sometimes troublesome expressions of belonging to the home region or nation while being at once inside and outside modernism's international matrix. This was stretched to breaking point by Grieve, who asserted Scottish difference from metropolitan cultural hegemony and sought to reconnect Scotland to European developments and influences while wanting to distinguish his modernist project from the local Scottish culture around him, which he believed was too parochial to nourish avant-gardism. The *Chapbook* promoted a modernist renaissance but was thwarted by its pre-modernist contributors – many of whom would not even fit comfortably in the 'Scottish renaissance' set – and the lack of a modernist network for Grieve to call upon. The *Chapbook* illustrates the dilemma of Scottish modernism in being a localist venture in conflict not only with its own cultural geography but with the very terms of what we have customarily understood as modernist form. This is a contradiction that Grieve was never able to resolve and one that haunts recent critical declarations of Scottish modernism as a willed act of national inclusion within the canonical fabric of global modernisms.⁷⁸ This is not to deny there was a Scottish modernism, but, with the exceptions of Grieve's editorial theorising and MacDiarmid's Scots lyrics, its source was not *The Scottish Chapbook*.

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⁷⁶ Dominic Hibberd, *Harold Monro: Poet of the New Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 205.

⁷⁷ Grant, *Harold Monro and the Poetry Bookshop*, p. 159.

⁷⁸ See, for example, McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism*, and Carla Sassi, 'Prismatic Modernities: Towards a Recontextualisation of Scottish Modernism', in *Scottish and International Modernisms*, pp. 184-97.