

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND THE HIGHLANDS.

Two Volumes

Lorn M. Macintyre.

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University of Glasgow

Department of Scottish Literature.

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SUMMARY

In this study I examine Sir Walter Scott as a portrayer of the Highlands in both poetry and prose. The works studied are the two long poems The Lady of the Lake (1810) and The Lord of the Isles (1815). The prose works examined are: Waverley (1814); Rob Roy (1817); A Legend of Montrose (1819); The Highland Widow (1827); The Two Drovers (1827); and The Fair Maid of Perth (1828). Redgauntlet (1824) is excluded because it cannot be considered to be a Highland work.

Being Highland, and a writer in a small way, I am aware of the danger of prejudice and critical distortion (however unconscious) in examining those extended works of Scott's which refer to the north of Scotland. To counterbalance possible bias (and especially with regard to Culloden and the Clearances), I begin by giving a historical account of the Highlands as they were in the eighteenth century, before and after Scott was born. In these introductory chapters which cover the social history of chief and clansmen, the Jacobite rebellions and the general condition of the north, I have sought impartiality by quoting from official reports, historical works, and famous travelogues which Scott was to use extensively in writing about the Highlands. I hope that these early chapters give a useful résumé of Highland history, clarifying what is to follow.

There is a long chapter on the young Scott as yet another Highland traveller, dealing principally with Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, apparently Scott's first tutor in Highland history, and acknowledged by Scott himself to be the inspiration for the Lowland lawyer's Highland works. I justify the length of this

chapter by claiming that it makes a modest contribution to our understanding of the life of Scott, and the influences which helped shape his literary destiny. Since Lockhart's great biography (the major source of all Scott biographies), there have been obscurities surrounding the life and career of Stewart of Invernahyle. I hope that I have shed light on some of these dark regions of his life, among which is the date of his birth, and his role in the '15 and '45.

There follows a chapter on the literary situation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with particular reference to the Ossianic controversy, since Macpherson brought the Highlands to the attention of the world, and since Scott was obviously heavily influenced by Macpherson in his Highland writing.

Having given accounts of the conception and writing of the two long Highland poems, I proceed to analyse them. Likewise with the fiction, in chronological order. In showing some of the historical sources of incidents and anecdotes in Scott's Highland writings, I have been considerably helped by James Anderson's 1965 University of Edinburgh doctoral thesis, compressed into a series of articles for Studies in Scottish Literature, 1966-68. But Anderson was concerned with sources, and not criticism, and his thesis did not cover the two long Highland poems. I have sought to show possible sources for the poems, and with regard to Scott's fiction, I have added new sources to Anderson's list. There is also new material on Highland aristocratic friends who gave Scott anecdotes and encouragement.

I am aware that the two long Highland poems lack a critical heritage, since they went out of fashion not long after they were published. My general critical method is to quote from contempor-

ary reviews, but also taking into account modern criticism, of which there is little on my specific theme.

In my conclusion I look at Scott's fictive treatment of the Highlands in relation to Georg Lukacs's theories on history as set out in his Historical Novel (1962). The conclusion I reach is that for reasons elaborated on throughout this thesis, only three of Scott's Highland works really portray the old Highlands. They are The Highland Widow, The Two Drovers, and The Fair Maid of Perth.

A NOTE ON TEXTS

In the case of Scott's two long Highland poems, The Lady of the Lake (1810) and The Lord of the Isles (1815) I have used the early editions, in an attempt to recapture (even at this remove in time) some of the flavour of their first impact upon the public. A more practical reason is that the bulky notes were not enlarged upon for later editions.

In the case of the novels, I have used the massive forty-eight volumed edition of 1829-33, popularly called the Magnum Opus edition. I chose this edition in order to take into account the Prefaces and Introductions added by Scott to augment material already in the notes of early editions, and to reveal forgotten or suppressed sources for his fiction, as well as bringing the facts of his life up to date. Thus the Magnum Opus edition, devised by Cadell to increase his fortune, and approved of by Scott to settle his debts, contains the final corrections and confessions of the master.

Finally, a note about quotations from Sir Herbert Grierson's great twelve volumed edition of The Letters of Sir Walter Scott (1932-37), and W.K. Anderson's definitive edition of The Journal of Sir Walter Scott (1972). Like many great writers with a large correspondence, Scott was a careless speller, and one of his most common mistakes is to miss out the 'e' of an 'ed' ending. But it might be a convention. Thus we get 'touchd' instead of 'touched'. Grierson restores missing letters and words, but Anderson lets stand. To avoid a proliferation of square brackets I have let these small omissions stand without indication, but in the hope that the reader will see a Scott error, and not mine.

A stop-press correction: reading through this thesis one final time before binding, I discover that there are two pages numbered 54, likewise with page 562. Rather than delay submission by putting in hand the massive task of renumbering all the pages, I have numbered the duplicate pages 54A and 562A. I apologise for these errors in pagination.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

As for riding on Pegasus, depend upon it,
I will never again cross him in a serious
way, unless I should by some strange
accident reside so long in the Highlands,
and make myself master of their ancient
manners, so as to paint them with some
degree of accuracy in a kind of companion
to the Minstrel Lay ... 1

So Walter Scott wrote to George Ellis² in 1805, shortly
after the publication of The Lay of the Last Minstrel. As John
Buchan says:

With the Lay Scott became famous, no
longer a connoisseur esteemed by the
elect, but the most popular poet of
the day. 3

The poet could report to Ellis that booksellers 'in the plural'⁴
were knocking on his door, teaching him how to bargain. He was to
put the lesson to good use later, when he became a prose writer.

The future should have looked brilliant, for Scott was only
thirty-four years old,⁵ and in easy circumstances. In fact, in
terms of ready money he was never to be so well off again, for the
fatal promissory notes were not yet circulating and multiplying.
His fixed income was nearly £1,000 per annum, a good sum in these
days, and in May 1805 he signed a partnership agreement with James

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1. J.G. Lockhart, Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.
(Edinburgh, 1862), p. 127. Hereafter called Life.
 2. 1753-1815. '... if some memory of him lingers, it is trace-
able to his intimate friendship with Scott.' W.F. Gray, Scott
in Sunshine and Shadow (London, 1931), pp. 43-4.
 3. J. Buchan, Sir Walter Scott (London, 1932), p. 72.
 4. Lockhart, Life, p. 127.
 5. If it is accepted that he was born in 1771, and not 1770.

Ballantyne, thereby securing for himself a share of the profits from printing his own books, as well as other people's. He was Sheriff depute of Selkirkshire, and already installed at Ashestiel, on the short road to Abbotsford.

Yet Scott's letter to Ellis is strangely subdued. It seems to be the letter of a poet who, apparently lacking in self confidence, scorns his own creation despite its undoubted success. That is the benevolent view, and most people admire modesty, especially in a successful man. But the letter is not that straightforward, the attitude not that admirable. It is the letter of a cautious and calculating man, keeping Pegasus stabled until suitable stamping grounds are found, and thoroughly surveyed. The stamping grounds are the Highlands, and they were to be much exploited, in prose as well as poetry. It is the letter of a man who was learning how to make poetry pay, and who, eight years later, would have 'no hesitation in fixing the price'⁶ of a Highland poem⁷ at 'four thousand guineas' because the opportunity had arisen to augment his estate. Worse still, the poem was being offered for sale at a time when it was by no means completed.

That Scott was seriously interested in the literary exploitation of the Highlands at least as early as 1806 is proved by other letters. Writing to the Swan of Lichfield⁸ in the same year, he

6. The Letters of Sir Walter Scott, ed. H.J.C. Grierson (London, 1932-37), vol. I, p. 450. Hereafter Letters. The letter quoted from is to James Ballantyne.

7. Provisionally entitled The Nameless Glen, it gradually became The Lord of the Isles.

8. Anna Seward, 1749-1809. Authoress. Scott met her in 1807, and she bequeathed her literary works to him. After striking glowing references to him from her letters, he published them.

confesses:

I have had for some time thoughts of writing a Highland poem, somewhat in the style of the Lay; giving as far as I can a real picture of what that enthusiastic race actually were before the destruction of their patriarchal government. It is true I have not quite the same facilities as in describing border manners where I am as they say more at home. 9

Scott does not underestimate the difficulties. Apart from not having the residential qualifications insisted upon in his letter to Ellis, he has a language problem. This is admitted in a letter to Lady Abercorn¹⁰ dated 9 June, 1806:

I have a grand work in contemplation but so distant, so distant that the distance between Edinburgh and Stanmore is nothing to it. This is a Highland romance of Love Magic and War founded upon the manners of our mountaineers with my stories about whom your Ladyship was so much interested. My great deficiency is that being born and bred not only a lowlander but a borderer I do not in the least understand the Gaelic language and am therefore much at a loss to find authentic materials for my undertaking. 11

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9. A good example of Lockhart's editorial interference and carelessness over punctuation. He dates this letter as 1805, but Grierson corrects this as well as the punctuation (Grierson, Letters, vol. 1, p. 324). To avoid errors, it is necessary to read Lockhart's Life in conjunction with Grierson's Sir Walter Scott, Bart. A New Life supplementary to, and corrective of, Lockhart's Biography (London, 1938). Edgar Johnson's Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown (London, 1970), 2 vols., completes the biographical reference shelf.
 10. Anne Jane, wife of John James Hamilton, first Marquess of Abercorn. It was to this lady that Scott confessed about his marriage: 'it was something short of love in all its fervour' (Grierson, Letters, vol. 11, p. 287). Scott's father, and afterwards his brother, had been the Abercorns' general factor in Scotland, but Tom made a mess of their finances, and Scott had to straighten it all out.
 11. Grierson, Letters, vol. 1, p. 303.

This letter is revealing for several reasons, and not least because of the statement in the General Preface assigning the writing of the early chapters of Waverley to 'about 1805'. The ingredients of 'Love Magic and War' are vague, and seem to belong more to poetry than prose, despite the word 'romance.' But whatever the medium, this 'Highland romance' is clearly very distant from the 'accuracy' referred to in the letter to Ellis. Furthermore, since Scott lacks Gaelic, he does not know how to go about the research.

But there is a further difficulty which is of importance in terms of the assessment of his career as a Scottish writer. By birth and geographical distance he is further removed from the Highlands than even 'a lowlander,' and in fact, is closer to England than to the Highlands. But though serious, these difficulties in dealing with Highland themes are not insurmountable. The saving grace of oral tradition is invoked in the continuation of the letter to the Swan of Lichfield. It was an advantage he was to stress again and again.

But to balance my comparative deficiency in knowledge of Celtic manners you are to consider that I have from my youth delighted in all the Highland traditions which I could pick up from the old Jacobites who used to frequent my father's house and have... which I learned from ... /MS defective/ decaying tradition, actually excited in the Highlands within the memory of many now alive: so that the publicity of the circumstances annexed to it will I hope make some amends for my having less immediate opportunities of research than in the Border tales.

'Accuracy' and 'research' become important terms for the Borderer writer in search of a theme, and preferably a Highland theme that would make 'a kind of companion to the Minstrel Lay.' Corres-

pondents offer advice and encouragement, and Robert Surtees¹² directs his attention to a particular period of Highland history, the '15 and '45 rebellions. But Scott had already been thinking about that crucial period because there was Jacobite blood in his veins, in however minute a quantity, and because he had listened when he was young to people who were 'out'. Though long, his letter to Surtees on 17 December 1806 is revealing.

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, had it not been for the interest of Duchess Anne of Buccleuch and Monmouth, to whom I have attempted, post longo intervallo, to pay a debt of gratitude. But, besides this, my father, although a Borderer, transacted business for many Highland lairds, and particularly for one old man, called Stuart of Invernahyle, who had been out both in 1715 and 1745, and whose tales were the absolute delight of my childhood. I believe there never was a man who united the ardour of a soldier and tale-teller, or man of talk, as they call it in Gaelic, in such an excellent degree; and as he was as fond of telling as I was of hearing, I became a valiant Jacobite at the age of ten years old; and, 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. Certainly I will not renounce the idea of doing something to preserve these stories, and the memory of times and manners, which, though existing as it were yesterday, have so strangely vanished from our eyes. Whether this will be best done by collecting the old tales, or by modernizing them, as subjects of legendary poetry, I have never very seriously considered; but your kind encouragement

12. 1779-1834. 'An excellent antiquary' and 'good hearted', according to Scott.

confirms me in the resolution that something I must do, and speedily. 13

Within a decade Scott was to produce two long Highland poems¹⁴ and Waverley, a Highland novel in which he used some of the 'old tales.' Though the poetry was not pursued after the comparative failure of The Lord of the Isles, the astounding success of Waverley inspired him to write other novels with Highland themes until, in 1824, the year in which Redgauntlet was published, a critic complained:

We are tired ... of the Jacobites.¹⁵

Moreover, Scott was to become an acknowledged Highland historian and antiquarian.¹⁶ He was to raise in the Borders a mansion that was Highland in design, content and lifestyle, cluttered as it was with curios and weapons.¹⁷ He was to ape the Highland aristocracy in certain mannerisms,¹⁸ and yet he was not entitled by birth or pedigree to these privileges. He was to fraternise with Highland aristocrats, visit their northern seats and even put them into his novels.¹⁹ Yet this remarkable man never resided for any length of time in the Highlands, and he never acquired the Gaelic language.²⁰

13. Grierson, Letters, vol. 1, pp. 342-43.

14. The Lady of the Lake (1810), and The Lord of the Isles (1815).

15. Quoted by R.C. Gordon in Under which King? A Study of the Scottish Waverley Novels (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 200.

16. As the Tales of a Grandfather attest.

17. 'A claymore and Lochaber axe, given him by old Invernahyle, mounted guard on a little print of Prince Charlie,' and this as early as 1791. Lockhart, Life, p. 49.

18. He retained a piper, for instance.

19. Invernahyle and Glengarry, allegedly.

20. There is no evidence for Arthur Melville Clark's assertion that 'if he perhaps never mastered the complexities of the grammar and the finer shades of the idiom, he seems to have been able to get the gist of a passage' (Sir Walter Scott: the Formative Years,

But did the writer who was to be called the Wizard of the North really understand the Highlands in terms of their history, people, and problems? Did he misrepresent them, consciously or unconsciously in Waverley, his most famous novel, thus giving his enormous reading public an erroneous impression of the north, and, more serious still, an impression that persisted and influenced external decisions about the Highlands? These large and important questions, which this work will attempt to answer, in part, relate to a complex and protracted critical debate on the relationship between fiction and history.²¹ That this is not solely a literary exercise is shown by the fact that Scott's writing caused physical and economic changes in the Highlands, for he was to a large extent responsible for the tourist boom.

But these questions about Scott and the Highlands, which might seem to be questions about regionalism, lead on to other questions concerning possible contradictions within the man, and within Scotland. In his letter to Ellis Scott expresses the desire to write 'a kind of companion to the Minstrel Lay' in the form of a Highland poem, thereby seeming to imply that the Highlands and Lowlands could be balanced, at least in literature. But was this possible historically, considering

Edinburgh, 1969, p. 219). If Scott had any Gaelic, it was only a smattering, as they say in the Highlands, for up until the end of his literary career (see my section on The Fair Maid of Perth) he was asking Gaelic-speaking friends for simple words and phrases for his stories.

21. Of which the Marxist Georg Lukacs's study of The Historical Novel (London, 1962), is the most famous example. For an analysis of it in relationship to Scott's Highland fiction, see my conclusion.

the apparently different traditions of the two regions? Was this balancing act, or integration even, a necessity to Scott, to justify the Union of 1707 and other things? These questions relate to the charge of a 'divided allegiance' raised by Edwin Muir,²² and they begin in the man himself.

But these questions come later. Since one object of this study is to trace and evaluate Scott's literary career with regard to the Highlands, it is necessary to begin in the Highlands, before Scott was born.

22. E. Muir, Scott and Scotland: The Predicament of the Scottish Writer (London, 1936), pp. 144-47.

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THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HIGHLANDS:

THE CONDITION OF THE CHIEFS

Before the last Hanoverian cannon had cooled at Culloden the Highlands were to understand the consequences of defeat. The lesson was to be enforced with bayonet, gun butt and firebrand in a scorched-earth campaign of great ferocity. Life having been clubbed from the wounded chiefs and clansmen lying on the battlefield, the army of occupation ranged through the glens. No questions were asked, not because the interrogators did not understand Gaelic, but because no questions were necessary. The inverted syllogism made all Highlanders guilty. The English attitude to the Highlanders is summed up in an anecdote concerning Donald Cameron, the 'gentle Lochiel,' during the Jacobite invasion of England a few months before Culloden. The Chevalier de Johnstone records:

The fright of the English was inconceivable, and to a degree that seemed as if their heads were turned altogether. M. Cameron, of Lochiel, on entering the lodging which had been marked out for him, his hostess, a woman of years, fell at his feet supplicating him with hands joined, and with a flood of tears, to take away her life, but to spare those of her two little children. He demanded of her if she was mad, and to explain herself. She replied that every one said that the Highlanders ate children, and made them their ordinary food. 1

But after Culloden English fear turned to fury. The young Scott had heard of

the cruelties exercised in the executions at

1. Memoirs of the Chevalier de Johnstone. In three Volumes. Translated from the original French MS. of the Chevalier, trans. by Charles Winchester (Aberdeen, 1870-71), vol. 1, p. 60.

Carlisle, and in the Highlands, after the
battle of Culloden

and he remembered

detesting the name of Cumberland with more
than infant hatred. 2

It is surprising that the boy should be told these things, considering that there were Lowlanders in the Hanoverian army of occupation. But Scott was too young to be told the extent of these cruelties. Bishop Robert Forbes, a zealous Jacobite taken prisoner when going to join the rebellion, was in communication with some of the surviving victims a few years after Culloden, when the details were still fresh in their minds. Some of them had permanent injuries to prove their participation. Forbes carefully wrote up these accounts in a series of black-covered notebooks to which he gave the title The Lyon in Mourning.³ The collection still makes sad reading for a Highlander, for Hanoverian atrocities extended beyond rape, arson and looting to sexual perversions. Dead women were left in obscene postures, and Highlanders were castrated.

While the Highlands were being laid waste Jacobite prisoners were pelted and jeered in London before having their bowels burnt before their faces on Kennington Common. Laden with diseased Highlanders, innocent and guilty, the Tilbury transports, which would take Jacobite prisoners to the plantations as slaves, were a paying proposition on the London sightseeing circuit. Actum est illicet

2. Autobiographical fragment in Lockhart's Life, pp. 5-6.

3. The Lyon in Mourning, ed. H. Paton, Scot. Hist. Soc. (Edinburgh, 1895-96), 3 vols.

peritt⁴ was the proud boast of the victory medal struck for Cumberland. The allowance of the king's brave and loyal son was raised by £25,000, and a grateful nation applauded him. While Handel welcomed the conquering hero home to a St Paul's thanksgiving service,

twenty-three gentlemen and a hundred and
seven men of common rank 5

escaped to France in two ships with Charles Edward Stuart.

The legislative measures for the Highlands after Culloden were severe. In 1746 they were stripped of their weapons and tartan. A show of the latter could bring a six months' sentence, and for a second offence, transportation to a plantation for seven years. Giving an account of the history of the tartan to Mrs Hughes, widow of the Canon of St Paul's, in a letter from Abbotsford dated 12 April, 1825, Scott reminisces:

The poor Highlanders were reduced to great distress by this law - most of them both unwilling and unable to obtain lowland dresses endeavoured to elude the law by dying their highland tartans to one colour dark green crimson purple or often black - I have seen them wearing such dresses myself as long since as 1785, 6

the year of his first visit to the Highlands,⁷ and forty years after Culloden. Yet the young Scott was still able to witness the stigmas of defeat. This is an important point in considering his literary treatment of the Highlands.

4. The deed is done.

5. Quoted in D. Daiches, Charles Edward Stuart (London, 1973), p. 259.

6. Grierson, Letters, vol. IX, p. 69. For the sad spectacle of a Highlander in that time of prohibition, see Ch.IV of The Highland Widow, and my section on this story.

7. Lockhart, Life, p. 38.

Chief and clansman alike were the target of the disarming and proscription of tartan acts, but other acts were aimed at the pride and power of the chiefs, and the destruction of the ancient bond between chief and clansman. As in the '15, the estates of attainted persons were forfeited in the '45, and some estates which had been restored were forfeited again. In terms of the mechanism of clan life, the forfeitures were comparable to removing the spindle from the wheel, and Highland society never recovered its momentum, despite the fact that those estates not sold were restored in 1784,⁸ the year previous to Scott's first Highland visit.

Those chiefs who forfeited their estates lost patriarchal power which they never recovered, though there is a case for claiming that their clansmen, if consulted, would have encouraged them to flee abroad, rather than fall into Hanoverian hands and suffer execution.⁹ A condition of the Commissioners taking over forfeited estates was that all debts due had to be discharged, and therefore some estates were deemed to be bankrupt, and sold, sometimes at ludicrously low figures.¹⁰ But some chiefs had their estates restored to them in far better order than when they were forfeited because of good management. Lessons had been learned from the '15 forfeitures, when the sum remitted to the Exchequer was only £1,107

8. And even earlier. By a special act of parliament of 1774, the heir of Simon, Lord Lovat had the estates restored to him, in excellent order and on payment of a reasonable fine.

9. This is demonstrated by the fact that some of Lochiel's rents were smuggled to him in France.

10. Between 1716 and 1784 the Dukes of Argyll and Atholl bought forfeited estates, and paid £3,248. For their money they got a lot of land.

as the produce of the sale of fifty forfeitures,¹¹ a tragic situation for chief and clansman alike. High administrative costs were not the sole cause of this deficit. The York Buildings Company had bought up forfeited estates, and got into financial difficulties because

the tenants resented the intrusion of strangers, and held by their fealty to the native proprietors. 12

This was perhaps the first attempt to exploit the Highlands commercially on a large scale by operating such indigenous industries as mining and salt panning.¹³

In the 1746 forfeitures the estates were administered with impartiality and efficiency, and chiefs in exile were certainly not cheated. There was a progressive principle at work, for revenue from the sale and management of such estates was distributed, and not only in the Highlands. Like Scott, a lawyer, Millar's verdict is that

the Forfeited Estates of 1746 were managed with brilliant success, and helped to bring Scotland forward in commerce, education, industry, and all that tends to make a nation memorable. Thus a great disaster was transformed into a perennial benefit, with the minimum of suffering. 14

11. A Selection of Scottish Forfeited Estates Papers 1715:1745, ed. A.H. Millar, Scot. Hist. Soc. (Edinburgh, 1909), Intro., p. xxxviii.

12. Millar, op. cit., Intro., p. xxxvi.

13. This failed because of difficulties over entry. It should be compared with the Sutherland industrial investment programme of the nineteenth century, which also failed.

14. Millar, op. cit., Intro., p. xlvii.

It is worth quoting the list of beneficiaries to see how wide the money was spread:

By the Disannexing Act of 1784 it was provided that £15,000 should be applied to the completion of the Record Office in Edinburgh, and £50,000 towards the cost of the Forth and Clyde Canal. Previous to that time the following grants were made: £2000 to the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge; £3000 to the Highland Society in Scotland; £1000 towards building the Jail in Inverness; and £1000 to build a bridge at Cockburn's-Path.

The sum of £50,000 was repaid by the Forth and Clyde Canal Company, and divided equally to assist the making of the Crinan Canal and the extending of Leith harbour. The interest upon sums borrowed from the Commissioners was applied "towards making and repairing the roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland." 15

It is surely ironic that the absent aristocracy of the impoverished Highlands should inadvertently become benefactors and money-lenders to the rest of Scotland. Ironic, too, that money from those who had raised the rebellion should go towards the building of a jail in Inverness, where many in captivity had suffered after Culloden.

The forfeiture of the estates of attainted persons contributed to the destruction of clan loyalty and cohesion,¹⁶ but the hereditary jurisdictions act of 1748 was fatal. By this act the power of administering the law locally was taken from the chiefs and transferred to sheriffs who had to be practising advocates before the Court of Session. The dangerous privileges of allowing one clan to police another, and of allowing a chief to sit in judgement of his people

15. Millar, op. cit., Intro., xiii.

16. I say contributed to, because there were other factors, some of them perhaps inevitable.

were suspended. Scott's father, the dedicated lawyer, must have approved of an act which made an unruly region answer to and conform to the laws of the nation in the best principles of justice. As to the younger Scott's attitude, Daiches states:

The Hereditary Jurisdictions Act, of which Scott approved, curbed the virtually absolute powers over their tenants previously possessed by Highland landlords and destroyed that very paternalism which, in a softer form, Scott sighed after and tried to practise at Abbotsford. 17

But Doctor Johnson did not approve. Speaking to Boswell on Raasay about the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, Johnson argued:

'A country is in a bad state, which is governed only by laws; because a thousand things occur for which laws cannot provide, and where authority ought to interpose. Now destroying the authority of the chief set the people loose. It did not pretend to bring any positive good, but only to cure some evil; and I am not well enough acquainted with the country to know what degree of evil the heritable jurisdictions occasioned. - I maintain hardly any; because the chiefs generally acted right, for their own sakes.' 18

In these legislative measures the principal target of government was the chiefs, and some of the proposals which did not reach the statute books were savage, an indication of the severity of the Lowland as well as English attitude to the Highlands. For instance, General Bland and Lord Justice Clerk Fletcher¹⁹ presented a memorial

17. D. Daiches, Walter Scott and his World (London, 1971), p. 69.

18. 'The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,' in Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. G.B. Hill and L.F. Powell, (Oxford, 1950) vol. v, p.177.

19. Otherwise Lord Milton. Nephew of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, 'the great independent Protestant liberal Scottish nationalist' (Daiches, Charles Edward Stuart, p. 40).

to government in which they argued:

could we but at once get rid of all Chiefs of Clans in these barbarous and disloyal parts of the Highlands, it would facilitate all other operations both in point of difficulty and time. And therefore, so far as we can get rid of them, we ought; and where we cannot get rid of them that such regulations be made and carried into execution as to make the common people as free and independent of their chiefs as the nature of their case can admit. 20

This was the harsh penalty for having been in rebellion, but Doctor Johnson was more humane. Back in Edinburgh after his exhausting Hebridean tour, he said to Boswell that

being in rebellion from a notion of another's right, was not connected with depravity; and we had proof of it, that all mankind applauded the pardoning of rebels; which they would not do in the case of robbers and murderers. He said, with a smile, that "he wondered that the phrase of unnatural rebellion should be so much used, for that all rebellion was natural to man." 21

Bland and Fletcher's proposals were rejected, and the forfeited estates restored. This gesture by government, like the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions in 1748 created much work for Lowland and Edinburgh lawyers, a state of affairs which must have given much satisfaction to Scott's father, as well as seeming to draw the Highlands and Lowlands closer together. Scott senior took his apprentice son with him on business to the Highlands, where he counted among his clients Stewart of Invernahyle.²² Moreover, Highland

20. Quoted in J. Prebble, Culloden (London, 1967), p. 326.

21. Hill and Powell, op. cit., pp. 393-94.

22. Of whom more later.

chiefs seem to have gone to Edinburgh to consult him.

The returned chiefs set about replacing the mansions that Cumberland's dragoons had fired. The new mansions were to be bigger and more luxurious than the old, with new plate and furnishings from the south to replace the items looted by the Hanoverian army. But by the transportation south of plate, paintings, heirlooms and libraries the Highlands suffered an irreparable cultural loss,²³ for in the post 1784 furnishings of the new mansions there was a cultural hook-up with the south. But though the chiefs were back in residence, the lot of the people did not improve, a fact the young Scott may have noted on his Highland trips. New mansions did not mean improved crofts. In fact, security of tenure was being threatened. Short of money, the chiefs were contemplating economies, but not of a personal kind. The role of the tacksman was being questioned, for he was seen to be taking middleman's profits, thereby reducing the chief's income from his clan. It might be thought that the removal of the unnecessary tacksman would stabilise the economy of the estate and draw chief and clan closer together, as in the days before Culloden, but that was not the effect, for

the first serious signs of emigration from the Highlands followed closely on the beginning of the movement to dispossess the tacksman

and

the emigration was partly from Inverness-shire

23. Likewise, the primitive system of land tenure in the Highlands may well have been further confused by the seizure and destruction of charter-chests.

but mainly from the Hebrides, and while the total numbers involved can only be conjectured, the numbers who left in the ten years from 1763 to 1773 have been reliably estimated as being in the region of 10,000. 24

To a Highlander, and even to non-Highlanders, the term clearances carries strong emotive connotations which tend to exaggerate and distort the facts, if they were ever known in the first place. Moreover, the terms clearances and emigration are sometimes made synonymous, thereby suggesting eviction, and usually by chiefs. Perspectives are further distorted by a tendency to assign the same causes to all of the clearances in the Highlands. There have been many studies of the clearances and emigration, and in the latest,²⁵ which is about the Sutherland clearances, the most notorious of all, Richards rightly (and bravely, it must be said) cautions us to proceed with care. He points out that there is an excess of emotive evidence, and a lack of fact and statistics. As long ago as 1832 William Cobbett in his Rural Rides was asking:

I wish to possess authentic information relative to the CLEARING-affair; for, though it took place twenty years ago, it may be just as necessary to inquire into it now. It may be quite proper to inquire into the means that were used to effect the CLEARING; and if anyone will have the goodness to point out to me the authentic sources of information on the subject, I shall be extremely obliged to him.

26

24. A.R.B. Haldane, New Ways through the Glens (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 22.

25. E. Richards, The Leviathan of Wealth (London, 1973).

26. Rural Rides ... by William Cobbett, ed. G.D.H. and M. Cole (London, 1930), vol III, pp. 877-78.

The fact is that not all the Highland estates were cleared, and that the clearances, where and when they occurred, were not always for the same reasons. Furthermore, there must have been people²⁷ who went abroad of their own free will because they believed in a better life, or because relatives had been earlier successful settlers. But having said this, it is necessary to account for the clearances in general.

There was, as I have said, no single reason. The clearances could not be solely attributed to Cumberland's scorched-earth policy. Nor could they be solely attributed to the mercenary motives of chiefs. The clearances were caused by complex economic and social conditions which we do not even yet fully understand. Richards states that

Life in the Highlands before the clearances was characterized by scattered cultivation, low per capita incomes, high birth and death rates, poor communications, little capital per head, a high dependence on agriculture, major inequalities in the distribution of income, and a strong attachment to 'traditional' attitudes. Sparsity of resources and geographical isolation, coupled with an ancient social system and a primitive technology, enforced an equilibrium of low-level subsistence. 28

Crops were at the mercy of the elements, the people at the mercy of their chiefs, and both were unpredictable.

These factors form the basis of the argument that the clearances were inevitable, since the chiefs could not hope to recover the

27. Such as Flora MacDonald, the heroine of Prince Charles's escape.

28. Richards, op. cit., p. 153.

costs of the two rebellions, except through intermarriage with wealthy southern families, and the strict laws of marriage contracts would prevent this. In order to maintain themselves in the manner to which they had become accustomed²⁹ they desperately sought new sources of revenue at the expense of their clans. If the ground could not produce crops, it could support sheep, and so

soon after 1760 large-scale sheep-farming started to spread rapidly from the south of Scotland, and soon the growing competition for farms in the Highlands was further stimulated by the demands of the sheep-farmers. 30

The clanspeople were to be evicted in order that their chiefs could continue to be chiefs in the traditional style, but without a rent-roll. It was a vicious circle, and the chiefs had the last say. Some of them seemed genuinely to believe that people and sheep could live in harmony, but with the people shifted elsewhere on the estates. On 22 October 1811, the Countess of Sutherland confided to Scott that she had great expectations

from the abilities of this Mr. Young, of considerable improvements being effected in Sutherland and without routing and destroying the old inhabitants, which contrary to the Theories respecting these matters, I am convinced is very possible. 31

29. In France, while in exile, and in Edinburgh and London.

30. Haldane, op. cit., p. 21.

31. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Letters to Sir Walter Scott, MS. 3881, f. 89. Known as the Walpole Collection after its presenter, the novelist Hugh Walpole, there are something like 6,000 items in this collection, which is arranged in letter-books. These are letters received by Scott over a period of about twenty-five years, and not surprisingly in that age of the rudimentary pen, the writing varies from good to illegible. Much time and money would be required to transcribe and arrange the letters as a companion to Grierson's great edition of the letters from Scott. No editor has as yet found the resources to begin this

But the Highlanders who were going to colonise Canada had also helped to conquer it for the Crown, for, although agriculturally barren, the Highlands had become splendid recruiting ground.

Prompted by his own genius ... Lord Chatham, then Mr. Pitt, ordered regiments to be raised from the Highlands on a more extended scale. He dwelt with justifiable pride on the success of his measures for the employment of the Highlanders. In his celebrated speech on the commencement of the American war in 1766 he thus expresses himself:-

'I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It was my boast that I was the first minister who looked for and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who had gone nigh to have overturned the state in the war before last. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side, and fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world.'

32

As the clanspeople were recruited and cleared, both by the efforts of their chiefs, some of the chiefs suddenly found their coffers filling. Joseph Mitchell, Telford's right-hand man in the Highlands, records:

Some years after the Rebellion of 1745 a

monumental task, though Wilfred Partington has given us fascinating samples in The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott (London, 1930), and Sir Walter's Post-Bag (London, 1932). Since the Walpole Collection is only indexed by author, and not by subject, the researcher can only approach it with a list of names and read their letters, in the hope that he will chance upon relevant material. This is what I have had to do with regard to my subject, Sir Walter Scott and the Highlands; and I use extracts from various Highland correspondents in the course of this study. Grierson helps by occasionally printing fragments in the footnotes. Hereafter, Walpole refers to this correspondence, followed by a location reference.

32. J. Mitchell, Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands (Newton Abbot, 1971), vol. 1, p. 19.

good deal of employment was found for the population in the Hebrides and Isles, and along the western shores in the counties of Argyle, Inverness, and Ross, in the manufacture of kelp, for which a large demand arose about 1780, increasing and continuing until 1816, after which it diminished. I think I was present, in 1826, at the burning of the last heap at Dunvegan, which they said would fetch £8 to £10 per ton. 33

Mitchell continues:

Kelp was used principally in soap-making, bleaching and glass manufacture. It was cut every third year, but drift ware was considered most valuable. The discovery of this article was like a gold mine to the whole Hebrides. The Duke of Argyle states that the quantity produced was, at £20 to £22 per ton, say £20, £400,000 per annum. This was certainly an El Dorado to the proprietors and people of the Hebrides. The manufacture of this article afforded extensive employment to the peasantry, besides yielding large revenues to the proprietors. I have heard that Lord Macdonald received from £10,000 to £14,000 per annum, and Clanranald reaped some £25,000 a year. 34

But though the 'peasantry' might have been 'afforded extensive employment,' and the tide of emigration stemmed, wages were not saved and the chiefs did not plough back any of the profits. It was spent on good living and furnishings in the south.

Mitchell is critical:

But with this great access of income, unfortunately it was found that none of the chiefs or proprietors seem to have employed it in the improvement or civilisation of their people. The same huts in which they lived remained, and the

33. Mitchell, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 206.

34. Mitchell, opus cit., vol. 1, p.206.

people were left ignorant as children, to herd with their cattle and horses, and no attempt was made by proprietors or tacksmen to induce them to lead a more civilised existence. In fact, as the price of kelp became lowered the rents were raised.

35

Worse still,

the proprietors who enjoyed the revenues I have stated did not curtail their expenditure; they incurred habits of extravagance to such an extent that they burdened their estates 36

and when kelp was supplanted by barilla from the coast of Spain these bankrupt estates came under the hammer, to be knocked down to southern sheep-farmers and sportsmen.

As with the clearances, a discussion of the kelp boom demonstrates the danger of generalising about the Highlands and their history, for only those estates lying close to salt water benefited. But the squandering of the kelp fortunes clearly shows that the chiefs were not used to handling and keeping large sums of money, since some clanspeople paid their rents in kind.³⁷ This, of course, is no excuse for their improvidence and (in some cases) bankruptcy, brought on, as Mitchell shows, by personal extravagance. The trouble was that the chiefs were leading double lives which were economically incompatible, a state of affairs which had begun long before the kelp boom, and even before Culloden. In the letter to Mrs Hughes

35. Mitchell, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 207.

36. Ibid.

37. Yet another reason why the York Buildings Company failed to make the bought-up estates paying propositions.

previously quoted Scott recognised this split living:

Many of the highland Chiefs in the earlier part of the 18th century had two distinct characters³⁸ - that of an accomplished gentleman in London & beyond the highland line that of a chief of an almost independent tribe.

But by the end of the eighteenth century the 'independent tribe' was being undermined and its members scattered by social changes and economic factors produced by southern legislation. Not even an economic miracle could reverse this trend, for the chiefs had acquired extravagant tastes while their clanspeople had sunk deeper into poverty and squalor. The simple truth was that a chief was no longer trustworthy with money and men.

This chapter has been mainly concerned with the fortunes and fates of the chiefs after Culloden. Their problems are well documented in personal correspondence, petitions and clan histories. Besides, they had efficient law agents like Scott's father looking after their interests. From all these sources comprehensive and sometimes pathetic accounts of their lifestyles can be composed.

But what about the common people? Unlike their chiefs, they could not make their cases heard because they were illiterate and subjugated. Nor did the chiefs admit their own shortcomings by describing the living conditions of their clanspeople. This depressing task fell to non-Highlanders, travellers curious enough (and in some cases brave enough) to penetrate the eighteenth century Highlands. In terms of sympathy and active aid the southern attitude to the Highlands depended to a large extent on the reports

38. And in Edinburgh also.

of these travellers, and these in turn depended on the curiosity and integrity of the travellers. The most influential of these travel-ogues must be examined now, for, as James Anderson has shown,³⁹ they provided material for Scott's Highland works.

39. J. Anderson, 'Sir Walter Scott as a Historical Novelist' in Studies in Scottish Literature, vols. IV and V, July 1966 - January 1968. This six-part series is extracted from his 1965 University of Edinburgh doctoral thesis. In my study all references are to the published series.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HIGHLANDS:
THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

The published accounts of life in the eighteenth century Highlands¹ which are of relevance to this study of Scott fall into three distinct categories, thus giving three different perspectives. These categories are: a) The account by the Highlander travelling in his own region, b) The account by the non-Highlander resident in the Highlands, c) The account by the non-Highlander travelling in the Highlands. But though apparently separate, these three categories are linked by the presentation of the same information, sometimes making the reader suspect plagiarism, or at least that the narrator could not possibly have seen all the things he claimed to have seen in a short tour or sojourn. This, of course, does not apply in instances where the information is acknowledged to be second-hand, either from a previous account or by word-of-mouth.

Martin Martin comes into the first category. Born in the Isle of Skye, he became factor to the Laird of Macleod, and travelled over the Western Isles, mainly at the request of Sir Robert Sibbald, the antiquary. Strictly speaking, Martin's account cannot be considered as belonging to the eighteenth century, for although A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland was first published (in London) in 1703, it was mainly written up from observations made in the closing years of the seventeenth century. But it is included here because it is unique, having been written a few

1. Here taken to include the Hebrides as well, except where otherwise stated.

years before the Union, and because it inspired some famous southern readers to go and see for themselves.

In the Preface Martin points out why his Description is both unique and important.

Perhaps it is peculiar to those Isles, that they have never been described till now, by any Man that was a Native of the Country, or had travel'd there. They were indeed touch'd by Boethius, Bishop Lesly, Buchanan, and Johnston, in their Histories of Scotland; but none of those Authors were ever there in Person: so that what they wrote concerning 'em, was upon trust from others. 2

But even although Martin was there, he was to be attacked by other authors who had taken what he had written 'upon trust,' and found him inaccurate. But when the Description was published in 1703 its readers in the south could not challenge its accuracy, since it was the first of its kind. Soldiers had been to the Hebrides, but they were southern soldiers, and their stay had been short. Besides, the sea journeys between the scores of islands which form the Hebrides were dangerous undertakings, as Johnson and Boswell were to learn to their cost on their sail to Mull. Moreover, Martin had the advantage because he was a resident native, and he must have had Gaelic.

As well as covering scores of islands, Martin's Description covers most aspects of the conditions and customs of the Hebrideans.

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2. M. Martin, A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland (London, 1716), Preface, p. vi. This is the edition Scott had in the Abbotsford library (Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford, Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1838). Hereafter in my study the letters ALC (Abbotsford library catalogue) will show that the work being cited was in Scott's library, but, of course, one cannot show when it was acquired.

Agriculture, geology, meteorology, birth, social structures, superstitions, death, and criticism - the list is almost endless, and presented in the same haphazard form. As things claim his attention, or memory intrudes, his pen takes a tack.

But despite this disorder, he succeeds in giving the reader a comprehensive - and also sympathetic - picture of life in the Hebrides. Though he shows that the Hebrides were³ composed of scores of independent islands, each with its own peculiarities, he also shows that the Hebrides, in comparison to the rest of the Highlands, were a self-sufficient whole. There seems to have been no famine, for (with regard to Lewis, and other islands)

the Soil is very grateful to the Husbandman,
yielding a Produce of Barley, from ten to
thirty fold in a plentiful year. 4

This was because seaweed was used as fertiliser. Martin does not give a detailed description of the islander's dwelling-house, presumably because he assumes that the reader assumes that they will be crude, but still serviceable. He does not discuss poverty because most of the necessities of life were to hand, on land or in the sea. Instead, he reserves most of his comments for the social structure and cultural conditions. The ancient bond between chief and clansman is referred to again and again, and some of the examples given seem far-fetched, if not ludicrous. Discussing Barra, for instance, he states that when

a Tenant dies, the Widow addresseth her self

3. And still are, to a certain extent.

4. Martin, op. cit., p. 53

to Mackneil in the same manner, who likewise provides her with a Husband, and they are marry'd without any further Courtship. 5

Whereas the majority of the Hebridean islands were Protestant, there were small staunch Catholic pockets. Barra was all Catholic, and had the distinction of having its own private saint, Barr, worshipped as a wooden effigy. Martin shows the people to be strict in their religious observance, and the individual ministers and Synods strict in enforcing faith, a state of affairs which has continued down to this day in certain islands. But some islands were less strict in their observances than others. On Lewis piety and pleasure seemed to coexist:

There is a Village call'd Storn-Bay, at the head of the Bay of that Name; it consists of about sixty Families: there are some Houses of Entertainment in it; as also a Church, and a School, in which Latin and English are taught. 6

English might have been on the curriculum, but Gaelic was still the predominant language. Martin pays tribute to the linguistic skills of the people.

Several of both Sexes have a quick Vein of Poesy, and in their Language (which is very Emphatick) they compose Rhyme and Verse, both which powerfully affect the Fancy: And in my Judgement (which is not singular in this matter) with as great force as that of any antient or modern Poet I ever yet read. 7

Martin's championing of his own people also extended to their

5. Martin, op. cit., p. 97

6. Martin, op. cit., p. 30.

7. Martin, op. cit., p. 200.

spontaneous musical skills, for on Lewis

they are great Lovers of Musick; and when
I was there they gave an Account of Eight-
een Men who could play on the Violin pretty
well, without being taught, 8

even although the bagpipes were the traditional instrument.

Martin's mention of the importation of English and the violin shows that the Hebrides were not as independent as he supposed. His claim is that the Hebrideans were uncontaminated by southern values, even in a moral sense,

for they are to this day happily ignorant
of many Vices that are practised in the
Learned and Polite World: I could mention
several, for which they have not as yet
got a Name, or so much as a Notion of them,

9

presumably because the Synod chastised so severely. But the Hebrideans could apparently carry their moral strictures too far, thus retarding mental development.

Women were antiently deny'd the use of Writing in the Islands, to prevent Love-Intrigues: their Parents believ'd, that Nature was too skilful in that matter, and needed not the help of Education; and therefore that Writing would be of Dangerous Consequences to the weaker Sex. 10

But these inequalities in the schoolroom were corrected in the fields, where the women were expected to work, in peace as well as war.¹¹

8. Martin, op. cit., p. 14. Many of the best (and there are many) of contemporary fiddlers in the Highlands learned by ear.

9. Martin, op. cit., p. 201.

10. Martin, op. cit., p. 115.

11. For an elaboration upon this inequality, see the section dealing with Scott's first visit to Invernahyle's.

As well as being earnest in such pronouncements, Martin is also humorous, a feature of other eighteenth century Highland travelogues, but a feature to which the Highlander cannot take exception. The Hebrides (and other parts of the Highlands) were saturated in superstition and ritual, extending to the most trivial tasks. The spectrum of superstition stretched from curses to corpses, and sometimes called for the participation of the environment in terms of the application of herbs, and benedictions to the moon. Martin covers all these aspects, some of which find a place in Scott's Highland writings. Medical procedures were crude and often ludicrous:

Ilica Passio, or Twisting of the Guts, has been several times Cur'd by drinking a Draught of cold Water, with a little Oatmeal in it, and then hanging the Patient by the heels for some time. 12

Miracles are duly noted:

There was a Horse in the Village of Bretill, which had the Erection backward, contrary to all other of its kind. 13

But Martin is generally sceptical of superstitions and miracles. Though his Description must often have made his southern audience laugh, it also calls for reflection. There was an employment problem in the Hebrides as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. Parents had large families, and

many of their numerous Issue must seek their Fortune on the Continent, and not a few in

12. Martin, op. cit., p. 184.

13. Martin, op. cit., p. 191.

Foreign Countries, for want of Employment
at home. 14

Martin is not content to let the matter rest there. In the
Preface he warns:

As for the Improvement of the Isles in
general, it depends upon the Government of
Scotland, to give Encouragement for it to
such publick-spirited Persons or Societies
as are willing to lay out their Endeavours
that way. (p. xiii)

The appeal is for Lowland aid, and he warns that much has to be done.
Centuries ahead of his time in respect of economic realism, he wel-
comes outside developers, and even suggests the schemes they should
concern themselves with. Martin's argument is that there is an ex-
cess of some commodities in the Highlands, and a lack of others.
Harbours could be constructed, and fish exported. Lead and gold
mines could be opened up, Skye marble quarried. Furthermore,

The Isles afford likewise great quantities
of black Cattle, which might serve the
Traders both for Consumption and Export, 15

a boom that was not to come until late in the eighteenth century when
communications had improved, and

the export of cattle from the western and north-
western Highlands had reached large proportions,
and in the early years of the 19th century the
cattle trade, stimulated by the French Wars and
the demand for beef for the services, was rapidly
climbing to its peak. 16

Martin's Description, which recorded the ways of life of the

14. Martin, op. cit., p. 195.

15. Martin, op. cit., p. 343.

16. Haldane, op. cit., p. 67.

Hebrides before two fatal rebellions, is clearly biased in certain respects, and particularly with regard to Skye, his native island. That he had to bridle his tongue is understandable, considering that he was a Laird's factor. Nevertheless, the Description is of great historical importance because it is the only such account by a native, and before the Union.

Edward Burt is an enigma, a shadowy figure made famous (and notorious) by one publication. An Englishman, he appears to have worked with Wade in the capacity of military accountant in the Highland road-making programme shortly after the '15. Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London were first published in 1754, but from internal evidence they appear to have been written in 1725-6. We cannot be certain of this, however, and it is possible that some of the Letters were revised in the light of the '45. We do know, however, that Burt died in 1755, a year after publication.

The crucial point about Burt is that he was a non-Highlander resident in the Highlands between the two rebellions, and moreover, engaged upon work which was displeasing to the Highlanders. This he understood, for in describing with justifiable pride the military roads system laid down by Wade, he states:

1. Those Chiefs and other Gentlemen complain, that thereby an easy Passage is opened into their Country for Strangers, who, in Time, by their Suggestions of Liberty, will destroy or weaken that Attachment of their Vassals, which it is so necessary for them to support and preserve.

That their Fastnesses being laid open, they are deprived of that Security from Invasion,

which they formerly enjoyed. 17

Despite these complaints, the Jacobite as well as the Hanoverian army used these roads in the '45.

In Letter 1 Burt echoes Martin's sentiments by asserting that the Highlands are a mystery; even to the rest of Scotland.

The Highlands are but little known even to the Inhabitants of the low Country of Scotland, for they have ever dreaded the Difficulties and Dangers of Travelling among the Mountains; and when some extraordinary Occasion has obliged any one of them to such a Progress, he had, generally speaking, made his Testament before he set out, as though he were entring upon a long and dangerous Sea Voyage, wherein it was very doubtful if he should ever return.

But to the People of England, excepting some few, and those chiefly the Soldiery, the Highlands are hardly known at all; for there has been less, that I know of, written upon the Subject, than of either of the Indies; and even that little which has been said, conveys no Idea of what a Traveller almost continually sees and meets with in passing among the Mountains; or does it communicate any Notion of the Temper of the Natives, while they remain in their own Country. 18

This is Burt's justification for writing up his account, and, like Martin, he proceeds with the ignorant reader at his mercy. The Letters, as detailed as Martin's, are a mixture of Swiftian satire tempered with mercy, and they stand as a work of art in their own right. Burt is far more subtle than Martin, and besides, he is not describing his own people. Where Martin is silent Burt is outspoken,

17. E. Burt, Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London (London, 1754), vol. II, p. 348, ALC, 1754 ed., and 1818 ed.

18. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 5-6.

sometimes savage. Debating the role of the chief, he assumes a standpoint that, even in our time, is a controversial and sensitive one:

It may, for ought I know, be suitable to Clanish Power; but, in general, it seems quite contrary to Reason, Justice and Nature, that any one Person, from the meer Accident of his Birth, should have the Prerogative to oppress a whole Community, for the Gratification of his own selfish Views and Inclinations: And I cannot but think, the concerted Poverty of a People is, of all Oppressions, the strongest Instigation to Sedition, Rebellion, and Plunder. 19

Burt was resident in Inverness during his sojourn in the Highlands, but he saw no evidence of rebellion, at least against the chiefs. Though he seems to be always mocking, his sympathies are clearly with the common people. He gives a detailed description of a dwelling.

The Walls were about four Feet high, lined with Sticks watted like a Hurdle, built on the Out-side with Turf; and thinner Slices of the same serv'd for Tiling. This last they call Divet. 20

This was a rural house. Those in the town were built of stone, and the streets between were dirty.

I asked the Magistrates one Day, when the Dirt was almost above one's Shoes, why they suffered the Town to be so excessively dirty, and did not employ People to cleanse the Streets? The Answer was, It will not be long before we have a Shower. 21

19. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, p. 59.

20. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 41.

21. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, p. 73.

The people are in a deplorable condition, for

Here is a melancholy Appearance of Objects
in the Streets. In one Part the poor
Women, Maid-Servants, and Children, in the
coldest Weather, in the Dirt or in Snow,
either walking or standing to talk with
one another without Stockings or Shoes. In
another Place, you see a Man dragging along
a half-starved Horse little bigger than an
Ass, in a Cart about the Size of a Wheel-
barrow. 22

Burt's Letters cover drinking, fornication, disease and vis-
its to chiefs, all occuring erratically because he has so many sub-
jects to include. He defends the common people against a charge of
laziness, says that when he employed them he always got value for his
money, and he ends by asking:

why should a People be branded with the Name
of Idlers in a Country where there is gener-
ally no profitable Business for them to do?

23

Martin records the good agricultural land of the Hebrides,
and Burt the barren land.

Not far from Fort William, I have seen Women
with a little Horse-Dung brought upon their Backs,
in Creels or Baskets from that Garrison; and on
their Knees, spreading it with their Hands upon
the Land, and even breaking the Balls, that every
Part of the little Spot might have its due Propor-
tion. 24

He records the slovenly condition of servants, the boundless
hospitality of Culloden House with its open door and brimmers, the

22. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, p. 85.

23. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 113.

24. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 145.

chief's retinue,²⁵ a deer hunt,²⁶ and the French influence in merchandise. He mocks, he scolds, he will not name names. He asserts:

There is one Gasconade of the People hereabouts which is extraordinary; they are often boasting of the great Hospitality of the Highlanders to Strangers; for my own Part, I do not remember to have received one Invitation from them, but when it was with an apparent View to their own Interest. 27

Highland humanity is attacked:

But that the Highlanders, for the most part are cruel, is beyond Dispute; tho' all Clans are not alike merciless. In general they have not Generosity enough to give Quarter to an Enemy that falls into their Power; or do they seem to have any Remorse at shedding Blood without Necessity. 28

According to Burt, some of the inhabitants of Inverness had learned English from soldiery stationed there, but beyond the town only Gaelic was spoken. His business took him into the country, and into the company of chief and commoner, but he did not trust the Gaelic speaker.

Very often, if you ask Questions of the ordinary People here, and hereabouts, they will answer you by Haniel Sasson Uguit i.e. they have, or speak, no Saxon (or English). This they do to save the Trouble of giving other Answers; but they have been frequently brought, by the Officers, to speak that Language by the same Method that Moliere's Faggot binder was forced to confess himself a Doctor of Physick. 29

25. Used by Scott in The Lady of the Lake and Waverley. See relevant sections.

26. Used in Waverley ? See relevant section.

27. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 203-4.

28. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 175. There is a legend that the idea that Highlanders did not give quarter caused the holocaust after Culloden.

29. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 132-3.

Despite such complaints against the common people, Burt sympathised with their plight. He recorded the dirt, disease and ignorance, and deplored the power the chiefs have over their subjects. But most of his abuse is reserved for the ministers. On the fireplace in an Inverness house he saw the following inscription cut:

Our Building is not here, but we
Hope for ane better in Christ. 30

He sees the ministers and Synods as oppressors and hypocrites promising the people a better life in Heaven, and having theirs on earth.

Their Severity, likewise, to the People, for
Matters of little Consequence, or even for
Works of Necessity, is sometimes extraordinary. 31

To ride a horse on the sabbath was an offence for the Synod's attention, as was the roasting of a shoulder of mutton on the same day.
But

If any one is brought before a Presbytery, &c. to be questioned for Sculduddery, i.e. Fornication, or Adultery, and shews a Neglect of their Authority, the Offender is not only brought to Punishment by their Means, but will be avoided by his Friends, Acquaintances, and all that know him and his Circumstance in that Respect. 32

This was the sometimes injuman religious tradition the young Scott revolted against. His father's religion, he informs us,

in which he was devoutly sincere, was Calvinism

30. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, p. 75.

31. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, p. 217.

32. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, p. 231.

of the strictest kind, and his favourite study related to church history. I suspect the good old man was often engaged with Knox and Spottiswoode's folios, when, immured in his solitary room, he was supposed to be immersed in professional researches. 33

Scott found an ally in his mother, whose religion was

as became her sex, of a cast less austere than my father's. Still, the discipline of the Presbyterian Sabbath was severely strict, and I think injudiciously so. Although Bunyan's Pilgrim, Gesner's Death of Abel, Roew's Letters, and one or two other books, which, for that reason, I still have a favour for, were admitted to relieve the gloom of one dull sermon succeeding to another - there was too much tedium annexed to the duties of the day; and in the end it did none of us any good. 34

The result was that Scott

took up, early in life, a repugnance to the mode in which public worship is conducted in the Scottish Establishment; and adhered to the sister Church, whose system of government and discipline he believed to be the fairest copy of the primitive polity, and whose litanies and collects he revered as having been transmitted to us from the age immediately succeeding that of the Apostles. 35

Highland Calvinism as described by Burt and practised by Scott senior was not for Scott. Nor was Catholicism,³⁶ a fact which

33. Autobiographical fragment in Lockhart's Life, p. 3.

34. Ibid., p. 8

35. Ibid., pp. 758-59.

36. 'I hold popery to be such a mean and depriving superstition that I am not clear I could have found myself liberal enough for voting the repeal of them' (the 1791 Relief Act, which removed the disabilities suffered by the Catholics). The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, Ed. W.K. Anderson, (Oxford, 1972), pp. 525-26.

must have contributed to the conflict between Hanoverian head and Jacobite heart, despite the proviso that the rebellions were not primarily religion inspired.

I have said that Burt's Letters are a work of art, and this is nowhere more apparent than in his letters dealing with religion. He condemns the moral strictures of the church and its oppression of the common ignorant people by setting up mock trails. So much of his material is obviously made up for the occasion, and yet it is often far more effective than reported facts. For instance, he inserts a letter, which,

When I first saw it, I suspected it to be suppositious, and calculated as a Lure, whereby to intice some Highlanders to the Colony from whence it was supposed to be written; but I was afterwards assured, by a very credible Person, that he knew it to be genuine. 37

Burt does not name this person, of course, but he duly gives the text of the letter. Joycean in its linguistic brilliance, Swiftean in its subtle satire, it questions both emigration and the role of the servant.

Pi mi fait I kanna komplin for kumin te dis Quintry, for mestir Nicols, Lort pliss hem, pat mi till a pra Mestir dey ca him Shon Bayne an hi lifes in Marylant in te Rifer Potomak he nifer gart mi wark ony ting pat fat I lykie mi sel: de meast o a mi Wark is waterin a pra stennt Hors, an pringin wyn and Pread ut o de Seller to me Mestir's Tebil. 38

Thus the Highland servant is no better off abroad than at home

37. Burt, opus cit., vol. I, p. 250.

38. Ibid., p. 251.

because there are the same masters. But this phonetic letter also refers to the illiteracy of the Highland lower classes in the early decades of the eighteenth century. It was a situation which was not to change much after Culloden,³⁹ and which was not confined to the lower classes. Many of the judicial declarations of the Appin murder trial of 1752 end with the statement: 'and declares' he or she 'cannot write.' Admissions of illiteracy even close the declarations of Margaret and Elizabeth Stewart, wife and daughter of the accused James Stewart of Aucharn, the small, but genteel born Appin landowner.⁴⁰

Highlanders have raged against Burt's Letters ever since their publication, and have accused him of lying monstrosly, for the sake of amusing his southern audience, but despite the obvious fables and the subtle humour, a close reading shows that this enigmatic man was sympathetic, if only to the common people. Scott seems to have agreed. In a note to his review of the Culloden Papers (Quarterly Review, January 1816) he claimed that since Burt's book contains the observations of an impartial, and, on the whole, an unprejudiced stranger, it is a good record of Highland manners at the commencement of the eighteenth century. Characteristically, Burt closes his prolonged correspondence with the comment:

For my own Part, ever since I have known the Highlands, I never doubted but the Natives had their Share of natural Understanding, with the rest of Mankind. 41

39. See my section dealing with education.

40. See Trial of James Stewart (The Appin Murder), Ed. D.N. Mackay, (Glasgow, 1907) pp. 207-08.

41. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 352.

Thomas Pennant travelled from one Celtic kingdom to another out of curiosity. A Welshman and a naturalist, he first went to the Highlands in 1769, half a century after Martin, forty years after Burt, and four years before Johnson and Boswell. In 1772 Pennant made a second journey, this time taking in the Western Isles, and those parts of the Highlands he had not visited on his first tour. Since Pennant's second tour is close in time and content to Johnson and Boswell's, I shall confine myself to the first. Besides, first reactions are always interesting.

Predictably, Pennant looks at the Highlands through a scientist's eyes, and where possible he gives statistics. Yet his account is never dull. All aspects of the countryside, including wildlife, scenery, industries and distances are covered. He travels through towns, noting their characteristics. For instance, the entry for Inverness records that it is

large and well built, and very populous.⁴²

This is in striking contrast to the amount of information given by Burt, but Pennant was only passing through. Moreover, he seems to have been more interested in gentlemen's seats than in communities, and where he has access to portrait galleries, the contents are duly catalogued, and the quality criticised. He is the shrewd observer touring after two rebellions, and he notes the prosperity of some estates, and the destitution of others, depending on whether the owners were 'out', and on which side. Generally, the roads are good.

42. T. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland; MDCCLXIX (Warrington, 1774), p. 160.

ALC., Tours in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides, 1769 and 1772, (London, 1790), 3 vols.

Timber planted on the hillsides helps to soften the harshness of the scenery, and in Aberdeenshire at least, provides work for the saw-mills, and a good revenue to the proprietors. He passes through the extensive lands of the executed Lord Lovat. They are still in the capable hands of the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates, and he notes, with satisfaction,

Some excellent farms, well enclosed, improved, and planted: the land produces wheat, and other corn. Much cattle are bred in these parts, and there are several linnen manufactures. 43

Pennant is an establishment man, a supporter of the authoritarian principle of government, and of southern government of the Highlands. Describing the flourishing trade of Perth, he asserts that

the rebellion was a disorder violent in its operations, but salutary in its effects. 44

Seeing Culloden Moor, he says tersely that it is

the place that North Britain owes its present prosperity to, by the victory of April 16, 1746. 45

This Welshman who takes the side of England and applauds the improvements the south has effected in the Highlands dismisses the Culloden atrocities briefly and with brutality:

let a veil be flung over a few excesses consequential of a day, productive of so much benefit to the united kingdoms. 46

43. Pennant, op. cit., p. 163.

44. Ibid., p. 76.

45. Ibid., p. 158.

46. Ibid., p. 158.

But despite this advance, much remains to be done. Inver-
array Castle is a grand building, but the town squatting in its shadow
is

composed of the most wretched hovels that
can be imagined. 47

Likewise at Loch Tay, where the houses are

very small, mean and without windows or
chimmies, and are the disgrace of North
Britain, as its lakes and rivers are its
glory. 48

But when Pennant reaches Lochaber, he sees that

the houses of the peasants ... are the
most wretched that can be imagined;
framed upright poles, which are wattled;
the roof is formed of boughs, like a
wigwam, and the whole is covered with
sods. 49

Forty years earlier Burt had seen similar houses in the Inverness area,
and if the dragoons had burnt them after the '45, they had only been
rebuilt as before.

Though he sat at some of their tables, Pennant criticises
some of the chiefs, thereby showing how different were the conditions
in different parts of the Highlands. With regard to the county of
Caithness, territory of the Sinclairs,⁵⁰

The common people are kept here in great servi-
tude, and most of their time is given to their
Lairds, an invincible impediment to the prosper-
ity of the county. 51

47. Pennant, op. cit., p. 218.

48. Ibid., pp. 83-4.

49. Ibid., p. 209.

50. See my section dealing with the Ossian controversy.

51. Pennant, op. cit., p. 183.

Pennant confirms Martin's assertion that the people had artistic inclinations.

Vocal musick was much in vogue amongst them, and their songs were chiefly in praise of their antient heroes. I was told that they still have fragments of the story of Fingal and others, which they carrol as they go along; these vocal traditions are the foundations of the works of Ossian. 52

In contrast to Burt, he found the people lazy.

The manners of the native Highlanders may justly be expressed in these words: indolent to a high degree, unless roused to war, or to any animating amusement; or I may say, from experience, to lend any disinterested assistance to the distressed traveller. 53

He found rents still being paid in kind, and superstitions still being practised. Burt had seen women working, and the situation had not changed, though their priorities of adornment were peculiar. At Slains

most of the labor on shore is performed ... by the women: they will carry as much fish as two men can lift on their shoulders, and when they have sold their cargo and emptied their basket, will re-place part of it with stones: they go sixteen miles to sell or barter their fish; are very fond of finery, and will load their fingers with trumpery rings, when they want both shoes and stockings. 54

In the matter of religious observance, he sees the chiefs as setting an example by the simplicity of their lifestyles, and the

52. Pennant, op. cit., p. 196.

53. Ibid., p. 193.

54. Ibid., p. 131.

clergy as active agents keeping communities in check, for

the common people of the North are disposed to be religious, having the example before them of a gentry untainted by luxury and dissipation, and the advantage of being instructed by a clergy, who are active in their duty, and who preserve respect, amidst all the disadvantages of a narrow income. 55

But Pennant's praise of the 'gentry' does not square with the harsh facts of encumbered estates and bankruptcy through extravagant living in the south.

Praising the industrial activity of Perthshire, Pennant says that

much of this may be owing to the good sense and humanity of the chieftain; but much again is owing to the abolition of the feudal tenures, or vassalage; for before that was effected, (which was done by the influence of a Chancellor, whose memory Scotland adores for that service) the Strong oppressed the Weak, the Rich the Poor. Courts indeed were held, and juries called; but juries of vassals, too dependent and too timid to be relied on for the execution of true justice. 56

This is fair and perceptive comment on the hereditary jurisdictions, but, like so many of Pennant's judgements on the Highlands, it is coloured by his zealous attempts to show that Scotland benefited from the Union of the Crowns, and that the Highlands benefited by defeat at Culloden. Furthermore, Pennant claims that the chiefs in residence during his tour had the interests of their people at heart, a point of view which does not square with the facts in general, and a point of view which could not have pleased his

55. Pennant, op. cit., p. 219.

56. Ibid., p. 93.

southern readers. The verdict on Pennant must be that he either did not look long enough and close enough, or that he falsified for the sake of being able to report with satisfaction a great improvement in the Highlands, brought about through defeat.

In 1773, four years after Pennant, Johnson and Boswell, two of the most literate men of their time, toured the Highlands. They took Martin's Description on their tour because, as Boswell recorded, this early Highland guide-book had made Johnson curious. They went because

Martin's Account of those islands had impressed us with a notion that we might there contemplate a system of life almost totally different from that what we had been accustomed to see ... 57

Presumably Johnson and Boswell expected that little would have changed, despite the fact that Martin's account was close to a hundred years old, and that there had been two rebellions. They must also have expected Martin to be accurate, but Boswell criticised him in a note written in the first edition of the Description taken on their Hebridean tour.⁵⁸ Boswell complained that Martin's travelogue

is a very imperfect performance; & he is erroneous as to many particulars, even some concerning his own island. Yet as it is the only Book upon the subject it is very generally known.

What did Johnson and Boswell, and particularly Johnson, the greater of the two, think of the Highlands? Johnson's account was

57. Hill and Powell, op. cit., vol. V, p. 13.

58. This copy is in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

published two years after the journey, but Boswell's account did not appear until twelve years after the journey, and since Boswell is only reporting (albeit from written records) Johnson's remarks, I shall use Johnson's Journey, and therefore his own written account.

Following Pennant, Johnson feels that Scotland and the Highlands benefited from the 1707 Union, for

Till the Union made them acquainted with English manners, the culture of their lands was unskilful, and their domestick life unformed; their tables were coarse as the feasts of Eskimeaux, and their houses filthy as the cottages of Hottentots. 59

This is what Johnson suspected from Martin's Description,
but

We came thither too late to see what we expected, a people of peculiar appearance, and a system of antiquated life. The clans retain little now of their original character, their ferocity of temper is softened, their military ardour is extinguished, their dignity of independence is depressed, their contempt of government subdued, and their reverence for their chiefs abated. 60

But Johnson, unlike Pennant and, more overtly than Burt, is sympathetic. The great lexicographer might not understand the Gaelic language, but he recognises that language is the primary root of a culture.

Of what they had before the late conquest of their country, there remain only their language and their poverty. Their language is attacked on every side. Schools are erected, in which English only is taught, and there were lately some who thought it reasonable to refuse them a version of the holy

59. Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland. (London, 1775), p. 57. (Surprisingly, not in ALC).

60. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 127-28.

scriptures, that they might have no monument
of their mother-tongue. 61

Johnson questions the logic of the Lowland attitude towards
the Highlands.

They are strangers to the language and the man-
ners, to the advantages and wants of the people,
whose life they would model, and whose evils
they would remedy. 62

In the Hebrides Johnson encounters emigration, and remarks:

it affords a legislator little self-applause to
consider, that where there was formerly an insur-
rection, there is now a wilderness. 63

But this eminently rational man refuses to get emotional about the
subject. The emigrant brigs Nestor and Margaret of Clyde are wait-
ing off Skye, and some of the people Johnson and Boswell meet, includ-
ing the legendary Flora MacDonald, saviour of the Prince, are bound
for North Carolina, led there by dreams and dispossessed tacksmen.
Johnson debates the problem at length, and with reason. Is there
not a possibility of establishing new clans abroad, because men of
substance - born leaders - have gone also?⁶⁴ But again, John-
son is suspicious of stories of well-off and poor settlers. He
wonders: if the Hebrides are emptied by emigration, will people
come from the south and take the places of the departed?

He acknowledges the contribution made by the Highlands to the
military defence and extension of Great Britain.

61. Johnson, op. cit., p. 128.

62. Ibid., p. 201.

63. Ibid., pp. 224-25.

64. Ibid., p. 229.

For a campaign in the wastes of America,
soldiers better qualified could not have
been found. 65

Like Burt and Pennant, he has to report poor housing, for

The petty tenants, and labouring peasants,
live in miserable cabins, which afford them
little more than shelter from the storms. 66

He is suspicious of the powers of the landed class, for he recognises
that

The Laird at pleasure can feed or starve, can
give bread, or withhold it. 67

The kelp boom has begun in the Hebrides, and the tenants collecting
the weed on the shores

consider the profits ... as the mere product
of personal labour, to which the landlord con-
tributes nothing, 68

though the landlords were to take the lion's share, and squander it
in the south. Johnson sees how vulnerable the chiefs are to corrup-
tion by forces external to the Hebrides, for

since money has been brought amongst them, they
have found, like others, the art of spending
more than they receive. 69

As regards religion, he rages angrily and eloquently that

the malignant influence of Calvinism has blas-
ted ceremony and decency together. 70

But, as well as problems of creed, there are problems of maintenance,
for

65. Johnson, op. cit., p. 191.

67. Ibid., p. 195.

69. Ibid., p. 194.

66. Ibid., p. 234.

68. Ibid., p. 184.

70. Ibid., p. 146.

the want of churches is not the only impediment to piety: there is likewise a want of Ministers. 71

Like Burt and Pennant before him, Johnson saw women engaged in manual labour. On Raasay

The women reaped the corn, and the men bound up the sheaves. 72

But were the Hebridean women attractive? The aging widower debates this, and concludes that

Supreme beauty is seldom found in cottages or work-shops, even where no real hardships are suffered. 73

The inns are 'tolerable' and deplorable, but the latter type, as in Burt's time, is predominant.

Out of one of the beds, on which we were to repose, started up, at our entrance, a man black as a Cyclops from the forge. 74

Despite the dirt and the ignorance, Johnson says that

Civility seems part of the national character of Highlanders, 75

a judgement neither Burt nor Pennant would have agreed with.

Johnson attacks Martin, and broods on the problem of second sight. Like Martin and Pennant he gives a detailed account of the landscape and its inhabitants, but there the similarity ends. Johnson's account is a literary masterpiece, greater by far than Burt's.

71. Johnson, op. cit., p. 282.

72. Ibid., p. 139.

73. Ibid., pp. 190-81.

74. Ibid., pp. 105-6.

75. Ibid., p. 60.

It combines close observation, acute reasoning, great learning and style. A good part of the Journey is concerned with Johnson's thoughts on the Ossian controversy, but I leave that until later in this study.

A man of great learning, Samuel Johnson was also a great humanist, and in his Journey he showed that he understood the major problems confronting the post-Culloden Highlands. Moreover, he clearly sympathised with the plight of the people, emigrating or otherwise. Yet when the Journey appeared in 1775, when Scott was a small boy, all Scotland complained that the English sage's account was false and slanderous. Even David Hume criticised it, and criticism, in book-form, also came from the Highlands.⁷⁶ Boswell's book was published in 1785, when Scott was fourteen, and it met with the same fierce reception. Braver or more reckless than Burt, Boswell named names. He was snubbed in the Court of Session, and Lord Macdonald looked for a duel. But, to a greater extent than Burt's Letters, Johnson and Boswell's books were works of art as well as travelogues. They had a tremendous reception in the literary world, and they were to inspire other literary figures⁷⁷ to go to the Highlands.

Despite the controversies, all the books mentioned in this chapter were valuable, and for different reasons. Martin had shown the different conditions of the Hebrides and the mainland Highlands in the days before the momentous Union. Burt had shown the different conditions of town and country between the two rebellions.

76. See Rev. D. McNicol, M.A., Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides, London, 1799.

77. The Wordsworths and Southey, for instance.

Pennant had shown that counties differed in the effects produced by the two rebellions. Johnson and Boswell had shown how individual islands, and the Hebrides collectively differed from the mainland. They also showed social and cultural changes produced by the '45.

Though these travellers were reporting a hundred turbulent years of Highland history, their accounts tallied on certain details. All agreed that the condition of the common people was precarious, if not deplorable, with the gap between chief and clansman widening as the eighteenth century aged. All reported squalid dwellings shared with domestic animals, an excessive addiction to alcohol, superstitions and their chiefs, and a serious lack of employment. Dirt, disease, ignorance and idleness were the enemies of the people, and the chiefs, who could have helped, did little or nothing. Apparently the legislative measures after the '45 had not brought the expected benefits, for chief and clansman had not been separated. They were only pushed wider apart, and while the chief seemed to prosper, the clansmen sunk further into squalor at home, or sailed to promised lands.

Martin's attempt to sell the Hebrides to prospective settlers is therefore doubly ironic. He urged:

If any Man be dispos'd to live a solitary
retir'd Life, and to withdraw from the Noise
of the World, he may have a Place of Retreat
there in a small Island, or in the corner of
a large one, where he may enjoy himself, and
live at a very cheap rate. 78

His offer was not to be taken up until the present century, and with

78. Martin, op. cit., p. 338.

the last proviso no longer applying.

All these writers had combined fact and style (and sheer imagination sometimes, as in the case of Burt) to create a prose literature about the Highlands, and draw attention to them, for one reason or another. But Martin was the only native Highlander, and because he was a native of the Hebrides and a factor he was biased, even towards his own people. The common people of the Highlands had no spokesman to present their case in the south, and moreover, in terms of fiction, there were no Highland writers, hardly surprising in an orally inclined culture. Thus southern travellers could make fiction masquerade as fact, to amuse the southern public, and who but the literate chiefs could challenge them?

For prospective detractors of the Highlands had the support of leading Scottish historians whose ignorant caustic comments showed the Highland/Lowland schism. A better philosopher than historian, the great Hume was biased. In his History of England (1754-61)⁷⁹ he called the Highlanders 'savage,' 'ignorant,' 'barbarous' and 'ferocious.' Pinkerton was no kinder. In his Enquiry into the History of Scotland Preceding the Reign of Malcolm III, or the Year 1056, (1789) he claimed that the Highlanders played no part in Scottish history after 1056, except as thieves. To Pinkerton, the Highlanders were 'Celtic cattle'. Not only were they 'absolute savages,' but,

like Indians and Negroes, will ever continue
so. 80

79. ALC., 1796-1800 ed., incl. Smollett's 5 vol. Continua.

80. Pinkerton, Enquiry, 1789 ed., vol. I, p. 340. ALC., 1789 ed., also 1797 ed.

It was a phrase that was to considerably anger Scott. Malcolm Laing in his History of Scotland (1800)⁸¹ discussed the ferocity of the clans, and Patrick Fraser Tytler in his History of Scotland wrote about the savagery of the Highlanders which slaughtered chivalry. Of a sixteenth century Hebridean gentleman, he had this to say:

the moment his foot touched the heather, the
gay courtier became a rampant and blood-bols-
tered savage. 82

On the other hand, Sir John Dalrymple (one of the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland) in his Memoirs of Great Britain (1771-88)⁸³ portrayed the Highlanders as being a music and poetry-loving people. Perhaps the greatest of all Scottish historians, Lord Hailes in his Annals of Scotland (1776-79)⁸⁴ was sympathetic to the northern dwellers.⁸⁵ Scott's fairness and determination to take the bad with the good is shown in his curriculum for a course in Scottish history. He will have Hailes, Pinkerton, Robertson and Laing.⁸⁶

The task of furnishing works of fiction for the Highlands by using their history would fall to Scott, or rather, be chosen by him, but only after writing poetry. Paradoxically, in portraying the Highlands of old, Scott would plunder the works of the afore-mentioned

81. ALC., 1800 ed.

82. P.F. Tytler, History of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1828-43), vol. IX, p. 286. ALC., 1828 - ed.

83. ALC., 1790 ed.

84. ALC., 1776 ed., also 1819 ed.

85. Scott said that 'Lord Hailes was the first who introduced accuracy into Scottish History.' (Letter to Richard Polwhele, Grierson, Letters, vol. III, p. 425).

86. Grierson, Letters, IV, p. 322; VI, p. 320; VIII, p. 48, p.444; Journal, p. 378. For Scott's receipe for a Highland history, see Letters, III, p. 116.

Scottish historians, some of them very unsympathetic. The same process would be repeated with regard to the travelogues (some of them cynical) of southerners in the Highlands. But first, Scott had to become personally acquainted with the Highlands, and to do this he had to become yet another Highland traveller.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HIGHLANDS:

SCOTT'S PERSONAL APPROACH

If he is quite accurate in referring his first acquaintance with the Highlands to his fifteenth year, this incident¹ also belongs to the first season of his apprenticeship. His father had, among a rather numerous list of Highland clients, Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, an enthusiastic Jacobite, who had survived to recount, in secure and vigorous old age, his active experiences in the insurrections both of 1715 and 1745.²

Thus, if Scott was born in 1771, and not 1770, and if his memory served him faithfully, he was first in the Highlands in 1786, two years after the restoration of the forfeited estates, and thirteen years after Johnson and Boswell's tour. Travelling on horses, the two Scotts went via Perthshire, and the scenery which was to have a major place in his Highland poems and novels made a profound impression on the youth.

I recollect pulling up the reins without meaning to do so, and gazing on the scene before me as if I had been afraid it would shift like those in a theatre, before I could distinctly observe its different parts, or convince myself that what I saw was real. Since that hour, and the period is now more than fifty years past, the recollection of that inimitable landscape has possessed the strongest influence over my mind, and retained its place as a memorable thing, when much that was influential on my own fortunes has fled from my recollection. 3

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1. The 'incident' is explained later.
 2. Lockhart, Life, p. 38.
 3. Lockhart (Life, p. 38) says that this passage comes from 'the Introduction to one of his Novels.' It comes from Ch. 1 of The Fair Maid of Perth (1832 Magnum Opus ed., p. 22).

Travelling that road twenty years before the Scotts, Pennant had exclaimed:

The pass into the Highlands is awefully
magnificent 4

and he had praised the quality of the road, which was part of Wade's programme of 1725-1736, with Edward Burt, author of the Letters, allegedly assisting. But travellers to the Highlands via Perthshire were not always to enjoy such good conditions, for none of the roads built by Thomas Telford between 1803 and 1814 were in Perthshire, and when

In 1814 the Government decided to discontinue the whole upkeep at public expense of the military roads, Perthshire alone refused to undertake the share of the future maintenance cost which would thus fall on the local proprietors, 5

several of which were to become Scott's friends. In fact,

so bad did⁶ the Perthshire roads become that, as Southey records, the drivers of coaches bound for the north had to reassure their alarmed passengers that the sudden bumping signified not an accident to the vehicle, but its entry into that county. 7

It is well worth pointing out the post 1814 state of the Perthshire roads here, for, apart from normal wear and tear, a major reason for their decline was the tourist traffic by carriage caused by the publication of The Lady of the Lake in 1810.⁸

4. Pennant, op. cit., p. 92.

5. Haldane, op. cit., p. 170.

6. Southey toured Scotland in 1819, at the invitation of his friend Telford, and published a journal.

7. Haldane, op. cit., p. 170.

8. For Cadell's remarks on this subject, see the section dealing with The Lady of the Lake.

Though they had a system of good roads to follow, the Scotts would not have been equipped with detailed maps, a condition that would restrict sightseeing, and discourage diversions from the beaten track. Cartography was still a young science, a point of crucial importance in considering the choice of routes open to eighteenth century Highland travellers. John Elphinstone's New and Correct Mercator Map of Great Britain was published two months before the '45 began, and it is said to have been used by both sides. There seems little doubt that Charles Edward Stuart had a copy when he crossed the Corrieyairack in pursuit of Cope. One of the weaknesses of this map was that the lochs of the Great Glen (an important strategic centre, with a garrison at Fort Augustus) were out of alignment.⁹ The Great Military Survey, the precursor of the Ordnance Survey, was begun in 1747, and finished by 1755, but the results were not made available until 1807, too late for the great eighteenth century travellers. Taylor and Skinner's 1776 Surveys and Maps of the Roads of Scotland were the best maps of the eighteenth century, and even if Scott and his father had them in their saddle-bags, they did not show in detail sites of antiquity and gentlemen's seats, aspects of life the younger Scott was to become increasingly interested in.

9. Most of these Highland travellers took the same well-tested routes and saw the same places. Loch Ness, in the Great Glen, was a favourite stopping place, and almost every tour I have read (and there are many) mentions that Loch Ness never freezes in winter, because the water is so sulphurous. Who, I wonder, began this rumour, which Johnson treated with characteristic caution? Incidentally, not one traveller mentions a monster in Loch Ness. For Scott's interest in monsters, see Grierson Letters, II, 317; IV, 127, 145; IX, 95; X, 243.

Scott and his father were bound for Appin, Argyllshire, to visit, either on business or pleasure, or both, Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle. There was a choice of approach.

From the junction at Tyndrum the road led on over the Black Mount to Fort William, Inverness and Fort George 10

and there was a road to Connel Ferry, which served the Appin district. The Black Mount road was a drove road, and a shorter and less hazardous route than via Connel Ferry. Travelling from Inveraray to Oban¹¹ towards the close of the eighteenth century, Mrs Grant of Laggan complained of

the endless Moor ... without any road except a small footpath through which our guide conducted the horses with difficulty. 12

Moreover, the ferry at Connel was dangerous because of the Falls of Lora, and especially with horses in the boat. Dorothy Wordsworth toured the Highlands in 1803 with her famous brother and Coleridge, and a horse crossing Connel Ferry in the boat with her almost caused a tragedy. But Miss Wordsworth could report that an excellent road led from Ballachulish to Glencoe and from Dalmally towards the Pass of Brander, Loch Awe.

But if the road over the Black Mount was superior, it was also sadder, because it led through Glencoe, a sombre reminder of

10. Haldane, op. cit., p. 10.

11. Connel Ferry is five miles from Oban. In 1810 Scott 'travelled slowly with his own horses, through Argyleshire, as far as Oban.' Lockhart, Life, p. 197.

12. Mrs Anne Grant of Laggan, Letters from the Mountains, (London, 1845) Vol. I, p. 12. Not a great literary figure, but an interesting social historian.

southern attempts to force the Highlands to conform to the laws of the kingdom. Breadalbane, a Highland chief, and Dalrymple, sole Secretary of State and a Lowlander, plotted, and the monarch William III endorsed the plan. The massacre was then carried out by Campbell of Chesthill, a Highlander in the service of the Crown, and, worse still, a Highlander claiming the traditional right of Highland hospitality in order to 'execute' his instructions. Thus Glencoe was both a national and a domestic issue, impeaching the integrity of the throne and showing how Highland hatred could be translated into terrible violence. The issue was about the perversion of justice for, although late, MacIain had duly taken the Oath of Allegiance. It is probable that Scott was remembering his first visit to Invernahyle's when he wrote to Miss Smith from Edinburgh on 18 December 1810, with regard to the dramatisation of The Lady of the Lake:

The mad Lowland captive if well played should
I think answer.¹³ I wish I could give you
an idea of the original, whom I really saw in
the Pass of Glencoe many years ago. It is
one of the wildest and most tremendous passes
in the Highlands, winding through huge masses
of rock without a pile of verdure, and between
mountains that seem rent asunder by an earth-
quake.¹⁴

Though the Massacre of Glencoe, a focal point of Highland history, was never Scott's theme in a novel,¹⁵ it is referred to in his

13. The 'captive' is Blanch of Devon.

14. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 411.

15. Perhaps because it is a horror story.

writings.¹⁶ In The Highland Widow the distraught old woman wails:

'They came in peace, and were received in
friendship, and blood and fire arose, and
screams and murder,'

but her son, the deserter, insists:

'there is not a drop of the blood of Glencoe
on the noble hand of Barcaldine - with the
unhappy house of Glenlyon the curse remains'
(p.170)¹⁷

But MacIain's frantic journey to Inveraray to take the Oath was delayed by a night's forced confinement in the Barcaldine dungeons.¹⁸

Scott also wrote a poem 'On the Massacre of Glencoe'.

Then woman's shriek was heard in vain,
Nor infancy's unpitied pain,
More than the warrior's groan, could gain
Respite from ruthless butchery!
The winter wind that whistled shrill,
The snows that night that cloaked the hill,
Though wild and pitiless, had still
Far more than Southron clemency. 19

But the Massacre of Glencoe might have spread further, for the Stewarts of Appin were included in a list of clans to be destroyed 'intearly.' This is contained in a letter written by Lord Stair and signed by William III, but the plan was dropped because the Stewarts were seen to be too powerful.

16. See also Tales of a Grandfather, Second Series, Vol. IV, chap. LVIII.

17. The woman Scott saw in Glencoe may well have given him ideas for the character of Elspat MacTavish in The Highland Widow. See relevant section.

18. But it seems that he was too late, anyway, because although the Oath was administered by humane Ardkinglas, the high powers never intended to process it.

19. First published in Thomson's Select Melodies, 1814. The poem proves that Scott (at least as regards the Massacre) was not frightened of offending the Argyll family, his social acquaintances. But see my remarks on the Appin Murder.

Lockhard recounts a confused story told to him by Scott about
 a) Scott's arrival at Invernahyle's residence on his first visit,
 or b) one of Scott's relatives arriving at a Campbell residence.
 Apparently the arriving visitor

found his host and three sons, and perhaps
 half-a-dozen attendant gillies, all stretch-
 ed half asleep in their tartans upon the
 heath, with guns and dogs, and a profusion
 of game about them; while in the courtyard,
 far below, appeared a company of women, ac-
 tively engaged in loading a cart with manure.

20

Descending to the scene, the visitor finds to his astonishment that
 it is the laird's lady, and her daughters.²¹ But that is not the end
 of the anecdote. The unembarrassed ladies retire, but only to re-
 appear shortly, in fresh dresses, and glowing with good health.

Though Lockhart 'rather thinks' that this is a Campbell scene,
 it is still relevant here. In the first instance, it substantiates
 Martin's, Burt's, Pennant's and Johnson's accounts of women labouring.
 In the second instance, it shows that the '45 and the subsequent pro-
 hibition of weapons²² had not made the men full-time farmers.

Lockhart, Grierson, Johnson and other biographers either do
 not make it clear, or do not know that Scott and his father could
 not have visited the man Invernahyle at the place Invernahyle in
 1786 because

20. Lockhart, Life, p. 39.

21. Of which Invernahyle had nine apparently.

22. The act proscribing the wearing of the tartan, which was con-
 sidered a much more severe act than the Disarming one, was repeal-
 ed in 1782.

Alexander, in the year 1778, exchanged with Major John Campbell of Airds, his lands of Invernahyle, Inverpholla, and Garrachoran, for the lands of Acharn, Belloch, Keill and others, and afterwards sold Belloch and Keill.

23

This information comes from The Stewarts of Appin, by John H.J. Stewart and Lieut-Col. Duncan Stewart, published in Edinburgh in 1880, but for private circulation only.²⁴ Though this book should be the definitive genealogical account of the Stewarts of Appin and their septs because the authors repeatedly claim that they have had access to family papers, it is sadly lacking in such essential details as dates of birth and demise, marriage and succession. Yet this is the source almost all publications referring to the Appin Stewarts cite, including the DNB in its entry on Alexander, eighth of Invernahyle, Scott's friend. Comparing this book with other sources, the suspicion grows that the two Stewart genealogists are suppressing, if not distorting facts for the sake of their dead, including Alexander of Invernahyle. I hope to show, if not to solve some of the mysteries surrounding Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle.

More hill than heath, Appin lies along the shore of Loch Lhinnie in Argyllshire, in sight of the holy isle of Lismore. It is the heart of Stewart country,²⁵ the remnants of the ancient kingdom of the Lords of Lorn, hard won, lost and regained by charter and dispute from the avaricious Argyll dynasty. Castle Stalcaire,

23. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 175.

24. There is a copy in the University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections section.

25. Or was, since only the Achnacone sept endures. I am indebted to Brigadier Iain Stewart of Achnacone for a fruitful discussion on the history of the Stewarts of Appin.

Falconer's Isle, at the entrance to Loch Laich, was the stronghold of the Stewart Lords of Lorn in the fifteenth century, and then a hunting seat of the Scottish king. But Stalcaire was lost forever to the Stewarts when an impulsive chief wagered his garrison against an eight-oared birlinn, the winner being Campbell of Airds. Stewart of Appin was the chief of the clan, and the families of Ard-sheal, Achnacone, Fasnacloich and Invernahyle formed the septs.

The estate of Invernahyle lay on the shore of Loch Creran, close to the lands of Appin, Airds and Achnacone. Across the loch were the considerable Campbell lands of Barcaldine. The Invernahyle sept derived directly from the Appin principality, the first of Invernahyle being Alexander, styled 'Tiochail', or 'the peaceful one.' The youngest son of Appin, Alexander was granted the Invernahyle lands by his father after the clan's return from Flodden in 1513. The second of Invernahyle was 'Domhnall-nan-ord,' or 'Donald of the hammers.' On 22 February 1817, Scott wrote to Joseph Train, excise officer and antiquarian, gratefully acknowledging receipt of a manuscript dealing with the genealogy of the Invernahyle family, and particularly with 'Donald of the hammers'. Scott made use of this manuscript for an 1818 edition of Burt's Letters, and he also condensed it into sixteen pages for Tales of a Grandfather.

As was the case in most parts of the Highlands, clan cohesion and continuity at Appin were ensured by intermarriage, sometimes to the extent of almost incestuous relationships, despite the lapse of centuries. But there were, in times of peace, unions with traditional enemies. Thus, Duncan, seventh of Invernahyle and father of Alexander, Scott's friend, married the daughter of Campbell of

Barcaldine.²⁶

The Invernahyle sept and the other septs followed the Appin banner to the field of battle. Alexander, fourth of Invernahyle forfeited his estate in the Montrose wars. 'Bonnie Dundee', the subject of Scott's spontaneous song,²⁷ declared for James VII in 1689, and was supported by the Appin Stewarts. According to the Stewart genealogists, Duncan, seventh of Invernahyle was 'out' in the '15, under the Earl of Mar,

but his father having remained at home the estate was not forfeited. 28

Time and time again in his writings Scott insists that his friend Alexander, eighth of Invernahyle was 'out' in the '15. Likewise the Stewart genealogists, yet neither Scott nor these genealogists can furnish the date of Alexander's birth. The genealogists claim to have consulted family papers, and Scott (whose father was Alexander's law agent) must surely have prepared or handled papers requiring or showing such information. Furthermore, in the letter to Train previously referred to, Scott asserts that

Alexander Stewart, with whom the pedigree concludes, was my father's most intimate friend.

29

The two Stewart genealogists claim that Invernahyle 'died

26. Perhaps this family connection made Scott make the two Mac-Tavishs dependent on Barcaldine in The Highland Widow. See relevant section.

27. 'The air of "Bonnie Dundee" running in my head today I /wrote/ a few verses to it before dinner' (Journal, 22 Dec. 1825, p.45).

28. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 172.

29. Grierson, Letters, vol. IV, p. 394.

at an advanced age in 1795,³⁰ and therefore he must have been a very young man in the '15. But in 1752 Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, witness in the Appin Murder trial, gave his age as forty-four years. Thus, by his own admission, he was born in 1708 and was therefore seven years of age in 1715. Now, granted that Highland armies sometimes had camp followers,³¹ it does not seem likely that a child of seven would either be taken with, or allowed to follow, an engaged army, and especially when the principal Highland weapon was the heavy claymore. Moreover, if the Stewart genealogists are correct in stating that Dugald, seventh of Invernahyle and Alexander's father was 'out' in the '15, this means that while the grandfather stayed at home, the son (age unknown) and the grandson and heir (aged seven) were together on the battlefield. Quite clearly this would have been murdering succession. The fascinating question is: did Scott know that his friend Alexander was only seven at the time of the '15? Furthermore: what portion of Invernahyle's impressive tales related to the '15? Was it second-hand information Scott was receiving?

Appin went to war in 1745, but Dugald Stewart the chief stayed at home. The two Stewart genealogists reproduce the old story that Dugald

was a boy of tender years when Prince Charles unfurled the Royal Standard in Glenfinlas in 1745, and the clan was consequently led by the Tutor, Charles Stewart, fifth of Ardsheal. 32

30. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 175.

31. At Culloden mere boys fought, but they were older than seven, and they were not heirs. Youthful spectators also became tragically involved in the after-victory rampaging.

32. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 124.

Yet in his Memorials Murray of Broughton,³³ the Prince's Secretary who turned King's Evidence, claims that when he was seeking support for the '45, he met Dugald Stewart of Appin in 1744, and he was a man. The reason why Stewart genealogists propagated the myth of the juvenile chief is related to the fear of a second forfeiture, since the Appin estates were forfeited after the '15. Dugald simply could not afford to go 'out', and in fact his estates were sequestrated after the '45, with Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle being appointed factor.³⁴

There is also a mystery surrounding Charles Stewart, fifth of Ardsheal. According to the two Stewart genealogists, Ardsheal fought and defeated Rob Roy with the sword at Balquidder, a claim substantiated in The Dewar Manuscripts.³⁵ But in his Introduction to Rob Roy, Scott claims that it was Invernahyle and not Ardsheal who was Rob Roy's successful opponent. Scott's source is 'the account of Invernahyle himself', and an extant engraving of the contest seems to substantiate his claim.³⁶

33. For the episode of 'Broughton's saucer', in which Scott's father threw out of the window china Murray had drank from, see Lockhart, Life, p. 49. It is important to note that Scott had access to transcripts of Murray's controversial MS memoirs long before they were published. He therefore knew some of the Stewart of Appin mysteries. See Memorials of John Murray of Broughton, ed. R.F. Bell, Scot. Hist. Soc. Edinburgh, 1898.

34. This information comes from unpublished Cameron papers in my possession, now deposited in the University of Glasgow Archives.

With regard to money matters, they cast Invernahyle in a bad light.

35. The Dewar Manuscripts, ed., Rev. J. MacKechnie (Glasgow, 1964), vol. I, pp. 162-64. Dewar, a woodcutter, was employed by the eighth Duke of Argyll as a collector of folktales.

36. See Margaret MacLaren, The MacLarens, Stirling, 1960.

Appin went to war in the '45, but the chief remained at home because he feared forfeiture. On 19 August, the Prince's Standard was raised at Glenfinnan. According to 'An Account of Proceedings From Prince Charles' Landing to Prestonpans', that same day, in the evening,

Stuart of Innerhayle came from Appin to acquaint the Prince that his men would join him in a few days, 37

'his men' presumably referring to the Appin Stewarts, and not the Invernahyle sept, since Ardsheal would have sent him as a messenger.

The schedule now comes from State Papers. The Appin Stewarts,

to the number of 260 men, joined the Prince at Invergarry on 26th August under the command of Charles Stewart of Ardshiel, kinsman of the Chief, Dugald Stewart of Appin.

This number took part in the battle of Prestonpans, and, according to Patullo, their strength had risen in numbers to 360 before the march into England. 38

Despite their claim to have access to family papers, the two Stewart genealogists borrow heavily from Scott for their biography of Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, and one source they cite is the anonymous review of Tales of My Landlord in the January 1817 issue of the Quarterly Review. The reviewer is obviously Scott, albeit of his own book, and having characteristically questioned the value of his own work, he proceeds to give a long account of Invernahyle's

37. Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, vol. IX, (Edinburgh, 1958) p. 209.

38. The Prisoners of the '45, ed. J.G. Arnot, Scot. Hist. Soc., (Edinburgh, 1928) vol. I, p. 323.

adventures in the '45 and after.³⁹ There were approximately 360 Stewarts from Appin at Preston(pans), and when, in the morning, the Highlanders had made

their memorable attack, a battery of four field pieces was stormed and carried by the Camerons and the Stewarts of Appine. The late Alexander Stuart of Invernahyle was one of the foremost in the charge,⁴⁰ and observed an officer of the King's forces, who, scorning to join the flight of all around, remained with his sword in his hand, as if determined to the very last to defend the post assigned to him. The Highland gentleman commanded him to surrender, and received for reply a thrust which he caught in his target. The officer was now defenceless, and the battle-axe of a gigantic Highlander (the miller of Invernahyle's mill) was uplifted to dash his brains out, when Mr. Stuart with difficulty prevailed on him to surrender. He took charge of his enemy's property, protected his person, and finally obtained his liberty on his parole. The officer proved to be Colonel Allan Whiteford, of Ballochmyle, in Ayrshire, a man of high character and influence, and warmly attached to the house of Hanover; yet such was the confidence existing between these two honourable men, though of different political principles, that while the civil war was raging, and straggling officers from the Highland army were executed without mercy,⁴¹ Invernahyle hesitated

39. This review is reproduced in the Introduction to Waverley.

40. He would be thirty-seven years of age, if his testimony at the Appin Murder trial was correct.

41. Here Scott adds a footnote: 'As was the case with MacDonald of Kinloch-moidart.'

not to pay his late captive a visit as he went back to the Highlands to raise fresh recruits, when he spent a few days among Colonel Whiteford's whig friends as pleasantly and good humouredly as if all had been at peace around him.⁴²

Invernahyle's return to Appin to 'raise fresh recruits' must have occurred between the victory of Prestonpans and the halt at Stirling, for

when the army reached Stirling there was a reinforcement of 150 men under Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle. 43

This reinforcement, counting the original number which joined at Invergarry, made a total of 410 Appin Stewarts in the field. But, the hazards of war duly accounted for, Arnot states that between Stirling and the battle of Falkirk

there must have been many desertions, as, according to Elcho, only 300 fought at Falkirk. 44

Charles of Ardsheal was in command of the Appin Stewarts, but he was also a member of the Prince's Council of War. Still, he seems to have only delegated to Invernahyle the duty of going home to Appin for more men. Although 'a bashfull man of few words' (Murray's phrase), Dugald of Appin, Invernahyle's brother-in-law, might well have been playing Lord Lovat's cunning game of giving some support in case the Jacobites won. But why such heavy desertion

42. Q.R., Jan 1817, p. 433.

43. Arnot, op. cit., p. 323. Also Origins of the Forty-Five, ed. W.B. Blaikie, Scot. Hist. Soc. (Edinburgh, 1916), p. 86.

44. Arnot, op. cit., p. 323.

among the Appin men? Granted, desertion was common in the '45, but not so early in the campaign, with little booty available, and not so close to home. It seems, therefore, that there was reluctance or dispute in the Appin ranks, perhaps because Dugald the chief had stayed at home.

The Appin men 'formed part of Cromartie's force in the operations against Loudon in February-March 1746.'⁴⁵ The Stewart genealogists claim that

Letters are still in possession of the family written by Lochiel and Keppoch to Invernahyle, and by him to Donald Campbell, governor of Eilean-'n-Stalcair, which give a vivid picture of the events occurring in those troublous times, as well as the culture, principles, and feelings of the Highland gentlemen who were so deeply involved in them. 46

On 20 March 1746, Lochiel and Keppoch⁴⁷ write from Glen Nevis to Alexander of Invernahyle, who happens to be 'stationed contiguous to the Campbells.'⁴⁸ They wish, via Invernahyle, to register a protest at Campbell atrocities, and they say:

it is our special desire that you instantly communicate to Airds the Sheriff, and other leading men among them, our sentiments (which, God willing, we are determined to execute), by remitting this our letter, and the enclosed copy, to any most convenient to you.

Then follows a long argument as to why the Campbells should not be opposed to the Jacobites, who always pardoned enemies.

45. Arnot, op. cit., p. 323.

46. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 173.

47. I repeat: he was Dugald of Appin's brother-in-law, as was Invernahyle.

48. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 173.

But, in spite of all the lenity and clemency that a prince could show or promise, the Campbells have openly appeared with their wonted zeal for rebellion and usurpation in the most offensive manner; nor could we form a thought to ourselves that any men, endowed with reason or common sense, could use their fellow-creatures with such inhumanity and barbarity as they do, and of which we have such daily proofs by their burning of houses, stripping of women and children and exposing them to the open fields and severity of the weather, houghing of cattle and killing of horses - to enumerate the whole would be too tedious at this time. 49

This letter is historically important because it shows that atrocities were occurring before Culloden, and furthermore, atrocities perpetrated by Highlanders.

Invernahyle forwarded the Lochiel/Keppoch letter to Campbell, governor of Stalcaire, with a covering letter. Considering the gravity of the charges brought against the Campbells, and the fact that the '45 was rapidly moving to its tragic conclusion, Invernahyle's letter is disconcerting, to say the least. It is the letter of a man who wants the impossible - old Campbell friendships maintained, and victory for the Jacobites. But I would maintain that it is also the letter of an untrustworthy man. He was, after all, Dugald of Appin's brother-in-law, and Dugald seemed to be frightened of having his new charter from Argyll cancelled if he committed himself to the Jacobites. Invernahyle writes:

I am heartfelt sorry that the burning of houses and destruction of cattle is once begun in our country, which must be hurtful to both parties, and a loss to the conquerer, and make friends and neighbours that /wish/ well to one another's interests alter their sentiments. I own it is

the only part of the war that gives me most trouble. If my friends and I should differ about the government of the nation, I always thought it was better we decided in the field than bring our sentiments upon innocent wives and children, who may possibly differ in sentiments from their parents. You may see by the enclosed it is believed that my friends in Argyleshire have been the cause of this violent procedure. I shall be very sorry it hold true, as I still continue to have a value and friendship in private life for them, they being mostly my good friends and relations;⁵⁰ and I hope, if it is in their power, they will put a stop to it. I did not choose to be employed in forwarding such letters, but people, once engaged on either side of the question, must execute their orders. 51

Considering the general tone of double agency, almost, and the ominous implication of the last sentence, it is strange that the two Stewart genealogists chose to print this letter. The reader cannot help but ask: was Alexander of Invernahyle really the enthusiastic Jacobite which Scott took him to be?

A matter of days after the dispatch of these letters, Culloden occurred, and according to Elcho, the Appin Stewarts had 350 men in the field. Invernahyle escaped wounded after it was apparent that defeat was certain. So did other chiefs and chieftains, including the Prince himself, Lochiel (with broken ankles), Cluny Macpherson and Charles Stewart of Ardsheal. Keppoch, Dugald of Appin's brother-in-law and the co-signatory to the letter of protest about Campbell atrocities, was killed, but passed into legend

50. His father had married a daughter of Campbell of Barcaldine.

51. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 175. In terms of Invernahyle's apparent lack of enthusiasm for the cause, note also that he appears to have spent some time with Whiteford and his 'whig friends', as Scott has already informed us.

with his stirring invocation when the Macdonalds refused to charge.

Keppoch shouted:

'Mo Dhia, an do threig Clann mo chinnidhmi?'

'My God, have the children of my clan abandoned me?' 52

The fugitive leaders were to be mercilessly hunted by the dragoons, but Invernahyle had an eloquent and passionate spokesman in the Hanoverian camp, for, as Scott tells us,

after the battle of Culloden it was Colonel Whiteford's turn to strain every nerve to obtain Mr. Stuart's pardon. He went to the Lord Justice Clerk, to the Lord Advocate, and to all the officers of state, and each application was answered by the production of a list in which Invernahyle (as the good old gentleman was wont to express it) was 'marked with the sign of the beast!' 53

In the List of Rebels from 'Argyle North Collection' Invernahyle is described as

an Officer in the Rebel Army, & active in raising Appin's tenants. 54

Scott continues:

At length Colonel Whiteford went to the Duke of Cumberland. From him he also received a positive refusal. He then limited his request for the present, to a protection for Stuart's house, wife, children, and property. This was also refused by the Duke; on which Colonel Whiteford, taking his commission from his bosom, laid it on the table before his Royal Highness, and asked permission to retire from the service of a sovereign who did not know how to spare a vanquished enemy. The Duke was struck,

52. So well known, this cry needs no source.

53. Q.R., Jan 1817, pp. 433-34.

54. A List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion, ed. Rev. W. MacLeod, Scot. Hist. Soc. (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 287.

and even affected. He bade the Colonel take up his commission, and granted the protection he required with so much earnestness. 55

The rebel Invernahyle thereafter became unique of his kind. The Prince was wandering, Achnacarry, Lochiel's mansion, was plundered and fired,⁵⁶ Cluny Macpherson was to spend nine years in a cage on Ben Alder before he could go home, and Ardsheal could expect reprisals at Appin. But a letter of protection was issued,

just in time to save the house, corn and cattle, at Invernahyle, from the troops who were engaged in laying waste what it was the fashion to call 'the country of the enemy.' A small encampment of soldiers was formed on Invernahyle's property, which they spared while plundering the country around, and searching in every direction for the leaders of the insurrection, and for Stuart in particular.⁵⁷ He was much nearer them than they suspected; for hidden in a cave, (like the Baron of Bradwardine,)⁵⁸ he lay for many days within hearing of the sentinels, as they called their watch-word. His food was brought to him by one of his daughters, a child of eight years old,⁵⁹ whom Mrs. Stuart was under the necessity of entrusting with this commission, for her own motions

55. Q.R., Jan 1817, pp. 433-34.

56. On 28 May 1746, and with Lochiel in hiding nearby. A servant who knew where the plate was buried was brutally whipped, but would not tell.

57. But I cannot see why, since the English knew that Charles of Ardsheal was the acting leader of the Appin Stewarts. He surely was a much bigger prize than Invernahyle.

58. And like Lochiel, Ardsheal, and Lady Glenevis.

Ardsheal was supplied with food by a daughter of one of his tenants. This whole story, like the fight with Rob Roy, seems to be shared by two persons, Ardsheal and Invernahyle.

59. The Dewar Manuscripts support the story that Invernahyle was fed by his small daughter while he hid in a cave, and that he slept in his own house. But there is something wrong with the chronology of the Dewar version. Even before the pardon was granted, Invernahyle's house and family remained unmolested, which surely shows some local Hanoverian influence (Barcaldine?) at least. Dewar adds a note not in Scott's account: Whiteford went in person to Appin to deliver the pardon (Dewar, pp. 188-89).

and those of all her inmates were closely watched. With ingenuity beyond her years the child used to stray about among the soldiers, who were rather kind to her, and watch the moment when she was unobserved to steal into the thicket, when she deposited whatever small store of provisions she had in charge, at some marked spot, where her father might find it. Invernahyle supported life for several weeks, by means of these precarious supplies, and as he had been wounded in the battle of Culloden, the hardships which he endured were aggravated by great bodily pain. 60

Invernahyle apparently had a remarkable escape, for it was his habit to sleep in his own house and leave in the morning. Shot at and pursued one dawn, he escaped, but the dragoons returned to the house and accused 'Mrs Stuart' of harbouring proscribed traitors. The situation was saved by a wily old domestic claiming that the fugitive was a servant who could not stop for their commands, being 'deaf ... as a peat-stack'.

But others were less fortunate. In December 1746 the notorious Captain Caroline Scott rode up to Ardsheal House with a party of dragoons and demanded the keys from Mrs Stewart. When she protested, he dismissed her with a sneer, advising her to go to Appin House and seek the protection of her child-chief.⁶¹ Mrs Stewart took to the hills instead. Scott took two days to systematically gut the mansion. He sold the nails and lintels, and scattered the stones of one of the most beautiful seats in the west.

60. Q.R., Jan 1817, p. 434.

61. Another dimension to the Dugald of Appin mystery. Is it possible that the Stewarts wanted the Hanoverians to believe that their chief was only a minor? But then, Argyll, who granted the charter, knew. At any rate this taunt of Caroline Scott's is on record.

According to the Stewart genealogists, the family papers were destroyed.⁶²

The Stewart genealogists give statistics for the clan's casualties at Culloden, from a calculation by Alexander of Invernahyle. The grand total was ninety-two killed, and sixty-five wounded, which included the Invernahyle count of three killed, and eight wounded. Pardoned under the Act of Indemnity in 1747, according to Scott, Alexander returned to intact Invernahyle, which means that he must have been over a year in hiding.

But fate was not done with the Stewarts of Appin, for when the satisfied dragoons eventually withdrew, the warm ashes they left were fanned into flame through a new oppressor, a Campbell appointed by the Crown to factor the forfeited estates of Ardsheal and Callart,⁶³ the estates of Appin and Invernahyle remaining in their owners' charge because Dugald had not been 'out', and Alexander of Invernahyle was pardoned. The scene was set for one of the greatest mysteries and miscarriages of justice in Scottish history, the Appin Murder. It is necessary now to introduce the principal characters together with their interwoven but crucially important pedigrees, which previous writers on the subject have paid too little attention to.

1. Colin Campbell of Glenure, the eldest son of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure by his second wife, Lucia, daughter of the renowned Sir

62. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 134.

63. I mention Callart because Lady Callart was a sister of Charles of Ardsheal, and thus also of James of the Glen. As with Dugald of Appin, there was a mystery about Allan Cameron of Callart.

Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.⁶⁴ Through his mother Alexander of Invernahyle was a cousin of Glenure's, a fact that must be memorised.

Glenure fought with the Hanoverians in the '45, and was appointed factor of the forfeited estates of Ardsheal and Callart in 1748.

2. James Stewart of the Glen, or, 'Seumas a Ghlinne,' was acknowledged at the trial, and by Glenure, to be a natural brother of Charles of Ardsheal, who led the Stewarts in the '45, and who, attainted, apparently escaped to France in September, 1746. But the two Stewart genealogists say: 'At the trial he was described as reputed to be a natural brother of Charles of Ardsheal, but this seems more than doubtful.'⁶⁵ James was 'out' in the '45, but he seems to have been pardoned. He was first at Glenduror, then tenanted the farm of Acharn, on the land of Campbell of Airds, from 1751 onwards. He seems to have been on good terms with the exiled Ardsheal, whom he described as 'a very affectionate and loving brother.' Lady Ardsheal apparently held James in high esteem. When Glenure was appointed factor of the forfeited estates in Appin and Nether Lochaber he made James his deputy, allowing him to manage Ardsheal.

3. Allan Breck Stewart was the ward of the

64. Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, Chief of the Clan Cameron, by John Drummond of Balhaldy (?), ed. by James Mac-knight, were published by the Abbotsford Club in 1842, and by the Maitland Club in the same year. The Memoirs were written in 1733, and Scott was familiar with a MS copy, of which there were several. Sir Ewen, Macaulay's 'Ulysses of the north' may well have been a model for the Baron Bradwardine in Waverley.

65. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 140.

above-mentioned James of the Glen. Though stated to be an orphan child of Donald Stewart, a farmer and relative of James's, the pedigree of Allan Breck is mysterious. He began in the '45 as a Hanoverian and ended at Culloden a Jacobite. Like Ardsheal Allan Breck escaped to France, but he returned from time to time to Appin, to reside with James. A deserter from King George's service, Allan Breck had to watch his movements carefully, even in Appin.

The government factor Glenure and his deputy James of the Glen seem to have worked well enough together in the beginning, though Glenure must have known that James was actively assisting, through the adjustment of the Ardsheal rents, his distressed sister-in-law Lady Ardsheal and her children. Furthermore, there is a strong suspicion that the Ardsheal tenants were paying double rents, and that the fifty per cent share was being remitted regularly by James to the exiled Charles of Ardsheal in France, through Allan Breck Stewart.

But Colin of Glenure was having difficulty in collecting the rents, and on 2 November 1749, he petitions the Barons of Exchequer for them to send him

an order from General Churchill, the Commander-in-Chief, to the Commanding officer at Fort William, to give him the concurrence of the troops, if necessary, now that the Bills of Suspension are refused, and I at freedom to poind for the rents. Without such an order I'm affraid I need nott go ask for rents in Lochaber. 66

Glenure again, on 20 November 1749, this time complaining about rent collection at Mamore, part of Lochiel's forfeited estates:

nothing will doe with these Ruphians (amongst whom ther's scarce a man but was in the Rebellion) without the concurrence of the Troops to support me and the People I imploy in the Execution of my office. 67

But all is apparently in order at Ardsheal, for on 11 December 1749, Glenure gratefully acknowledges the receipt of a remittance from James of the Glen, saying, 'your payments are very good, for which I am obliged to you.'⁶⁸

Then Lady Ardsheal leaves for France, and on 28 March 1750, Glenure asks the Barons to have

without loss of time the Barons' orders how to proceed against Lady Ardsheal, who possessed a third part of Estate from Whitsunday, 1746, till Whitsunday, 1749, and is now in France. 69

The historical background to this drama must now be filled in. There was evidence that the Prince had visited London in 1750, and the 'Elibank plot' was therefore much on the mind of government. Questions were being asked as to how so many supporters of the Prince had managed to get leases on the forfeited estates in Appin and district. The result was that Glenure and his half-brother Barcaldine had come under suspicion of disloyalty to the Crown.

On 14 March, 1751 Glenure writes to his deputy James of the Glen:

After you left, ... something has occurred

67. Forfeited Estates Papers, p. 281.

68. Trial of James Stewart, p. 214.

69. Forfeited Estates Papers, p. 274.

that makes it necessary that you do not set any part of Ardshiel, Auchindarroch, or Aucharn, till I see you after my return from Inverary; which is the reason I run you this express. 70

Then, in the summer of 1751, Glenure was 'severely reprimanded' by the Barons for having let a farm on Mamore to John Cameron of Fassifern, brother of the attainted Lochiel. Though not actually 'out', Fassifern was looked upon with great suspicion by the government.⁷¹ Early in 1752 Allan Breck Stewart returns from France, a 'desperate foolish fellow' swaggering about Appin in

a blue coat and metal buttons and old red vest and breeches of the same colour, 72

items of clothing that were to be referred to ad nauseam at the trial.

Although the Barons stated, on 9 April 1752, with regard to Glenure and Barcaldine:

as to the two Campbells, we cannot, upon the strictest enquiry, find the least suspicion of their disloyalty, 73

Jacobite tenants on the Ardsheal estate were ordered to remove at Whitsunday 1752. Glenure obtained the Sheriff's authority to evict them, but James of the Glen went to Edinburgh to petition the Barons and have the order revoked. But there was no immediate sitting of

70. Trial of James Stewart, p. 215.

71. For Fassifern's fears, see 'Memorial from Ffasfern,' ed. J.R.N. MacPhail, in Highland Papers, Scot. Hist. Soc. (Edinburgh, 1920) vol. III, pp. 42-51.

From the Cameron papers I have deposited in the University of Glasgow Archives it seems that Fassifern was implicated in the Appin Murder, as well as the 'distribution' of the Locharkaig gold.

72. Trial of James Stewart, p. 8.

73. Ibid., p. 10.

the Exchequer Court, and James was back in Appin when his petition was refused on 5 May. Glenure left Edinburgh two days later, to return to Appin and carry out the evictions at Ardsheal. But first he went to Fort William, returning from there on 14 May. Legend insists that he said, having crossed the Ballachulish Ferry: 'I am safe, now that I am out of my mother's country'.

On the evening of this same day Glenure on horseback, with a party of three was passing through Lettermore wood when he was shot in the back.

Within a week James of the Glen was in custody, charged with being an accomplice to the murder of Glenure. The murderer was presumed to be Allan Breck, but he was believed to be out of the country, having received money from James to make his escape.

The Appin Murder trial crystallises much of what has come before in this study of Scott and the Highlands. Firstly, the trial was held at Inveraray and was presided over by the Lord Justice-General, Archibald, third Duke of Argyll. Secondly, it was one of the first trials after the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions in 1748. Thirdly, of the forty-five persons cited for jury service, twenty-five were Campbells, and Dugald Stewart of Appin was also listed. Of the fifteen jurors actually selected, eleven were Campbells, but Dugald of Appin was not among these. Fourthly, among the counsel for the prosecutors was Mr Simon Fraser, a recently qualified advocate, son and heir of the executed Simon, Lord Lovat. Fifthly, one of the witnesses for the Crown was Alexander Stewart, eighth of Invernahyle, aged forty-four.

The trial at Inveraray ran without interruption from the

morning of Friday 22 September, to the morning of Sunday 24 September, when the blear-eyed jury announced its verdict. Many witnesses were called for the Crown.

Alexander Stewart of Innernahyle, aged forty four years, married, sworn, purged, and examined ut supra, depones, That the pannel was a great many years ago tenant to his brother Ardsheil,⁷⁴ in the farm of Glenduror, and was removed also several years ago, the deponent does not remember how many, by his brother, that he again became tenant in the same lands in 1749, or perhaps 1748, and was again removed by the deceas'd Glenure the factor, at Whitsunday, 1751, and the lands set to Mr. Campbell of Ballieveolan. 75

There is no evidence to support Invernahyle's claim that James had been evicted from Glenduror by his brother Charles of Ardsheal. James had called Charles 'a very affectionate and loving brother,' and apparently via Allan Breck he was supplying the attainted chief with money. What, then, was Invernahyle attempting to do by giving such evidence? To show discord among the Ardsheal ranks, and depreciate the exiled Charles? It seems like that, for having testified that James had several times said that he

did not expect to have been removed /by Glenure/ and seemed dissatisfied that he was,⁷⁶

Invernahyle then stated:

the pannel further said, that the tenants generally allowed some gratuity to Ardshiel's children; and that these lands were the best farms on the estate, and most of the benefits

74. And so Invernahyle admits that James of the Glen was Charles of Ardsheal's brother.

75. Trial of James Stewart, p. 153.

76. Ibid.

accresced from them; and tho' he himself could be provided of a farm elsewhere, yet the children would be deprived of that benefit. 77

To say the least, this was highly damaging evidence. The court had before them as exhibits letters from Glenure to the Barons of Exchequer, such as I have quoted from, showing that Glenure was highly suspicious of Lady Ardsheal's financial situation. Furthermore, by so testifying Invernahyle revealed that James of the Glen, deputy factor, was breaking the laws of attainder and forfeiture by making such financial provisions for the lady and her family. The loss of this source of aid was therefore a good reason for James murdering Glenure. Apart from anything else, Invernahyle was divulging a clan secret.

But why did Invernahyle betray the Ardsheal sept? Let us remember that Glenure, the victim, was his cousin. But then, the accused James of the Glen and the exiled Charles of Ardsheal were his kinsmen. Besides, Glenure, though related, was a Campbell, and the brothers James and Charles were Stewarts. Invernahyle had been 'out' under Ardsheal, but the Order Book of the Appin Regiment shows that Invernahyle was only a company commander, and with never more than 400 Stewarts in the field, how large was his company? Yet Scott claims that Invernahyle was 'being searched for in particular,' though Ardsheal was at large. It is my opinion that Invernahyle's appearance and evidence at the Appin Murder trial is more evidence of a dispute with, or spite against Ardsheal.

Having told the court that he had met and talked with Allan

Breck, and scolded him for not paying a visit, Invernahyle then testified that

upon the Saturday and Sunday after Glenure's murder, it was the general opinion of the people in the country, that he had been murdered by Allan Breck Stewart. 78

Next, a letter was shown to Invernahyle, signed by Allan Stewart, the son of James, and addressed to Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie.

The young man had written:

Now I am sorry to acquaint you, affairs is going wrong upon this estate of your cousin's; Glenure wants Ardshiel and Lettermore in his own hands, and more rents for our tenement, and the carriage to himself. How far these things will take place, God knows! The man makes the whole noise, is Ballieveolan, upon account of our keeping John More; for he does not deny but what he offers more rents for Glenduror, and gives this as his reasons. However it shall be a dear glen to them or they shall have it. 79

This letter was dated 1 April 1751, approximately a year before the murder. Asked about the handwriting, Invernahyle said that

it is like Allan Stewart's hand-writing, and the deponent would take it to be his, but cannot be positive that it is his. 80

But this letter was never shown to Glenbuckie for his opinion.

Then Invernahyle returned to the subject of Ardsheal. He

depones, That, after the attainder of Stewart of Ardshiel, the factor gave the pannel the opportunity of having the greatest influence with the tenants of Ardshiel more than any other person by allowing the pannel to set the lands, which he continued down to Whitsunday 1751, if not at that

78. Trial of James Stewart, p. 153.

79. Trial of James Stewart, pp. 208-9.

80. Ibid., p. 153.

term also; but depones, That the pannel's connexion with the family or Ardshiel gave him also a natural influence⁸¹ over the tenants, even before Glenure's factory. Depones, That, before that time, the tenants, the deponent believes, paid their rent to the lady of Ardshiel, and she again employed the pannel to deal with them. 82

Then follows Invernahyle's account of Allan Breck's activities in the '45 and after, and Invernahyle's evidence concludes with the assertion that 'this is truth, as he shall answer to God.'⁸³

But Alexander of Invernahyle was not the only Stewart to give evidence for the prosecution. The elder and the younger of Fasnacloich testified, but mainly against Allan Breck. Likewise with the younger of Ballachulish. There were many witnesses called, and, contrary to law, the testimonies of the accused's women-folk were used. The evidence of packman, bouman and merchant speaks of tongues loosened by whisky, of money urgently required, of a blue coat and a buff coat, both belonging to Allan Breck. It was said that the notorious brigand Sergeant Mhor had been in the district, listening over drams to accounts of intended evictions at Ardsheal, and saying that he would shoot Glenure if he met him on the road. Two guns were produced, one a small one, the other a long Spanish gun with which (it was alleged) Allan Breck had shot woodcock before shooting Glenure in the wood. Both guns had been found at Acharn, James's farm. Simon, the Master of Lovat stated that he appeared

81. This 'natural influence' before Glenure's appointment as factor seems to refer to Charles of Ardsheal's raising of the clan for the '45. Is this a hint that he raised it against the wishes of Dugald of Appin?

82. Trial of James Stewart, pp. 153-54.

83. Ibid., p. 154.

for Mrs Campbell of Glenure and her infant children. He had

his father's cuteness and command of language, and he now displayed a natural gift of casuistry that would have pleased his villainous parent had he been alive to admire it. 84

In his address to the jury the Lord Advocate said;

Now, as this factory was granted full three years after the rebellion, it is to be observed how the estate of Ardshiel was possessed and managed in this interval, and this appears by the oath of Alexander Stewart of Innermahyle, who hath deposed that before the factory, as he believes, the tenants paid their rents to the lady of Ardshiel, and that she again employed the pannel to deal with them.

It was during this period that the pannel, as the same Alexander Stewart deposes, who had been a great many years ago tenant to his brother Ardshiel in the farm of Glenduror, and had been removed also several years ago, by his brother, again took possession of the same farm, and that Ardshiel's lady and the pannel, jointly, introduced certain new tenants of their own choice into different parcels of the land, which Ardshiel, the attainted person, had himself occupied before the rebellion. 85

But if that was bad, the address to the prisoner by the Lord Justice-General, the Duke of Argyll, was deplorable. He showed clearly that it was a political trial, and that he had not forgiven his old enemies the Stewarts when he said:

In the year 1745 the restless spirits of the disaffected Highlanders again prompted them to raise a third rebellion,⁸⁶ in which you and your clan formed a regiment in that impious service, and in which you persevered to the last.

84. Trial of James Stewart, p. 26.

85. Ibid., p. 219.

86. Argyll was also counting the 1719 rising, in which Inveraray was attacked.

The Divine Providence at first permitted you to obtain some advantages, which has possibly been to give you time to repent of your crimes. But who can dive into the secrets of the Almighty? At last Heaven raised up a great Prince the son of our gracious King, who, with courage equal to that of his ancestors, and with conduct superior to his years, did, at one blow, put an end to all your wicked attempts.

If you had been successful in that rebellion you had been now triumphant with your confederates trampling upon the laws of your country, the liberties of your fellow-subjects, and on the Protestant religion. You might have been giving the law where you now have received the judgement of it; and we, who are this day your judges, might have been tried before one of your mock Courts of judicature, and then you might have been satiated with the blood of any name or clan to which you had an aversion. 87

But justice had to be seen to be done, and, more important, remembered, and so James of the Glen was, on 8 November 1752, to be taken to Ballachulish and there

hanged by the neck upon the said gibbet by the hands of an executioner until he be dead; and thereafter to be hung in chains upon the said gibbet. 88

In his eloquent and deeply moving speech from the scaffold James of the Glen maintained his innocence, and forgave those who had testified against him. He could only have had Invernahyle in mind when he said:

Another surprising charge against a man in a Christian country came in against me, which was that I was a common parent to fatherless children, and took care of widows in the country, which gained me great influence over the people, by which they were much led by me - or some words to that purpose. I hope soon to

87. Trial of James Stewart, pp. 290-91.

88. Ibid., p. 289.

appear before a Judge who will reward charity and benevolence in a different way; and I only regret how little service was in my power to do, not only to the fatherless and widows, but to all mankind in general, as I thank God I would make all the race of Adam happy if I could. 89

Invernahyle's character and his duplicity in the Appin Murder are explained in a letter from Captain Alexander Campbell to his father John Campbell of Barcaldine:

As to telling Invernahyle anything you may depend I wont. I saw him yesterday and am not attal satisfied with his behaviour ... he is a poor whitty whatty body and is endeavouring to impose on both sides. 90

Thus Alexander Stewart, eighth of Invernahyle and Scott's friend had helped to hang James of the Glen. Though the murder and the trial had taken place over thirty years before Scott's first visit to Invernahyle's, he knew about it, and he deplored the trial as well as the murder. In the Introduction to Rob Roy Scott wrote:

A gentleman, named James Stewart, a natural brother of Ardshiel the forfeited person, was tried as being accessory to the murder, and condemned and executed upon very doubtful evidence; the heaviest part of which only amounted to the accused person having assisted a nephew⁹¹ of his own, called Allan Breck Stewart, with money to escape after the deed was done. Not satisfied with this vengeance, which was obtained in a manner little to the honour of the dispensation of justice at the time, the friends of the deceased Glenure were eagerly desirous to

89. Trial of James Stewart, p. 295.

90. Ibid., pp. 383-84.

91. The exact relationship of Allan Breck to James has never been determined. Scott's title of nephew makes one ask: where did he get this information? From Invernahyle?

obtain possession of the person of Allan Breck Stewart, supposed to be the actual homicide.

(pp. cviii - ix) ⁹²

This is the lawyer speaking, and having to admit that in at least one instance the impartial southern laws had not satisfactorily replaced the hereditary jurisdictions in the Highlands. But, then again, the Appin Murder was exceptional in that a Highland chief (Argyll) had exercised the power of 'pit and gallows' through the southern laws, and had, at one and the same time, punished a man and his clan. Two hundred years after the trial Sir John Cameron, now Lord Cameron, the eminent judge, delivered his verdict, and it is the same as Scott's.

But when all is said and done and every allowance made for the imperfections of the law and the frailty of the human mind, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that in the trial of James Stewart of the Glen the scales of justice were deliberately tilted against him; that neither the Crown prosecutors nor the Bench can escape the stigma of complicity in this; and that an innocent man was condemned for a crime in which he had no hand upon evidence which, in certain vital particulars, was tainted with suspicion of exaggeration or even invention as a result of persistent use of improper influences and pressure. ⁹³

Scott was interested in the Appin Murder because of its connection with Rob Roy. He seems to have been fascinated by the turbulent history of the Macgregors, and his interest in the celebrated freebooter and his family gave him the theme for his second Highland

92. Quotations come from the 1829 Magnum Opus edition.

93. Sir J. Cameron, 'The Appin Murder - A Summing Up,' in The Scottish Historical Review, Vol XXXIII, no. 116, October, 1954, pp. 98-99.

novel in 1817. James Mohr Drummond was a son of Rob Roy, and Scott devotes a good many pages to him in the Introduction to the novel.

James Mohr's character was a mixture of reckless bravery and calculated treachery. Before the '45 he intrigued with both sides, but did join the Jacobites. At the battle of Prestonpans, where Invernahyle apparently saved Colonel Whiteford from the miller's axe, James Mohr (or James Roy, as Scott calls him), fought with distinction. Scott quotes:

'His company,' says Chevalier Johnstone, 'did great execution with their scythes.' They cut the legs of the horses in two; the riders through the middle of their bodies. MacGregor was brave and intrepid, but, at the same time, somewhat whimsical and singular. When advancing the charge with his company, he received five wounds, two of them from balls that pierced his body through and through. Stretched on the ground, with his head resting on his hand, he called out loudly to the Highlanders of his company, 'My lads, I am not dead. By G-, I shall see if any of you does not do his duty.' The victory, as is well known, was instantly obtained. (pp. xcii - iii)

This bizarre man survived the '45, and in 1750 assisted his brother Robin Oig in abducting the heiress of Edenbelly. Scott treats the episode at length, remarking:

We need not refer to the rape of the Sabines, or to a similar instance in the Book of Judges, for evidence that such deeds of violence have been committed upon a large scale. Indeed, this sort of enterprise was so common along the Highland line as to give rise to a variety of songs and ballads. (p. xcv)⁹⁴

94. The most notorious case on record is that of Simon, Lord Lovat, who abducted the Dowager Lady Lovat, his cousin's widow. It is said that he then ravished her to the sound of bagpipes.

More fantastic than the most extreme fiction, this abduction included the hysterical hostage being laid double over the pommel of the saddle; a forced marriage ceremony before an unscrupulous priest; the militia searching for the Macgregors; the sequestration of the property of the reluctant bride in order to deprive the Macgregors of the real prize; the bride swearing (or made to swear) that she would not prosecute her abductors, and signing papers that she had left Edenbelly of her own free will; and then, in October 1751, her death, allegedly from small-pox. All these details Scott recounts.

James Mohr was arrested, charged with abduction and found guilty in July 1752, two months before the Appin Murder trial. He was then lodged in the Talbooth. Scott describes the verdict:

The jury brought in a special verdict, finding that Jean Key, or Wright, had been forcibly carried off from her house, as charged in the indictment, and that the accused had failed to show that she was herself privy and consenting to this act of outrage. But they found the forcible marriage, and subsequent violence, was not proved; and also found, in alleviation of the panel's guilt in the premises, that Jean Key did afterwards acquiesce in her condition. (p. cv).

James Mohr knew about the impending Appin Murder trial and saw a way out. His strategy is best described through official correspondence. On 12 August 1752, Campbell of Barcaldine writes to the Barons of Exchequer:

It is intended to bring on the Tryal of the said James Stewart at the ensuing Circuit at Inverary, and your memorialist having been lately informed that James Drummond alias McGregor, present prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, would be a material witness against him, for that the said James Stewart did visit Drummond in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh in the month of April last, and after making frequent mentions to Drummond of

Glenure's name in a opprobrious manner did propose to him a scheme of disabeling Glenure from acting as factor on the forfeited estates. What he proposed was that James Drummond should give him James Stewart a letter directed to Robert Campbell alias McGregor, brother to the said James Drummond (a person under sentence of fugitation), desireing the said Robert to do whatever the said James directed him, particularly to murder Glenure, for which purpose the said James Stewart was to furnish a very good gun.

The deal, though dirty, was well worth considering, for, as Barcaldine said:

it may probably occur that the conviction of the murderers of Glenure will be of more service to the Government than the taking away the life of James Drummond. 95

But the Barons declined James Mohr's offer of assistance with the remark:

The Lords Justices are easily induced to believe that James Drummond has been instrumental for and privy to several atrocious crimes and very possibly to that in which the said Stewart is supposed to have been concerned, and tho' James Drummond has not yet received the judgement of the Court for aiding and assisting in forcibly carrying away a young woman from her own house and causing her to be married to his brother against her consent (a special verdict having been found by the jury upon a point of law which can not be determined till November next), yet their Excellencies hope that sentence will at last be pronounced against him to the utmost extent of that justice he shall appear to have deserved. 96

James Mohr remained in the Tolbooth, and James Stewart was hung in chains at Ballachulish without his assistance. But on 16

95. Trial of James Stewart, pp. 347-48.

96. Ibid., p. 349.

November 1752, James Mohr succeeded in escaping from the Tolbooth, dressed, Scott says, in cobbler's clothes brought in by his daughter. He escaped to France, and it is at this stage that Scott confuses the chronology. Scott shows him as having escaped before the Appin Murder trial, which was not the case, as I have shown. He certainly went to France, and he certainly tried to ingratiate himself with the British government by offering to catch the fugitive Allan Breck. Scott says that

Allan Breck Stewart threatened to put him
to death in revenge of the designs he had
harboured against him,

and here Scott adds a fascinating footnote, well worth quoting at length:

About 1789, a friend of mine, then residing at Paris, was invited to see some procession which was supposed likely to interest him, from the windows of an apartment occupied by a Scottish Benedictine priest. He found, sitting by the fire, a tall, thin, raw-boned, grim-looking old man, with the petit croix of St Louis. His visage was strongly marked by the irregular projections of the cheek-bones and chin. His eyes were grey. His grizzled hair exhibited marks of having been red, and his complexion was weather-beaten, and remarkably freckled. Some civilities in French passed between the old man and my friend, in the course of which they talked of the streets and squares of Paris, till at length the old soldier, for such he seemed, and such he was, said with a sigh, in a sharp Highland accent, 'Deil ane o' them a' is worth the Hie street of Edinburgh!' On enquiry, this admirer of Auld Reekie, which he was never to see again, proved to be Allan Breck Stewart. He lived decently on his little pension, and had, in no subsequent period of his life, shown anything of the savage mood, in which he is generally believed to have assassinated the enemy and oppressor, as he supposed him, of his family and clan. (pp. cxi - xii, n).

But James Mohr Drummond was less fortunate than his quarry Allan Breck Stewart. He died in 1754 in extreme poverty in France,

'weakened and dispirited in mind,' as Scott says.

Meantime, back in Appin, the militia petitioned the Treasury for accommodation for '16 men station'd at Ballochilesh, over the body of Stewart in Chains,'⁹⁷ because it was to dangle there as a warning to others. On 15 May 1757, the attainted Charles Stewart, fifth of Ardsheal died at Sens in France. The Stewart genealogists inform us that

Dugald Stewart, last baron of Appin, married Mary Mackenzie, by whom he had one daughter, Anna, married to David Loch of Over Carnbee, an eminent merchant in Leith. 98

As has been shown, the Appin lands were bankrupt, and in 1765 Dugald sold out to Seton of Touch. He was apparently dead by 1769.

In 1770 Bishop Robert Forbes, the author of The Lyon in Mourning was on a round of episcopal visitations in the Highlands. Stewart of Ballachulish asked the Bishop to call and give his blessing to the district, which he duly did. The Bishop met a daughter of James Stewart of the Glen, no longer a skeleton rattling in chains. The Bishop was told that

the violent winds soon blew down the Body, Bone by Bone. Ballachelish, Junior, carefully gathered the Bones, and had them placed in the same Coffin with the Body of the Mournful Widow, Ballachelish's Daughter, then of about 10 years of age, washing the Skull with her own Hands. 99

The Bishop was also informed that an offer had been made

97. Forfeited Estates Papers, p. 286.

98. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 125.

99. Journals of the Episcopal Visitations of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes, M.A., ed. Rev. J.B. Craven (London, 1886), p. 305.

by Camerons to ambush the party bringing James of the Glen to the scaffold at Ballachulish, but that James had declined this offer of freedom, saying that it would only hurt many people. This Cameron offer is interesting, because Camerons were alleged to have been involved in the murder of Glenure, and the victim's reported exclamation of relief at having crossed out of his mother's country shows that he was aware of Cameron spite.

Who killed Colin Campbell of Glenure, the King's factor? To the end James of the Glen swore that he was innocent, and Allan Breck fled from Appin, insisting upon his innocence. But he had to go, because he was a deserter. I have already mentioned the Camerons of Callart, across the loch from Ballachulish. This was the oldest cadet branch of the Lochiel dynasty, and, Callart having been 'out' in the '45, the estate was forfeited, and factored by Glenure. As with Lady Ardsheal there was trouble with Helen, Lady Callart, for we find an angry Glenure writing, in November 1750:

Please acquaint the Barrons that I'm informed that Allan Cameron, Late of Callart, whowse Estate is a part of my charge, Dyed last month at Dunkirk, no doubt his widow will soon claim her Jointer, which is a considerable part of that small Estate, as she has an Annuity or Lockallity in her option. She has possesd about the half of the Estate since the Rebellion and has scarcely paid any of the rents att all, and I should be glad to have the Barrons' orders what's to be don with her for bygons and time to come. 100

Like Dugald of Appin, Allan of Callart is a mysterious figure. It is on record that he was taken prisoner and sent to London, but how did he get to France, and did he die there in 1750? Even

if he did, this does not clear the Callart family in the murder, for his heir was known to be hot-blooded and against Glenure. Besides, on the Tuesday, three days before the murder, Allan Breck had spent the night at Callart. He was James's ward, and Lady Callart was James's sister, and Ardsheal's sister.

Assuming James of the Glen's innocence, the Appin murder seems to have been staged by several plotters, even although only one pulled the trigger. It was a crime of the plural, not the singular. There was not one gun, but several. One Spanish gun that had come from Acharn was an exhibit, and yet another Spanish gun was apparently found in a hollow tree near the scene of the crime and taken (but not directly) to Callart, where it was kept as a souvenir, or perhaps an heirloom.¹⁰¹ In my opinion this murder that has baffled the experts for two centuries may be solved when the archives of Inveraray Castle are opened and the rest of the Dewar Manuscripts published. In Dewar the following memorial occurs.

There were to be two other attempts in Lochaber before he reached the ferry at Ballachulish ... Glenure got past the place where a certain Donald Macmartin ... was waiting for him. At Onich the lairds of Callart and Onich were to wait for him, but they could not shoot as Mackenzie, his gillie - an Onich man - was between him and them. 102

The Appin Murder was the classic plot for a novel, and not

101. I know this because the late Angus John Campbell, XXth Hereditary Captain of Dunstaffnage, my first tutor in Highland History had the gun, and allowed me to handle it. The gun originally came from Fassifern, which was in his family.

102. Prefatory note to 'The Appin Murder', by J.R.N. MacPhail, in Highland Papers, Scot. Hist. Soc., (Edinburgh, 1934), vol. IV, pp. 123-4.

least because the identity of the real murderer was said to have become a family secret among the Stewarts and Camerons. But even although Scott mentioned it in the Introduction to Rob Roy, in relation to James Mhor and Allan Breck, he never made it his theme in a novel. There could be several reasons. In the first instance, the subject was still sensitive in the early nineteenth century. In the second instance, Scott had valued friends at Inveraray. Writing to George Ellis on 2 March 1802, he said:

I am glad to have seen the Marquess of Lorn, whom I have met frequently at the house of his charming sister, Lady Charlotte Campbell, whom, I am sure, if you are acquainted with her, you must admire as much /_as_/ I do.

103

To have publicised the Campbell shame of the Appin Murder in fiction would have been in bad taste, and so, having acknowledged that justice was not done at Inveraray, he moves on.

In 1834 there appeared Allan Breck, a three-volumed novel by the Rev. George Robert Gleig, but the author knew little about the Highlands, and even less about the Appin Murder. Then, in Kidnapped and Catriona Robert Louis Stevenson brought the murder to the attention of the world, but in fiction. He did what Scott might be accused of having done in certain of his Highland works. He, Stevenson, twisted characters and evidence to suit his own ends, thus giving a fanciful account of a real tragedy. Glenure intended to evict a few tenants only, and only from Ardsheal. According to Stevenson, the whole countryside of people was to be evicted. His

103. Grierson, Letters, vol. I, p. 137. Of these Highland aristocratic friendships, more later.

chronology is too compressed, and James of the Glen, smaller than Allan Breck, who was five feet ten inches tall, emerges a giant.

And what of Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle? In the entry for 8 to 14 July 1770, Bishop Forbes records in his journal that on the Sunday after Trinity he baptised an adult in Ballachulish House, and there met Invernahyle, now sixty-two years of age by his own reckoning. This shows that the Stewarts were not Catholics, despite Argyll's taunt at the trial of James of the Glen. In a Memorial Concerning the Highlands prepared in 1746, Alexander MacBean, A.M., had complained that the people of Appin were

Protestants, but strangely poisoned by the
non-jurant Episcopal Clergy. 104

Considering that Scott, the Jacobite sympathiser, held popery 'to be such a mean and depriving superstition,' it is perhaps not surprising that he admired Alexander of Invernahyle.

That Sunday after Trinity at Ballachulish the Bishop met an old man who had come to see him. This proved to be John Os Ean MackDonell, the leader of the eight men of Glenmoriston, the brave guerilla band of the '45. The Bishop records:

I asked Invernahyle seriously if it was true, that John had been a Thief. 'Yes, sir,' said he, 'as damn'd a Thief as ever was in the Highlands; but, since he had the Honour to have a hand in preserving his Master in his greatest Distress and Dangers, no man dare say he has ever been guilty of a dirty or ungentlemanny Action.' 105

But could the same thing be said of Invernahyle in his dealings with

104. In Origins of the '45, pp. 71-92.

105. Craven, op. cit., p. 315.

James of the Glen in James's time of 'greatest Distress and Dangers'?

The two Stewart genealogists tell us that Invernahyle had, from Prince Charles, 'a ring, lozenge-shaped, and containing a lock of his hair,'¹⁰⁶ which suggests that the 'Master' must have thought well of the servant. But, of course, there have been many heirlooms, apparently from the Prince's hand, and many beds he slept in.¹⁰⁷

As I have already stated, Dugald, tenth of Appin is said to have died in 1769, having sold out, and in 1771 Duncan, sixth of Ardsheal, heir to the dead Charles, established in the Scots Herald Office his position as representative of the Stewarts of Appin on account of the lack of a male heir from Appin House. It is sad and also ironic that Alexander should have exchanged with Airds, that sept of an enemy clan which got a permanent foothold in Appin by depriving the Stewarts of their ancient garrison in a lop-sided wager. It was to Donald Campbell of Airds, governor of Castle Stalcaire, that Invernahyle forwarded his ambiguous covering letter with the Lochiel/Keppoch letter of complaint about Campbell atrocities shortly before Culloden. Donald Campbell of Airds was among the forty-five cited for jury service at the Appin Murder trial, and he also gave evidence against James of the Glen.

According to the Stewart genealogists, Alexander, eighth of Invernahyle, died in 1795, at the 'advanced age' of eighty-seven years. Then follows the tragic end of the sept, after over three

106. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 175.

107. There was such a bed at Callart, which had originally come from Fassifern. It is now in the West Highland Museum, Fort William.

hundred years of suzerainty in Appin, or, a part of Appin. Writing to Lady Louisa Stuart¹⁰⁸ in July 1827, Scott lamented:

Poor Alexander Stuart! I saw his son the other day a grog drinking halfpay captain who has spent the little estate and is now an idle stupid annuitant and yet I can never help feeling kindly to him¹⁰⁹ and stopping to talk to him about the memory of the high souled enthusiastic old man. 110

The stark entry in the Stewart genealogy reads:

Dugald Stewart, ninth of Invernahyle, succeeded his father. He sold the remaining lands, and died at Ardsheal in 1840, leaving no issue,

111

but at least getting sanctuary at Ardsheal, among the descendants of Charles, commander of the Appin corps in which Alexander, eighth of Invernahyle served in the '45, thereafter testifying against the attainted Charles, and James, the brother.

Stewart of Appin had gone, and Stewart of Invernahyle followed. Appointing himself the last bard of that ancient clan, James Hogg, the Borderer shepherd-poet and friend of Scott's wrote:

I sing of a land that was famous of yore,
The land of Green Appin, the ward of the flood,
Where every grey cairn that broods o'er the shore,
Marks grave of the royal, the valiant, or good.

The land where the strains of grey Ossian were framed, -
The land of fair Selma, and reign of Fingal, -

108. Youngest daughter of John, third Earl of Bute.

109. 'Young Invernahyle called to bid me interest myself about getting a lad of the House of Scott of Bavelaw a commission ...' (Journal, p. 520, p. 539.)

110. Grierson, Letters, vol. X, p. 239.

111. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 176.

And late of a race, that with tears must be named,
 The noble Clan Stuart, the bravest of all,
 Oh-hon, an Rich! and the Stuarts of Appin!
 The Gallant, Devoted, old Stuarts of Appin!
 Their glory is o'er,
 For the clan is no more,
 And the Sassenach sings on the hills of green Appin.

112

But as well as Sassenach, Lowlander and Campbell were in occupation.

According to Scott, Invernahyle

chanced to be in Edinburgh when Paul Jones
 came into the Firth of Forth, and though
 then an old man, I saw him in arms, and
 heard him exult (to use his own words) in
 the prospect of 'drawing his claymore once
 more before he died.' 113

Since the Paul Jones scare was in 1779, Scott was then eight years old, and Invernahyle seventy-one. When Invernahyle died in 1795, Scott was twenty-four years of age, and a qualified advocate. It was a crucial year for Scott, for he was passionately in love with Willamina Belsches, daughter of Sir John Stuart-Belsches. He had been appointed one of the curators of the Advocates' Library, and thereafter would have close access to fascinating historical material, some in manuscript form. In the following year, 1796, would appear his anonymous publication of The Chase, and William and Helen, translated from the German of Bürger. Thus he was moving slowly but painfully towards manhood and literary maturity.

But he was never to forget his early debt to Alexander of Invernahyle, and long after Waverley had been written and its author-

112. The Poetical Works of the Ettrick Shepherd, With an Autobiography; ed. D.O. Hill (Glasgow, n.d.), vol. V, pp. 77-9.

113. Q.R., Jan 1817, p. 435.

ship generally suspected, if not publicly stated, he was still paying tribute to Invernahyle, and would do so until his death. Scott was to acknowledge Invernahyle as being the oral source of some of the Highland material in his writings, and particularly in Waverley, and thus I need not apologise for the length of this section. There are many references and tributes to Invernahyle scattered throughout Scott's letters and prose works, but the most often quoted epitaph is that he was

a noble specimen of the old Highlander, far
descended, gallant, courteous and brave even
to chivalry. 114

I prefer to reserve judgement, even although there might have been no Waverley, and hence no other Highland works without Invernahyle, since Invernahyle's tales directed Scott to one period, and that period, the '45, suggested other periods. But if what Invernahyle told Scott about his own exploits in the '15, the '45 and after was either improbable or untrue, and if Scott transferred these anecdotes into fiction (which he did in Waverley), then it follows that improbabilities or untruths will be reflected in the fiction, perhaps weakening the story. As I shall show, this happens in Waverley.

I am deeply suspicious of the whole Invernahyle story, and especially since Invernahyle's career seems to share certain episodes with Ardsheal's career, to the extent that credibility is stretched too far. Furthermore, all works, including The Stewarts of Appin, which make mention of Invernahyle's exploits cite Scott as their source, and Scott can only cite Invernahyle's oral trans-

mission as his source. I would like, for instance, to read the Whiteford episode from the Hanoverian viewpoint, and I would like to know much more about the confrontation between Whiteford and Cumberland, and the resultant letter of protection.

The great question is: did Scott, as he read more, and made more friends among the Highland chiefs, receive any new versions of the Invernahyle story? The answer is that if he did, he never changed his public opinion. But perhaps to change this would be to bring his Highland works, and particularly Waverley into disrepute.

There is an interesting question of sources here. Several of the historians I have referred to had access to the Stuart Papers, which have revealed much in the way of clan secrets and intrigue, including the Stewarts of Appin. In the year before Scott died there was a plan afoot, proposed by Croker, for Scott and Lockhart to edit the Stuart Papers at Windsor. Thus Scott wrote to Lockhart:

What would be desireable would be a good tight volume of history or personal anecdote as the collection should be found to afford novelty of the unfortunate family steering clear of what is hackd which the whole general history of the 1745 /is/. A volume of this written in a touch & go way would fetch a £1000 and two volumes of materials would fetch as much.

115

Though Scott was short of money, and living on Cadell's backhanders, the plan fell through, and the Stuart Papers kept their secrets from him.

But supposing that both Scott and Lockhart knew that

115. Grierson, Letters, vol. XII, p. 8.

Invernahyle's stories were, to say the least, not accurate? Without comment, but in the hope that someone more skilled at genealogy than I might take the matter further, I offer these extracts from

The Stewarts of Appin:

THE ARDSHEAL FAMILY.

Charles Stewart, seventh of Ardsheal, who succeeded in 1793, had a daughter, Annette, who married Major Robert Stewart, son of John Stewart of Fasnacloich, and of Mary, daughter of Invernahyle. They had issue, Anna, who married Miles Lockhart, of Lanhams, Essex.¹¹⁶

Robert Graham, M.D., of the Ardsheal family, married Elizabeth Belsches, daughter of David Carrick Buchanan of Drumpellier. 117

What about the possibility of new information coming from family papers? The two Stewart genealogists claimed that in 1870 they were quoting from letters 'still in possession' of the family of Invernahyle. They point out that the papers up to and including the '45 in possession of the Ardsheal family were lost when the mansion was sacked in 1746. Dugald Stewart left Appin House in 1765, presumably taking the family papers with him. But even although family papers are still extant in some of these cases, clans prefer to keep their secrets.¹¹⁸ There is, however, as with the Appin Murder trial, a

116. Stewart and Stewart, op. cit., p. 150. 117. Ibid., p. 146.

118. Brigadier Iain Stewart of Achnacone heads the last surviving sept of the Stewarts of Appin. Appin tradition avers that certain local chieftains have been the custodians of the identity of the Appin murderer, and Brigadier Stewart does not deny this.

The Brigadier displays the same reluctance in revealing clan anecdotes concerning Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle. As he says, the romance is more important than the reality, and so he wants Invernahyle to remain 'a noble specimen of the old Highlander'.

strong possibility that the archives of Inveraray Castle could answer many of the questions posed in this section.

A story from Scott's own life, told by himself, brings this long section to a fitting close, and also anticipates coming aspects of this study. In a footnote to the Introduction to Rob Roy Scott wonders if

it is worth while to mention, that he had a personal opportunity of observing even in his own time, that the king's writ did not pass quite current in the Braes of Balquhiddy. There were very considerable debts due by Stewart of Appin (chiefly to the author's family,) which were likely to be lost to the creditors, if they could not be made available out of the ... farm of Inverenty. (p. lxxxix, n).

This shows that the Stewarts of Appin were hard pressed financially, and thus Scott, still an apprentice, was ordered to march against them. But like Glenure at Appin, he needed support.

An escort of a sergeant and six men was obtained from a Highland regiment lying in Stirling,

and thus in the role of rent collector

it happened, oddly enough, that the author first entered the romantic scenery of Loch Katrine, of which he may perhaps say he has somewhat extended the reputation, riding in all the dignity of danger, with a front and rear guard, and loaded arms. The sergeant was absolutely a Highland Sergeant Kite, full of stories of Rob Roy and of himself, and a very good companion.

But from this clearance the tenants had already fled, for

we experienced no interruption whatever, and when we came to Inverenty, found the house deserted (p. xc, n.).

It is ironic that Scott, in enforcing the southern law in the Highlands, should find the scene for a poem, as he had found anecdotes at Appin, the heart of the Stewart country. But the young Scott listening so avidly to Invernahyle's heroic tales must have been conscious that Appin had allegedly had more famous settlers than the royal Stewarts. Hogg had pointed this out in his panegyric, and it must now be considered, since it was to influence Scott's poetry.

But before doing this, a final note on Colonel Whiteford. Invernahyle had his estate restored to him through the Colonel's efforts. But fate lay in wait for the charitable Colonel, for he was one of the principal sufferers when the Ayr Bank crashed in 1772. His estate was at Ballochmyle, and Burns had seen a Whiteford lady, a 'bonnie lass,' and made an immortal song. Strange that Scott, Burns, and Hogg should be so linked by love and war.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HIGHLANDS:
THE LITERARY SITUATION

The heart of the land of Ossian, Appin abuts on Benderloch and the Black Moss of Achnacree, the site of Dun MacUisneachan, the reputed Selma. North eastward is Badenoch, the birthplace, in 1736, of James Macpherson, who was to cause one of the biggest and most bitter controversies in literary history.

That controversy had begun in 1760, with the publication of Fragments. Sponsored by several enthusiastic scholars,¹ Macpherson had journeyed through the Highlands, allegedly collecting manuscripts and taking down poems, including the works of a long line of Clan-ranald bards. Fingal, the fruits of this labour, was published in 1762 and the public reacted loudly and angrily. Sir John Sinclair² gives a political reason for this critical tantrum.

It will hardly be credited in these days /1807/; but in the year 1762, when the poem of Fingal was published, there existed in many, both in England and Scotland, a great spirit of hostility to every thing connected with the Gaelic language, and those by whom it was spoken, on account of the zeal with which the Highlands, in the year 1745, had supported the claims of the house of Stuart. Hence many were induced to decry the beauties of Ossian, because they were brought to light by those who were considered as attached to an exiled and obnoxious family. 3

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1. Including John Home, the author of Douglas, and Dr Blair.
 2. Pennant had claimed that the Caithness people were kept in 'great servitude' by their lairds, the Sinclairs, but Sir John became a model landowner. To Scott he was 'Sir John Jackass,' partly because he had suggested that the widower Scott should marry the Duchess Dowager of Roxburgh. See Journal, pp. 197-98; 253; 257.
 3. See the Dissertation by Sinclair prefixed to the Highland Society of London's 1807 edition of The Poems of Ossian, in the original Gaelic, vol. II, p. xi, n. A.L.C., Sinclair's Dissertation, 1806 ed.

Here Sir John Sinclair, like so many before and after him, is reacting to Johnson, the erudite leader of the anti-Macpherson lobby. Johnson was in the Highlands eleven years after the publication of Fingal, and his desire to settle the Macpherson controversy once and for all, both personally and publicly, was a major reason for him making the journey. But the southern sage lacked Gaelic, the language of Ossian, and therefore some of his pronouncements were factually wrong. For instance, he stated dogmatically in his Journey:

After what has been lately talked of Highland Bards, and Highland genius, many will startle when they are told, that the Earse never was a written language; that there is not in the world an Earse manuscript a hundred years old.⁴

This is Johnson in the role of tutor to the southern public, and, of course, he could command a huge and attentive audience eager to learn about Highland culture and willing to accept the master's word. The facts were that Gaelic was a written language, and there were extant Gaelic manuscripts.⁵ These two factual errors of Johnson's were to be much used against him, and used also to show that Macpherson had been speaking the truth about receiving manuscripts.

But Johnson's argument became more specific because his target was Macpherson. Moreover, like Sir John Sinclair, Johnson introduced the England/Scotland cultural competition. Johnson wrote:

4. Johnson, op. cit., p. 267.

5. Johnson must have read Martin's list of 'antient Irish Manuscripts in the Irish Character' possessed by Fergus Beaton (Description, p. 89) and also references to 'Mack-Vurish and Mack-Donald ... Manuscripts' (Description, p. 212).

I believe there cannot be recovered, in the whole Earse language, five hundred lines of which there is any evidence to prove them a hundred years old. Yet I hear that the father of Ossian boasts of two chests more of ancient poetry, which he suppresses, because they are too good for the English. 6

Macpherson reacted threateningly to Johnson's accusations, but Johnson armed himself with an oak stick, saying he would not desist from detecting a cheat, and that he did not fear the menaces of a 'ruffian.' Yet despite his literary criticism becoming personal and almost degenerating into physical violence, Johnson was not the enemy of Gaelic culture. His quarrel was with Macpherson and his integrity, and not the language and its potential, for, as I have shown in the last section, Johnson noted sympathetically that the Gaelic language was 'attacked on every side' and that the denial of a Gaelic Bible meant that the Highlands had 'no monument of their mother-tongue.' Furthermore, Johnson, always the inquisitor, but scrupulously fair and logical, was concerned with historical truth transmitted through literature, and in dismissing Macpherson as a forger, he proffered the sound proposition:

If we know little of the ancient Highlanders,
let us not fill the vacuity with Ossian. 7

In judging Johnson on the Ossianic question, it must be stated that although he was clearly wrong about the existence and age of Gaelic manuscripts, he was probably right about Macpherson having passed off new (and inferior) poetry for old. Does it matter, therefore, if Johnson reached his conclusion by guesswork or an in-

6. Johnson, op. cit., p. 271.

7. Ibid., p. 277.

tuitive sense of fraud? History would say no, because Macpherson was exposed by a great writer, albeit an English one, and because southern attention was directed to the possibility, if not to the certainty of an ancient Gaelic literature.

Though Boswell declared in 1785 that the controversy was now settled, interest was still high, and particularly among travellers through the Highlands, with the lands of Ossian now on the tourist route. In 1784, Faujas de Saint Fond acquired a Gaelic-speaking guide at Dalmally. He was the local schoolmaster, and an enthusiastic Ossianist. St. Fond's carriage was bogged down on the deplorable road to Oban, near Loch Etive, where the sons of Uisneach allegedly sought sanctuary, and in the darkness the guide mistook an approaching helper for the ghost of Ossian.⁸

Even before his first visit to the Highlands in 1786 Scott was deeply interested in the Ossianic poems, for Dr. Blacklock, the blind poet who had been a friend of Burns, had presented him with Macpherson's books, and Ossian was devoured with Spenser. In fact,

their tales were for a long time so much my delight that I could repeat without remorse whole Cantos of the one & Duans of the other & woe to the unlucky wight who undertook to be my auditor for in the height of my enthusiasm I was apt to disregard all hints that my recitations became tedious.

Scott's confession is contained in a letter to Anna Seward from Ashestiel in 1806, but, he continues:

the eternal repitition of the same ideas &

8. B. Faujas de Saint Fond, A Journey through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784 (Glasgow, 1907), vol. I, pp. 307-12.

imagery however beautiful in itself, is apt to pall upon a reader whose taste has become somewhat fastidious. 9

The same thing is said with more force in the autobiographical fragment:

the tawdry repetitions of the Ossianic phraseology disgusted me rather sooner than might have been expected from my age. 10

Scott had outgrown Ossian early. In the same letter to Miss Seward he delivers his verdict as to the authenticity of the poems.

I am compelled to admit that incalculably the greater part of the English Ossian must be ascribed to Macpherson himself, and that his whole introductions notes &c. &c is an absolute tissue of forgeries.

Scott had reached the same conclusion as Johnson, and yet Scott, like Johnson, knew no Gaelic. But then, Scott had the advantage of thirty years of growing public opinion, some of it expert, from Gaelic scholars, since Johnson made his famous pronouncements. Furthermore, in 1800 Scott's trusted and much admired friend John Leyden, the poet and surgeon who was helping Scott to collect the Border ballads, was on the Ossianic trail in the Highlands. Like Johnson, Leyden published an account of his travels and conclusions, but his was in the form of letters to friends, including Scott.

With regard to Scott's verdict on Macpherson as a forger, it is strange that the trusted Leyden offers evidence to substantiate Macpherson's claims that there were Gaelic manuscripts in the

9. Lockhart, Life, p. 128. Lockhart dates it a year earlier, but Grierson corrects (Letters, vol. I, p. 319).

10. Autobiographical fragment in Lockhart's Life, p. 11.

Highlands, and that the Ossianic legends were indigenous, and readily available to the transcriber, provided, of course, that the transcriber had Gaelic. For instance, Leyden records that the Rev. Mac-Nicol

told me he believed that the great texture of Fingal and Temora were taken from MacVurich's MSS., the existence of which he himself could testify, as many of those which Macpherson had left and which have been published by Ronald MacDonald, passed through his hands. 11

At Fort William there was one Macraw,

an old man of one hundred years of age, - bed-ridden, deaf, and blind, - who frequently amuses himself with repeating Ossian's poems for whole days, 12

some of which, Leyden states, had never been translated. The Ossianic poems also survived in Invernahyle country, for

We made the usual enquiries at Captain Stuart concerning the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, and were informed that numerous persons in Appin and Lochaber were still able to repeat them.

13

There were other Ossianic investigators in the Highlands that year, among them

Sir John MacGregor Murray, who was going on a tour to the Islands, partly to collect the evidence for the authenticity of Ossian's Poems, and to take the depositions of persons able to recite them or who had heard them recited. 14

Leyden seemed to be reporting in Macpherson's favour, but

11. John Leyden, Journal of a Tour in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland in 1800, Ed. James Sinton, (Edinburgh, 1903), p. 107.

12. Leyden, op. cit., p. 172.

13. Ibid., pp. 137-38.

14. Ibid., p. 27.

Scott's opinion as stated in 1806 to Miss Seward was probably based on the findings of the committee appointed in 1797 by the Highland Society of Scotland to investigate the poems ascribed to Ossian. The chairman and convenor of this committee was Henry Mackenzie, the author of The Man of Feeling. Born in '45, the year of rebellion, Mackenzie the romantic was to live to the age of eighty-six and become the grand old man of Scottish letters. Mackenzie was much admired and respected by Scott, and the 'Man of Feeling's' paper on German literature, read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1788 had excited interest in that literature in Scotland, and inspired Scott to translate Burger's The Chase, and William and Helen, published anonymously in 1796.

Chaired by Mackenzie, the Highland Society committee reported in 1805,¹⁵ the year in which Scott delivered his verdict on Macpherson to Miss Seward. The committee announced that the Fingal/Ossian legends were indigenous to Scotland, and that Ossianic poetry was still to be found in plenty in the Highlands. This conclusion, which substantiated Leyden's findings was by no means new, for as early as 1703 Martin recorded in his Description that the natives of Skye had many tales of Fin-Mac-Coul.¹⁶ Martin, however, did not wish to trouble his readers with them. The committee further stated that no one poem had been found in tenor with Macpherson's fragments, and therefore it was concluded that Macpherson had edited original Ossianic poems and inserted his own compositions, the latter

15. Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian. Edinburgh, 1805. ALC, same edition.

16. Martin, op. cit., pp. 152-53.

by far in the majority. But a rider warned that social changes within the Highlands since Macpherson's time of writing had destroyed oral recitation and made research difficult.

Unlike Johnson's accusations of 1775, these findings of 1805 could not provoke a reaction from Macpherson. Having made a fortune in London, and dabbled in politics, Macpherson went home to Badenoch, to build himself a fine mansion and become, it would seem, a good enough laird. He died there in 1796, very pious at the end, apparently.

Thus, though the Highland Society committee of 1805 had Gaelic scholars among its members, its report was not entirely conclusive because of difficulties of research. But in 1862, with the publication of the Book of the Dean of Lismore, fresh evidence in Macpherson's favour seemed to be offered, for nine of the poems in this priceless collection were ascribed to Ossian.

The Rev. Archibald Clerk¹⁷ used this new evidence and resurrected the old charges against Johnson in his 1870 edition of the Poems of Ossian. An antiquary as well as a Gaelic scholar, Clerk provided along with his translations a dissertation which is reckoned, by the DNB and other reference works, to be the fullest account of the Macpherson controversy to that date.

Clearly on Macpherson's side from the start, Clerk repeats

17. Minister of Kilmallie. Clerk was the biographer of Colonel John Cameron of Fassifern, the hero of Quatre Bras. Scott serenaded the fallen soldier in the 'Field of Waterloo' and 'Dance of Death.' Scott also wrote the long epitaph for Cameron's Kilmallie obelisk.

Sir John Sinclair's 1807 charge of southern spite to Gaelic culture.

Clerk argues:

there is a deep-seated conviction in the minds of many that the condition of the ancient Caledonians was so barbarous as to render the growth of such poetry as the Ossianic among them a matter of absolute impossibility; and, as far as I have observed, it is this foregone conclusion which prevents the majority of readers from duly weighing the actual evidence in favour of the antiquity of Ossian. 18

Then Clerk proceeds to present this 'actual evidence.' But first, he must dispose of Johnson's sneer that Macpherson had chests of Gaelic manuscripts, a treasure trove in Badenoch. Clerk states tersely that 'it is certain ... he got many Gaelic MSS'¹⁹ during his journey through the Highlands before the publication of Fingal. Moreover, Clerk substantiates his assertion by providing sworn statements from some who claimed to have given Macpherson manuscripts. Clerk further finds that Macpherson did duly deposit manuscripts for inspection at his London publishers, but no one examined them, not having Gaelic.

Then Clerk shifts his argument slightly by insisting:

it was never alleged that Macpherson collected his poems from oral recitation alone. 20

Furthermore, Clerk maintains that others assisted Macpherson in translating these manuscripts. In explanation of the aura of unreality of the Ossianic poems, Clerk argues:

We know from modern Gaelic poetry that,

18. Rev. A. Clerk, The Poems of Ossian in the Original Gaelic (Edinburgh, 1870), vol. I, Dissert., p. xvi.

19. Clerk, op. cit., vol. I, Dissert., p. x.

20. Ibid., p. xxviii.

wherever the writers got their ideal of the character of rulers and chiefs, it was a very exalted one. They attribute qualities to them such as no chief in the North or South has ever yet exhibited in real life. 21

This is in fact a very important quality of the Gaelic panegyric as recorded in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, with the bard striving to present the chief and his lady as being larger, more glamorous, more generous and more gentle than in real life. This effect is partly achieved by describing the glitter of possessions and the boundless hospitality, and is a device used by Scott in The Lord of the Isles.

Then Clerk destroys his case at one stroke. He is a nineteenth century minister, and therefore a supporter of purity of language, thought and deed. He is insisting that Macpherson is authentic because of the moral superiority of Ossian and other poems to modern Gaelic poetry. Here is Clerk's puritanical and totally false argument:

Modern Gaelic poetry is, I believe, fully freer from immoral taint than English poetry; but there are, I regret to say, several compositions in print which are disgraceful to any people. McDonald's volume in 1751 contains pieces which no language is sufficiently strong to condemn. 'Rob Donn', edited by a clergyman, is full of very disgusting coarseness; Allan McDougall has some songs deserving of the severest reprobations; and a recent edition of the very beautiful songs of W. Ross is utterly disfigured by one or two pieces of the lowest character. The stainless

21. Clerk, op. cit., vol. I, Dissert., p. xix. The same point is made by the modern Gaelic poet Iain Crichton Smith. 'Gaelic poetry to a great extent has been bedevilled by a concentration on morality implied for instance in the eulogies on chiefs.' See Smith's Introduction to his translation of Ben Dorain, Akros, Preston, 1969.

purity of Ossian is a very conclusive proof that he belonged to a different era from Macpherson's or the Dean of Lismore's. 22

What is the modern attitude to Macpherson? Professor Derrick Thomson is one of the foremost living Gaelic scholars, and in his 1952 dissertation on the authenticity of the Ossianic poems he agrees with some of the findings of the 1805 Highland Society report, and with some of Clerk's statements. To begin with, Thomson warns that there can be no conclusive proof, only strong probability. He seems to agree that Macpherson had access to Gaelic manuscripts, but cautions:

The evidence which we have been able to glean as to Macpherson's exact sources is in many cases not conclusive. We can be reasonably certain that the MSS. used by Macpherson have not all survived, and in several cases there is sufficient evidence for a strong conjecture, but not for proof.

23

Furthermore, Thomson claims that Macpherson's collecting activities were on a large scale.

The evidence shows that Macpherson cast his net wide, and collected a large amount of Ossianic tradition. The picture emerges of an eager investigator, travelling through Inverness-shire, Perthshire, Argyll, and the Inner and Outer Hebrides. He employed scribes to record oral traditions. 24

Thomson is generous. Whatever the failings of Macpherson, the importance of his labours

22. Clerk, op. cit., vol. I, Dissert., p. xxxiii, n.

23. D.S. Thomson, The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's 'Ossian', (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 79.

24. Thomson, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

in the collection of traditional material, and more especially in the stimulating of interest in these traditions - should not be minimised. 25

So far Thomson is in agreement with Clerk. But the case against Macpherson is more a matter of proportions than sources. As Thomson shows, Macpherson not only mixed his own poetry with ancient poetry. He also mixed periods of the past.

Macpherson's work is a blend - and seldom a happy one - of several different cultures. 26

Thus he corrupted Gaelic as well as breaking up texts.

On the question of the manuscripts alleged to have been used by Macpherson, Donald Mackintosh has shown that the nineteen manuscripts handed over by the secretary of the Highland Society in 1803 were those deposited in 1762 in the shop of Macpherson's publisher. Among these was the Book of the Dean of Lismore which Macpherson had acquired, and for whose preservation we have to thank Macpherson.²⁷

Despite his exposure, Macpherson has given pleasure as well as pain, and has had countless imitators. His Ossianic works were the favourite reading of Napoleon I. Goethe introduced the song of Selma into his Werther's Leiden, and as late as 1807 Byron was apologising to his public for Hours of Idleness, calling the work a 'humble imitation' of Ossian. Nor was Scott to escape Macpherson's influence, as I shall show when considering his Highland poems.

25. Thomson, op. cit., p. 81.

26. Thomson, op. cit., p. 84.

27. D.T. Mackintosh, 'James Macpherson and the Book of the Dean of Lismore,' in Scottish Gaelic Studies, vol. VI, Part I, p. 11, ff.

But though Scott had dismissed Macpherson's Ossianic translations and accompanying notes as 'an absolute tissue of forgeries' in 1805, he seemed less certain a quarter of a century later, and long after the Highland Society of Scotland had reported. At least there is still plenty of scope for research. Writing to Donald Gregory, the young Scottish historian, from Abbotsford on 17 July 1831, the aging and disillusioned Scott who had made and squandered a fortune from writing about the Highlands, urged:

Now you have put the sickle of a candid and cool tempered man into this harvest I hope you will go on.²⁸ Try the question of Ossian never temperately dealt with, not even by Laing, acute enough but rather liable to over/ate himself. What is become of a Mass of Gaelic papers said to have been collected by the Highland Society? Would it not be as well sometimes to talk of Wisdom as to confine their conversation entirely to Stirks and bullocks? Where there was a race of hereditary Poets, there must have been Men of merit. I wish you would buckle to the task. The border Minstrels made a man of me: the highlanders, a much more ample subject, may make a hero of you. Every body would give you every assistance. 29

What were the implications for the Highlands of the Macpherson controversy? Dr Johnson's factual errors admitted, and Macpherson's 'cocktail method' of composition acknowledged, Ossian showed a surprised world that the Highlands had an ancient literature of great strength and beauty despite the apparent ignorance and barbarity of the region. It also showed that, although primarily an oral tradition, the Highland literary tradition also had a written

28. Gregory was then working on his History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625, published in 1836. It is a classic.

29. Grierson, Letters, vol. XII, p. 24.

part in the form of manuscripts. But the Macpherson controversy, occurring as it did after Culloden, eclipsed a golden age of Gaelic poetry in a period of profound social change.

Prior to Culloden the Highlands were divided into distinct units, or clans, presided over by chiefs, and supporting bards, some of them appointed by the chiefs themselves. This Celtic court poet structure is described by Thomson.

In the earliest times art was generated through patronage of an artistic order by a ruling caste. The system is more clearly demonstrable from Irish sources,³⁰ but there can be no doubt that it was firmly established in Gaelic Scotland, and on closely similar lines. The fullest illustration is provided by the court of the lords of the Isles, the premier MacDonald family, who maintained court poets for centuries, and whose officers at the end of the fifteenth century included both poets (who were also probably historians and genealogists) and musicians. The main bardic family, that of the MacMhuirichs, is known to have existed for over five hundred years, and examples of its work range in date from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, if we include the work of the founder of the family. 31

The bard was the genealogist of the individual clan, the chronicler of its history. He praised the chief and criticised the stragglers and cowards in battle,³² and sometimes he was a man of action, soldier as well as poet. He could make poems about

30. It is quite clear that in his dealings with Lady Gregory Yeats was attempting to revive this ancient system.

31. D.S. Thomson, 'Literature and the Arts,' in The Future of the Highlands, ed. Thomson and Grimble (London, 1968), p. 206.

32. 'His services could be used to incite his own party, or to vaunt its exploits, or to excuse failure'. Derick Thomson, An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry (London, 1974). This is an excellent guide for the newcomer to Gaelic poetry.

events as they happened, and he was not afraid to express strong political sentiments. For instance, there are early and fierce rumblings of nationalism in a poem by an unknown author in the celebrated Book of the Dean of Lismore. The poem, which is addressed to the Earl of Argyll on the eve of Flodden, advises:

Against Saxons, I say to you, ere they have taken
our country from us; let us not yield our native
country,
let us make no gentle warfare; let us, after the
pattern of the Gael of Banbha, watch over our
fatherland.

In the Highland oral tradition, the bard was assured of a constant and attentive audience, and there was feed-back, thus encouraging the continuation of the muse. But with Culloden and its punitive measures the bardic role fell vacant and poet, chief and peasant separated, never to be reunited.³³ Paradoxically, a golden age of Gaelic poetry occurred in the fifty years following Culloden, and

while it will always remain impossible to fully account for the marked productiveness of this era, there can be little doubt that the Jacobite rising, which so profoundly affected the lives and fortunes of the people of the north and west, had much to do with the setting free of the spirit of poetry in the bards of that period. The romance and the sufferings associated with these events stirred profoundly the emotions of the sweet singers of Highland glen and sea-girt island, as they did many a tuneful Scottish poet of a later date. To this the wealth of our Jacobite lyrics abundantly testify. 34

33. But Glengarry, friend of Scott's, apparently kept a bard in the early nineteenth century. Of this bizarre chief, more later.

34. The Book of Highland Verse, ed. Dugald Mitchell (London, 1912), Intro., pp. xlvii-vii. For examples, see John Lorne Campbell's Highland Songs of the Forty-Five, Edinburgh, 1933.

But some Gaelic scholars maintain that these post-Culloden versifiers were not bards in the traditional sense,³⁵ since so many of the principal Highland mansions were sacked, the chiefs in exile, and poet and peasant dispersed. They were poets and not bards because they had largely lost the domestic audience through social changes. Moreover, they were becoming literate, and books of Gaelic poetry were being published, though the majority of the Highland Gaelic speaking population could not read. Let us consider two case histories in illustration of these points.

Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, son of an Episcopalian clergyman, was a good classical scholar. He was on the losing side at Culloden, and he became a Roman Catholic. In hiding for some time after Culloden, he was invited to Edinburgh by Jacobite friends, but eventually returned to the Highlands. Like Johnson he was a lexicographer. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge sponsored his Galick and English Vocabulary, published in 1741.

His poems were first published at Edinburgh in 1751, and but for their being in Gaelic must certainly have brought on their author the vengeance of the law agents of the crown, for it is scarcely possible to conceive of language more violent and rebellious than that of many of his pieces. 36

As has already been stated, the Rev. Archibald Clerk, Ossianist,

35. This opinion has been expressed to me by the Gaelic scholar and educationist John A. Smith, Vice-Principal of Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow. Mr Smith was a contributor to The Future of the Highlands. Thomson makes the same point in his Introduction, pp. 156-57.

36. The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry and Lives of the Highland Bards, ed. J. MacKenzie (Edinburgh, 1872), p. 104.

also found MacDonald's poems 'immoral'. His best known and longest poem is Birlinn Chlainn Raonuill,³⁷ the account of a war galley's voyage to Carrickfergus.

If Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair was the first of the poets, the literate wanderer from a harried clan, Donnchadh Ban Mac An t-Saoir was the last of the bards. He fought with the Campbells at the battle of Falkirk, on the losing side, but he returned home to Argyllshire to enjoy the immunity of Campbell territory in the post-Culloden punitive measures. A forester, first with Breadalbane, and then with Argyll, Macintyre was a soldier in one of Breadalbane's fencible regiments from 1793 to 1799, and thereafter served in the Edinburgh City Guard. Illiterate all his long life, he composed poems and songs which were transcribed by a clergyman³⁸ and published in 1768, and which were already a part of the oral tradition, at least of Argyllshire. The range of Macintyre's themes is very wide. The episode of a borrowed sword lost at the battle of Falkirk becomes a flyting poem. The situation is reminiscent of Johnson and Macpherson. Fletcher the tacksman, the owner of the sword in question, is enraged, and strikes Macintyre over the back with a stick, saying:

'Dean oran air sin, a ghillie.'

'Make a song of that, my lad.'

37. It has been translated by Hugh MacDiarmid. It first appeared in The Modern Scot, vol. 5, no. 4, (January 1935,) pp. 230-47. That same year an edition limited to 100 signed and numbered copies was produced by the Abbey Book Shop, St Andrews. It was reprinted in The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry, sel. and ed. MacDiarmid, London, 1940.

38. The Rev. D. McNicol, who published Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides in 1799.

But the poem had an effect, for Breadalbane compensated Macintyre in cash.

As well as lamenting the death of the Earl of Breadalbane, his patron, in a panegyric of classic bardic sentiment, Macintyre also deplored the murder, at Appin, of Colin Campbell of Glenure. This poem clearly has political undertones which must have angered the Stewarts and Camerons, for Macintyre portrays a stainless personality. He was

Pleasant, restful benignly,
Noble, humble and kindly,
Kind, fond of kin, friendly,
With no fault for ill clash

and he went

... by decree
On part of Strathlochy,
Not for cupidity,
Nor them to defraud;
But their rights to assert,
Such your love for yon sort
Whose heir rightful at court
Should have been, the outlawed.

George Calder says that Macintyre

has been called the 'Burns of the Highlands,' and with some truth. Duncan Ban is the best loved Highlander as Burns is the best loved Scot. Both were natural and spontaneous singers, both sang of human life as they saw it with their own eyes, and each is the poet of his own people. 39

Duncan Ban Macintyre's best known and longest poem is Moladh Beinn-Dorain,⁴⁰ a celebration of, and a microscopic examination of the

39. Songs of Duncan MacIntyre in Gaelic and English, ed. G. Calder, (Edinburgh, 1912), Biog. Intro., p. xxxix.

40. It has been translated by Hugh MacDiarmid as well as by Crichton Smith. For MacDiarmid's version, see his Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry, London, 1940. Note that Macintyre wrote (or rather, made) a song/poem on such a sensitive topic as the restoration of the forfeited estates. But then, it was easy for Macintyre, considering that he lived on intact Campbell lands.

natural history of a Highland mountain.

Apparently there was rivalry between Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair and Ban Macintyre. Legend says that MacDonald, while working as a schoolmaster, saw Macintyre passing his school and dispatched a boy with the spontaneous poetic taunt:

Duncan Ban Macintyre,
Without lear, taste, or fire,
O'er his words I make no more ado
Than the ordure that sticks to my shoe.

Macintyre replied, having heard the boy reciting, but not having seen him:

Had I surveyed him,
I'd have flayed him.

As well as MacDonald and Macintyre, there were other fine Gaelic poets of the eighteenth century, of course, and Clerk listed some of them in his charge of immorality. I have selected these two, not only because they were major, but also because they illustrate the movement out of the oral bardic tradition into the age of print. Whereas it might be thought that the publication in book-form of Gaelic poetry could only increase the size of the poet's audience, this seems to be a fallacy. It is true that in the eighteenth century Highlands changes in education were taking place, however slowly, and moreover, changes engineered by a combination of church and charity, for

One of the most important of the educational agencies which came into existence for the purpose of supplying deficiencies in school accommodation, particularly in the Highlands, was the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, which, constituted into a corporation by letters patent in 1709, was for many years strongly supported and financially

assisted by the Church of Scotland. 41

The work of the Society was confined to assisting purely elementary education, and by 1781 it supported 180 schools, almost entirely in the Highlands and Islands.⁴²

Despite this widespread and worthwhile campaign, little progress seems to have been made, for, as H.G. Graham records:

the efforts to spread education had made so little way amongst a destitute, listless people, scattered along remote straths and separated by moor, and morass, and mountains from the nearest school, that in 1821, it is said, half of the population of 400,000 people were unable to read. 43

This lack of literacy obviously diminished the size of the potential audience for the Gaelic poetry books which were beginning to be published, and therefore the Gaelic poet in print received little or no feedback or encouragement from the mass of the common people. Nor could these Gaelic poets in the golden age expect to be translated and brought to the attention of a southern public, as Macpherson had been, because, as Clerk pointed out, some of their poems were violently political and morally enlightened in an age not tolerant of such public proclamations, and especially from Jacobite Highlanders. Moreover, Macpherson's poems in translation, at least in part, were allegedly many centuries old, and these were championed at the expense of modern, eighteenth century reactions in muscular

41. J. Strong, A History of Secondary Education in Scotland, (Oxford, 1909), p. 119.

42. Education Commission Report (1865), pp. 378-88.

43. H.G. Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1899), vol. II, p. 157.

poems to a period of profound social change. In other words, through the neglect of the modern bards the southern public did not realise that, apart from Macpherson, poetry of a high quality was being produced in the eighteenth century Highlands.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when Scott was maturing intellectually and casting his eyes north in search of literary themes, the literary situation in the Highlands was as follows. Excellent Gaelic poets published in bookform were not reaching a wide enough public, even within the Highlands. Apart from the letters of the loquacious Mrs Grant of Laggan, more social historian than literary figure, no prose was being produced in the Highlands. There were no indigenous Highland novelists writing either in Gaelic or English and drawing on local history for their material, despite the fact that the '45, like previous wars, had produced stirring stories of heroism and sheer recklessness, plus countless anecdotes to be absorbed into the oral tradition. The Macpherson controversy, and especially with Johnson in the lists, had shown an astounded world that there was much more to the Highlands than mountain, moor, ignorance and violence. That the Highlands had claimed universal attention through Macpherson's prose-poems could not have been lost on Scott. Likewise, he must have been conscious that there was still plenty to exploit, in landscape as well as history, and in poetry as well as prose.

TOWARDS A HIGHLAND POEM

It has already been stated that Scott's first encounter with Loch Katrine, the central scene of The Lady of the Lake occurred when he was sent, a writer's apprentice with an armed escort, to serve a writ on the tenants of the farm of Inverenty, property of the insolvent Stewarts of Appin.

The penetration of Perthshire was repeated, but not in the name of the law. Lockhart informs us that in 1793, the twenty-three year old Scott, now a qualified advocate, and his friend Adam Ferguson¹ went on an extended tour of Perthshire and neighbouring counties. Scott was remembering that tour, the youthful Ferguson and later tours when he wrote, in the 1830 Introduction to The Lady of the Lake:

the scenery of Loch Katrine was connected
with the recollection of many a dear friend
and merry expedition of former days.

But in that 1793 Perthshire tour Scott's interest did not stop at scenery. The itinerary was a series of halts at various gentlemen's seats, the parental properties of friends, and historic ruins. These included Tullibody (Abercromby), Newton (Edmonstone), Cambusmore (Buchanan), Bannockburn, Meigle (Murray of Simprim), Dunottar Castle, and Glamis Castle. Thus Scott made the aristocratic friendships he was to hold so dear throughout his life, for in him there was awe as well as respect, and some emulation. In the autobiographical fragment he boasted quietly that his birth

1. The lifelong friend of Scott's, and later 'the merry knight' Sir Adam, Keeper of the Regalia of Scotland, partly by Scott's efforts.

was esteemed gentle, as I was connected,
though remotely, with ancient families
both by my father's and mother's side. 2

It could be said that Scott attempted to revive that ancient bond between bard (or minstrel) and aristocrat. After all, the young Countess of Dalkeith (afterwards Harriet, Duchess of Buccleuch, mourned by Scott in 1814) had suggested that the young Scott write the goblin story which was incorporated into The Lay of the Last Minstrel, and so, if there had been no Countess, there might have been no poem.

But as well as viewing scenery and making aristocratic friendships on the 1793 Perthshire tours, Scott was also laying in literary stores for his future as a novelist. At Tullibody, old Abercromby gave him Rob Roy anecdotes which were to be used in the novel of that name, and doubtless from the mansions he saw and visited he borrowed details for Tully-Veolan. In fact, Lockhart claims that the Bradwardine mansion was 'very faithfully copied' from Craighall, the seat of the Rattrays.

As I have shown in my introduction, Scott informed George Ellis in 1805, the year of publication of The Lay of the Last Minstrel, that Pegasus would not be saddled unless, through residence in the Highlands, he could make himself

master of their ancient manners, so as to paint
them with some degree of accuracy in a kind of
companion to the Minstrel Lay. 3

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2. Autobiographical fragment in Lockhart's Life, p. 1. Yeats also strove to show his gentle birth, and searched for a coat of arms. But Scott, of course, became a Baronet and could display his arms at Abbotsford.
 3. See my introduction.

He had heard Jacobite tales as a child, listened to Invernahyle and read some Highland history. Furthermore, though he had only toured a part of the Highlands (and the perimeter at that) in 1793, he had found the scene for such a poem. But that was set aside while he collected the Border ballads and wrote the Lay, becoming, as Buchan said, 'the most popular poet of the day.' His reputation was further increased, and his financial state further improved by the publication, in 1808, of Marmion.

But he had by no means abandoned his idea of a Highland poem, and in his letters of this period he vacillates between enthusiasm and uncertainty. Flushed with success, he wrote to Dr Leyden from Edinburgh on 5 July 1806:

The reception of the Lay has been very flattering and the sale both rapid and extensive. I am somewhat tempted to undertake a Highland poem upon the same plan. 4

But he lacks material. Writing to Lady Abercorn from Ashestiel on 6 August 1806, he says:

I was much tempted to accept of a kind invitation they /Lord and Lady Melville/ gave me to their seat in the Highlands where I could have collected some materials for my projected romance. 5

But is this the Lady, or the opening chapters of Waverley, the 'grand work in contemplation' referred to in Scott's letter of 9 June 1806 to the same lady? Does Scott not know as yet if the Highland work is to be a poem or a novel? The poem seems to have been proceeded with, for on 13 January 1807, Miss Seward receives a letter

4. Grierson, Letters, vol. I, p. 308,

5. Ibid., pp. 312-13.

from Edinburgh.

/You will I feel sure/ be interested in learning that I have /now/ laid aside my Highland poem. The truth is it would require a journey of some length into the country not only to refresh my faded or inaccurate recollection of the scenery; But also to pick up some of the traditions still floating in the memory of the inhabitants. I am at a great loss also from not understanding the language of that enthusiastic... 6

Grierson says that the rest of this part of the letter is missing, but there is sufficient extant to show that Scott's plan for the Highland poem was going badly. He has set the poem aside because he lacks material. Furthermore, the Loch Katrine scenery does not seem to have made the profound and lasting effect on Scott's memory that Lockhart claims, or that Scott himself claims in Chapter 1 of The Fair Maid of Perth already quoted in the Invernahyle section. Scott feels that he must return to Loch Katrine to refresh his memory, and gather substance for the poem. But then, in mitigation, it must be admitted that as far as the reproduction of scenery in the poetry was concerned, Scott cared for the small details. In his Memorandum J.B.S. Morritt, proprietor of Rokeby and kind friend of Scott's, recorded that when Scott was collecting material for the poem Rokeby,

I observed him noting down even the peculiar little wild flowers and herbs that accidentally grew round and on the side of a bold crag near his intended cave of Guy Denzil; and could not help saying, that as he was not to be upon oath in his work, daisies, violets, and primroses would be as poetical as any of the humble plants he was examining. I laughed, in short, at his scrupulousness; but I understood him when he replied, 'that in nature herself no two scenes were exactly alike, and that whoever copied truly what was before his eyes, would possess the same

6. Grierson, Letters, vol. I, p. 347.

variety in his descriptions, and exhibit apparently an imagination as boundless as the range of nature in the scenes he recorded; whereas - whoever trusted to imagination, would soon find his own mind circumscribed, and contracted to a few favourite images, and the repetition of these would sooner or later produce that very monotony and barrenness which had always haunted descriptive poetry in the hands of any but the patient worshippers of truth.' 7

Scott, therefore, was aiming for accuracy in a calculated creative process that would seem to be destructive of inspiration and the spontaneous. The Lady of the Lake was going badly, and in a letter to James Ballantyne from Castle Street on a Sunday in 1808 the frustrated poet announced: 'I intend to write no more poetry for two years.'⁸

Then things seemed to go better, for Scott writes to Lady Abercorn from Edinburgh on 13 March 1808:

Meantime I have by no means relinquished my thoughts of a Highland poem but am gradually collecting the ideas and information necessary for that task. 9

But what was this poem to be about? Scott still did not seem to know. He had heard stories of the '45 from his family and from Invernahyle, and, as I have already stated,¹⁰ Scott wrote to Robert Surtees on 17 December 1806, thanking him for suggestions for literary themes, and in particular for 'pointing out ... the feuds of 1715 and '45.' Scott tells Surtees; 'your kind encouragement confirms me in the resolution that something I must do, and speedily.'

7. Lockhart, Life, p. 226.

8. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 42.

9. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 32.

10. For this, and surrounding letters see my introduction.

Contemplating a Highland poem in 1808, and remembering the '45 tales and Surtees' advice, Scott writes to him from Edinburgh on 4 April.

I have always thought of a Highland poem before hanging my harp on the willows; and perhaps it would be no bad setting for such a tale to suppose it related for her amusement, in the course of his /Prince Charles's/ wanderings after the fatal field of Culloden. Flora Macdonald, Kingsburgh, Lochiel, the Kennedies, and many other characters of dramatic /interest/ might be introduced; and the time is now past away when the theme would have had both danger and offence in it. 11

The last sentence is telling in the light of Scott's reverence for the aristocracy and the Hanoverian establishment. But more important is the fact that Scott has not yet settled on a theme. But then, in the letter to Miss Seward of 13 January 1807, he spoke about having 'laid aside' his Highland poem. What, then, was its theme?

It appears that in 1808 Scott was preparing to postpone, if not to abandon his Highland poem because of massive editorial commitments. The astute but ill-fated Archibald Constable had been watching Scott's rapidly rising star closely, and he managed to persuade Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme to let him take a share in the risk of publishing The Lay of the Last Minstrel in 1805. Constable realised a handsome profit from his investment, and, sensing that much more could be forthcoming from the same source, he offered Scott £1,500 for an edition of Swift's works. Scott accepted, and noted in February 1808 that it would take him two years.

Thus, writing from Edinburgh on 28 February 1808, the heavily

11. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 37.

committed Scott tells Lady Abercorn that he is to edit Swift, but that

in the meantime I will collect ideas for my
Highland poem which I intend to begin two
years hence if I have life health & spirits.

12

A literary programme is being planned. In that same year, (1808), Scott's massive eighteen volume edition of Dryden appeared, for which Scott received £756 from Miller of Albemarle Street, London, and the world a work of reference that is still valuable. Little wonder that Scott was having difficulty getting down to his Highland poem, even although poetry, like editing, was becoming a paying proposition. Constable had offered Scott one thousand pounds for Marmion, without having seen so much as a line, and Scott accepted, partly because money was urgently needed to square the Abercorn accounts that the now insolvent Tom had managed so badly, much to his brother's embarrassment.

Around this time Scott gained two new correspondents, both female, who were to give him much help with his Highland poem and later Highland works in terms of encouragement and information. The Maclean Clephanes were of the Macleans of Torloisk, a very old cadet branch of the Duart dynasty. That the Torloisk Macleans were highly talented even before Scott's time is beyond doubt, for the traveller St Fond (the same who had been scared by the 'ghost' of Ossian at Loch Etive) had visited Torloisk in 1784, and listened enraptured to a young lady playing the harpsichord,¹³ the instrument that seems to

12. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 26.

13. 'No one could better convert the unbelievers than the lovely Miss Maclean, and I invited her in the name of the sister arts, of poetry and music, which she knows so well, to publish her

have supplanted the harp in the Hebrides. Scott corresponded with both mother and daughter, but it was the daughter, Margaret, who was to give him most help because she was obviously more artistic than her mother. Though she was young, she was a godsend because she had Gaelic.

The first letter that Grierson prints is dated 5 February 1809, from Edinburgh, and is addressed to Mrs Clephane. Though the publication of The Lady of the Lake is only a year away, Scott is still in difficulty. He needs help.

I have some thoughts of being in London in a few weeks, when I hope to see you as I have a world of questions to ask about Highland song and poetry, which no one but you can answer. One day or other, I hope to attempt a Highland poem, as I am warmly attached both to the country and the character of its inhabitants. My father had many visitors from Argyleshire when I was a boy, chiefly old men who had been out in 1745, and I used to hang upon their tales with the utmost delight. 14

Is it still to be a poem about the '45 then? In his next letter, in April or May 1809, and from Half Moon Street, London, Scott tells Mrs Clephane that, having time to spare before dinner, he 'employed it in an attempt to versify the Macleans' song.'¹⁵ He encloses the 'War-song of the Macleans,' which is 'Imitated from the Gaelic.'¹⁶ In the printed editions of Scott's poems it is dated 1815, with textual changes in two lines. Shortly after this

researches respecting the poems and airs of the ancient caledonians.' St. Fond, op. cit., vol. II, p. 66. Miss Maclean was a perfervid Ossianist.

14. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 163. 15. Ibid., p. 189.

16. It is interesting to compare Scott the 'translator' from the Gaelic with MacDiarmid in the same role, particularly as both seem to have received literal translations from friends.

letter, Mrs Clephane receives another in which Scott expresses the 'longing' that she should read a MS. version of Joanna Baillie's Family Legend, a play dealing with Maclean history, and particularly with the episode of the maid marooned on the rock off Duart.¹⁷

But the daughter will turn out to be a better source of information than the mother. On 7 August 1809 Margaret writes from Torloisk, promising Scott post haste the coronach to Sir Lachlan Maclean,

along with the story of the wild bull, and another family anecdote or two, as you was /sic/ so good as /to/ desire to have some of these. 18

There is also material on 'attendant spirits,' as Miss Maclean Clephane calls ghosts. On 17 August Scott writes to Margaret from Ashetiel, acknowledging with thanks her translation of the Gaelic coronach. Then, prompted by Lord Glenbervie apparently, Scott asks her questions about the descent of the Douglasses, and if we remember that he created a mythical Douglas for The Lady of the Lake, and that the Clephanes had Douglas blood, we shall understand his purpose. But the Highland poem is not yet planned, for the letter ends thus:

I am delighted with your highland tales and with Mrs. Clephanes goodness in dictating them. I shall certainly one day turn them to excellent account but it must be after I have visited you in the Hebrides, and that I fear is a remote prospect. 19

Lockhart informs us that before installing himself at Ashes-

17. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 191.

18. Walpole, MS. 3878, ff. 104.

19. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 229.

tiel for the autumn of 1809, Scott had

undertaken to have a third poem ready for publication by the end of the year, and probably made some progress in the composition of the *Lady of the Lake*. On the rising of the Court in July, he went, accompanied by Mrs. Scott and his eldest daughter, to revisit the localities, so dear to him in the days of his juvenile rambling, which he had chosen for the scene of his fable. 20

Grierson notes that Lockhart is wrong, or Scott's memory faulty because letters to Southey and Lady Abercorn at this time show that the Perthshire visit took place at the end of August and the beginning of September.²¹

With part of the poem apparently written, Scott was carefully checking detail, as he was to do at Rokeby. At Cambusmore Lockhart claims the poet ascertained,

in his own person, that a good horseman, well mounted, might gallop from the shore of Loch Vennachar to the rock of Stirling within the space allotted for that purpose to FitzJames.

Satisfied, Scott proceeded through Rob Roy country.

Having returned to Ashestiel and the editing of *Swift*, Scott wrote to Lady Abercorn on 14 September 1809:

The sight of our beautiful Mountains and lakes (though not new to me), and your Ladyship's kind exhortations have sett me to threading verses together with what success I am yet uncertain. But if I am not able to please myself at all it is but a step to the fireside and the poem will go into smoke like half the projects of this world. 22

20. Lockhart, *Life*, p. 181.

21. Grierson, *Letters*, vol. II, p. 238, n.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Scott's letter to Mrs Clephane from Edinburgh on 27 October 1809, shows that the Highland poem was not far advanced.

I have little to plead from serious occupation, for my autumn has been idly enough spent, heaven knows. I wandered however as far as Loch Lomond, and with difficulty checked myself from wandering farther and farther. I think the main drag-chain was that I could not hope to find you in Mull, and consequently must forego all hopes of learning Gaelic, and acquiring the traditional information with which I should otherwise expect to be delighted. I have besides still my Highland Epic in view - I have indeed begun to skirmish a little upon the frontiers of Perthshire and Lennox, into which I was led by the romantic scenery, the number of strange stories connected with it, and above all, by the inveterate habit of coupling the lines together by jingling rhymes, as I used to couple spaniels in sporting days - But I reserve my grand effort till I should know a little more of the language, and above all, till I can have the honour of visiting you in your lovely isle. The Douglasses enter a good deal into my present sketches which I have some thoughts of working into a romance, or romantic poem, to be called the Lady of the Lake. It will, should I find time to continue my plan, contain a good many lyrical pieces. 23

Writing to Margaret that same day, Scott once again raises the question of learning Gaelic, and remembers Invernahyle with affection. Then he confides:

I have been amusing myself with trying to scratch out a Douglas tale but this is only for your own ear and family as I have not formed any serious intention of combining or systematizing the parts I have written. 24

Though he dismisses lightly his 'Douglas tale,' he wants his versifying to be kept a secret. But why does he tell Margaret this? Apparently because some of the Highland material she was

23. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 261.

24. Ibid., p. 264.

supplying was being incorporated into the poem in progress. But why a secret? Clearly because he is not confident. On 2 March 1810 he tells Morritt:

My present attempt is a poem partly highland -
the scene Loch Katrine tempore Jacobi quinti.
If I fail as Lady MacBeth gallantly says - I
fail and there is only a story murdered to no
purpose - and if I succeed why then as the
song says

Up with the bonnie blue bonnet
The Durk and the feather and a'. 25

The tone is flippant, but Scott feared failure. He did not like to risk his reputation, and though he had grown up in the scenery²⁶ of The Lay of the Last Minstrel, the Highland poem was a new departure. Besides, there was the question of money, and from different sources for the same work. John Ballantyne, James's flamboyant brother had now joined the concern as a publisher, with Scott as his partner, and thus Constable was pushed out for the moment. John was also Scott's agent, and Scott was James's partner. Scott had therefore maximised the profits from his pen, which were a) from royalties, b) from printing, and c) from publishing. He could not afford to stop these three sources of finance by putting a bad poem before the public.

But again, he had a growing family, and he was not realising the full potential of his sheriffdom. In 1810 he needed more money, but not only for himself. The almost plaintive reasons are given in the letter to Morritt of 2 March:

25. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 306.

26. At least, as a convalescent child.

My office though a very good one for Scotland, is only held in reversion nor do I at present derive a shilling from it. I must expect that a fresh favourite of the public will supercede me and my philosophy being very great on the point of poetical fame I would fain at the risque of hastening my own downfall avail myself of the favourite moment to make some further provision for my little people. I cannot otherwise honestly indulge myself in some of the luxuries which when long gratified become a sort of pseudo-necessaries.

It is sentiments such as these that have made many a critic deplore Scott's mercenary attitude to literature. He is comfortably installed at Ashestiel, and has a large and apparently lucrative (if hidden, and even from close friends like Morritt) investment in printing and publishing through his uncle Robert's legacy. But he wants more, and he says so frankly, which is no crime. This said, however, there is no doubt that in Scott there was a serious dichotomy between the legal man and the artist, between conformity and freedom. On the one hand, Scott sensed early that he would not go far, nor make much money as a lawyer. On the other hand, he realised early in his literary career that his pen could bring much profit. But then, Scott did not wish to live by the law alone. Nor did he wish to live by literature alone, because literature, and especially novel writing, was not always a welcome talent in genteel society. In fact, he was frightened that literature would impede the small amount of progress he could expect to make in law. Calvinistic in his caution and cunning, he plays for time, accepts a non-paying Clerkship, and plans his literary career carefully. His reasons for wanting money differed at different stages of his career, and this affected his literary output. In 1808 money was needed from Marmion to settle the Abercorn accounts and avert disgrace. In 1810 money was

needed from The Lady of the Lake, for general living purposes.

The muse must have been attentive to Scott in the late winter of 1809, for the poem did not 'go into smoke,' as he had hinted to Lady Abercorn. In fact, all went well, as Eric Quayle records, for The Lady of the Lake appeared

early in May 1810, as a finely printed quarto at two guineas a copy, carrying as a frontispiece Saxon's portrait of the author. The first edition of over two thousand copies was sold out almost immediately and was quickly followed by no less than four octavo editions the same year, so that in the space of a few months some twenty thousand volumes had been disposed of. 27

On 19 May Scott writes to Margaret Clephane from Edinburgh, admitting, though the book carries no acknowledgement:

when you have time to read over the Lady of the Lake notes inclosed you will see how much I have been obliged to your Gaelic erudition so that if I willfully neglected or undervalued your correspondence there would not only be unkindness in it but infinite folly. I shall have a copy of the aforesaid Lady for you I hope very shortly of a size fit for your chaise pocket. 28

But which came first: the notes or the poetry? Are the notes sources for items in the poem, or merely further reading? The first is mostly the case, and a number of notes obviously came from Margaret Clephane. This I can show later, when I run commentary and notes together.

Scott was the young Mull woman's confessor and consoler. Apparently some friend has done Miss Clephane (at present in London)

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27. E. Quayle, The Ruin of Sir Walter Scott, (London, 1968), p. 48. A fascinating study of Scott's financial fall.
28. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 337.

more mischief than half a dozen enemies
could have done

but Miss Clephane consoles herself with the thought that

Mr. Scott is not one of those changeable
fashionables whose opinions, like their
dress, suffers a total alteration every
six months. 29

Perhaps not, but Scott knew how to put his friends to use, and Miss Clephane would become a careful and faithful amanuensis on distant Mull, transcribing Gaelic anecdotes and dispatching them (in translation, of course) to Scott.³⁰ Yet she receives no honourable mention, while Invernahyle is praised incessantly. It is true, of course, that Scott repaid her in kind. He was her guardian, and he carefully supervised her marriage plans, in 1815, giving his approval of Lord Compton, the suitor, and calling for the revision of the marriage contract because old Northampton was proving tight-fisted. Margaret became Lady Compton.

If critics complain that the Waverley Novels lie neglected on library shelves, what is to be said about Scott's long poems? Far less having readers, they do not even get critical attention nowadays, and yet they were once the rage of the land, and in genteel society those who had not read them were considered to be unfashionable, to say the least. It seems incredible to the modern reader who has the patience to read right through that a poem like

29. Walpole, MS. 3879, ff. 103.

30. Partington prints some examples in Sir Walter's Post-Bag, pp. 48-9; 81-2. There are scores of examples in Walpole.

Margaret is by far the biggest Highland correspondent in the Walpole Collection, with a closely written four-page letter her standard dispatch. Unfortunately her writing is uneven.

The Lady of the Lake could become a best seller, at the same time attracting the attention and praise of some of the most discriminating men of the time. What was its secret? The beauty of Highland scenery suddenly revealed, in the way that Macpherson had taken the world by storm with Ossian? But Scott could not claim to have discovered the Trossachs in general, and Loch Katrine in particular. Most of the eighteenth century travellers had expressed their admiration. Pennant had recorded that the Perthshire scenery was 'awefully magnificent' when he rode that way in 1769, and Leyden, the scholar of the exotic, had praised it in 1800. In 1803 Dorothy and William Wordsworth and Coleridge had toured the Highlands, and they were determined to see Loch Katrine. They had to ask the way, and

a laugh was on every face when William said we were come to see the Trossachs; no doubt they thought we had better have stayed at our own homes. William endeavoured to make it appear not so very foolish, by informing them that it was a place much celebrated in England, perhaps little thought of by them. 31

The fact was that the Trossachs were the safe and picturesque threshold to the Highlands, safe enough to visit in the middle and late eighteenth century, despite the disconcerting legends of Rob Roy and fellow caterans. The natural law was (or was imagined to be, and particularly by the English) that the further north one went, the more hazardous it became, and there was some truth in this because, in the unruly days before the destruction of the Lordship of the Isles, the long arm of authority was not long enough to reach and subdue the most northern clans. But if the southerners could not travel

31. Dorothy Wordsworth, Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland A.D. 1803, ed. J.C. Shairp (Edinburgh, 1874) p. 89.

up, the Highlanders came down, to rustle cattle and retreat into the mountains. Perthshire, being the perimeter of the Highlands, suffered much in these forays. But again, Perthshire men, most notably Rob Roy descended in foray to the Lowlands.

It was not bandits but bad weather which held the Wordsworths back, and when they eventually reached Loch Katrine they were bitterly disappointed, for

the whole lake appeared a solitude - neither boats, islands, nor houses, no grandeur in the hills, nor any loveliness in the shores. 32

It was not a scene that could inspire Wordsworth to on-the-spot composition. The chance phrase 'stepping westward' spoken at Loch Katrine would not become the title of a poem until years later, and even then that poem would have little or nothing to say about Loch Katrine.

Miss Wordsworth was thinking wistfully of home.

When we had first come in view of it we had said it was like a barren Ulswater - Ulswater dismantled of its grandeur, and cropped of its lesser beauties. 33

But their spirits soared when, having taken to the water, their boat rounded a bend, and they saw that it was

an entire solitude; and all that we beheld was the perfection of loveliness and beauty. 34

High praise from those who dwelt on the edge of the most famous lakes in England. When they paid their respects to Scott on their way south, did they speak with awe of the solitude and beauty of Loch Katrine, and so suggest to Scott the theme for a Highland

32. Shairp, op. cit., p. 86.

33. Ibid., p. 86.

34. Ibid., p. 98.

poem? We shall never know, for unfortunately Miss Wordsworth does not record their conversation, but she does remember that

Mr. Scott sate with us an hour or two, and
repeated a part of the Lay of the Last Mins-
trel, 35

which was not published until 1805. Lockhart claims to be reproducing the substance of a conversation with Wordsworth when he writes:

The impression on Mr. Wordsworth's mind was, that on the whole he /Scott/ attached much less importance to his literary labours or reputation than to his bodily sports, exercises, and social amusements; and yet he spoke of his profession as if he had already given up almost all hope of rising by it; and some allusion being made to its profits, observed that 'he was sure he could, if he chose, get more money than he should ever wish to have from the booksellers.' 36

Scott's boast must have subdued Wordsworth, who was supporting himself and his sister on one hundred pounds per annum, with little prospects of improvement.

In attempting to determine the secret of the success of The Lady of the Lake, I have shown that Scott could not be credited with the discovery of the Trossachs, but by the poem he did make the scene available to the public at large for the first time. There was, however, more to the poem than scenic portrayal. Scott himself provided part of the explanation in his 1831 Introduction to the Lay of the Last Minstrel because part of the answer was in the Lay. Again, with disarming frankness, Scott confesses, almost thirty years after the first publication of his first famous poem:

35. Shairp, op. cit., p. 261.

36. Lockhart, Life, pp. 110-11.

It would be great affectation not to own frankly, that the author expected some success from 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel.' The attempt to return to a more simple and natural style of poetry was likely to be welcomed, at a time when the public had become tired of heroic hexameters, with all the buckram and binding which belong to them of later days. But whatever might have been his expectations, whether moderate or unreasonable, the result left them far behind, for among those who smiled on the adventurous Minstrel, were numbered the great names of William Pitt and Charles Fox. (p. 30).

In other words, the shrewd Scott had carefully surveyed the market and observed that the public at large found the metaphysics of southern poetry too difficult and too tedious, and it was the public at large that mattered to Scott, because that was where the most money lay. In Scott's estimation, the public wanted light and natural poetry, but which would stir the heart. This, to some extent, Burns had given them, but then in some of his love songs and poems Burns had given offence. Scott had aimed at 'higher' things. In Marmion the modern minstrel had sung the praises of Pitt and Fox, and the 'great names', their political heirs, duly responded with delight and patronage. Besides, no one could take offence at the plot or language of the Lay, because there was no coarseness, and because the story was set far back in history.

Likewise with The Lady of the Lake; Donald Carswell sums up its reception and contents:

The reviewers vied with one another in the popular task of laudation.... The novelty of the scene, with all its wealth of romantic suggestion, the exquisitely beautiful heroine who never allows evil communications to corrupt virginal good manners, the dark and powerful villain, the gallant royal hero travelling incognito, the juvenile lead of spotless reputation - who more could the exacting public want? 37

37. Donald Carswell, Sir Walter: A Four-Part Study in Biography, (London, 1930), p. 61.

It sounds like the ingredients of a Macpherson poem, and I shall effect a comparison later.

Scott had not followed the advice of Surtees and made a poem out of the '15 or the '45. Nor had he made a poem out of Rob Roy, though he was fascinated by the cateran whose home territory was Loch Katrine. The Lady of the Lake was set in the sixteenth century, in the reign of James V of Scotland, and that monarch appears in disguise up until the end of the poem. A mythical Douglas appears, with a beautiful daughter, and at least two suitors. The action is centred around Loch Katrine, but shifts to Stirling for the dramatic ending.

Though this was Scott's first poem in a Highland setting, the eager reader (and they were all eager, apparently) was getting little new, at least in terms of plot structure and broad characterisation. In my introduction I showed Scott writing to Lady Abercorn on 9 June 1806, and informing her:

I have a grand work in contemplation but so distant, so distant that the distance between Edinburgh and Stanmore is nothing to it. This is a Highland romance of Love Magic and War founded upon the manners of our mountaineers with my stories about whom your Ladyship was so much interested.

As I stated, this might refer to the early chapters of Waverley, but for the present purposes it is equally applicable to the poetry. If we offset Scott's phrase 'Love Magic and War' against the three poems The Lay of the Last Minstrel, Marmion, and The Lady of the Lake we get an interesting comparison best presented in table form. (See below.)

As I hope my table shows, the three poems are almost copies

	<u>Lay</u> (1805)	<u>Marmion</u> (1808)	<u>Lady</u> (1810)
LOVE	Margaret/Lord Cranstoun	Constance/Marmion Clare/De Winton	Ellen/Malcolm Graeme Roderick Dhu.
MAGIC (Disguise)	Book of Michael Scott. Cranstoun's Dwarf. Cranstoun impersonates Deloraine in lists.	Warning from Edin'ro Cross Fighting the spectre	Brian the Hermit and his incantations. King in disguise.
WAR	English army moving towards Branksome, demanding William of Deloraine, who slew Musgrave. But war is averted.	Flodden, where Marmion dies and De Winton triumphs.	Fiery cross sent out. Battle of Beal' an Duine.
(Special effects)	Minstrel's songs. Temporal switching.	Panegyrics to friends and the famous.	Iorram, coronach, minstrel.

of each other in terms of the devices of plot and broad characterisation, and thus The Lady of the Lake emerges as much more than a 'kind of companion to the Minstrel Lay,' the phrase used by Scott in his 1805 letter to Ellis. In this sense the expectant public was duped by the new poem, for although Scott shifted the scene to Loch Katrine, the principal characters remained much the same. When he tried this again, five years later, by shifting the scene to the stormy waters and garrisons of the Hebrides in The Lord of the Isles, the public would register their protest through sales, and the bardic crown would be relinquished to Byron.

Since The Lady of the Lake was Scott's first Highland poem, and since he was obviously short of material up to the time of writing, allowance must be made for its experimental aspects. In order to see how it was put together, it must be taken to pieces.

THE LADY OF THE LAKE

In the Argument of The Lady of the Lake Scott gives notice that

The Scene of the following Poem is laid chiefly in the vicinity of Loch-Katrine, in the Western Highlands of Perthshire. The Time of Action includes Six Days, and the transactions of each day occupy a Canto.

In the Prologue to Canto First, called 'The Chase', Scott addresses the

Harp of the North! that mouldering long hast hung
On the witch-elm that shades Saint Fillan's spring,

and thus, while setting the scene in general, he orders the decaying harp to sound once again and transport the reader back to the great days of

... Knighthood's dauntless deed, and Beauty's
matchless eye.

This is the type of device of temporal regression that was used so memorably in The Lay of the Last Minstrel, which, at first reading, may appear to be much more complicated than The Lady of the Lake. But in the opening of the poem under consideration there are equally sophisticated mechanisms of time and place lying under the elaborate language. Having directed the reader's attention to the stag 'at eve' in Perthshire, which has drunk its fill, Scott has it hunted, and through this hunt the reader is taken into the poem. This movement is handled with extreme skill, and the stag-hunt is memorable, with the reader sensing the surprise, momentary uncertainty, speed and strength of the animal, as well as savouring the scenery. The sounds are of different strengths and from different sources, from the baying of a 'hundred dogs,' the clattering of a

'hundred steeds,' the peal of 'merry horns,' and a 'hundred voices.'

The hunt, therefore, is large and furious.

But we are also given different perspectives. The hunters are behind, at ground-level, and

The falcon, from her cairn on high,
Cast on the rout a wondering eye,

(I, III, ll. 13-14)

watching it fade beyond her 'piercing ken,' which means that it has gone far, gradually growing small and silent, its 'failing din' a fading echo. Moreover, it is slowing down. The way is steep, the horses faltering, the pack lessening, and the stag pausing upon the mountain. But then,

Fresh vigour with the hope returned,
With flying foot the heath he spurned,
Held westward with unwearied race,
And left behind the panting chase.

(I, V, ll. 13-16)

In such description Scott has no equal, and the reader visualises the difficult terrain as well as feeling the stag's speed and stamina. In other words, the reader is with both hunt and quarry.

Then a new perspective is introduced. The hunt has flagged, but

The headmost Horseman rode alone,

(I, VI, l. 12)

accompanied by a brace of hounds. But the stag goes to bay

In the deep Trosach's wildest nook,

(I, VIII, l. 15)

and the exhausted horse falls dead. It is now sunset and the unseated huntsman is lost in a scene of 'rocky summits,' torrents and shrubberies, down to the detail of the 'briar-rose.' Then follows a

catalogue of plant and flower, eglantine, hawthorn, hazel, primrose, violet, fox-glove and night-shade.¹ We are at ground-level again, in descriptive poetry of great power.

I maintain that in poetry Scott is always at his best when there are few or no figures in his landscape, or, more precisely, when he gives landscape priority. But then, The Lady of the Lake is a narrative poem, and though Scott obviously knows and loves the Trossachs, he must people his landscape. This is done gradually. The lost huntsman surveys the countryside, says that it is a scene

'For princely pomp or churchman's pride!'

(I, XV, l. 4)

But night is descending and he must be practical. He will have to sleep rough, on a 'mossy bank' for couch, with a 'rustling oak' for canopy. Unlike Robin Hood, he does not know the woods he is wandering in. Musing on a summer night spent under the stars, he fears that

'To meet with highland plunderers here
Were worse than loss of steed or deer.'

(I, XVI, ll. 13-14)

As in all his works, Scott is generous in providing notes to substantiate items - but not all items - in the text. But, as F.A. Pottle has cautioned:

No man wrote more pleasant or vivid notes than Scott, and for a good reason: they were often half fiction. 2

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1. The implementation of Scott's faithfulness to detail as explained by Morritt in that part of his Memorandum dealing with the writing of Rokeby.
 2. F.A. Pottle, 'The Power of Memory', in Essays on the Eighteenth Century, presented to David Nichol Smith, (Oxford, 1945) pp. 168-89. Reprinted in Scott's Mind and Art, ed. A.N. Jeffares, (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 251.

Pottle believes that the notes have a detrimental effect on the poetry, for Scott,

having presented a romance, seems almost to feel under obligation to deflate it by parallel columns of history. 3

Note V, which accompanies the above quotation, explains that

The clans who inhabited the romantic regions in the neighbourhood of Loch Katrine were, even until a late period, much addicted to predatory excursions upon their lowland neighbours.

To show that this was a common and accepted practice, Scott then quotes from Patrick Graham's Sketches of Scenery in Perthshire, (1806) a book he has obviously used extensively to refresh his memory on the scenery and customs.⁴

The wandering huntsman now encounters another human, 'A Damsel' drifting in a 'little skiff.' She is beautiful, of course, and,

Like a monument of Grecian art,
In listening mood, she seemed to stand
The guardian Naiad of the strand.

(I, XVII, ll. 22-4)

The beautiful and graceful Lady of the Lake is obviously high-born.

A chieftain's daughter seemed the maid;
Her satin snood, her silken plaid,
Her golden brooch, such birth betray'd.
And seldom was a snood amid
Such wild luxuriant ringlets hid,
Whose glossy black to shame might bring
The plumage of the raven's wing;

3. Pottle, op. cit., p. 251.

4. Graham was minister of Aberfoyle. To show the way Scott's work could affect other writers: the second edition (1812) of Graham's book had the extended title 'illustrative of the Lady of the Lake.' ALC., 1812 ed.

And seldom o'er a breast so fair,
Mantled a plaid with modest care.

(I, XIX, ll. 1-10)

Satin and silken apparel, golden jewellery, 'wild luxuriant ring-lets ... glossy black,' and a 'fair' breast. Scott had told Anna Seward in 1805 that the

eternal repetition of the same ideas and imagery, however beautiful in themselves, is apt to pall upon a reader whose taste has become somewhat fastidious,

and in his autobiographical fragment we remember that he explained that he had been 'disgusted' early by the 'tawdry repetition' of the Ossianic phraseology.

But the reader of The Lady of the Lake is bored, if not 'disgusted' early by precisely such 'tawdry repetition,' for so much of the poem is pure Macpherson. It shares with Ossian hunts, harps, rocky and sylvan scenery, battles and a beautiful woman of a stereotyped beauty. Let us make a composite portrait in illustration.

Who moves so stately on Lumon, at the roar of the
foamy waters? Her hair falls upon her heaving breast.⁵

('Sul-Malla of Lumon')

Bend thy fair head over the waves, thou lovelier
than the ghost of the hills, when it moves in a sun-beam,
at noon, over the silence of Morven! ('Fingal')

A white-sailed boat appeared far off; we saw it
like a mist, that rode on ocean's wind. It soon
approached. We saw the fair. Her white breast heaved
with sighs. The wind was in her loose dark hair:
her rosy cheek had tears.

('Fingal')

Thy face was like the light of morning. Thy hair

5. All quotations are from The Poems of Ossian, Edinburgh, 1894.

like the raven's wing. Thy soul was generous and mild,
like the hour of the setting sun.

('Dar-Thula')

He pursued the chase in Ullin; on the moss-covered
top of Drumardo. From the wood looked the daughter
of Cathmin, the blue-rolling eye of Con-lama.
Her sigh rose in secret. She bent her head, amidst
her wandering locks.

('Temora')

We see, therefore, that Scott is using Ossianic imagery such as raven-coloured hair and fair skin to describe his heroine's beauty, the feature of this beauty being that it is described by reference to the natural world around. This is external beauty, but Scott equates this with internal beauty in a kind of mirror image. Thus the Lady of the Lake's kindness and worth are reflected in her eye, even truer than

... Katrine, in her mirror blue,
Gives back the shaggy banks ...

(I, XIX, ll. 14-15)

But Scott is also using the Ossianic situation of pale heroine, on land or water, watched by, or confronted by the wandering male, known or otherwise, and this followed by strife and battle, mostly staged in sylvan scenery, with harp and hunt. It must be said, however, that Macpherson's heroines are much sadder, and consistently sadder than Scott's Lady of the Lake. Furthermore, Macpherson's women are often distraught, and quite capable of violence. They may weep for fallen warriors, but they can also kill warriors or be killed themselves. But Scott's heroine is better balanced and more passive, at least at the beginning of the poem. Yet, like Macpherson's ladies, the Lady of the Lake is still unreal, precious, remote from flesh and blood. In this sense the best of the poem is over before

it has got under way. It is like the strong, swift stag soon at bay and dragged down. From the moment we meet Ellen, the Lady of the Lake we are more and more convinced that we are watching a Hollywood epic in glorious technicolour, but with cardboard characters.

Startled, Ellen calls: 'father' and then: 'Malcolm?' The huntsman comes forward. She panics and pushes from the shore. Then, stopping with a safe distance between them, she parleys. Apparently he is not an unannounced guest, for Ellen informs him that the minstrel

'Old Allan-bane foretold your plight.'

(I, XXIII, l. 6)

Note VI explains the minstrel's gift of prophecy by reference to Martin's account of second sight in his Description.⁶ In Note II to Canto Third Scott calls him 'Dr. John Martin,' and does not make it clear (or does not know) that Martin was a native of the Hebrides. Martin was describing second sight in the late seventeenth century, and in his native Skye in particular, because the second sight is a gift (or, some would say, a curse) predominantly of the Hebrides. Scott transfers this sixth sense to a sixteenth century minstrel at Loch Katrine.

Having satisfied Ellen that his garb squares with the minstrel's vision, the huntsman is shipped to the island. Deirdre sat in her leafy bower at Loch Etive, and Ellen sits in her leafy bower on an island on Loch Katrine. This is described as being

... a lodge of ample size,

6. Martin, op. cit., pp. 300-335.

But strange of structure and device;
Of such materials, as around
The workman's hand had readiest found.

(I, XXVI, ll. 1-4)

In other words, like Deirdre's hut, it is built from materials closest to hand, and so harmonises with the landscape. In Note VII Scott refers the reader to the cage inhabited by Cluny Macpherson on Ben Alder when he was a fugitive after the '45. Scott lifts his description of Cluny's cage from John Home's History of the Rebellion.⁷

Entering the hut, the huntsman (or Stranger, as he is called mysteriously in the poem, to preserve atmosphere) is startled by a sword leaving its scabbard and dropping at his feet. In Note X to Canto Second Scott cites Burt's Letters, in which he recorded that Lord Lovat claimed the hour of his birth was accompanied by swords in the front hall leaping from their scabbards.⁸ The Loch Katrine hut is hung with weapons of, and trophies of the chase, like Abbotsford was to be, and like certain Highland houses in Scott's novels were to be.

The huntsman marvels at the strength of the massive sword's owner, and then

The mistress of the mansion came,
Mature of age, a graceful dame;
Whose easy step and stately port
Had well become a princely court,
To whom, though more than kindred knew,
Young Ellen gave a mother's due.

(I, XXIX, ll. 1-6)

7. J. Home, History of the Rebellion in 1745 (London, 1802), ch. XI. Cluny spent nine years in his cage before he went home.
ALC., same ed.

8. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 214.

The huntsman receives classic Highland hospitality from this dame,

Though all unmasked his birth and name.

(I, XXIX, 1. 10)

Note IX states that

The highlanders, who carried hospitality to a punctilious excess, are said to have considered it as churlish, to ask a stranger his name or lineage, before he had taken refreshment.

No source for this social rule is cited.

The huntsman identifies himself as being

'The knight of Snowdoun, James Fitz-James,'

(I, XXIX, 1. 16)

and, asking about Ellen's pedigree, is told:

'Wierd women we! by dale and down,
We dwell afar from tower and town.
We stem the flood, we ride the blast,
On wandering knights our spells we cast;
While viewless minstrels touch the string,
'Tis thus our charmed rhymes we sing.'

(I, XXX, 11. 15-20)

This is the sad level of unreality to which the Highland poem has so quickly degenerated.

Ellen then sings, accompanied by a 'harp unseen,' and in Note X the presence (albeit invisible) of the harp is justified by reference to Campbell's Journey from Edinburgh through Parts of North Britain.⁹ It is the most ancient Highland musical instrument, and

9. Campbell was at one time music master to Scott's children and editor of Albyn's Anthology to which Scott contributed a song. Campbell's Journey was first published in 1802. Scott quotes from the two volumed 1811 edition, though he dates it 1808. ALC., 1802 (first) ed.

the Lords of the Isles kept harpers at court. Scott therefore should have been able to cite a source closer to the century of the poem. In fact, Angus, son of John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles was murdered in Inverness circa 1490 by Diarmaid O'Caibre, his own Irish harper, who cut his master's throat with a long knife.¹⁰

Ellen's evensong is an invocation to soldier and hunter to sleep, the day's work being done, and Fitz-James duly retires, to dream of walking with Ellen in a grove, and to wonder: is she a Douglas? This closes Canto One.

Allan-bane the minstrel opens Canto Second with a song full of hints and strange prophecies concerning Fitz-James.

'High place to thee in royal court,
High place in battled line'

(II, II, ll. 9-10)

and

'Waste not a sigh on fortune changed,
On thankless courts, or friends estranged,
But come where kindred worth shall smile,
To greet thee in the lonely isle.'

(II, III, ll. 15-18)

In Note I Scott again refers to Burt's Letters,¹¹ explaining the place and function of Highland bards in the clan system as I have described them in the last section. Scott offers the Burt quotation as 'proof', as he calls it.

10. In the Book of the Dean of Lismore the Dean of Knoydart raged in poetry:

By thee was destroyed the king of Islay, a man
who dealt wine and silver; whose locks were fresh
and crisp, thou head of Diarmid O'Caibre.

11. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 167.

Ellen is conducting a private conversation with the minstrel in which she shows that she has two suitors, Malcolm Graeme and Roderick Dhu. Whereas she wants to

'Pour forth the glory of the Graeme'
(II, VI, 1. 28)

in song, she also gives Roderick honourable mention.

'My debts to Roderick's house I know:
All that a mother could bestow,
To Lady Margaret's care I owe,
Since first an orphan in the wild
She sorrowed o'er her sister's child,
(II, XIII, 11. 3-7)

Ellen being that child, and Lady Margaret Roderick's mother. They are therefore first cousins. But the blood bond accepted, she does not want to marry him. In fact, rather than marry a man she does not love, she would retreat into a nunnery.

A boat approaches, bagpipes playing the Clan-Alpine rallying-call, and Note XI on 'The pibroch proud' cites James Beattie's dissertation on that species of music in his essay 'On Laughter and Ludicrous Composition'.¹² Beattie explains the movement of pibroch from slow to 'turbulent rapidity.'

The rowers keep time with an iorram, or rowing song. It is a panegyric, with the Gaelic refrain:

'Roderigh Vich Alpine dhu, ho! ieroe!'

In terms of Scott's desire for accuracy in small details (as evidence

12. In Essays. On the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism. On Poetry and Music, as they affect the mind. On Laughter, and Ludicrous Composition. On the Utility of Classical Learning. Edinburgh, 1776.

the Rokeby poem), it is difficult to see how rowers could ever have kept in time to this jerking irregularly lined song. Note XII, which cites no source this time, refers to the

epithet expressive of his patriarchal dignity
as head of the clan

applied to the chief. The Duke of Argyll is called 'MacCallanmore,' or the Son of Colin the Great, and Scott's line signifies

Black Roderick, the descendant of Alpine.

Scott is corrupting Gaelic here, since the correct word for black is dubh and not dhu. But who composed this line for him? Miss Margaret Maclean Clephane? Possibly, for in his letter to her of 19 May 1810, he apologises, having thanked her for her 'Gaelic erudition' with regard to the Notes:

The notes were printed when I was out of town
so they have mangled some Gaelic words,

but not dhu, since it appears several times in the actual text.

The line

The best of Loch-Lomond lie dead on her side
(II, XX, 1. 4)

in the iorram provokes Note XIII, very long and dealing with the history of the Macgregors, Rob Roy's clan.

The boat discharges Douglas, Ellen's father, accompanied by Malcolm Graeme, and with Roderick Dhu there also. Douglas is being hunted, but Graeme

'... though still a royal ward,
risqued life and land to be my guard,'

(II, XXVI, 11. 14-15)

and is therefore most welcome. Predictably, Graeme is handsome and a good hunter.

His flaxen hair, of sunny hue,
Curled closely round his bonnet blue.
Trained to the chase, his eagle eye
The ptarmigan in snow could spy.

(II, XXV, ll. 5-8)

Roderick darkens at Douglas's praise of Graeme. He tells Douglas that his 'stately form' was seen in the vicinity, and so he is at risk from

'This tyrant of the Scottish throne,
So faithless, and so ruthless known.'

(II, XXVIII, ll. 25-6)

Roderick's announcement provokes reactions reminiscent of an Eisenstein film, in black and white.¹³

Ellen and Margaret fearfully
Sought comfort in each other's eye,
Then turned their ghastly look, each one,
This to her sire, that to her son.
The hasty colour went and came
In the bold cheek of Malcolm Graeme.

(II, XXIX, ll. 1-6)

Douglas obviously needs protection, and Roderick can give him this if he is granted Ellen's hand in marriage. Ellen's lip and eye quiver fearfully, and Douglas denies the request. He does not want the clans raised in his defence and the mountain passes guarded because, despite his name and fame, he is essentially passive.

'Against his sovereign, Douglas ne'er
Will level a rebellious spear.'

(II, XXXII, ll. 17-18)

13. I am thinking of the facial expressions that are a feature of the Russian master's films.

In his speech on the king's intentions Roderick says:

'What grace for Highland Chiefs, judge ye
By fate of Border chivalry.'

(II, XXVIII, ll. 29-30)

Note XV, which refers to these lines, cites the account, in Pit-scottie's History of Scotland of the famous episode of James V going to the Hebrides, taking as hostages principal chiefs, and getting 'pledges for good rule in time coming.'¹⁴

Angered by Douglas's rebuttal, Roderick almost comes to blows with Malcolm Graeme in this tension-introducing scene. Douglas separates them, and Malcolm proposes a safe hiding place. Sheathing his sword, Roderick says with a sneer:

'Rest safe till morning; pity t'were
Such cheek should feel the midnight air!'

(II, XXXV, ll. 7-8)

and again in Note XVI Scott goes to Burt's Letters for authority. The discourse is on Highland hardiness, and the example is the renowned Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel,¹⁵ who, sleeping under the stars with his clan, noticed a grandson rolling a ball of snow. Kicking it away, Sir Ewen exclaimed: 'art thou so effeminate as to need a pillow?' Scott then says that a similar story is told by Burt, who had

seen the marks of their lodging, where the ground has been free from rime or snow, which remained all round the spot where they had lain. 16

14. R. Lindsay of Pitscottie, The History of Scotland, from 21 February, 1436, to March 1565 ... To which is added a continuation by another hand, till August, 1604, ed. R. Freebairn (Edinburgh, 1728), p. 153.

15. For Lochiel's method of sleeping rough, 'without any other bed-cloaths but his plaid,' see Memoirs, p. 135.

16. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 108.

Note XVII¹⁷ also comes from Burt, and refers to Roderick's
'hench-man,' summoned to

give safe conduct to the Graeme.

(II, XXXV, l. 16)

Of a 'hench-man' Burt says that

This Officer is a Sort of Secretary, and is to
be ready, upon all Occasions, to venture his Life
in Defence of his Master; and at Drinking-bouts
he stands behind his Seat, at his Haunch, from
whence his Title is deriv'd, and watches the Con-
versation, to see if any one offends his Patron.

18

Then Malcolm Graeme takes his dramatic departure, shouting:

'Tell Roderick Dhu, I owed him nought,
Not the poor service of a boat,'

(II, XXXVII, ll. 15-16)

and swims the lake. Again, we have descriptive writing, and again
it is good, suggesting speed and skill, and (like the stag), dis-
appearance.

Darkening across each puny wave,
To which the moon her silver gave,
Fast as the cormorant could skim,
The swimmer plied each active limb;
Then landing in the moonlight dell,
Loud shouted of his weal to tell.
The Minstrel heard the far halloo,
And joyful from the shore withdrew.

(II, XXXVII, ll. 23-30)

Thus ends Canto Second, 'The Island', and also the second day.

The two previous days have been concerned with contraries. Fitz-
James, a stranger, came to the island by boat, and Graeme, a loved
one, leaves by swimming. But others have arrived. Roderick Dhu

17. The Notes are out of sequence at this point in the 1810 edition.

18. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 157.

is impulsive, and the Douglas cautious. The minstrel, custodian of time, is a key character. We have heard passionate language, and hints of future strife as Scott sets the scene. But though darkness appears to divide the Cantos, they are cleverly linked. Graeme swims from the island, carrying the poem forward, just as in Canto Third the fiery cross will carry the poem forward. But first, before the fiery cross is actually fashioned, Scott explains its function and speed in Note I.

During the civil war of 1745-6, the Fiery Cross often made its circuit; and upon one occasion it passed through the whole district of Breadalbane, a tract of thirty-two miles, in three hours. The late Alexander Stuart, Esq. of Invernahyle, described to me his having sent round the Fiery Cross through the district of Appine, during the same commotion. The coast was threatened by a descent from two English frigates, and the flower of the young men were with the army of Prince Charles Edward, then in England.

This is interesting because it shows Scott beginning to back up his writing with Invernahyle anecdotes, if not actually using them within the text. Moreover, it raises the important question: was Invernahyle with the Jacobite army in England at any time, and was he present at the Clifton skirmish, where Waverley's military career ends?

Brian the Hermit,

That Monk, of savage form and face
(III, IV, l. 11)

is introduced to us in Canto Third, and in Note II Scott claims that he is based on a character described in the Macfarlane MS., an Advocates Library holding. According to the legend, a hill close to the church of Kilmallie in Nether Lochaber was strewn with the bones of victims of clan battles. Men watching cattle here on a cold night

made a fire of gathered bones and then withdrew, leaving a woman on watch, and

She being quyetlie her alone, without anie other companie, took up her cloaths above her knees, or thereby to warm her; a wind did come and caste the ashes upon her, and she was conceived of ane man-child.

This is Scott's source for the line stating:

Of Brian's birth, strange tales were told.

(III, V, l. 1)

The child in the Macfarlane MS. was called 'Gille dubh Mac'Ille Chnamhlaich,' or 'the Black Child, Son of the Bones.' But the Rev. Archibald Clerk of Kilmallie, already mentioned in connection with the Ossianic controversy, objects to Scott's poetic licence in his portrayal of the 'Son of the Bones.' In an Appendix to his biography of Colonel John Cameron, for whose obelisk at Kilmallie we remember that Scott supplied the epitaph, Clerk writes:

Sir Walter says that the account given in the MS. of this man with the ominous name, suggested to him the idea of Brian, 'that monk of savage form and face,' who plays such an important part in unveiling the future destiny of the Clan Alpine. The poet however, is much more indebted to his imagination than to the MS. for the filling up of the sketch; and it is worth mentioning, that the tradition still preserved in the country agrees with the account given by the old Laird, representing the 'Gille dubh', etc., as an able and devout man, totally different from the savage seer depicted in the poem. 19

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19. Rev. A. Clerk, Memoir of Colonel John Cameron, Fassiefern, K.T.S. Lieutenant-Colonel of the Gordon Highlanders, or 92nd Regiment of Foot. For Private Circulation. Printed for Sir Duncan Cameron, Bart., of Fassiefern. Glasgow, 1858, Appendix, p. 93. Both Clerk and Scott show Cameron as having died a hero's death, but there is a story that he was shot in the back by one of his own men, whom he had had flogged a few days before. For this strange story, see Lord Archibald Campbell, Records of Argyll, (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 90.

But Brian is not based exclusively on the Macfarlane MS. character. Rather, he is a blend of characters, and from different centuries, a method of character construction obviously favoured by Scott in The Lady of the Lake. In Note II Scott again refers to Martin, who records in his Description that he had seen at Benbecula an old recluse called

Brahir-bocht, that is Poor Brother; which is literally true; for he answers this Character, having nothing but what is given him; He holds himself fully satisfy'd with Food and Rayment, and lives in as great Simplicity as any of his Order; his Diet is very mean, and he drinks only fair Water. 20

How does Brian the hermit compare with Allan-bane the minstrel, since both apparently have a gift of prophecy? The answer is that like Douglas and Roderick Dhu, they are contraries. Brian actively seeks intimation of coming events of consequence (i.e. the outcome of a battle) by invoking the future through spells and incantations. He seeks, in fact, to impose his will (or, more precisely, the will of his chieftain, Roderick Dhu) on the future, and this, of course, is black magic. The goat is slaughtered, and the fiery cross blessed in an elaborate and private ritual. Allan-bane, on the other hand, does not go in search of the secrets of the future. Rather, he is a passive medium through which the future publicises some of its intentions. He foretells, for instance, the arrival of Fitz-James on the island, which for Ellen is a happy enough event. Because he waits for the future to come to him, Allan-bane has, therefore the classic second sight gift, whereas Brian is a black magician in flight from his own hallucinations. We see, therefore, that Scott

might be describing good and evil.

In his mountain lair Brian had heard

... in prophet's dream,
The fatal Ben-Shie's boding scream

(III, VII, ll. 19-20)

and Note VI explains this by the fact that

Most great families in the Highlands were supposed to have a tutelar, or rather a domestic spirit, attached to them, who took an interest in their prosperity, and intimated, by its wailings, any approaching disaster. 21

This phenomenon is well documented in Highland history, and Scott refers to the families of Grant of Grant and Grant of Rothiemurchus. The attendant spirit of the former is a girl with hair on her arms, and of the latter 'the Ghost of the Hill.'

Brian had heard other sounds also. Note VII refers to the lines

Sounds, too, had come in midnight blast,
Of charging steeds, careering fast
Along Benharrow's shingly side,
Where mortal horseman ne'er might ride.

(III, VII, ll. 21-4)

Scott explains that

the spirit of an ancestor slain in battle, is heard

-
21. I can vouch for this myself, by my experiences, and the experiences of my family the night before the death of the XXth. Hereditary Captain of Dunstaffnage, already referred to as my first tutor in Highland history. We heard footsteps and watched the stairs move, but no human foot trod them. See my explanation of the source of Vich Ian Vohr's 'Grey Man' in my section on Waverley, since the Dunstaffnage family (and the Argyll family) share the 'Bodach Glas,' or 'small Grey Man.'

to gallop along a stony bank, and then to ride thrice around the family residence, /Lochbuie, Mull/ ringing his fairy bridle, and thus intimating the approaching calamity.

This supernatural story came from Margaret Maclean Clephane of Torloisk, but Scott omits the main feature of this spectre, which is its lack of a head.

It is Brian who prepares the fiery cross, binding together two sticks and then muttering curses against any who would dare defy the summons of the cross, for

'Each clans-man's execration, just
Shall doom his watch and woe.'

(III, IX, ll. 9-10)

Roderick, Brian's chieftain watches the elaborate ritual. The cross is ignited, blessed, and then extinguished in the bubbling blood of a goat pierced by Roderick's sword. For Scott's note on this ritual we have to go back to Note I, in which Invernahyle was mentioned as having sent the fiery cross round Appin. Scott also quotes from Olav Magnus's History of the Goths,²² etc., showing that the same method of summons was used in Scandinavia.

Scott claims that this ritual of curse, fire, and blood of goat was the classic preliminary to the dispatch of the fiery cross, but no source is cited. If this was indeed the custom, it had lapsed long before the '45, when the cross was of sticks soaked in pitch, and speed of preparation and dispatch was essential. We can

22. O. Magnus, A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, & Vandals, and Other Northern Nations, Englished by J.S., (London, 1658), in bk. VII, chs. 3, 4. Scott's note is wrong in assigning his quotation to bk. IV, an indication that the proofs were not well read.

ALC., 1658 ed.

see how Scott's description of Brian, and the preparation of the fiery cross must have both excited and frightened a southern audience, and therefore it is an astute dramatic device. But then, it gives the south a most peculiar impression of Highland custom.

The fiery cross is duly dispatched, carried by Malise, the 'hench-man'. He is shod in the 'dun deer's hide,' and Note IX explains that that was the 'ancient buskin' of the Highlanders. But if we object to the character and actions of Brian in terms of credibility and historical authenticity, we feel even more disconcerted by the course of the fiery cross. Scott seeks the maximum dramatic effect. The cross arrives at a house where a corpse is laid out and the women are wailing a coronach, and Note X gives as an example the 'Coronach on Sir Lauchlan, Chief of Maclean,' from the Gaelic by the grace of Miss Clephane, but not acknowledged. Scott adds the note that

The coronach has for some years past been superseded at funerals by the use of the bag-pipe, and that also is, like many other Highland peculiarities, falling into disuse, unless in remote districts. 23

Angus, son of Duncan, the dead man, beside whose bier Scott plants the pathetic dog, snatches the fiery cross and carries it on its next stage, having been ordered by his weeping mother to

'... be gone,
And speed thee forth, like Duncan's son!'

(III, XVIII, 11. 9-10)

23. This custom still prevails in parts of the Highlands. In 1958 I attended the funeral of the Captain of Dunstaffnage at his ancient garrison, and heard my grand-uncle, his personal piper, playing the family lament, plus a lament specially composed for the occasion. Again, the recent funeral on Loch Awe of the last Duke of Argyll with its wailing pipes and shouting heralds would have appealed to Scott.

This, of course, is intended to show Highland duty and honour at their finest. Or is it fear, because the cross carries Brian's curse?²⁴ It speeds on, with the bearer stumbling on a wedding, and in Note XI Scott invites the reader to glance at the map of Perthshire and assure himself that the cross is taking an actual route, and on schedule too.

Before departing with the fiery cross, Norman the bridegroom eyes his weeping bride and

Burst into voluntary song
(III, XXII, l. 24)

in one of these touches that destroys the strength and credibility of the poem. In fact, it can now be asserted with confidence that in these interludes of song, accompanied or otherwise, and from woman or man, Scott is appealing to the sensitivity and sentimentality of a female audience. The singing bridegroom with the cross of fire in his fist anticipates the worst type of Hollywood musical. 'Brig o' Doon' is perhaps the best example.

Confronted by beauty and honour, the bridegroom chooses honour, but only after having warned in song that his marriage may not be consummated.

'To-morrow eve, more stilly laid,
My couch may be my bloody plaid,
My vesper song, thy wail, sweet maid!'

(III, XXIII, ll. 5-8)

Little wonder that southern maidens wept at such lines.

24. At the Jacobite trials in London it was stated that the 'gentle Lochiel' did not live up to his name in raising his clan for battle, since he used weapons and threats instead of appealing to loyalty.

The fiery cross, which has interfered with death and birth (the wedding) proceeds. For the lines

Not faster o'er thy heathery braes,
Balquidder, speeds the midnight blaze,
(III, XXIV, 11. 1-2)

Scott explains in Note XII:

It may be necessary to inform the southern reader, that the heath on the Scottish moor-lands is often set fire to, that the sheep may have the advantage of the young herbage produced in room of the tough old heather-plants.

It is difficult to see the connection between text and note, unless Scott is using the controlled heather fire as a symbol of swift rising among the clan. They muster in hundreds,

Owning no tie but to his clan,
No oath, but by his Chieftain's hand,
No law, but Roderick Dhu's command.

(III, XXIV, 11. 30-32)

Having mentioned the ancient oath of kissing the dirk, Note XIII cites Burt on 'the reverence due to the chief.' Burt describes a dispute in a clan without a chief, but with several chieftains.²⁵

Meantime Douglas and his daughter Ellen have sought sanctuary

... in a deep sequestered dell,
(III, XXV, 1. 19)

'a low and lonely cell' called 'Coirn-nan-Uriskin,' or 'the Goblin-cave.' This, Note XIV informs us, is an actual place,

a very steep and most romantic hollow in the mountain of Benvenue, overhanging the south-eastern extremity of Loch-Katrine.

25. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 221.

Again, Scott cites Graham's Sketches, along with Campbell's Journey. The name, Scott says,

literally implies the Corri, or Den, of the
Wild or Shaggy Men 26

and his description would imply that he has actually visited it.

Likewise with

The wild pass of Beal'-nam-Bo,
(III, XXVII, l. 6)

described in Note XV as being a 'most magnificent glade.'²⁷

Evening approaches, intimating the close of the Canto, and
Roderick passes the Goblin-cave. He has

A single page, to bear his sword
(III, XXVII, L. 14)

and here in Note XVI Scott again goes to Burt's Letters and lists the
chief's retainers. They are:

1. The Hench-man. 2. The Bard. 3. The Bladier,
or Spokesman 4. The Gillie-more, or Sword-bearer,
'alluded to in the text.' 5. The Gillie-casslue,
who carried the chief, if on foot, over the fords.
6. The Gillie-constraine, who leads the chief's
horses. 7. The Gillie-Trushanarinsh, or baggage-
man. 8. The Piper. 9. The Piper's gillie, or
attendant, who carries the bagpipe. 28

I have shown this retinue in full because it is enumerated by Evan
Dhu Maccombich in Waverley.

Lingering near the Goblin-cave, Roderick attempts to drown his

26. Graham, op. cit., p. 19. Campbell, op. cit., p. 109, plus sketch
'on the spot' by the author.

27. Graham, op. cit., p. 20.

28. Burt, op. cit., vol. II, p. 158.

thoughts of love in

... war's wild roar,
Nor think of Ellen Douglas more,
(III, XXVIII, ll. 7-8)

But he cannot. He stays, hearing the harp of Allan-bane

Attuned to sacred minstrelsy

but

What melting voice attends the strings?
'Tis Ellen, or an angel sings.
(III, XXVIII, ll. 24-26)

It is a 'Hymn to the Virgin,' seeking protection, asking that

'Safe may we sleep beneath thy care,
Though banished, outcast, and reviled,'
(III, XXIX, ll. 5-6)

and ending with the benediction 'Ave Maria.' Needless to say, this song of piety is meant to set the heart of the female reader vibrating. What is its function? To show that Ellen is a Catholic, and to show that she is at risk?

Harp and voice fade, and a pensive Roderick vows three times that it is

'... the last time e'er
That angel-voice shall Roderick hear!'
(III, XXX, ll. 9-10)

and he strides off, to join his mustered clan. Presumably his departure is meant to be another example of Highland honour, and to show that the way to Ellen's heart lies open for Malcolm Graeme alone. But perhaps Roderick has a foreboding that he will perish in battle.

The clansmen are ready for battle, gathered in the dusk in

the camouflage of tartan. The glint of a weapon is compared to a

... glow-worm twinkling through the shade.

(III, XXXI, l. 11)

They shout three times in greeting as Roderick approaches, and then

... Silence claimed her evening reign

(III, XXXI, l. 19)

to close Canto Third.

The opening of Canto Fourth shows Norman, bearer of the fiery cross, still alive despite his fears. He keeps sentinel. Malise, the hench-man, returns, with

'Varying reports from near and far;
This certain, - that a band of war
Has for two days been ready boune,
At prompt command, to march from Doune;
King James, the while, with princely powers,
Holds revelry in Stirling towers.'

(IV, III, ll. 3-8)

Malise informs Norman that Roderick has shipped

'Each maid and matron of the clan,
And every child and aged man
Unfit for arms'

(IV, III, ll. 17-19)

to the 'lone isle' on Loch Katrine. But why? Partly because the previous evening

'Brian an augury hath tried,'

(IV, IV, l. 6)

and

'The Taghairm called; by which, afar,
Our sires foresaw the events of war.'

(IV, IV, ll. 9-10)

Note I explains that

The Highlanders, like all rude people had various superstitious modes of enquiring into futurity. One of the most noted was the Taghairm, mentioned in the text. A person was wrapped in the skin of a newly-slain bullock, and deposited beside a water-fall, or at the bottom of a precipice, or in some other strange, wild, and unusual situation, where the scenery around him suggested nothing but objects of horror. In this situation he revolved in his mind the question proposed, and whatever was impressed upon him by his exalted imagination, passed for the inspiration of the disembodied spirits, who haunt these desolate recesses.

Scott's own words are substantiated by a lengthy quotation from Martin's Description, citing three ways of consulting the Taghairm. The first way refers to a man taken by his hands and legs and tossed over a river. The second way refers to a man

wrapt ... in a big Cow's Hide, which they folded about him: his whole Body was cover'd with it, except his Head, and so left in this posture all night, until his invisible Friends reliev'd him, by giving a proper Answer to the Question in hand. 29

The third way refers to the roasting of a live cat on a spit.³⁰

Scott also cites Pennant's Tour.³¹

In the poem

'Duncraggan's milk-white bull they slew'
(IV, IV, l. 11)

and then

'... his reeking hide
They stretched the cateract beside,

29. Martin, op. cit., p. 111.

30. 'Two forms ... were practised in Glenmoriston - Taghairm nan Doaine (the Taghairm of Men), and Taghairm nan Cat (the Taghairm of Cats). The last expert in this black art ... flourished in that Glen in the beginning of the eighteenth century.' W. Mackay, Urquhart and Glenmoriston: olden times in a Highland parish (Inverness, 1914), pp. 432-33.

31. T. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides; MDCCCLXXII (Chester and London, 1774-6), Pt. II, p. 311.

Whose waters their wild tumult toss
 Adown the black and craggy boss
 Of that huge cliff, whose ample verge
 Tradition calls the Hero's Targe.'

(IV, V, ll. 1-6)

Scott's method of putting a poem together from oral as well as written sources is shown by Note II, which refers to the lines

'The choicest of the prey we had,
 When swept our merry-men Gallanbad,'

spoken by Malise. Scott says:

I know not if it be worth observing, that this passage is taken almost literally from the mouth of an old Highland Kern, or Ketteran, as they were called. He used to narrate the merry doings of the good old time when he was follower of Rob Roy Macgregor.

This is a good example of Scott shifting material from one century (the eighteenth) to another (the sixteenth).

Having consulted the Taghairm, Brian delivers his prophecy:

'WHICH SPILLS THE FOREMOST FOEMAN'S LIFE,
 THAT PARTY CONQUERS IN THE STRIFE.'

(IV, VI, ll. 25-6)

This means, of course, that the opposing leader must be killed, but Scott reduces the requirements of this prophecy in Note V by making a first kill advantageous. He says:

It is said that the Highlanders under Montrose, were so deeply imbued with this notion, that on the morning of the battle of Tippermoor, they murdered a defenceless herdsman, whom they found in the fields, merely to secure an advantage of so much consequence to their party.

Roderick thanks the hermit for the prophecy, saying:

'Clan-Alpine ne'er in battle stood,
 But first our broad-swords tasted blood.'

(IV, VII, ll. 1-2)

He then makes preparations for battle, arranging the defence of the Trossachs. But

'Where is the Douglas? - he is gone,'

(IV, IX, 1. 1)

leaving Ellen moaning to Allan-bane. The minstrel assures her that he will return, but she doubts this because

'He hears reports of battle rife,
He deems himself the cause of strife.
I saw him redden, when the theme
Turned, Allan, on thine idle dream,
Of Malcolm Graeme in fetters bound,
Which I, thou said'st, about him wound.'

(IV, X, 11. 11-16)

The minstrel, like the hermit, has therefore made a prediction. But the minstrel, seeing her anxiety, qualifies his. He assures her:

'My visioned sight may yet prove true,
Nor bode of ill to him or you.'

(IV, XI, 11. 7-8)

Thus for the anxious reader the future of Graeme is left an open question, but with a hint of well-being. The minstrel is essentially an optimist. He hates that 'dismal spot' because, being a 'fairy grot,' is associated with 'Ill luck.' He tries to cheer her by a 'wind'rous tale,' a ballad called 'Alice Brand' which, Note IV informs us,

is founded upon a very curious Danish ballad, which occurs in the KIEMPLE VISER, a collection of heroic songs ...

Professor Thomson claimed that 'Macpherson's work is a blend - and seldom a happy one - of several different cultures', and the same charge can be brought against Scott in The Lady of the Lake. We know by now that in the poem a song is supposed to provide an inter-

lude for catharsis, as well as providing a hint as to future happenings. 'Alice Brand' may be 'founded upon' a Danish ballad, but it has Ossianic overtures. Deirdre and her lover raised a house in Glen Etive, and Alice Brand and Richard, her lover and an outlaw, raise a house in the woods. Apparently Richard has slain his sweetheart's brother, but she forgives him.

'O Richard! if my brother died,
'Twas but a fatal chance;
For darkling was the battle tried,
And fortune sped the lance.'

(IV, XII, 11. 17-20)

She pledges her support, and will not leave him.

The 'moody Elfin king' speaks with a shrill voice against the two intruding mortals. They are guilty of screening the little people's 'moon-light circle,' of chasing the deer,

'Beloved of our Elfin Queen,'

(IV, XIII, 1. 12)

and of wearing

'The fairie's fatal green.'

(IV, XIII, 1. 14)

Urgan, 'christened man' is ordered to rise and

'Lay on him the curse of the withered heart,
The curse of the sleepless eye;
Till he wish and pray that his life would part,
Nor yet find leave to die.'

(IV, XIII, 11. 19-22)

Urgan appears, a 'hideous dwarf,' and Richard crosses and blesses himself. But the 'grisly elf' fears no sign

'That is made with bloody hands.'

(IV, XIV, 1. 9)

Alice speaks up, 'void of fear.' She explains that the blood on his hands is

'but the blood of the deer.'

(IV, XIV, l. 13)

But Urgan says that it is the blood of her brother, Ethert Brand.

Alice then challenges him to state his purpose.

The transformation takes some time, and goes through several stages, accompanied by crossing motions from Alice but eventually the dwarf grows into

'The fairest knight on Scottish mold,
Her brother, Ethart Brand!'

(IV, XV, ll. 28-9)

All ends well. But what has the theme of this ballad to do with the poem? What is its function? To assure Ellen that if Malcolm Graeme is killed in battle, he can be made to manifest again? I think not. It is there, I think, only to delight the female reader, and perhaps even to fill up space, since Scott seemed to have been short of material. We must remember, however, that Scott had a predilection for ballads, even foreign ones, and it may be that having discovered this one, he was anxious to lay it before the public. But it seems to have no place in this Highland poem, and besides, it carries a battery of notes. Note VIII refers us to German ballads, and to the work of Dr. Leyden. We are also given a Northumbrian legend about a dwarf. Note IX, on the lines

'Or who may dare on wold to wear
The fairy's fatal green'

(IV, XIII, ll. 13-14)

states that

from some reason, which has been, perhaps, originally a general superstition, green is held in Scotland to be unlucky to particular tribes and customs. The Caithness men, who hold this belief, allege, as a reason, that their bands wore that colour when they were cut off at the battle of Flodden.

Note X cites Icelandic sources on the anxiety of the elves

to obtain for their offspring the prerogatives of Christianity.

In Note XI the lines

And gaily shines the fairy land;
But all is glistening show

return us to Perthshire, and to Graham's previously mentioned

Sketches. This work is quoted in illustration of 'the fantastic and illusory nature of' the fairies' 'apparent pleasure and splendour.'

Graham's story concerns a mother and new-born child transported to fairyland.³²

Note XII, on the recruitment system of fairyland, cites the Auchinleck MS., and like the other notes relevant to 'Alice Brand', shows Scott's deep interest in, and knowledge of the ballads. It also shows that early in his literary career he had privileged access to MSS. containing new material, his main source being the Advocates' Library.

I have said that 'Alice Brand' seems to have no function in this poem, but perhaps this opinion needs to be modified, for

Just as the minstrel sounds were staid
(IV, XVI, 1. 1)

32. Graham, op. cit., pp. 116-18.

Fitz-James, Knight of Snowdoun reappears on cue. Are we meant to equate Fitz-James's coming with the reincarnation of the slain Ethart? Are we to take it that Fitz-James is to be the saviour of Ellen and Malcolm, allowing the couple to return happily to society? But then, Fitz-James is in love with Ellen, whereas Ethart is Alice's brother. Fitz-James has come back to save Ellen by claiming her for a bride. Therefore, the ballad provides no clear thematic link in the poem. 'Alice Brand,' a foreign ballad, is placed in a Highland poem to solicit sympathy for Ellen by charging the reader's emotions.

Fitz-James pleads with Ellen to come into his protection, but she confesses her love and fears for Malcolm Graeme, and then

Hope vanished from Fitz-James's eye,
But not with hope fled sympathy.

(IV, XVIII, ll. 12-13)

In defeat there is nobility, for

He proffered to attend her side,
As brother would a sister guide,

(IV, XVIII, ll. 13-14)

as Ethart does in the ballad. But Ellen warns that Roderick and not Malcolm is too jealous.

'Safer for both we go apart.'

(IV, XVIII, l. 16)

and he reluctantly agrees, but first he gives her a ring, saying:

'Seek thou the king without delay;
This signet shall secure thy way;
And claim thy suit, whate'er it be,
As ransom of his pledge to me.'

(IV, XIX, ll. 16-19)

Thus, once again, future risk is reduced, and the reader's fears accordingly lessened.

Roderick relinquished Ellen, and Fitz-James also departs, leaving Malcolm the one favourite. Fitz-James has left youth and beauty, and he now stumbles upon age and

... a wasted Female form,
Blighted by wrath of sun and storm,
In tattered weeds and wild array,

(IV, XXI, ll. 3-5)

Like Ellen, she sings, but her song is a personalised shriek. She can neither sleep nor pray because of turmoil of heart and head, and she wishes to be where 'Allan glides.' Fitz-James asks as to her identity, and Murdoch says that she is Blanch of Devan,

'A crazed and captive lowland maid,
Ta'en on the morn she was a bride,'

(IV, XXIII, ll. 7-8)

her 'gay bridegroom' having been killed by Roderick. Murdoch threatens her, but Fitz-James dares him to do her harm. She begins to sing again.

This song contains both memory and a warning of danger through the symbol of a ten-pointed stag, or royal stag. We are therefore back with the opening image of the poem. This stag meets with a 'wounded doe,' bleeding to death, and he is warned of 'the toils below'. But the stag had sense and speed.

'He had an eye, and he could heed,
Ever sing warily, warily;
He had a foot, and he could speed -
Hunters watch so narrowly.'

(IV, XXV, ll. 13-16)

Understanding the message of her song, Fitz-James draws his sword and

challenging Murdoch, demands

'Disclose thy treachery, or die!'

(IV, XXVI, 1. 8)

Murdoch draws his bow, and the arrow

... thrilled in Blanche's faded breast.

(IV, XXVI, 1. 12)

Fitz-James gives chase, kills him. Returning, he witnesses the melodramatic scene. She has

... withdrawn the fatal shaft

(IV, XXVII, 1. 3)

and is dying. But first, she explains that she is dying satisfied, with her reason restored, because she sees him as her avenger. She gives him a

'... little tress of yellow hair'

(IV, XXVII, 1. 17)

faded by 'blood and tears.' She then appeals to him to

'... wreak poor Blanche of Devan's wrong'

(IV, XXVII, 1. 36)

when he encounters Roderick. But with the classic loss of speech of the dying, she cannot complete a warning to

'Avoid the path ... O God! ... farewell.'

(IV, XXVII, 1. 38)

We need only remember the Western movie stereotyped scene to visualise this faltering end.

Fitz-James cuts off a lock of her hair, twines it with her bridegroom's, dips it in her blood and fastens it to his bonnet, swearing:

'No other favour will I wear,
Till this sad token I embrue
In the best blood of Roderick Dhu!'

(IV, XXVIII, ll. 12-14)

His intention clearly stated, he hears the sound of a hunt, and knows that he has become the quarry.

Heartless, fatigued, and faint, at length,
From lack of food and loss of strength

(IV, XXVIII, ll. 22-3)

he goes to bay in a thicket, and so in a few lines we are to understand that like the stag at the beginning of the poem, he has travelled far in a short time.

Emerging at evening, he comes to a 'watch-fire,' is challenged, answers that he is 'a stranger' (as he answered to Ellen when first he met her at Loch Katrine) and says that he requires

'Rest and a guide, and food and fire.'

(IV, XXX, l. 6)

Then follows a conversation on Roderick Dhu. Is Fitz-James a friend of his? 'No.' Does he dare call himself a foe?

'I dare! to him and all the band
He brings to aid his murderous hand.'

(IV, XXX, ll. 10-11)

'Bold words,' the watcher says, and speaks a parable about stag and 'prowling fox.' Fitz-James asks for and receives Highland hospitality. The fare is

The hardened flesh of mountain deer

(IV, XXXI, l. 2)

which, Note XIV claims, was the fare of Highlanders 'in former times.' The scholarship is elaborate, for to support the text Scott quotes (in French) from the writings of the Vidame of Chartres, or rather,

from the Vidame's recollections as communicated by Mons. de Montmor-
ency to Brantome, who recorded them in Vies des Hommes Illustres.³³

The Vidame,

a hostage in England, during the reign of Edward
VI, was permitted to travel into Scotland,

and thence to the Highlands, where he apparently tasted the deer's
'hardened flesh.' The reader asks: is such information in a for-
eign language necessary to substantiate a simple fact? Or is Scott
buttressing a weak text with notes?

The Highlander on watch, in giving Fitz-James hospitality,
warns:

'Stranger, I am to Roderick Dhu
A clans-man born, a kinsman true;
Each word against his honour spoke;
Demands of me avenging stroke.'

(IV, XXXI, 11. 7-10)

He need only, he explains, blow his horn to summon overpowering
forces, but he refuses to

'... depart from honour's laws'

(IV, XXXI, 1. 18)

since Fitz-James is a weary man and a stranger. Fitz-James may
therefore sleep easy, beside the clansman, 'like brothers,' and Can-
to Fourth, 'The Prophecy' closes.

'The Combat', Canto Fifth, opens with the dawn, and one of

33. P. de Bourdeille Brantome, Memoires de Nessire Pierre de Bour-
deille, Seigneur de Brantome, Contenant Les Vies des Hommes
Illustres & Grand Capitaines Francois de son Temps. 4 Tom,
Leyden, 1664.

ALC., 8 tom. 1787 (Paris) ed.

Would, one wonders, the average reader bother to follow up
such Notes?

these descriptive scenes that Scott excels in. The 'warriors' rise to look at a 'dappled sky,' and wrapping his plaid around him, the Highlander leads Fitz-James

By thicket green and mountain grey.

(V, II, 1. 12)

'Stirling's turrets' are in the distance, a reminder of approaching battle. They approach a pass, through a bare, rocky landscape and then the guide challenges Fitz-James. He is asked

... by what strange cause
He sought these wilds? traversed by few,
Without a pass from Roderick Dhu.

(V, III, 11. 24-6)

Fitz-James informs him that his pass is by his side, hanging in his belt. The first time he came was to hunt. And the second?

'Moves our free course by such fixed cause,
As gives the poor mechanic laws?'

(V, IV, 11. 15-16)

He is only seeking the pleasure of the hunt. The guide then asks him if he knows anything of lowland preparations for war? Yes, he has heard that, and when they hear that Clan Alpine has risen, war is certain. Fitz-James then refers to Roderick Dhu as

'... an outlaw'd desperate man,
The chief of a rebellious clan.'

(V, V, 11. 21-2)

They argue. The guide claims that

'These fertile plains, that softened vale,
Was once the birth-right of the Gael.'

(V, VII, 11. 9-10)

but

'The Gael, of plain and river heir,
 Shall, with strong hand, redeem his share.'

(V, VII, ll. 31-2)

Note II, which supports these lines, states:

The Gael, great traditional historians, never forgot that the Lowlands had, at some remote period, been the property of their Celtic forefathers, which furnished an ample vindication of all the ravages that they could make on the unfortunate districts which lay within their reach.

Furthermore, Scott has apparently seen a letter from Cameron of Lochiel in the possession of Grant of Grant. In the Lowlands, Lochiel

coolly observes, 'all men take their prey.'

Fitz-James says that his purpose is not sinister.

'I seek my hound, or falcon strayed,
 I seek, good faith, a Highland maid.'

(V, VIII, ll. 7-8)

That, the guide says, is the message he should have sent, and he would have been free to come and go. Fitz-James will go, but when he returns it will be with

'... banner, brand and bow,'

(V, VIII, l. 21)

and his quarry will be Roderick Dhu and his clan.

Whistling, the guide invites him to have his wish, and immediately

Bonnets and spears and bended bows

(V, IX, l. 6)

rise from the heather and bracken. Five hundred men surround Fitz-James, and worse still, his guide is Roderick Dhu. But the warriors are waved down out of sight again, for Roderick Dhu is a man of honour.

'Thou art my guest; - I pledged my word
As far as Coilantogle ford.'

(V, XI, ll. 9-10)

Roderick only meant to show Fitz-James that he could not proceed without a pass.

Note III explains that this incident

is not imaginary, but borrowed from fact. The Highlanders, with the inconsistency of most nations in the same state, were alternately capable of great exertions of generosity, and of cruel revenge and perfidy.

Johnson found the first true; Burt the second. Scott then cites oral tradition as his source for an anecdote concerning John Gunn, the Inverness-shire brigand. He had led an English officer through the county, and the officer, who did not know his guide, expressed his fear of John Gunn. Scott says:

'Would you like to see him?' said the guide; and, without waiting an answer to this alarming question, he whistled, and the English officer, with his small party, were surrounded by a body of Highlanders, whose numbers put resistance out of question, and who were all well armed.

But Gunn, like Roderick Dhu, was incapable of betraying the trust placed in him, and dismissed his captives 'unplundered and uninjured.'

Roderick Dhu leads Fitz-James to Coilantogle ford, saying:

'Bold Saxon! to his promise just,
Vich-Alpine has discharged his trust,'

(V, XII, ll. 12-13)

but also saying:

'Now, man to man, and steel to steel,
A Chieftain's vengeance thou shalt feel.'

(V, XII, ll. 17-18)

Fitz-James proposes that they go to Stirling, where

'... if the King shall not agree
To grant thee grace and favour free,'

(V, XIII, ll. 23-4)

Fitz-James will stand surety for him. But Roderick disagrees and they fight with sword and targe, the latter's presence explained by Note VI, which refers the reader to Military Antiquities to prove that the targe

was a necessary part of a Highlander's equipment, proved by the fact that the privates of the Forty Second Regiment were allowed to carry them in Flanders in 1747. 34

They fight. There are such fights in Macpherson. In 'Temora,' for example,

they bend forward in battle. Death's hundred voices arise. The kings, on either side, were like fires on the souls of the hosts. Ossian bounded along. High rocks and trees rush tall between the war and me. But I hear the noise of steel, between my clanging arms. Rising, gleaming on the hill, I behold the backward steps of hosts: their backward steps on either side, and wildly-looking eyes. The chiefs were met in dreadful fight!

Fitz-James was the more skilled, Roderick the stronger.

He practised every pass and ward,
To thrust, to strike, to feint, to guard;
While less expert, though stronger far,
The Gael maintained unequal war.
Three times in closing strife they stood,
And thrice the Saxon blade drank blood.

(V, XV, ll. 7-12)

The verse here is well made, suggesting the slow careful sword-strokes.

34. F. Grose, Military Antiquities respecting A History of the English Army from the Conquest to the present time (London, 1786-88), vol. I, p. 183n.
ALC., 1801 ed.

Roderick loses his sword, is forced to his knee. Fitz-James demands:

'Now, yield thee, or by Him who made
The world, thy heart's blood dyes my blade!'

(V, XVI, 11. 1-2)

But Roderick is not finished.

Full at Fitz-James's throat he sprung,
Received, but reck'd not of a wound,
And locked his arms his foeman round.

(V, XVI, 11. 8-10)

Note VIII supports these lines. Scott has not

ventured to render this duel so savagely desperate as that of the celebrated Sir Ewan of Lochiel, chief of the clan Cameron, called, from his sable complexion, Ewan Dhu.

An Appendix to Pennant's Tour³⁵ is the source for the horrific story of Lochiel wrestling with an English officer, and biting out his throat, saying that it was 'the sweetest bite he ever had in his lifetime.'³⁶

Roderick does not bite out Fitz-James's throat. They wrestle long and furiously, one uppermost, one down, and then Roderick has him by the throat, compressing it. A dagger gleams, but it descends without damage, and Fitz-James emerges the victor. Thinking that Roderick

35. Pennant, Tour in Scotland; MDCCLXIX, Append. No. VI, 'The Life of Sir Ewen Cameron, of Lochiel.' What Pennant was hearing (or seeing: he does not call it a MS.) was obviously an early draft of the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, which, as I have said, have been attributed to Drummond of Balhaldy, and of which Scott had seen a MS. copy. Considering that the Memoirs are said to have been written in 1733, Pennant in 1769 was making no great discovery.

36. Memoirs, p. 119.

is dead, he dips Blanch's braided hair in the blood with the announcement:

'Poor Blanche!³⁷ thy wrongs are dearly paid:
Yet with thy foe must die, or live,
The praise that Faith and Valour give.'

(V, XVII, ll. 6-8)

The poem now begins to speed up. Fitz-James blows a bugle,
and

'Four mounted squires in Lincoln green'
(V, XVII, l. 16)

manifest on horses, to transport Roderick's lifeless body to Stirling. Fitz-James also rides, by the route that Scott took to assure himself that his poem would run to schedule, as Lockhart recorded. Approaching Stirling Castle, Fitz-James spies Douglas. Fitz-James orders his minion:

'Away, away, to court, to show
The near approach of dreaded foe:
The King must stand upon his guard;
Douglas and he must meet prepared.'

(V, XIX, ll. 22-5)

What of the Douglas? Weary, having walked from Cambus-Kenneth Abbey, he informs us that

'A prisoner lies the noble Graeme,
And fiery Roderick soon will feel
The vengeance of the royal steel.'

(V, XX, ll. 6-8)

But at least Ellen will be safe, for

'The Abbess hath her promise given,

37. Sometimes Blanch, and other times Blanche, again showing how carelessly the edition was seen through the press.

My child shall be the bride of Heaven.'

(V, XX, 11. 11-12)

Brooding on the approaching block, he hears the sounds of revelry and sees

'Banner and pageant, pipe and drum,'

(V, XX, 1. 29)

and he remembers that it is the sports day of the burghers. There will be archery and wrestling, and the king will be present. Douglas decides to attend, to show the king that he is still a champion.

The king comes, the people cheer:

'Long live the Commons' King, King James!'

(V, XXI,)

but the crowd contains chiefs who are 'hostage for their clan,' and are as such ashamed to be part of the spectacle.

The Douglas shoots in the archery competition, and receives from the monarch 'the arrow bright.' But the monarch shows no sign of recognition. Note XII, in explaining 'the arrow bright,' says:

The Douglas of the poem is an imaginary person, a supposed uncle of the Earl of Angus. But the king's behaviour during an unexpected interview with the Laird of Kilspindie, one of the banished Douglasses, under circumstances similar to those in the text, is imitated from a real story told by Hume of Godscroft.

38

Douglas also wins the wrestling contest and receives a 'golden

38. But the 'imaginary Douglas' would, of course, please the Buccleuch family, patrons of Scott's. Duchess Harriet, who commissioned the goblin story, would be especially pleased, as would 'The most noble John James, Marquis of Abercorn' to whom 'this poem is inscribed.'

ring,' but again without recognition, the king's blue eye glancing coldly

As frozen drop of wintry dew,
(V, XXIII, l. 12)

and once again physical states are described by reference to nature. Douglas carries off the prize, a purse of gold, in the shot-putting, but throws it among the crowd in indignation because the king still fails to recognise him. Gradually the whispering crowd begin to appreciate that the champion sportsman is the exiled Douglas, but the king shows no reaction. Then a stag is released, by the king's command. It is to be chased and brought down by 'two favourite grey-hounds' of the king's, but Lufra, Douglas's hound,

The fleetest ... in all the North
(V, XXV, l. 9)

leaves his master's side

And dashing on the antler'd prey,
Sunk her sharp muzzle in his flank,
And deep the flowing life-blood drank.

(V, XXV, ll. 12-14)

It is a visual symbol of superiority, and yet it works against Douglas, for in bringing down the king's deer he exposes himself. The king's groom whips the triumphant Lufra, and Douglas fells the groom.

Pandemonium in the royal entourage, with Douglas now the quarry. The king is enraged.

'Thus is my clemency repaid?
Presumptuous Lord!' the Monarch said;
'Of thy mis-proud ambitious clan,
Thou, James of Bothwell, wert the man,
The only man, in whom a foe
My woman-mercy would not know.'

(V, XXVI, ll. 11-16)

Appreciating that their hero is at risk, the crowd riot, but Douglas asks if he might address them.

His speech is that of a pacifist. He explains:

'My life, my honour, and my cause,
I tender free to Scotland's laws.
Are these so weak as must require
The aid of your misguided ire?'

(V, XXVIII, ll. 3-6)

How will he be helped in captivity if he knows that the people are shedding their blood and mothers losing their sons for his sake? He asks:

'O let your patience ward such ill,
And keep your right to love me still!'

(V, XXVIII, ll. 23-4)

and, tearfully, they quieten. Children are hoisted high to see the hero, old men bless him as he is led up the hill and into the castle. It has been an impressive scene, with the reader sensing the tension between champion, king and crowd through the short terse lines.

The king is disillusioned, and asks:

'... who would wish to rule
This changeling crowd, this common fool?'

(V, XXX, ll. 5-6)

They shout for the Douglas now, as they shouted for the king that morning. In fact, he is a reluctant king.

'Who o'er the herd would wish to reign,
Fantastic, fickle, fierce, and vain!
Vain as the leaf upon the stream,
And fickle as a changeful dream;
Fantastic as a woman's mood,
And fierce as Frenzy's fevered blood.
Thou many-headed monster-thing,
O who would wish to be thy king!'

(V, XXX, ll. 15-22)

But once a king, always a king, despite disillusionment. The dreamer becomes a man of action when a messenger arrives, informing him that Roderick Dhu has raised his clan, but that the Earl of Mar has marched from Doune to put down the rising. The king is advised not to go in person against the rebels, and he instructs the messenger:

'Say to our faithful Lord of Mar,
We do forbid the intended war.'

(V, XXXII, ll. 7-8)

But why? Because

'Roderick, this morn, in single fight,
Was made our prisoner by a knight,
And Douglas hath himself and cause
Submitted to our kingdom's laws.'

(V, XXXII, ll. 9-12)

Thus the leaderless clan will soon disperse.

The messenger departs, and as evening falls the king broods on the events of a busy day. There are rumours of 'mountain war,' and murmurs of sympathy for the captive Douglas. 'Jaded horsemen' reach the castle with news for the king

And busy talkers said they bore
Tidings of fight on Katrine's shore;
At noon the deadly fray begun,
And lasted till the set of sun.
The giddy rumour shook the town,
Till closed the Night her pennons brown.

(V, XXXIII, ll. 18-23)

Canto Fifth therefore ends in mystery and anxiety. Douglas and Roderick Dhu are under the same roof with the king, but captives, and Douglas informed us that Malcolm Graeme was also a prisoner. The only others of consequence not accounted for are therefore Ellen, the minstrel and Fitz-James.

The dawn of Canto Sixth is different, more depressing than the dawns of previous Cantos because we are in an urban situation of stress. Scott's images are those of sluggishness, sickness and despondency. A 'sullen' sun rises in the 'smoky' air, and

The fevered patient, from his pallet low,
Through crowded hospital beholds it stream;
The ruined maiden trembles at its gleam,
The debtor wakes to thought of gyve and jail,
The love-lorn wretch starts from tormenting dream...

(VI, I, ll. 12-16)

Images that, in an amended form, might come from an Eliot poem. We know that Scott knows his crowded and polluted eighteenth century city, and we applaud his realism after so much romance.

The soldiery of Stirling move in the dawn, changing guard. Again, the images are memorable, modifying one another.

The sunbeams sought the Court of Guard,
And, struggling with the smoky air,
Deaden'd the torches' yellow glare.

(VI, II, ll. 6-8)

The light shining through 'blackened' arches shows unshaven soldiers slumped over oak tables stained with the night's excesses. They are in varying stages of debauchery.

Some, weary, snored on floor and bench;
Some laboured still their thirst to quench.

(VI, II, ll. 19-20)

These are not recruits summoned by a fiery cross, but mercenary soldiers, and Note I explains that

The Scottish armies consisted chiefly of the nobility and barons, with their vassals, who held lands under them for military service by themselves and their tenants. The patriarchal influence exercised by the heads of clans in the Highlands and Borders was of a different nature, and sometimes at variance with feudal principles.

Scott says that James V introduced 'a small number of mercenaries,' called the 'Foot-Band.'

The poem's mercenary band consists of Italians, Spaniards, Swiss, French, German, and English, well trained in the field, 'licentious' off duty. They debate the battle at Loch Katrine with relish, but are interrupted by

... John of Brent,
A yeoman from the banks of Trent,
A stranger to respect or fear.

(VI, IV, ll. 13-15)

He grieves the brevity of the battle, and leads the soldiery in song. It is about the perils and pleasures of drinking, and the vicar's admonitions.

'Our vicar thus preaches - and why should he not?
For the dues of his cure are the placket and pot;
And 'tis right of his office laymen to lurch,
Who infringe the domains of our good mother Church.'

(VI, V, ll. 1-4)

But the vicar is overruled, and it's

... off with your liquor

(VI, V, l. 17)

in this regional song intended to show the roughness of the mercenaries.

The revelries are interrupted by the arrival of 'a maid and minstrel,' Ellen and Allan-bane. After the battle, in which blood was shed on both sides without a clear victory, they had sought an audience with Mar. John of Brent and Allan almost come to blows, but Ellen

... dropp'd at once the tartan screen

(VI, VII, l. 21)

and, amazed by her beauty, the noisy soldiery fall silent. Passive to this stage in the poem, she now takes the lead, demanding the soldiers' attention by explaining that

'My father was the soldier's friend,'
(VI, VIII, 1. 2)

thus making the rough John of Brent repent. He apologises, calls her an 'outlaw's child,' and wipes his eye in yet another of these embarrassing scenes. Why are so many men as well as women close to tears or actually crying in so much of Scott's work, the novels included?

The captain comes, and Ellen explains that she has come,

'A suppliant for a father's life,
I crave an audience of the King.
Behold, to back my suit, a ring,
The royal pledge of grateful claims,
Given by the Monarch to Fitz-James.'

(VI, IX, 11. 24-8)

The captain promises to convey the ring to the king, and Ellen gives her 'slender purse' to be shared among the soldiers, but a repentant Brent returns it. The minstrel explains that he wishes to share his master's captivity because of their ancient bond. He defines the role of the minstrel in the ancestral house.

'Tenth in descent, since first my sires
Waked for his noble house their lyres,
Nor one of all the race was known
But prized its weal above their own.
With the Chief's birth begins our care;
Our harp must sooth the infant heir,
Teach the youth tales of fight, and grace
His earliest feat of field or chase;
In peace, in war, our rank we keep,
We cheer his board, we sooth his sleep,
Nor leave him till we pour our verse,
A doleful tribute! o'er his hearse.'

(VI, XI, 11. 7-18)

This is a full and pleasing explanation of the harper's place in a Highland mansion, and it has its effect, for Brent admits that 'Southern men' do not understand how 'a word'

'Makes clansmen vassals to a lord.'
(VI, XI, l. 24)

Still, he agrees to take the minstrel to his master, and they descend to the dungeons, passing the ponderous instruments of torture. The door is unlocked. The minstrel looks, sees, not Douglas, but Roderick Dhu. The image Scott uses for the chief's condition is the abandoned ship.

Roderick urgently demands information.

'What of thy lady? - of my clan? -
My mother? - Douglas? - tell me all!
Have they been ruined in my fall?'

(VI, XIII, ll. 13-15)

The minstrel assures him that the ladies are safe, and that there is hope for the Douglas. Satisfied, the weak Roderick demands a song, or, more specifically, a reconstruction of the recent battle in song. He wants to hear

'The clang of swords, the crash of spears!'

(VI, XIV, l. 16)

Note III states that

There are several instances, at least in tradition, of persons so much attached to particular tunes, as to require to hear them on their death-bed.

Scott then cites a Border song, MacPherson's Rant and an example from Brantome,

of a maid of honour at the court of France.

The minstrel then sings the 'Battle of Beal' an Duine.' Its

backing is Note IV, which explains that

A skirmish actually took place at a pass thus called in the Trosachs, and closed with the remarkable incident mentioned in the text. It was greatly posterior to the reign of James V.

The quoted account of the battle comes from Graham's Sketches.³⁹

The minstrel's song is long, dramatic and very detailed. He describes the 'light-armed archers,' the 'barked horseman,' the sound of 'heavy tread and armour's clang.' (VI, XVI). The armies engage in a pass. Mar's shouted instructions are absorbed into the song. The minstrel (or Scott) cleverly changes perspective. At one moment he is the observer at a safe distance, at the next in the thick of the fray. Moray shouts.

'Clan-Alpine's best are backward borne'
(VI, XVIII, l. 25)

because the leader, Roderick Dhu is absent. Had he been there,

'One blast upon his bugle-horn
Were worth a thousand men.'
(VI, XVIII, ll. 27-8)

The battle shifts, and the minstrel with it.

'Grey Benvenue I soon repassed,
Loch Katrine lay beneath me cast.'
(VI, XIX, ll. 7-8)

The battle has thus come to the central scene of the poem. Moray calls for a volunteer to swim to the island where the women and children shelter. A swimmer leaves, but he has not the smooth passage that Malcolm Graeme had. Suddenly nature intervened;

39. Graham, op. cit., p. 20.

'A whirlwind swept Loch-Katrine's breast,
Her billows reared their snowy crest.'

(VI, XX, ll. 25-6)

The shrieking females prepare to defend. The swimmer reaches the island, touches a boat, and then lightning shows 'Duncraggan's widow-ed dame' with a dagger in her hand. Darkness again, and then another flash of lightning. The swimmer floats,

'A weltering corse beside the boats.'

(VI, XX, l. 41)

The Saxons scream for revenge, and renew the assault. But then the king's herald

'Sprang from his horse, and from a crag,
Waved 'twixt the hosts a milk-white flag.'

VI, XXI, ll. 7-8)

The woman wielding the dirk is the 'remarkable incident' mentioned in the Note,⁴⁰ but the herald is Scott's timely invention.

Then suddenly the minstrel stops, seeing that Roderick is dead. The song becomes a lament, a

'... wail for Alpine's honoured pine!'

(VI, XXII, l. 9)

It is not a panegyric, but a series of compliments shrouded in images of rage, battle, 'captive thrush' and 'prisoned eagle.'

Meantime, Ellen waits the king's pleasure, pining for the isle, her father and Graham at the harmless hunt, for

Those who such simple joys have known
Are taught to prize them when they're gone.

(VI, XXIII, ll. 23-4)

40. Graham, op. cit., p. 20.

That is what the minstrel's songs are about. Then Ellen hears a hidden singer rendering the 'Lay of the imprisoned Huntsman.' It also mourns the loss of the 'simple joys' through images of fatigue and captivity. Hawk, grey-hound and horse are weary, and so is the singer. He hates to be imprisoned in time, in the city, hearing the chiming steeple and watching the slow movement of the sun on the cell wall. The image of freedom from time and care is found in the singing soaring bird.

The song also mentions Ellen, and the pleasure of returning to her at evening, after the hunt. The singer laments:

'That life is lost to love and me!'

(VI, XXIV, l. 24)

Then Fitz-James enters to take Ellen to the king, explaining:

'No tyrant he, though ire and pride
May lead his better mood aside.'

(VI, XXV, ll. 16-17)

She follows him into

'A thronging scene of figures bright,'

(VI, XXVI, l. 2)

loses him and finds him again as 'Scotland's King!' Again we have a supercharged scene. Her reaction is to lie at his feet, to show him the ring, and he, 'graceful' and 'grave', raises her, says he will 'redeem his signet ring.' The scene degenerates into farce. The Douglas springs forward, embraces his daughter, and the king explains that by going about in disguise he watches over 'insulted laws' and learns 'to right the injured cause.' So:

'What seeks fair Ellen of the King?'

(VI, XXVIII, l. 32)

She is in a quandary. She loves Graeme and fears for his safety but she

'... craved the grace of Roderick Dhu'

(VI, XXIX, l. 9)

not knowing, of course, that he is dead. The rest is very predictable. Ordering the Graeme to kneel, the king scolds him.

'For thee, rash youth, no suppliant sues,
From thee may Vengeance claim her dues,
Who, nurtured underneath our smile,
Hast paid our care by treacherous wile,
And sought, amid thy faithful clan,
A refuge for an outlawed man,
Dishonouring thus thy loyal name.-
Fetters and warders for the Graeme!'

(VI, XXIX, ll. 26-33)

Then the jocular king throws his 'chain of gold' round Malcolm's neck, giving Ellen the clasp, thus making the minstrel's prophecy come true. The reader's first reaction is to write it all off as high farce, but Thomas Crawford has shown that the devices of disguise and fetters in The Lady of the Lake deserve our respect, being in the long tradition of 'broadside balladry' and 'popular art.'

Much of the technique, content, and texture of Scott's ballad epics ... is creatively developed from the themes, devices, and even cliches of popular literature; they represent the successes of The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border raised to a higher level. 41

It is not death, but marriage, and with gusto the minstrel closes Canto Sixth and the poem. The harp summoned at the beginning of the poem is dismissed. Evening falls, and the hills fade. As the minstrel retires, nature, the harp that needs no human hand, sounds, growing fainter and fainter, like the hunt going over the hill in

41. T. Crawford, Scott (Edinburgh, 1965), pp. 42-3.

Canto First. Then silence.

I have followed the theme of this long poem through, feeding in the notes⁴² in order to show how Scott constructed his first Highland work. It will be agreed now that it is a conglomerate of material gathered from different centuries and from the Highlands, Lowlands, south of the Border and abroad, all imposed on the Loch Katrine area. The wealth of notes clearly shows Scott's heavy reliance on the eighteenth century travellers Martin, Burt and Pennant, but with Burt the most often cited. Graham's Sketches are also much used. I have already asked: why such a body of notes? They are not, as Pottle suggested, 'half fiction.' But they are there either as a show of scholarship, or, more likely, as bones to strengthen a flopping poem. Their presence is indicative of a creative consciousness not confident of its material or its evolution. The notes, in other words, are some security in the event of failure within the text.

By its sources of, and corruption of material The Lady of the Lake is not faithful to Highland history, not even in a general sense. I mean by this that it cannot be claimed that Scott has caught the mood of the times, and the place. In rare instances he is authentic. It seems to me that Roderick Dhu and Allan-bane are the most convincing creations in the poem. For most of the poem Roderick is an active warrior, and Scott has few equals in describing the strength and cunning of such men of action. Allan-bane the minstrel is the nostalgic part of Roderick's personality, the chief's

42. But not all of them, since this would make a massive chapter. I have selected the principal notes dealing with Highland material.

biographer and comforter. As such he is a convincing character, historically acceptable. His reconstruction in song of the battle of Beal' an Duine and his spontaneous lament for the dead Roderick are both functional and faithful to history. Consider the following sentiments from Finlay, the Red Bard in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, the fifteenth century masterpiece that was not published until well after Scott's death, but to which Scott had access in MS. form. Finlay, like Allan-bane, was a bard to a Macgregor chief, and Finlay praised

... MacGregor who gives shelter, who is patron to the schools; in his house I used not to be empty; to praise him is my duty.

When they arise around him, MacGregor's in their hundreds, it were a foolish clan to challenge them: he is lord over the flocks.

In comparison to Roderick Dhu, Malcolm Graeme is a pale insignificant character, supposedly out to win the hand of Ellen, but taking little part in the action. In fact, by going to Stirling, Ellen wins him. The Douglas is a split personality, passive at the beginning by hiding in the cave, and then going to Stirling to attract the king's attention in the tournament. One great flaw of the poem is that Scott fails to explain the motivation of the Douglas and other characters satisfactorily. They are characters sometimes acting out of character.

But the weakest character in The Lady of the Lake is undoubtedly Ellen. Ossianic in appearance, attitude and passivity, at least at the beginning of the poem, she does not live for us, and even her journey to Stirling to save her father and Graeme is a contrived thing. In her island solitude with her songs and her pale beauty she survives precariously as the supreme romantic symbol, far removed

from flesh and blood and emotion. I am not saying that such a bower was not likely in the time of the poem. Nor am I saying that such beauty was lacking in the Highlands. In fact, Finlay the Red Bard records that the houses of the Highland chieftains were far more substantial than Ellen's bower, and the women just as aristocratic. Finlay records that

Wine is drunk by stately dames, MacGregor,
in thy spacious hall; in thy wide firm mansion,
as I deem; wax is ablaze even to the door-post.

As the character of Roderick Dhu demonstrates, Scott excelled in the presentation of the fighting man, but the character of Ellen demonstrates that Scott simply did not know how to portray women with any conviction. He so often plays safe, presenting them as passive insubstantial beings, fingering harps in sylvan settings, as in that disastrous scene in Waverley, or else he goes to the other extreme, making them more man than woman, as Helen Macgregor and Diana Vernon demonstrate.

In my commentary on the poem I have several times made disparaging comparisons with cinematic technique and presentation. A useful analogy is to be found in the technical tricks of the cinema, the methods employed to create and maintain drama, and to solicit a sentimental response. In The Lady of the Lake Scott uses a clever fade in, fade out technique to speed up and slow down the action within his prearranged time scale. To achieve this he splits the poem into Cantos, each accounting for a day's action, and within the individual Cantos are sections with varying time-scales. Thus the ride to Stirling by Fitz-James is over in a few lines, but the fight between Fitz-James and Roderick takes many lines. Scott's technique

is that of the zoom lens at various angles, pulling back the running stag and letting it go again. It fades, to be followed by a new image, the solitary huntsman, similarly treated. When the scenes with harp, song, minstrel and maid are spliced in, we get a contraction and expansion of the reader's emotions as he or she (but more likely she) follows the action.

The Lady of the Lake is therefore a cleverly and carefully constructed poem, with time sequences and parallel actions, as well as interludes. But the careful planning of the poet, director of the action, is destroyed because far too much has been packed into the poem, and because this excessive content must be accounted for within the strict time-scale, confusion and artificiality inevitably occur. It is like a film with too many incompatible sets. The tragedy is that if Scott had left out much of the action, and reduced his cast accordingly, we would have a superb narrative poem. Furthermore, if foreign songs had been kept out of the mouths of Scottish minstrels and maids, the poem would be historically more valid.

When the poem first appeared the reviews⁴³ were rapturous, but

43. A note on the use of Scott criticism in my study is appropriate here. I am aware that Scott almost ranks with Shakespeare in having inspired a massive critical industry based on his works. The works of Scott are many and varied, and the critical output has been voluminous ever since Scott started publishing. Though Scott's works attract few readers in our time, criticism continues to be produced. To read, digest and refer to the entire range of Scott criticism would be an impossibility. Of course the scope of critical consultation is scaled down by the subject of this study, and I have tried to read as much as possible, both specifically and generally.

For the historical sweep of Scott criticism up until the end of the nineteenth century, James T. Hillhouse's The Waverley Novels and their Critics (Minneapolis, 1936) is an indispensable

Jeffrey in the Edinburgh Review for August 1810 had some very pertinent comments to make. He called into question the poem's novelty:

We must be permitted to express our disappointment and regret at finding the general cast of the characters and incidents toomuch akin to those of Mr. Scott's former publications. When we heard that the author of the Lay and of Marmion was employed upon a Highland story, we certainly expected to be introduced to a new creation, and to bid farewell, for a while, to knights, squires, courtiers, and chivalry; - but here they are all upon us again, in their old characters, and nearly in their old costume. The same age - the same sovereign - the same manners - the same ranks of society - the same tone, both for courtesy and for defiance. (pp. 279-80)

This is exactly the criticism I was making in the last section, but I would add that there is a decline in poetic quality from The Lay of the Last Minstrel, through Marmion to The Lady of the Lake.

Calling for 'a true Celtic story' which Scott has failed to furnish, Jeffrey shows that he is well aware of the thematic potential of the Highlands.

Such a subject, we are persuaded, has very great capabilities, and only wants to be introduced to public notice by such a hand as Mr. Scott's, to make a still more powerful impression than he has already effected by the resurrection of the tales of romance. (p. 280)

reference work. Likewise with Dr J.C. Corson's Bibliography of Sir Walter Scott (Edinburgh and London, 1936) which takes us into the twentieth century. Ian Jack's 'Sir Walter Scott: A Select Bibliography' in Sir Walter Scott (Writers and their work, No. 103) British Council, London 1958 is a useful addition.

In terms of this study, I have tried to select criticism which makes a positive contribution to the point in hand, and which seems to display a knowledge of the Highlands, a difficult combination to find. Where I challenge critical statements (as in my exposition of Lukacs's arguments in his Historical Novel: see my conclusion), it is because I feel the historical premises are suspect. Put simply, I have sought out and used informed critical opinion.

In order to gauge the impact of Scott's works on their first appearance, I have gone back to the magazine reviews.

In other words, Jeffrey wants up-to-date realism. He proceeds:

There are few persons, we believe, of any degree of poetical susceptibility, who have wandered among the secluded vallies of the Highlands, and contemplated the singular people by whom they are still tenanted - with their love of music and of song - their hardy and irregular life, so unlike the varying toils of the Saxon mechanic - their devotion to their chiefs - their wild and lofty traditions - their national enthusiasm - the melancholy grandeur of the scenes they inhabit - and the multiplied superstitions which still linger among them, - without feeling, that there is no existing people so well adapted for the purposes of poetry, or so capable of furnishing the occasions of new and striking inventions. (p. 280)

Scott had failed. He had dismissed the 'tawdry repetition' of Macpherson's poetry, but in Jeffrey's estimation Macpherson had been more faithful to the Highlands than Scott, for

That celebrated translation, though defaced with the most childish and disgusting affectations, still charms with occasional gleams of a tenderness beyond all other tenderness, and a sublimity of a new character of dreariness and elevation; and, though patched with pieces of the most offensive plagiarism, still maintains a tone of originality which has recommended it in every nation of the civilised world. (pp. 280-1).

Subdued but very telling criticism. Jeffrey also argued that the poem, unlike the region it claimed to portray, had no endurance.

It has the fault, indeed, of all stories that turn upon an anagnorisis or recognition, that the curiosity which is excited during the first reading, is extinguished for ever when we arrive at the discovery. (p. 279).

Furthermore,

There are several improbabilities ... in the story,
(p. 279),

and not least in the case of the king, for

it is certainly rather extraordinary, that neither the Lady Margaret, nor old Allan-bane, nor any of the attendants at the isle, should have recognized his person;

and almost as wonderful, that he should have found any difficulty in discovering the family of his entertainer. (p. 279).

Jeffrey also points out a serious imbalance in the poem which I have already pointed out. It concerns Malcolm Graeme's role, and

If we were to scrutinize the fable with malicious severity, we might also remark, that Malcolm Graeme has too insignificant a part assigned him, considering the favour in which he is held both by Ellen and the author; and that, in bringing out the shaded and imperfect character of Roderick Dhu, as a contrast to the purer virtue of his rival, Mr. Scott seems to have fallen into the common error, of making him more interesting than him whose virtues he was intended to set off, and converted the villain of the piece in some measure into its hero. (p. 279).

The other important and influential review was in the Quarterly Review for May 1810 and it was written by George Ellis, the man to whom Scott had intimated, in 1805, that there would be no more poetry, unless

I should by some strange accident reside so long in the Highlands, and make myself master of their ancient manners

so as to make, 'with some degree of accuracy ... a companion to' The Lay of the Last Minstrel.

Ellis's review is kinder, but less perceptive than Jeffrey's. Ellis has no fault to find with Scott's characterisation. He thinks that

the two principal characters are contrasted with uncommon felicity. Fitz-James, who more nearly resembles the French Henry the Fourth than the Scottish James V, is gay, amorous, fickle, intrepid, impetuous, affectionate, courteous, graceful, and dignified; Roderick is gloomy, vindictive, arrogant, undaunted, but constant in his affections, and true to his engagements; and the whole passage in which these personages are placed in opposition, from their first meeting to their final conflict, is conceived and written with a sublimity which has rarely been equalled. (p. 514).

But Ellis reserves the accolade for Ellen. She is

most exquisitely drawn, and could not have been improved by contrast. She is beautiful, frank, affectionate, rational, and playful, combining the innocence of a child with the elevated sentiments and courage of a heroine. (p. 514).

Despite her obvious Ossianic pedigree, Ellen is faultless, according to Ellis. Likewise with the scenery, for

the rocks, the ravines, and the torrents which he exhibits, are not the imperfect sketches of a hurried traveller, but the finished studies of a resident artist, deliberately drawn from different points of view; each has its true shape and position; it is a portrait; it has its name by which the spectator is invited to examine the exactness of the resemblance. The figures which are combined with the landscape are painted with the same fidelity. (p. 513).

In my opinion Ellis is right about the landscape, but wrong about the characters. Yet this obviously sympathetic critic and friend of the author's does not like everything he sees and hears in The Lady of the Lake. The metrics of the poem are that the staple measure is the iambic octosyllabic couplet, with the monotony broken by the introduction of trochaic verses in places where a quicker measure is called for. Also, to hasten the verse, trisyllabic feet are used, and the iorram is in dactyls. But Ellis thinks that

The measure of this poem, which is that of Gay's fables, is not ... happily chosen (p. 516).

While admitting that the metre is 'readily susceptible of grace and elegance,' Ellis argues that it might have been too easy, thus leading to 'frequent negligence.'

If a careless rhyme or an ill constructed phrase occasionally escape him amidst the irregular torrent of his stanza, the blemish is often imperceptible by the hurried eye of the reader: but when the short lines are yoked in pairs, any dissonance in the jingle, or interruption of the construction cannot fail to give offence. We learn from Horace

that, in the course of a long work, a poet may legitimately indulge in a momentary slumber; but we do not wish to hear him snore. Another fault of this metre is its monotony. This is, indeed, partly relieved in the present instance by the introduction of a prefatory stanza or two to each canto, and of songs, lays, ballads, odes, or hymns in various kinds of measure, some of them eminently beautiful, but so numerous, that the reader is rather disposed to resent their frequent intrusion, than to welcome them as a relief from the uniformity of the couplet. (p. 516).

I have already shown Ellis praising Scott for the fidelity of his characters, and finding them perfectly portrayed. Yet Ellis sees serious limits to The Lady of the Lake, and not because of the author's failings. It cannot be granted epic status because of the restrictions of the Highland subject. Amazingly, Ellis argues:

Perhaps the warfare of rival clans, however terrific in its results, and however favourable to the display of individual heroism, is too contracted in its extent, and too limited in its objects, to suit the gravity of the epic style; and the poet, after all his labour, might be reminded by some sagacious critic, that there is no task more idle than that of wasting beautiful poetry on the embellishment of county-history, and of immortalizing petty disputes which might have been more naturally settled by an application to a justice of peace, or to the court of chancery. (p. 515).

It is perhaps fortunate for the world that Scott did not take the advice of this 'sagacious,' anti-Highland and illogical critic to heart by agreeing that he had failed in his first Highland work, and that there should be no other attempts, in poetry and prose, of the same theme. The fatal error that Ellis has made here (and it has been made by many critics of Scottish literature since) is in equating literary content and achievement with the size of the region portrayed. The Lady of the Lake is a bad poem, not because the Highlands could not yield a large or deep enough theme, but because Scott took so little from the Highlands, and so much from elsewhere.

Furthermore, what he took from the Highlands was temporally and physically misplaced.

Although The Lady of the Lake is a failure thematically, there are sections of great beauty and endurance. As I have said earlier, these are the sections of scenic description. Ellis recognised their worth, and so did Ruskin, one of Scott's most perceptive linguistic critics.

Ruskin claims that

Of all the poetry that I know, none is so sorrowful as Scott's. Other great masters are pathetic in a resolute and predetermined way, when they choose; but, in their own minds, are evidently stern or hopeful, or serene; never really melancholy. Even Byron is rather sulky and desperate than melancholy; Keats is sad because he is sickly; Shelley because he is impious; but Scott is inherently and consistently sad. Around all his power, and brightness, and enjoyment of eye and heart, the far-away Aeolian knell is for ever sounding; there is not one of those loving or laughing glances of his but it is brighter for the film of tears ... 44

This is more support for my argument that Ellen at least is a classic Ossianic character, melancholic, quick to cry. Her father the Douglas also shares to some extent her inherent sorrow and suspicion that everything is predetermined.

Ruskin implies that most of Scott's themes are throwaway. He argues that the passages of scenic poetry will endure because in his scrutiny of nature Scott sees it as having

an animation and pathos of its own, wholly irrespective of human presence or passion, - an animation which Scott loves and sympathises with, as he would

44. John Ruskin, 'Of Modern Landscape,' in The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London, 1907), vol. V, p. 338.

with a fellow-creature, forgetting himself altogether, and subduing his own humanity before what seems to him the power of the landscape. 45

This, I have argued, happens at the beginning of Canto First, when the stag is running.

According to Ruskin Scott succeeds in his nature poetry because

instead of making Nature subordinate to himself, he makes himself subordinate to her - follows her lead simply - does not venture to bring his own cares and thoughts into her pure and quiet presence - paints her in her simple and universal truth, adding no result of momentary passion or fancy, and appears, therefore, at first shallower than other poets, being in reality wider and healthier. 46

In other words, Scott entirely excludes himself from the landscape he is describing, whereas Wordsworth

cannot altogether rid himself of the sense that he is a philosopher, and ought always to be saying something wise. 47

To Scott's 'passion for nature' Ruskin adds his 'love of antiquity' and his 'love of colour and beautiful form,' and, just as the painter mixes the atomic elements to produce colour to be applied to canvas and become a painting, Scott likewise works. In illustration Ruskin says:

The ... passage I have to quote is still more interesting; because it has no form in it at all except in one word (chalice), but wholly composes its imagery either of colour, or of that delicate half-believed life which we have seen to be so important an element in modern landscape. 48

The passage is:

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- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 45. Ruskin, <u>op. cit.</u> , vol. V, p. 340. | 46. <u>Ibid.</u> , pp. 341-2 |
| 47. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 343. | 48. <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 349. |

The summer dawn's reflected hue
 To purple changed Loch Katrine blue,⁴⁹
 Mildly and soft the western breeze
 Just kissed the lake, just stirred the trees;
 And the pleased lake, like maiden coy,
 Trembled but dimpled not for joy;
 The mountain-shadows on her breast
 Were neither broken nor at rest;
 In bright uncertainty they lie,
 Like future joys to Fancy's eye.
 The water-lily to the light
 Her chalice rear'd of silver bright;
 The doe awoke, and to the lawn,
 Begemm'd with dew-drops, led her fawn;
 The grey mist left the mountain side;
 The torrent show'd its glistening pride;
 Invisible in fleck'd sky,
 The lark sent down her revelry;
 The blackbird and the speckled thrush
 Good-morrow gave from brake and bush;
 In answer coo'd the cushat dove
 Her notes of peace, and rest, and love. (III, II)

In evidence of Scott's masterly hand, Ruskin cites his delicate and detailed touches,

down to the minutest speckling of breast, and slightest shade of attributed emotion, the portraiture of birds and animals. 50

Strange, but birds are entirely absent from Macpherson's poetry.

Donald Davie is one of the very few modern critics to have given Scott's poetry attention. In terms of the 'texture of sound' and general poetic technique Davie shares my opinion that The Lady of the Lake is inferior to The Lay of the Last Minstrel and Marmion. He writes:

it may well be maintained that by the time Scott wrote The Lady, the third of his narrative poems, his most original work was already behind him, 51

49. The italics are Ruskin's.

50. Ruskin, op. cit., vol. V, p. 350.

51. D. Davie, 'The Poetry of Sir Walter Scott', in Proceedings of the British Academy, 1961, vol. XLVII, p. 69.

partly because

the resources of the author's most vivid imaginative life were already being husbanded against the time when he would draw upon them for his novels.

52

This is acceptable, if Davie is thinking about the future. But he qualifies his judgement by stating that he has little criticism to make of the theme of The Lady of the Lake.

For narrative in the narrow sense of an unpredictable but probable story suspensefully told, The Lady of the Lake is the best of the poems; but then it is also the poem which one feels that the story would do better as a Waverley novel, in prose. 53

Once again, (like Ellis), we are listening to a critic who clearly knows little or nothing about Highland history. In terms of the history of the region it is set in, the story of The Lady of the Lake does not begin to approach probability, and, as Jeffrey pointed out, the story cannot stand a second reading. Moreover, it is nonsensical to suggest that 'the story would do better as a Waverley novel' because the haphazard state of the notes (drawn from different countries and different times) shows that Scott did not have sufficient material.

The best part of Davie's paper is based on Ruskin's brilliant criticism from the viewpoint of the painter, but Davie does not always agree with Ruskin's judgements. Where Ruskin finds perfection and hence delight, Davie is dissatisfied by a 'sort of preciousness in stylized patterning of colour,'⁵⁴ which must inevitably offend the

52. Davie, op. cit., p. 69.

53. Ibid., p. 74.

54. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

modern eye. He also finds, in certain passages of The Lady of the Lake, the

clearest symptoms of the loss by Scott of his initial vision and impetus, 55

and one reason is that

in The Lay and in Marmion as opposed to The Lady of the Lake or Rokeby, Scott used a far more restricted palette of bold primary colours. 56

Despite such criticism, Davie finds much to please in Scott's poetry, and is clearly calling for a revaluation, a state of affairs that will be extremely difficult to bring about in an age of barer landscapes in poetry.

In his small but important critical and biographical study of Scott Thomas Crawford has devoted a sympathetic chapter to the neglected poetry. He makes the important point that

Scott's ballad epics were both a development and a negation of his earlier additions to ballads and of his specific ballad imitations. In form, the ballad epic takes from the ballad proper its narrative technique of near-montage, its sudden shifts of place and time, its trick of compressing the events of weeks and years into a single stanza preceded, perhaps, by many lines describing a brief but important dramatic incident. It also adopts the device of building by incremental repetition, as in folk-song - and this, of course, is merely a lexical and stylistic parallel to Davie's 'poetry of grammar'; furthermore, it occasionally apes the ballad's compression of dialogue into almost antiphonal ripostes. 57

But despite The Lady of the Lake's technical relationship to the

55. Davie, op. cit., p. 69.

56. Ibid.

57. Crawford, op. cit., p. 41.

ballads, it does not succeed as a ballad does, probably because it is too long and too packed. Unlike a ballad, The Lady of the Lake has its roots in books, not soil; and books from different countries and different centuries at that.

There is one piece of criticism which I have deliberately kept to the end, because it was a private opinion which did not reach the public until many years after its composition. As I have stated already, there is a possibility that Wordsworth might have recommended the Loch Katrine scenery to Scott as fit for poetry. In Early October 1810, Coleridge delivered his criticism of The Lady of the Lake in a letter to Wordsworth. Coleridge, creator of the tortured mariner, was very cynical. He wrote:

The movement of the Poem (which is written with exception of a multitude of Songs in regular 8 syllable Iambics) is between a sleeping Canter and a Marketwoman's trot - but it is endless - I seem never to have made any way - I never remember a narrative poem in which I felt the sense of Progress so languid, 58

And:

In short, what I felt in Marmion, I feel still more in The Lady of the Lake - viz. that a man accustomed to cast words in metre and familiar with descriptive Poets & Tourists, himself a Picturesque Tourist, must be troubled with a mental Strangury, if he could not lift up his leg six times at six different Corners, and each time p - a canto. - I should imagine that even Scott's warmest admirers must acknowledge & complain of the number of prosaic lines - PROSE IN POLYSYLLABLES, surely the worst of all prose for chivalrous Poetry. 59

Despite such judgements, public or otherwise, The Lady of the

58. Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, E.L. Briggs (Oxford, 1959), vol. III, p. 291.

59. Letters, vol. III, p. 292.

Lake was an astounding commercial success, and in a proud memo written for Lockhart, Cadell, publisher of the Magnum Opus, and the only man who made a fortune out of Scott, recalled:

The whole country rang with the praises of the poet - crowds set off to view the scenery of Loch Katrine, till then comparatively unknown; and as the book came out just before the season for excursions, every house and inn in that neighbourhood was crammed with a constant succession of visitors. It is a well-ascertained fact, that from the date of the publication of the Lady of the Lake, the post-horse duty in Scotland rose in an extraordinary degree, and indeed it continued to do so regularly for a number of years, the author's succeeding works keeping up the enthusiasm for our scenery which he had thus originally created. 60

Scott, then, brought the tourists to the threshold of the Highlands, and they soon spread through the entire region, and out into the Hebrides. They had come to compare the scenery with the descriptions in The Lady of the Lake, and apparently they were not disappointed. But, as I shall show later, the publication of The Lord of the Isles produced far more than an interest in Hebridean scenery. The guide books absorbed the poem, and superimposed Scott's fanciful history on the actual garrisons described in the poem. Thus Highland history was corrupted, but perhaps more important still, Scott's presentation of Highland scenery to the southern public brought more and more tourists, some of them returning regularly and deciding to keep holiday homes in the Highlands, thus forcing the natives out in a new form of clearance. Scott, of course, could not have foreseen the effect his poems would have on the Highlands, and if he had, one suspects that he might have hesitated to publish them. But he did, and the Highlands got absentee landlords.

60. Lockhart, Life, p. 192.

This has been a lengthy section, but necessary, in order to show how Scott constructed his first Highland work, and how its success inspired him to write further Highland works, in prose as well as poetry. In closing this section, I ask: apart from wanting to make money, what was Scott attempting to do in The Lady of the Lake? My answer is that he had a political purpose. Consider the plot of the poem once again. The humane king in disguise goes hunting in the Highlands, and ends up by pacifying them. The Douglas and his daughter Ellen (both Lowlanders) seek sanctuary in the Highlands, and cause a war which the humane king stops before much blood is shed. Roderick Dhu, the villain of the piece, dies in Stirling, just outside the Highlands. Ellen (a Lowlander) and Malcolm Graeme (a Highlander) are in love, and will marry. The humane king drapes his chain of office round Malcolm's neck and gives the clasp to Ellen in a symbolic gesture which implies (superficially) that the Highlands are held in bondage by the Lowlands. On a deeper level it means the happy marriage of the Highlands and the Lowlands and hence, once again, the concept of a harmonious kingdom proudly presented to the south. It was a pleasant thought but, of course, it was not historically accurate. The thought and the errors were to be repeated in other Highland works by Scott, and most notably in Waverley.

THE FIRST HIGHLAND NOVEL

While Ballantyne's presses attempted to meet the massive public demand for The Lady of the Lake, Scott's first Highland poem, he announced to Lady Abercorn on 29 June 1810:

As the Session of our Courts will soon be over
I intend to go for a fortnight to the Hebrides
which I have never visited though I have been on
the opposite mainland. I hardly know whether to
expect much or not but I strongly suspect the best
parts of Highland scenery are those which lie upon
the main. 1

Ranald Macdonald, the young laird of Staffa, brother of Hector Macdonald Buchanan of Ross Priory had coaxed Scott to undertake the journey by the promise of a sloop, a crew, and personal pilotage. According to Lockhart, Scott, his lady and daughter Sophia travelled with their own horses at a leisurely pace through Argyllshire, for, as always, the antiquarian wished to stop and see. In fact, Lockhart says that Scott

often performed the far greater part of the day's journey on foot - examining the map in the morning so as to make himself master of the bearings - and following his own fancy over some old disused riding track, or along the margin of a stream, while the carriage, with its female occupants, adhered to the proper road. 2

Scott passed through Rob Roy country, and the Campbell territory laid waste by fire and sword by Montrose and his lieutenant Colkitto Macdonald when they stormed Inveraray in 1648. That ferocious campaign was to be the subject of the novel A Legend of Montrose, published in 1819, with Dalgetty, like Scott, a stranger in the Campbell kingdom.

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1. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 354.
 2. Lockhart, Life, p. 197.

At Oban the Scott family rendezvoused with friends³ and proceeded to Mull, passing the Lady's Rock off Duart Castle, the scene of Joanna Baillie's drama The Family Legend which, under Scott's supervision, had been played to packed audiences in Edinburgh earlier that year. The travellers landed at Aros Castle on Mull late that night, and, in a state of disarray because of a lagging wherry, were accommodated in a gentleman's house close by.⁴ Next day they proceeded by pony and boat to Ulva House,⁵ Staffa's island residence. Pipes played and muskets sounded. Scott

seems to have kept no journal during this expedition, 6

Lockhart records, but several letters are extant. One of the principal features of the tour was the series of garrisons strung along the coast from Oban to Mull. In a letter from Ulva House dated 19 July 1810, Scott told Joanna Baillie:

I think I counted seven of these fortresses in sight at once and heard seven times seven legends of war and wonder connected with them. 7

These castles were: Dunstaffnage, Oban; Dunollie, Oban; Gylen,

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3. They were: Sir George Paul, philanthropist; Mrs. Apreece, a distant relative of Scott's; Hannah, daughter of Henry Mackenzie, the 'Man of Feeling'; and Mackinnon of Mackinnon, a chieftain resident in England.
 4. This seems to have been a house which stood on the site of, or close to the present White House of Aros, near the castle of Aros.
 5. Ulva House, a fine Adam mansion, was completely destroyed by fire in 1953, and all the family papers lost. I am indebted to Edith, Lady Congleton for this information.
 6. Lockhart, Life, p. 197.
 7. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 359.

Kerrera; Ardtornish, Morven; Duart, Mull; Aros, Mull; Mingarry, Ardnamurchan. They were sited so that signals could be transmitted westwards by a series of beacon fires kindled on the battlements, and the sight of them obviously sparked off The Lord of the Isles in Scott's mind, although the poem was five years away from publication.

On his voyage to visit the geological marvel of Staffa Scott was treated like a great chief by the boatmen. His fame as a poet seems to have percolated to the Hebrides, for a stone seat at the mouth of Staffa was christened 'Clachan-an-Bairdh,' 'the poet's stone.' Like Johnson forty years before him,⁸ Scott was much affected by the pious atmosphere of ruinous Iona. He informed Miss Baillie in the letter from Ulva House:

From this rude and remote island the light of
Christianity shone forth on Scotland and Ire-
land. 9

But in the cradle of Christianity piety and poverty coexisted. Writing to George Ellis on 29 July 1810, on his return from the Hebrides, Scott described the wonderful monuments of Iona, and then stated that

The inhabitants are in the last state of
poverty and wretchedness. 10

Ragged, near naked children begged for alms and offered the southern travellers pebbles blessed by Saint Columba. It was the beginning of the commercialisation of Iona, with more and more pilgrims arriving as boats grew bigger and stouter. Scott would contribute to

8. The sage said: 'That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.' Journey, p. 347.

9. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 360.

10. Ibid., p. 365.

this tourist boom in the Hebrides (and particularly to steamer traffic) with The Lord of the Isles.

Armed with Iona stone charms, the Scotts returned to Edinburgh, having been disappointed by the absence of the Maclean Clephanes from Torloisk, their Mull seat. Prior to setting out for the Hebrides, Scott had intimated to Miss Baillie on 10 June that he was a poet going in search of a theme as well as a sightseer. But, as always, he did not wish to commit himself.

Should I ever write again which is very uncertain
I intend to take the Hebridean character and scenery
with that of the North of Ireland for my subject -
but this is truly speaking of the saddling
of a foal. 11

He had been impressed by what he had seen and heard in the Hebrides. On 24 September 1810, he wrote to Clarke Whitfield¹² from Ashestiel.

I wish you had been with me in a late tour through
the Isles, when I heard many wild Hebridean airs
sung by our boatmen to their oars, which appeared
to deserve both embellishment & preservation. 13

Scott's three long published poems to that date had depended to a great extent for their success on beautiful scenery beautifully described. Loch Katrine, central scene of The Lady of the Lake was a lovely green place of soft colours, but the Hebridean scenery was spectacularly different. Writing to Southey on 19-20 September from Ashestiel, Scott reported:

11. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 349.

12. Organist at Emmanuel, and later Professor of Music at Cambridge. He set many of Scott's songs to music.

13. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 375.

The scenery is quite different from that on the mainland - dark, savage, and horrid, but occasionally magnificent in the highest degree. 14

Nevertheless, the often harsh Hebridean scenery had definite poetic possibilities. Or was it Hebridean history that interested the poet? On 8 October he writes to the Rev. E. Berwick from Ashetiel:

I should like before I hang my harp on the willows for ever to try an Irish tale mixed with something of our own Hebrides. 15

Scott was obviously looking for another success to follow hard on the heels of The Lady of the Lake, and it might even be a prose work. Apparently the opening chapters of Waverley, put aside five years previously were brought out and dispatched to James Ballantyne. Lockhart prints Ballantyne's reply, which was not encouraging. The printer was uneasy about the historical atmosphere of the chapters. He argued:

Considering that 'sixty years since' only leads us back to the year 1750, a period when our fathers were alive and merry, it seems to me that the air of antiquity diffused over the characters is rather too great to harmonize with the time. The period is modern; Johnson was writing - and Garrick was acting - and in fact scarcely anything appears to have been altered, more important than the cut of a coat. 16

But, of course, Ballantyne had only read the opening chapters of Waverley, before the hero had entered the Highlands and become involved in the '45, and therefore the unique aspect of the work would have been lost to him. The manuscript was returned to the

14. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, p. 374. 15. Ibid., p. 387.
16. Lockhart, Life, p. 202.

author, and he apparently consigned it to a drawer in Ashestiel.

After Scott's return from his Hebridean visit there were pressing business problems to be attended to. The demand for The Lady of the Lake had requisitioned all of Ballantyne's presses, with the result that some volumes of Swift for Constable had to be put out to another printer. The poet with the controlling interest in a printing works now began to load the presses with commercially unattractive works, to the despair of James Ballantyne his partner. But as the unsaleables accumulated in the warehouse as a dusty monument to Scott's startling lack of commercial realism,¹⁷ there were successes elsewhere. Packed theatres in Edinburgh, London and Dublin were applauding The Lady of the Lake in the form of a melodrama, and Swift was progressing. At last the Clerk of Session was receiving his full salary, and the dream of Border lairdship was about to be realised, despite the unhealthy state of his business interests. The land he called Abbotsford cost £4,200. Some of the money was borrowed from his elder brother, and the rest raised by John Ballantyne on the still unwritten Rokeby. Thus began the hazardous and artistically suspect process of pay now, write later which was to ruin him.

It is characteristic of the man that the creative consciousness was far better marketed than the products from the presses he owned in all but name. In his correspondence he expressed the hope that he could make poetry pay for the pleasures of life, even although

17. It can be argued, of course, that Scott was endeavouring to assist friends and fellow artists by accepting their work for the Ballantyne press. But there seems little doubt that he also anticipated profit.

these pleasures were extravagant. Writing to Miss Baillie on 23 November 1810, he said frankly:

if my poetical revenues enable me to have a few acres of my own that is one of the principal pleasures I look forward to. There is too a sort of self-congratulation a little tickling self-flattery in the idea that while you are pleasing and amusing yourself you are really seriously contributing to the future welfare of the country and that your very acorn may send its ribs of oak /sic/ to future victories like Trafalgar. 18

The Scott caravan complete with books and Highland curios, including the recently acquired initialled gun of Rob Roy's removed to Abbotsford in May 1812. Tradesmen began to transform the modest residence into a mansion, and allied to the poet's need for cash to pay for building was speed of composition. On 20 October 1812, he wrote from Abbotsford to Lionel Thomas Berquer, an admirer, confessing:

My poetry has always passed from the desk to the press in the most hurried manner possible, so that it is no wonder I am sometimes puzzled to explain my own meaning. 19

This was in answer to queries regarding The Lady of the Lake, but Scott was already at work on another poem. Its setting and title was to be Rokeby, the splendid seat of his friend Morritt, and like the good friend he undoubtedly was, Morritt was worried by Scott's speed in going to the public for profit. Morritt offered:

If you want a few hundreds independent of these booksellers, your credit is so very good ... and I happen at this moment to have five or six for which I have no sort of demand - so rather than

18. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, pp. 402-03.

19. Ibid., p. 180.

be obliged to spur Pegasus beyond the power of pulling him up when he is going too fast, do consult your own judgement and set the midwives of the trade at defiance. 20

Morritt's offer was accepted, and the money used to have some of Ballantyne's bills discounted. But Morritt, of course, did not know of Scott's deep stake in the printing and publishing trades. Nor did Scott's pen slow down with this assistance. Rokeby, a Cavalier and Roundhead romance, was published in January 1813, and though not nearly as successful as The Lady of the Lake, it sold ten thousand copies in the first four months of publication. But that was not sufficient for Scott's needs, and from now on his story is one of constant financial crises in the printing and publishing concerns, for the great profits of The Lady of the Lake had been divided among the partners, and not ploughed back. Worse still, Scott had forced unsaleables on the publishing house list, and not even the ingenious John Ballantyne could dispose of them.

Crises loom, and events move as dramatically as in the novels to come. An Abbotsford servant is summoned from sleep by an anxious master and forced to ride through the darkness to Edinburgh with cheques drawn against Scott's personal account to avert disaster. The Poet Laureateship is seriously considered because it is thought to pay four hundred pounds per annum, but it is turned down and goes to the impoverished Southey for a quarter of that amount. The new Border laird is forced to ask his chief the Duke of Buccleuch for a guarantee for £4,000, and it is granted with courtesy. It saved the publishing house from collapse. The idea of the guarantee

had come from Constable, and negotiations began with him to buy up some of the unsaleable stock in the warehouse. Naturally, Constable's terms would include the cessation of the Ballantyne publishing house.

Morrit had heard with alarm that the Ballantyne concern was collapsing, but in a letter Scott lied to him by omitting to explain his stake in the business. But Scott was needing more money, for personal reasons, and once again literature was to be the source. The opportunity for purchasing the lands of Darnick called Kaeside had arisen, and Scott could not resist because the acquisition of land had already become an obsession. Time to strike a bargain was short, and poetry was a good source of revenue, as The Lady of the Lake had proved. Thus on 20 June/1813²¹ Scott wrote to Constable, announcing that he was inspired to attempt another long poem.

My first proposal is that you should either take half of a new poem to be published before the Birthday 1814 between Longman & you at £2500 - the acceptances being made immediately discountable which is my temptation for selling any part of it.

My second alternative is that you should purchase the whole poem at the price of £5000 understanding that Longmans house are to have the offer of one half or one fourth. 22

This was the highest advance ever to be asked in the annals of British poetry, and, moreover, for a poem obviously in the earliest mental stages of composition. The calculating Scott was bringing Constable back into favour because he believed that the flamboyant bookseller was among the few in his profession able to pay such an advance.

21. Grierson's dating.

22. Grierson, Letters, vol. III, pp. 286-87.

Several months later Scott raised the same subject with James Ballantyne, his partner. The letter is dated 7 October 1813.

I have thought so much upon the subject of a new poem that I have no hesitation in fixing the price at £4200 - (four thousand guineas) but I have no objection that £1050 shall be made dependent on the success of the work, as I have no wish to have any undue advantage. Should this be agreeable I propose that the Poem be published in January 1815. 23

The price may be dropping, but Scott's confidence in the ability of his muse to deliver to a deadline is still high. Note that he says he has 'thought so much' about a new poem: he does not say that he has written any of it. But it did have a provisional title, indicating its vague romantic Highland theme. It was called The Nameless Glen, and Scott's main motive in planning it was undoubtedly money for land. The publication date was obviously being fixed in relation to 'immediately discountable' bills, but caution made him cover possible losses to the publisher by suggesting a retention figure of £1050. The terms of commercial contracts were being applied to poetry.

The poem which he had apparently 'thought so much upon' was provisionally entitled The Nameless Glen. It would become The Lord of the Isles, and the theme was no doubt suggested by his 1810 voyage to the Hebrides, when he had counted seven seaboard garrisons. But he was to return to the Hebrides before that poem, for which he accepted 1500 guineas from Constable, was published in December 1815.

The Lord of the Isles was begun, but with little confidence, for the muse seems to have deserted him. It was at this stage of

creative stagnation that the abandoned manuscript of Waverley was discovered and resumed, probably because Scott saw its economic possibilities. Lockhart has a touching story about watching his future father-in-law's hand casting aside completed pages of Waverley in an Edinburgh window in the summer of 1814²⁴ as Scott toiled to supply profit for his own presses. Constable had offered £700 for the copyright of Waverley, but Scott now knew how to bargain with the booksellers. In his opinion the sum was too much if the work failed, and too little if it succeeded, and so it was agreed that it should be published on an equal division of profits between the author and Constable. It was one of the best bargains of Scott's career, and yet the worst, for from now on payment was mostly to be made in advance, sometimes for work not yet begun, and usually in the form of promissory notes.

Waverley was put out to the public on 7 July 1814, in three small 12mo volumes, price one guinea the set. But Scott's name was not on the title-page. Was this a clever device to create a mystery and maximise sales? The reason went deeper than money. From the outset of his literary career Scott's correspondence clearly shows that he was not at all confident of success. Though he had acknowledged his authorship of the three long poems, he was always suspicious of experiment and change. We have seen that the adoption of a Highland theme in The Lady of the Lake gave him cause for concern because he feared that his public image would suffer, and so affect future sales of his works. But the writing of poetry was a more socially acceptable practice than the writing of novels,

24. Lockhart, Life, p. 256.

and especially the writing of novels by such an establishment figure as a lawyer. His anxieties were therefore doubled by the publication of Waverley. In the first instance, he was a lawyer, a realist who should have had no business with romance. In the second instance, Waverley had a Highland theme, and unlike The Lady of the Lake, it had a particularly delicate theme, the '45 rebellion. The '45 rebellion was about the attempt by a Stuart to retrieve the throne from a Hanoverian usurper, and a Hanoverian occupied the throne in Scott's time. Moreover, it seemed through his aristocratic contacts that he could expect to receive favours from this monarch, provided his literary output continued to give pleasure in the highest quarters. Yet Scott needed money to augment his estate and make him a landowner of consequence. Waverley might well provide some of that money.

That was Scott's dilemma, and that is why his name was absent from the title-page. In the General Preface he partly explained his motives with characteristic honesty.

My original motive for publishing the work anonymously, was the consciousness that it was an experiment on the public taste which might very probably fail, and therefore there was no occasion to take on myself the personal risk of discomfiture. For this purpose considerable precautions were used to preserve secrecy.

Our first objection must be that any author of integrity has a moral obligation to acknowledge, and if necessary to defend that which he places before the public, otherwise we suspect his sincerity and the seriousness of his theme. When we read these plaintive pleas about money and still more money scattered throughout Scott's correspondence, we might conclude that his choice of a theme is being determined by a calculation of maximum profits. The Lady of the

Lake had made Scott money, and he believed that more could be made from a Highland theme, but this time in prose.

We have already seen Scott attempting, and being successful with a Highland poem, at least on a commercial basis, and now it was a Highland novel, or more precisely, a novel about the '45 rebellion. But was he better qualified to write prose than poetry with Highland themes? It has been shown that he claimed a measure of Jacobite blood in his veins, and that as a child he had listened intently to tales of the '45, some of them apparently told by participators. But it does not follow that these narrators were Highland, for there were Lowlanders in the Jacobite army. Quite obviously Scott was heavily influenced in his choice of the '45 as a theme for fiction by his friendship with Stewart of Invernahyle, which dated from his adolescence. From that Highland chieftain he had a personalised account of the '45 campaign. We must also remember that Scott's father counted Highland chieftains among his clients, and that in his developing legal and literary career Scott's social status inevitably rose. As his fame as a poet spread he was taken up by high society, which included members of the Highland aristocracy resident in, or frequent visitors to Edinburgh. From such acquaintances he undoubtedly got literary material. For instance, George Douglas, eighth Duke of Argyll, a man of high culture, records that in her youth Lady Charlotte Campbell²⁵ of the Inveraray dynasty

25. 1775-1861. Youngest daughter of John, fifth Duke of Argyll. She married, first, Colonel John Campbell of Shawfield; and second, Rev. Edward J. Bury. 'In her youth she was remarkable for her personal beauty, and the charm of her manners rendered her one of the most popular persons in society.' The DNB continues: 'some of her novels were once very popular, although now almost forgotten.' Note that Duke John of Argyll was the great uncle of Lady Louisa Stuart, Scott's friend and correspondent.

was the friend and frequent entertainer of the young Walter Scott, who, sitting at her feet, used to repeat to her the Border Ballads and some of his own early compositions of that kind. When the Waverley Novels came out, and speculation was so strangely baffled as to the personality of 'the Great Unknown', my father always felt certain of the authorship of Scott, chiefly from recognising in those novels verses and fragments of poetry which he had heard Scott reciting to his sister during his visits to her in Edinburgh. 26

This youthful friendship expanded to include other members of this illustrious Highland family, and by 1802 Scott could boast to Ellis that he had 'frequently' met the Marquis of Lorn at the Edinburgh residence of his 'charming sister' Charlotte, and that he had made the acquaintance of 'Her Grace of Gordon.'²⁷

Glengarry was also numbered among his friends. If Stewart of Invernahyle was, as Scott claimed, 'far descended, gallant, courteous and brave even to chivalry,' Alastair Ranaldson Macdonnell, fifteenth of Glengarry was arrogant and impulsive to the point of eccentricity. Joseph Mitchell, Telford's lieutenant, met him in the course of business arising from the construction of the Caledonian Canal. Mitchell remembered:

To the west of Fort Augustus about eight miles, resided the Laird of Glengarry, the chief of the MacDonnells, a man of excitable disposition, desirous to be considered the type of an old chief, absolute in his commands, litigious, and sometimes hurried by his ungovernable temper into acts of the most serious nature. On one occasion he very unreasonably insulted an officer at a Northern Meeting Ball in Inverness, and a challenge was the result. They went out, the officer, who was believed to be blameless, was killed, and Glengarry tried for his

26. George Douglas, eighth Duke of Argyll, K.G., K.T., Autobiography and Memoirs (London, 1906), vol. I, p. 30.

27. Grierson, Letters, vol. I, p. 137.

life, but escaped by the wonderful eloquence of Harry Erskine.

In his own country Glengarry was reported to have committed several bloody assaults, and a rumour was current that he had killed a game-keeper, but whether in passion or by accident was never clearly made out. 28

This bizarre man

on all occasions wore the Highland dress, and adhered to the style of living of his ancestors, and, when away from his Highland home, was invariably accompanied by a body of his retainers in full Highland costume, 29

and thus it can be seen why Scott is said to have borrowed some characteristics from Glengarry for Fergus Mac-Ivor in Waverley. But there the similarity seems to end, for the Glengarry men did not follow the '45 campaign to its conclusion, and their fate was different from that of Mac-Ivor and his men. Mitchell records that the Glengarry contingent were at Culloden,

but did not fight, refusing to advance because they were not assigned the post of honour on the right, which they had held since the days of Bannockburn. The chief of the day does not seem to have been actively engaged in the rebellion; but the royal troops blew up his castle of Invergarry, and he and his son were arrested and long imprisoned in the Tower of London. 30

Glengarry, Scott's friend, cleared part of his estate. The clan genealogist records:

His attempts to maintain, in his own peculiar

28. Mitchell, op. cit., vol. I, p. 73.

29. A. MacKenzie, The MacDonalds of Glengarry, (Inverness, 1881) p. 72.

30. MacKenzie, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

manner, the ancient customs of Highland chieftainship cost him so much that he was forced to burden the estate to an extent which necessitated its transference by his successor to other and strange hands.

31

Mitchell states that 'Glengarry's debts, with lawsuits and other expenses, amounted to about £80,000,'³² and a good part of this sum was spent on the absurd legal campaign of 1818 and 1819 in which he tried to prove that Glengarry was chief of the Clanranald. This protracted case, based as it was on charters, and obscure genealogical accounts, many of them suspect, could not have failed to fascinate Scott the antiquary. He must have been highly amused by the 1821 published argument of the Glengarry case. Characteristically, its title was long-winded and arrogant. It was a Vindication of the 'Clanronald of Glengary' against the attacks made upon Them in the Inverness Journal and some recent printed Performances. With remarks as to the descent of the Family who style themselves 'of Clanronald.'³³

Glengarry's manner of death was as tragically comic as his lifestyle. Though obsessed with the past, he could not prevent progress, and the modern age in the form of steamboats penetrated Loch Oich on his territory, which had become part of the Caledonian Canal. Needless to say, he sought compensation from the Commissioners in the law courts for the loss of salmon fishings, etc. A settlement was made, and he was apparently on his way south to settle his debts and to effect a reformation in his extravagant lifestyle, but the steamer

31. MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 73.

32. Mitchell, op. cit., vol. I, p. 79.

33. It is in the ALC. John Riddell is said to have been the author.

Stirling Castle on which he was travelling was wrecked on the rocks at Corran, near Fort William on 14 January 1828. Impulsive to the end, and never one to obey the orders of others, he tried to jump ashore, fractured his skull and died.

Why did the cautious Scott obviously have affection for such an unpredictable character? Clearly Scott sympathised with Glengarry's desire to live in the style of his ancestors, even although it was extravagant.³⁴ After all, Scott repeated the same errors at Abbotsford. He retained a piper and a Highland armoury, though he was not of Highland aristocratic descent. Glengarry was generous to Scott. He supplied him with whisky, the famous dog Maida, and some anecdotes for his writing. But there was a deeper reason for Scott's affection for the Highland chieftain. In January 1802, Glengarry married Rebecca, second daughter of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart. Forbes died in 1806, and was succeeded by his son, also Sir William, the banker, who married Williamina Belsches, Scott's love. She was therefore Glengarry's sister-in-law, and though she died in 1810 Scott could not forget her, as his later emotional meeting with her mother shows. Moreover, Sir William Forbes gave Scott much help in his financial ruin.

Scott's regard for Glengarry as a friend and a source of Highland literary material is shown in the Journal entry for 14 February 1826.

34. Like Scott, Glengarry posed for Raeburn. It is a full length portrait, circa 1800, featuring Glengarry in full Highland dress, holding a long gun in his right hand and posing arrogantly against a background of targe and crossed claymores. The picture is in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

I had a call from Glengarry yesterday as kind and friendly as usual. This gentleman is a kind of Quixote in our age, having retained in its full extent the whole feelings of Clanship and Chieftainship elsewhere so long abandoned. He seems to have lived a century too late and to exist in a state of complete law and order like a Glengarry of old whose will was law to his sept. Kind-hearted, generous, friendly, he is beloved by those who know him and his efforts are unceasing to shew kindness to those of his clan who are disposed fully to admit his pretensions. To dispute them is to incur his resentment which has sometimes broken out in acts of violence which have brought him into collision with the law. To me he is a treasure as being full of information as to the history of his own clan and the manners and customs of the highlanders in general. 35

Hearing of his death in 1828, Scott wrote a sympathetic epitaph.

The eccentric parts of his character, the pretensions which he supported with violence and assumption of rank and authority were obvious subjects of censure and ridicule which in some points was not undeserved. He played the part of a chieftain too high the life to be popular among an altered race with whom he thought, felt and acted, I may say in right and wrong, as a chieftain of a hundred years since would have done, while his conduct was viewed entirely by modern eyes and tried by modern rules.

36

Obviously Scott is remembering his dreams for Abbotsford, and the harsh reality of his bankruptcy two years before. But in his case the 'modern rules' of commerce were kind.

As well as getting literary material from Highland friends, Scott was augmenting his library. On 9 March [1809?] he wrote to either William Miller or John Murray from Edinburgh:

35. Journal, pp. 88-89.

36. Ibid., p. 417.

I have bought some very curious tracts from Blackwoods catalogue & Patrons sale to enrich the work. I particularly wish every thing concerning the years 1715 & 1745 to be picked up. The originals shall be taken care of. 37

The "work" referred to is Scott's edition of Somers' Tracts, but the '15 and '45 material was obviously intended for general reading.

James Anderson has done much valuable research into Scott's sources for Waverley in terms of history books and manuscripts, and these will be discussed in the next section. Meantime, it is important to note that some nine years seem to have elapsed between the beginning of, and the completion of Waverley. Early chapters were apparently extant in 1805, and the completed manuscript went through the press in 1814. It seems obvious that the abandonment of Waverley in 1805 or thereabouts was a distinct advantage to Scott, since in the nine years following he was able to gather more material through extensive reading and the expansion of his circle of acquaintances. Also, factual material should have matured in his creative consciousness and emerged as convincing fiction.

Yet, as we have seen, Scott was obviously seriously short of Highland material for The Lady of the Lake as late as 1810, and furthermore, the material he did use was badly arranged. Four years later Waverley, a novel about a particular period of Highland history was published. It must now be examined.

37. Grierson, Letters, vol. II, pp. 177-78.

W A V E R L E Y

Although an examination in depth of Edward Waverley's¹ way of life prior to his entry into the Highlands is beyond the scope of this study, it is necessary to extract certain characteristics if his subsequent adventures (or rather, misadventures) are to be understood.

Predictably, Scott derives his hero from the aristocracy, but neither the Highland nor Lowland aristocracy. Waverley is English by birth and breeding, heir apparent to

the whole train of Tory or High-church predilections and prejudices, which had distinguished the house of Waverley since the Great Civil War

(I, p. 15)

and which endure in his uncle, the eccentric Sir Everard.

But the ancient and strong family tree has become a fork. Though Sir Everard, the head of the family, strives to maintain the Tory tradition, Waverley is not his son. Rather, Waverley is the son of Richard, Sir Everard's younger brother, and, painfully conscious of the disadvantages of being a second son, Richard has been forced to seek his fortune beyond the family. The result is conflict, for he has in fact become

an avowed Whig, and friend of the Hanover succession.

(I, p. 17)

Thus Scott skilfully creates Waverley's quandary. Sir Everard's politics and allegiance are determined by tradition and emotion, Richard's by present circumstances or at least self-interest. The

1. Hereafter referred to as Waverley.

plot is further complicated. As the reader might expect, Sir Everard and his brother are not on good terms. An elected representative of the people, Richard takes a prominent part in parliamentary debates. To advance his career he must speak against his brother's politics by supporting the Hanoverian government. But Waverley is not with his father in London. He resides in the north of England with his bachelor uncle Sir Everard, whose heir he is.

In creating Waverley's situation, Scott is offering several concepts. The old and the new are in conflict. Ambition can provide what advantages birth has failed to bring, but in Richard's case this means that he must betray his heritage. Richard is dependent upon the ruling government for patronage; Waverley is dependent upon his uncle; but Sir Everard seems to be independent. Waverley may have a son's natural affection for a father, even although he is long absent, but Waverley must humour his uncle if he is to succeed to title and estate. The conflict is between heart and head, between emotion and reason, and Waverley seems vulnerable.

His studies are enthusiastic but haphazard, and the romantic disposition predominates. He lacks discipline and direction, and

while he was thus permitted to read only for the gratification of his amusement, he foresaw not that he was losing for ever the opportunity of acquiring habits of firm and assiduous application, of gaining the art of controlling, directing and concentrating the powers of his mind for earnest investigation, - an art far more essential than even that intimate acquaintance with classical learning which is the primary object of study. (I, p. 31)

Waverley lacks these qualities his father seems to possess: the ability to determine and direct his own destiny by discipline and application. Waverley had the run of the library at Waverley-Honour,

but he

drove through the sea of books, like a vessel without a pilot or a rudder. (I, p. 31)

Sporting pursuits do not check these almost feminine flights of the imagination, for in the field as in the library he takes his pleasures hurriedly, and then loses interest. Gun and rod, gear of the real male, are laid aside, and he returns to the library to dabble and dream. There

he would exercise for hours that internal sorcery, by which past or imaginary events are presented in action, as it were, to the eye of the muser.

(I, p. 40)

He recreates the dramatic past of Waverley-Honour, a forced marriage, a skirmish. Like his uncle his imagination is shaped by stirring episodes from the family's history. But there is a mystery in the extent of Sir Everard's participation in the '15. All is vague and second-hand.

There were reports of private musters of tenants and horses in Waverley-Chase by moonlight, and of cases of carbines and pistols purchased in Holland, and addressed to the Baronet, but intercepted by the vigilance of a riding officer of the excise, who was afterwards tossed in a blanket on a moonless night, by an association of stout yeomen, for his officiousness. (I, p. 48)

The tone is one of flippancy, of elaborate manoeuvres and not actual support. This sense of war as a game pervades the earlier part of the novel.

Sir Everard was not attainted, and so did not forfeit his estates after the '15. But he did give money to distressed Jacobite prisoners, and provided legal defenders for them. In other

words, he supported the Stewart cause from a safe distance after it was lost. But

Since that time Sir Everard's jacobitism had been gradually decaying, like a fire which burns out for want of fuel. (I, p. 49)

Nevertheless, he is angry because his brother Richard has placed Waverley in the Hanoverian army. Waverley receives the news with surprise, if not with some apprehension. If, as Thomas Crawford has claimed,

The first seven chapters of Waverley work out in detail an idea which frequently occurs in Scott's works - the effect of early training and reading on mature men and women, 2

the self-educated hero must know that he is unsuited for the arduous military life. He has been bred (or bred himself) for the book, and not the barracks. To date his military manoeuvres (mere 'skirmishes' on Waverley-Honour soil) have been confined to the imagination, in the safety of a library. Now that he has the opportunity to make these cerebral manoeuvres real, his romantic interest is aroused. The point is that he is not really aware of the implications of becoming a serving soldier.

Despite his Jacobite sympathies, Sir Everard's advice to his nephew is to preserve the status quo as an officer in the Hanoverian army.

'Your colonel, as I am informed, is an excellent man - for a Presbyterian; but you will remember your duty to God, the Church of England, and the ' - (this breach ought to have been supplied, according to the rubrick, with the word king; but as, unfortunately, that word

conveyed a double and embarrassing sense; one meaning de facto, and the other de jure, the knight filled up the blank otherwise) - 'the Church of England, and all constituted authorities'. (I, p. 57)

Waverley is then given a letter of introduction by his uncle.

It is addressed

'To Cosmo Comyne Bradwardine, Esq. of Bradwardine,
at his principal mansion of Tully-Veolan,
in Perthshire, North Britain'. (I, p. 58)

Remembering the controversial Union of 1707, Scott's use of the phrase 'North Britain' instead of Scotland is significant. It shows that Sir Everard, a Jacobite on the south side of the Border, recognises the united nations.

Then follows a brief biography of the Baron Bradwardine. He had been 'out' in the '15, and had been taken prisoner at Preston. Something of a scholar,

his learning was more diffuse than accurate,
and he was rather a reader than a grammarian.

(I, p. 59)

In the first respect at least he is like Waverley. The Baron is fond of the classics. Here, as in the long poems, Scott inserts an anecdote, but does not give the source. On the road between Preston and London the Baron escaped from his guards, but he lost his liberty again by returning to retrieve his Titus Livius. In his note Scott states that this actually happened to a Jacobite prisoner in the '15, but, unlike the Baron, he was executed after his recapture.

The Baron, who had taken up arms, was freed through the efforts of Sir Everard, who had merely mustered men on his own southern estate. Sir Everard secured his friend's freedom through the detection

of 'legal flaws, et cetera,' (I, p. 59), and so Scott shows the law working to a Highland rebel's advantage. After his release the Baron reimbursed Sir Everard for legal fees. The payment is exact, for the Baron is apparently a man of honour. Thereafter there is a to-and-fro traffic of presents between the Highlands and the south. Whisky and game are sent down, ale and game sent north, and the quantities seem to balance out.

Waverley departs from Waverley-Honour to join his regiment in Scotland, taking several retainers from his uncle's estate as recruits.

He now entered upon a new world, where, for a time,
all was beautiful because all was new (I, p. 68)

until the romantic vision is exhausted. His commanding officer is Colonel Gardiner, converted from a youthful libertine into a serious and responsible soldier by a supernatural adventure. In a note Scott quotes from Doddridge's book on Gardiner to explain the nature of the Colonel's vision. In July 1719 the Colonel is said to have seen:

suspended in the air, a visible representation of
the Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross, surrounded
on all sides with a glory. 3

Though Waverley does not know what caused his Colonel's conversion, his romantic instincts are aroused. The Colonel becomes a father-figure.

A careless scholar and an unenthusiastic sportsman, Waverley

3. P. Doddridge, Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Honourable Col. James Gardiner, (Glasgow, 1764), p. 27.
ALC., 1747 ed.

predictably makes a poor soldier. He lacks discipline and application, and his mental absences and physical blunders make him an object both of ridicule and reproach. Scott is in fact creating a negative type of character for whom the reader can have little sympathy or patience. He belongs to the category of the noble fool. Even at this early stage of the story it is worth comparing Waverley with his uncle Sir Everard, whose heir he is. Both have eccentric traits of character. Both expend energy, but achieve little results, as witness Sir Everard's conduct in the '15. Both are dilettante by nature, a failing they share with the Baron Bradwardine. But the point is that Sir Everard's high and independent social position allows him to live as he pleases, and the reader suspects that Waverley will become his uncle's successor in all respects. In contrast, Waverley's father Richard cannot expect such social protection and independence.

A combination of summer and curiosity determines the disenchanted soldier to see more of Scotland, and so he sets off for the Highlands, taking the rudimentary road that Scott and other eighteenth century travellers presumably took. Waverley

passed his first night at a miserable inn, where the landlady had neither shoes nor stockings, and the landlord, who called himself a gentleman, was disposed to be rude to his guest, because he had not bespoke the pleasure of his society to supper.

(I, p. 71)

An asterisk directs us to a note on Scottish inns. In his brief sketch Scott is content to record two anecdotes, one concerning a lazy husband who left all the innkeeping duties to his wife, the other about a 'jolly dame' who kept a Berwickshire inn. No written source is cited, and this is surprising, considering the wealth of

material, most of it humorous, provided by Burt in his dissertation on Scottish inns in Letter II.

Waverley is no wandering traveller. His destination is the Baron Bradwardine's seat in Perthshire, and Scott's description of the mansion's environs is realistic. It might have come from Burt, who, it will be remembered, was writing mainly about the Inverness area shortly after the '15.

At Tully-Veolan

The houses seemed miserable in the extreme, especially to an eye accustomed to the smiling neatness of English cottages. They stood, without any respect for regularity, on each side of a straggling kind of unpaved street, where children, almost in a primitive state of nakedness, lay sprawling, as if to be crushed by the hoofs of the first passing horse.
(I, p. 75)

Snapping dogs follow Waverley's horse, and old men stare at him. The description of dirt, poverty and noise is firm and effective, but Scott is not showing the reader the settlement through Waverley's eyes. The considerable authorial intrusion keeps Waverley and the scene separate, and at the same time provides for the expression of Scott's opinion. Scott suggests:

a mere Englishman, in search of the comfortable, a word peculiar to his native tongue, might have wished the clothes less scanty, the feet and legs somewhat protected from the weather, the head and complexion shrouded from the sun, or perhaps might even have thought the whole dress and person considerably improved, by a plentiful application of spring water, with a quantum sufficit of soap. (I, pp. 76-77)

Humour and criticism co-exist in this passage, and the suggestion is: out of sight, out of mind, if gentility cannot be achieved. Indeed, Scott has left the passage so open that it might well be taken to show the Englishman's contempt for his north British neighbours, and par-

ticularly the Highlanders, at this period of history. If taken this way, then Waverley becomes Burt.

But Scott has other purposes in this description, for the state of the landscape Waverley is travelling through resembles the state of his personality. Through lethargy he is the failed scholar, sportsman and soldier.

The whole scene was depressing; for it argued, at the first glance, at least a stagnation of industry, and perhaps of intellect. (I, p. 77)

But when Waverley looks again, inevitably he begins to romanticise. Beneath the dirt of the women he sees beauty and mental alertness, and the sunburnt children have 'a look and manner of life and interest' (I, p. 77). This sounds like Scott patronising his Scottish readers, and assuring those south of the Border that the Highland people really were happy with their lot at that period of their history, despite their poverty and ignorance. But Scott is far more subtle. The romantic Waverley is selfish, and as he clears the hamlet he leaves his sympathy behind. Unlike the streets of the hamlet, the avenue to the mansion is leafy and untrodden, and having dismounted, Waverley walks up it,

so much pleased with the placid ideas of rest and seclusion excited by this confined and quiet scene, that he forgot the misery and dirt of the hamlet he had left behind him. (I, p. 80)

He is safe again, as he was in the Waverley-Honour policies. In this skilfully constructed section, perspectives operate to show the social inequalities of mansion and hamlet. They are separate entities, though owned by the same man, and Waverley, like the owner, is an aristocrat. Scott is slowly but surely loading the reader's

opinion against Waverley.

The mansion's court is decorated with stone bears, large and small, for the Bradwardine motto is: 'Bewar the Bar.' It is interesting to note that Glengarry had a bear in his coat of arms, but Scott is not describing that bizarre Highland chieftain's seat. In a footnote Scott states that 'several hints' for the Bradwardine mansion were taken from seats with which he was personally acquainted. The favourite is Craighall-Rattray, near Blairgowrie, but Traquhair House also boasted bears.

Waverley bangs the knocker on the front door, but is not answered. He gains admission through 'a little oaken wicket-door,' stud-ded with iron, strong looking, but only latched.⁴ This is a striking symbol of the mansion's vulnerability despite its imposing appearance. Waverley descends into a garden, where a massive stone bear supports an inscribed sun-dial.⁵ It symbolises aristocratic endurance, and stands in apposition to the wicket-door, seemingly so strong and yet so easily breached. We see, therefore, that as in the hamlet scene, Scott is setting up apparently contradictory symbols which are effective.

In what seems to be a contrived image Scott successfully amalgamates the hamlet and the mansion. Wandering through the peaceful

4. This scene reminds one of Edwin Muir's poem 'The Castle' into which the enemy are admitted through a 'little wicked wicket gate.'

5. At Glamis Castle the eighteenth century traveller Thomas Newte saw a 'very curious sun-dial supported by four lions.' T. Newte, Prospects and Observations: on a Tour in England and Scotland (London, 1791), p. 207.

gardens in search of the aristocratic host, Waverley confronts two young women treading washing in a tub. They drop their skirts and run off. Waverley has become an intruder, the romantic interfering with the mundane.

Waverley then meets a man, eccentric in gait and dress.

It was apparently neither idiocy nor insanity which gave that wild, unsettled, irregular expression to a face which naturally was rather handsome, but something that resembled a compound of both, where the simplicity of the fool was mixed with the extravagance of a crazed imagination. (I, p. 87)

This figure is singing to himself, and he answers Waverley in song. He is David Gellatley, an 'innocent' retained by the Bradwardine family. In a note Scott refers to the custom of keeping fools in Scotland, and cites the case of one 'not above thirty years since' who carried his fooling too far by announcing his forthcoming marriage to 'one of the young ladies of the family.' Scott is historically accurate with regard to the keeping of fools or jesters in Scotland, even as late as the eighteenth century, but Davie Gellatley is not retained by the Bradwardine household for amusement, despite his 'gay clothing.' He is in fact a freed slave, for, having saved Miss Rose from a 'new English bull,' his reward is to be left to himself, to dance through the hamlet and act as ghillie to the Baron as he pleases. Nor is he an imbecile, or loonie, as that type are called in Scotland. Though his song conveys no information to the slow-witted Waverley, it does make sense. The Baron has indeed gone hunting, and the Lady is walking in the wood.

With her gold hair and white skin the seventeen year old Rose Bradwardine is in direct descent from the frail Ossianic heroine of Scott's long poems, and especially Ellen of The Lady of the Lake.

But whereas Ellen is discovered by a male in a sylvan setting, Rose comes to welcome Waverley. She is, after all, the hostess of Tully-Veolan.

The Baron then hurries to greet his young guest. He is tall and athletic,

with every muscle rendered as tough as whip-cord
by constant exercise, (I, pp. 93-4)

in contrast to Waverley, who is something of a weakling through his neglect of physical activity. The Baron is dressed 'carelessly' in the French style, to show his affiliation with the Jacobite cause. Scott adds to his international appearance by comparing him to a Swiss officer of the guards who had spent some time in Paris. But he wears these international attributes badly, and besides, his physical appearance mirrors the interior man, for

The truth was, that his language and habits were as heterogeneous as his external appearance. (I, p. 94)

In other words, he is almost as eccentric and comic as Davie Gellatley, the 'innocent' he retains, but at least these two are more colourful than Waverley.

Of a studious nature when young, the Baron had been bred 'with a view to the bar,' following

a very general Scottish fashion of giving young men of rank a legal education. (I, p. 94)

Considering that the Baron is a Highland laird, and that recruitment for the law courts (Edinburgh based) was from the Lowlands, Scott's generalisation is not well founded. Furthermore, the Baron is described as being 'old indeed' when he is first introduced to us. The time is the 1740s, and so it can safely be assumed that he was a

young man at the turn of the century or before, fifty years before the introduction of the hereditary jurisdictions act which deprived the Highland lairds of their powers of law administration. Surely, therefore, a Highland heir or laird would not go, or be sent to the Lowlands to study and enforce southern laws when he had his own separate and personalised law system at home. What, then, is Scott suggesting by offering the young Baron a southern law education? If it is not a careless error, it is a distortion of history to show Highland and Lowland harmony at the close of the seventeenth century, a distortion indeed considering that the two regions of the nation were virtually at war, as witness the Highland reivers and 'black mail' system described in Waverley and elaborated upon in Rob Roy.

But family politics prevented the Baron from pursuing a legal career. Instead he travelled and saw some military service abroad. But a smattering of law remained, to colour his speech. Scott is obviously recalling his own youth when he writes of the Baron:

The pedantry of the lawyer, superinduced upon the military pride of the soldier, might remind a modern of the days of the zealous volunteer service, when the bar-gown of our pleaders was often flung over a blazing uniform. (I, p. 94)

But the Baron's personality is further complicated, for to it

must be added the prejudices of ancient birth and Jacobite politics, greatly strengthened by habits of solitary and secluded authority, which, though exercised only within the bounds of his half-cultivated estate, was there indisputable and undisputed. (I, p. 94)

Obviously of an excitable disposition, the Baron's conversation is liberally sprinkled with Latin quotations and genealogical

allusions. To the reader, uneducated in the classics, it sounds like doggerel, to be skipped over, since it seems to add no substance to the story. But, as I shall show later, the foreign words and disjointed phrases Scott puts in the Baron's busy mouth are not merely the lawyer-author's attempts to pad out his story through the use of obscure material from his first profession. The Baron's words do have some sense and function.

Waverley is then ushered into dinner, where there are to be four guests. Scott has chosen the guests carefully. The first is the young Laird of Balmawhapple, 'a very discreet young gentleman', very fond of field sports. Then the social scale drops slightly. The second is the Laird of Killancureit, an agriculturalist, sired from one Bullsegg, 'from the wrong side of the Border,' who came to the district, and married into his employer's family. The third is Mr Rubrick,

a clergyman of the true (though suffering) Episcopal church of Scotland. (I, p. 99)

The fourth is Mr Duncan Macwheeble, the Baron's Bailie.

The banquet proceeds on lavish lines, for

The entertainment was ample, and handsome, according to the Scotch ideas of the period, and the guests did great honour to it. (I, p. 101)

Burt was badly entertained in at least one house in the Inverness area, where the circulation and variety of alcohol was severely restricted to the top of the table, but at Tully-Veolan in Perthshire alcohol circulates almost too liberally round the board. The Baron drinks the health of the king, but leaves his guests to choose the king's identity. We are reminded of Sir Everard's preference for the

phrase 'all constituted authorities' in lieu of 'the king' when Waverley took leave of Waverley-Honour.

Rose and the clergyman withdraw, leaving the wine to flow freely. Not used to such bumpers, appearing with such speed, Waverley is cautious and manages to miss several rounds. But then the Baron orders Saunders Sanderson, his major-domo, to bring something. It is a 'small oaken casket,' and the Baron ceremoniously opens it with a 'private key.' It contains

a golden goblet of a singular and antique appearance, moulded into the shape of a rampant bear, which the owner regarded with a look of mingled reverence, pride, and delight. (I, p. 103)

This is obviously the prime heirloom, and the Baron explains its symbolic function in the precise language of heraldry, one of Scott's greatest loves. The goblet is of ecclesiastical origin, having been 'wrought by the command of' an Abbot of Arbroath. As the Baron explains, this heirloom is only used

'upon seasons of high festival, and such I hold to be the arrival of the heir of Sir Everard under my roof; and I devote this draught to the health and prosperity of the ancient and highly-to-be-honoured house of Waverley'. (I, p. 104)

Waverley is therefore the guest of honour. He watches with 'horror' the goblet being filled with 'nearly an English pint' of claret and then circulated. The young English aristocrat fears the full cup of Highland hospitality and tradition. To drain it is a test of his manhood, and not to drain it an insult to his host. But Scott cleverly complicates the issue. The Baron's speech is ambiguous: 'highly-to-be-honoured' might refer to future expectations and not past achievements. Moreover, the Baron has called the toast

to Waverley, and he is therefore drinking to himself. So the animal-shaped heirloom, full of imported wine (French, of course, like the style of the Baron's clothes and the slant of his politics) is a complex and powerful symbol.

Waverley sees that he cannot pass, and so he takes the initiative test.⁶ The effect surprises him, for he

felt less inconvenience from the draught than he
could possibly have expected. (I, p. 105)

In other words, the brimming Highland toast is less powerful than he would have supposed. But its real effect is to weaken him while seeming to give him confidence. Still, he survives the grace-cup which terminates the banquet.

The Baron decides to walk his guests down the avenue to their horses, and Waverley accompanies them, grateful for evening air to clear the cerebral effects of the 'feverish revel.' But the guests have left their horses at the inn, or change-house, in order to have the opportunity to acknowledge, if not return the Baron's hospitality by calling for what is 'technically called deoch an doruis, a stirrup-cup (I, p. 106).' A note explains the function of the stirrup-cup in terms of hospitality returned, at premises other than the host's, and Scott takes the opportunity to show that the bear-shaped goblet is not fanciful. Glamis Castle boasted a lion-shaped goblet, and Scott had the honour to drain it. Thus

the recollection of the feat served to suggest
the story of the Bear of Bradwardine.

6. At Dunvegan Castle, Skye, for example, the incoming chief must drain the traditional yard of ale at one draught.

Nor is Scott's description of the 'feverish revel' at Tully-Veolan an extravagant insult to Highland hospitality. Burt recorded very heavy drinking sessions at which he was a spectator, if not a participator. French claret was plentiful in the Inverness area, and the hospitality of Forbes of Culloden (Bumper John) was 'almost without Bounds.' He served a cocoanut shell filled with a pint of champagne to new guests, and on their second visit they were cautious. But Forbes broke their resistance by

artfully proposing (after the Publick Healths which always imply Bumpers) such private ones as he knows will pique the Interest or Inclination of each particular Person of the Company whose Turn it is to take the Lead, to begin it in a Brimmer; and he himself being always cheerful, and sometimes saying good Things, his Guests soon lose their Guard, and then - I need say no more. 7

If one doubts the word of Burt, an Englishman, one need only turn to Martin, a native Highlander. His description of a Hebridean drinking bout goes far beyond Scott, into the realms of total inertia. Martin recorded:

The manner of Drinking us'd by the chief Men of the Isles, is call'd in their Language Streah, i.e. a Round; for the Company sat in a Circle, the Cup-bearer fill'd the Drink round to them, and all was drank out, whatever the Liquor was, whether strong, or weak; they continu'd drinking sometimes twenty-four, sometimes forty eight Hours: It was reckon'd a piece of Manhood to drink until they became drunk, and there were two Men with a Barrow attending punctually on such Occasions. They stood at the Door until some became drunk, and they carry'd them upon the Barrow to Bed, and return'd again to their Post as long as any continu'd fresh, and so carry'd off the whole Company one by one as they became drunk.

Perhaps through shame Martin hastens to add:

7. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, p. 161.

Several of my Acquaintance have been Witnesses to this Custom of drinking, but it is now abolish'd.

8

Burt's account of the drinking customs at Culloden between the two rebellions concludes:

As the Company are disabled one after another, two Servants, who are all the while in Waiting, take up the Invalids with short Poles in their Chairs, as they sit, (if not fallen down) and carry them to their Beds; and still the Hero holds out. 9

Our 'hero' Waverley is led in 'unresisting submission' into Luckie Macleary's change-house. Widow Macleary seems to have been expecting them, for the inn (or rather, hovel) is as tidy as it can ever be, with a peat fire burning, and stools set out. Again, this description of the inn might have come straight out of Burt, but then, such squalid Highland inns still existed in Scott's youth. At any rate, the reader is convinced by the 'sooty rafters' and the 'clay floor.'

The bear-shaped goblet had held 'nearly an English pint' of claret, but the Tappit Hen produced by the Widow contains 'at least three English quarts' of the same liquid. Still in possession of his senses, Waverley takes advantage of the confusion and tipsy conversation to miss the round. In this scene Scott shows a deep understanding of the behaviour of heavy drinkers in company. All speak as if to themselves about the subjects that most interest them, thus causing incoherence. The Baron sings and speaks fragments of Latin; Killancureit talks about animal husbandry; and

8. Martin, op. cit., p. 106.

9. Burt, op. cit., vol. I, p. 162.

Balmawhapple discourses upon hunting. Waverley sits silent, listening. At last the Baron calls for order, but only to establish his leadership, for he proceeds to render a 'military ariette,' in French, of course.

The other two local landowners interrupt to offer their favourite songs. Brandy is called for, and tensions mount. Inevitably, the 'Demon of Politics' rises, and Balmawhapple's toast is to

'the little gentleman in black velvet who did such service in 1702, and may the white horse break his neck over a mound of his making'. (I, p. 110)

The allusion is to King William's fatal fall, and it was for Waverley's benefit, for it was accompanied by a wink. But before Waverley can protest, the Baron objects to the anti-Hanoverian sneer on the grounds of good manners. He calls Balmawhapple 'ignorant', and provokes the following reply:

'Not so ignorant as ye would pronounce me,' roared Balmawhapple. 'I ken weel that you mean the Solemn League and Covenant; but if a' the Whigs in hell had taken the ' - (I, p. 111)

The Baron and Waverley both shout in protest. But the Baron does not rebuke Balmawhapple for what he said: he rebukes him because he has disgraced his native country 'before a stranger and an Englishman' (I, p. 111). Thus, far from defending Waverley, the Baron excludes him. His words are almost an insult.

Waverley does not attack Balmawhapple directly. Following good manners (or is it fear?) in a supercharged situation, he craves the Baron's leave

to permit him to reply to an affront which seemed levelled at him personally. (I, p. 111)

But the Baron silences him. It is his inn and his quarrel, and, standing in loco parentis to Waverley, he must see him 'scathless.' In other words, the already weak Waverley is further weakened. His right to defend his own person, with weapons if necessary, is easily taken from him.

The Baron and Balmawhapple draw swords, and, rushing forward to separate them, Waverley stumbles over the prostrate Killancureit. It is not the incompetent Waverley but a woman, Luckie Macleary, who prevents bloodshed. Her reason for stopping the fight is practical. She shouts:

'Wad their honours slay ane another there, and bring discredit on an honest widow-woman's house, when there was a' the lee-land in the country to fight upon?' a remonstrance which she seconded by flinging her plaid with great dexterity over the weapons of the combatants. (I, pp. 112-13).

James Anderson shows that Scott borrowed this incident from mediaeval Iceland, since it occurs in his abstract of the Eyrbiggia Saga, written in 1814, the year of Waverley.¹⁰

Luckie's intervention saves injury but not honour, for Balmawhapple is led away by Killancureit, swearing revenge, and the Baron is led away by Waverley.

Unused to such drinking, Waverley has a hangover the next morning, but he remembers the quarrel. He remembers, in fact, that he

had received a personal affront, - he, a gentleman, a soldier, and a Waverley. (I, p. 116)

He tries to excuse Balmawhapple on the grounds of ignorance and

10. Anderson, op. cit., Pt. II, p. 72.
H.W. Weber, R. Jamieson and W.S. (Walter Scott), Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, Edinburgh, 1814. ALC.

charity, but decides that he must challenge him to a duel.

He descends to breakfast, but cannot make conversation with Rose because the 'affront' rankles. In fact, he is socially offensive. Startled, he sees the Baron and Balmawhapple pass the window arm in arm. Then he is summoned to the Baron's presence. Balmawhapple is there. The Baron then delivers Balmawhapple's apology.

'Captain Waverley, - my young and esteemed friend, Mr. Falconer of Balmawhapple, has craved of my age and experience, as of one not wholly unskilled in the dependencies and punctilios of the duello or monomachia, to be his interlocutor in expressing to you the regret with which he calls to remembrance certain passages of our symposion last night, which could not but be highly displeasing to you, as serving for the time under this present existing government.'

(I, p. 118).

It is obvious that the Baron has forced the apology from Balmawhapple, but Waverley accepts it, and writes off the incident to the 'exuberant festivity of the day.' Once again Waverley's destiny is being directed by another, this time the Baron. Satisfied, Waverley announces his intention of leaving Tully-Veolan the next day, but the Baron easily persuades him to stay. We feel instinctively that the weak hero becomes more vulnerable with each passing day.

In a conversation between Waverley and Rose more information is given about the 'innocent,' Davie Gellatley. He might be daft, but he has some discretion, for he was

much attached to the few who showed him kindness; and both aware of any slight or ill usage which he happened to receive, and sufficiently apt, when he saw opportunity, to revenge it.

(I, p. 123)

The warning to Waverley and the reader is clear: Davie is not to be treated as a fool by ridicule, even although Rose explains that he has

just so much solidity as kept on the windy side of insanity; so much wild wit as saved him from the imputation of idiocy; some dexterity in field-sports, (in which we have known as great fools excel,) great kindness and humanity in the treatment of animals intrusted to him, warm affections, a prodigious memory, and an ear for music(I, p. 124)

These last two qualities relate to his repertoire of songs, most of them apparently transmitted to him by his deceased brother, a musician cum poet. Davie is therefore a kind of damper. He stops his brother's songs becoming part of the oral tradition because his auditors assume that they are his own unintelligible creations. Still, as the novel evolves it is shown that Davie uses song instead of speech, and that what he sings contains practical sense. Thus he is a poet in his own right, in the tradition of the Gaelic bard making spontaneous songs, but by oblique reference to the matter under consideration.

Waverley's curiosity is aroused by Davie's minstrelsy. The young English aristocrat

who was readily interested by a tale bordering on the romantic (I, p. 125)

asks Rose:

'surely more might be learned by more particular inquiry,'

and Rose answers:

'Perhaps so ... but my father will not permit any one to practise on his feelings on this subject.'

Waverley is learning a lesson that will serve him well during his sojourn in the Highlands: it will not pay to be too inquisitive, and even an apparent idiot is entitled to privacy. The caution relates to personal sensitivities and political opinions, and they, of course,

are not always mutually exclusive. Rose defines Waverley's status in the Highlands. He is a guest, not a native.

The Baron invites Waverley to accompany him on a deer hunt, and the young guest enjoys the experience. Here Scott offers us a comparison of their separate characters.

The Baron, indeed, only cumbered his memory with matters of fact; the cold, dry, hard outlines which history delineates. Edward, on the contrary, loved to fill up and round the sketch with the colouring of a warm and vivid imagination, which gives light and life to the actors and speakers in the drama of past ages. (I, p. 130)

Their personalities are polarised, like Davie Gellatley's and his clever brother's. But there is a sense in which the Baron's and Waverley's personalities may be seen as evolutionary, one from the other. The Baron has the basic type of brain which feeds on facts, and therefore his attitude to the validity of Jacobitism is rational, and not emotional. Waverley may not be in possession of as many basic historical facts as the Baron, but what he lacks in that respect he compensates for by the 'colouring of a warm and vivid imagination.' This is both Waverley's weakness and his strength. He has a deeper insight into history than the Baron because he reacts imaginatively to it, but this could become dangerous if followed by a physical reaction.

Here Scott is in some sympathy with Waverley, the romantic. That Scott did not approve of a too rigorous loyalty to the basic facts of history is shown by a reference in one of his letters. The subject is Mrs Logan's novel about the Gowrie Conspiracy, and Scott writes:

I believe she made the facts (as she certainly

had a right to do) give way to the hypothesis, which she preferred. 11

This is partly why Scott felt justified in transferring material from the '15, from other periods of history, and even from abroad for his novel on the '45, as Anderson has shown.

Waverley the romantic is like the youthful Scott in his interpretation of history in terms of battle and adventure. In fact, Waverley's imaginative mechanism is like that of the creative artist's in its ability to process facts to suit fictive ends. In Waverley's case he is his own public, and besides, his daydreaming endangers his destiny. The Baron, on the other hand, seems to be in control of his own destiny because he thinks and acts on facts. He is the public man, Waverley the private one.

After the deer hunt, dinner, and then a visit to Rose's apartment. It is reached by a 'very steep, narrow, and winding stair,' (I, p. 131), a 'perpendicular corkscrew.' If there is a symbol here, and a hint of romance in the story to date, it suggests that the way to Rose's heart will not be easy for Waverley. I only suggest a symbol: it is a measure of Scott's skill that such options are open to the reader.

With regard to education, Rose's curriculum has included several of the usual subjects studied by genteel young ladies in the eighteenth century, even in the supposedly backward Highlands.¹²

11. Grierson, Letters, vol. X, p. 397.

12. At the Appin Murder trial several of the female witnesses stated that they were illiterate, since it was apparently the policy to keep women - including genteel ones - in ignorance. But many chieftains' daughters were given comprehensive educations. The historians of Clan Donald point out that learning

But Rose's case is exceptional in that her father, the Baron, was her tutor, instead of a governess. Predictably, the language of the principal Jacobites was taught, but, surprisingly, not Latin, considering that it seems to be the pedantic Baron's favourite language.

Her father had taught her French and Italian, and a few of the ordinary authors in those languages ornamented her shelves. He had endeavoured also to be her preceptor in music; but as he began with the more abstruse doctrines of the science, and was not perhaps master of them himself, she had made no proficiency farther than to be able to accompany her voice with the harpsichord; but even this was not very common in Scotland at that period. To make amends, she sung with great taste and feeling, and with a respect to the sense of what she uttered that might be proposed in example to ladies of much superior musical talent. (I, p. 133)

Rose's 'ordinary' grasp of the two languages and her failure to attain 'proficiency' as a musician can probably be attributed to her father's lack of knowledge of these disciplines, and his love of the 'abstruse.' But her saving grace is that she sings with 'feeling.' Furthermore, she grows flowers on her balcony. Thus, in spite of her father's attempts to intellectualise her, Rose is a natural young woman. But she is protected from the harsh realities of the world beyond the 'formal garden' she inhabits. Again, perspective is used to suggest segregation.

To the left were seen two or three cottages, a part of the village; the brow of the hill concealed the others. (I, p. 134)

was not confined to the mainland, for, 'the gentry of the Isles during the 18th century were probably the best educated in the world. Young ladies could quote Latin and Greek, and gentlemen, who tuned their lyres to strains of poesy, composed in the tongue of Horace rather than in that of Ossian. Donald Roy Macdonald of Baleshare, who was wounded in the foot at the battle of Culloden, composed a Latin ode to the wounded limb, faultless both in diction and metre'. Rev. A. & Rev. A Macdonald, The Clan Donald, (Inverness, 1896-1904), vol. III, p. 147.

Like Waverley her view is restricted.

She sings to Waverley 'with feeling.' The song, 'St Swithin's Chair,' is about witchcraft, and she follows it with a story about Janet Gellatley, the 'innocent's' mother, reputed to be a witch. Waverley, with a keen ear for the marvellous, is enchanted. He has apparently found a kindred spirit.

The next morning Waverley is greeted in song by Davie Gellatley. It is 'part of an old ballad,' about love and young men, and it makes Waverley suspicious. He now knows that Davie is no idiot.

He therefore approached, and endeavoured, by sundry queries, to elicit from him what the innuendo might mean; but Davie had no mind to explain, and had wit enough to make his folly cloak his knavery.

(I, p. 140)

Waverley understands the meaning of the line

... the old man will draw at the dawning of the sword'

when he meets the old butler. Apparently

Balmawhapple's submission and apology had been the consequence of a rencontre with the Baron before his guest had quitted his pillow, in which the younger combatant had been disarmed and wounded in the sword arm.

(I, p. 140)

'Greatly mortified,' Waverley seeks out the Baron. The old man's explanation is long and elaborate, laced with Latin and relying for its logic on the assertion that the quarrel was 'common.' Waverley is 'silenced, if not satisfied.' Once again he has been overruled, in word and deed.

Scott now gives notice that the story is about to move from the specific to the general by temporal compression, for

Having been so minute with respect to the diversions of Tully-Veolan, on the first days of Edward's arrival, for the purpose of introducing its inmates to the reader's acquaintance, it becomes less necessary to trace the progress of his intercourse with the same accuracy. (I, p. 142)

This is a favourite device of Scott's, and it is sometimes disconcerting, particularly towards the end of a work of fiction, for it gives the reader the impression that he is hurrying for the sake of finishing. This, as will be seen at the end of Waverley, tends to disrupt the temporal smoothness of the story.

Waverley now seeks Rose's company. More information is given about her course of studies, thus strengthening our suspicion that the Baron is educating his daughter as a son.

The sweetness of her disposition had made her submit with complacency, and even pleasure, to the course of reading prescribed by her father, although it not only comprehended several heavy folios of history, but certain gigantic tomes in high-church polemics.

(I, p. 143)

She is an attentive pupil of subjects close to her Jacobite father's heart, but there is no prize for her. She is a victim of an heirs male entail, and so

By an old settlement, almost all the landed estates of the Baron went, after his death, to a distant relation,

(I, p. 143)

Malcolm Bradwardine of Inchgrabbit, of whom more later. The heirs male stipulation was the usual arrangement in the old Highlands,¹³ where estates often had to be held by the sword because of the

13. Thomas Newte in his Prospects and Observations of 1791, insisted that entails 'should be entirely abolished, as most odious abominations' (p. 389).

instability of the land charters backing them up. The fault lay in the haphazard hereditary jurisdictions system, and frequent quarrels with the south, leading to the revoking of charters. (Ironically, Scott's own estates, defended in the face of ruin with his pen, descended laterally through the lack of a mainline heir.).

Though Bailie Macwheeble has taken legal advice and been informed that the 'male fief' might well be set aside on application to the proper authorities, the Baron forbids such a petition. His refusal is not the result of contempt and hatred of the southern law system. Rather, he has a deep respect for his aristocratic tradition, and acknowledges his duties. One of these is to be

employed in servito exuendi, seu detrahendi, caligas regis post battaliam? that is, in pulling off the king's boots after an engagement, which was the feudal service by which he held the barony of Bradwardine. (I, p. 144)

All of this sounds absurd to the reader, and the legal terminology in Latin seems to be padding because Scott is short of interesting and relevant material. Worse still, the lay reader is baffled. But, as David Marshall shows in his fascinating book on Scott and Scots law, most of this material is well founded in law, and relevant to the evolution of the story.

Firstly, Rose's predicament in being denied succession is very real, for, as Marshall records:

It is difficult for us of the present day to realise the extent to which the principles of entail were woven into the life of Scotland during the period of which Scott writes, and indeed, during his own lifetime. 14

In my section on Invernahyle the end of the Appin dynasty through the

14. D. Marshall, Sir Walter Scott and Scots Law (Edinburgh, 1932) p. 20.

lack of a male heir was explained. This is the extreme example. In the Baron's case, his estates pass to a male relative because, as Marshall explains, 'in accordance with very usual practice, the entail ignored female descendants.'¹⁵ Scott had practical knowledge of the law of entail, since four cases passed through his hands while he was Clerk of Court.¹⁶ The language in Waverley is accordingly accurate.

The Baron is dubious about a female succeeding him because of difficulties arising from 'pulling off the king's boots after an engagement.' This service makes the Barony of Bradwardine a blench holding, and it is not so absurd when one considers that the annual rent demanded by Breadalbane from the Macintyres was a snowball in summer from Ben Cruachan, and a white fatted calf reared on the land, and delivered over a special stone.

Waverley now appoints himself Rose's tutor in succession to her father.

He sent for some of his books from his quarters, and they opened to her sources of delight of which she had hitherto had no idea. (I, p. 145)

Poetry ranks high in her reading, with Waverley explaining obscurities. Already vulnerable, her personality is soon invaded by the force of his strong romanticism, and she is in danger of falling in love with him. But weaknesses (or are they strengths?) within and without save her, for

Rose Bradwardine, beautiful and amiable as we have described her, had not precisely the sort of beauty or merit, which captivates a romantic imagination in early youth. She was too frank, too confiding, too

15. Marshall, op. cit., p. 25.

16. Ibid., p. 23.

kind; amiable qualities, undoubtedly, but destructive of the marvellous, with which a youth of imagination delights to dress the empress of his affections. (I, p. 147)

To the romantic Waverley, Rose is too practical, too accessible. The reader is therefore warned not to expect a romance.

An important piece of information which will allow six weeks to elapse in the telling of the story is given at the end of the chapter. Waverley has received permission to extend his leave of absence from his regiment. So, for the time being, he is safe and happy in Rose's company at Tully-Veolan.

Six weeks later, there is commotion at Tully-Veolan, and Rose explains the reason to a startled Waverley:

'a party of Caterans have come down upon us last night, and have driven off all our milch cows.'

(I, p. 152)

Waverley and the reader have the word Caterans defined at once. They are

'robbers from the neighbouring Highlands. We used to be quite free from them while we paid black-mail to Fergus Mac-Ivor Vich Ian Vohr; but my father thought it unworthy of his rank and birth to pay it any longer, and so this disaster has happened.'

(I, p. 152)

The extraction of 'black-mail' was common in the Highlands at this time, and Rob Roy Macgregor was one of the chief collectors. But he is to be the subject of a future novel. For Waverley Scott creates a chieftain for a mythical Perthshire clan. Or is it an Argyllshire clan, considering that the MacIver territory was on the shore of Loch Fyne?

Rose explains that the value of the stolen cattle is not the prime consideration. It is her father's pride, and she fears that he will attempt to recover his cattle 'by the strong hand,' thus bringing strife to the Highland region in which they live. Her main concern is that

'we cannot defend ourselves as in the old times, for the government have taken all our arms,' (I, p. 152)

a reference to the restrictions imposed after the '15.

The Baron enters, rebukes his daughter for showing weakness by crying, and then reinforces his pride by reference to an oil painting of a fierce Highland ancestor.

Various solutions for the recovery of the cattle are proposed, and it is significant that Waverley the outsider should suggest the imposition of southern law by sending

to the nearest garrison for a party of soldiers and
a magistrate's warrant. (I, p. 154)

This, of course, is rejected out of hand. The Bailie brings reason and restraint to bear by pointing out that the caterans would be far away, hidden in their own clan lands with the stolen cattle.

Scott's task at this stage is to feed to the reader sufficient information to allow him to understand the complex structure of Highland society and custom, but without diminishing his interest in the story through the presentation of dull details. This is done on a question and answer basis. For instance, Waverley wants to know if Fergus is the 'chief thief-taker of the district,' thus making Rose laugh and at the same time seem to defend the man who has stolen her father's cattle. She explains:

'he is a gentleman of great honour and consequence; the chieftain of an independent branch of a powerful Highland clan, and is much respected, both for his own power, and that of his kith, kin, and allies'. (I, p. 156)

This is not flippant. Rather, a shrewd assessment of Highland pride and solidarity.

Waverley asks for a definition of the term 'black-mail', and Rose supplies it.

'A sort of protection-money that Low-country gentlemen and heritors, lying near the Highlands, pay to some Highland chief, that he may neither do them harm himself, nor suffer it to be done to them by others.'

(I, pp. 156-57)

As regards the source of definitions such as black-mail, Anderson has pointed out that there are several choices. Scott may have used Burt's Letters, a MS. account by Graham of Gartmore, or

the traditional stories of his senior contemporaries, like Abercromby of Tullibody. 17

This shows the number of options open to Scott, and hence the difficulty of determining a single source. Such diversity is a general feature of Waverley.

When Waverley asks Rose about 'Mr. Mac-Ivor,' he is rebuked gently, and reminded that he is an outsider.

'No, that is not his name; and he would consider master as a sort of affront, only that you are an Englishman, and know no better.' (I, p. 157)

He is no savage, as Waverley, the English traveller, seems to suspect. In fact, in Rose's estimation

17. Anderson, op. cit., Pt. II, p. 65.

'he is a very polite, handsome man ... and his sister Flora is one of the most beautiful and accomplished young ladies in this country.'

(I, p. 158)

Rose asks Waverley to petition her father 'to make matters up' because, as a ten year old girl, she witnessed a violent skirmish which led to dead bodies laid out in the hall, and the coronach (heard in The Lady of the Lake) being cried.

Waverley's reaction is to hear one of his 'day-dreams' become reality, calmly described by a mere woman.

He felt at once the impulse of curiosity, and that slight sense of danger which only serves to heighten its interest.

(I, p. 159)

Using the language of statutes, the Bailie describes the Highlands' depredation of the Lowlands. 'Theft ... fire raising' and the 'forcible abduction of women' are among the catalogue of crimes, condemned by a man who has Highland blood in his veins.

Waverley is hearing his romantic dreams of war described, for to the young Englishman

It seemed like a dream ... that these deeds of violence should be familiar to men's minds, and currently talked of, as falling within the common order of things, and happening daily in the immediate vicinity, without his having crossed the seas, and while he was yet in the otherwise well-ordered island of Great Britain.

(I, pp. 160-61)

Hero and reader alike can therefore expect adventure and some danger.

Scott closes this chapter with a note on possible sources, a rarity in Waverley compared with the proliferation of notes accompanying The Lady of the Lake. Apparently Scott had seen

a Memoir of Mac-Pherson of Cluny, Chief of that

ancient clan, from which it appears that he levied protection-money to a very large amount, which was willingly paid even by some of his most powerful neighbours. 18

The MacPherson clan lands were in Badenoch. The Bradwardine territory is apparently in Perthshire, near the border between Highlands and Lowlands. Scott's positioning of the Bradwardine estates so close to the Lowlands is an important point, to be taken later.

In the next chapter the Baron offers Waverley

many anecdotes from his own experience, concerning the state of the Highlands and their inhabitants. The chiefs, he pronounced to be, in general, gentlemen of great honour and high pedigree, whose word was accounted as a law by all those of their own sept, or clan.

(I, p. 162)

Scott is historically precise here, both in terms of the chief's pride, and the hereditary jurisdictions, aspects of Highland life which were to disappear with defeat at Culloden.

Like Dr Johnson and other eighteenth century Highland travelers, Waverley's interest is excited by

so many curious particulars concerning the manners, customs, and habits of this patriarchal race.

(I, pp. 162-63)

Already in the Highlands, Waverley wants to penetrate further, and the Baron promises him letters of introduction to 'distinguished Chiefs,' but only after the Mac-Ivor quarrel has been resolved.

18. 'Mr. McIntosh Mackay, Minister of Laggan, breakfasted with us this morning. He left in my hands some papers of Cluny Macpherson concerning the affair of 1745 from which I have extracted an account of the battle of Clifton for Waverley.' Journal, 13 February, 1828, p. 426. This was Scott gathering notes for the *Magnum Opus* edition.

There is an interruption. A Highlander, correctly kilted and armed according to the customs of the times, enters. He is known to the company as Evan Dhu Maccombich, and is greeted warmly by the Baron. It transpires that Evan Dhu is an 'ambassador' from Fergus Mac-Ivor, come to offer his chieftain's apologies for the unfortunate incident of the cattle rustling. Using rambling English fragmented with proverbs, Scott shows how the man would have spoken in Gaelic, his native tongue. This is skilfully done, suggesting Celtic charm and cunning.

Evan Dhu will recover the Baron's cattle, and, 'flattered' by the young Englishman's attention, he invites Waverley to accompany him, adding:

'If it be as I suppose, you never saw such a place
in your life, nor ever will, unless you go with me
or the like of me.' (I, p. 166)

At first reading these words might sound forced, crudely inserted to carry Waverley forward into the story, but in fact they testify well to the often blunt nature of Highland speech. Besides, they have the effect of reminding us (if such a reminder is needed) that Waverley is a weak stranger in a strong, closely knit country, or region, rather.

Waverley goes, and en route hears a lecture on Highland history. The breakdown of the chief's retinue, lifted from Burt and used in The Lady of the Lake, is used again, with Evan Dhu enumerating. The question and answer system of traveller and reader tuition is resumed, with 'tales of the grandeur of the Chief in peace and war,' (p. 168), told to a fascinated Waverley while the ominous mountains close in as the sun sinks. As in The Lady of the Lake,

Scott's scenic descriptions are memorable, with the ruggedness and isolation stressed. Civilisation is being left behind, cairns of clan skirmishes passed, carrion scattered by Evan Dhu shooting at an eagle, symbolically winging towards Bradwardine territory. But Evan Dhu misses.

They traverse 'a black bog, of tremendous extent,' with Evan Dhu leading the secret hazardous way, and Waverley following in his footsteps, being led further and further away from safety. Evan Dhu confers with his henchmen, and informs Waverley that he,

the Lowlander must go to a hamlet about three miles off for the night. (I, p. 171)

It is a necessary initiation rule, for Donald Bean Lean,

the worthy person whom they supposed to be possessed of the cattle, did not much approve of strangers approaching his retreat. (I, p. 171)

Waverley has no alternative but to accept this arrangement, and Evan Dhu leaves. Alone with a brawny attendant with a battle axe, Waverley

had now time to give himself up to the full romance of his situation. Here he sate on the banks of an unknown lake, under the guidance of a wild native, whose language was unknown to him, on a visit to the den of some renowned outlaw, a second Robin Hood, perhaps, or Adam o' Gordon, and that at deep midnight, through scenes of difficulty and toil, separated from his attendant, left by his guide:- What a variety of incidents for the exercise of a romantic imagination, and all enhanced by the solemn feeling of uncertainty, at least, if not of danger! (I, p. 173)

Here Scott is plainly mocking his hero, but mocking him through the words he has put into his fertile imagination. In other words, the passage is cleverly ambiguous. It might either be Waverley's

thoughts, or Scott's estimation of his predicament, where no real predicament yet exists. But Waverley does not have long to ruminate. A boat appears and ships him across a loch to the 'Hold of a Highland Robber.'

If crude, the retreat is at least dramatic. It is a cave, illuminated by pine torches, and hung with several carcasses. Donald Bean Lean is Waverley's host, and Scott furnishes a note to show that this scene is derived from the verbal memoirs of Abercromby of Tullibody, and communicated to the author. Apparently Tullibody was entertained in similar surroundings by Rob Roy, who had lifted some of his cattle.

Like the Baron, Donald Bean affects French fashion in his dress, an 'old blue and red uniform' dating from his service 'in some inferior capacity' in the French army. Donald Bean is polite, and dispenses generous hospitality. Steaks ('home killed,' doubtless) are washed down with an abundance of whisky. The host apologises to Waverley for the lack of wine, but would have laid it in (by stealing it, presumably) had he had twenty four hours' notice.

In The Lady of the Lake Allan-Bane the seer could foretell arriving guests. Scott gives this same power to 'Donnacha an Am-righ, or Duncan with the Cap,' in Waverley, but we do not meet him. He is dead, according to Donald Bean, and his son is an unworthy successor because his predictions have proved wrong. Why is a seer mentioned at this stage in Waverley? Presumably to show that Donald Bean and his supporters are superstitious.

Donald Bean discourses upon the 'political and military state of the country,' and Waverley is astonished at the accuracy of his

information. He knows, for instance, the strengths and positions of southern regiments in the Highlands, and even details about Waverley's own regiment. If Waverley is supposed to connect this information with the dead seer, no hint is given in the text. But Waverley certainly feels unsafe. Though invited, he is still a stranger. At this stage the reader knows no more than Waverley about future dangers, and hence suspense is stepped up for both.

Next morning Waverley explores his surroundings, and once again Scott's scenic descriptions are exact and effective. He hears a Gaelic song, and goes in search of the source. But she is no Ellen languid in a sylvan setting. A damsel certainly, but simply dressed, and preparing breakfast. Gipsy style gold ear-rings coexist with a golden rosary, plunder Donald Bean brought from France. She has character and energy. Alice is her name, and she is Donald Bean's daughter. Socially she is mid-way between peasant and aristocrat.

A fire is started, forecasting the fire to come.

A spark from the lock of his /Evan's/ pistol
produced a light (I, p. 187)

and they breakfast, with whisky drunk from a scallop shell. Waverley, Evan Dhu and an attendant depart for MacIvor's abode. Waverley deplores the fact that Alice is 'the daughter of a cattle-stealer - a common thief!' (I, p. 189), but is put in his place by Evan Dhu with a reply in which wisdom and wit are mixed, with pride foremost.

'Common thief! - No such thing: Donald Bean
Lean never lifted less than a drove in his life.'

(I, p. 189)

Then Evan Dhu quotes a Gaelic proverb, to the effect that

'to take a tree from the forest, a salmon from the river, a deer from the hill, or a cow from a Lowland strath, is what no Highlander need ever think shame upon.' (I, p. 189)

During the journey Waverley learns more about the Highlands. He learns, for instance, that though powerful, the chief's influence was restricted, for Evan Dhu, in replying to a question, answers 'haughtily':

'My master? - My master is in Heaven ... but you mean my Chief.' (I, p. 191)

Evan Dhu reveals that he and Fergus Mac-Ivor held rank in the 'Sid-ier Dhu,'

'the black soldier; that is what they call the independent companies that were raised to keep peace and law in the Highlands.' (I, p. 192)

He explains:

'They call them Sidier Dhu, because they wear the tartans, as they call your men - King George's men, - Sidier Roy, or red soldiers.' (I, p. 192)

Waverley misses the innuendo, and, a man of honour, asks naively:

'Well, but when you were in King George's pay, Evan, you were surely King George's soldiers?' (I, p. 192)

He is told to ask Mac-Ivor the chieftain.

Evan Dhu reveals that Donald Bain has carried off people as well as cattle.¹⁹ His anecdote concerns a bridegroom captured before his nuptials, and an accompanying note shows that the source

19. As did James Mohr Macgregor, Rob Roy's son. See the Invernahyle section.

was the 'late Laird of Mac-Nab,' an acquaintance of Scott's. It can be seen, therefore, that Scott is putting Highland table-talk to good use. He must have had a superb memory, and an ear for the unusual.

Fergus Mac-Ivor is met with, and Waverley notes his 'peculiar grace and dignity.' This chieftain is correctly attired in trews, with a silver-mounted dirk, and a lackey to carry his 'fowling-piece.' It is as if Scott is posing his Highlander for an oil painting by Raeburn, and getting all the details right.²⁰ But a closer look at Fergus reveals an attitude of arrogance.

The eye-brow and upper lip bespoke something of the habit of peremptory command and decisive superiority. Even his courtesy, though open, frank, and unconstrained, seemed to indicate a sense of personal importance.

(I, p. 197)

There are also facial hints of a 'vindictive temper.'

At this stage it might be useful to examine models for Scott's principal characters in Waverley. Among others, Mrs Grant of Laggan has suggested that Scott drew heavily on his memories of Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle in his portrayal of the Baron Bradwardine. Clearly the Baron is an attractive character, as Invernahyle was to Scott, but then, the Baron is excessively eccentric to the point of the comic, whereas Invernahyle seems (to Scott at least) to have been more sane and rational, if less learned. Still, they do share certain primary qualities, for, as the novel evolves, the Baron, like Invernahyle to Scott, emerges as one who is

20. 'As befits an intense visualiser, Scott likes to describe his characters as a portrait painter would paint them, often on their first appearance' (Crawford, op. cit., p. 71).

a noble specimen of the old Highlander, far descended, gallant, courteous and brave even to chivalry,

which was Scott's tribute to Invernahyle.

Of Fergus Mac-Ivor, it has been said that the model in Scott's mind was Alexander Macdonnell of Glengarry. Clearly Glengarry had the air of one well used to 'the habit of peremptory command and decisive superiority,' as well as a strong 'sense of personal importance.' Both Fergus and Glengarry possessed a 'vindictive temper,' as was proved by Glengarry's killing (albeit in a duel) of an officer over a trivial incident at the Inverness ball. But Glengarry's temper was apparently uncontrollable, whereas Fergus's is 'not less to be dreaded because it seemed much under its owner's command' (I, p. 198). Moreover, it is unlikely that the socially sensitive Scott would have portrayed in full in a novel an unpredictable but proud Highland chief who had become a personal friend by 1814, the year of publication of Waverley.

The short answer seems to be that Scott had a mental pool of actual persons from whom he took certain characteristics for certain characters, sometimes crossing them. Thus the Baron could contain attributes of Invernahyle, Glengarry, and others. Likewise with Fergus Mac-Ivor, but always with the stipulation that Scott would avoid total portrayal.

To resume the story: Scott proceeds to explain Fergus's genealogy to the reader, but with a good deal of humour. We learn that Fergus's father was attainted in the '15, forfeited his estate and fled to France, where he married a lady of that land, thus giving Fergus and his sister Flora a French mother. But Fergus re-

claimed his estates. The reason, the failure of the York Buildings Company to make them pay because of local prejudices in favour of the heir, is given in a footnote, and is historically authentic, as my section on the forfeited estates showed.

It would follow that Fergus is under the watchful eye of the southern militia, and he has tried to preserve peace in the Highlands by arbitrating in feuds. But all the time he has been strengthening his 'own patriarchal power' by maintaining an excessive number of tenants in preparation for an uprising he knows must come. In his political dealings he is like the Highland hydra Simon, Lord Lovat, as a note suggests. But, unlike Lovat, he is totally committed to the restoration of the exiled Stuart family, and will fight. For a precis on Highland history, this section is worth studying. It shows that Scott had caught the mood of those pre-rebellion days.

Like Dugald Stewart of Appin, Fergus has been granted a peerage by the exiled House of Stewart, for loyalty and services rendered, and he looks forward to the day when he can capitalise on his rank. In terms of cunning and ambition, he is at the opposite end of the spectrum from Waverley, and yet Fergus's zealous support of the Stewarts is a form of romanticism.

Fergus's residence is less grand than the Baron's. It is

a high rude-looking square tower, with the addition
of a lofted house, that is, a building of two stories.
(I, p. 206)

Tully-Veolan may keep the hamlet at bay with parkland, but at Glennaquoich the rough arable ground, the peasantry and the animals intrude

into the policies. It is in fact a self-contained kingdom, defended by 'a hundred Highlanders, in complete dress and arms,' (I, p. 208), but Fergus is casual about their forbidding appearance. He explains to Waverley that he had forgotten their presence. He had

'ordered a few of his clan out, for the purpose of seeing that they were in a fit condition to protect the country.' (I, p. 208)

'Few' is the crucial word, but its significance seems to escape Waverley. He watches them exercising, with and without arms. Such shows of strength and skill were common in the Highlands, as a note explains. It was a kind of warning to other clans not to test their strength.

Waverley is then invited to a feast, presided over by Fergus, the chieftain. At table the social divisions are marked by seating arrangements, and by the type and circulation of liquor. Thus, at the 'extreme verge of the banquet,' the most ragged, including beggars, dine on rough fare, whereas there is game at the head of the table, washed down with claret and champagne. The commoners can have whisky and small beer.

Though not on the same scale, there are similar feasts in Burt, a possible source for Scott's accurate account. It will be remembered that Burt praised the boundless hospitality of Culloden House, but at other places he was less fortunate; and sometimes he is disposed to grumble at the quantity of liquor and the quality of food.²¹

21. See, for example, Burt, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 184-85, on bad 'boiled beef,' a shortage of wine, and 'foul Linnen.' But Scott may have had in mind the feudal hall and feasts of Simon, Lord Lovat. See Memoirs of the Life and Gallant Exploits of the old Highlander, Serjeant Donald Macleod, (London, 1791), pp. 47-8. Noted by Coleman Parsons in 'The Highland Feasts of Fergus MacIvor and Lord Lovat', Modern Language Notes, May 1934, pp. 287-90.

But he does agree with Scott's note that the Scots were not partial to pork.

There is bagpipe music at Fergus's banquet, and a toast to the Baron Bradwardine, marred by one Ballenkeiroch's complaint that the Baron slew his son. The bard performs, the pace of his Gaelic increasing as the panegyric cum rallying call proceeds. It is obviously impromptu poetry, praising the dead as well as the living, and Waverley appears to merit mention. When this happens, the company become excited and touch their swords. It seems to be a warning.

The bard's reward is to keep the silver cup he has drunk wine from. Fergus is the donor, and there is applause. The toasts, delivered by Fergus, are admonitions to loyalty. Scott's realistic writing catches the Highland character well.

Without learning the meaning of the bard's song, Waverley is sent to meet Flora, Fergus's sister. Her beauty is the stereotype we have come to expect from Scott, having read the long poems. Flora is like her brother in the features, but hers are 'beautifully softened,' presumably reflecting an interior state. If Fergus seems sure of his 'mental superiority,' Flora seems

to pity, rather than envy, those who were
struggling for any farther distinction.

(I, p. 222)

They are not twin souls, therefore, though she too is attached to the exiled Stewarts.

For this she was prepared to do all, to suffer
all, to sacrifice all, (I, p. 223)

but not other people, unlike Fergus. It is significant that Scott equates the convent-educated Flora's Jacobite zeal with her devout

Catholicism. As said in an earlier section of this study, they were certainly not synonymous.

Rose Bradwardine has had her father for a tutor, but Flora Mac-Ivor must fend for herself in the matter of education. Since she cannot hope to study 'French, English, and Italian literature' on her own, she develops an interest in

the music and poetical traditions of the
Highlanders. (I, p. 224)

In this respect she is like Margaret Maclean Clephane, Scott's helpful young friend on Mull.

Flora loves her clan, and spends her small income on the sick and needy. Rose has most of her wishes gratified by her father, but Flora, her best friend, must live austere. Her prime function is not the cultivation of flowers, but the control of her brother's temper. Thus we assume that she is more mature than Rose. She receives Waverley graciously, and gives him a brief lecture on the Highland bardic tradition. Perhaps Scott is thinking of Macpherson when he makes Flora say a propos Gaelic poems:

'Some of these are said to be very ancient, and if they are ever translated into any of the languages of civilized Europe, cannot fail to produce a deep and general sensation.' (I, p. 230)

A note on the bard as an improviser directs the reader to Burt, who met one at Lord Lovat's table.

Waverley asks Flora to translate the Mac-Ivor bard's seeming reference to him, and she asks for time. He is directed to one of her 'favourite haunts,' and it forms one of the most disastrous scenes in the novel. Critics without number have complained about it, and

rightly so. The sylvan scene with rocks and running water is a reproduction of a scene in The Lady of the Lake, for, sure enough, there is a maiden and music. One need only quote a small extract to show the damage Scott is doing to an otherwise credible story, for

Here, like one of those lovely forms which decorate the landscapes of Poussin, Waverley found Flora gazing on the waterfall. Two paces farther back stood Cathleen, holding a small Scottish harp, the use of which had been taught to Flora by Rory Dall, one of the last harpers of the Western Highlands. (I, p. 235)

With the sun sinking, the beautiful Flora begins to play, and (inevitably, we feel),

Edward thought he had never even in his wildest dreams, imagined a figure of such exquisite and interesting loveliness. (I, p. 235)

Nothing is left to the reader's imagination because everything is overstated. She sings, and the song is a rallying-call to the clans for the coming rebellion.

The excessive romanticism and sense of unreality after so much realism are continued in the next chapter. The scene is still the waterfall, and Fergus is addressing his sister in a mixture of English, French, and Italian. The only language missing is Gaelic, his mother-tongue apparently. Perhaps Scott feels that some light relief is called for, but in providing it he is only damaging a well laid out, serious story.

Waverley remains at Glennaquoich as Fergus's guest. He converses with Flora, hears her call for a new-style aristocrat:

'... let us hope a brighter day is approaching, when a Scottish country-gentleman may be a scholar without the pedantry of our friend the Baron, a sportsman without the low habits of Mr Falconer, and a judicious

improver of his property without becoming a boorish two-legged steer like Killancureit'.

(I, p. 245)

Here Scott intrudes into his story to state enigmatically:

Thus did Flora prophesy a revolution, which time indeed has produced, but in a manner very different from what she had in her mind. (I, p. 245)

Flora promotes her friend Rose, Fergus hints that he might be interested, and Waverley feels ruffled. But Flora releases the tension by telling her brother:

'No; you have another bride - Honour; and the dangers you must run in pursuit of her rival would break poor Rose's heart.' (I, p. 246)

Waverley loses his seal, Flora suspects Donald Bean, but Fergus refuses to take action. The chapter ends with Waverley falling asleep, dreaming of Flora. The new chapter opens with Scott in jovial form, asserting his control over the story. A stag hunt is staged, but the quarry is not confined to the animal kingdom. As Pennant recorded:

hunting meetings, among the great men, were often the preludes to rebellion; for under that pretence they collected great bodies of men without suspicion, which at length occasioned an act of parlement prohibiting such dangerous assemblies. 22

The Earl of Mar convened such a hunt on the braes of Mar in August 1715, to gauge support for the impending rebellion.

The stag hunt in Waverley, like the hunt leading into The Lady

22. Pennant, 1769 Tour, p. 108. An accident at a deer hunt similar to Waverley's is described in his 1772 Tour. But once again Burt may have been the main source of inspiration. See Letters, vol. II, pp. 166-68.

of the Lake is well described. But Waverley fails to understand a Gaelic warning and is saved from being trampled underfoot by the herd by Fergus. After such drama, the extent of his injury is a sprained ankle. Waverley is treated by a kind of Gaelic witch-doctor, who chants as he applies herbs. Despite his addiction to the extraordinary, Waverley,

like most men who do not think deeply or accurately on such subjects ... had in his mind a reserve of superstition which balanced the freedom of his expressions and practice upon other occasions.

(I, p. 256)

But he does pay the 'doctor', who thanks him profusely, an important incident repeated in this and other novels, though not always in the same circumstances. Scott seems to portray the Highlander's love of money, or rather, to suggest how easily a show of silver will procure service in the Highlands, when all other approaches have failed.²³

Fergus leaves, returns, and they go back to Glennaquoich, where letters forwarded from Tully-Veolan await Waverley. Mr Pembroke writes from Waverley-Honour. Sometime tutor to Waverley, he had presented him with two theological tracts on his pupil's departure, and they will cause Waverley trouble. Richard Waverley writes, informing his son that his political ascendancy has been stopped. He is so bitter that he orders Waverley to throw up his commission, and Sir Everard writes, endorsing this command because family honour has been slighted. His father has been ruined by the Hanoverian establishment, and an incensed Waverley is about to withdraw his support.

23. There are several good examples in Rob Roy. The outlaw's purse with its secret lock is a powerful symbol. Rob Roy, Vol. II, p. 292.

But, as always, the right to act is taken from him because his family have told him how to act in the new situation. A letter from Colonel Gardiner, his commanding officer, ordering him to appear within three days or be classified as a deserter, makes him finally decide to write a letter of resignation.

But this letter is invalidated because, as Fergus shows him, the Gazette contains the announcement that Edward Waverley is 'superse-
desed for absence without leave' (I, p. 273). Waverley turns to Fergus for advice. He is advised to direct his anger against the 'usurping House of Hanover.' But Waverley is not convinced. The status quo must be preserved because it has existed for 'two generations.' Fergus stokes Waverley's resentment by pointing out that they both

'have ... truckled to the times so far as to accept commissions under them /the Hanoverians/, and thus have given them an opportunity of disgracing us publicly by resuming them ...' (I, p. 275)

The letter of resignation is sent, and Flora sought. Fergus highly approves of her friendship with Waverley, and sees no reason as to why a marriage should not take place. He has his sister's interests at heart, certainly, but he is also conscious that such an alliance

with one of those ancient, powerful, and wealthy English families of the steady cavalier faith

(I, p. 277)

would advance his interest with the principal Jacobites.

Flora is pleased that Waverley has withdrawn his support from the Hanoverian establishment, and Fergus calls upon her to 'replace his cockade with one of a more lively colour' (I, p. 279).

But she argues that Waverley must have time to decide for himself. He is 'half-alarmed' at Fergus's suggestion, but angry at Flora's 'coldness'. Being in love with her, he is aggressive. When Fergus departs, he states (or rather stutters) a proposal, and Flora asks for time to consider. She withdraws and Fergus reappears. He asks Waverley to join the Jacobites, and receives the reply:

'How can I? ... I, who have so lately held that commission which is now posting back to those who gave it? My accepting it implied a promise of fidelity, and an acknowledgement of the legality of the government.'

(I, pp. 284-85)

To Fergus the opportunist

'a rash promise ... is not a steel handcuff.'

(I, p. 285)

Once again the conversation is turned towards Flora. Yes, Waverley has his full support in his suit. He is advised to go in search of her.

He finds her in her usual sylvan setting, and learns that he has been rejected because any feelings she might have for Waverley would be incompatible with her zealous Jacobitism. In explaining, she shrewdly anticipates Waverley's needs:

'you seek, or ought to seek, in the object of your attachment, a heart whose principal delight would be in augmenting your domestic felicity, and returning your affection, even to the height of romance.'

(I, p. 290)

She knows, in fact, that he is destined to be a 'domestic animal' despite his romantic dreams of battle and love, whereas her destiny depends on battle and a love of the Jacobite cause. In other words, she is to act out his romantic dreams, but he does not belong in them.

She pleads with her rejected suitor not to heed Fergus and join his 'present enterprise' because she knows that if he does, it will be through recklessness, and not reason. In fact, she advises him to return to England, but the 'tumult of his mind' causes indecision. But the following day a letter brought by Davie Gellatley from Rose helps to point the path. Her father has fled, and the soldiers have been at Tully-Veolan, searching for arms and papers, and asking about Waverley. The mansion is garrisoned.

Waverley sees his dilemma thus: his personal character has got to be cleared before he can decide in what direction his political allegiance should lie. But he has neither time nor influential friends on his side. Symbolically there is no way back to civilisation and absolution, Tully-Veolan having been siezed. Yet Waverley does not appreciate his predicament. He is naive enough to imagine that he can get back to clear himself, and that his pass will be his 'innocence' and his 'rank'.

Fergus scorns his chance of success, but agrees to provide a guide, and give his guest a horse. Riding through a strange country at a time when reason and concentration are crucial, Waverley ignores the present and creates a rosy future in his imagination.

All that was common-place, all that belonged to the every-day world, was melted away and obliterated in those dreams of imagination, which only remembered with advantage the points of grace and dignity that distinguished Flora from the generality of her sex, not the particulars which she held in common with them. (I, p. 309)

They descend to a Lowland village, and Waverley promises Callum Beg his guide that he will exercise caution. Ebenezer Cruickshanks the innkeeper admits them, but questions them closely on their place

of origin. Waverley is haughty and polite in his replies, Callum Beg cunning. The baffled innkeeper withdraws, and Waverley rewards Callum Beg with a 'golden guinea' which he pockets eagerly. Waverley is shocked to see that his guide has a dirk concealed in his clothing, but Callum Beg will use it, if pressed. A letter from Fergus is handed over from Callum Beg. It contains a poem by Flora on the death of one Captain Wogan, a convert to the Royalist cause who fought and died alongside Highlanders in 1649. Flora obviously does not know that her lament has been sent to Waverley, with an accompanying letter in which Fergus expresses the hope that his sister's suitor will follow the example of Wogan.

Waverley cherishes her highly romantic poem, but will continue on his journey south. Cruickshanks hires him a horse, and will accompany him as far as Perth. Their departure brings the first volume of the novel to a close. As my running commentary has shown, it has been highly satisfactory in respect of historical authenticity, with Scott selecting and integrating material from many sources in a much more skilled and ordered fashion than he managed in The Lady of the Lake. The result is a reliable composite picture of the Highlands as they were on the eve of the '45. Clearly in sympathy with the Highlanders, he has shown their social structure, customs, and aspirations.

I shall leave my summing up of Waverley's function and character until the end of the novel, but meantime it must be stated that Flora Mac-Ivor is a most unsatisfactory and hence unconvincing character. At least we appreciate and accept that Rose Bradwardine is a simple, if charming young woman, and the scenes in which she participates are credible. But Flora's character is too confused.

Her sentiments and the scenes in which she appears (and especially that disastrous sylvan scene with harp) make us wonder: what is Scott attempting to portray? For a start, if she is a devout young woman unable to pledge herself to a man because she has already pledged herself to a political cause, she is humanly, as well as historically suspect. The confusion is further increased by the fact that she is a romantic, perhaps more so than Waverley, though she recognises his romanticism, and prescribes the remedy of a suitable wife, which she cannot be. Moreover, her romanticism makes her equate Catholicism with Jacobitism.

Since characters cannot live in isolation in a novel, Flora seems to detract from the credibility of the others. A survivor from Scott's long poems, and especially The Lady of the Lake, this self-taught student of Highland culture and sister of an ambitious, ruthless chieftain is too fanciful to be functional. It is a weak feature of Scott's women that they lack actual intestines and live within safe moral and physical limits; but then again, that was the preference of the polite society of his period.

I have given close attention to the first volume of Waverley because a good part of it is set in the Highlands, which is the theme of my study. In the second volume I shall ignore minor plot diversions, but will follow the fortunes of the Highland characters, and Waverley's, of course. The military campaign in relation to historical authenticity will also be examined.

On his way to appeal to southern law to reinstate his slighted character, Waverley falls foul of the law, and must answer to it. The scene is a Lowland village excited on the eve of rebellion. A

woman dances, singing "Charlie is my darling," and Waverley is mistaken for the young Chevalier. The blacksmith, the woman's husband, scolds her, but she taunts him. He is a staunch Whig, and

'D'ye think the lads wi' the kilts will care for yer synods and yer presbyteries, and yer buttock-mail, and yer stool o' repentance?'. (II, p. 7)

But the 'gudewife' is a solitary voice, for the villagers (as most of the Lowlanders were) are hostile to the Prince. Suspicious of Waverley's identity, the mob rush him, and he discharges a pocket-pistol in an 'act of self-defence', stunning the Smith. He is disarmed and apprehended.

The magistrate he appears before is Major Melville of Cairnvreckan. Cruickshanks the innkeeper gives evidence against the prisoner because Waverley has been riding one of Fergus's horses. Melville shows that he knows much about Waverley. He knows so much, in fact, that he charges Waverley with

'spreading mutiny and rebellion among the men you commanded, and setting them the example of desertion, by prolonging your own absence from the regiment, contrary to the express orders of your commanding officer.' (II, pp. 16-17)

All this amounts to 'high treason,' and a warrant is produced.

Scott is showing the process of law, which he knew well and loved. Therefore his writing is strong and accurate. Waverley is cross-examined. The name of 'Sergeant Houghton' is raised, a 'clever, active young fellow,' in Waverley's estimation, but inferior in rank to Waverley, and therefore no friend. Apparently Houghton handled the theological tracts given to Waverley by Pembroke. Melville calls them 'treasonable works.'

The case against Waverley builds up. Melville reads Flora's poem on Wogan, and notes the analogy. He also notes all the details of Waverley's sojourn in the Highlands, including the stag hunt, and a 'treasonable toast' given in his presence. There is something slightly absurd and crude in all this reiteration. One cannot believe that the Hanoverian government could have had such an intelligence network in the hostile Highlands;²⁴ or that one person could have testified all this. It is an unfortunate example of Scott telescoping the plot too neatly.

Waverley is sullen. His argument is:

'If I am capable of the cowardice and treachery your charge burdens me with, I am not worthy to be believed in any reply I can make to you.' (II, p. 24)

Nor will he answer any questions on Fergus Mac-Ivor. But the outcome looks optimistic, and, once again, improbable. A 'very short personal restraint should suffice'.

He is confined to Melville's house, and the first scene of the novel in which Waverley is not present occurs. Melville dines with Mr Morton, the clergyman who saved Waverley from the mob. His way is the humane way.

'Hundreds of misguided gentlemen are now in arms against the government, many, doubtless, upon principles which education and early prejudice have gilded with the names of patriotism and heroism; - Justice, when she selects her victims from such a multitude, (for surely all will not be destroyed,) must regard the moral motive. He whom ambition, or hope of personal advantage, has led to disturb the peace of a well-ordered govern-

24. The ubiquitous Andrew Lang uncovered Pickle the Spy (young Glengarry), a Highland informer, but this was an isolated case.

ment, let him fall a victim to the laws; but surely youth, misled by the wild visions of chivalry and imaginary loyalty, may plead for pardon.' (II, p. 30)

Again, Scott leaves nothing to the reader's imagination. Lest we forget, Waverley's romanticism is stressed ad nauseam.

But Waverley is not to go free. Instead, he is to be transferred under escort to Stirling Castle. Brooding in his room, he reacts emotively to his predicament.

'Had I yielded to the first generous impulse of indignation, when I learned that my honour was practised upon, how different had been my present situation!' (II, P. 38)

His is a failure to follow 'the course of my ancestors' by joining the Jacobites. But he reaches no real conclusion. Visited by the good Mr Morton, he is warned not to say anything about his visit to Donald Bean Lean,

'renowned through the country as a sort of Robin Hood,' (II, p. 41)

and thus like Rob Roy.

Waverley's custodian on the way to Stirling is Gilfillan, a Cameronian, enemy of the Presbyterian and the Papist. He scorns Waverley's membership of the Church of England and discourses upon sin and corruption. This puritan goes against the Jacobites for a religious, and not a political reason, and so stands in contrast to Flora.

Perhaps predictably, Gilfillan's small force is ambushed by 'six or eight stout Highlanders.' Waverley's horse is shot from under him, and he falls, but only to be hurried away by the Highlanders. It is all pure melodrama, the set rescue, with Waverley

once again helped out of a predicament.

He is apparently back in the Highlands, but is he among friends? Waverley cannot tell. Weak from his fall, he has been carried to a smoke-filled hut occupied by a crone. He knows, however, that his attendants are not 'of the clan of Ivor.' Stretched out in a press bed,

His slumbers were broken and unrefreshing; strange visions passed before his eyes, and it required constant and reiterated efforts of mind to dispel them.

(II, p. 65)

After three days of fever, he begins to recover, and remembers that

a female figure, younger than his old Highland nurse, had appeared to flit round his couch.

(II, p. 67)

But who is this guardian angel? Flora Mac-Ivor is the prime candidate. But the figure cannot be identified because his bed is enclosed.

He meditates escape. There are two possibilities, flight to Fergus, or flight to England on a ship. But before he can make a decision, his attendants return, signalling to him to get ready for a journey. Confinement has curbed his romantic passion, or, as Scott puts it,

His passion for the wonderful, although it is the nature of such dispositions to be excited by that degree of danger which merely gives dignity to the feeling of the individual exposed to it, had sunk under the extraordinary and apparently insurmountable evils by which he appeared environed at Cairnvreckan.

(II, p. 70)

The story is flagging, and so are Waverley's spirits. But romance looms (or rather, flits) once more. Alice, Donald Bean's daughter, slips him a packet of papers, and disappears. Before he

can peruse the papers, he is on the move, in the company of Highlanders. They pass through enemy-occupied country by moonlight, or, as Scott chooses to call it, 'Mac-Farlane's buat (i.e. lantern),' and a note confirms that the term is traditional, the heavenly body having shed its benevolent light on that clan on their Lowland forays.

A decoy Highlander gets them safe conduct past enemy sentries, and, mounted on a horse, with his portmanteau (containing the letters Alice gave him, and a necessary 'plant' in the plot), he arrives at Doune Castle. This garrison was used in the '45 by the Jacobites, and, giving some of its history, Scott begins:

This noble ruin is dear to my recollection ...

About to open his portmanteau, Waverley sees it carried off by a servant. Having dined with the governor, he joins 'about a score of armed men on horseback.' They are Jacobites, of course, and in contrast to Waverley's old regiment, are badly turned out. Their horses are obviously hunters, and not war horses. The quartermaster tells Waverley that he has only come 'out' in order to get paid for the horses he has provided for the troop, a comment on the mixed motives of some of the Prince's followers.

To prevent it from flagging, and in order to integrate past and present, Scott inserts remarkable coincidences into his story. Thus Waverley discovers that the troop is led by Balmawhapple, with whom he quarrelled at Tully-Veolan. He is, in fact, Balmawhapple's prisoner. We therefore anticipate tension.

The troop's passage past Stirling Castle (part of the scene of The Lady of the Lake) gives Scott the opportunity of a short guide-book description. Balmawhapple is fired at from the castle,

as was the Prince in real life, according to Home the historian.²⁵
 They halt at Falkirk, and hit the bottle, with the sentries off duty. Anderson believes that Scott lifted this episode from the 1715 Memoirs of the Jacobite Master of Sinclair, yet another possible model for the Baron Bradwardine.²⁶

Then Edinburgh, and reunion with Fergus. The Jacobites are in command of the city, and the Court is there.

A young man, wearing his own fair hair, distinguished by the dignity of his mien and the noble expression of his well-formed and regular features, advanced out of a circle of military gentlemen and Highland chiefs, by whom he was surrounded.

(II, p. 96)

Enter the Prince, as handsome and polished as Home portrays in his History.

The figure and presence of Charles Stuart was not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth, tall and handsome, of a fair complexion; he had a light coloured periwig with his own hair combed over the front: he wore the Highland dress, that is a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St. Andrew. 27

The Prince apologises to Waverley for inconvenience caused by captiv-

25. Anderson, op. cit., Pt. II, p. 66. Home, op. cit., p. 78.

26. Anderson, Pt. II, p. 67. John, Master of Sinclair, Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715, ed James Macknight and David Laing (Edinburgh, Abbotsford Club, 1858), p. 95 ff. Sir Walter Scott supplied the notes for this MS., with which he was familiar, having printed extracts from it in 1805 in notes to The Lay of the Last Minstrel. Scott was the editor of the Proceedings in The Court-Martial, held upon John, Master of Sinclair ... for the murder of Ensign Schaw, a Roxburghe Club production of 1828. But Anderson warns: 'It is true that, just as McIvor is a very different character from Lovat, so Bradwardine is not to be identified with Sinclair.'

27. Home, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

ity, and offers him a choice. Either he can join the Jacobites, or get a safe conduct pass home to England. He refers to Waverley's distinguished Jacobite ancestry, and seems to be asking for Waverley's support.

To be thus personally solicited for assistance by a Prince, whose form and manners, as well as the spirit which he displayed in this singular enterprise, answered his ideas of a hero of romance; to be courted by him in the ancient halls of his parental palace, recovered by the sword which he was already bending towards other conquests, gave Edward, in his own eyes, the dignity and importance which he had ceased to consider as his attributes. (II, p. 98)

'Rejected, slandered and threatened' by the Hanoverian side, Waverley,

kneeling to Charles Edward, devoted his heart and sword to the vindication of his rights!

(II, p. 98)

A crucial decision has come out of admiration, emotion, and indignation. But then, Lochiel is said to have reacted in the same way when the Prince first came.²⁸

The Prince gives Waverley a precis of the campaign to date, and asks for his opinion as to the future conduct of the war. There is an almost comic imbalance here. On the one hand, following closely the historical accounts of the '45 and its chief participants, Scott has recreated the Prince. This was a serious campaign, with the stakes high, and victory by no means assured despite the occupation of Edinburgh. Men had died, and many more (principally Highlanders) faced the same fate, and yet the Prince is convening a mini council of war with Edward Waverley, Scott's insipid hero. By

28. Home, History, pp. 44-45, n.

the very psychology of the situation, Scott cannot hope to strike a convincing balance, because he is attempting to reconcile basic fact and high fiction. The scene is an embarrassment to the reader.

To add to the farce, Fergus arranged that the Prince's new officer (an Englishman, and, until very recently, a serving Hanoverian) be decked out in the Mac-Ivor tartan in order that he can attend a Hollyrood Ball. Fergus acknowledges Donald Bean's treachery,

'but how he should not have plundered you, or put you to ransom, or availed himself in some way or other of your captivity for his own advantage, passes my judgment,'
(II, p. 107)

thus leaving the mystery intact.

Waverley has not forgotten Flora. She is in the city, and so is the Baron Bradwardine, still spouting Latin, plus his daughter Rose. We are therefore back roughly to the same situation as prevailed at Tully-Veolan.

Attired in the 'garb of old Gaul,' Waverley regards himself in a mirror and is satisfied with the result.

His person promised firmness and agility, to which the ample folds of the tartan added an air of dignity. His blue eye seemed of that kind,

'Which melted in love, and which kindled in war';
and an air of bashfulness, which was in reality the effect of want of habitual intercourse with the world, gave interest to his features, without injuring their grace or intelligence.
(II, p. 116)

What can one say but that the '45 was a tragic campaign, and not a fancy dress ball?

Waverley dines in the company of Fergus, the Baron, Bailie Macwheeble and Ensign Maccombich, lately Evan Dhu. Fergus makes the landlady his pursebearer, with the remark:

'take care to give something to the Highland
caillachs that shall cry the coronach loudest
for the last Vich Ian Vohr.' (II, p. 120)

They have already cried in The Lady of the Lake. But why here? Is
it because Fergus has had a premonition, or out of bravado?

The ball at Hollyrood is 'striking' and 'brilliant', with both
Rose and Flora in attendance. But Waverley is despondent.

He accompanied Fergus with downcast eyes, ting-
ling ears, and the feelings of the criminal,

(II, p. 127)

because he has already been rejected by Flora. But, knowing that he
has now joined the cause, Flora receives him as a 'second brother.'
Even Waverley understands the significance of her words, and his men-
tal exclamation is:

'This, then, is an end of my day-dream!'

(II, p. 128)

The colour draining from his cheeks causes Rose to exclaim that he
has 'not yet recovered,' a remark which brings the Prince into their
company. He questions Waverley about Jacobite support in England,
and concludes by stating that he is 'deeply interested in the affair'
(II, p. 129), meaning romance, but he warns Waverley to restrain his
feelings, since he is being closely watched. This, of course, is
beyond belief. Here is the Prince, the progenitor of a difficult
campaign, worrying about the Hanoverian Waverley's amorous inten-
tions.

But Scott does have some perception of the syndrome of love-
sickness. To compensate for his disappointment, and at the same
time attract the lady's attention while seeming to ignore her, Waver-
ley performs brilliantly, if hysterically. In short, he is the

centre of attraction. Having reached a 'final and irrevocable' decision to reject Waverley the suitor, Flora sits apart, but Rose 'bent her whole soul to listen' (II, p. 133).

The Baron wonders where he has acquired this sudden show of brilliance, considering his lethargy at Tully-Veolan, but Fergus attributes it to 'the inspiration of the tartans' (II, p. 134).

The fictive Prince, like the real one, must disband his Hollywood court, and so the army prepares to move. The description of the mustered Highlanders with their banners and broadswords is well done, for Scott excels in such scenes, and conveys muscular movement. We feel that these are real human beings beneath their tartans. A tribute is paid to the chiefs and their tacksmen.

Finer and hardier men could not have been selected out of any army in Christendom; while the free and independent habits which each possessed, and which each was yet so well taught to subject to the command of his chief, and the peculiar mode of discipline adopted in Highland warfare, rendered them equally formidable by their individual courage and high spirit, and from their rational conviction of the necessity of acting in unison, and of giving their national mode of attack the fullest opportunity of success.

(II, p. 141)

This is well said, but is spoilt by the next paragraph. Scott the amateur soldier well knew that the ranks are the backbone of an army. Writing some sixty years after the '45, he must also have been aware that not all the chiefs and tacksmen were so steadfast in the face of battle. Yet he can write:

But, in a lower rank to these, there were found individuals of an inferior description, the common peasantry of the Highland country, who, although they did not allow themselves to be so called, and claimed often, with apparent truth, to be of more ancient descent than the masters whom they served, bore, nevertheless, the livery of extreme penury,

being indifferently accoutred, and worse armed, half naked, stunted in growth, and miserable in aspect.

(II, pp. 141-42)

I hear little sympathy in this description, and yet, if Scott is being historically consistent, some of these men would have been forcibly recruited by their chieftains. It is a sad description, considering how well Scott treated Fergus and his savage followers in the first volume. But then, we are now in the Lowlands, and these Highlanders are on the march against the Hanoverian throne which was to show favour to Scott. Yet Scott's description is strikingly similar to that left by the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle, an eminent eye witness of the rout of Prestonpans. Taken prisoner, Carlyle had

an opportunity of seeing this victorious army. In general they were of low stature and dirty, and of a contemptible appearance.

He ends with the fervent wish:

God forbid that Britain should ever again be in danger of being overrun by such a despicable enemy, for, at the best, the Highlanders were at that time but a raw militia, who were not cowards. 29

Home is slightly kinder to the Highlanders, noting that

their stern countenances, and bushy uncombed hair, gave them a fierce, barbarous, and imposing aspect.

30

The army takes the actual coast road taken in the '45. At Carberry Hill, Scott finishes off a superfluous character, Houghton. He is dying from wounds, and Waverley is by his side, demanding a

29. Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle Minister of Inveresk, (Edinburgh, 1860), p. 147.

30. Home, op. cit., p. 104.

doctor, but Fergus is slow to react. With Houghton's death, some of the outstanding mysteries are cleared up. It is now revealed that Donald Bean stole Waverley's seal, and used it to cause disorder in the regiment, by endorsing papers, presumably.

The battleground is to be Prestonpans, and Scott's account of movement and skirmish conforms to the historians of the time, notably Home, an important source for Waverley. Though he is reproducing long stretches of written history, Scott succeeds in integrating fact and fiction, and so Waverley and other fictive characters are absorbed into the actual campaign. At the same time, Scott can incorporate an anecdote easily and effectively. Calum Beg is about to shoot Colonel Gardiner, Waverley's former commander, but is restrained by a Highland seer who sees the Colonel's breast already swaddled in the winding-sheet. This anecdote is retold in Rob Roy (I, Intro., p. xv) by reference to a legend about the 1603 battle of Glenfruin, which claims that the McGregors were urged on to victory by a seer who saw the enemy leaders similarly swaddled. Thus in one section we have Scott reproducing history and anecdote, well cemented with fiction. The result is a strong vision of a rebel army, plus humour and pathos through individualism. His spectacles on the end of his nose, the Baron is engaged in reading

The Evening Service of the Episcopal Church to the
remainder of his troop. (II, p. 160)

The army prepares to engage, with Waverley experiencing a strange feeling.

It was not fear, it was not ardour, - it was a compound of both, a new and deeply energetic impulse, that with its first emotion chilled and astounded, then fevered and maddened his mind. (II, p. 167)

At last he is actually fighting, after all the daydreaming. Then occurs the Invernahyle/Whiteford incident, explained at length in my section on that Highland friend of the young Scott's. In the novel, Dugald Mahony and not 'the miller of Invernahyle' is about to brain the English officer with his battle-axe. Waverley intercedes, and saves the Englishman. Meantime, Colonel Gardiner has been struck from his horse with a scythe. He dies, and so does Balmawhapple, but at some distance from the battlefield, and surrounded by a dozen of the enemy. Though his death 'was lamented by few,' he dies bravely.

There are notes for this section. Colonel Gardiner died in the manner described, according to Doddridge, his biographer. Whereas Balmawhapple is an 'entirely imaginary' character, a gentleman who resembled him, but in bravery alone, died as Balmawhapple died, and at Preston also.

In the victory celebrations, there is more talk of the service of pulling off the king's boots from the Baron. But a slight difficulty has arisen, since the king wears 'brogues and trews.' It is all effective humour after the bloodshed, but Fergus is not amused. He finds the Baron absurd, and tells Waverley so.

The English officer whom Waverley has saved is Colonel Talbot, friend of Sir Everard's. He is shocked to find his friend's heir with the rebel army, but Waverley argues that

'there is nothing extraordinary in finding a man, whose honour has been publicly and unjustly assailed, in the situation which promised most fair to afford him satisfaction on his calumniators.'

(II, p. 188)

But Talbot is not convinced. Credibility is put to the test again

with Talbot's announcement that he came to Scotland with the 'sole purpose' of rescuing Waverley. But why? Because

'I am indebted to your uncle for benefits greater than those which a son owes to a father.'

(II, p. 189).

Convenient, but not convincing. Talbot has visited Sir Everard, and found him in 'confinement.' In fact, Waverley's father and uncle are prisoners because of his Jacobite allegiance.

Talbot is kept a prisoner, but in easy circumstances, and Waverley goes for an interview with the Prince.

The Chevalier received Waverley with his usual favour, and paid him many compliments on his distinguished bravery.

(II, p. 195)

He then inquires after Colonel Talbot, and commits him to Waverley's care. Then a gazette is circulated, intimating that the Baron has at last been able to exercise his blench duty, but with a brogue instead of a boot.

It is not necessary to record in these pages the triumphant entrance of the Chevalier into Edinburgh after the decisive affair of Preston. (II, p. 202)

But one incident rates a mention. An exhilarated member of the Prince's entourage discharges a ball, and it grazes Flora Mac-Ivor's temple. A note claims that the incident is founded on fact, the real victim being a Miss Nairne, a friend of Scott's. Once again memory proves a fruitful source.

Talbot is talking with Waverley. He cannot see how the young man can hope to escape from the Jacobite army, but

'If this can be managed, I would have you go to a place of safety in Flanders, which I shall point

out. And I think I can secure your pardon from government after a few months' residence abroad.'

(II, p. 204)

But Waverley forbids his new-found friend

'to speak of any plan which turns on my deserting an enterprise in which I may have engaged hastily, but certainly voluntarily, and with the purpose of abiding the issue.'

(II, p. 204)

He has honour, then.

The portmanteau is now opened, and the letters read. They confirm what we already suspect: Waverley has been framed by Donald Bean, and his associate Ruffin. They made trouble for him with Colonel Gardiner, now lamented by Waverley. This Ruffin, a pedlar, moved among the soldiers with money, and made Waverley's regiment mutiny. The case against Donald Bean is stated. He was a spy for the Prince, but at the same time tried to make money for himself. So, the story is neatly tied together at this stage, and Waverley writes to his father and uncle, explaining how others had forced him into his present predicament.

He has a good friend in Colonel Talbot,

a man of extended knowledge and cultivated taste, although strongly tinged, as we have already observed, with those prejudices which are peculiarly English.

(II, p. 214)

Scott's way is the middle way, an attempt to strike a balance between Hanoverian and Jacobite, between Englishman and Scotsman, in the readers' mind. In fact, the friendship of Waverley and Talbot (as with the friendship of Invernahyle and Whiteford) illustrates that in the midst of war there can be co-operation across the lines of battle.

Talbot is a man of strong opinions, and these extend to the

ladies.

He allowed that Flora Mac-Ivor was a fine woman, and Rose Bradwardine a pretty girl. But he alleged that the former destroyed the effect of her beauty by an affectation of the grand airs which she had probably seen practised in the mock court of St. Germain's. As for Rose Bradwardine, he said it was impossible for any mortal to admire such a little uninformed thing, whose small portion of education was as ill adapted to her sex or youth, as if she had appeared with one of her father's old campaign-coats upon her person for her sole garment. (II, p. 215)

Here a character anticipates the reader's probable opinion of Scott's creation, a ruse that will keep the story from straying too near the serious and committed.

Waverley now turns his attention to Rose. Her first tutor was her father, her second Waverley. Her third is now Flora, who is obviously educating Rose to be Waverley's wife. As she says to Rose in summing up the romantic Waverley's needs:

'I will tell you where he will be at home, my dear, and in his place, - in the quiet circle of domestic happiness, lettered indolence, and elegant enjoyments, of Waverley-Honour.' (II, p. 221)

He belongs back in England, a landowner.

Fergus goes to Court, and returns in a rage. He is not to receive the expected reward for services rendered. But this loss of an 'earl's patent' is made bearable by the information that the Baron is being pressed by the Prince

'to disinherit his male heir, or nineteenth or twentieth cousin, who has taken a command in the Elector of Hanover's militia, and to settle his estate upon your pretty little friend Rose.' (II, p. 225)

In short, she will do nicely for the ruthless Fergus. She will bring a fortune and possibly a title.

Not distinguished for knowing his own mind, Waverley is baffled. But he is also at risk. The Prince has told Fergus that Rose's affections 'were engaged' elsewhere. Fergus does not know the identity of the fortunate man, but he means mischief. Never very good at arranging romances, Scott creates more embarrassment for the reader in attempting to boost his plot. The interior monologue he puts in Waverley's confused head really belongs in a female skull. He says, for instance, or rather, debates with himself:

'What is it to me that Fergus Mac-Ivor should wish to marry Rose Bradwardine? - I love her not - I might have been loved by her perhaps - but I rejected her simple, natural, and affecting attachment, instead of cherishing it into tenderness, and dedicated myself to one who will never love mortal man....'

(II, p. 230)

A turning-point has been reached, but at the expense of respect for Scott and his creations, for Waverley's reaction is psychologically unacceptable. The story is beginning to flag, and without much hope of recovery, for Waverley is sent among the ladies, to look on Rose anew. Colonel Talbot's function with the Jacobite army is finished. He has shown Waverley's bravery and clemency, and that Waverley has influential friends to plead his case. So Talbot is granted parole to return to London because his lady is unwell. The scene, like Waverley's conversion to Rose, is utterly unconvincing, and does not merit quotation. But before leaving Talbot has this to say with regard to the Highlanders:

'I cannot spare them a jot; I cannot bate them an ace. Let them stay in their own barren mountains, and puff and swell, and hang their bonnets on the horns of the moon, if they have a mind; but what business have they to come where people wear breeches?'

(II, p. 246)

This is the hardline Hanoverian attitude of no quarter, to be put into appalling practice after Culloden. But then, Talbot also despises the Lowlands. To him the Scots people are:

'Barren, barren, beggars all, beggars all.'
(II, p. 247)

He goes home.

'It is not our purpose to intrude upon the
province of history,' (II, p. 249)

Scott, insists, though he has used much in his novel to date. The phrase is a device to get the rebel army to England quickly, and so Waverley is back on home soil. The expected support from the north of England does not materialise, and the Jacobites will soon be in trouble. But Waverley has other urgent problems to attend to. Fergus has spoken of Waverley's impending marriage with his sister, but Waverley announces that the matter is finished, since he is a rejected suitor. Fergus reacts angrily. He is her legal guardian.

'You did not, I suppose, expect my sister to drop
into your mouth like a ripe plum, the first moment
you chose to open it?' (II, p. 252)

His advice is to persist, but Waverley replies that he will not proceed with his suit. Conflict is inevitable, and Fergus almost strikes Waverley. But our hero at long last recognises the 'pride and self-opinion and passion' of that 'petty chief.' His conversion is not convincing, for once again Scott's psychological mechanism of realisation is crude. However, the reader has been warned: he is to look out for trouble between them.

The good-natured Baron tries unsuccessfully to mediate, and reports the quarrel to the Prince, who will have a word with Fergus.

Then Waverley is fired at.³¹ The culprit seems to be Callum Beg, and Waverley demands his exposure. He lies, though his pistol has recently been fired. Fergus exercises his hereditary jurisdiction right on English soil by striking Callum on the head with his pistol butt. That is the 'heavy' sentence, and now Fergus must deal with Waverley. He takes him aside to say:

'I little thought that your engagements with Miss Bradwardine were the reason of your breaking off your intended match with my sister. I suppose the information that the Baron had altered the destination of his estate, was quite a sufficient reason for slighting your friend's sister, and carrying off your friend's mistress.' (II, p. 262)

The Prince is his informant, but Waverley protests that it is 'absolute madness' or 'some strange mistake.'

They draw swords, but once again Waverley is denied the assertion of his manhood, for the Baron intervenes. The Prince arrives, to protest angrily that their 'extraordinary and causeless broil' threatens to jeopardise Jacobite progress. But how does he know their quarrel is 'causeless'? At any rate, he listens to both sides of the story, and is surprised to learn that Waverley is not 'an accepted lover' of Rose. However, he is the commander, and peace is restored. This turbulent chapter is accompanied by a note on 'Prince Charles Edward.' It is Scott's rejection of criticism levelled against earlier editions of Waverley. It begins:

The Author of Waverley has been charged with painting the young Adventurer in colours more amiable than his character deserved. But having known many individuals who were near his person, he has been described according to the light in which those eye-witnesses saw his temper and qualifications. Something must be allowed, no doubt, to the natural exaggerations of those who remembered him as the bold and adventurous Prince, in whose cause they had braved death and ruin; but is their evidence to give place entirely to that of a single malcontent?

31. This incident, which might have come from Burt, is also quoted in The Lady of the Lake. Anderson, op. cit., Pt. II, p. 69.

Then follows quotations from various sources in support of the character of the Prince as portrayed in the novel. Francis Hart has succinctly summed up the Prince's position in the novel. He is

an important focus for the complex fidelities of his friends and foes, but as a character he is insignificant. 32

At Derby the Jacobite army turn and retreat back into Scotland. Like the Prince in real life, Fergus is furious with the decision, and shed 'tears of grief and indignation' (II, p. 276). This is the turning-point of Fergus's life. From now on, he is a broken man. From now on the novel's time-scale is telescoped, and it moves (or rather, lumbers) to a conclusion. It is almost as if Scott got tired in the telling, and decided to finish off his characters without doing them justice. This at least is the case with Fergus. After the anger of the last chapter, disillusionment.

'Our fine adventure is now totally ruined,' (II, p. 277), he tells Waverley, and he also mends their quarrel. He has had a letter from his sister, and she has explained all, or rather, the little that has to be explained. Fergus now advises Waverley as Talbot advised him: he should make for a Scottish port and get to the continent. But after his fanatical Jacobitism, Fergus's acknowledgement of defeat because of the retreat from Derby simply does not ring true. In real life there was still plenty of spirit among the retreating army.

Naturally, Waverley asks why the Highland chiefs agreed to

32. F. Hart, Scott's Novels: The Plotting of Historical Survival, (Virginia, U.S.A., 1966), p. 24.

retreat. Fergus replies:

'they think that, as on former occasions, the heading, hanging, and forfeiting, will chiefly fall to the lot of the Lowland gentry,' (II, p. 278)

a gravely wrong assumption which, as Anderson shows, is lifted from the Master of Sinclair's Memoirs.³³ But Fergus acknowledges that the Hanoverian government

'will deserve the gallows as fools, if they leave a single clan in the Highlands in a situation to be again troublesome to government.' (II, p. 279)

Waverley must go abroad, but Fergus's fate is settled. He has had a premonition, has seen a spirit called the 'Bodach Glas.' According to Fergus, an ancestor and a Lowlander called Halbert Hall, laid waste Northumberland, but

'In their return through the Cheviots, they quarrelled about the division of the great booty they had acquired, and came from words to blows. The Lowlanders were cut off to a man, and their chief fell the last, covered with wounds by the sword of my ancestor. Since that time, his spirit has crossed the Vich Ian Vohr of the day when any great disaster was impending, but especially before approaching death.' (II, p. 280)

This is lifted out of Argyllshire tradition, probably via Lady Charlotte Campbell. Lord Archibald Campbell records:

There is said to be a small old man in Truish, with a grey plaid and Lowland bonnet, called the Bodach Glas (old grey man), who appears on the death of any of the Dunstaffnage family (or on the death of the head of the family - all do not agree on this point). One of their ancestors killed him in a raid to the south. They were partners in the spoil. Being pursued, the Lowlander wished to leave the spoil and run. Dunstaffnage called him a coward and dirked him.

33. Anderson, op. cit., pt. II, p. 68. Sinclair, op. cit., p. 298.

While dying, he told Dunstaffnage he would die that day, and that he (the Bodach Glas) would appear and exult over the death of the rest of the family for ever.

Lord Archibald concludes:

I do not know how Sir W. Scott got hold of this story. He has put it in Waverley as Vich Ian Vohr's Grey Man. 34

Waverley is sceptical of Fergus's vision, but the chieftain insists that he is doomed. Strange that Waverley, zealous scholar of the 'marvellous,' is not attracted to this supernatural story. But perhaps we are meant to assume that war has made him a practical man. Scott describes the kirmish at Clifton, backing up his account with a note on the MS. memoirs of Cluny Macpherson. It is in this nocturnal encounter that Waverley drops out of, or, more precisely, is separated from the war. As his name implies, he is now in a kind of limbo, groping his way between two armies in the darkness that heralds the defeat of Jacobitism.

He soon lost the sound of the bagpipes; and, what was yet more unpleasant, when, after searching long in vain, and scrambling through many enclosures, he at length approached the high-road, he learned, from the unwelcome noise of kettle-drums and trumpets, that the English cavalry now occupied it, and consequently were between him and the Highlanders.

(II, p. 288)

34. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

My late granduncle, chauffeur to Dunstaffnage, saw the Bodach Glas at Inveraray Castle at the time of the Tenth Duke's death.

There is also a similar spirit attendant upon the Macleans of Lochbuie, Mull. As already stated, Margaret Maclean Clephane told Scott about it in a letter dated 7 August 1809 (Walpole, MS. 3878, ff. 104). For other possibilities of the origins of the apparition, see Coleman Parsons, 'The Bodach Glas in Waverley', Notes and Queries, vol. CLXXXIV, 13 February 1943, pp. 95-7.

He cannot get back to the Highland army, and he is not yet ready to go back to the Hanoverian army, so he must be removed from the campaign. He falls in with a young farmer who will lead him to the sanctuary of an Ulswater farmhouse. The route they take is over that field on which he fought the night before. There are

dead bodies of men and horses, and the usual companions of war, a number of carrion-crows, hawks, and ravens.

II, p. 293)

Waverley presumes Fergus to be dead, and cries a coronach:

'here fell the last Vich Ian Vohr, on a nameless heath; and in an obscure night-skirmish was quenched that ardent spirit, who thought it little to cut a way for his master to the British throne! Ambition, policy, bravery, all far beyond their sphere, here learned the fate of mortals. The sole support, too, of a sister, whose spirit, as proud and unbending, was even more exalted than thine own; here ended all thy hopes for Flora, and the long and valued line which it was thy boast to raise yet more highly by thy adventurous valour!' (II, pp. 293-94)

So Fergus is restored to favour, and the worth of his Highland ancestry acknowledged in an absurd speech.

Waverley winters in Cumberland, and reads of the death of his father from a 'lingering disorder' while awaiting trial for 'high-treason.' Sir Everard is similarly charged,

'and we understand the day of his trial will be fixed early in the next month, unless Edward Waverley, son of the deceased Richard, and heir to the Baronet, shall surrender himself to justice. In that case, we are assured it is his Majesty's gracious purpose to drop further proceedings upon the charge against Sir Everard. This unfortunate young gentleman is ascertained to have been in arms in the Pretender's service, and to have marched along with the Highland troops into England. But he has not been heard of since the skirmish at Clifton, on the 18th December last.'

(II, pp. 298-99)

The crudity of Scott's plot mechanisms is an insult to the reader's intelligence - unless, of course, this is a comic novel.

Waverley makes his way to London, to consult with Talbot. Of course Talbot is shocked to see the traitor in the Hanoverian capital. But all is well. Waverley need not concern himself too much about the death of his father: he had a 'great want of sensibility' up to the last. And his uncle, Sir Everard? He is

'gone down to Waverley-Honour, freed from all uneasiness, unless upon your account.' (II, p. 307)

More good luck for Waverley. Donald Bean has fallen into the hands of the authorities, and, before execution, confessed to Major Melville his manipulation of Waverley's fate. But Donald Bean did not tell all. He would not reveal the identity of his manipulator because he had taken an oath upon the dirk, a solemn ceremony explained in a note, but familiar because referred to in The Lady of the Lake.

Talbot tells Waverley:

'I have little doubt of procuring a remission for you, providing we can keep you out of the claws of justice, till she has selected and gorged upon her victims; for in this, as in other cases, it will be according to the vulgar proverb, 'First come, first served', (II, p. 311)

a frightening prophecy of how things would be after Culloden. But Talbot (and hence Scott) hastily qualifies the speed and harshness of Hanoverian 'justice':

'This is a vindictive and timid feeling which will soon wear off, for, of all nations, the English are the least blood-thirsty by nature.' (II, p. 311)

Those who spoke to Bishop Robert Forbes after Culloden could not

agree.

Waverley tells Talbot:

'having honourably got rid of the sword, which I drew only as a volunteer, I am quite satisfied with my military experience, and shall be in no hurry to take it up again.' (II, p. 313)

He tells Talbot of his wish to marry Rose. Talbot is pleased, and so will the Baron and Sir Everard be, apparently.

Waverley rides north to claim his bride, and en route learns the result of the battle of Culloden. The Jacobite cause is lost, and

The generous, the courteous, the noble-minded Adventurer was ... a fugitive, with a price upon his head; his adherents, so brave, so enthusiastic, so faithful, were dead, imprisoned, or exiled, (II, p. 319)

an inaccuracy, since at that time there were many important fugitives (including Lochiel and Cluny Macpherson) still within the Highlands, and since the processes of imprisonment and exile were barely under way.

Waverley arrives in Edinburgh, but can get no information on the fate of the Bradwardines and Flora Mac-Ivor, and so he decides to post to Perth, thereafter travelling on foot to Tully-Veolan. Despite

a deviation from the road when he saw parties of military at a distance, (II, p. 323)

such a journey by a much-wanted man would hardly have been possible along the principal thoroughfare into the Highlands. He sees the sad legacy of war.

Broken carriages, dead horses, unroofed cottages, trees felled for palisades, and bridges destroyed,

or only partially repaired, - all indicated the movements of hostile armies, (II, pp. 323-24)

The mansions of Jacobite sympathisers are 'dismantled or deserted,' and Tully-Veolan has not escaped. That noble pile is reduced, but Waverley's character is raised high, and both by war.

Now, how changed! how saddened, yet how elevated was his character, within the course of a very few months! Danger and misfortune are rapid, though severe teachers. 'A sadder and wiser man,' he felt, in internal confidence and mental dignity, a compensation for the gay dreams which, in his case, experience had so rapidly dissolved. (II, p. 324)

I find this convincing, and so is Scott's sober description of plundered and fired Tully-Veolan. On the straight grassy avenue which the romantic young English traveller followed on his first visit to Tully-Veolan (and hence to the Highlands), the trees are toppled, surely a most effective symbol. The thick walls are blackened, the broken furniture strewn, and the 'whole tribe' of elevated stone bears, collective symbol of aristocratic pride and endurance,

lay on the ground in tatters, (II, p. 326),

having been used for target practice by the dragoons. Two horse-chestnut trees have been maimed by gunpowder, an act of revenge that actually happened at Invergarry Castle, Glengarry's seat, a note assures us. The symbolic force of all this vandalism is further augmented by the sight of Rose's toppled balcony, with her books

mingled with broken flower-pots and other remnants. (II, p. 327)

It is one of the great scenes of the novel, and its twin in terms of realism is the description of Tully-Veolan as it was, when Waverley arrived.

But Scott has further delights in store for us. David

Gellatley appears, singing as always, but much changed in appearance.

His rags are supplemented by

the remnants of tapestried hangings, window-
curtains, and shreds of pictures, (II, p. 329)

and so tragedy and comedy share the same pathetic frame. Scott has caught the weakening pulse of the wasted Highlands.

Chanting that the occupants of Tully-Veolan are 'A' dead and gane - dead and gane,' (II, p. 329), Davie leads Waverley to the concealed Baron. Like Invernahyle, he is hiding in a cave in his own policies, now patrolled by soldiers. He has a sad story to tell. His heir, the male cousin many times removed, has advertised the estate as being for sale.

Old Janet tells Waverley how the Baron (like Invernahyle) was in the habit of sleeping in his own house at night, and how, in returning to hide in the cave (like Invernahyle), he was seen by the soldiers, but was saved by Davie acting as a decoy. She also tells Waverley that Rose is safe. Her message to the Baron is one of hope:

'ye were just as ill aff in the feifteen, and got
the bonnie baronie back, an' a', (II, p. 336)

a shrewd comment on Highland aristocratic endurance.

Saddened by the blackened walls, the Baron still feels that he did his 'duty', and he says:

'houses and families and men have a' stood lang
eneugh when they have stood till they fall with
honour,' (II, pp. 340-41)

and so it seems that Scott understood Highland pride.

Janet now explains the last of the outstanding mysteries to Waverley. The cloaked woman who visited him in the hut was indeed Rose. There are revelations concerning Fergus and Donald Bean, which, as Scott says,

will serve to explain such points of our narrative as, according to the custom of story-tellers, we deemed it fit to leave unexplained, for the purpose of exciting the reader's curiosity.

(II, p. 351)

The message is plain: Waverley has been the victim of circumstances beyond his control, an innocent abroad.

Now resolved to marry Rose, Waverley takes his business to Bailie Macwheeble. He asks if there is any news of Fergus, and is told that he is in captivity in Carlisle Castle, about to pay with his life. The Bailie is sick of rebellion.

'For my part, I never wish to see a kilt in the country again, nor a red coat, nor a gun, for that matter, unless it were to shoot a paitrick:- They're a' tarr'd wi' ae stick.' (II, pp. 357-58)

He wants peace, and Waverley wants Rose. But Waverley is still officially a rebel, and the Baron in hiding. But the plot easily sweeps these small difficulties aside. Via Colonel Talbot letters of protection signed by the Hanoverian monarch arrive for Waverley and the Baron. Like Whiteford in pleading for Invernahyle, Talbot was forced to turn in his commission before His Highness would grant his request.

All that remains to be done now is to arrange the wedding of Edward Waverley and Rose Bradwardine, but there are still certain outstanding matters that cannot wait. Fergus lies in Carlisle Castle, and Waverley must try to save him. But Talbot the hard-

liner puts forward an important principle of British justice in condemning him.

'He came to the field with the fullest light upon the nature of his attempt. He had studied and understood the subject. His father's fate could not intimidate him; the lenity of the laws which had restored him to his father's property and rights could not melt him. That he was brave, generous, and possessed many good qualities, only rendered him the more dangerous; that he was enlightened and accomplished, made his crime the less excusable; that he was an enthusiast in a wrong cause, only made him the more fit to be its martyr. Above all, he had been the means of bringing many hundreds of men into the field, who, without him, would never have broken the peace of the country.'

(II, p. 372)

That is why Fergus the Highlander must pay the penalty, and Waverley the Englishman go scot-free. Scott ends his small sermon on Hanoverian justice with the comment:

Such was the reasoning of those times, held even by brave and humane men towards a vanquished enemy.

(II, p. 373)

Perhaps conscience-stricken, Waverley puts up money to pay for Fergus's defence, as his uncle Sir Everard did in the '15 for the Baron Bradwardine. The Baron was freed, but Fergus is found guilty of 'high treason.' There then occurs one of the greatest and deepest scenes of the novel, simply written, but most moving. It shows how well Scott understood the Highland tradition in terms of clan loyalty and cohesion. Evan Dhu is addressing Fergus's judge.

'I was only ganging to say, my lord,' said Evan, in what he meant to be an insinuating manner, 'that if your excellent honour, and the honourable Court, would let Vich Ian Vohr go free just this once, and let him gae back to France, and no to trouble King George's government again, that ony six o' the very best of his clan will be willing to be justified in his stead; and if you'll just let me gae down to

Glennaquoich, I'd fetch them up to ye mysell,
to head or hang, and you may begin wi' me the
very first man.' (II, p. 376)

Evan Dhu reverses the laughter of the southerners with devastating
logic. If they are laughing

'because a poor man, such as me, thinks my life,
of the life of six of my degree, is worth that
of Vich Ian Vohr, it's like enough they may be
very right; but if they laugh because they think
I would not keep my word, and come back to redeem
him, I can tell them they ken neither the heart of
a Heilandman, nor the honour of a gentleman.'

(II, pp. 376-77)

Thus Evan's conduct reinforces Daiches's reminder:

It is a well-known fact that the titular heroes
of Scott's novels are generally less real than
the minor characters who abound in his works. 35

Fergus and Evan Dhu are led away, and Waverley procures an audience with Flora. She bloomed according to the Jacobite dream, and now that it is become a nightmare, she is withered, accusing herself that

'the strength of mind on which Flora prided herself
has murdered her brother!' (II, p. 381)

She has been her brother's tutor, enforcing the lesson of ambition and obedience. No, no, she does not 'regret his attempt, because it was wrong,' but because it was 'impossible.' Now she must withdraw from life, into

'the convent of the Scottish Benedictine nuns
in Paris,' (II, p. 383)

35. D. Daiches, 'Scott's Achievement as a Novelist,' in Literary Essays (Edinburgh and London, 1966), p. 89.

where her Catholicism will be a consolation for the lost Jacobite cause.

Waverley visits Fergus in prison, and promises to be the 'protector' of his clan. But he cannot be any more. He cannot be another Vich Ian Vohr. The Bodach Glas has been and told Fergus that his time is near. His death-speech to Waverley is:

'This same law of high treason ... is one of the blessings, Edward, with which your free country has accommodated poor old Scotland - her own jurisprudence, as I have heard, was much milder. But I suppose one day or other - when there are no longer any wild Highlanders to benefit by its tender mercies - they will blot it from their records, as levelling them with a nation of cannibals.'

(II, pp. 388-89)

So Scott comments on some of the disadvantages of the 1707 Union, two nations, one law, with the Highlands in the '45 a special case.

Like so many prisoners in the '45, in London and the provinces, Fergus is dragged on a sledge to execution. But will he be disembowelled? We are spared the details, but we do know that his head is exhibited on the 'Scotch gate,' a trophy and a warning. Avrom Fleishman argues that

The death of Fergus Mac-Ivor is a climactic moment in the transition from the old to the new aristocracy, and Waverley's survival is a token that the new ruling class will be a more tractable and realistic one, 36

if less Highland in its origins and outlook. Hart makes the important point that Fergus 'is at once a diagnosis and a commemoration of Jacobitism'³⁷ and 'an essential foil to Edward,' for

36. A Fleishman, The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf (London, 1971), p. 72.

37. Hart, op. cit., p. 24.

their pairing and its plot consequences articulate Scott's analysis of Jacobitism itself, its complex and shifting motivation, its fatal tensions and instabilities, its tragic and comic features. 38

Waverley returns to intact Waverley-Honour, that 'venerable hall' isolated from the ravages of rebellion. His military exploits have made him the toast of the English countryside, even although he was on the wrong side. He goes to be married from a restored Tully-Veolan, with the 'two great stone Bears' back as sentinels on the gateposts. Everything is back in its proper place, by the grace of the new proprietor, Colonel Talbot, apparently. But not only has the estate been physically restored: it is now legally restored to the Baron Bradwardine, through Waverley's money. Happy as this ending is, it is historically unrealistic, despite the Baron's pardon. Presumably Scott wants to show that a benevolent Hanoverian government can forgive and forget those who have friends in high places, or those who would acknowledge the folly of having been 'out.' At least, as in Invernahyle's case, such restoration was the rare exception.

The restored mansion of Tully-Veolan has acquired a striking new heirloom.

It was a large and spirited painting, representing Fergus Mac-Ivor and Waverley in their Highland dress, the scene a wild, rocky, and mountainous pass, down which the clan were descending in the background.

(II, p. 412)

So Highland and English, dead and living pose in a new union, with the clan coming down the pass of history. Waverley will have the

38. Hart, op. cit., p. 25.

best of both worlds because the Baron has at last agreed succession through his daughter, and so Waverley will be the laird of Waverley-Honour, and of Tully-Veolan. As the 'protector' of the late Fergus's clan, he will ensure peace. He will live as the exiled Flora prophesied he would: in domestic bliss, and with a woman (Rose) totally devoted to him.

Scott adds

A Postscript, which should have been a Preface, in which (amongst other matters) he justifies the writing of Waverley because

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.

(II, p. 416)

One of the principal causes of this change was 'the insurrection of 1745,' and so the Highland way of life at this fatal date is well worth recording. But Scott does not want his novel written off as a romance because the scenes are 'imaginary,' and the characters 'fictitious.' He refers to his early association with the Highlands, which means that he was an eager auditor of stirring stories of the '45.

He has remembered these first-hand accounts, and so

the most romantic parts of this narrative are precisely those which have a foundation in fact.

(II, p. 418)

In support of this assertion, he refers to the Invernahyle/Whiteford friendship, and to his account of the battle of Preston and the skirmish at Clifton which have been

taken from the narrative of intelligent eye-witnesses, and corrected from the History of the Rebellion by the late venerable author of Douglas. (II, p. 418)

In portraying the Highlanders in fiction, Scott has tried to be serious and truthful. His concern has been with general characteristics.

It has been my object to describe these persons, not by a caricatured and exaggerated use of the national dialect, but by their habits, manners, and feelings, (II, p. 419)

and his model has been Maria Edgeworth's Irish stories. Yet Scott confesses:

I feel no confidence ... in the manner in which I have executed my purpose, (II, p. 419)

and proceeds to tell the famous story of the first Waverley MS. exhumed from a drawer of fishing tackle.

Scott is anticipating criticism of Waverley, and from Highlanders, most likely. But he had little to fear from the influential reviewers, Lowlanders and Englishmen, mostly. Criticism could not harm his legal career nor halt his social ascendancy, since he had taken the precaution of keeping his name off the title-page. But if the novel was acceptable to the public, the mystery over authorship could only increase sales.

If Maria Edgeworth was Scott's model for Waverley, the Irish authoress was well pleased with the result. Having received a presentation copy 'from the author,' she wrote enthusiastically to James Ballantyne. Her reaction was to be the usual critical one: praise because of the novelty of the theme, plus the assumption that Scott had portrayed the Highlands accurately. She wrote:

The novelty of the Highland world which is discovered

to our view powerfully excites curiosity and interest; but though it is all new to us it does not embarrass or perplex, or strain the attention. We never are harassed by doubts of the probability of any of these modes of life; though we did not know them, we are quite certain they did exist exactly as they are represented. 39

It will be remembered that the much feared Jeffrey had several harsh criticisms to make of The Lady of the Lake. How, then, did he regard Scott's first Highland prose work? Jeffrey reviewed Waverley in the November 1814 issue of the Edinburgh Review, one of the most influential literary journals. Having criticised the obvious haste of composition, revealed through badly written passages, Jeffrey endorses Miss Edgeworth's valuation of the theme. His critical powers limited by his lack of deep knowledge of Highland history, Jeffrey assumes that the novel must be accurate; and a good part of his assumption is based on his strong suspicion that Scott is the author. In other words, this usually severe critic takes far too much on trust.

The secret of this success, we take it, is merely that the author is a person of genius; and that he has, notwithstanding, had virtue enough to be true to nature throughout, and to content himself, even in the marvellous parts of his story, with copying from actual existences, rather than from the phantasms of his own imagination. The charm which this communicates to all works that deal in the representation of human actions and characters, is more readily felt than understood, and operates with unfailing efficacy even upon those who have no acquaintance with the originals from which the picture has been borrowed. (p. 208)

In his review of The Lady of the Lake Jeffrey had called for a

39. The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth, ed. A.J.C. Hare (London, 1894), vol. I, pp. 226-31.

'true Celtic story,' and suggested that Scott take his theme from the contemporary Highlands. Jeffrey is obviously well pleased with Scott's choice of the '45 period in Waverley, even although it is sixty years since. He finds:

one great source of the interest which the volumes before us undoubtedly possess, is to be sought in the surprise that is excited by discovering, that in our own country, and almost in our own age, manners and characters existed, and were conspicuous, which we had been accustomed to consider as belonging to remote antiquity, or extravagant romance.

(p. 209)

All the contemporary reviewers were to agree with Jeffrey's verdict: the '45 period was well chosen, and Waverley was a work of genius. The reviewers were more interested in the Highlands, their inhabitants and traditions than in Edward Waverley, the principal character. For instance, the unsigned review in the British Critic for August 1814 contained the brief note:

Of Waverley himself we shall say but little, as his character is far too common to need a comment; we can only say that his wanderings are not gratuitous, nor is he wavering and indecisive only because the author chooses to make him so. Every feature of his character is formed by education, and it is to this first source that we are constantly referred for a just and sufficient cause of all the wandering passions as they arise in his mind. (p. 205)

The Highland characters claimed the reviewers' attention and attracted their praise. Jeffrey admired

the coarse unreflecting hardihood and heroism of Evan Maccombich, - and the pride, gallantry, elegance and ambition of Fergus himself. (p. 210)

But on the other hand he finds the Baron Bradwardine unconvincing. He has more peculiarities 'than can be decently accumulated in one character' (p. 211). There are other criticisms, relating to the

story's construction in terms of location and time-scale. Jeffrey finds the story 'not very skilfully adjusted.' I have repeatedly made the same criticism, and I also agree with Jeffrey that

The worst part of the book by far is that portion of the first volume which contains the history of the hero's residence in England - and next to it is the laborious, tardy, and obscure explanation of some puzzling occurrences in the story, which the reader would, in general, be much better pleased to be permitted to forget - and which are neither well explained after all, nor at all worth explaining. (p. 242)

I have already given a critical summary of the first volume, in which I complained about the characters of Waverley and Flora. Despite the somewhat tedious introductory chapters set in England, I find the first volume superior to the second. But, in terms of the pace and interest of the story, Scott thought differently. Writing to Morritt on 28 July 1814, he confided:

As to Waverley I will play Sir Fretful for once and assure you that I left the story to flag in the 1st volume on purpose - the second and third have rather more bustle and interest. I wished (with what success heaven knows) to avoid the ordinary error of novel-writers whose first volume is usually their best. But since it has served to amuse Mrs. Morritt and you usque ab initio I have no doubt you will tolerate it even unto the end. It may really boast to be a tolerably faithful portrait of Scottish manners and has been recognised as such in Edinburgh. 40

In terms of the exposition of Highland culture which, as Jeffrey shows, seems to have been Scott's principal purpose in writing Waverley, I find the first half of the novel more satisfying, because in the second half, despite such great scenes as Evan Dhu offering his life for Fergus's, and Waverley's return to ransacked

40. Grierson, Letters, vol. III, pp. 477-78.

Tully-Veolan, the plot is clotted and confused. Besides, most of the action in the second half takes place in the Lowlands and in England, with the Highlanders on alien soil, and therefore losing some of their interest and authority. Instead of individuals, they become an army on the move, and an army in retreat.

But what of Waverley's status and success as the principal character? Scott contemptuously dismissed the moral worth of his hero in the letter to Morritt. Waverley

is a sneaking piece of imbecility and if he had married Flora she would have set him up upon the chimney-piece as Count Boralski's wife used to do with him.

This suggests that Waverley, the young English aristocrat is sent into the Highlands to show the Highlanders' strength, purpose and solidarity in relation to his insipid and vacillating nature, and, of course, the natives cannot but benefit from such a comparison. If this was Scott's intention, it is a clever and effective device. But then, Waverley is not kept in this state of negativity. However slowly and unconvincingly, his 'sneaking imbecility' is forced to shift in the face of danger and decision. Through his active participation in the Jacobite cause, he seems to become a deeper, more mature person, even although his commitment comes through an emotional reaction to slighted honour, and not through political conviction. Despite his harsh repudiation of his hero, there seems no doubt that Scott wants the reader to respect him as the story evolves. This point is made by Donald Davie in relation to our respect for Fergus.

As Waverley is gradually disillusioned with MacIvor, so we find more to esteem in Waverley. And, even more effectively, the development of our attitude towards him reflects the course of the whole rebellion

which is fomented, breaks out, and is quelled as the book draws on. In the first weeks of the insurrection, all our sympathies are with the intrepid Fergus, and Waverley seems only his inconstant shadow; on the march to Derby, as the Jacobite impetus gradually falls away, we esteem Waverley more and Fergus less. For, from the standpoint of 1745, Waverley represents the future and Fergus the past. 41

The argument, therefore, is that as Waverley ascends towards respect and conviction, he shows up the failings of some of the Highland Jacobites, most notably Fergus. We are not to treat Waverley superficially, as a Highland tourist and thereafter a raw recruit (and with reluctance) in a rebel army. This is Cockshut's argument in explaining Waverley's absence from the closing stages of the Jacobite campaign. To Cockshut, Scott

wished to show us the inherent collapse of the old Highland values, and not to derive the false impression that a mere military defeat was the cause. 42

Daiches argues that the novel is about

emotion against reason, the past against the present, the claims of a dying heroic world against the colder but ultimately more convincing claims of modern urban civilization. 43

If these critical estimations are correct, then Waverley is in the Highlands to witness the destruction of the old order through a rash commitment to the Jacobite cause. But there is an important qualification. David Craig believes that the '45 is dramatically portrayed to show the passing of something that would have passed in

41. D. Davie, The Heyday of Sir Walter Scott, (London, 1961), p. 30.

42. A.O.J. Cockshut, The Achievement of Walter Scott, (London, 1969), p. 115.

43. Daiches, 'Scott's Achievement ...', p. 97.

any case.⁴⁴ This is the point made by Flora when she says of Fergus's contribution to rebellion:

'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.'

Scott's thesis is that the '45 was futile from the beginning. It could not succeed, and it could not save. But there is no basis in history for this assumption. The turning-point was the retreat at Derby, and, as we now know, London would have fallen easily to the Jacobites.

Waverley's function is to penetrate the Highlands and the Jacobite ranks, to give us insight into the inevitable destruction of the old order. This is Scott's aim, and it is inevitable because of the natures of the characters involved, since the Jacobite army was a splinter force composed of individuals with strong opinions and ambitions. Fergus is portrayed as being dedicated to his own advancement, despite his stated respect for his Highland tradition. He wants to put Prince Charles on the throne, not because he hates the Hanoverians, but because he wants increased social status and attendant power. His motive is therefore greed. In contrast, his sister Flora seems to be a totally dedicated Jacobite, with no personal ambitions, but then, her allegiance is clouded by her equation of Jacobitism with Catholicism. Her commitment is almost a religious one, to be achieved through military means. Yet, despite his pride and ambition, Fergus dies with dignity, and Flora decides to dedicate her life to Catholicism. Neither of them will repent.

44. D. Craig, Scottish Literature and the Scottish People, (London, 1961), p. 152.

Fergus pays with his life, and Flora with her freedom, but the Baron Bradwardine survives. Jeffrey found his personality too eccentric to be acceptable, but I cannot agree with his judgement. The Highlands with their addiction to tradition and ritual were a natural breeding ground for such aristocrats, as Glengarry, Scott's bizarre friend, testifies, and even as late as the early nineteenth century. The point is that both Sir Everard and the Baron (twins, in many respects) enjoy the aristocratic freedom to act as they please in their respective countries, just as Fergus acts (and more often illegally) as he pleases. Scott is showing the despotism of thought and deed the Highland aristocrats of that time took to be their right.

The Baron's survival is the most unconvincing part of his biography, and it calls into question the strength of his commitment to the Jacobite cause. A fugitive, he does not attempt to flee to the continent. Instead, he hides on his estate until an Englishman and an enemy, Colonel Talbot, secures his pardon from the Hanoverian monarch. In a sense, therefore, he betrays the cause he has come 'out' for. He actually gains from the rebellion. His house is as it was, or as near as possible, and he has discovered the callousness of his heir, Inchgrabbit. His daughter Rose now succeeds him, and besides, he has a son-in-law, a young English squire. Thus Scott marries England and Scotland to the reader's satisfaction.

The Baron's endurance, and his daughter's alliance with an English landowner call into question the critical assumption that Scott is portraying the inevitable end of the old Highland order. There are changes, certainly, since Tully-Veolan will eventually have an English laird, but clearly all has not been lost.

Significantly, the losers are the extremists, Fergus, Flora and Evan Dhu, and they must go to the scaffold or into permanent exile because they will not conform to the adapted order. Scott therefore is taking a middle way, a point to be discussed in the closing section of this study.

I have said earlier that the positioning of Tully-Veolan is important. Cockshut claims that it is

not the Highlands at all, but the edge of the Lowlands exposed to the depredations of Highland cattle-raiders. 45

I prefer to think of Tully-Veolan as being on the border between the Highlands and Lowlands, forming the point of entry, and the point of departure. It stands symbolically between divided regions, between past and present. In some respects the two cultures of Highlands and Lowlands merge there. Excessive drinking and an addiction to the glorious past coexist with some learning and some cultivation.

Finally, there is a crucial question arising out of Scott's decision to end his portrayal of the '45 at Clifton. Robert C. Gordon takes the usual critical line in arguing that 'Scott, with an admirable sense of the relevant, barely mentions Culloden,'⁴⁶ even although Jacobite dreams of restoration were finally and brutally smashed at Culloden and in its aftermath. Waverley is separated from the campaign at Clifton, before its horrifying climax, presumably because his function as a military observer is now finished. He has no place at Culloden, because he lacks that deep and total

45. Cockshut, op. cit., p. 110.

46. Gordon, op. cit., p. 22.

commitment to Jacobitism for which Fergus must forfeit his head, and Flora (his love for a little while), go into a convent. Waverley's destiny is to miss Culloden, and instead go south to arrange his own pardon and that of the Baron, his future father-in-law.

I do not think that these are good and sufficient reasons for Waverley missing Culloden. His presence there should not have affected his fate. After all, the Baron fought at Culloden and was pardoned, and he was a Highland chieftain. Why no Culloden, therefore? It is possible that Scott stopped the campaign at Clifton because he was too ill at ease or embarrassed to portray Culloden. Up to Clifton he is more or less faithful to historical fact, and to go on from there to Culloden and continue his commitment to fact would have meant the frank portrayal of brutality by the Hanoverians, even with victory assured. It was the most important battle of the Jacobite campaign, and the most tragic. To show how Cumberland's order of no quarter was carried out was to show the real beginning of the end for the Highlands, since after Culloden came occupation and severe legislation which broke the power of such chieftains as the eccentric Baron and proud Fergus. To show this would be offensive to Hanoverian prejudices which Scott himself to some extent shared. These prejudices were perhaps at their strongest, or Scott's self confidence at its weakest in 1814, when the socially and materially ambitious lawyer published his first novel anonymously. Thereafter wealth and high social position were speedily gained through the pen, and lost in 1826 by his pen's liking for promissory notes. From that date until his death in 1832 realism replaced caution, since he had massive debts to discharge, and a deep sense of honour. Time was money, and money was writing. Probably that was why he

could truthfully portray Cumberland's callousness and Hanoverian atrocities in the '45 in his popular Tales of a Grandfather, in the late eighteen twenties. But then, as a historian he had a prime commitment to fact. As a novelist he could allow himself licence and caution, not by falsification, but by omission. Hence Culloden is avoided in Waverley.

Scott well knew that in choosing to write a novel about the '45 he had chosen a sensitive subject. He was warned about the dangers by a young woman. Writing from Torloisk on 27 June 1813, Miss Maclean Clephane, his Mull friend, asked:

What do you mean to call him [the Prince] in your book.

This willing young woman who had supplied Scott with material for The Lady of the Lake

will be not a little proud to find gaelic songs for the work, & translate them with all my heart.

With wisdom and vision beyond her years she anticipates the 'divided allegiance' within Scott's personality. She warns:

There is something or other which one is at a loss to call loyalty or rebellion which tingles to one's very fingers ends, when one enters at all upon the subject of that gallant and unfortunate house /the Stuarts/, and which surely ought to lead a person to regard it as a delicate subject. 47

The most 'delicate' way for Scott to treat the subject was to avoid Culloden, and hence to fail to show the full implications of the '45. Like Waverley after Clifton, Scott's mind turned away, or was re-routed by convention.

47. Walpole, MS 2884, ff. 172.

