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The letters of Robert Foulis to James Beattie

Robert Hay Carnie

DAVID MURRAY published in 1917 a small collection of letters from Robert Foulis to various correspondents.¹ Philip Gaskell printed parts of the correspondence of James Boswell and Robert Foulis as an appendix to his splendid bibliography of the Foulis Press,² and the present writer presented in this journal in 1972, some letters illustrative of the later career of Andrew Foulis the younger.³ Despite these efforts a complaint made by Murray sixty years ago is still basically true. Students of the Scottish book-trade have extensive knowledge of the books printed and published by Foulis; books which indicate very clearly the superior printing skills of the house of Foulis and the desire of that firm to promote within Scotland the study of classical and English literature, but we have scanty and incomplete information about the biographies and personalities of the key members of the Foulis family. An edition of all the surviving letters is a desideratum but is probably still some way off.

The six Foulis-Beattie letters printed below were not used by Sir William Forbes in his standard Account of the life and writings of James Beattie, L.L.D.,⁴ a work which is largely based on Beattie’s letters to his many correspondents. Margaret Forbes quotes a few passages from the Foulis-Beattie letters in her biography,⁵ but it was inevitable, in a biography of Beattie, that her emphasis should be on the Aberdeen philosopher and not on the Glasgow printer. The few minor points of detail which can be added to the printing history of such well-known works as the Foulis Press editions of Gray, Milton and Mason are not the chief value of these letters. Their value lies rather in the delightful cameos in which we see, e.g. Robert Foulis’s pride in the productions of his own press expressed in his generous gifts to Gray,⁶ or the pleasing picture of the scholar-printer whiling away the weary hours travelling in a coach from London to Glasgow by reading Gray’s poems out loud to the mysterious Scottish lady, Margaret Hepburn,⁷ or in listening to Foulis
learnedly discoursing with Beattie on the vexed problem of the use of marks of elision in the printing of Milton's blank verse. We become aware of Fouli's ability to quote Plutarch on the false pride of school-master-pedants, and of his orthodox, if rather naive, belief that for the scepticism of Joseph Priestley to be despised, it needed only to be known. The reader will also be attracted by the direct, non-pretentious, prose style of the letters, a style which patently reflects the generous, open-minded and non-mercantile nature of their author, Robert Fouliis. Only one letter of Beattie's side of the correspondence seems to have survived. This is his reply to Fouli's letter of May 10, 1770 (Letter 5). It has already been printed by W. J. Duncan in his Notices and documents illustrative of the literary history of Glasgow, Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1831. As neither this volume, nor the 1886 reprint by T. D. Morison of Glasgow, is easily available, I have appended the Beattie-Fouliis letter of June 20, 1770 as Letter 7.

All six Fouliis letters are in the Beattie collection at the University of Aberdeen. They all carry Robert Fouliis's autograph signature, but five of the letters are in one clerk's hand, and the sixth in another. They were presumably transcribed by unidentified employees of the Fouliis brothers. The letters are produced verbatim. Any editorial interpolations are enclosed in brackets.

Letter 1. Robert Fouliis to James Beattie

Dear Sir,

I had the favour of yours of the 31st Decr. I am very sensible of your friendship; and of the honour you have done us in applying to Mr Gray in our favour, and in so effectual a manner as to obtain his permission for our printing his Poems; And beg, that the first time you write to Mr Gray, you would assure him of our most grateful acknowledgements, and that we have a just sense of the honour done us, not merely from the reputation of Mr Gray with people of taste in every rank, but also from the experience we ourselves have had of the power of his sentiments and descriptions striking the mind, & awakening the soul: Sentiments that are at once simple & sublime.

Early in the year 1753, when at London, I was very desirous of having 34

the pleasure of seeing Mr Gray, and narrowly miss'd seeing him when he visited Miss Hepburn 13 who much admir'd his writings. In her return to Scotland, in the intervals of conversation, it was our only entertainment on the road, to read them in the 4to edition. And as it was my province to be the reader, I have them still very much impress'd on my mind; particularly that on Eton, And above all, The Elegy wrote in a Country Church-yard. The sublime & pathetic Poem on the Welch Bards was not then publish'd. 14 As to Mr Dodsley's printing them at the same time, it is no disagreeable circumstance. 15 Especially, as he knows they are likeaways to be printed in Scotland. This may produce useful emulation without envy.

I am
Dear Sir
With esteem, affection and gratitude
Your most obedient servant
Robert Fouliis

Glasgow 6th Janry. 1768.

Cover. To Mr James Beattie Professor of Moral Philosophy 16 in the Marischall College Aberdeen.

Letter 2. Robert Fouliis to James Beattie

Dear Sir,

I received this day Mr Gray's Poems with the notes, fairly transcribed; 17 for which, in the mean-time, I return you my sincere and most hearty thanks; And also for your attention in informing me so completely both with respect to Mr Gray's opinion and your own concerning the manner of printing, which almost universally falls in with my own opinion; Only, the distance between the lines, as you propose, is too great, and would hurt the beauty. The distance I propose will be rather a little more than the distance between the lines of the Homer we printed here in folio. 18 I have some doubts if the writing paper you mean will be broad enough for the length of the line; but I shall know this tomorrow. As soon as a proper paper is fixt on the printing will soon be begun and finished. We 35
shall smooth the paper for some copies, without making it shine so as to reflect the light too sharply.\textsuperscript{19} The poems in imitation of the Norse & Welch are very fine,\textsuperscript{20} and must be acceptable to people of taste. I shall do myself the honour to write to Mr Gray. What you have heard of Miss Hepburn’s death is but too true. I shall give you the trouble of a Letter as soon as I can send you a specimen of the manner of printing. My most respectful compliments to Mrs Beattie.\textsuperscript{21} I am

Dear Sir  
With great respect & esteem  
Your most humble & obedient Servant  
Robert Foulis

Glasgow March 3d 1768.

Cover. To Mr James Beattie Professor of Philosophy in the Marischal College Aberdeen.

Letter 3. Robert Foulis to James Beattie

Dear Sir,

We have a just sense of our obligations to you for procuring Mr Gray’s permission to print his Poems, and it is exceedingly pleasant to us that we have been able to execute them in such a manner as to give satisfaction to him\textsuperscript{22} and to you. As we had more at heart doing justice to their merit than procuring profit, we printed no more copies than what we thought we would be able to sell in our own Shop, being aware likeways that our correspondent in London would be unwilling to receive them on account of interfering with Mr Dodson; So we sent none to London, but one Copy which we put into a Commission we were honour’d with for the King’s Library, and about 25 Copies to Cambridge.\textsuperscript{23} We can, however, from the agreeable reception they met with at Glasgow, afford a little present for Mr Gray, which shall be either a Copy of our folio edition of Homer,\textsuperscript{24} or a set of our edition of the Greek Historians in 29 volumes,\textsuperscript{2} as you shall judge most proper, or most agreeable to him. This we do not mean as any suitable return, but as a small testimony of our respect & gratitude. As we lay at a distance from opulent encouragers, the constant expence of our various engagements calls for constant returns for all our little commerce produces, which is indeed almost entirely confined to the sale of our own produce. As an instance of this, we have sent your account discharged to Mr Angus\textsuperscript{26} for the 12 copies of Mr Gray’s Poems you ordered, and for which encouragement we also beg you would accept of our thanks.

You will find by the inclos’d Proposal that Mr Gray’s Poems are like to give rise to an edition of Milton;\textsuperscript{27} not a numerous one, but attended with such encouragement as will render the risk small, and I hope, will be executed in such a manner as not to disappoint the expectation of the encouragers.

Mr Gray’s advancement\textsuperscript{28} gives great satisfaction to every body of taste or letters here. The choice does no less honour to his Majesty than to Mr Gray. I am, for myself and brother,

Dear Sir,  
your very much obliged and most humble servant  
Robert Foulis

Glasgow March 25th 1769.

Cover. To Mr James Beattie Professor of Philosophy in the Mareschal College, Aberdeen.

Letter 4. Robert Foulis to James Beattie

Sir,

I had the pleasure of yours of April 24th, for which I return you my most hearty thanks, both on my Brother’s account & my own. We are both highly sensible of the friendship it discovers.

The number proposed for encouraging an edition of Milton’s Paradise Lost in fol. is within less than 20 of being complete. We are obliged to you and the Mareschal College for their subscription. The Homer is still unpaid, but it is our own fault, in not having called for it. There was also
a copy of the Iliad sent to the late Principal Pollock's order, in the same circumstance.

I am glad you lik'd so well the two prints I had the pleasure of sending you. The inaccuracies you complain of are just; but the faults belong to the Masters after whom the Engravings are done, and they are now become so venerable in their characters, that any attempt of an Engraver to mend them, would be taken very ill; And indeed it would be no easy matter to mend the Joseph. The Drawing has the same indistinctness in the Picture after which it is done; and if the Engraver had rendered it more distinct, it would have advanced, almost in a line, with the foreground figures. The dissatisfaction arising from the indistinctness unaccounted for you'd have been prevented if Raphael had introduced any object between the foreground figures & Joseph to give an idea of distance. The thumb of the Magdalen is likeways a faithful copy of the Original, as well as the Tree: But these kinds of faults are known marks of Coreggio [sic], as well as his beauties; And if an Engraver or Copyist attempted to mend them, altho' he should succeed, he would get no thanks, but give an occasion to his being suspected, even where he copied faithfully.

With regard to the little presents from Mr Gray, I will send you what you direct, whether he gives you an answer about it, or not.

Your sentiments with regard to the choice of Editor we ought to follow in Milton agrees with our own. We have been looking into Newton's Milton with that view. He has certainly taken more pains than any other Editor of Milton; And however small importance many variations may be, it is safer to follow one able than many guides, which are apt to cause inconsistencies unless the greatest deliberation is used. I could wish you had been a little more explicit in the length you would have us to go in the banishing of abbreviations: It would certainly be more classical to have none. There is the same reason for printing Virgil with abbreviations; since a person without an ear, or ignorant of quantity, may mistake. Would you recommend replacing all the vowels, or only some in particular cases? If only some, can you give me any fixt rule founded on nature that can be justify'd, & uniformly observed without any inconsistency? Mr Newton has restored some vowels, & at the same time kept the apostrophe to warn the reader that they are not to be pronounced. He has also added the same apostrophe to many syllables unabbreviated in the former editions; because he finds by the number of syllables that they must have intended to be mute by the Author. A remarkable instance of this we have where he apostrophizes the letter y in glory.

One reason would make one wish to banish the Abbreviations; that Readers becoming familiar with them in Poetry, are thereby induced to use them in Prose; which undoubtedly hurts the beauty of language to the eye, & its harmony to the ear. If you restore all the Vowels, and mark each with an apostrophe, will not many readers, unaccustomed to that kind of direction, be more puzzled by it than if there were no apostrophe at all, but the whole left to their judgment and ear? The apostrophes taking the space of a letter make always a disagreeable hiatus in the word, even when the vowel is kept in. I believe I have fallen on a means of remedying that. I have spoke to Dr Wilson to get the apostrophes cast on the same body with the vowels themselves, a little to one side, so that the hiatus will be entirely prevented.

I shall reckon myself very much obliged to you for your decision, both with respect to vowels and apostrophes, and I am,

Sir
With very great regard and respect
Your very much obliged & most humble servant
Robert Foulis

Glasgow, June 13. 1769.

Cover. To Mr James Beattie Professor of Philosophy in the Mareschal College, Aberdeen.

Letter 5. Robert Foulis to James Beattie

Dear Sir,

This day we have sent off by the Aberdeen Carrier, Wm Wardrop, the Books mention'd above, with your copy of Milton on the foolscap paper. The Book would have been finish'd at least 2 months sooner, if the paper-merchant, to whom we trusted had not brought home the second kind of Demy writing paper in place of the best, which occasion'd a long
delay, as there was none of the best to be had but by writing. When you have leisure to glance over the Paradise Lost, as now printed, you will find that we have profited from your hints; and even in cases where you were doubtful, we have banished the apostrophes. I was so much convinced of their little utility that I would have banished them altogether, if I had not been restrain’d by my Brother’s prudence, who has kept them in the cases you recommended at the end of the line, & in some very few others. It is many years since we banished them from prose when we were at liberty. I once thought of taking notice of this little alteration in printing poetry; but, upon reflection, it appeared more prudent to leave the Public to follow their own judgment, without any previous intimation. In the copies delivered here, nobody has taken notice that there are fewer apostrophes than ordinary; But if it had been taken notice of in a preface, with whatever strength of reason it had been justifi’d, we should certainly have had different opinions, & some disputes. Every body that reflects must consider the mere number of syllables which may be either short or long as a very equivocal standard of Versification. Time may certainly, the true standard. I am not sure but in our printing of Greek verse, we go too far in mincing many words which were perhaps wrote full by the Authors themselves, and have only been minced in the manner they are by Schoolmasters, such as told Alcibiades that he corrected Homer, to who Alcibiades replied that since he could correct Homer he needed not to confine himself to boys, for he was fit to teach men.\(^{39}\)

I should have troubled you with a much longer Letter, but I am obliged to stop short lest I lose the post. I have seen this day a Book advertised, which I long to read, and shall write to you after I have read it. Yours

Robert Foulis

Glasgow May 10th 1770

Cover. Not seen.

Letter 6. Robert Foulis to James Beattie

Dear Sir,

When I look on the date of your letter, I am fully sensible how much reason I have to be ashamed of my own sloth, in letting it prevail so far, as to cause me to neglect a duty which ought not to be dispensed with; but, as the extenuation of this fault would require too much writing, I shall not trouble you with them at present.

I hoped every week to have sent you a specimen of the manner in which we propose to print Mr. Mason’s Poems;\(^{39}\) we propose the type of Milton, and the same paper and size, and not to exceed 300 copies; nor to throw them upon the public faster than they are wanted; in the meantime we have printed a small edition upon the new letter to go along with the 40 volumes of English Poets;\(^{40}\) which number we have hitherto kept up, though we have been obliged to print several of them oftener than once; and we are sensible that the merit of Mr. Mason’s Poems, and their reputation, will make them acceptable to our encouragers, which are many more on this article than we have been accustomed to. We have indeed got rivals at Edinburgh,\(^{41}\) who are persons of great activity, but we do not find, hitherto, that they have done us much harm; and if the public continue their favour, the collection will become still more extensive.

We have arguments for every canto of Spencer’s Fairy Queen in manuscript, which make an excellent and concise commentary; they were wrote by a great admirer of Spencer, who had studied him much, and wrote a Poem, entitled the Squire of Dames, in Spencer’s style;\(^{42}\) we propose to add Spencer with these arguments to our collection. But there are two works that require great attention, which we are bound to prefer to our own undertakings; one is a book on the Customs by Mr. Burrows,\(^{43}\) consisting chiefly of calculations, which makes two volumes in folio, the first of which is ending, the second, being chiefly index and common printing, will give little trouble competently; the other is near a conclusion, and is printed entirely at the expense of Lord Stanhope,\(^{44}\) and contains the principal mathematical works Mr Simson\(^{45}\) has left: his Lordship is to make presents of the whole impression.

We want to show our gratitude to Mr. Mason by making some presents of books of our printing, and would wish to do this properly by avoiding
things that he has already and by choosing such as would be agreeable to him; if you can assist us in this matter it will oblige us much.

Mr. Richardson made this summer a jaunt to York for his health; and on that occasion desired that I would write to Mr. Mason along with him; I took that opportunity of acknowledging to him the receipt of your letter, and returning him thanks for the contents. I have since had the favour of a letter from Mr. Mason, with a copy of the last edition of his poems. I read with great pleasure the first book of his Poem on Gardens, and think it a noble specimen of genius and taste: Before I had received his letter I guessed that he would not choose to have this joined with his other poems, and therefore followed his own edition.

The other day Mr. Creech bookseller was here, said you was writing an answer to Mr Priestley. I am of opinion that you will much better preserve your dignity, and mortify him by not answering. He appears to me a very self-conceited and insolent fellow; and I am persuaded will appear more so if ever I should read his book. A writer that says such provoking things must excite resentment, and occasion sharp strokes in return; you have already been warmed in the cause of religion; and I should wish that the public would find, that you are not easily moved on a lesser occasion.—In the little preface Dr. Priestley sent, addressed to Dr. Reid, there is a wonderful encomium upon a book of Hartley's, which I have never read, but by the accounts I have heard of it must be hypothetical, and ridiculously whimsical; a selection of passages from this book put together and Mr. Priestley's encomium at their head, I should think would expose him, though they were not accompanied with a single reflection. This is the light things appear in to me, though I am very far from being sure that I am right.

We have let Virgil sleep for a time, because the commercial state of the country was attended with a great diminution of bookselling, but we hope to set it agoing soon.

Mr Trail, who takes the trouble of this, can acquaint you with the state of things here.

I am, Sir, with the most cordial regard
Your much obliged
And most humble servant

Robert Foulis

Glasgow Oct. 25. 1774
Cover. To Dr. Beattie Aberdeen.

Letter 7. James Beattie to Robert Foulis

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 10th of May, and about a fortnight after, the Books came to hand. The Milton is wonderfully fine. It is indeed the most magnificent Book I have ever seen, and seems to be perfectly correct. I am very happy to see that the hints I propos'd relating to Apostrophes have attained your approbation. The omission of those unnecessary characters has a very good effect on the eye, and will, I am convinced, give general satisfaction. I hope you will soon set about the Virgil in the same form. My former hints have been so well received, that I may possibly hazard a few on this subject also. I would not wish to see either the Culex or the Civis in this projected Edition, being thoroughly convinced that they are not by Virgil but by some much later hand. They are besides altogether unworthy of the Mantuan bard. I could offer many arguments in proof of this opinion, but I flatter myself that they will not be necessary. The Bucolics, Georgics, and Aeneid are in my judgment the whole of Virgil's works now extant. I have two curious and, I believe, rare editions of this author: the first by Daniel Heinsius printed by Elzevir in 1636, and the other by his son Nicholas Heinsius printed by Elzevir in the year 1676. The last is by much the better, and is generally acknowledged to be the very best edition of Virgil. If you cannot find it elsewhere, my copy is at your service. There are some various readings from the Medicean, and other manuscripts, which are of consequence, and therefore ought not to be omitted in a correct edition of Virgil. In regard to these I have some written notes by me, which might probably be of some use. If you think so, I shall very readily communicate them. By the bearer, Professor Trail, I have sent payment of your account, viz. two guineas for Homer,—four and sixpence for Epictetus, Anacreon and Cebes,—a guinea for Milton,—Two pounds thirteen shillings for the Greek Historians,—and thirteen shillings for my copy of Milton on small paper, which you forgot to put into the account,—in all £6: 13: 6. I am much obliged to you for the concern you show about my Essay, and am very curious to know your opinion of it, and shall be very happy if it obtains your approbation. The greatest merit of it is, that it was written with a good design. It will offend many, but may I hope be of use to
some; nay, if I am not misinformed, it has been so already. It was not
without long consideration that I ventured it abroad in its present form.
There is a boldness in many of the reflections, which after much thinking
I thought it best not to alter,—though I hear it has given much offence to
many of the Literati of your country. I have hardly time to add, that I
truly am, Dear Sir, Your most obedient Humble Servt.

J. Beattie

Aberdeen, 20th June, 1770.

1 In the Scottish Historical Review, January and April, 1917. Reprinted as a separate
publication the same year. David Murray, Some letters of Robert Foulis, Glasgow:
Maclehose, 1917. 74pp. Hereinafter referred to as Murray.
3 R. H. Carline, 'Andrew Foulis the Younger: some illustrative letters', The Bibliotheca
VI (4), 93-104.
4 Edinburgh & London: Constable, Creech, Longman, Cadell & Davies, Murray, 2 vols,
1806.
5 Margaret Forbes, Beattie and his friends, London: Constable, 1904. Hereinafter re-
ferred to as Forbes.
6 Letter 3.
7 Letter 5.
8 Letters 4 and 5.
9 Letter 6.
10 I am grateful to the Keeper of the Manuscripts, Aberdeen University, for providing
photocopies, and to the university for permission to publish.
11 The most readable short account of the genesis of the Foulis edition of Poems by M.
Gray is that in R. W. Ketton-Cremer, Thomas Gray a biography, Cambridge: Univer-
12 Robert Foulis made a tour of Europe after the death of his wife, Elizabeth Moor in 1750.
He set out in 1751 and visited Holland and France and reached London in February,
1753. See Murray, pp. 16-31.
13 Margaret Hepburn, daughter of George Hepburn of Monkridge, near Haddington. Th"reference indicates that Thomas Gray met Margaret Hepburn in 1753, and
provides a useful footnote to the account of the lady in Correspondence of Thomas
referred to as Toynbee & Whitley. The footnote on Miss Hepburn is in Toynbee & Whitley, p. 514.
14 Walpole first published The Bard and The Progress of Poesy at Strawberry Hill in 1757.

44

"Beattie became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen in 1760 when Alexander
Gerard moved to the Chair of Divinity. See Forbes, p.16.
"Foulis refers to his own folio edition of Homer, 1756-8. See Gaskell, item no. 319.
"Gaskell makes no reference, in his account of this work, to any copies being given this
treatment. Gaskell, item no. 475.
"Foulis is referring to the previously unpublished poems in the volume: 'The fatal sisters';
'The descent of Odin' and 'The triumphs of Owen'. Beattie shared Foulis's admiration
for these new pieces. See his letter to Gray. Toynbee & Whitley, p. 1011.
"Beattie had married Mary Dun in June 1767.
"Gray wrote to Beattie, 31 October, 1768: 'It is indeed a most beautiful edition, and must
certainly do credit to Mr. Foulis and me, but I fear it will be no other advantage to him,
as Dodsley has contrived to glut the town already with two editions beforehand, one of
1500, & the other of 750, both indeed far inferior to that of Glasgow, but sold at half
the price.' Toynbee & Whitley, p. 1048.
"Presumably sent to the Cambridge bookseller, Thomas Merrill. Gray received two copies
from Foulis. One was sent directly and the other via Merrill. See Toynbee & Whitley,
p. 1048.
"Gray chose the Homer and commented on Foulis's generosity in his letter to Beattie, July
16, 1769. Toynbee & Whitley, p. 1071.
"Foulis refers generically here to the various editions of the Greek historians that he had
published down through the years. They were not, as far as I know, ever issued with any
kind of series title-page.
"Alexander Angus, bookseller and publisher in Aberdeen, 1744-1802.
"The 1770 folio Paradise Lost was published by subscription. Gray subscribed for two
large-paper copies. Toynbee & Whitley, p. 1072. A full description of the book can be
found in Gaskell, item no. 510.
"The reference is to Gray's appointment to the professorship of Modern History. See R.
W. Ketton-Cremer, Thomas Gray a biography, pp. 229-33.
"Robert Pollock (1709-1759), Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen from 1745. Appointed
Principal in 1757.
"A standard account of Foulis's Academy of Arts is that in James Maclehose, The
Glasgow University Press, 1638-1931; with some notes on Scottish printing in the last
three hundred years, Glasgow University Press, 1931, pp. 183-191. The prints in
question were products of the Academy.
"It is not easy to decide which engraving after Raphael this refers to, as the Academy of
Arts did a number of these copies.
"'A Magdalen reading, after Coreggio'. See W. J. Duncan, Notices and documents, p. 94.
"ThomasNewton (1704-82). The most recent edition of Paradise Lost, edited by Newton
previous to the date of this letter, appeared in 1763.
"Beattie's views on prosody, which clearly affected the practice of the house of Foulis in
printing Milton's verse, are spelt out in chapter 4 of his Dissertations moral and critical,
criticism of the use of the apostrophe to indicate elision in printing verse comes on
p. 280.
"Alexander Wilson, typefounder and professor of astronomy (1714-86). See Philip
Gaskell, 'The early work of the Foulis Press and the Wilson Foundry', The Library, VII
(2), 98-102.
A chronological bibliography of works on R. B. Cunninghame Graham (1852-1936)

John Walker

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM was a man of many parts. He was deeply involved in the fields of literature, history, politics and travel—not only of Britain, but of Europe, the Americas and Africa. As a result, his name crops up in several spheres of the literature of different languages.

There have been a few checklists of different aspects of the writings of Graham (see the items of Chaudry, Gallo, Watts and West below), but no published bibliography of works on Graham. Although Gallo's Spanish monograph lists a few works of criticism on Graham in the bibliography, this section is, however, very slight. The present bibliography is meant to fill the gap, and to create at least a point of departure for future Graham studies which can be updated periodically. It is also a tribute to Don Roberto, and an attempt to rehabilitate a sadly neglected writer.

I have limited this bibliography to articles, books and theses on Graham and his work, omitting book reviews, radio broadcasts, poems, newspaper reports, obituaries and other miscellaneous pieces which, although collected and valuable, are outside the scope of this particular study. Within the framework of the limitations, however, the list is up-to-date and complete. I have adopted the chronological sequence which demonstrates the evolution of criticism on Graham, indicating the later points of view which develop or challenge earlier opinions. I am indebted to Dr W. R. Aitken for his suggestion as to this format. In citing pagination for the various entries, I have followed the MLA Style Sheet (2nd ed. 1970).

I am grateful to my friends and fellow Grahamophiles, Dr Cedric Watts and Dr Laurence Davies, for their encouragement and suggestions. Their own valuable contribution to Graham studies is attested to by the items bearing their names listed in the bibliography below. I am also indebted to Mr W. Wright, Special Collections, Baker Library,