The Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club

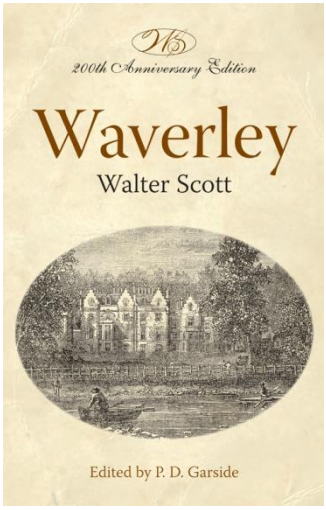
A Colloquium on Waverley

Transcript of the Colloquium given on Sunday 3rd August 2014 by ***Professor Claire Lamont*** *and* ***Professor Peter Garside*** *to members of The Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club in Abbotsford.*

The 2014 annual colloquium was devoted to Scott's novel Waverley *(1814), marking the bicentenary of its first publication while also serving as the Club's annual commemoration of the author's birthday. Both speakers have been involved in new editions of this key work, which is often credited with initiating a new species of historical novel. Claire Lamont is the editor of the World's Classics edition of the novel, itself based on her ground-breaking Clarendon Press edition of 1981, which monumentally turned to the first edition rather than Magnum Opus version of 1829 as its base text. Peter Garside is editor of the Penguin Classic edition, founded on the volume originally published as part of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels in 2007, the text of which in turn has recently been reissued as a 200th Anniversary Edition by Edinburgh University Press. Claire Lamont, an ex-President of the Club, is Emeritus Professor of English Literature at Newcastle University. Peter Garside, until recently the Club's Secretary, is presently an Honorary Professorial Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. The discussion, which reached an animated conclusion, was expertly chaired by Alasdair Hutton. Below we are pleased to provide texts of the contributions of the two main speakers.*

Peter Garside's Text

On first publication (in Edinburgh on 7 July 1814, then in London 30 July) *Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since* proved an unexpected and then runaway success, the first edition of 1000 soon being exhausted, and a second of 2000 ready for sale by 10 August. Henry Cockburn in *Memorials of His Time* (1856) recalled the 'instant and universal impression' created in Edinburgh: 'the unexpected newness of the thing, the profusion of original characters, the Scotch language, Scotch scenery, Scotch men and women … all struck us with an electric shock of delight'. The reputation of the novel then stood at a low ebb, and one published from Scotland and dealing with Scottish history and 'manners' was virtually unheard of. Though published of course anonymously, rumours of Scott's authorship were soon circulating, one early instance being Mrs Anne Grant of Laggan: 'I hope you have read, or will read, Waverley. I am satisfied from internal evidence that it is Walter Scott, and no other'. Edinburgh bluestockings who concurred include Elizabeth Hamilton and Mary Brunton, themselves both novelists, and each no doubt somewhat concerned about this weighty male intrusion into what had previously been a predominantly female domain. Jane Austen, who had heard the news by September, openly acknowledged the threat (tongue only partly in cheek): 'Walter Scott has no business to write novels, especially good ones.—It is not fair.' Even so uncertainty remained, compounded by Scott's Preface to the Third Edition (published in October), which suggests all sorts of possible profiles for the unknown author (some shadowing, though never touching too closely his own circumstances)—this adding a special kind of frisson to the situation which was sustained until the early 1820s after which his authorship became a kind of unspoken public knowledge (Scott's official outing of course came in 1827 after the bankruptcy had made anonymity no longer tenable).



The history of Scott's lionisation as the author of the Waverley Novels, starting with the Magnum Opus collected edition (1829-33), is relatively well-known. In fact, one might find a symptom of this in the cover illustration of the new Anniversary edition based on the Edinburgh Edition text, which shows

Abbotsford as it was in the 1880s (including the Hope-Scott additional wing), and not the Abbotsford Scott knew, even less so the original small farmhouse where he lodged in 1814 with his family (one letter likened it to being quartered on a ship) having moved to his newly-purchased estate at Whitsuntide 1812. Just as one needs here to cut back to the original Abbotsford (aka Clarty Hole), so with *Waverley* it is useful to remove some of the paraphernalia that has attached itself to the novel since its original anonymous publication. For the rest of my part in today's proceedings I want to look at the earlier sections of the narrative, up to Waverley's stay with the Fergus and Flora Mac-Ivor and their Clan in the Highlands, conjecturing when these might have been written, and commenting on how an awareness of this might affect our reading of the novel.

The seemingly unimpeded progress of *Waverley* after its publication is hardly matched by an uneven composition history. Traditional accounts describe it as having been written in two stages, in 1805 and then 1813-14, the first much smaller phase equating with the early 'English' chapters describing Edward Waverley's upbringing in the somnambulant quasi-Jacobite ambience of Waverley-Honour. Unassailable evidence for this might seem to lie in the first chapter of the novel itself: 'By fixing then the date of my story Sixty Years before this present 1st November, 1805 …'[i] Scott then in his 'General Introduction' to the Magnum Opus edition appeared to add flesh to this by describing how 'about the year 1805, I threw together about one-third part of the first volume of Waverley', proceeding as far as the seventh chapter, but then dropping the project as a result of the adverse opinion of a 'critical friend', not wishing also to compromise his reputation as a poet. He then gives us the now legendary story of accidentally rediscovering the manuscript in a writing desk stored away in a lumber garret after his removal to Abbotsford, when in pursuit of fishing-tackle for a guest—this leading to its rapid completion and publication. Scott's larger account here, however, is riddled with inconsistencies; and more especially there is hardly any supporting evidence, both biographical or in terms of literary context, for a commencement in 1805. It's here that an awareness of the original anonymity, and more broadly the conventions of novel-writing at the time, come to our rescue. For it is the *narrator*, not Scott, who positions himself temporally on 1 November 1805, in the process making feasible the subtitle 'Tis Sixty Years Since', which otherwise in 1814 would not have made sense. The choice of date also has a special historical vibrancy, since it was on 1 November 1745 that Charles Edward Stuart set out from Edinburgh to join his small Jacobite army at the onset of their ill-fated campaign into England. David Purdie has also pointed out to me another possible resonance, more to do with Scott's own time, since it was in late Autumn 1805 that the news of Nelson's victory at Trafalgar (21 October) first reached Edinburgh, signalling an end to invasion fears and offering a glimmer of hope for outright victory by a united Britain. By the time of the novel's Postscript, that glimmer had become a reality, after the allies closed in on Napoleon: a factor which helps explain the different tone there as a noticeably more confident narrator rapidly telescopes events up to a near-immediate present.

When then *was* the novel started? My own view of the situation is that this occurred sometime in 1808, when Scott probably drafted the first four chapters on a trial basis. A number of circumstances are at work here, but I would like to highlight three main factors:

1) Early that year he had published *Marmion*, his second long poem, feeling a mixture of exultation and exhaustion at its completion. This had been met by a particularly sharp critique by Francis Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1808, in which Jeffrey had picked out Scott's concentration on antiquarian minutiae as a main target. Scott's statement of his main priority in the first chapter of *Waverley* (in 'throwing the force of my narrative upon the characters and passions of the actors;—those passions common to men in all stages of society' (5)) reads very much like a riposte to this—even if in the sizeable qualification which follows (beginning 'Upon these passions it is no doubt true that the state of manners and laws casts a necessary colouring' (5)) one might sense Scott's true interest lies as much in cultural difference as in universal human attributes. (In fact, what is spelled out is one of the main tenets of Scottish 'philosophical history', to which both Scott and Jeffrey were equally indebted.)

2) Scott's survey of available subgenres of fiction at the start of the first chapter, mockingly speculating possible indicative sub-titles for his own novel, largely reflects the situation of the novel in 1808, a bumper year in the production of new titles. Ever the opportunist, Scott would have seen a form growing in popularity while at the same crying out for restoration of its literary status. Furthermore, later in 1808 Scott was actively involved with the publisher John Murray in planning a collected set of English fiction, including not only classic novelists such as Henry Fielding, but more recent works such as Charlotte Smith's *The Old Manor House* (1793; and the presence of which I would suggest can be sensed especially in these early chapters). To help get Scott up to speed, Murray had suggested that he look at the lists of new novels in the reviews, and (at Scott's request) sent recent catalogues of Hookham's and Lane's circulating libraries in London. While the mainstay of Scott's knowledge of the novel was his youthful reading from James Sibbald's circulating library in Edinburgh during the later 1780s, it easy to underestimate his awareness of the more immediate scene, which connects with this novel in a number of interesting ways (the representation of Flora Mac-Ivor, later in the narrative, both reflects and subverts Lady Morgan's Glorvina in her *Wild Irish Girl* (1806)).

3) There is a clear correlation between these early chapters and Scott's 'Ashestiel' *Memoirs*, a fragmentary autobiography now probably best known as forming the first chapter of J. G. Lockhart's classic *Life of Scott*, and which at its head is dated '26th April 1808'. An equivalence between the account there of Scott's uneven education and that of the young Edward Waverley (especially in Chapter 3) is clearly apparent, and if the novel's inception is also placed in 1808 then it becomes possible to think of Scott writing the two exercises in tandem (evidence that Scott returned to the *Memoirs* in 1810-11 even reinforces the point, as will become apparent). As in the *Memoirs* a relatively mature narrative voice describes Waverley's 'desultory habit of reading'(14) and false identification of accounts of past heroism with reality: 'collections of memoirs, scarcely more faithful than romances, and of romances so well written as hardly to be distinguished from memoirs' (15). In particular he's enticed by the 'heart-stirring and eye-dazzling descriptions of war and of tournaments' (15) in Froissart. Many readers nevertheless have found these chapters hard-going, though Scott later in the Magnum insisted that they formed an integral part of the whole: 'there are circumstances recorded in them which the author has not been able to persuade himself to retract or cancel' As a whole they offer an insight into the way that Waverley later misinterprets events in Scotland, what he encounters there originating not from books or family legend but instead representing harsh social and political realities. One last (hopefully not too self-serving) digression before leaving this part of the novel concerns the new distinction made in the Edinburgh Edition (following the lead of the manuscript) between 'Waverley Hall' and 'Waverley-Honour', whereas all previous printed editions mention only Waverley-Honour. This uniformity presumably came as a result of his printer James Ballantyne's practice of making proper names consistent, often to good effect, though in this instance it resulted in the imposition of a name which refers only to the manor at Waverley (and not the house specifically as such). This newly-restored distinction helps bring into early view a preoccupation with ancestral houses and their estates which runs through the whole novel.

What happened next? The first clear sign of the existence of *Waverley* is a letter from James Ballantyne dated 15 September 1810, responding to an unspecified small portion sent for his opinion, which internal evidence suggests almost certainly constituted the first four chapters. This came in the wake of the runaway success of Scott's Highland poem *The Lady of the Lake*, published in May that year, after which in the Summer Scott had rewarded himself with an excursion to the Western Isles, taking in Mull, Ulva, and Staffa. Ballantyne's response to the *Waverley* sample is somewhat muted—amidst some praise he finds the account of Waverley's education 'unnecessarily minute' and lacking the connectivity found in *Don Quixote*—though his final advice is for Scott to continue: 'Should you go on? My opinion is—clearly, *certainly*.' The beginning of Chapter 5 ('Choice of Profession') reads much like an immediate riposte to Ballantyne: 'From the minuteness with which I have traced Waverley's pursuits … the reader may perhaps

anticipate, in the following tale, an imitation of the romance of Cervantes. But he will do my prudence injustice in the supposition (20)'. It is at this point too that the first batch of surviving manuscript begins, written on quarto-sized paper similar to that found in the later parts of the Ashestiel *Memoirs*, and carrying the narrative on to Chapter 12, with Waverley still a guest of the Baron of Bradwardine at Tully-Veolan, at the extreme northern edge of the Scottish Lowlands. Other signs of a renewed interest in the novel at this point include a letter of Scott's of 29 September to William Erskine, his main literary adviser, inviting him to Ashestiel: 'I want to consult you about Waverley and a thousand things'; and advertisements in1810-11 by both John Ballanytne and Longmans in London, the prospective dual publishers of the work, announcing its imminent arrival in three volumes. Most telling of all perhaps here though is a close connection between the *Lady of the Lake*, especially its extensive notes and the sources cited there, and the parts of the novel describing Waverley's stay with the Mac-Ivors in the Highlands, taking us up to just beyond the first volume. Alternatively these parts might have been first drafted when Scott returned to the novel during the Christmas vacation at Abbotsford—Lockhart mentions his having put together 'the greater part of the first volume' by its close—but whatever the case these parts of the work strike me as distinct, representing another step to Scott's construction of a new kind of historical novel.

Certainly the hero's move to Scotland (as a Hanoverian officer, and accomplished with amazing speed via Chapter 7) brings with it an entirely new feel to the narrative. Whereas the early chapters were static, those that follow are sometimes almost frantically mobile, with Waverley as (an often naïve) observer taking on some attributes of the 'picturesque' tourist. Yet it is not just a geographical process: Waverley finds himself in a kind of historical time chute, a sort of Doctor Who in this respect, confronting in reverse order the different 'stages' of society posited by the Scottish 'philosophical historians', but in concrete rather than theoretical terms. Because of Scotland's relative economic backwardness, and the further cultural barrier presented by the Highland line, he's able to go to a 'real' feudal society, then further back to a tribal or 'patriarchal' community. It comes as a considerable jolt compared with his reading to see these operating in graphic terms (the dirt, deprivation, and cruelty, as well as devotion and heroism), and a series of bathetic effects occur along the way (local washerwomen not behaving as Spenserian damsels, and so on).

It's worth considering how astute a sociologist Scott is in representing the different 'stages' involved. Firstly, at Tully-Veolan we see a 'feudal' society, Jacobite in sympathies and neglected by the powers-that-be. Initially Waverley goes through the dilapidated village, with all the marks of deprivation and its debilitating effects (the narrator here sounding uncannily like Adam Smith).The Baron of Bradwardine's estate in turn, as represented by the house and its walled gardens, supplies a topographical equivalent for the highly-structured and now moribund state of his hereditary rule. The Baron's 'boot fetishism', his obsession with restoring his feudal duty of removing the king's boots, is both comic and at the same time indicative of lasting loyalty and of a society held together by customary bonds. The account of his reading connects him with a different cultural tradition, classical and inherently Scottish in character, against which Waverley's importation of more fashionable material to impress Rose Bradwardine, ('the best English poets … and other works on belles lettres' (70)) looks trifling in comparison. Other local figures are in a more lapsed state—with bouts of drunkenness and outbreaks of violence—and there are hints of emergent elements in Macwheeble, the Baron's man-of-business, and the equally splendidly-named Killancureit (these representing law and commerce respectively).

Lastly, crossing the Highland line, Waverley is escorted to meet the Mac-Ivors at Glennaquoich. Still very much the tourist, his expectations are frequently disrupted as he proceeds (the robber Donald Bean Lean for example proving the 'very reverse' (86) of the anticipated Salvator Rosa banditti-like figure of Gothic romance). Fergus Mac-Ivor, the clan chief, is the object of total tribal devotion. His solitary tower (built by an ancestor) topographically symbolises absolute rule. An essentially different power structure to that in the Lowlands likewise finds an objective correlative in the Highland feast: the 'long perspective' (103) passing down from Fergus at the head, to the foot of the table and beyond, into the open air where the lowest clan members ('women, ragged boys and girls, beggars (103)) intermingle (as if merging) with the

dogs. But the specificities prove to be more complex than this. Fergus and his sister Flora turn out to be cultural hybrids, both educated in France (the refuge of the Jacobite court since the exile of James II and VII in 1688). Fergus is seen very much playing a role, conscious of the effectiveness of the clan as a war machine. Flora embodies a more 'sentimental' Jacobitism, alluring but contrived, a kind of drawing-room culture grafted onto the wild Highland landscape. An outstanding illustration of Scott's increasingly sophisticated handling of such ambivalences is found in the scene in Flora's glen, where the setting and her (mis)translation of a bardic song are clearly orchestrated so as to entice Waverley into the Jacobite cause—offering a picture that is as deceptive as it is enticing, yet at the same time capable of inspiring forms of human generosity which transcend cultural difference:

> Here, like one of those lovely forms which decorate the landscapes of Claude [i.e. Loraine], Waverley found Flora gazing on the water-fall. … The sun, now stooping in the west, gave a rich and varied tinge to all the objects which surrounded Waverley, and seemed to add more than human brilliancy to the full expressive darkness of Flora's eye … Edward thought he had never, even in his wildest dreams, imagined a figure of such exquisite and interesting loveliness. (114)

Claire Lamont's Text

There are two ways of looking at *Waverley*. First, the novel is about a young Englishman, Edward Waverley, who is born into a well-to-do family which has long supported the Jacobite cause. His father, a second son, has seen no future in Jacobitism and has sought political advancement in the Hanoverian government. Young Edward has been brought up by his Jacobite uncle, with a comfortable but lonely childhood. The novel tells the story of this young man as he travels north into the Highlands of Scotland.

The other way of looking at *Waverley* is as an historical novel—a novel set at a recognisable historical period. *Waverley* is set in the years 1744-46. The thing to remember about these dates is that 1745 is the date of the last major Jacobite rising with the aim of putting the Stuart claimant, James Francis Edward (the Old Pretender), the Catholic son of James II and VII, on the throne of Britain, in place of the Protestant Hanoverian King George II. Most readers would say that the novel tells both stories. It starts with the young Edward Waverley dreamily wondering what life will offer him. The dream is interrupted by his father arranging for him to join the Hanoverian army and his setting forth to Scotland to join his regiment. In due course he is a guest of Fergus Mac-Ivor, Chieftain of the clan Mac-Ivor at the very time when the son of the Old Pretender, Prince Charles Edward Stuart (Bonny Prince Charlie) arrived in Scotland. From that moment on the story of young Edward Waverley and the story of the '45 merge.

The description of the Highland clan through the eyes of its visitor is the most popular part of *Waverley*. My students used to say that from that moment they enjoyed the novel. The poet Wordsworth, a friend of Scott, remarked 'Infinitely the best part of *Waverley* is the pictures of Highland manners at Mac Ivor's castle, and the delineation of his character, which are done with great spirit.' Waverley is at Glennaquoich, the home of Fergus Mac-Ivor when the news comes that Prince Charles had landed at Moidart and made his way with his supporters to Edinburgh (207). The year was 1745.

The Baron of Bradwardine, whom Waverley had met in Perthshire, had been sensitive in not commenting on his visitor's political allegiance. The Mac-Ivors are less so. Fergus Mac-Ivor is keen that Waverley should renounce his Hanoverian allegiance and join the Jacobites. Waverley does so for a mixture of reasons: the old allegiance of his family; the receipt of a letter of reproof from his commanding officer; and the attractions of Fergus's sister, Flora, who is a committed Jacobite. After a series of accidents and difficulties Waverley finds himself in the palace of Holy-Rood (204) where the Prince has taken residence in the manner of his ancestors. There he finds himself unexpectedly welcome, as the Prince is pleased to meet a young Englishman from a loyal Jacobite family. For a Prince to invite him to his cause 'answered his ideas of a hero of romance' (206), and 'Waverley, kneeling to Charles Edward, devoted his heart and sword to the vindication of his rights' (206).

It is typical of Scott that if he is going to describe a Prince he should also give us the ordinary people of Scotland. Waverley had encountered the political divisions among the lower classes in the fictitious village of Cairnvreckan with its puritanical inn-keeper and its passionate blacksmith who is already refurbishing old weapons. A matrimonial squabble between the blacksmith and his wife is exacerbated by her Jacobitism—taunting her Whig husband with the virility of the Jacobites (160-62). There is nothing romantic about Cairnvreckan—a contrast with Waverley who envisages himself as 'a hero of romance'. This introduces another duality in the novel, that between the romantic and the realistic. The romantic concerns itself with lofty emotions like love, heroic renunciation, honour and loyalty; the realistic tends to take an astringent attitude to such ideals. The romantic and the realistic come together in a novel when a character seeks to impose his mental ideals on to the real world, as happens in *Waverley*. The Highlands of Scotland were an accepted source of the romantic, offering grandeur of scenery, remoteness, and an alien and ancient culture. This is a seductive package for a susceptible young man. As Peter Garside has already suggested, a particularly romantic scene is when Flora Mac-Ivor sings a Gaelic song to the accompaniment of a harp, against the background of a waterfall. 'the wild feeling of romantic delight, with which [Waverley] heard the first few notes she drew from her instrument, amounted almost to a sense of pain.' (115) His subsequent rejection by Flora causes him, like a knight of old, to throw himself into battle to prove his worth to the hard-hearted lady.

The battle concerned is that of Prestonpans fought in September 1745—the first major battle of the rising, which the Jacobites won. For Waverley, however, there was more realism than romance. He saw his former commander, Colonel Gardiner, 'brought from his horse by the blow of a scythe, and beheld him receive, while on the ground, more wounds than would have let out twenty lives' (241).

The victory over a Hanoverian army at Prestonpans was a triumph for the Jacobites which was celebrated by a ball at the palace of Holy-Rood. Against a background of rejoicing the Prince, his advisors, and the clan chiefs turned their minds to what they should do next. It was agreed that the Jacobite army should march into England with the intention of reaching London as the first stage towards replacing the Hanoverian monarch. The next decision was which route the army should take—the two routes south from Edinburgh were either by the east or the west of the country. When it was thought that Hanoverian forces sent north by the London government were taking the east route, the Jacobites chose the west route. Scott describes the march through country unfamiliar to the Highlanders. The clan chiefs were jealous of Prince Charles's French advisers. It was noticed that the army was not welcomed in the places they passed through and did not attract additional forces. As the long march went on those in command became quarrelsome, and in the end the objective of reaching London was abandoned, and the Jacobite army turned back when it had reached Derby. They marched back north, confronted by government forces at Clifton near Penrith. In the skirmish that followed Fergus Mac-Ivor was taken prisoner. In the dark and the confusion Waverley got separated from the Jacobite army and was given shelter by a Cumbrian farmer. It was after 'many a winter walk by the shores of Ulswater … that he felt himself entitled to say firmly, though perhaps with a sigh, that the romance of his life was ended, and that its real history had now commenced' (301).

Fergus Mac-Ivor had been imprisoned in Carlisle Castle prior to being brought to court for trial accused of High Treason. The penalty for such was the revolting procedure of hanging, drawing and quartering. When Waverley entered the court the verdict of GUILTY had already been pronounced on Fergus and on his loyal clansman, Evan Dhu. The judge was asking the two if they had anything to say in their defence. Fergus refused to do so, explaining to the Judge 'for my defence would be your condemnation. Proceed, then, in the name of God, to do what is permitted to you' (341).

It was now the turn of Evan Dhu who:

> rising up, seemed anxious to speak, but the confusion of the court, and the perplexity arising from thinking in a language different from that in which he was to express himself, kept him silent. There was a murmur of compassion among the spectators, from the idea that the poor fellow intended to plead the influence of his superior as an excuse for his crime.The judge commanded silence, and encouraged Evan to proceed.

> "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 [i.e. put to death] in his stead; and if you'll just let me gae down to Glennaquoich, I'll fetch them up to ye mysell, to head or hang, and you may begin wi' me the very first man" (341-42).

Some people in the court laughed. The judge, however, attempts to explain Evan's proposal: "For you, poor ignorant man … who, following the ideas in which you have been educated, have this day given us a striking example how the loyalty due to the king and state alone, is from your unhappy ideas of clanship, transferred to some ambitious individual, who ends by making you the tool of his crimes—for you, I say, I feel so much compassion, that if you can make up your mind to petition for grace, I will endeavour to procure it for you" (342). Evan will do no such thing, as it turns out because he is foster-brother to Fergus and must 'attend his foster-brother in death' (347). We are now in a Hanoverian court, Carlisle being in England, and we see the hostility even a moderately compassionate judge had against clanship.

Once Waverley is separated from the Jacobite army we do not hear directly of its fate. It was a bitter one. The army retreated further and further north pursued by a Hanoverian army. It won a defensive battle at Falkirk; and then was crushingly defeated at Culloden, near Inverness. The battle of Culloden, the last battle on British soil, was fought on 16 April 1746. It was a defeat from which Jacobitism as a political force never recovered. But the significance of the battle for the Highlands of Scotland was not just that it was a defeat; it was a defeat after which the victor took particularly savage vengeance against its opponents. The fright that the '45 had given to the government in London caused it to follow Culloden with a series of measures designed to destroy the culture from which such unruly forces had erupted. Much of this took the form of legislation which did not happen immediately. The novel does not describe the battle; but gives many accounts of the damage and suffering arising from it: 'Broken carriages, dead horses, unroofed cottages, trees felled for palisades, and bridges destroyed … all indicated the movements of hostile armies' (315). An Edinburgh landlady met a Highlander with one of his arms cut off and a wound in his head begging for something to eat (314).

The Baron of Bradwardine's house, Tully-Veolan, was destroyed: 'The place had been sacked by the King's troops, who, in wanton mischief, had even attempted to burn it' (316). We ask with trepidation what has happened to Glennaquoich. We never find out as the narrative doesn't take us back there, and Fergus is concerned about his clansmen, not his house. We can only remember the Highland house in which so many had lived, joined in communal meals, and shared music and song.

The most interesting, and controversial, aspect of *Waverley* is how it ends. The conclusion of the romance theme promises happiness in future. Once his appetite for the heroic is assuaged the hero finds himself to be an ordinary man of domestic inclination who finds his happiness with Rose Bradwardine. The ending of the novel is full of episodes implying closure: the marriage of Edward and Rose; the repair of Tully-Veolan with English money; the re-clothing of the poor retainer, Davie Gellatley, who had been left destitute during the fighting. The old paintings in the house used by the invading soldiers for target practice, are replaced by this:

> 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 back-ground (361).

Waverley's arms, given him by Prince Charles, are hung besides the painting. The fact that the soldiers had burned 'the stables and out-houses' at Tully-Veolan is taken as a good opportunity to replace them with 'buildings of a lighter and more picturesque appearance' (356). We are now moving into a culture in which the proper place for a sword is on a wall, and the place for young men in tartan is in paintings. This reading of one ending of the novel celebrates prospectively the peace and prosperity to come to Scotland through the defeat of the Jacobites, and the new Hanoverian world in which the old Highland culture is seen as a romantic ornament. We should ask, does the reader in the midst of this remember Culloden?

The novel had started with an Introductory first chapter in which Scott writes himself in by listing the popular forms of novel in his day, which he does not intend to copy, and then explaining his own plan for his novel. My students had no patience with this, and went straight into chapter two where the story starts. There is, however one sentence in the first chapter where Scott says something relevant to my argument: 'Some favourable opportunities of contrast have been afforded me, by the state of society in the northern part of the island at the period of my history' (6). What I am interested in is 'the state of society' implying that societies change, which I shall come to soon. The final pages of *Waverley* contain 'A Postscript, which should have been a Preface' (362). This is where Scott explains his subject-matter and the sources he is drawing on. It is here where he says 'Indeed, the most romantic parts of this narrative are precisely those which have a foundation in fact' (363). This is expressed particularly in the heroism of the clansmen.

To turn now to the historical theme in *Waverley*—it is obvious that the novel uses historical events and dates. Scott, however, had been educated at Edinburgh University where history teaching was based on what was called 'philosophical history', which studied not individual events but the evolution of societies. This way of thinking, which we owe to the Scottish Enlightenment, held that societies, although in different places, develop through the same stages, but not all at the same time. This stadial theory, developed by both French and Scottish thinkers in the eighteenth century, takes different forms. The most famous is by Adam Smith who posited four stages of society based on their means of subsistence: hunter-gatherers, nomadic pastoralists, and feudal agriculturalists, giving place to the inhabitants of a modern commercial society. This is relevant to *Waverley* because the clan Mac-Ivor represents an earlier form of society than that of the visiting English hero and is under threat from the Hanoverian government. The beauty of the stadial system is that one stage evolves into the next. Clanship is often described as feudal. We might expect that the clansmen of Glennaquoich are evolving under the care of their chieftain and his sister, both of whom had been well educated in France; but the novel instead shows them being scattered and their culture destroyed after the defeat at Culloden. The Highland clans are not allowed to evolve, but are being compelled into modernity. Scott in this novel is drawing upon Enlightenment ideas; but also on the brute facts of recent history.

In the Postscript to *Waverley* Scott writes, ' 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' (363). Scott writes this in 1814 during the Napoleonic wars when the British watched the weaker nations of Europe submit to a conqueror, conquering in the name of the most improving principles. When *Waverley* was published in 1814 readers in Britain who had lived with the fear of a Napoleonic invasion may have felt prepared to reconsider the plight of the Scottish Highlanders over half a century earlier.

The novel has a dual conclusion in that the story of Edward Waverley ends looking forward positively, while the story of the Highlanders ends tragically and looking backwards. That seems to be for Scott how the world is.

What does *Waverley* mean to us? In the story of the Clan Mac-Ivor Scott gave us the paradigm of a destroyed culture. It is the story in all parts of the modern world, where the history of a dominant culture is written over the unwritten histories of the smaller cultures it defeated. This is now commonly recognised in colonial and post-colonial writing. Scott is often blamed for Scottish tourism's generous use of tartan. It would be more accurate to recognise that he anticipated what is common in our own day—tourist markets drawing on a destroyed culture.

[i] Walter Scott, *Waverley*, 200th Anniversary Edition, ed. Peter Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p. 4. Following page references in parenthesis within the text are to this edition.