



SIR WALTER SCOTT

WAVERLEY

THE WORLD'S CLASSICS

SIR WALTER SCOTT

Waverley;

OR,

'Tis Sixty Years Since

Edited by

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THE WORLD'S CLASSICS

WAVERLEY

WALTER SCOTT (1771-1832) was born in Edinburgh of a Border family. After attending the High School and University of Edinburgh he followed his father into the profession of the law, becoming an advocate (barrister) in 1792. In 1799 he was appointed Sheriff-Depute for the county of Selkirk, and in 1806 a Clerk of the Court of Session—appointments which he retained until the end of his life. His first major publication was a collection of ballads entitled *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-3). He became famous as a poet with *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), *Marmion* (1808), and *The Lady of the Lake* (1810). In 1814 he published his first novel, *Waverley*, set during the Jacobite rising of 1745. Its success encouraged him to produce more historical novels, set in different countries and periods. Those set in Scotland, like *Waverley*, have usually been regarded as his best. Scott's work was widely acclaimed in Europe and America. He spent the income from his writings on establishing a house and estate at Abbotsford, near Melrose. He was awarded a baronetcy by the Prince Regent in 1818. Partnership in the printing firm of James Ballantyne and Co. involved him in a financial crash in 1826. His last years were darkened by illness and the need to continue his output of writing to pay off the debts incurred. His *Journal* of those years is the most moving of his works. He died at Abbotsford in 1832; his biography was written by his son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart.

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C. L.

INTRODUCTION

Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since was published anonymously on 7 July 1814. Its author was, however, already a famous man. Walter Scott had been born in Edinburgh in 1771. After a childhood spent partly in Edinburgh and partly in the Borders near Kelso, he had followed his father into the profession of the law, which he practised in several capacities until his death in 1832. His first major published work was a collection of Border ballads, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, which appeared in 1802-3. He became famous with a series of verse romances, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), *Marmion* (1808), *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), and *Rokeby* (1813). Then when he was 42 years old he published his first novel. *Waverley* took Edinburgh by storm. Henry Cockburn many years later recalled its first appearance:

The unexpected newness of the thing, the profusion of original characters, the Scotch language, Scotch scenery, Scotch men and women, the simplicity of the writing, and the graphic force of the descriptions, all struck us with an electric shock of delight.¹

Although Scott did not admit authorship of *Waverley* for many years, readers and reviewers were not slow in laying it at his door. As his friend J. B. S. Morritt, to whom he had sent a copy on publication, commented, 'The ballad of St Swithin, and scraps of *old songs*, were measures of danger, if you meant to continue your concealment; . . .'² It was not only the poetry that betrayed him. His biographer, J. G. Lockhart, records that John Wilson, 'Christopher North', exclaimed of those who doubted the work to be Scott's, 'have they forgotten the *prose* of the Minstrelsy?'³ The authorship of *Waverley* was no secret in a cottage in Hampshire in September 1814, when Jane Austen complained to her niece

Walter Scott has no business to write novels, especially good ones.—It is not fair.—He has Fame and Profit enough as a Poet, and should not be taking the bread out of other people's mouths.—I do not like him, & do not mean to like *Waverley* if I can help it—but fear I must.⁴

Because of Scott's refusal to admit authorship of the novel to any outside a small circle of friends either before or after publication, there is very little evidence about either its writing or its inception. As to writing, he appears to have started it late in 1805, to have abandoned it after about seven

¹ Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of his Time*, 1856, p. 281.

² J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 1837-8, iii, p. 298. The letter, dated 14 July 1814, is in the National Library of Scotland (NLS), MS. 3885, f. 134.

³ Lockhart, i, p. 381.

⁴ *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 2nd edn. 1952, p. 404.

chapters, resumed it in about 1810, abandoned it again, and finished it in 1813-14. If there is little to be gathered about the writing of *Waverley*, there is even less about its inception. After the success of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), which is set in the Borders, Scott is known to have been contemplating a Highland work, a 'Highland romance' or a 'Highland Epic'.⁵ Some at least of this ambition was fulfilled in *The Lady of the Lake*, a verse romance set largely in Perthshire which was published in May 1810. In addition to the setting on the edge of the Highlands it has other features in common with *Waverley*: the character of the heroic Highland chief, and the theme of the clash between the old Highland way of life and the law and order of a Lowland government. But *The Lady of the Lake* is set in the sixteenth century; the most salient feature of *Waverley* is that it is Jacobite. It starts in the late summer of 1744 and ends many months after the battle of Culloden.

When did Scott start to contemplate Jacobite subject matter for a work? 'Highland' and 'Jacobite' were linked in his mind from childhood, through his father's friend and client Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, Argyllshire. Invernahyle had been out in both the '15 and '45, and he thrilled the young Scott with tales of the Jacobites. Scott many times pays tribute to him 'whose tales were the absolute delight of my childhood'.⁶ Jacobite subject matter was almost inevitable for Scott; even so he did not lack the specific suggestion that he use it. Robert Surtees, writing in December 1806, urged him to consider either a collection of Jacobite minstrelsy or a Jacobite poem.⁷ Scott replied,

You flatter me very much by pointing out to my attention the feuds of 1715 and 45:—the truth is, that the subject has often & deeply interested me from my earliest youth. My great-grandfather was out, as the phrase goes, in Dundee's wars, and in 1715 had nearly the honour to be hanged for his pains, ...⁸

Surtees repeated his suggestion once or twice, and then, despairing of being taken notice of in prose, in December 1810 wrote Scott a poem to induce him to take up the story of Charles Stuart.⁹ Scott's replies express interest in the idea, but do not reveal that he had already started a Jacobite work (even if he had put it aside) and that it was to be a novel.

The rising of 1745 was a suitable subject for an author who had become 'a valiant Jacobite at the age of ten years old',¹⁰ yet whose judgment in adult

⁵ He mentions it to several correspondents in the years 1806-9. See *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, 1932-7. *Letters 1787-1807*, pp. 303, 313, and 324; *Letters 1808-1811*, pp. 37, 163, and 261.

⁶ *Letters 1787-1807*, p. 342.

⁷ The letter is published in George Taylor's *Memoir of Robert Surtees*, appended to *Surtees' History and Antiquities . . . of Durham*, 1840, iv, p. 17.

⁸ *Letters 1787-1807*, p. 342. For Scott's Jacobite forbears, see Lockhart, i, pp. 3-4, 69-70.

⁹ *Memoir of Robert Surtees*, p. 52; Scott had the poem published in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1810, Part II, 1812, p. lxxxviii.

¹⁰ *Letters 1787-1808*, p. 343.

life 'inclined for the public weal to the present succession'.¹¹ Much of *Waverley* stems from Scott's interest in the political realities illustrated by Jacobite and Hanoverian, and their consequences for Scotland. It was as a result of much thought on the matter that he wrote to Miss Clephane in 1813,

Seriously I am very glad I did not live in 1745 for though as a lawyer I could not have pleaded Charles's right and as a clergyman I could not have prayed for him yet as a soldier I would I am sure against the convictions of my better reason have fought for him even to the bottom of the gallows.¹²

Also important was the gap in time between the '45 and the period when Scott was writing. Long before the death of the last direct Stuart claimant in 1807, Jacobitism had ceased to be a political force. As Scott noted, 'the time is now past when the theme would have had both danger and offence in it'.¹³ But the years that had brought safety had seen the destruction of many of the ancient manners of Scotland which had helped feed the controversy. Scott pointed out in the 'Postscript' to *Waverley* that 'There is no European nation which, within the course of half a century, or little more, has undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland'.¹⁴ By 1814 in both the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland patterns of life had been changed, both by deliberate measures of government and by the gradual infiltration of ideas and wealth from the south. In his novel Scott aimed at recreating the past ways of life, both of Highland chief and Lowland laird, showing them as they put up a last struggle against the forces of Hanoverian Britain.

The '45 proved a subject interesting to Scott's readers too. As the reviewer for *The British Critic* expressed it,

The time which the author has chosen for the historical part of his tale, is a period to which no Briton can look back without the strongest emotions, and the most anxious interest.¹⁵

The battle of Culloden (16 April 1746), the last battle fought on British soil, and the harsh measures that followed it were still in people's minds. The Jacobites had lost and their cause had been virtually destroyed. Scotland, with England, was thereafter to look forward to prosperity under the Hanoverians. For early nineteenth-century readers the most accessible account of the affair was John Home's *History of the Rebellion in the year 1745*, published in 1802. Its dedication to George III made it appear an 'official' history; but there were questions which it barely raised. What were the feelings of those who took part in that desperate affair, and what were the ways of life that were destroyed in its defeat? In 1814, when Europe was wearied by long war, the Hanoverians' British subjects had

¹¹ *Letters 1811-1814*, pp. 302-3.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

¹³ *Letters 1808-1811*, p. 37.

¹⁴ See p. 340 below.

¹⁵ *The British Critic*, N.S. ii, 1814, p. 190.

more reason than ever before to interest themselves in those questions. The defeat of Jacobitism had been seen as a victory for rationalism and enlightenment. These were the values that were to carry Scotland forward into a new era. What they replaced was semi-barbarism and narrow nationalism, ways of life and thought unfitted to survive into the modern world. But the experience of the wars following the French Revolution called these ideals in question. People were now more ready to recognize the tragedy implicit in social revolution, and to recognize that for everything gained something might have been lost. Any misgivings a Briton might have felt as he watched the weaker nations of Europe submit to a conqueror—conquering in the name of the most improving principles—prepared him to reconsider the plight of the Highlanders over a half a century earlier. *Waverley* caught its public at an opportune moment. As its popularity showed, readers were ready for another look at the past, not the misty past of Ossian nor the dusty past of the antiquary, but the past of their great-grandfathers, which the ideologies of the late eighteenth century had led them to discredit.¹⁶

* * *

Waverley starts with a leisurely account of the education of a young man from an English Jacobite family, Edward Waverley. He is a reader (his reading is much like Scott's own) and a dreamer of romantic dreams of love and war. In the household of Sir Everard Waverley, Edward's uncle, politics are a matter of long-standing conviction, not much examined, nor softened with time. Waverley's father, the baronet's younger brother, however, has decided to move with the times and abandon the old loyalties of his family in favour of advancement in the Hanoverian government. Waverley grows up with the example of uncle and father before him, but he is not required to choose, nor even to think much about the issues involved. He is uncommitted, and acquiesces when decisions are made for him. His father obtains him a commission in the Hanoverian army, and he is sent north into Scotland to join his regiment.

If the reader has done the mental calculation required by the sub-title, '*Tis Sixty Years Since* (noting that it is 'Sixty Years before this present 1st November, 1805'¹⁷) he may with hindsight have some notion of where the novel is going. If he has not he will be in the position of Edward Waverley, setting forth for the more northerly part of Great Britain with very little idea of the social and political situation he will find there. When Waverley visits a house in the Perthshire Lowlands in which skirmishes with cattle-

¹⁶ The context of *Waverley's* impact is well described by H. R. Trevor-Roper in 'Sir Walter Scott and History', *The Listener*, 19 August 1971, pp. 225-32, especially pp. 229-30. See also his lecture *The Romantic Movement and the Study of History*, whose 'real hero' is Scott. (The John Coffin Memorial Lecture, University of London, 1969.)

¹⁷ p. 4 below.

lifting Highlanders are a recent memory, and makes his way over the Pass of Bally-Brough into the Highlands, where he visits both a robber's den and the establishment of a Highland chieftain, he is going not only much further than English readers, but further than most of the inhabitants of Edinburgh would have ventured.

At Tully-Veolan and Glennaquoich Jacobitism has a different aspect from the retired allegiance of Sir Everard Waverley. Here it is a lively political emotion. In the Baron of Bradwardine Waverley meets a Lowland Scot of the old school, a man of courage and tested loyalty, honourable even to eccentricity. His is an attitude based on law and tradition, now become a pedantic relishing of legal jargon and classical quotation. The Baron of Bradwardine evokes the old Scotland, connected to the European tradition through France and the Low Countries, rather than through England. At Glennaquoich Waverley meets the Highland chieftain and his sister, Fergus and Flora Mac-Ivor. Fergus lives more in the modern world than the Baron. He too has spent many years on the Continent—in France—but seems to have derived from it only knowledge of the intricacies of court life. He is a loyal Jacobite, but also a politician: he would like loyalty to be rewarded with power. His sister's loyalty is as ardent as his, but without self-seeking; hers is devotion prepared for sacrifice. Both houses have suffered reduced circumstances since the failure of the '15. The Baron has the society only of boorish neighbouring lairds and his timid man of law. Fergus is only just able to maintain his position as feudal chieftain with a following of clansmen who will come at his bidding.

Waverley goes to the Highlands as a visitor, and he sees the Highlands in terms of the romance of his youthful daydreams. His response was 'to give himself up to the full romance of his situation'.¹⁸ But in a society preparing for war a visitor of Waverley's position—for he is presumed to be his uncle's heir—cannot remain long an uncommitted observer. He, with no direction in his life, falls in love with Flora Mac-Ivor, whose life is dedicated to the Jacobite cause. Tempted by the machinations of the Jacobites, and piqued by the ill-treatment that he attributes to his commanding officer, he abandons the Hanoverian army, and in a rush of mixed emotion gives his allegiance to Prince Charles.

In any historical novel the question presents itself, how much of the factual information is historical? In *Waverley* all the main characters are fictitious, though some may have historical prototypes (for instance, the 4th Lord Pitsligo is thought to have lent features to the Baron of Bradwardine). The only historical characters are Prince Charles Edward and the military commander, Colonel Gardiner, who make brief but significant appearances. This is a formula for characterization which has

¹⁸ p. 78.

proved favourable to the historical novel. The campaign of the Jacobites is, of course, historical, and Scott recounts it with accuracy—Prince Charles's occupation of Edinburgh, his victory at Prestonpans, the march into England as far as Derby, the retreat, the skirmish at Clifton.

It is through the eyes of the hero that we have been introduced to the Highlands and to the old Lowland culture of Scotland. It is through Waverley also that we follow the fortunes of the Jacobite army. After he is separated from the army at Clifton we lose our detailed account of the army's movements, and hear only incidentally of its retreat further and further into Scotland, its pursuit by the Hanoverian army, and its final crushing defeat.

Waverley's experiences before and after joining the Jacobite army provide a critique of the conflict between Jacobite and Hanoverian. He keeps company with extremists from both sides, Fergus Mac-Ivor and Colonel Talbot. He who had been brought up at Waverley-Honour, where Sir Everard lamented that 'every new and foolish fashion is introduced to break the natural dependance of the people upon their landlords',¹⁹ visited Glennaquoich where the semi-feudal clan system still obtained. He who had been trained by the Hanoverian army could recognize the poor military equipment of most of the Jacobites, and at the same time admire their fervent conduct in battle. Could these two be held together peacefully under one government? Many episodes in the novel illustrate the clash of cultures. A significant one is in Vol. ii, ch. 22, when Waverley on his way to battle hears the dying groans of a man who turns out to be his former sergeant, Houghton. He goes to his aid, but is called away impatiently by Fergus Mac-Ivor:

"Poor fellow! But it will be a thousand men's fate before night; so come along."

"I cannot; I tell you he is a son of a tenant of my uncle's."

"O, if he's a follower of yours, he must be looked to; I'll send Callum to you
..."²⁰

The Highlander regards loyalty within the clan as absolute, but has no understanding of what might be called general philanthropy. The Jacobites represent the old, feudal way of life in Scotland, with its strong passions, its fierce but limited loyalties; the Hanoverians are representatives of the new order, rational and, at its best, generally benevolent—qualities illustrated by the unyielding fairness of Major Melville and Colonel Talbot. Yet although in certain episodes Jacobite and Hanoverian are strikingly juxtaposed, such an even presentation of contrasts is not the novel's usual procedure. From the beginning the reader is assumed to share the social experience of Edward Waverley—that of enjoying the romance of Jacobitism while (until he disavows it) safely under the protection of the Hanoverian government. It is Jacobite society, especially in the Highlands,

¹⁹ p. 26.

²⁰ p. 218.

that has to be explored and described; it is that which is *other* both to the hero and the reader. Nothing more clearly marks the defeat of Jacobitism and the destruction of Highland society than the fact that by 1814 they may be presented in contrast to a largely undescribed Hanoverian way of life which we are all tacitly assumed to share.

The meeting with Houghton is an illustration of one of the themes of the novel. It is more than that: it serves as a bitter lesson to Waverley whose 'indolence and indecision of mind' had brought about this man's disgrace. Waverley is a young man with romantic tastes who finds himself in a society which to an Englishman is romantic. He has knelt at the feet of Flora Mac-Ivor and Charles Stuart. But romance for the outsider is ordinary enough to those who live with it, and Waverley has to wake up to the consequences of his allegiance. It was only after winter months in semi-hiding at Fastwaite when he had time to think over his past actions and experiences 'that he felt himself entitled to say firmly, though perhaps with a sigh, that the romance of his life was ended, and that its real history had now commenced'.²¹

At the end of the novel the reader sees the defeat of Jacobitism through the fate of the Jacobite characters. Fergus, with his loyal clansman beside him, dies steadfast to his cause, all selfish considerations fallen away in his extremity. The scene of his trial in Carlisle is the most memorable in the novel, and one of Scott's best. The Baron, who survives to the end of the campaign, utters from his hiding-place a moving elegy on the old Scotland:

"To be sure we may say with Virgilius Maro, *Fuimus Troes*—and there's the end of an auld sang. But houses and families and men have a' stood lang enough when they have stood till they fall wi' honour".²²

Flora is left with grief and self-reproach, that her single-minded devotion should have driven her brother to destruction. As she says to Waverley who attempts to comfort her,

"I do not regret his attempt because it was wrong: O no; on that point I am armed; but because it was impossible it could end otherwise than thus."²³

Her idealism is now sadly tempered with political realism. It was inevitable that the Jacobite attempt should fail; and while one must not make the intellectual and moral surrender of thinking it necessarily right, one may have to settle for the inevitable. That, for Scott, is often the lesson of history.

From the novel's first reception faults have been pointed out: clumsiness of plot, a certain unseasonable levity in the narration; some characters have been found too crudely humorous, some romantic scenes too contrived. Criticism has often centred on the weakness of the hero. As an

²¹ p. 283.

²² p. 303.

²³ p. 323.

early critic pointed out, Waverley, 'appears almost always in the situation of pupil, guest, patient, protégé, or prisoner'.²⁴ Only Walter Bagehot has been able to make a virtue out of Waverley's commonplace qualities, by claiming that his 'very vacillation gives him a sort of character'.²⁵ Many readers will be prepared to overlook these faults, but there is one that is harder to overlook because it seems to threaten the integrity of Scott's vision of his material. The difficulty is the conclusion, the happy ending—that is for those old enough or ordinary enough to be allowed it.

To the extent that the novel has been about a romantic young man growing into responsible adulthood, the conclusion with his marriage to the Baron's daughter, and a well-appointed house, is perfectly acceptable. The marriage between Edward and Rose may, as in romantic comedy, be taken as a symbol of concord and continuity. It may even, here, be taken as a symbol of the peace and prosperity to come to Scotland through the defeat of Jacobitism. But if so it has come too soon. The novel is set at a specific period in history, and the historical reality of 1746 will not be forgotten. It may be claimed that the horror of the '45 has been taken into the novel at the trial and execution in Carlisle. But unfortunately the novelist cannot make such a bargain with history. Readers know that the background to Waverley's wedding festivities was the terrible aftermath of Culloden. And Scott knew. In one of the most moving passages in the book news of the Baron of Bradwardine is given to Waverley by, of all people, a garrulous Edinburgh landlady, Mrs Flockhart, a Hanoverian if she is anything, 'they say he fought very hard in that bluidy battle at Inverness . . .'.²⁶ Scott is trying to keep Culloden in the background, but it will not stay there, and we despise Waverley with his paintings and his furniture. He has done a lot of forgetting, which we all have to do to go on living, but he has done it too quickly and easily for his character to retain our respect. There is a clash at the end of the novel between the story of Edward Waverley and the history which it was the novel's other aim to present. The mood of history was for Scott naturally elegiac; he had to force himself to beat the drum for progress, and it was the desire to supply a conventional 'novel ending' that made him do so here.

In *Waverley* Scott chose a past setting in order to recreate and explain an earlier society. He was not the first novelist to set his work in the past. The Gothic novelists had done so, though from a desire to escape the ordinariness of the present rather than from an interest in their dimly suggested period. Other novelists had made the past a more positive choice: Jane Porter, for instance, had capitalized on contemporary patriotism by setting her novel *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810) at the time of Scotland's struggle for independence under Wallace. But stronger motives

²⁴ John Adolphus, *Letters to Richard Heber . . . on the . . . novels beginning with 'Waverley'*, 1821, p. 160.

²⁵ In *The National Review*, vi, 1858, p. 467.

²⁶ p. 295.

did not create a credible past world, nor credible characters to inhabit it. Scott was the first novelist with an imaginative understanding of the past, with the ability to relive life in an earlier society. But his aim was not simply a static portrayal. He presented his past period as part of the continuum of history. He chose as his setting a significant event in history—the '45—and by examining its causes and consequences gave the reader a picture of the evolution of Scottish society in the eighteenth century. Only Maria Edgeworth in *Castle Rackrent* (1800) had come close to him in presenting a changing society.²⁷ His predecessors here were not the novelists but the historians, the eighteenth-century Scottish 'philosophical' historians who had theorized on the development of societies.²⁸ Yet a novel can present society only through the individual, representative but also unique. Each of Scott's characters carries his burden, each acts under the pressures of history. His characters have not only parents, but ancestors. They are men and women for whom the present is unavoidably conditioned by the past, and whose actions will cause repercussions in the future. It is these qualities in *Waverley* that have gained it the title, the first historical novel.

Waverley gives us also, if you consider all its characters, a conspectus of society. It shows us those who lead and direct events, and those who are merely the followers and victims of their decisions. *Waverley* shows us men in relation to the affairs of the nation. Even its domestic scenes are conditioned by, and comment on, public affairs. Among its characters the novel shows us those for whom opting out is impossible, those with a capacity for survival, and those who are relatively unaffected by national events. It puts affairs of state in the perspective of the common man to recall the phlegmatic comment of Alick Polwarth, *Waverley*'s Lowland servant, on the tragic heroism of Fergus Mac-Ivor and his lieutenant:

"It's a great pity of Evan Dhu, who was a very weel-meaning good-natured man, to be a Hielandman; and indeed so was the Laird o' Glennaquoich too, for that matter, when he was na in ane o' his tirrives [tantrums]."²⁹

For these reasons *Waverley* has claims also to be called the first political novel.

* * *

The sources of Waverley

Historical novels are more likely than others to have discoverable sources,

²⁷ Scott acknowledged his debt to Maria Edgeworth in the 'Postscript' to *Waverley*, p. 341; see also note, p. 457.

²⁸ See Duncan Forbes, 'The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott', *The Cambridge Journal*, vii, 1953, pp. 20-35; and Peter D. Garside, 'Scott and the "Philosophical" Historians', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xxxvi, 1975, pp. 497-512.

²⁹ p. 329.

and Scott's were a mixture of oral and written. His interest in tales of the Jacobites went back to early childhood.³⁰ Late in his life he wrote to Lady Louisa Stuart

I was always a willing listener to tales of broil and battle and hubbub of every kind and now I look back on it I think what a godsend I must have been while a boy to the old Trojans of 1745 nay 1715 who used to frequent my fathers house and who knew as little as I did for what market I was laying up the raw materials of their oft told tales.³¹

Of all the accounts which he heard from those who had taken part in the '45, two features seem to have lingered particularly in his mind. The first was the character of Charles Stuart. As he wrote to Robert Surtees, 'even since reason & reading came to my assistance, I have never quite got rid of the impression which the gallantry of Prince Charles made on my imagination'.³² The other was the cruelty with which the rising was put down. Scott wrote in his 'Autobiography' that his childish Jacobitism had been

deeply confirmed by the stories told in my hearing of the cruelties exercised in the executions at Carlisle, and in the Highlands, after the battle of Culloden. One or two of our own distant relations had fallen on that occasion, and I remember detesting the name of Cumberland with more than infant hatred. Mr Curle, farmer at Yetbyre, husband of one of my aunts, had been present at their execution; and it was probably from him that I first heard these tragic tales which made so great an impression on me.³³

It is obviously from recollections of this sort that *Waverley* springs.

The novel is, however, more precisely indebted to a tale which Scott heard from Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle. The story 'upon which the whole plot depends'³⁴ is a true one, of the mutual exchange of protection between a Jacobite (Stewart himself) and a Hanoverian soldier (Colonel Whitefoord).³⁵ In the novel the exchange is given to Waverley and Talbot. Talbot is a suitable representative of Whitefoord, but Waverley is not a sufficiently staunch Jacobite to sustain the contrasting part. A more suitable representative of Stewart in character is the Baron of Bradwardine, to whom in any case Scott gives *part* of Stewart's story: it was he, not Waverley, who had been out in both the '15 and the '45, and who was forced to hide in a cave after Culloden. The division of Stewart's part in the tale between two characters (thus requiring, clumsily, two pardons at the

³⁰ See Arthur Melville Clark, *Sir Walter Scott: the formative years*, 1969, pp. 65-70.

³¹ 6 July 1827. *Letters 1826-1828*, p. 238.

³² 17 December 1806. *Letters 1787-1808*, p. 343.

³³ Printed in Lockhart, i, p. 18.

³⁴ See Scott's 'Introduction' of 1829, pp. 386-389 below.

³⁵ The story was gradually revealed: see *Waverley*, 'Postscript', p. 340 and note, p. 456 below.

end) dissipates the force of the original story, and the interest of the novel is found elsewhere. Scott was aware that the qualities of the original story had scarcely come across in the novel. After recounting it in his Introduction to the *Chronicles of the Canongate* he concluded, 'Such is the interesting story which I have rather injured than improved, by the manner in which it is told in *Waverley*'.³⁶

In 1777 the young Scott spent several weeks at Prestonpans, and explored for the first time the field of the battle. There he made the acquaintance of George Constable, another teller of tales of the '45; the friendship lasted until Constable's death in 1803.³⁷ It may be significant that Constable, a lawyer, had been present at the trial in Carlisle of the drover commemorated as Robin Oig in *The Two Drovers* (1827). It is possible that the court-room scene in *Waverley* was influenced by Constable's telling of this tale which was to remain stored in Scott's memory for so many years.³⁸

When it came to writing the novel Scott supplemented his knowledge of the Jacobite campaign, especially of the details of the battles, from printed sources. He had a large collection of Jacobite books and pamphlets in his library upon which he drew freely.³⁹ His chief debts are to John Home, *A History of the Rebellion in the year 1745* (1802) and James Ray, *A Compleat History of the Rebellion* (1746; Scott owned an edition published in York in 1749). The Revd. John Home (1722-1808), author of the tragedy *Douglas*, had fought as a volunteer on the Hanoverian side in the '45, and had been taken prisoner after the battle of Falkirk. Through the patronage of Lord Bute he had had some acquaintance with the Prince of Wales in the late 1750s. Scott had first met him as a child on a visit to Bath,⁴⁰ and on several later occasions heard reminiscences of the '45, particularly of the circumstances leading up to the battle of Prestonpans and of Home's escape from Doune Castle, from him and from his friend, the Revd. Alexander Carlyle. Scott recorded these meetings in his review of Henry Mackenzie's edition of *The Life and Works of John Home*.⁴¹ Although Scott made use of Home's *History* he was not uncritical of it. He felt that Home had been tempted by the opportunity to dedicate his work to George III, nephew of the Duke of Cumberland, to omit and tone down the cruelties perpetrated after Culloden. In his review he spoke out firmly: 'Mr Home ought either never to have written his history, or to have written it without clogging himself with the dedication to the sovereign'.⁴²

³⁶ 1827, i, pp. xiii-xiv.

³⁷ Lockhart, i, pp. 23-4, 49, 89-90.

³⁸ See *Chronicles of the Canongate*, Magnum edition, 1832, Vol. xli, p. xxxiv.

³⁹ See J. G. Cochrane, *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford*, 1938, esp. pp. 23, 80, 87-98, and 311.

⁴⁰ Lockhart, i, pp. 22, 139.

⁴¹ *The Quarterly Review*, xxxvi, 1827, pp. 167-216.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

Scott used Home as his chief source for factual details of the Jacobite campaign, occasionally taking further particulars from James Ray (a Hanoverian volunteer from Whitehaven), and from *The Caledonian Mercury*, an Edinburgh newspaper with Jacobite leanings, of which Scott owned the numbers for 23 September 1745 until 30 April 1747.

Scott pointed out in a note to the edition of *Waverley* of 1829 that the gathering of the clans under pretext of a hunting party derived not from an incident in the '45, but from such a party held by the Earl of Mar at the beginning of the '15.⁴³ James Anderson, in a series of valuable articles on Scott's sources, has pointed out that there are other incidents in *Waverley*, particularly relating to the conduct of the two armies, and the mutiny in *Waverley's* troop, which Scott has taken from earlier episodes in Jacobite history.⁴⁴ Looking back on his novel-writing in 1827 Scott admitted that he had drawn material from many 'Old and odd books'.⁴⁵ Where the editor has been able to discover them, they, and specific references to the less obscure sources, are given in the Editor's Notes.

In addition to its historical sources, *Waverley* has also what might be called geographical sources. Many of its scenes are set in an area and a society to which Scott was not native, and again he is indebted both to personal experience and to books. He first visited the Highlands of Scotland at the age of about 15 when he went to stay with Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle.⁴⁶ It was on this journey to Appin that he first saw the Vale of Perth, as he recalled many years later in the first chapter of *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1828). He visited the Highlands many times in succeeding years. One of the most memorable visits for the genesis of *Waverley* was that in 1793 when he visited Tullibody, Doune Castle, and Glamis. At Tullibody he heard of the laird's visit to Rob Roy's retreat in pursuit of stolen cattle, which is the origin of the visit to *Bean Lean* in *Waverley*, and at Glamis he drank from a goblet in the shape of a lion 'which suggested the story of the Bear of Bradwardine'.⁴⁷

It is possible that some of his knowledge of Highlanders derived from Scott's court experiences.⁴⁸ Another valuable source of information on Highland manners was his friendship with Mrs Maclean Clephane of Torloisk, Mull, and her family, especially her eldest daughter, Margaret. They corresponded frequently, and Scott received from them Highland songs and tales, some of which he used in the notes to *The Lady of the Lake*. The suggestion was made that Scott should go to them for lessons in

⁴³ See below, p. 398.

⁴⁴ James Anderson, 'Sir Walter Scott as Historical Novelist', a series of six articles in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, iv-v, 1966-8. They are reprinted in the author's *Sir Walter Scott and History*, 1981.

⁴⁵ Introduction to *Chronicles of the Canongate*, 1827, i, p. x.

⁴⁶ Lockhart, i, pp. 139 ff.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 207 ff.

⁴⁸ See, for instance, *Letters 1787-1807*, p. 366.