

## D.S. MIRSKII AND HUGH MACDIARMID: A RELATIONSHIP AND AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS (1934)

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In his *Hugh MacDiarmid and the Russians* (Edinburgh, 1987), Peter McCarey<sup>1</sup> investigated the references to Russian writers in the work of the Scots poet (Christopher Murray Grieve, 1892–1978), concentrating particularly on Dostoevskii, Solov'ev, Shestov, Blok, and Maiakovskii. In this connection, MacDiarmid was dependent on translations into English, and McCarey shows that among his principal sources were the writings published in English during the 1920s by the then *émigré* Russian critic and historian of literature D.S. Mirskii (Prince Dmitrii Petrovich Sviatopolk-Mirskii, 1890–1939).<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the most curious single appearance made by Russian literature in MacDiarmid's work occurs in the short poem 'Why I Became a Scots Nationalist'.<sup>3</sup> Here, MacDiarmid explicitly invokes Pushkin in asserting the superiority of triumph after 'lang and sair/pursuit' over 'flichty conquests', but applying to politics an assertion that the Russian poet had made about sexual intercourse. The Russian source-text is Pushkin's lyric about his relations with his teenage wife, 'Net, ia ne dorozhu miatezhnym naslazhden'em' (1830). The immediate source, just as unmistakably, is the translation of this poem into English that Mirskii incorporated into the text of his monograph on Pushkin.<sup>4</sup> MacDiarmid's version is fundamentally in iambic tetrameter, and rhymed:

... Like Pushkin I,  
My time for flichty conquests by,  
Valuing nae mair some quick-fire cratur'  
Wha hurries up the ways o' natur',  
Am happy, when after lang and sair  
Pursuit you yield yoursel' to me,  
But wi' nae rapture, cauldly there,

Open but glowerin' callously,  
 Yet slow but surely heat until  
 You catch my flame against your will  
 And the mureburn tak's the hill.<sup>5</sup>

It may well have been that direct contact was made, by correspondence if not in person, between MacDiarmid and Mirskii after the former reviewed Mirskii's *Modern Russian Literature* (London, 1925)<sup>6</sup> and *Contemporary Russian Literature* (London, 1926).<sup>7</sup> MacDiarmid's admiration for Mirskii and solidarity with his political development as the 1920s drew to a close were expressed in his dedication of the programmatic *First Hymn to Lenin* (1931) to 'Prince D.S. Mirsky'. This dedication, which has appeared many times in the various republications of MacDiarmid's works, stands as the most visible and enduring testament to the two men's affinities. In a return tribute which many less people can have noticed, Mirskii included an item by MacDiarmid in the anthology of modern English poetry he worked on for several years and which eventually appeared without his name after he was arrested. The translation is by I. Romanovich:

#### ОТРЫВОК О ЛЕНИНЕ

Тайна его — это тайна всех,  
 Кто работать умеет.  
 Челнок засновал — значит, нужно  
 Пустить быстрее основу.  
 Нужно уметь сочетать движения  
 Свои с машиной.  
  
 Грохот машин меня, чужака,  
 Сразу оглушит;  
 Тебе он привычен и ничуть не мешает  
 Думать, говорить и видеть  
 Не только станки, хоть иным и это  
 Дается с трудом.  
 Так же вот Ленин легко разбирался  
 В жизни рабочих,  
 В движениях своих он был точнее  
 Лучшего ткача на свете,  
 И все, к чему он прикладывал руку,  
 Удавалось на славу. ...<sup>8</sup>

These lines render into standard literary Russian—unrhymed and set with only one of the six-line divisions of the original—the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas of 'The Seamless Garment',<sup>9</sup> a Scots lyric

addressed by MacDiarmid to a cousin who worked at the mill in their native town, Langholm:

His secret and the secret o' a'  
That's worth ocht.  
The shuttles fleein' owre quick for my een  
Prompt the thought,  
And the coordination atween  
Weaver and machine.

The haill shop's dumfoonderin'  
To a stranger like me.  
Second nature to you; you're perfectly able  
To think, speak and see  
Apairt frae the looms, tho' to some  
That doesna sae easily come.

Lenin was like that wi' workin' class life,  
At hame wi't a'.  
His fause movements couldna been fewer,  
The best weaver Earth ever saw.  
A' *he'd* to dae wi' moved intact  
Clean, clear, and exact.<sup>10</sup>

It appears from the biographical note at the back of the anthology that Mirskii did not know MacDiarmid well enough to be able to supply his date of birth, unlike almost all the other poets in the book. The note reads: 'Шотландец, переводил на шотландский диалект русских поэтов. В «Первом гимне Ленину», искренней попытке выразить сочувствие коммунистическим идеям, — большая доля философского идеализма'.<sup>11</sup> Whether or not MacDiarmid ever knew that Mirskii had included this extract and note in his Soviet anthology is unclear, but it seems unlikely. He seems not to have known what eventually happened to Mirskii, or at least not to have known for many years. In a letter to the *Glasgow Herald* of 11 November 1946 MacDiarmid referred to the praise for his work accorded by 'the late W.B. Yeats, the late AE (George W. Russell), ex-Prince D.S. Mirsky, the late Professor George Gordon, the late Lord Tweedsmuir, Mr Sean O'Casey, Mr T.S. Eliot, and a host of others. . .';<sup>12</sup> the absence of 'the late' here implies that he did not know Mirskii was dead. Finally, one of MacDiarmid's major later works is dedicated, among others, to Prince Dmitry Mirsky:

A mighty master in all such matters  
 Of whom for all the instruction and encouragement he gave me  
 I am happy to subscribe myself here  
 The humble and most grateful pupil.<sup>13</sup>

In December 1973 I wrote to Hugh MacDiarmid and enquired about his relationship with Mirskii. In his reply, he answered none of the specific questions I put: when and how he came into contact with Mirskii, whether he had ever been to Russia, and so on. He wrote as follows; the final sentence of the letter is incomplete, but the meaning of it is clear nevertheless:

Brownsbank  
 Candymill by Biggar  
 Lanarkshire  
 Scotland.  
 17/12/73

G.S.Smith, Esq  
 The University of Birmingham  
 Dear Sir:—

Nearly a week has elapsed since I should have received your letter dated 11th, that is because I have been in Ireland and only got back here last night.

I will be happy to tell you about my contacts with D.S. Mirsky, especially to talk to you about this if as you think you may be able to come and see me here in January. I'll be at home except for a few days round about 20th to 25th January.

Unhappily I lived for some nine years in a small island of the Shetland group<sup>14</sup> from 1932 to 1940, and circumstances compelling me to return to the mainland after the outbreak of the Second World War caused a lot of my books and papers to go astray. So I lost all Mirsky's letters, which contained inter alia the far too generous view that I was one of the few living poets of European stature and that my renderings of Blok and other Russian poets were exceptionally good. He was also concerned with the hope that Lewis Grassie Gibbon's 'Spartacus' (which was, alas, forestalled by the filming of Howard Fast's 'Spartacus' instead in the Soviet Union. [*sic*])

With my compliments and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
 Hugh MacDiarmid.

I arranged to visit MacDiarmid on 16 January 1974, but there was a rail strike and I had to cancel my arrangements. I was unable to make another appointment. I asked MacDiarmid further questions about Mirskii by letter, but he did not reply.

In view of MacDiarmid's statement to me about the fate of the letters he received from Mirskii, I assumed that the only surviving record of the correspondence between the two men was one sentence

from a letter by Mirskii that had been cited by MacDiarmid in the first version of his autobiography, without giving its date; these words may lie behind MacDiarmid's assertion about Mirskii's estimate of his stature in the letter to me: 'Ever since I first encountered your poetry I have recognised you as one of the few living poets of the European world. Your translations from Blok and Hippius are the only real recreations in English of modern Russian poetry'.<sup>15</sup> However, it subsequently turned out that the text of at least one complete letter by MacDiarmid to Mirskii had survived. It is preserved in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. The letter (National Library of Scotland, MS 26078, f.1) is a carbon copy of a typescript original.

[No address given]

20th March 1934

My dear Mirsky

It is some considerable time ago since you were living in Gower Street<sup>16</sup> and we had a correspondence a propos of my poems which I value very highly. I have some knowledge of your subsequent movements and as you may know my own have paralleled them to a considerable extent. In other words we have both gone completely Communist.<sup>17</sup>

Now, I am sending you what I regard as a very remarkable novel and a novel which both by the nature of its theme and the method of its treatment makes it a very vital piece of proletarian propaganda. I send it to you because of all recent works in English that I know it is most susceptible to translation into foreign languages because of its directness and fundamental simplicity and also because the matter of the subject with which it deals seems to me to make it one of the most effective pieces of propagandist literature produced outside Russia which could be dealt with by the U.S.S.R. authorities.

I am hoping that it will commend itself to you from this point of view and that it may be possible for you to arrange not only for its translation into Russian but also for the utilisation by Russian producers of its cinema rights.

I shall be extremely glad if after you have read the book you will write to me about this. I should be glad—not for my own sake—if you could let me know what you think of it as quickly as possible.

May I say in conclusion that I have always borne in mind certain things that you were good enough to say about my own work; that I have always had a high regard for the work that you yourself did in English; that I sincerely hope you are happy in your new conditions; and finally that in any case not only I myself but the author of the book which I am now commending to you are wholeheartedly with you in the position you have taken up.

With compliments and every high regard

Yours very sincerely

[Signature added: C.M. Grieve]

In his letter of 17 December 1973 to me, as we have seen, MacDiarmid referred to Mirskii's interest in *Spartacus*, the novel by Lewis Grassie Gibbon (James Leslie Mitchell, 1901–35).<sup>18</sup> That *Spartacus* was indeed the novel MacDiarmid refers to in the letter to Mirskii that has just been cited is confirmed in a letter by Mirskii to Dorothy Galton of 25 June 1934, where he writes: 'Hugh MacDiarmid the Scottish poet who wrote *To Circumjack Cencrastus* has sent me a book by a man called Mitchell—*Spartacus*. Have you heard about it?'<sup>19</sup>

When I contacted the National Library of Scotland about MacDiarmid's letter, to my surprise I was informed that the Library also possesses Mirskii's reply to it. The letter, Acc. 7361/5, is an original in Mirskii's hand. His written English is as always remarkably fluent; but without the benefit of a native style-editor, which he had enjoyed while he was in London, it now exhibits several small faults of spelling and idiom:

Moscow.  
ul. Gorkogo 68, KB. 68<sup>20</sup>  
25. June 34.

Dear Hugh Macdiarmid,

Please excuse me for answering you with such delay. The Moscow News forwarded your letter to an obsolete address, & I only received *Spartacus* yesterday. I have only just looked into it: it looks the genuine article. Thank you very much for sending it to me. I shall probably have occasion to write about it soon. Have there been any new books of your own?

Sincerely yours  
D. Mirsky

In my lectures on contemporary English literature<sup>21</sup> I often have to speak about you. I have to do it from memory as there are no copies of your books in Moscow (except the *First Hymn* which you sent me). Do you think you could send some or all of your poems (especially the 'Drunk Man')<sup>22</sup> to the Central Library for Foreign Literature here? They would greatly appreciate this, as their 'valuta' budget is too small to buy anything but textbooks & that sort of thing.

D.M.  
I have put a few lines about you in the article on Scottish Literature in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia.

It is clear from what Mirskii says here that he received *Spartacus* on 24 June 1934. This suggests that MacDiarmid was indulging in wishful thinking when on 12 April 1934 he wrote to its author's wife Rhea

that 'Mirskii was greatly taken with *Spartacus* and thought something might be done about a film. I haven't heard from him again, *but will write him at once*'.<sup>23</sup> And MacDiarmid's memory played him false when he wrote to me that the filming of Howard Fast's treatment of the same subject had forestalled Mirskii's promotion of it in the USSR, for Fast, born in 1914, published the novel in question only in 1951.

The letter or letters Mirskii received from MacDiarmid after his return to Russia were in all probability among the papers that were seized when he was arrested;<sup>24</sup> what happened to these papers is unknown for certain, but they probably do not survive.<sup>25</sup> However, Mirskii's statement that he had just mentioned MacDiarmid in an encyclopedia article can be verified; and what is more, the item in question is missing from the existing bibliographies of his writings.<sup>26</sup> His words about the poet are less than fulsome, and contrast strongly with MacDiarmid's representations of what Mirskii thought of him as a poet:

В наше время вновь возникла попытка возрождения поэзии на шотландском диалекте, представленная поэтом Хью Макдиармид (псевдоним). Это— оригинальный поэт-философ, не чуждый революц. настроений (два «Гимна Ленину»), но с путаным мировоззрением. Его попытка возродить шотландский литературный язык не более как интеллигентская затея.<sup>27</sup>

It is clear that in the 1930s Mirskii and MacDiarmid felt that they were in some sense 'on the same side'. In particular, they shared that revulsion against the Protestant and capitalist culture of Western Europe which had been powerfully articulated for Mirskii in the work of his friend Prince N.S. Trubetskoi,<sup>28</sup> and formed a fundamental plank in the ideology of Eurasianism. But the various references to each other's writings and reputations that have been cited here make little or no explicit reference to some of the major issues that divided Mirskii and MacDiarmid. Mirskii probably knew of MacDiarmid's admiration for certain Russian idealist thinkers, especially Solov'ev and Shestov; after treating these figures with respect in his publications in English and his personal relations during the 1920s, by the early 1930s Mirskii had utterly repudiated them.<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps the most important ideological problem that both Mirskii and MacDiarmid faced and acted upon concerned the relationship between communism and nationalism in its changing political manifestations. We should recall to begin with that these two men were born at opposite ends of the social spectrum, but both came from border

country (near Khar'kiv, in Mirskii's case), and both survived active service on foreign soil in World War I; like most survivors of this conflict, they subsequently wondered what they had been fighting for. In emigration, beginning with some of his earliest publications,<sup>30</sup> Mirskii was continually involved in the agonized debate about the Russianness of the Russian Revolution, especially in connection with his involvement in the Eurasian movement.<sup>31</sup> Eventually, in 1929 he published a long series of articles on the nationalities question in Soviet Russia.<sup>32</sup> Though the available evidence is contradictory,<sup>33</sup> there can be no doubt that Mirskii went back to Russia at least partly for patriotic reasons.<sup>34</sup> But in the scathing book he wrote about the British intelligentsia soon after he returned, Mirskii makes no mention of nationalism as a significant element in their views.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, Hugh MacDiarmid was a founder member of the National Party of Scotland in 1928, but he was expelled from it because of his communist sympathies in 1933. At some time in the year he wrote the letter to Mirskii in Moscow, 1934, he joined the Communist Party of Great Britain.<sup>36</sup> MacDiarmid's involvement with nationalist politics undoubtedly helps to account for Mirskii's reservation about his ideology in the encyclopedia article of 1933, and also the reference to the poet's 'idealism' in the anthology of 1937.<sup>37</sup> The fact that for publication in the anthology, Mirskii's translator turned MacDiarmid's Scots into standard Russian, is a patent manifestation of the Great Russian chauvinism that was then becoming an important part of the ideology of Stalinism. Mirskii's standard English prose in his translation of Pushkin's poem was turned into MacDiarmid's self-marginalizing Scots poem about his turn to Scottish nationalism; then his original Scots poetry about Lenin was translated into standard literary Russian, another language of imperial power.

Between the time he first read it and his arrest, Mirskii was probably too busy to think much about MacDiarmid; but between then and his death about two years later in the GULag,<sup>38</sup> Mirskii had ample time to reflect on the now infamous stanza of the poem the Scotsman had dedicated to him:

As necessary, and insignificant, as death  
 Wi' a' its agonies in the cosmos still  
 The Cheka's horrors are in their degree;  
 And'll end suner! What maitters't wha we kill  
 To lessen that foulest murder that deprives  
 Maist men o' real lives?<sup>39</sup>

Could this best be understood as an instance of what Mirskii had called MacDiarmid's 'confused world view', or as mere 'intelligentsia whimsy', or perhaps as part of that element of 'philosophical idealism' he had remarked on in his anthology? Whatever Mirskii may have thought, along with millions of others he certainly came to 'end suner'. The author of these lines, meanwhile, had nearly fifty years of 'real' life left to reflect on whether or not all this mattered.

### NOTES

1. I am grateful to Dr Peter McCarey for guidance on MacDiarmid studies, and to Francis Greene and Dr Andrew Reynolds for kind help with sources.

2. On Mirskii's life, see principally: N. Lavroukine and L. Tchertkov, *D.S. Mirsky. Profil critique et bibliographique* (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1980); G.S. Smith, 'D.S. Mirsky, Literary Critic and Historian', in D.S. Mirsky, *Uncollected Writings on Russian Literature* (ed. with an introduction by G.S. Smith; Berkeley: Berkeley Slavic Specialties, 1989), pp. 19-43; D.S. Mirskii, *The Letters of D.S. Mirsky to P.P. Suvchinskii, 1922-31* (Birmingham: Department of Russian Language and Literature, University of Birmingham, 1995), *passim*; and V.V. Perkhin, 'Odinnadtsat' pisem (1920-1937) i avtobiografiia (1936) D.P. Sviatopolk-Mirskogo. K nauchnoi biografii kritika', *Russkaia literatura* 1 (1996), pp. 235-62.

3. See *The Collected Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid* (ed. Michael Grieve and W. L. Aitken; Manchester: Carcanet, 1993), p. 339.

4. D.S. Mirskii, *Pushkin* (London: Routledge, 1926), pp. 194-95. Peter McCarey knew of this connection (private communication, 30 January 1987), but did not mention it in his book on MacDiarmid and the Russians.

5. 'Mureburn': moor-burning. Mirskii's text is a line-for-line literal translation in prose of Pushkin's iambic hexameter in rhymed couplets: '... O how more painfully happy I am with you,/When, surrendering to long supplications,/You give yourself to me, with tenderness, but without rapture./Coily cold, you do not answer/To my ecstasies, heedless of everything,/And then become inflamed more and more/And at last share my flame against your will.'

6. C.M. Grieve, 'Modern Russian Literature', *The New Age* 37.8 (25 June 1925), p. 92; the review is extremely hostile, especially with reference to Mirskii's comments on Chekhov. As far as I am aware, no detailed study has yet been made of the contribution of *The New Age* to the reception of Russian culture in Britain.

7. C. M. Grieve, 'Contemporary Russian Literature', *The New Age* 40.1 (4 November 1926), p. 9. Here, MacDiarmid is almost entirely positive; his opening paragraph includes the following assessments: '... a model book of its kind. The author handles his material with exceptional competence. These 330 pages have a readability and, indeed, a raciness any literary historian might envy. I know no parallel to his feat.'

8. *Antologiiia novoi angliiskoi poezii* (ed. M. Gutner; Leningrad: GIKL, 1937), p. 392.

9. Peter McCarey (*Hugh MacDiarmid and the Russians*, pp. 158, 161, 212) mistakenly asserts that Mirskii's anthology includes a translation of MacDiarmid's 'Third Hymn to Lenin' on pp. 258-67. The piece might in fact appear in another anthology cited by MacCarey, *Poeziiia Evropy* (2 vols.; Moscow, 1979), but I have been unable to clarify this point. In a previous publication I mistakenly asserted that the translation in Mirskii's anthology was from the 'First Hymn to Lenin'; see G.S. Smith, 'D.S. Mirskii to Dorothy Galton: Forty Letters from Moscow (1932-1937)', *Oxford Slavonic Papers* NS 29 (1996), pp. 93-131 (110).

10. Hugh MacDiarmid, *First Hymn to Lenin and Other Poems* (London: The Unicorn Press, 1931), pp. 33-34; see also *The Collected Poems*, I, pp. 311-12.

11. *Antologiiia novoi angliiskoi poezii*, p. 445.

12. *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid* (ed. Alan Bold; London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984), pp. 784-85.

13. Hugh MacDiarmid, *In Memoriam James Joyce: From a Vision of a World Language* (Glasgow: W. Maclellan, 1955); see *The Collected Poems*, II, p. 736.

14. The island concerned was Whalsay.

15. Hugh MacDiarmid, *Lucky Poet* (London: Methuen, 1943), p. 66.

16. Beginning in mid-May, 1926, when writing from London Mirskii customarily gave his address for correspondence as the University of London Club at 17 Gower Street, WC1; whether he actually lived there is not clear. He arrived back in Russia at the end of September 1932.

17. Mirskii joined the Communist Party of Great Britain in May, 1931; see his 'Why I Became a Marxist', *The Daily Worker* (30 June 1931), p. 2.

18. MacDiarmid's letter to Mirskii came to the National Library of Scotland among the papers of Mitchell in 1981. For this and other information and help I am indebted to Elspeth Yeo, Assistant Keeper.

19. Smith, 'D.S. Mirskii to Dorothy Galton', p. 110.

20. To judge from his letters to Dorothy Galton, Mirskii moved to this address at some time between February and May, 1934, and remained there until the end of September 1935, sharing for a time with the theatrical director Ernest Radlov and his wife Anna. The flat belonged to a childhood friend, the railway engineer K.P. Pokrovskii (?-1938); see V.V. Perkhin, 'Odinnadtsat' pisem (1920-1937)', p. 262.

21. It would seem that these lectures were arranged by the American academic administrator Professor Stephen Duggan (1870-1950) and delivered at something called the American Institute in Moscow. See Smith, 'D.S. Mirskii to Dorothy Galton', pp. 110-11.

22. Mirskii refers to MacDiarmid's satirical poem 'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle' (1926).

23. *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid*, p. 562.

24. One of the protocols filled out when Mirskii was arrested gives a list of what was confiscated from him; item 15 mentions 'raznaia perepiska i pis'ma na russkom i inostrannom iazyke' [*sic*]. I have been fortunate enough to see a copy of Mirskii's

file through the kind offices of GITs MVD RF, who made these documents freely available to the Research Centre archives of the Memorial Society, Moscow; Mirskii's personal file is no. 136848, later incorporated into GUGB NKVD file no. 258079. The order for his arrest was signed on 2 June 1937, and he was taken to the Butyrka Prison on the night of 2/3 June.

25. Vitalii Shentalinskii was informed by the Procurator General of the USSR that none of Mirskii's papers survived, but such statements have not always proved reliable. See Vitaly Shentalinskii, *The KGB's Literary Archive: The Discovery of the Ultimate Fate of Russia's Suppressed Writers* (London: Harvill Press, 1993), p.13.

26. Lavroukine and Tchertkov, *D.S. Mirsky*; G.S. Smith, 'An Annotated Bibliography of D.S. Mirsky's Writings, 1932-1937', in Mirsky, *Uncollected Writings*, pp. 368-85.

27. D. Mirskii, 'Shotlandskaia literatura', in *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia*, LXII (Moscow, 1st edn, 1933), cols. 607-608.

28. See N.S. Trubetskoi, *Evropa i chelovechestvo* (Sofia: Rossiisko-Bolgarskoe knigoizdatel'stvo, 1920), and *K probleme russkogo samopoznaniia* (Paris: Evraziiskoe knigoizdatel'stvo, 1927); reprinted in *idem*, *Istoriia. Kul'tura. Iazyk* (Moscow: Izdatel'skaia gruppa 'Progress' 'Univers', 1995), pp. 55-104, 105-210.

29. On Mirskii's personal relations with Shestov and Berdiaev, see his letters to Suvchinskii (n. 2 above), per index.

30. D.S. Mirskii, 'Two Aspects of Revolutionary Nationalism', *Russian Life* 1 (1922), pp. 172-74; 'Russian Post-Revolutionary Nationalism', *The Contemporary Review* 124 (1923), pp. 191-98.

31. See Smith, *The Letters of D.S. Mirsky to P.P. Suvchinskii*, *passim*. Mirskii's father, Prince Petr Dmitrievich Sviatopolk-Mirskii (1857-1914), spent the bulk of his career in the Ministry of the Interior; he held several provincial governorships, and was continually involved in the nationalities problems of the Russian Empire. He was Minister of the Interior from September 1904 to January 1905.

32. D.S. Mirskii, 'Natsional'nosti SSSR', published in 12 instalments between late April and early September 1929 in the newspaper *Evrasiia*; for details, see Lavroukine and Tchertkov, *D.S. Mirsky*, p. 72.

33. For some of the evidence concerning Mirskii's decision to go back to Russia, see Ol'ga Kaznina and G.S. Smith, 'D.S. Mirsky to Maksim Gor'ky: Sixteen Letters (1928-1934)', *Oxford Slavonic Papers* NS 26 (1993), pp. 87-103; G.S. Smith, 'The Correspondence of D.S. Mirsky and Michael Florinskii, 1925-1932', *The Slavonic and East European Review* 72.1 (1994), pp. 115-39; and Richard Davies and G.S. Smith, 'D.S. Mirsky: Twenty-Two Letters (1926-1934) to Salomeya Halpern; Seven Letters (1930) to Vera Suvchinskaia (Traill)', *Oxford Slavonic Papers* NS 30 (1997), forthcoming.

34. For Mirskii's own account of his ideological evolution, which devotes considerable attention to the problem of nationalism, see D.S. Mirsky, 'L'histoire d'une libération', *La Nouvelle Revue Française* 216 (1 September 1931), pp. 384-97, translated as 'The Story of a Liberation', in Mirsky, *Uncollected Writings*, pp. 358-67.

35. See D.S. Mirskii, *The Intelligentsia of Great Britain* (trans. Alec Brown; London: Victor Gollancz, 1935).

36. MacDiarmid was expelled from the Communist Party for nationalist deviation in 1938, and rejoined it—as in most other things, against the grain—in 1956. In between, he rejoined the Scottish National Party (as it had then become) in 1942, and left it in 1948.

37. In an article whose date of writing is unclear, Mirskii described MacDiarmid as 'Радикал и шотландский националист в политике, путанный виталист в философии'. D. S. Mirskii, 'Angliiskaya literatura', in *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' russkogo bibliograficheskogo instituta Granat* (Supplementary volume, 1; Moscow, 7th rev. edn, 1936), cols. 403-43 (434-35).

38. See G.S. Smith, 'What Happened to D.S. Mirsky?', *The British East-West Journal* 98 (September 1994), pp. 10-11.

39. Hugh MacDiarmid, *First Hymn to Lenin*, p. 13; *The Collected Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid*, I, p. 298.

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