An Investigation of the Way in which Sir Walter Scott Used the Lexis and Lore of Scotland to Recreate and Encapsulate the Past in Waverley, The Antiquary, and The Pirate.

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CERTIFICATE

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not being currently submitted for any other degree.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.

Signature.

All references to the Waverley Novels
are to be found in
The Border Edition
edited by Andrew Lang
with Introductory Essays and Notes.
London, MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1908.

Waverley	The Antiquary	The Pirate
684 pages	620 pages	681 pages

Abbreviations:

EDD	English Dialect Dictionary
NED	New English Dictionary
SND	Scottish National Dictionary

A	The Antiquary
P	The Pirate
W	Waverley

MAPS

Orkney	frontspiece	
Scotland	facing page 1	Part I
Shetland	facing page i	Part II

Running script is used for foreign words and Scots.

PREFACE

The present writer has come to this study after considerable sequential basic training in the following fields:

> histories of English language.
>
> German literature and romanticism.
>
> the close editing of a difficult and traditional 'mixed' Norse text in which lore and lexis were equally and inextricably bound up. [1]

It is not believed that this methodology is unduly slewed by previous training since ninety-five percent of the material investigated can be seen to derive from Middle English and English of the Northern Scottish lands.

* * * *

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1. Hrólfs Saga Kraka.

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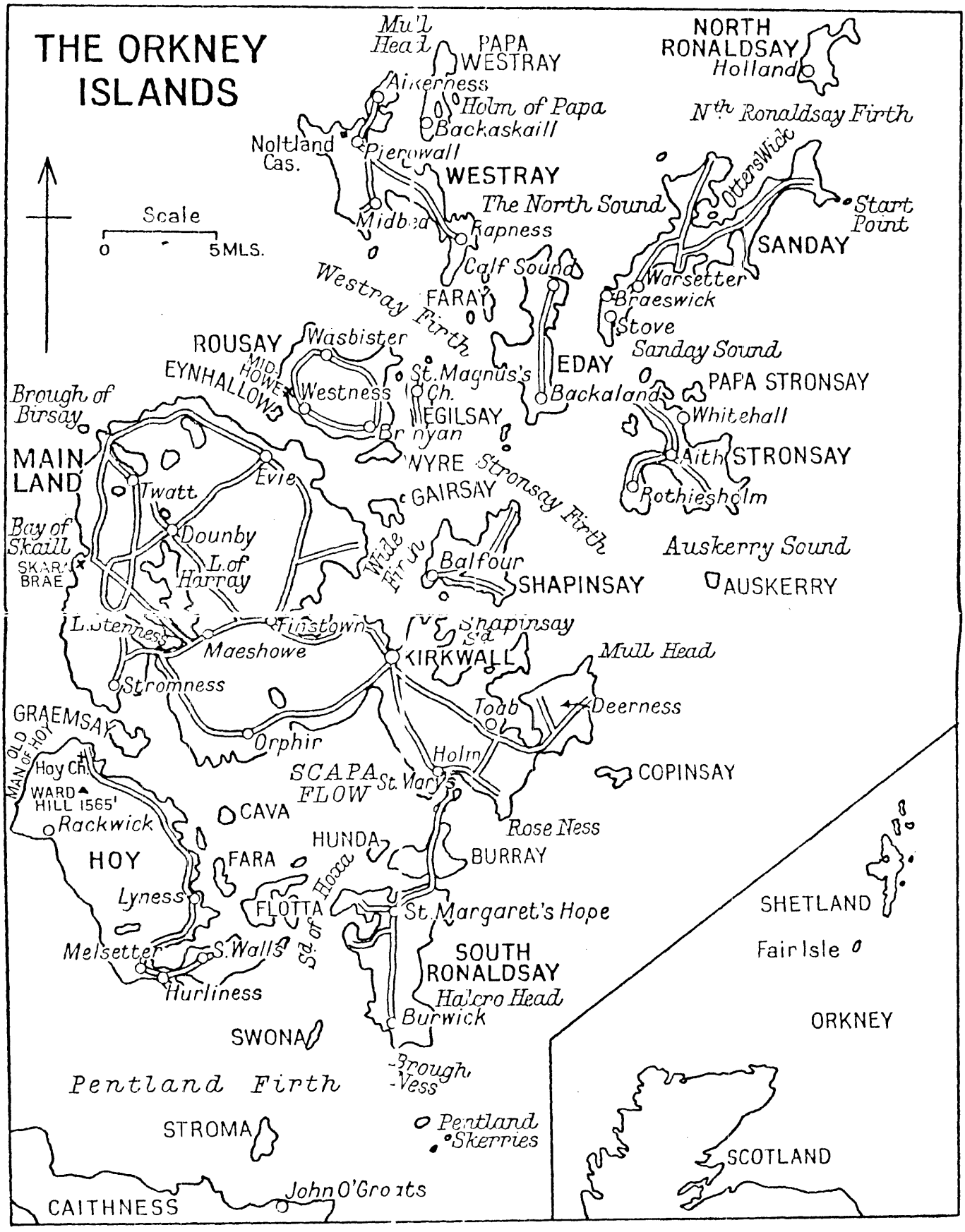
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HOY
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Fair Isle
Hurliness
Halcro Head
Burwick
ORKNEY
SWONA
Brough Ness
Pentland Firth
STROMA
Pentland Skerries
SCOTLAND
John O'Groats
CAITHNESS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

While many aspects of his prose and poetry have already been explored, and many others are still awaiting exploration,[1] this study seeks through an investigation of the relatively untapped richness of his use of language and lore, to shape the perception of Scott, in his recording - however fictionally - of the experience of the (rural) Scottish folk, as the voice of the Scottish people.

Scott's ability to hold his readers, and to be loved as a faithful recorder of the aesthetic experience of pre-industrial Scotland is due in no small measure to his very considerable 'dialectal' vocabulary, and his quite extraordinary range of narrative motifs derived from the more recent yet traditional Celtic and Northern legendary. He uses terms of the lost, but once highly articulate voice of the people, weaving into his novels an antiquarian and ethnographic strand founded upon a base of the memories of the wise people of North Britain.

His use of English language and its intrusions, as well as Scots, mirrors a dual ethnicity which is a consequence of time, place and history which Scott well understands. His is not just a romantic looking-back; it is rather a historical record as opposed to the emotional and personal voice of Burns. He pays his massive tribute to the people of Scotland by using their language, and in that, and in their folkloric ingredients and thought processes which he has so transmitted, he gave the Scotland of yesterday an authentic voice for his own and later generations to hear.

A preliminary examination of the evolution/development/nature and status of the Scots language/dialect as it was when Scott came to use it in his first novel was considered necessary. This, followed by a close investigation of his revival/retention of the distinctively different English lexis and idiom used by the Scottish people in the centuries from the Reformation, has shown how amazingly accurate his lexis and tone are, as is evidenced by the conclusive support of the myriad clinching citations in EDD and SND.

1. Legal language, chivalric terms, terms of warfare, classical mythology; etc.

This integrity of his Scottish language is best seen by a sharp focus on selected texts and the lexis therein, rather than by an exhaustive modern editorial mode of annotating various books by the writer, or in a general survey of Scott's own language. Many critics have rightly surmised that there is a vast amount of Scottish language/the country's vernacular in Scott's writing, but without an extrapolative exercise of the dimensions of that conducted by Dr Tulloch,[2] this cannot be said to be any more than a wise conjecture. A thorough investigation of the novels, Waverley, The Antiquary, and The Pirate establishes beyond doubt that a distinctive idiom was used on an enormous scale and was regionally authentic and idiomatically correct.

While much has been achieved in lexicology by the computer in this modern age, it cannot in this case, where no disc and data bases exist, replace a slow and painstaking, but richly rewarding, attention to the printed word. The three selected novels provide a remarkable Vade-mecum of the writer's recreation of the Scottish past, and, typically, of so much more; the texts' details of food, furnishings, transport and dress fill out the historical picture in a social sense. More especially they give cultural depth and social consistency to the Scott recensions of those three periods, and prevent the risk of reading the novels as texts filled with galleries of eccentrics flavoured with occasional linguistic 'saltings'.

Paul Gray's review of the second edition of the Oxford English Dictionary refers to the work of a Canadian computer expert, Frank Tompa of the University of Waterloo, Ontario, who is running the OED2 through his computer Tompa found that the second most quoted author is Scott with 16,548 quotations.[3] Scott expressed himself, frequently and meticulously, in the so often ignored language of the people, and this is why he is extensively quoted by astute lexicographers. In his work, story motifs feed language and the language used by the novelist is poignant because it gives text, content, meaning, and dates of usage which would otherwise be almost impossible to verify from such other slighter records as survive.

2. G.Tulloch, The Language of Walter Scott, London, 1980.

3. Total of quotations was 2,435,671. Shakespeare was first with 33,150.

A search of EDD reveals illustrative sentences for 241 head-words from Waverley, 290 from The Antiquary, and 92 from The Pirate, while from SND 495 are included from Waverley, 607 from The Antiquary, and 444 from The Pirate. It is clear, therefore, that many archaic words are likely to be recorded and preserved because of Scott's usage of them. Such words are not recorded in the NED. By including them in the EDD corpus from 1700 onwards, Wright is their sole lexical recorder outside the SND. Except for the EDD and the SND, then, examples of so much Old Scots are found only in fine or archaising passages in fairly modern writers apart from Scott himself.

It has been expedient and profitable therefore, to embark on an exercise analogous in its way to the activity processes in the back of Wright's mind in his compiling of the EDD, and to Boberg's mental sorting before she began categorizing entries in her Motif-Index. Following this well-documented survey it was necessary to analyse the material collected. Major large areas of head-word distribution for the novels cover social, agricultural, domestic, chivalric and legal language. Thus it has been necessary to refer to many special subject-area books, much as have the great modern lexicographers of English, English dialect, and Scots-English had to do, in order to underscore the sharpness of his ear, his remarkable powers of memory for the heard, and the rightness of his lexis. In accordance with this, today's great Scottish cultural historian, Alexander Fenton, is found to be remarkably close to Walter Scott on the proper usages of many agricultural terms, while McNeill supports excellently his choice of culinary vocabulary, and Grant his terms of farm management. The texts show everywhere the subtlest evidence of his careful research and idiomatic preciseness.

For ease of handling this study has been divided into dual compartments, those of language and of lore, but this is purely a division of convenience, for the two cannot logically be separated. Motifs are built of language and language is the carrier of motifs, and Scott knew well that Scottish experience demanded its own distinctive lexis and idiom and this would enforce the record of his people's past and validate his own recensions of that passing culture.

A somewhat lesser interest to that shown in Scott's use of language has been evinced by critics in the presence of folklore influence in his prose as distinct from his ballad-like verse. However, without submitting his writing to the strict kind of scrutiny demanded by the structuralists, there is little hope of accurate assessment of the folklore characteristics within it. Rather does the application to each of these novels, of the grid of motif-classification devised by Boberg, expose a truthful picture of a generous proliferation of North European motifs,[4] while an analysis of the structure of each reveals extensive use of folklore form in his novels' plots and episodes. But to conduct a motif-count merely to prove Scott's stature as a recorder of folklore is to miss the point, and to lose the spirit of his writing. While he approaches the subject from a different angle, W.F.H.Nicolaisen expresses this achievement of valid mix perfectly when he says,

> ...one realises that, in a less myopic view of the narrative texture of the Waverley Novels, the use of folklore is paralleled, sometimes even surpassed, in frequency and importance, by the use of classical mythology, historians and historical sources, genealogy, art literature (*sic*) of all ages, especially Shakespeare and other dramatists, as well as, of course, by an unrivalled knowledge of the legal profession; all of these can be said to be 'continuing inspirations' for the novelist. 5

The point is to understand the 'why' of this wealth of folk material as well as the 'how much'. In his use of literally hundreds of motifs that have been identified - some barely discernible, many half-hidden, others flagrantly obvious - Scott has preserved, be it ever so fleetingly, in a glimpse of a dress, a scrap of a song, a line of a ballad, a hint of a legend or a touch of whimsy, memories of Scotland that he did not want to be forgotten.

4. It is stressed that the chief usefulness of Boberg's grid lies in fact that it eliminates non-European motifs (e.g. 'Elephant steals banana crop', or 'Monkey abducts native woman') that do not appear in Scott's novels.

5. W.F.H.Nicolaisen, 'The Folklorist as Novelist', in J.H.Alexander and David Hewitt, Scott and His Influence, Aberdeen, Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1983, pp.173-174.

SCOTT'S ATTITUDE TO HISTORY, RELIGION AND POLITICS.

It is fortunate that Scott was not permanently discouraged by the initial adverse response of James Ballantyne to his first novel. Had he taken his criticism too seriously, not only might Waverley have remained unfinished, but perhaps no more Scottish novels would have been attempted. Apart from all other literary losses, this would have deprived those interested in Scotland and its language of the opportunity of studying and enjoying unique passages of vernacular dialogue,[1] containing some 3,000 peculiarly Scottish words,[2] in which Scott captured and described vanishing persons and traditions. Ballantyne's later confession divulged that it was to these very Scottish attributes of the novel that he objected,

> When the success of the work so entirely knocked me down as a man of taste, all that the good-natured author said was - "Well, I really thought you were wrong about the Scotch. Why Burns by his poetry had already attracted universal attention to everything Scottish, and I confess I couldn't see why I should not be able to keep the flame alive, merely because I wrote in prose, and he in rhyme. 3

The reaction of Scott's friend, Morritt, to the Scottish characteristics of Waverley were quite different. When he had completed his reading of it, he wrote to the author,

> We have finished Waverley, and were I to tell you all my admiration, you would accuse me of complimenting. You have quite attained the point which your *postscript-preface* mentions as your object - the discrimination of Scottish character, which had hitherto been slurred over with clumsy daubing. 4

1. A.Noble, (ed.), Edwin Muir: Uncollected Scottish Criticism, New Jersey, 1982, p.213.

2. D.Murison, 'Two Languages in Scott', in A.N. Jeffares, (ed.), Scott's Mind and Art, Edinburgh, 1969, p.220.

3. J.G.Lockhart, Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., Edinburgh, 1865, p.301.

4. ibid., p.301.

In the section referred to by Morritt, Scott had commented on the changes that had taken place in Scotland since the uprising of 1745. 'There is no European nation', he declared, 'which, within the course of half a century or little more, has undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland.'[5] He listed the vanished persons and institutions - Highland chiefs with their 'patriarchal powers'; Lowland nobility and barons with their 'heritable jurisdiction' Jacobites with their 'ancient manners and customs'; Stewart supporters with their political prejudices, but with their high principles of loyalty, and 'Scottish faith, worth and honour'.[6] Scott then stated his object, so aptly distinguished by Morritt as 'the discrimination of Scottish character', in these terms,

> 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. 7

Scott's desire to preserve the memory of these persons and institutions, and to maintain interest in 'everything Scottish', must be viewed in the right perspective. A moderate and sensible man, with no wish for revolution, Scott did not aim to revive and inflame any spark of national insurrection. He was writing long after the Union, and his public attitude to it seems to have been one of resignation and support. Indeed, Eric Linklater, speaking as President of the Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club in 1953, paid tribute to his ameliorating influence, not only on the relationship between Scotland and England, the participants in the Union, but over the ancient uneasiness that existed between Highlands and Lowlands, in these words,

> It was Walter Scott, the Borderer, who made Highland Scotland and its ethos a possession of pride to Lowlander as well as Highlander; and he was the first man in history

5. Wav., p.647.

6. ibid., p.648.

7. ibid., pp.649-650.

> to persuade our English neighbours - who, about that time were deeply suspicious of the many Scots who had lately come to make a living among them - that on the long highways of the world the English and Scots could walk in amity together, bound by mutual regard. 8

Nevertheless, it is clear that Scott had real fears of the traditions of Scotland being forgotten as a result of the Union, and he expressed this at the end of his Introduction to Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,

> In the notes, and occasional dissertations, it has been my object to throw together, perhaps without sufficient attention to method, a variety of remarks, regarding popular superstitions, and legendary history, which if not now collected, must soon be totally forgotten. By such efforts, feeble as they are, I may contribute somewhat to the history of my native country, the peculiar features of whose manners and character are daily melting and dissolving into those of her sister ally. 9

The inevitable 'melting and dissolving' of Scottish modes of life and language, and the loss of national identity, as the process of Anglicization took effect, created a tension in Scott which was reflected in his writing. His nostalgia for the past was countered by his conviction that the people of Scotland had to come to terms with the present, and be ready to cope with the future. That is why Fergus Mac-Ivor, and later, Redgauntlet, although striking and impressive, emerge as anachronistic figures, attitudinizing in the manner of the petty chieftains of the late Icelandic sagas. The dichotomy of Scott's situation has been well described by David Daiches as an 'ambiguity of feeling', in an age when 'the antiquary and the lawyer trod now those fields that had previously borne the shock of knights-at-arms'. Daiches makes the additional comment, with which it would be difficult not to agree, that 'Scott's best novels are a record of his ambiguous attitude towards these facts.' 10

8. E.Linklater, (1953), in A.Frazer (ed.), Scott 1971, An Edinburgh Keepsake, Edinburgh, 1971, p.95.

9. W.Scott, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Vol.I, Edinburgh, 1803, Introduction, p.cxxxii.

10. D.Daiches, (1965), in Frazer, op.cit., p.140.

It is less easy to accept the view of James Kerr, who evidently feels that Scott has gone too far in his attempts to invest the past with interest and romance, and accuses him of writing 'as if he had somehow forgotten the gap between imagination and reality.' Kerr goes on to say,

> There is, particularly in the earlier fiction, a tension between Scott as historical romancer, the trickster who writes history as he wishes it had happened, attempting to fool the credulous reader with his clever illusions of the past, and Scott the realist, writing a straight narrative of the past, faithfully depicting things as they were. 11

It seems closer to the truth to suggest that Scott wrote history as it might very well have happened.

Both D.D.Devlin [12] and Patricia Harkin have drawn attention to the distance and the difference between romance and truth in the closing chapter of Waverley. The incident of the portrait (W 643), which Kerr calls 'a metafictional moment in the dinner-parlour', and 'an element in the strategy of domestication practised by Scott throughout the novel', [13] has attracted interest. 'Notice how far removed from experience is this picture of the past', writes Harkin, 'Fergus Mac-Ivor's head rots at Carlisle, while his image on Waverley's wall is beheld with admiration.' [14] This is precisely the situation that Scott wished to present to his readers, and it contains a strategy for dealing with personal tragedy, and a psychologically valid way of coping with real life. He was deliberately making the point, that, although Fergus's head was impaled on a stake at Carlisle, his noble and heroic qualities were enshrined in the hearts of his friends, and his portrait with Waverley was a permanent, visible memorial to the adventure they had shared. The Jacobite cause was lost forever, Waverley came to terms with the future, the portrait preserved the best memories of the past. Critics have used the terms 'reconciliation' and 'balance' and 'compensation' in sincere and well-meaning attempts

11. J.Kerr, Fiction against History: Scott as Storyteller, Cambridge, 1989, p.17.

12. D.D.Devlin,'Scott and History', in Jeffares, op.cit., p.91.

13. Kerr, op.cit., p.19.

14. P.Harkin, 'Romance and Real History', in J.H.Alexander and D.Hewitt, (eds.), Scott and his Influence, Aberdeen, 1983, p.161.

to describe Scott's method, but the term used by Daiches seems eminently suitable - he called it 'proper counterpointing of past and future'. 15

Scott's interest in the past was more than a reconciliation of past with present and future, more too, than a determination to preserve those elements of tradition that had either been pointedly neglected, or 'clumsily daubed' by previous writers. Scott rightly and earnestly believed that a good understanding of the past equipped a person, and a nation, to deal more effectively with both the present and the future.[16] It was his perception of the ability of men to change with the times, and to adapt to their circumstances that set Scott apart from other historians.

Contrasting Scott and Gibbon, G.M. Trevelyan said,

> Gibbon did not perceive the extent to which the habits and thoughts of men, no less than the forms of society, differ from country to country and from age to age. The men of the fifteenth century are in his handling much the same as the men of the fifth. 17

To be fair to Gibbon, his was the typical eighteenth century view, but Scott, while accepting in some degree the notion of 'basic uniformity of human nature,'[18] saw that as a man learned to fit into his own particular surroundings, he became, in a sense, a product of his environment. In his novels he portrayed scores of widely differing environments, and peopled them with varied and colourful characters. A Scotsman and a lawyer, he was well-equipped to do this, as he declared when writing of his intent to begin his first novel,

> I thought, also, that much of what I wanted in talent might be made up by the intimate acquaintance with the subject which I could lay claims to possess, as having travelled through most parts of Scotland, both Highland and

15. Daiches, (1965) , in Frazer, op.cit., p.149.

16. D.Daiches, Literature and Society, London, 1938, p.193.
'Scott ... showed ... his belief that a nation, to be healthy, must connect with its roots.'

17. G.M.Trevelyan, (1937), in Frazer, op.cit., p.29.

18. Devlin, in Jeffares, op.cit., p.83.

> Lowland; having been familiar with the elder, as well as more modern race; and having had from my infancy free and unrestrained communication with all ranks of my countrymen, from the Scottish peer to the Scottish ploughman. 19

Scott treated history in a sympathetic way. In his interest in human reaction rather than mere event, he resembles Livy, and his manner of narrating history by means of anecdote and dialogue is very like that of Herodotus. As John Buchan, for one, has pointed out, before Scott 'released the past for fiction', the historical tale was 'a lifeless thing, smothered in tinsel conventions, something beneath the dignity of literature'. [20] The difficulty of writing an historical novel, as Buchan remarked, is that the writer is dealing with manners and ways of thinking that he cannot possibly have experienced or observed. Scott was able to reach back into the past through the memories and experiences of older members of his family. His success in doing this has been acknowledged by such modern writers as C.S.Lewis, who said that Scott, 'first of men, taught us the feeling for period', [21] and by G.Lukács, who wrote of 'Scott's deep understanding for the peculiarity of the different historical periods'. [22]

When commenting on Heimskringla, a monumental family type saga composed from genealogical and historical data by the Icelander, Snorri Sturlason (1178-1241), Knut Liestøl wrote,

> A comparison of the Heimskringla with its sources shows how the subject matter assumed a new aspect in consequence of Snorri's often quite small modifications. In his hands, as in Sir Walter Scott's, the commonplace became a diamond; and we see how the value of an old story could be enhanced by a good narrator without any substantial deviation from the original. 23

It is interesting to note that both Scott and Snorri were early in developing antiquarian interests, in accumulating old manuscripts,

19. Wav. Introduction, p.xxii.

20. J.Buchan, Sir Walter Scott, London, 1932, pp.130-131.

21. C.S.Lewis, (1956), in Frazer, op.cit., p.107.

22. G.Lukács, 'Scott and the Classical Form of the Historical Novel', in Jeffares, op.cit., p.110.

23. K.Liestøl, The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas, Connecticut, 1974, p.125.

collecting old tales, ballads and legends. This habit, and the additional fact that both men were blessed with remarkable memories, stood them in good stead in their efforts to preserve and reconstruct the histories of their native lands.

Often described as a loose and haphazard writer, Scott was neither. He worked, like Livy, on a broad loom, weaving in his threads as he went, and seldom left a loose end. Nowhere is this more observable than in The Antiquary and The Pirate, where developments twist and twine in most elaborate fashion. Carlyle, a severe critic, acknowledged the wideness of vision that Scott possessed,

> The composition, slight as it often is, usually hangs together in some measure, and is a composition. There is a free flow of narrative, of incident and sentiment; an easy masterlike coherence throughout, as if it were the free dash of a master's hand, "round as the O of Giotto." It is the perfection of extemporaneous writing. ... It is the utterance of a man of open soul; of a brave, large, free-seeing man, who has a true brotherhood with all men. 24

The concept of the brotherhood of man was a definitive factor in Scott's writing, and is well illustrated in Waverley, first by the cordial relationship maintained by Sir Edward Waverley and the Baron of Bradwardine, and then by his sensitive portrayal of the fine English soldiers . Colonel Gardiner and Colonel Talbot, and the friendship which developed between the latter and Edward. True Scot that he was, Scott's appreciation of the worth of a man extended, as Carlyle has hinted, beyond Scotland. This is a product of the wideness of his vision, and his ability to put international differences and wars in their proper perspective.

Scott thrilled to the tales of old battles, drilled with Yeomanry Corps, and, in the words of A.O.J.Cockshut, 'No man responded more thoroughly than Scott to the romantic appeal of military glory'. [25] Nonetheless, none understood better than he, both the futility and the inevitability of war. Cockshut

24. T.Carlyle, Sartor Resartus and Essays on Burns and Scott, London, 1953, p.329.

25. A.O.J.Cockshut, The Achievement of Walter Scott, London, 1969,p.125.

recognizes this, and singles out a speech from Flora Mac-Ivor in support,

> "For mere fighting, I believe all men (that is, who deserve the name) are pretty much alike; there is generally more courage required to run away. They have besides, when confronted with each other, a certain instinct for strife, as we see in other male animals, such as dogs, bulls, and so forth." (W 4:74)

Scott accepted, given the nature of men, that war was in many cases inevitable, and it was certainly not in his character to advocate avoiding the fight which had a just cause, but he abhorred and deplored political and religous fanaticism, and the violence which they bred. His well-known comment on the excesses of political feeling, and the effect of these excesses on the ordinary 'good man', and on Scotland itself, is worth quoting again,

> So Tory and Whig may go be d-----d together, as names that have disturbed old Scotland, and torn asunder the most kindly feelings, since the first day they were invented. Yes, d--n them! -they are the spells to rouse all our angry passions; and I dare say, notwithstanding the opinion of my private and calm moments, I will open on the cry again so soon as something occurs to claim my words. Even yet, God knows, I would fight in honourable contest with word or blow, for my political opinions; but I cannot permit that strife to mix its waters with my daily meal, those waters of bitterness which poison all mutual love and confidence betwixt the well-disposed on either side, and prevent them, if need were, from making mutual concessions and balancing the constitution against the ultras of both parties. The good man seems something broken by these afflictions. 26

He detested religious enthusiasm, interpreting it as human pride rather than God-fearing humility. He could not forget the damage done to Scotland in the name of religion, the underlying theme in Old Mortality and The Heart of Midlothian. Writing on 15 June 1824 to Lord Montagu, Scott expressed distaste for religious extravagance that destroys a man's ability to think clearly for himself,

26. Lockhart, op.cit., p.596.

> For some certain reasons I rather prefer Oxford to Cambridge, chiefly because the last great University was infected long ago with liberalism in politics, and at present shows some symptoms of a very different heresy, which is yet sometimes blended with the first - I mean enthusiasm in religion - not that sincere zeal for religion, in which mortals cannot be too fervid, but the far more doubtful enthusiasm which makes religion a motive and a pretext for particular lines of thinking in politics and in temporal affairs. This is a spirit which, while it has abandoned the lower classes - where perhaps it did some good, for it *is* a guard against gross and scandalous vice - has transferred itself to the upper classes, where, I think, it can do little but evil, - disuniting families, setting children in opposition to parents, and teaching, as I think, a new way of going to the Devil for God's sake. 27

Interpretations of 'Scott, the Tory' surface intermittently. Latest to hand is that of Beth Dickson, who concludes,

> Walter Scott's Toryism was a more influential factor in his outlook than literary critics have often allowed, and on the issue of Scottish religion his views are partisan and cannot be taken as an accurate representation of the period. 28

Certainly Scott had Tory sympathies, and certainly he disliked the narrow rigidity of the Presbyterian religion, (as does many a one who has experienced it), writing in his Autobiography,

> Still, the discipline of the Presbyterian Sabbath was severely strict, and I think injudiciously so. Although Bunyan's Pilgrim, Gesner's Death of Abel, Rowe'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 far too much tedium annexed to the duties of the day; and in the end it did none of us any good. 29

Reverend Dr. Thomas McCrie (1772-1835), who took such exception to Scott's treatment of the Covenanters, a topic ably discussed by Dickson, was, as she notes, 'a prominent and able Anti-Burgher and Auld Licht'. As such, he belonged to the smallest and most extreme

27. Lockhart, op.cit., p 523.

28. B.Dickson, 'Sir Walter Scott and The Limits of Toleration', Scottish Literary Journal Vol.18, Number 2, November 1991, p.60.

29. Lockhart, op.cit., p 8.

of the four branches into which the Secession Church had divided itself, the branch known as the Constitutional Associate Presbytery, which later merged with another minority group to form, in 1827, the Associated Synod of Original Seceders.[30] In reality, constant serious disputation and division over minute distinctions of principles were a way of life with Dr. McCrie. His attack on Scott may be interpreted as a sincere attempt by a man to follow the dictates of his conscience, or it may, as Scott indicated to Lady Louisa Stuart, be seen as a man taking unwarranted umbrage in the name of 'susceptible devotion'.[31] Scott's own approach to religion - that of a practical Christian, is described by Lockhart,

> The few passages in his Diaries, in which he alludes to his own religious feelings and practices, show clearly the sober, serene, and elevated frame of mind in which he habitually contemplated man's relations with his Maker; the modesty with which he shrunk from indulging either the presumption of reason, or the extravagance of imagination, in the province of Faith; his humble reliance on the wisdom and mercy of God; and his firm belief that we are placed in this state of existence, not to speculate about another, but to prepare ourselves for it by actual exertion of our intellectual faculties, and the constant cultivation of kindness and benevolence towards our fellow men. 32

David Brown feels that Scott's Tory opinions on contemporary political affairs limited his viewpoint, and his reaction to the Luddites, and his 'approval' of that symbol of oppression, the Peterloo Massacre, are cited.[33] As Sheriff of Selkirkshire, Scott was obliged to quell the tumult of the weavers of Galashiels, assembled 'for the purpose of cutting a man's web from his loom'.[34] He certainly suspected them of being capable of revolutionary activities, which he abhorred, believing that the blood-bath in France had little to recommend it.[35] When he wrote 'Rebellion is waur than witchcraft, or robbery either, there's gospel warrant for't',[36] he clearly spoke from the heart. To not quote more of Scott's letter to Southey on this topic would do him an injustice,

30. George S.Pryde, A New History of Scotland, Vol.II, London, 1962, pp.181-182.

31. Lockhart, op.cit., p.341.
32. ibid., p.759.
33. Brown, op.cit., p.208.
34. Lockhart, op.cit., p.222.
35. ibid., p.717.
36. Rob Roy, p.503. The words are Bailie Jarvie's.

for it was not so much the 'growing urban working class' that earned Scott's antipathy, as Brown claims, [37] as the inability of the uncertain government to give good leadership to the people and stabilize Scotland. 'An energetic administration', he wrote, 'which had the confidence of the country, would soon check all this; but it is our misfortune to lose the pilot when the ship is on the breakers.' [38]

Perusal of another letter to Southey, on 9 May 1817, reveals Scott's perceptive criticism of a scheme of works initiated by a voluntary committee in Edinburgh to assist the unemployed. He summed it up as follows,

> At Edinburgh they are employed on public works at so much a-day - tenpence, I believe, or one shilling, with an advance to those who have families. This rate is fixed below that of ordinary wages, in order that no person may be employed but those who really cannot find work elsewhere. But it is attended with this bad effect, that the people regard it partly as charity, which is humiliating, - and partly as an imposition, in taking their labour below its usual saleable value; to which many add a third view of the subject - namely, that this sort of half-pay is not given them for the purpose of working, but to prevent their rising in rebellion. [39]

These are hardly the sentiments of a man who 'lacked sympathy with and an understanding of the growing urban working class', a man who, according to Brown, had an 'ingrained' antipathy to them.

Scott's system of looking after his workers was well organised, and is well documented.[40] Andrew Lang pays tribute to it, and, at the same time, puts Scott's Toryism in its correct perspective,

> That reverence for things old, for what had once been, ideally at least, an ordered system of society, was the cause of Scott's Toryism, increased by his patriotism during the struggle with Bonaparte. The ideas and sympathies which made him a Tory, made him also an opponent of the system which turned the Highlands into sheep farms and deer forests by the expulsion of the clansmen. His

37. Brown, op.cit., p.209.
38. Lockhart, op.cit., p.222. (Mr Percival P.M. just assassinated.)
39. ibid., p.349.
40. ibid., p.362, p.421, p.671.

> opinions on this head are expressed in the Introduction to The Legend of Montrose. Again the feudal ideas at the root of his Toryism made him the most attentive of all landlords to the wellbeing of every soul on his estates. In bad times he found the wisest and most economic way of providing them with employment at once honourable and remunerative, and he taught the Duke of Buccleugh to follow his example on a great scale. He felt pain and embarrassment in face of the gratitude of his poor cottars for a holiday feast and holiday presents: why, he asked himself, should he have more than they? His house was a great hearth whence radiated light and comfort on the humblest within his radius. 41

As an anti-revolutionary, Scott had a reluctance for change, but, while he expressed public doubts about the underlying motives of the first efforts of the poor to organize their united voice, in real life, and in his writing, he was their greatest champion. Never condescending, Scott invested the humble folk of his novels with the qualities he discerned in them in the real world, - faith, integrity,intelligence, dignity, and resourcefulness. This has led John Buchan to declare,

> Of all great writers, perhaps, he was the one who lived closest to the poor. He was nearer to them than Shakespeare, who saw only their comedy and their vices; far nearer than Shelley, to whom the poor were the "polluting multitude," though he might pity and defend them; nearer even than Wordsworth, who did not know how to unbend. Of Wordsworth a country neighbour said that he "was not a man as folks could crack with nor not a man as could crack wi' folks," whereas of Scott the report was that he talked to everyone as if he were a blood-relation. 42

It is through the humble, plain folk of his novels that Scott has preserved Scotland. While they were engaged in discussions and arguments, and were giving voice to their opinions, he seized every opportunity to expose his readers to Scottish language, manners, history and character. Edwin Muir put this well when he wrote,

> His supreme means for the revelation of character is, of course, dialogue; one feels sometimes that the action is contrived simply to give the characters an opportunity to

41. A Lang, Sir Walter Scott, London, 1906, pp.248-249.

42. Buchan, op.cit., pp.368-369.

> speak out. And they put all of themselves into what they say, their dispositions, their moods, their memories, their philosophies.

Muir recalls the conversation between Dick Tinto and Peter Pattieson at the beginning of The Bride of Lammermoor, when Dick said,

> "Your characters, my dear Pattieson, make too much use of the *gob box*; they *patter* too much ... there is nothing in whole chapters but mere chat and dialogue." The author replies "The ancient philosopher was wont to say, "Speak, that I may know thee"; and how is it possible for an author to introduce his *personae dramatis* to his readers in a more interesting and effectual manner, than by the dialogue in which each is represented as supporting his own character?" 43

Scott knew Scotland, and he knew its people, and through the 'patter' of his Scottish characters his readers come to know them too. Dickens was the writer who probably came closest to Scott in the creative use of spoken language. Both men chose their words with great care, put them together with inimitable skill, and polished the resultant effects to perfection. Like Scott, Dickens wrote his dialogue largely in dialect (at least five different ones). His characters are colourful, witty, amusing, voluble; they speak idiosyncratically, genteelly, substandardly, or in a full flight of malapropisms, according to their standing in society, but they never aspire to the heights and depths of expression that come so naturally to the lips of Scott's folk. As they chat, and argue, and gossip in their fields, farms, shops and kitchens, the language and lore of Scotland are captured in the voices of the people of Scott's novels as they have not been before or since.

* * * *

43. E.Muir, 'Walter Scott the Writer', Sir Walter Scott Lectures, 1940-1948, Int. Professor W. Renwick, Edinburgh, 1949, pp.74-75.

SUMMARY OF THE NOVELS

Waverley.

Edward Waverley, an innocent and romantic young Englishman, who has led a secluded life in the Jacobite household of Waverley Honour with his spinster aunt and bachelor uncle, Miss Rachel and Sir Everard Waverley, joins the Hanoverian army at the behest of his father, Richard Waverley, and goes to Scotland to join his regiment. There he visits an old family friend, the Baron of Bradwardine at Tully-Veolan, and enjoys his company, and that of his pretty daughter, Rose. Seizing the opportunity to visit a neighbouring Highland chieftain, Fergus Mac-Ivor at Glennaquoich, Edward is able to observe the customs of a clan system that is already beginning to disintegrate. He also meets and falls in love with Fergus's sister, Flora, an ardent Jacobite. After a series of misadventures, Edward resigns from his regiment to join Prince Charles Edward's army in the uprising of 1745. While serving with the Jacobites, he meets the English Colonel Talbot, an old friend of the Waverley family, who has been taken prisoner. Partly due to his influence, and also to what Edward perceives as dubious motives in the supporters of the Prince, he begins to doubt the validity and the wisdom of the Jacobite cause. In the retreat at Derby, Edward loses contact with the army, and is forced to hide for two months at a farm near Ullswater in Westmorland; during this time he is able to reflect on the defeat of the Scots, and on the folly of war. Despite his efforts to save him, his friend Fergus is beheaded at Carlisle, and Flora enters a convent. However, with assistance from Colonel Talbot, Edward obtains a pardon for the Baron of Bradwardine. He also reclaims and restores Tully-Veolan with the help of Bailie Macwheeble, and finds happiness in married life with Rose.

Characters.

Ballenkieroch - an old man at Glennaquoich.
Balmawhapple, Laird of - Mr Falconer, a neighbour of the Baron.
Ban and Buscar - the Baron's dogs.

Bean Lean, Alice - daughter of Donald Bean Lean.
Bean Lean, Donald - Highland robber.
Beg, Callum - servant of Fergus Mac-Ivor.
Bradwardine, Cosmo Comyne - Baron of Bradwardine and Tully-Veolan.
Bradwardine, Malcolm - heir-male to Tully-Veolan, also known as Inch-Grabbit.
Bradwardine, Rose - daughter of the Baron.
Cruickshanks, Ebenezer - Covenanter, host of the Seven-branched Golden Candlestick.
Flockhart, Mrs - Fergus's landlady in Edinburgh.
Gardiner, Colonel - Edward's commanding officer in English army.
Gellatley, Davie - idiot son of Janet Gellatley.
Gellatley, Janet - faithful old servant of the Baron.
Gilfillan, Habakkuk - Cameronian escort of Waverley to Stirling.
Jopson, Jacob - English farmer who hid Waverley after Derby.
Jopson, Cicely - Jacob's daughter.
Killancureit, Laird of - Mr Bullsegg, neighbour of the Baron.
Maccombich, Evan Dhu - foster-brother of Fergus Mac-Ivor.
Mac-Ivor, Fergus - Vich Ian Vohr, Chieftain of Glennaquoich.
Mac-Ivor, Flora - sister of Fergus.
Macwheeble, Duncan - the Baron of Bradwardine's bailie.
Melville, Major - magistrate at Cairnvreckan.
Morton, Mr - Presbyterian clergyman at Cairnvreckan.
Mucklewrath, John - blacksmith at Cairnvreckan.
Mucklewrath, Maggie - wife of the blacksmith.
Nosebag, Mrs - Edward's inquisitive travelling companion.
Pembroke, Mr - Church of England clergyman at Waverley Honour.
Polwarth, Alick - faithful servant to Edward in the Jacobite army.
Saunderson, Alexander - butler at Tully-Veolan.
Scrivener, Jock - Macwheeble's apprentice.
Spontoon, - Colonel Talbot's butler.
Stanley, Frank - Colonel Talbot's nephew.
Stubbs, Cecilia - daughter of Squire Stubbs at the Grange near Waverley Honour.
Talbot, Colonel - officer in the English army.
Talbot, Lady Emily - wife of the Colonel and lost love of Sir Everard.
Twigtythe, Mr - Church of England clergyman at Ullswater.

Waverley, Edward - the hero of the novel.
Waverley, Miss Rachel - aunt of Edward, residing at Waverley Honour.
Waverley, Richard - Edward's father.
Waverley, Sir Everard - Edward's uncle, owner of Waverley Honour.
Williams, Edward (Ned) - arranged shelter for Edward at Ullswater.
Williams, Farmer - Ned's father, owner of farm at Ullswater.

The Antiquary.

The novel revolves about the inhabitants of the coastal town of Fairport. Lord Glenallan, of an old Catholic family, keeps aloof from everyone because he believes that he has contracted an incestuous marriage in his youth. Sir Arthur Wardour, an impoverished baronet, who is being duped by a German imposter, Dousterswivel, lives at Knockwinnock Castle with his daughter Isabella. Jonathan Oldbuck, the Antiquary, lives at Monkbarns with his spinster sister, Miss Griselda Oldbuck, his niece Mary M'Intyre, and, when he is on leave, his nephew Captain Hector M'Intyre. Edie Ochiltree, the local Bluegown, or licensed beggar, moves from one household to another, carrying news.

On the way home from Edinburgh, Oldbuck makes the acquaintance of a pleasant young man, Lovel, who settles in Fairport and who proves to be known to Miss Wardour. After a dinner at Monkbarns, Sir Arthur and his daughter almost perish in a high tide, but are rescued by the joint efforts of old Edie, Lovel, and the local fisherman, Saunders Mucklebackit. Subsequently Isabella rejects any advances by Lovel as details of his birth are not clear. Hector M'Intyre challenges him to a duel because he will not reveal his true identity. Hector is wounded, Lovel flees with the help of Edie Ochiltree, having first devised a plan to free Sir Arthur from financial troubles, and from Dousterswivel. Saunders Mucklebackit's mother, old Elspeth, who was once the favourite servant of Lord Glenallan's mother, ultimately reveals to him that he is not guilty of incest, and that he had a son born to him. Through Oldbuck's inquiries it seems probable that the son is still living, and that he may, in fact, be Lovel. Fairport is galvanized into action by a

false report of a French invasion and Lovel returns in command as 'the brave Major Neville', to be introduced to his legal father, Lord Glenallan. All obstacles now removed, he is able to marry Isabella.

Characters.

Aikwood, Ringan - poinder at Knockwinnock Castle.
Blattergowl, Mr -local clergyman.
Caxon, Jacob - elderly barber.
Caxon, Jenny - Jacob's pretty daughter, in love with Lieut. Taffril.
Dibble, Davie - gardener at Monkbarns.
Dousterswivel, Herman - German imposter.
Glenallan, Countess of - Jocelind, mother of Lord Glenallan.
Glenallan, Lord - Lord Geraldin and father of Lovel.
Hadoway, Mrs - Lovel's landlady in Fairport.
Heukbane, Mrs - wife of Fairport butcher.
Juno - Hector's dog.
Lesley, Mr - Hector's second in the duel.
Lovel - also known as Major Neville, Lord Glenallan's missing son.
Mackitchinson - landlord at the Hawes.
Macleuchar, Mrs - shopkeeper in Edinburgh.
Macraw, Francie - porter at Glenallan House.
Mailsetter, Mrs - Fairport postmistress.
M'Intyre, Captain Hector - Oldbuck's nephew.
M'Intyre, Mary - Oldbuck's niece.
Monkbarns, Laird of - Jonathan Oldbuck.
Mucklebackit, Elspeth - elderly mother of Saunders.
Mucklebackit, Maggie - wife of Saunders.
Mucklebackit, Saunders - local fisherman.
Mucklebackit, Steenie - eldest son of Saunders and Maggie who drowned in a storm.
Ochiltree, Edie - licensed beggar, a Fairport identity.
Oldbuck, Griselda - Jonathan's spinster sister.
Oldbuck, Jonathan - the Artiquary, the Laird of Monkbarns.

Rintherout, Jenny - servant at Monkbarns.
Shortcake, Mrs - wife of Fairport baker.
Sweepclean, Saunders - legal officer, a king's messenger.
Taffril, Lieutenant - naval officer, in love with Jenny Caxon, and Hector's second in the duel.
Wardour, Isabella - Sir Hector's daughter.
Wardour, Sir Arthur - baroret living at Knockwinnock Castle.

The Pirate.

Magnus Troil, Udaller of Zetland, lets his old house at Jarlshof to the strange Englishman, Basil Mertoun, whose son, Mordaunt is very much part of the household at Burgh-Westra, and beloved by Magnus's daughters, Minna and Brenda. A great storm takes place, attributed to the powers of an elderly woman called Norna of the Fitful-head. The next day Mordaunt, in defiance of local custom, rescues a drowning man, a pirate, Clement Cleveland, despite warnings that he will prove a danger to him. Cleveland makes his way to Burgh-Westra, and usurps his place, so that Mordaunt is no longer welcome there. Mordaunt travels unbidden to the feast there on Saint John's Eve, in company with Triptolemus Yellowley, the Scots factor sent to improve the agriculture of the islands, and his sister, Mistress Baby. He finds Minna obsessed with Cleveland, and Brenda frightened of him. He promises Brenda that he will help, but is badly wounded by Cleveland and borne away by Norna, who is related to Magnus Troil. The pirate crew return and reclaim Cleveland who has vowed to renounce piracy, and Minna awakens from her romantic dream. Cleveland proves to be the son of Basil Mertoun and Norna of the Fitful-head, and half-brother of Mordaunt. Having recovered from his injury, Mordaunt is able to rescue the sisters from the pirates, who try to kidnap them, and he is welcomed as a husband for Brenda. Norna renounces her pretensions to supernatural powers, and Minna takes comfort from Cleveland's rehabilitation and eventual honourable death. Basil Mertoun retires to a monastery. Triptolemus moderates his plans for improvement, and becomes a frequent visitor to Burgh-Westra.

Characters.

Bunce, Jack - pirate, special friend of Cleveland.
Cleveland, Captain Clement - pirate, rescued by Mordaunt.
Dronsdaughter, Tronda - servant of the Yellowleys at Harfra.
Erickson, Sweyn - haaf fisherman.
Fea, Euphane - old sibyl, servant at Burgh-Westra.
Glowrowrum, Lady - neighbour of Magnus Troil.
Groatsetter, Clara and Maddie - neighbours of Magnus.
Halcro, Claud - minstrel, friend of Magnus.
Mertoun, Basil - ex-pirate, lover of Norna, father of Mordaunt and Cleveland.
Mertoun, Mordaunt - son of Basil Mertoun.
Norna of the Fitful-head - Ulla Troil, cousin of Magnus, mother of Cleveland.
Ronaldson, Niel - the Ranzelman.
Scambester, Eric - servant of Magnus Troil.
Scholey, Lawrence - servant of Claud Halcro.
Snailsfoot, Bryce - jagger or pedlar.
Strumpfer, Nick - dwarf, and servant of Norna.
Swertha - housekeeper at Jarlshof for Basil Mertoun.
Torpe, George - Provost of Kirkwall.
Troil, Brenda and Minna - daughters of Magnus.
Troil, Magnus - Fowd of Shetland.
Yellowley, Mistress Baby - spinster sister of Triptolemus.
Yellowley, Triptolemus - Factor to the Lord Chamberlain of Orkney and Shetland.

INTRODUCTION

Part I: Language.

> Scott wrote too late in the history of the Scots language to be able to do for Scottish prose what Fergusson and Burns did for Scottish poetry. It was no longer possible to write a novel in Scots prose, which for all sorts of reasons was no longer a viable literary medium. But he did something almost as good. He discovered the possibility of dialogue in the vernacular, and with all the talk of Lallans and all the talk of Scots in literature, it is surprising how little attention has been paid to the superb use of spoken Scots in the dialogue of Scott's novels. In this way he not only mapped out a possibility for generations of late Scottish prose writers, but he also redeemed a dying language and made it possible for us to hear with our inner ear, to read, to savour, kinds of vernacular raciness, which, but for the dialogue in Scott s Scottish novels, would have been permanently lost.
>
> David Daiches 1965. [1]

This research arose from an interest in Scots language in general, and in that used by Sir Walter Scott in his Scottish novels in particular. It may perhaps be seen as a very modest complement indeed to the scholarly study by Dr Graham Tulloch, The Language of Walter Scott, [2] published some fifteen years after David

1. D.Daiches, (1965), in Frazer, op.cit., p.150.

2. G.Tulloch, The Language of Walter Scott, London, 1980.