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Chapbook Versions of the Waverley Novels

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COLEMAN O. PARSONS

Chapbook Versions Of The Waverley Novels

Sir Walter Scott wrote for members of his own class, for a reading public which was able to pay a guinea for the three volumes of *Waverley* and, as the price mounted with the popularity of the Great Unknown, 24 s. for *The Antiquary*, 30 s. for *Ivanhoe*, 31 s. 6 d. for *Kenilworth*. and two guineas for the four volumes of *Pevekil of the Peak*. Although stage versions of the novels made them accessible to the less well-to-do, I cannot agree with Louis James that "the main impact of Scott on the lower classes came through the numerous and popular dramatizations of his works."¹ The judgment is much more applicable to chapbooks ranging in price from one to six pennies, available in towns and, at least in the cheaper issues, wherever the chapman travelled.

The chief repositories in which these chapbooks are preserved are the National Library of Scotland and the British Museum, as well as the Harvard University Library, the Mitchell Library of Glasgow, Scott's own library at Abbotsford, and the private collection of Dr. James C. Corson, to whom I am indebted for generous assistance. I have also found one or more Waverley chapbooks in the Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library, the Glasgow University Library, the Yale University Library, the New York Public Library, and the Library of Congress. But so rare are these little books that the Robert White Collection in the University Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, "the most important collection of Scottish chapbooks 'furth of the realm,'" contains only one, *Rob Roy*.² I have only been able to acquire two Waverley chapbooks, neither of them unique. My estimate would be that I have seen less than half of those published. I should therefore appreciate hearing of copies unlisted in this article or listed as not seen.

¹ Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man 1830-1850* (London, 1963), p. 88. Also see Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London, 1939), pp. 152, 163.

² F. W. Ratcliffe in *The Bibliotheca*, IV (1964), Nos. 3-4, pp. 87, 138. White's "love of Scott" was lifelong (p. 89).

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

The word *chapbook* will be used flexibly enough to include pamphlets of over 24 pages, of more than one printer's sheet, and with colored frontispieces. But in both simple and elaborate chapbooks, the purpose of production was the same, to simplify, cheapen, and diffuse works among the poor and less literate readers of England and Scotland.

WAVERLEY

1. WAVERLEY; OR, THE CASTLE OF MAC IVER: A HIGHLAND TALE, OF SIXTY YEARS SINCE. From the Pen of the Celebrated Author of "Kenilworth," &c. Epitomized from the Original, by Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson. London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-street. Price Sixpence. [1821] 33 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in four compartments, dated May 1, 1821.)
2. The same, type reset, with slight corrections, 34 p.
3. WAVERLEY; AND ROSE OF BRADWARDINE: A SCOTTISH TALE, OF THE LAST CENTURY. From the Pen of the Celebrated Author of "The Pirate," &c. &c. London: Printed and Sold by the Company of Booksellers.³ Price Sixpence. [1822] 40 p. (Colored frontispiece in two compartments.) Same text as above.
4. WAVERLEY; A TALE. FOUNDED ON THE REBELLION IN THE YEAR 1745. London: Printed for Beilby & Knotts, Birmingham; J. & C. Evans, London; Henry Mozley, Derby; and Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh. 1822. 36 p. (Frontispiece of "Waverley in the Robbers' Cave"; vignette on cover and on title-page.)
5. WAVERLEY. Alwrick: Published by W. Davison. Price Twopence. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover of his *Quentin Durward*.)

The Author of Waverley had already been cut to short story length in *Guy Mannering*, *Rob Roy*, *The Heart of Midlothian*, and *Ivanhoe* before his first novel appeared in chapbook form. Once on the market, however, it sold well enough to justify a second printing by Dean and Munday. Because the type, too valuable to hold until the 33-page edition was sold out, had been distributed, the Wilkinson version had to be reset. By setting fewer letters to a line, reducing his 45-line page to 44, and using the previously blank thirty-fourth page, the printer achieved a less crabbed text. He also corrected the spelling of *kindered*, *madien*, *delibetating*, *Waverly*, and *Carlise*, thereby showing a con-

³ "While many carried the names of publishers and printers, just as many contained the statement, 'Printed for the Booksellers.' . . . Expediency was the rule and without hesitation these printers stole the productions of rival presses." Harry B. Weiss, *A Catalogue of the Chapbooks in the New York Public Library* (New York, 1936), p. 6.

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

scientiousness in composition and proofreading which is not associated with chapbook production. Although the Company of Booksellers pirated the Wilkinson text, it changed the sub-title, brought the authorial reference up to date by substituting *The Pirate*, published in December, 1821, for *Kenilworth*, published in January of the same year, and avoided mentioning the Dean and Munday adapter.

Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson probably had a following of her own, which she entertained with "a very large number of short romantic Tales," didactic and sentimental pieces, and such thrillers as *The Subterraneous Passage; or, Gothic Cell*.⁴ Her name as epitomizer would enhance sales appeal. Experienced in condensing popular novels, she tries to explain Edward Waverley's political and romantic indecisiveness by initially stressing his divided family background, with a Hanoverian father and a Jacobite uncle. Flora MacIvor's fascination is somewhat played down, and Rose Bradwardine's improvement in "mind and person" is sufficiently played up to make the quickened beat of "our hero's wavering heart" understandable. The changing relations of Waverley and the Highland chief are also well managed. But set speeches like Evan Dhu's rhetorical and moving expression of loyalty to Fergus MacIvor dwindle to dry paraphrase, "saying, he would die with his chief." And of course such plot conveniences as the granting of pardons to Waverley and Bradwardine, through coming closer together than in the extended narrative, are move obviously factitious.

The emphasis in *Waverley; a Tale* is somewhat less on the interrelations of characters. Whereas the earlier feminine epitomizer motivates Waverley's shift in love, the anonymous summarizer is more interested in the events and romance of the Highlands and in the Chevalier's military campaign. Waverley's passiveness, his submission to the action of others, is evident throughout. Some necessary explanations are omitted, such as the Highland theft and treachery by which Waverley is made to seem guilty of attempting to swing his troop to the Chevalier's cause. Terms that would be difficult for less experienced readers are avoided; Fergus' warning spirit, the *Bodach Glas*, becomes "the Grey Spirit."

A typical capriciousness in the handling of chapbook frontispieces is evident in the compartments which are common to all three issues of the Wilkinson text, "Waverley shot at by Callum Beg" and "Fergus MacIvor warned by the Grey Spirit of his approaching Death." In

⁴ Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* (London, n.d.), pp. 213-14. Also see Weiss's *Catalogue* and Andrew Block, *The English Novel 1740-1850* (London, 1961), s. v. Wilkinson.

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

captions the spelling of proper names may differ from that of text or title-page, as in MacIvor and MacIver or in Callum, Collum, and Cullum Beg. The coloring may be light, somber, fantastic, or realistic. Waverley may be given a yellow garment and a red plaid by one colorist or a red garment and red-and-white plaid by another. The Grey Spirit may be grey or some other color, and the wash may be confined by the outline of the figure or spill over. The coloring varies according to the whim, skill, and speed of the worker.

GUY MANNERING

6. GUY MANNERING, THE ASTROLOGER, OR THE PROPHECY OF MEG MERRILIES, THE GIPSEY. London: Printed for W. Hone, 55 Fleet Street, 1816. Price Sixpence. 28 p. (Colored frontispiece by George Cruikshank of Meg Merrilies.)
7. GUY MANNERING. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Two-pence. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover of his *Quentin Durward*.)
8. THE ASTROLOGER; OR, THE PREDICTION OF GUY MANNERING. A Tale, Founded on Sir Walter Scott's Novel of "Guy Mannering." Glasgow: Published by Richard Griffin & Co., 1836. 60 p.
9. The same, 1849; the name of the printer, George Brookman, is not given on p. 60, as in 1836.

Scott's second novel was apparently the earliest one to tempt chapbook publishers. This start was due less to the success of the book, great as that was, than to the popularity of the dramatic versions beginning with that of Daniel Terry's *Guy Mannering; or, The Gipsy's Prophecy*, with Scott himself as partial collaborator. A Postscript (pp. 27-8), unusual in a chapbook, presents some "beautiful Poetry" from the musical play, lyrics by Joanna Baillie and Daniel Terry, both friends of Scott's. It also identifies the frontispiece of Meg Merrilies holding "a sapling bough" and looking grim as Mrs. Egerton and the colored title-page vignette of Dominie Sampson exclaiming "Prodigious!" as Mr. Liston. These actors opened in the parts at Covent Garden on March 12, 1816.⁵

This first chapbook is a miniature novel in four chapters, with appropriate mottoes from Scott, Dryden, Shakespeare, and "Old Ballad." The English reader is favored with a reduction in the proportion of

⁵ Also note the chapbook description of Meg with her left arm "bent and shrouded beneath the red drapery of her mantle, which might have been a study for Siddons herself" (p. 21). Mrs. Siddons had formally retired four years earlier.

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

Scots speech used, but the Dominie's comic Latin exorcism of the gypsy spawife is retained, as is Meg's famous purple passage. Twenty-four lines are given to her rebuke of the laird for expelling the gypsies, "Ride your ways . . . in the bonny woods of Ellangowan!" The story line is clear, transitions and time lapses being indicated in a workman-like fashion: "The reader must also take leave of him [Manning] for the present, as he will not appear again until a later period of his life." And in the rewarding of youthful virtue, the recognition of Meg's and Ellangowan's mixed natures, and the punishing of vice in Glossin and Hatteraick, conventional moral values are firmly upheld.

Two decades later, the Glasgow version offers by way of "Advertisement" a unique statement of technical and economic problems. Intended readers belong to a "class of society whose occupations permit them to devote but little time to the perusal of works of fiction, and whose want of means prevents the purchase of valuable and expensive publications." "All abridgments of the Waverley Novels, hitherto published, have failed to attain popularity. . . . In abridging a novel, such as 'Guy Mannering,' the difficulty lies in depicting its numerous characters and complicated incidents with proper spirit and fidelity, in language *brief*er than that employed by the author himself." In his own adaptation, the anonymous author has rejected "unimportant characters, useless incidents, and unnecessary descriptions" and has contrived "*new scenes* and *new events*, susceptible of brief description, and fit to combine into a harmonious whole the condensed portions of the original."

The Astrologer reads less like a summary than a new-told story, with dialogue. In contrast to Scott's more deliberate start, the opening sentence gives time, place, person, action, and purpose. "One dreary night, in the gloomy month of November, 17—, a student belonging to one of the English universities, who had, either from whim, or from some other reason equally powerful, been traversing the borders of the two kingdoms, knocked at the door of a lonely cottage, on the confines of Dumfriesshire, to inquire his way." The workingclass readers whom the adapter has in mind lead him to pay more attention to Dominie Sampson and the farmer, Dandie Dinmont, than to such an upperclass oddity as the lawyer, Pleydell. The proportionate reduction of Guy Mannering's astrology makes it less obtrusive at the start and therefore less obvious when later put aside. And the cutting of Meg Merrilies' action has the advantage of making the gypsy less theatrical and therefore more convincing than she is at times in the full-length novel. Her rhetorical curse on the feckless landowner Ellangowan is judiciously given sixteen lines. Letters are used as in

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

the novel. The plot is simplified but not oversimplified, and the title helps to focus the action in the end when Mannering says, like a prosaic Prospero, "I shall never more play the ASTROLOGER."

The novel also inspired a different kind of chapbook. In his *Memoir of William and Robert Chambers*. William recalls how he prepared a "sixpenny pamphlet" which "sold rapidly off," netting "a few pounds."⁶ This was the 28-page *Exploits and Anecdotes of the most remarkable Gypsies in the Southern Counties of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1821), which quotes "the author of Guy Mannering" in the Introduction and devotes Chapter I to "Anecdotes of Jean Gordon, the original of the character of Meg Merrilies" (pp. 3-9). So successful was this venture that the third edition of 1823 was expanded to 42 pages, *Exploits, Curious Anecdotes, and Sketches of the most remarkable Scottish Gypsies, or Tinklers*. With sales undoubtedly in mind, Chambers quotes *Guy Mannering* on the title-page.⁷ This was not the last occasion on which a Chambers rode on Scott's back.

THE BLACK DWARF

10. [William Chambers] THE LIFE AND ANECDOTES OF THE BLACK DWARF, OR DAVID RITCHIE . . . THE CELEBRATED ORIGINAL OF THE CHARACTER OF ELSHENDER, IN THE TALES OF MY LANDLORD. . . . TO WHICH IS ADDED, AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THE TALE OF 'THE BLACK DWARF.' Edinburgh: Printed and Sold by W. Chambers, Leith Walk, 1820. Price 2s.6d. 149 p. (Frontispiece of the original Black Dwarf.)
11. THE BLACK DWARF. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Two-pence. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover to his *Quentin Durward*.)

Although Chambers' combination of anecdotal biography and 113-page summary is both too long and too costly to qualify as a chapbook, it once served a similar purpose. "When a boy in Peeblesshire," William Chambers saw the bowed character who was later to be the original of Scott's Black Dwarf (1816).⁸ Once the oddity became topical, Chambers employed a printer, William Reid of Leith, to bring out the *Life* for sale by booksellers in Edinburgh, Leith, Peebles, Glasgow, and other towns. Convinced that the abridgment could not "in

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 12th ed. (Edinburgh, 1883), p. 170.

⁷ Chambers seems to have forgotten this edition when he reprinted the rare first edition in 1886 as *Exploits and Anecdotes of the Scottish Gypsies*.

⁸ Chambers' *Memoir of William and Robert Chambers*, 12th ed., p. 157.

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

the least injure the sale" of the longer narrative, Chambers had successfully approached the proprietors of *Tales of My Landlord*. His was a different market: "It is hoped, it will allay their [the readers'] curiosity at a small expence." In the reprint of 1885, Chambers omitted the summary, with the comment that originally "it doubtless added greatly to the interest of the volume, when the novel itself was, owing to its price, not readily accessible to the mass of the community."⁹ The four volumes of the *Tales*, including *The Black Dwarf* and *Old Mortality*, sold for 28s. and Chambers' background study and abridgment of the shorter novel for one-eleventh of that figure.

Because the shortened version is accurate, literate, sensitive, and ample, discussion of it would amount to discussion of the novel. A few comments, however, are needed. Border setting and turmoil are effectively presented. "It was at this period of public confusion that our story opens." Time shifts are not confusing: "On the morning preceding the night in which Hobbie's house was plundered and burnt, Miss Vere. . . ." Dialogue brings out character, illustrates local lore, and advances the action. And in this briefer form, the plot involving Jacobite conspirators who are both reckless and timorous ("Most of the other guests dispersed . . ."), with the heroine used as a pawn, clearly seems to be the Great Unknown's unconscious preparation for the central action of *Redgauntlet*.

ROB ROY

12. ROB ROY, A TALE. From the author of "Waverley." Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Twopence. [1820?] 31 p. (Frontispiece; title-page vignette; small illustrations on pp. 8, 10, 15, 19, variant of one in Davison's *Quentin Durward*, 22, and 29).
13. ROB ROY, THE CELEBRATED HIGHLAND FREEBOOTER; OR, MEMOIRS OF THE OSBALDISTONE FAMILY. Glasgow; Printed for the Booksellers, [No.] 2 [1830?] 24 p. (Title-page vignette of a Highland warrior in full dress, also used in the Booksellers' *History of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, No. 120.)
14. The same except for omission of [No.] 2; conjecturally dated 1840 in *Catalogue of the Lauriston Castle Chapbooks*, National Library of Scotland (Boston, Mass., 1964), p. 152.
15. The same as 1840 (?) except that the blank verso of the title-page is occupied by a large figure of "Baillie Nicol Jarvie."

⁹ Chambers, *The Life and Anecdotes of David Ritchie The Original of Sir Walter Scott's Black Dwarf* (Edinburgh, 1885), p. vii.

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

16. The same title and text. Belfast: Printed for the Booksellers, 1846. 24 p., with text beginning on 2 rather than 3; title-page vignette of two men, the smaller fleeing.
17. ROB ROY. London: Sold at Joseph & H. W. Bailey's Printing Office, 116, Chancery Lane. Price Sixpence. (With colored frontispiece "and neatly done up"; not seen, but listed on verso of front cover of Bailey's *The Pirate*, 1823.)

The spirit of place which in the novel suffuses the Clachan of Aberfoil and the Highlands with mystery, romance, and reality fades completely in the Alnwick version. What comes through most distinctly is the line of action. Simplification emphasizes Scott's resort to the formula first used in *Waverley*: a shuttlecock hero with a practical father and a Jacobite uncle, a politically dedicated heroine, and an excursion into the Highlands to complicate the plot. The characters of the hero, the heroine, and the villain, of Frank, Diana, and Rashleigh, suffer least in the condensation. But Rob Roy lapses back into the conventional chivalrous outlaw, owing nothing to Scott's ironic portrayal of a thief and ruffian with heroic qualities. Here the influence of chapbook lives of the Macgregor can be felt, as it can in the title of *Rob Roy, the Celebrated Highland Freebooter; or, Memoirs of the Osbaldistone Family*. In this summary, conjecturally dated 1830 by the New York Public Library, the conduct of the love difficulties, the mystery of "Father Vaughan," and the gradual revelation of Robert Campbell's identity as Rob Roy are very competently handled in twenty-two pages¹⁰ (as in a number of chapbooks, the title-page and its blank verso are counted as two pages). Not all of Andrew Fairservice's humor or of the supernatural overtones is lost. And Scott's rapid clearing away of intervening heirs receives the treatment it deserves: "It is somewhat strange, that all Sir Hildebrand's sons died, or were killed, a short time afterwards. By his uncle's will Frank succeeded to Osbaldistone Hall."

Scott's novel quickened interest in Rob Roy's life. This curiosity is catered to in *The Life and Achievements of Rob Roy Macgregor, the celebrated Scotch Freebooter!* fifth edition (London: Printed for the Company of Booksellers [1822]); *Rob Roy Macgregor* (Glasgow, 1823); *The Life and Exploits of Rob Roy M'Gregor, The Highland*

¹⁰ William Harvey's comment on the summary hardly recognizes the difficulties and the ephemeral achievement of this sub-type of literature: In "*Rob Roy, the Celebrated Highland Freebooter . . . we meet the creations of the Author of Waverley . . . but they are mere skeletons, not the living beings that move in the pages of Scott.*" *Scottish Chapbook Literature* (Paisley, 1903), pp. 87-8.

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

Freebooter (Kilmarnock: Printed by H. Crawford, Bookseller, 1827); and *The Life and Exploits of Rob Roy Macgregor* (Stirling: W. MacNie, n.d.). More substantial is *The Life and Surprising Exploits of Rob Roy Macgregor, a Highland Chieftain, reputed Marauder, and the Robin Hood of Scotland* (Manchester: Printed and Published by J. Gleave, 1823). Rob Roy and the smuggler, Captain Thomas Johnstone, in Plutarchan parallel-lives fashion, together with the manners and customs of sixteenth and seventeenth century Scots, fill the 120 pages of this work. In complexity of analysis of the Northern Robin Hood, it would seem to owe a debt to Scott. His mind "deeply infected by the low condition of life to which his whole family were reduced," Rob Roy was capable of acting like "a vulgar ruffian" when urged by "self-gratification" (Part I, p. 20). As the "Advertisement" states, "The late ingenious novel of ROB ROY, and its transformation into a pleasing opera, have revived the recollection of this heroic mountaineer, and rendered him an object of general interest." This sentence is repeated by D. Stewart, M.A., in his derivative 60-page *Life and Surprising Exploits of Rob Roy Macgregor, with an Historical Sketch of the celebrated Clan Macgregor* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by Mackenzie and Dent, n.d.). This sold for a shilling, as did Stewart's abridgment of *The Heart of Midlothian*, done for the same publishers about 1830. The operatic version in turn inspired a special kind of chapbook:

Bailie Nicol Jarvie's Journey to Aberfoil. Glasgow: Printed by and for J. Neil, 17, Bazar. 1829. 8 p., with the title song, as sung by Mackay in *Rob Roy*, on pp. 2-3.

Bailie Nicol Jarvie's Song Book. Glasgow: Printed for the Booksellers. n.d. Price One Penny. 32 p.

The *Song Book* generously includes "Bailie Nicol Jarvie's Journey to Aberfoil," to the air of "The Quaker's Wife," "The Dougal Cratur's Account o' Hersel," "Macgregor's Gathering," "Lament of Macgregor," and "Rob Roy."

THE HEART OF MIDLOTHIAN

18. THE HEART OF MID LOTHIAN; OR, THE LILY OF ST. LEONARD, A Caledonian Tale of Great Interest, on which is founded the Piece of that name Performing at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden and the Surry Theatre.¹¹ London: Printed and Published by J. Bailey, 116,

¹¹ Thomas Dibdin's dramatization was running at the Surrey Theatre when Daniel Terry's less successful play opened at Covent Garden on April 17, 1819. Henry A. White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage* (New Haven, 1927), pp. 57-73.

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE.

Chancery Lane. Sixpence. [1819] 24 p. (Colored frontispiece of Staunton defending the dying Madge Wildfire against the mob.)

19. The same text and frontispiece but a second issue brought out *after* the simultaneously running Convent Garden-Surrey Theatre dramatic versions; the title-page was changed to read, "On which is founded the Piece of that Name, Performed at the London Theatres."
20. The same text, reset, with phrasing of title-page again altered, "On which is founded the Piece of that Name, performed with unbounded Applause, at the different Theatres."¹⁹ London: Printed for the Company of Booksellers. Sixpence. [1822] 34 p.
21. THE HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN, A ROMANTIC TALE, FOUNDED ON FACTS. Hay and Turner, Printers, 11, Newcastle-street, Strand. [1820?] 24 p. (The title-page is missing in the British Museum copy, which is stamped on the first page of text, p. 3, "Carmichael's Circulating Library Hutesontown," and is attributed in the B. M. catalogue to Joseph Claude Mauris, epitomizer. I have supplied title and printer from pp. 3, 24.)
22. THE HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN, OR THE AFFECTING HISTORY OF JEANIE AND EFFIE DEANS. Abridged from the Original, by D. Stewart. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by Mackenzie and Dent, St. Nicholas' Church-yard. Price One Shilling. [1830?] 52 p. (Frontispiece, "Jeanie Visits Effie in the Tolbooth.")
23. THE HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN: OR THE LILY OF ST. LEONARD'S. In Two Parts. Edinburgh: Published by Caw & Elder, High Street, and Alex. Peat, 35, South Bridge. Price Twopence. n.d. Part II, 24 p. (Part II would seem to be a drastically cut version of Stewart's abridgment, pp. 26-52; the National Library of Scotland lacks Part I.)
24. JEANIE DEANS AND THE LILY OF ST. LEONARD'S, title on p. 3; ILLUSTRATED HISTORICAL LIBRARY FOR THE YOUTH OF HAPPY ENGLAND. THE LILY OF ST. LEONARD'S. [No.] 11, title on decorated front cover. London. Webb, Millington and Compv. Wine Office Court Fleet Street²⁰ Price One Penny (Two-pence Coloured) n.d. 31 p. (Frontispiece of the queen promising Jeanie her "warm intercession with his majesty"; six pictures distributed through the text, pp. 7, 14, 17, 19, 22, and 25)
25. THE HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Twopence. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover of his *Quentin Durward*; conceivably

¹⁹The Dibdin and Terry dramatizations were combined in December 1819 and modified for Scotland in November 1822. Between 1819 and 1877 there were at least fifteen stage versions of the novel.

²⁰At the bottom of p. 31, "Webb, Millington & Co., Printers, Leeds and Otley."

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

the same text as that in the "Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England")

Different adapters of *The Heart of Midlothian*, 1818, had different solutions of the technical problem, how and with whom to begin the story. The Bailey version of 1819 opens with the good man, Reuben Butler, and does not allow the villain, Staunton, to appear until the sixth, or speak until the tenth, page. On the other hand, the Hay-Turner text of 1820 starts out with the profligate youth of Effie's seducer, "whose crimes have given rise to this narrative." Stewart chooses to begin with smuggling, smugglers, and the Porteous Riot, and the "Illustrated Historical Library" launches the tale with the Porteous Riot.

The Bailey narrative begins in leisurely manner with the background of the Butler and Deans families, indicates religious conditioning, then presents Effy's trial in which her sister's "truth and virtue prevailed," follows "Jannie" to London, and has Effy being "led forth towards the Grass Market (the Tyburn of Edinburgh)" when Jannie arrives with the pardon. At this point, Thomas Dibdin's play seems to be echoed: "Jannie rushes in with Deans and Reuben. . . . Effie looks amazed, faintly screams, and falls into Jannie's arms."¹⁴ The final sentence points the moral: "May the snare into which the imprudent Effy drew herself, be a warning to young females; and let parents, while they watch over the actions of their children and train them to virtue, beware of rigid austerity, for it is best to invite confidence, and not repel it between ourselves and our offspring."

The Hay-Turner story is divided into four chapters, which center on Staunton, then on Effie (II-III), and finally on Jannie and Effie. In this stringent curtailment, the Porteous Riot and much matter preliminary to the trial are reduced to a few words; the religious life of old Deans and of young Butler and Effie's trial are omitted ("Jannie quickly procured her sister's liberation"). A goodly number of speeches, however, are given in braid Scots. The effect of this simplification of detail is stark urgency, with an intensified focus on a few characters. Almost throughout it is Jannie's story.

Stewart's organization of *The Heart of Midlothian* is the most complex as well as the least neglectful of Scott's values. The order of time followed is *in medias res*: the action opens with smuggling and other conflicts culminating in the Porteous Riot, which leads to Effie's re-

¹⁴ Thomas Dibdin, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (London [1819]), p. 54 (III, vi). In the Scottish version, the curtain also falls on Jannie's timely appearance at the Grass Market with Effie's pardon. *The Heart of Mid-Lothian; a Romantic National Drama* (Edinburgh [1822]), p. 66 (V, iv).

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

fusal to escape from the Tolbooth and to Reuben Butler's forced attendance on Porteous before the hanging (pp. 3-9). This calls for the past circumstances of Deans's family, the contrasted sisters and the waywardness of Effie to the time of her arrest (9-19). "Thus was it with the afflicted family until the morning after Porteous's death, a period at which we are now arrived." By this transition, the action connects with matters suspended on p. 9; it then proceeds chronologically (19-52). Butler, released, meets Staunton, who gives him a message summoning Jeanie to a midnight meeting. The interview of Staunton and Butler, of Staunton and Jeanie, of Jeanie and her imprisoned sister, and the trial itself are not given in paraphrase but in dialogue (pp. 20-2, 28-30, 35-8, and 38-43), so that key moments are realized: "Alack! alack! she never breathed word to me about it."

Values preserved by Stewart are Davie Deans's stubborn Cameronian conscience; the concept of twofold predestination, romantic and theological (Staunton is an *homme fatal*, "predestined to evil"); Meg Murdockson's ambivalent feeling toward Staunton as her former nurseling and seducer of her daughter; the use of demonology to characterize Staunton and Meg; and the evocation of spirit of place (the eeriness of Muschat's Cairn). Omissions are dictated by considerations of space, but one of them may be an implied criticism of Scott's resort to melodramatic retribution in the killing of Staunton by his illegitimate son. Though moral, Stewart refuses to be sensational: "Sir George Staunton was always melancholy and reserved. Indeed, notwithstanding the apparent gaiety and spirit possessed by Effie, the effect of her first error continued to sour her enjoyments: while the virtues of Jeanie were crowned with peace and happiness." The Caw-Elder version, while retaining in brief form much of the phrasing of Stewart, fails to bring out his rewards-and-punishment contrast: "After Butler's settlement, he married Jeanie, whose virtues were crowned with peace and happiness. Effie was married to Staunton, and passed for a descendant of an ancient Scottish family."

The penny-plain version for the "Illustrated Historical Library" has the same temporal development, use of *in medias res*, and clarity of transition as Stewart's rendering, whose phrasing it also at times approximates. One transition, "It will here be necessary to give some account of the person whom Jeanie met at the cairn, and how he came to be interested in the fate of her sister," introduces Staunton's past and his connection with a contraband trader. After this dip into antecedent action, the reader is brought back to the narrative present: "We now return to Jeanie Deans, who had been cited as a witness

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

on behalf of her sister. On the day of trial she acknowledged that the prisoner had never said any thing to her on the subject of the expected birth of her child; and accordingly Effie was found guilty and condemned to be executed." Thus the trial is squeezed into one sentence. Choice of essential detail involves omission of the obstacles to Jeanie's reaching London, as well as her meeting with the elder and younger Staunton on the way: "It would be useless to follow our heroine through all her journeyings. Suffice it to say that she reached London in about a fortnight. . . ." The tension, the sense of difficulties overcome, is achieved by devoting pp. 27-30 to Jeanie's interviews with the at first reluctant Duke of Argyle and with the queen. Effie, when freed, recovered her child, privately married Staunton, and retired to England. An altered man, her husband "endeavoured to atone for the errors of his past life by a thorough reformation." As for Jeanie and her mate, "The simple pair lived long, respected and beloved by all who knew them." By his uncluttered narrative, which omits Meg Murdockson and her daughter, Madge Wildfire, by honesty of treatment, and by singleness of moral focus, the anonymous condenser fulfilled his duty to "the Youth of Happy England."

The variety of methods used to condense *The Heart of Midlothian* and the emphasis of most adapters on the moral consequence of action, as well as the number of adaptations, would suggest that this novel offered the greatest challenge. It made little use of history, pageantry, or the tenuous loves of the wellborn in the usual Waverley fashion. Its most realistic set of characters belonged to the lower class; the sisters' conditioning as responsible person or "child of nature" came out of familiar circumstances; and the upper class Byronic villain was in keeping with popular imaginings. It had a maximum of substance to offer humble readers.

The popularity of Scott's novel undoubtedly inspired the resurrection of an old gallows narrative: *The Confession, &c. of Nicol Muschet, of Boghal, who was executed in the Grassmarket, January, 1721, for the Murder of his Wife, in the Duke's Walk, near Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1818). This 63-page pamphlet, explaining the gruesomeness of Muschat's Cairn, sold for a shilling. For those with more money and a broader comprehension, there was the booklength, eight shilling *Criminal Trials, Illustrative of the Tale Entitled 'The Heart of Mid-Lothian'* (Edinburgh, 1818). Brought out the same year as the fiction, the two works reflect the difference between the humble and sophisticated readers for whom they were intended. The *Confession* is sensational and

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

moral, being "fraught with instruction to all classes, but more particularly to the young, to shun the very appearance of evil" ("To the Reader"), and the *Criminal Trials* is antiquarian and factual.

THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR

26. THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Twopence. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover of his *Quentin Durward*).

Having suggested in print that *The Bride of Lammermoor* is like a chapbook in compression and melodramatic power,¹⁵ I am now faced by the paradox of relative lack of interest among makers of chapbooks. Scott published three novels in 1819, the *Bride*, *A Legend of Montrose*, and *Ivanhoe*. The two Scottish stories were adapted for the stage in the year of issue, and at least in number of dramatic versions (20) the *Bride* was the most popular of the Scottish plots, only surpassed in general audience appeal by two of the English tales, *Ivanhoe* (29) and *Kenilworth* (27).¹⁶ There is certainly no lack of substance for chapbook moralists in the *Bride*. Perhaps, the novelty of the Great Unknown's first venture into English life and history may in part account for the slight attention paid the *Bride* in chapbooks.

IVANHOE

27. IVANHOE, OR THE JEW AND HIS DAUGHTER, AN INTERESTING OLD ENGLISH TALE. Founded on Facts. London: Printed and Published by W. Mason, 21, Clerkenwell Green. Sixpence. 1820. 36 p. (Colored frontispiece of Ivanhoe with his foot on the breast of the dead "Brian de Bois")
28. IVANHOE; OR, THE KNIGHT TEMPLAR, AND THE JEW'S DAUGHTER. AN ANCIENT TALE OF ENGLISH CHIVALRY: from the Celebrated Romance of "Ivanhoe," by the Author of "Tales of my Landlord," &c. &c. London: Printed and Published by J. Bailey, 116, Chancery Lane. Price Sixpence. n.d. 24 p. (Colored frontispiece of "Blois Guilbert" carrying Rebecca off on horseback)
29. Same title; same text, with inferior proofreading. London: Printed for the Company of Booksellers. Price Sixpence. [1822] 33 p. (Colored

¹⁵ "The Dalrymple Legend in *The Bride of Lammermoor*," *Review of English Studies*, XIX (1943), 57-8; *Witchcraft and Demonology in Scott's Fiction* (Edinburgh, 1964), p. 145.

¹⁶ Although the count in H. A. White's *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage* could be extended, I doubt whether the ratios of popularity would be significantly altered.

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

frontispiece of "Blois Gilbert" carrying Rebecca off on horseback; Bailey's shortened title on the opening page, "Ivanhoe; or, The Knight Templar," is changed to "Ivanhoe, and the Jew's Daughter")

30. REBECCA, THE JEWESS. A TALE. Founded on the Romance of Ivanhoe. London: Printed for Beilby & Knotts, Birmingham; J. & C. Evans, London; Henry Mozley, Derby; and Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh. [1822?] 33 p. (Colored frontispiece of "Gurth and Wamba")
31. HISTORY OF IVANHOE AND REBECCA THE JEWESS. London: Webb, Millington and Comp^y. Wine Office Court Fleet Street. Price One Penny, Twopence Coloured. (Not seen, but No. 4 of the "Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England," listed on the back cover of No. 11, *Jeanie Deans and the Lily of St. Leonard's*)

Concerned over the effect of remoteness in time and culture on the sales of *Ivanhoe*, the proprietor of "Mason's Pamphlet Warehouse" resorted to the title-page subterfuge of asserting that his old English tale was "Founded on Fact." On the back of the title-page a note was inserted to orient readers on the "illused and oppressed" Saxons, native English; their "bitter enemies," the Normans, who enjoyed all the profit and advantage; and their common interest in ill-treating "the poor Jews." As a quotation from *The Merchant of Venice* ("Hath not a Jew eyes . . .," title-page) suggests, sympathy is for the Jew — and more particularly for Rebecca. Although Rowena must win Ivanhoe, Rebecca has the adapter's last word: ". . . when goodness or beauty was mentioned, it always concluded with the name of the lovely Rebecca, the jews' daughter. FINIS."

The story is immediately got under way in Cedric the Saxon's home, when a storm brings together Jews, Normans, and an unnamed pilgrim. Lives and races are intertwined, with serfs later complicating the action. Compression is extreme. King Richard's part is disproportionately reduced, and Robin Hood and his men, as well as Ulrica, are banished altogether. Only one narrative sequence, that of Rebecca at the stake, her trial by combat, and the arrival of King Richard, is given much attention (pp. 29-34). In this over-simplified form the plot stereotypes on which Scott depends in more than one novel are very obvious: mystery created by the use of two names for one character; suspense due to capture, imprisonment, and escape; the lust of an evil noble for a fair maid; and a maiden's legal or pseudo-legal trial.

The level of English is perhaps the lowest in any Waverley chapbook. The first sentence is 24 lines long, with semicolons and connectives (but, and, for) taking the place of periods. The phrasing is stiff and lifeless and the grammar slovenly ("for it was him" occurs

twice); mistakes are egregious (Isaac wears "a garberdine"). Bother-some Norman-French names are simplified, Brian de BoisGuilbert becoming Brian de Bois or even Bois; in other chapbooks he appears as Blois Guilbert and as Brian de Bois-Guilbert, with occasional variations in spelling.

Both the English and the conduct of the story in *Ivanhoe; or, The Knight Templar, and the Jew's Daughter* are more competent. The political-racial background, including Prince John's persecution of the Jews and the schemes of "Cerdric" in incite revolt in favor of a Saxon monarch, is clearly sketched in. Rebecca's love at first sight for Ivanhoe is given less space than the scene of Blois Guilbert's attempt on her honor (pp. 19-23). But the author cannot stomach Scott's account of the villain's death in combat with Ivanhoe (in the 1820 chapbook, "Unhurt by the lance of his enemy, he had died a victim to his own contending passions"). Instead, he insists on realism: "The conflict was dreadful—but the Templar fell mortally wounded to the earth. I am guilty—the maid is innocent!"—he uttered in agonies and expired." His story ends with Rebecca unmarried in Spain, helping "the poor and afflicted" and remembering Ivanhoe purely and gratefully.

Rebecca, the Jewess opens with a statement of procedure, value, and audience. "The following Tale is a condensed view of some of the principal scenes and leading characters in the popular romance of Ivanhoe, which so admirably illustrates the different classes of society in England at the important period to which it refers; and we can scarcely entertain a doubt that it will prove an acceptable offering to all those, at least, who may not have had an opportunity of perusing the original." Despite his recurrent guidance of the reader ("In the meantime," "While these events were going forward," "We . . . now return to Isaac the Jew" or ". . . to King Richard and Ivanhoe"), the adapter is capable of jumbling events, as when in five paragraphs he shifts from Locksley to the Saxons to Richard, then back to Cedric's party and on to Gurth. Norman names, however, do not baffle him. Despite his title and his courtesy in speaking of Rebecca last, he is perhaps more interested in the clash of power groups represented by men than in love or persecution.

The influence of dramatizations on chapbooks is suggested by the likeness of their titles. Thomas Dibdin's *Ivanhoe; or, The Jew's Daughter*, W. T. Moncrieff's *Ivanhoe; or, The Jewess*, and Samuel Beazley's *Ivanhoe; or, The Knight Templar* were first played or printed in 1820. Like the abridgments, the dramas capitalize on the Templar's desire for Rebecca, and two of them "make Isaac and his daughter the central

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

figures."¹⁷ The popular interest in persecution and conflict was much the same in audiences as among the readers of sixpenny booklets.

THE MONASTERY

32. THE MONASTERY OF ST. MARY; OR, THE WHITE MAID OF AVENEL. A SCOTTISH TALE. By Emelia Grossett. London: Printed and Published by J. Bailey, 116, Chancery Lane. Price Sixpence. n.d. 24 p. (Colored frontispiece of Halbert Glendenning and the White Lady)
33. THE MONASTERY. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Twopence. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover of his *Quentin Durward*)

Perhaps the finest value of *The Monastery* for readers today is Scott's evocation of place as both seen and felt. The opening of the Grossett version focuses on setting and action: "On the borders of Scotland, on the banks of the celebrated River Tweed, once stood the magnificent Benedictine Monastery of St. Mary, and at the time of the wars between England and Scotland, it was commanded by the worthy Abbot Boniface." Some five miles away, in a romantic glen to which led the fairy-haunted Red Valley, with its holly bush and fountain, rose the Tower of Glendearg. But not much is made of the scene. The conflict of Glendenning and Sir Piercie Shafton, mercifully stripped of his Euphuistic arabesques of speech, is central, and the miller's daughter Mysie emerges as a more fetching heroine than the Lady of Avenel's daughter Mary. The rivalry between Halbert and his younger brother Edward, retroactively disclosed, loses its significance in the course of action. Scott's jerry-built ending, with marriage, conversion, and restitution resting shakily on each other, is all the more wobbly for being greatly condensed. Brevity has the advantage, however, of narrowing the scope of the fantastic *White Lady*. From the day of the marriage of the "the peasant" Halbert and "the maid of Avenel," whom the visitant had vainly tried to keep apart, "no one . . . ever again saw or heard aught of the spirit called the White Maid of Avenel. The End."

THE ABBOT

34. THE ABBOT; OR, THE HEIR OF AVENEL. By the Author of *Waverley*. Epitomized by William Francis Sullivan, A.M.¹⁸ London:

¹⁷ White's *Scott's Novels on the Stage*, p. 197. George Soane's *The Hebrew* and two anonymous plays, *Ivanhoe; or, Isaac of York* and *Ivanhoe; or, The Jew of York*, also appeared in 1820.

¹⁸ William Francis Sullivan (1756-1830), "Teacher of elocution and belles-lettres," also did *The History of Ben the Sailor and Ned the Soldier* (London: A. K. Newman & Co., 1818), Price One Shilling.

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

- Printed and Sold by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle-street. Price Sixpence. [1820] 40 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in four compartments)
35. Same title; same text. Epitomized by a Favourite Author [Sullivan]. London: Printed for the Company of Booksellers. Price Sixpence. [1822] 40 p. (Colored frontispiece in two compartments)
36. THE ABBOT OF KENNAQUAIR, A ROMANCE; DESCRIBING SOME OF THE MOST MEMORABLE PARTICULARS IN THE SCOTTISH HISTORY, AS TO REGENT MURRAY; MARY OF SCOTLAND; THE LOCHLEVIN FAMILY, &c.; DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES, AND NUMEROUS INTERESTING EVENTS. From the Pen of the Author of *Waverley*. To which is added, the affecting Tale of Anningait and Ajut; or, The Greenland Lovers. London: Printed and Published by W. Mason, 21, Clerkenwell Green. Price Sixpence. n.d. 36 p. (ABBOT, pp. 3-30; colored frontispiece of Lady Avenel watching the rescue of Roland by a dog)
37. THE ABBOT. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Twopence. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover of his *Quentin Durward*)

The chapbook sequel to *The Monastery* followed the pattern of its novel in being more popular than the original narrative, over which it had the advantage of greater historical authenticity, less glaring improbability in its omnipresent aid (that of Magdalen Graeme, "Mother Nicneven"), and greater appeal of such characters as the impetuous hero Roland, the intriguing heroine Catherine, and Mary Queen of Scots. The Sullivan version opens with the lonely, childless household of Sir Halbert Glendinning and the Lady of Avenel. The adoption of Roland Graeme introduces a favorite *Waverley* theme, the effect of over-indulgence on youth. Then, as with several heroes of the *Great Unknown*, Roland is alternately the pawn of rival parties. After the saving of a soldier on the opposite, winning side has brought pardon for apparent treachery, Roland marries a representative of the romantic and defeated cause (as in *Waverley*). The ambivalence of life is also reflected in the mistaking of Henry Seyton for his sister Catherine, a confounding of sex and dress which is left unexplained in the hurried conclusion.

Roland's confusion of the twins, Catherine and Henry, is cleared up in *The Abbot of Kennaquair*, and the connection of the title character with "the partizans for Mary's restoration" is more evident. The adapter moves effectively from historical background, Mary's troubled life and Scotland's civil turmoil, to the non-historical persons. "We are aware these facts are almost generally known, yet it was so far necessary to

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

state, that we might introduce the Abbot, with whom this part of the Scottish history is closely connected, as well as the heroes and heroines of the various families who will appear in the subsequent pages." This leads to the lonely Glendinning household and the adoption of Roland Graeme, whose grandmother is introduced by comparing her with her prototype in *Guy Mannerling*. "After-circumstances will prove her to be a Meg Merrilies of an higher order than that remarkable gipsey." Throughout the conduct of his story, the anonymous condenser shows more sense of history than Sullivan and more immediate awareness of personality, as in the Benedict-and-Beatrice scene in which Roland and Catherine twit each other. His lapses are chiefly verbal: misspellings such as Greame, shifts back and forth from present to past tense, unnecessary change of Halbert to Albert Glendinning, and a delightful malapropism ("the niches now despoiled of their statutes").

KENILWORTH

38. KENILWORTH; OR, A TALE OF THE INN: A ROMANCE OF THE SIXTEEN CENTURY: by the Celebrated Author of *Waverley*, and *Ivanhoe*. We treat of Queen's Courtiers, and such goodly personages, also of Murder, and persecuted Innocence, to make Human Nature shudder, and exclaim, Can such things be permitted? Epitomised by Sarah S. Wilkinson. London: Printed and Sold by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle-street. Price Sixpence. [1821] 26 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in four compartments)
39. KENILWORTH CASTLE; OR, STRANGE THINGS IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH. A ROMANCE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: By the Celebrated Author of *Waverley*, *Ivanhoe*, *Pirate*, etc.¹⁹ We treat of Queen's Courtiers . . . ? (as above) Epitomised by a Favorite Author [Wilkinson]. London: Printed for the Company of Booksellers. Price Sixpence. [1822] 34 p. (Colored frontispiece in two compartments; the Wilkinson text with some variations and with two of the four illustrations used.)
40. KENILWORTH; OR, THE EARL OF LEICESTER AND AMY ROBSART; A TALE. London: Printed for Beilby & Knotts, Birmingham; J. & C. Evans, London; Henry Mozley, Derby; and Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh. 1822. 36 p. (Colored frontispiece of "Queen Elizabeth and Amy Robsart"; vignette of a young woman on the green cover and colored vignette of a marriage on the titlepage.)

¹⁹ This stolen text was brought out after *The Pirate*, December 1821, and probably before *The Fortunes of Nigel*, May 1822. The original Wilkinson epitome would have come out between January (*Kenilworth*) and December 1821. The change of title from *Kenilworth* to *Kenilworth Castle* may have been suggested by the first dramatization of Scott's novel, James Robinson Planché's *Kenilworth Castle; or, The Days of Good Queen Bess*, acted at the Adelphi Theatre on February 8, 1821.

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

41. KENILWORTH; OR, THE GOLDEN DAYS OF QUEEN BESS. London: Printed by and for Hodgson & Co. No. 10, Newgate Street. Price Sixpence. [1823].
 Part I, 24 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece, "Tresillian taking Vengeance on Richard Varney.")
 Part II, 28 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece, "The Countess of Leicester decoyed into the Trap, at Tony Fosters, loses her life"; frontispieces, done by George Cruikshank, are dated January 28 and April 1, 1823, respectively.)
42. Same title and text, with variations. London: Printed by and for W. Cole, 10, Newgate-street. Price Sixpence. [1823] Part I, 24 p.; Part II, 28 p. (same illustrations and dates).²⁰
43. KENILWORTH CASTLE; OR, THE TRIALS OF AMY ROBSART. London: Webb, Millington and Comp^y. Wine Office Court Fleet Street. Price One Penny, Twopence Coloured. (Not seen, but No. 7 of the "Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England," listed on the back cover of No. 11, *Jeanie Deans and the Lily of St. Leonard's*.)
44. KENILWORTH. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover of his *Quentin Durward*.)

The earliest *Kenilworth* chapbook opens ingratiatingly: "Elizabeth, of immortal memory, England's great and glorious Queen, it is well known, was the terror of her foes and the pride of her subjects; yet, in common with all human beings, for who is exempt? she had her foibles and her frailties." When these frailties include envy, love of flattery and of absolute power, the secret marriage of her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, to Amy Robsart is bound to advance through further concealment and intrigue to disaster. The complication of the plot by Tresillian's love for Amy, Varney's manipulation of Leicester, and Leicester's hostility to the Earl of Sussex is well handled. The action is clearcut throughout, and the balance scale of morality weighs exactly at the end: "Varney and Forster fled from justice, but perished miserably abroad, and acknowledging that they deserved their sufferings, in return for

²⁰ I have read the two-part *Kenilworth* in the Widener Collection of the Harvard University Library. In this madeup set, Part I was printed by Cole and Part II by Hodgson. Albert M. Cohn notes that "the imprint on the plates appears to be always that of Hodgson & Co.," and A. S. W. Rosenbach lists the Cole chapbook as "the second edition." Part I may have the imprint Hodgson, 43 King Street, Snow Hill. Both Mr. Cohn and Capt. R. J. H. Douglas find unimportant differences in text. Douglas, *The Works of George Cruikshank Classified and Arranged* (London, 1903), pp. 102-3; Rosenbach, *A Catalogue of the Works Illustrated by George Cruikshank . . . in the Library of Harry Elkins Widener* (Philadelphia, 1918), p. 89; and Cohn, *George Cruikshank A Catalogue Raisonné* (London, 1924), pp. 135-36.

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

those they had brought on that most amiable and loveliest of women, the rose of Lidcote."

In the second version, "Entered in Stationers' Hall" and put on sale in London, Derby, Birmingham, and Edinburgh, the rough course of true love is followed from the very start, "In the reign of Queen Elizabeth lived a celebrated beauty, whose name was Amy Robsart. . . ." Nothing in the slow opening, the conscientious retention of minor characters, or the flat summary of action and dialogue prepares the reader for the boldest departure from Scott's narrative among the Waverley chapbooks. When Leicester's voice is heard at Cumnor Place, "Varney instantly rushed out with the intention of despatching the Earl, and, stepping on the trap-door, was precipitated to the bottom." No longer manipulated by his Iago, the earl presents his wife to the queen, and the royal festivities at Kenilworth become nuptial, with Elizabeth lingering as the guest of her quondam favorite for a fortnight. But Leicester is wise enough to seek and obtain "leave of absence from court during the remainder of his life." Although the last two pages are devoted to the "Character of Queen Elizabeth," historicity counts far less than "connubial happiness."

Part I of the Cole *Kenilworth* opens with a very expert narrowing of the focus to specific action and tensions, advancing rapidly from "the princely castle" and its grounds to Queen Elizabeth's intended visit, the contrasted rivals, Leicester and Sussex, and their retinues, and the contention of Varney and Tressilian over Sir Hugh Robsart's daughter Amy (pp. 3-6). The cross-purposes of Amy's actual marriage to Leicester, the deception of the Queen, and Tressilian's assumption that Varney is the abductor or husband, are well kept up. The instalment ends with Amy's assurance to Tressilian that she is honorable, "lost and miserable as thou deemest her now." Then follows the continued-in-our-next device: "For the sequel of this pathetic and interesting Romance, see 'Kenilworth,' Part II. W. Cole, 10, Newgate Street."

In Hodgson's Part II, the abridger moves from one scene to another by easy transitions and plays up important events by means of dialogue. The minimizing of the larger historical context throws emphasis on Leicester and Amy, with the Queen investigating Amy's mysterious marriage. The steps by which Varney prepares for Amy's destruction are clearly detailed. In the starkness of condensation, Varney's arousing of Leicester's retributive jealousy of Amy and Tressilian by showing him a glove of Amy's clearly recalls Scott's indebtedness to Iago and his creator. Varney and Foster perish in England, not abroad. Apparently expendable oddities like Wayland Smith, Flibbertigibbet, and Alasco

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

are retained in the narrative. Altogether, in accuracy of typography, management of story, and motivation, this is one of the best Waverley chapbooks.

THE PIRATE

45. THE PIRATE, OR, THE SISTERS OF BURGH WESTRA: A TALE OF THE ISLANDS OF SHETLAND AND ORKNEY. Epitomized from the celebrated Novel of the same Title, Written by the Author of Waverley, by Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson. London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-street. Price Sixpence. [1822] 26 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in four compartments, dated Jan. 28, 1822.)
46. Same title, text, and frontispiece, dated Jan. 28, 1822; title-page reset after revelation of Scott's authorship of the Waverley Novels (1827): "Epitomized from the celebrated Pirate of Sir Walter Scott, By Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson." London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-street. Price Sixpence. n.d. 26 p.
47. THE PIRATE; OR, THE WITCH OF THE WINDS. WITH THE ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN CLEVELAND AND MINNA TROIL. ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF THE CEREMONIES & INCANTATIONS OF NORNA OF THE FITFUL HEAD. WITH THE MYSTERIES OF THE NORTHERN SAGAS. . . . London: Printed by Joseph & H. W. Bailey, Chancery Lane. Price Sixpence. [1823] 27 p. plus one advertising "New Pamphlets." (Folding, colored frontispiece, "Capt^m. Cleveland assisted by Mertoun rescuing Minna from the Pirates," by George and Robert Cruikshank.)
48. THE PIRATE, OR MINNA AND BRENDA. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Twopence. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover of his *Quentin Durward*.)

The earlier rendering of *The Pirate* makes no concession to its readers in vocabulary, in length or structure of sentences. In fact, the last sentence, devoted to 'Norna of Fitful Head, contains 124 words and is fourteen lines long. Proceeding nevertheless in a generally brisk, logical fashion, Wilkinson announces place, time, and antiquity in her opening sentence and introduces Magnus Troil in her second. The reader is soon made acquainted with the romantic misanthrope, Basil Mertoun, and his son Mordaunt, who live in Jarlshoff, leased from Troil. Minna and Brenda Troil are contrasted. Then the Yellowley household is presented: "The next principal personages in the story are. . . ." After setting circumstances, and characters have been made known, the story itself begins to move on the sixth and seventh pages with the successive arrival at the Yellowleys of Mordaunt, the pedlar Boyce Snailsfoot, and the prophetess Norna, all driven to inhospitable shelter by a storm. The pirate Cleveland is shipwrecked, rescued by Mordaunt,

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

and made the complicator of the action, as in the novel. The scene shifts from the Shetlands to the Orkneys, where Minna and the pirate have three farewell interviews. But Wilkinson, like Scott, grudges space to lovers' meetings: ". . . their parting moments beggared all description." No change is made in the happy union of Mordaunt and Brenda or in the unhappy separation of Cleveland and Minna. Despite the sensationalism and sentimentality of her other works (as suggested by their titles), Wilkinson is remarkably faithful to the mood and content of Scott's long novel.

Because the second version is better known to Cruikshank than to Scott collectors, something may be said about the frontispiece, which is except for Hodgson's *Kenilworth* the largest single picture in a Waverley chapbook. Against a background of trees and battlements, men engage in combat with guns, pistols, swords, and even a halberd. While a pirate grasps Minna by the wrist, he is being pistoled by Cleveland. The foreground is occupied by two casualties, the upper half of one corpse lying with its head toward the combatants and the lower half of the other with its feet toward the same combatants. By a singular economy, the two halves of one figure, wearing the same red and yellow kilt, are made to supply a pair of corpses. This may have been a private joke of the Cruikshank brothers.²¹

As for the narrative itself, although it opens much in the manner of the Wilkinson version, the epitome of 1823 concentrates somewhat more, as its title suggests, on mystic lore and on Norna and her powers. Three pages are devoted to Norna's casting of the lead charm for drooping Minna. Norna is at last "convinced of the delusion under which she had lived so long," but Scott's rationalizations of the supernatural are mostly eliminated, to the advantage of consistency. By making less of the oddities of character than does Wilkinson, the anonymous adapter can afford more detail to the basic plot.

THE FORTUNES OF NIGEL

49. THE FORTUNES OF NIGEL: A TALE, By the Author of Waverley. Epitomised from the original, by Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson. London: Printed for and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-street. Price Six-pence. [1822] 34 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in four compartments, dated July 1, 1822.)

²¹ The Widener copy has George Cruikshank's note, "By Robert & George." Rosenbach's *Catalogue*, p. 86. Cp. "Two Studies for the Figures of a fallen Highland soldier," Laurence Binyon, *Catalogue of Drawings . . . in the British Museum*, I (London, 1898), 302.

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

50. Same title, frontispiece, and text, except for corrections. As above. 34 p.
51. THE FORTUNES OF NIGEL, LORD GLENVARLOCH; AND MARGARET RAMSAY. London: Printed by and for Hodgson & Co. No. 10, Newgate-street. Sixpence. [1825] 24 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in five compartments.)
52. The same, except Printed and Published by William Cole, 10, Newgate-street. (Frontispiece "Pub. by Hodgson & Co. Newgate Str.")
53. THE FORTUNES OF NIGEL. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Twopence. (Not seen, but one of Davison's "Juvenile Books" listed on the back cover of his *Quentin Durward*.)

The Wilkinson version includes considerable dialogue and allows ample space for character studies of James I and Sir Mungo Malla-growth. After the historical background is sketched in, the fortunes of the straitened Scottish lord are followed in London, at the penurious king's court, and in "Alsatia." His multiple involvements with George Heriot, Ramsay and his daughter Margaret, Buckingham and the dis-solute Lord Dalgarno, with his eccentric servant Richie Moniplies, his wraithlike cousin Lady Hermione, with the miser Trapbois and his daughter Martha are clearly traced. After ramping through the many incidents of an adventure story, Lord Nigel Glenvarloch returns to Scotland with his bride Margaret. The second issue shows active proof-reading and correction, chiefly for the best. For example, the opening sentence changes James the Sixth of the first issue to James the sixth, alledged to alleged, and various success to varied success.

The Hodgson-Cole text seems to follow the earlier condensation, while reducing its length. The 87-word opening of one is closely matched in content, varied in phrasing, and reduced to 55 words. The fourth paragraph of each begins, "One April day . . .," and introduces Moniplies. In neither is the rescue of Moniplies by Ramsay's apprentices narrated directly. The marshalling of events common to both is the same, but the presentation of Nigel's petition, the character sketches, Trapbois' greed and death, the intricacies of Lord Dalgarno's villainy, and other matters are simplified in the shorter chapbook. The effect is to stress action much more than character. This difference is suggested by the colored frontispieces. The earlier one shows King James's horse startled by the uncouth Moniplies, James himself terrified by Nigel's appearance, Heriot tearing off Margaret Ramsay's male disguise, and the marriage of Margaret and Nigel: half historical and half romantic. The later frontispiece has a central picture of Lord Nigel surrounded by four compartments: one showing Moniplies protected from further assault and three depicting duelling and killing

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

PEVERIL OF THE PEAK

54. PEVERIL OF THE PEAK; OR, THE SINGULAR HISTORY OF JULIAN PEVERIL & ALICE BRIDGENORTH, A TALE, Founded on and taken from the last new Novel of the same Name, written by The Author of Waverley. London: Printed and Sold by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle-street. Price Sixpence. [1823] 36 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in four compartments, dated April 4, 1823.)
55. Same title (except for omission of *and taken from*) and text, but without frontispiece. Cockermouth: Printed and Sold by Edward Banks. Price Sixpence. [1823?] 42 p.
56. PEVERIL OF THE PEAK; OR, THE LOVES OF JULIAN AND ALICE. Founded on the Novel of that Name, by the "Great Unknown!" London: Printed by and for Hodgson & Co. No. 10, Newgate Street. Sixpence. n.d. 24 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in five compartments.)
57. ADVENTURES OF PEVERIL OF THE PEAK. London: Printed by and for W. Cole, 10, Newgate-Street. Price Sixpence. n.d. (Not seen, but listed on the front cover of Cole's *Kenilworth*, Part I.)

The Dean & Munday text differs from the Cockermouth in that the latter, surprisingly for a pirated job, is a handsomer piece of printing, with larger type, fewer words to a line, and fewer lines to a page (39 instead of 45). Both neatly set fictional events in the social, political, and religious history of Charles II's time. The interplay between Roundheads (Bridgenorths) and Cavaliers (Peverils and the Countess of Derby) is kept within the limits of ready comprehension. Transitions, though helpful, may be too bald: "It is time to return to the situation of Julian Peveril." Scott's devices again stand out more obviously in abbreviated narration. Thus Fenella's descent from an open casement to evade the lustful Buckingham ("Come not an inch nearer") is a mere variation on Rebecca's warning to the equally lustful Bois-Guilbert. Through being reduced to love of Julian and jealousy of Alice, Fenella's motivation is clearer than in the full-length novel. And Manx superstitions serve to explain the awe in which Fenella is held. "Notions like these, however, were confined to the vulgar."

Except for the Countess's wooden rehearsal of events in her life, the narrative steadily moves forward. Compression is skilful, as in the dwarf Sir Geoffrey Hudson's four-line account to the King of the Protestant mob's attack on him and on the Peverils, who take shelter in a house in the Strand. The condenser does make the mistake of wishing to leave as little out as possible, with the result that events are too closepacked. The Hodgson version also overconscientiously attempts to get everything in. And this, considering its length, it comes astonish-

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

ingly close to doing, but it is not as effective a tale in miniature as Dean & Munday's. While following several characters into prison, one of Scott's favorite settings, Hodgson decides that "the uniform thoughts and occurrences of a prison are too uninteresting for narration: it is therefore necessary to convey the reader into a more bustling scene." And bustling the scenes have to be when each of the four volumes of the novel is reduced to 5½ pages.

Lieutenant-colonel Mark Wilks's *Historical Notices of Edward and William Christian; Two Characters in Peveril of the Peak* (London [1823]) is a temperate attack on "this splendid luminary of the North . . . the Great Unknown" for misusing his "despotic power over the imagination" to transform Edward Christian into a villain. The 42-page pamphlet does not summarize the novel; its task is vindication, not narrative entertainment.

QUENTIN DURWARD

58. QUENTIN DURWARD; OR, THE FORTUNATE SCOTSMAN: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS ADVENTURES AT THE COURT OF FRANCE, AND DISPLAYING THE INTRIGUES OF LOUIS XI. AND THE VIOLENT, BUT OPEN-HEARTED, CONDUCT OF CHARLES OF BURGUNDY: WITH THE BARBAROUS MURDER OF THE BISHOP OF LIEGE, BY WILLIAM DE LA MARCK, THE WILD-BOAR OF THE ARDENNES. London: Printed by and for William Cole, 10, Newgate Street. Sixpence. n.d. 24 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in five compartments.)
59. The same, published by Hodgson & Co.²²
60. QUENTIN DURWARD, A TALE. From the Author of "Waverley." Embellished with Engravings. Alnwick: Published by W. Davison. Price Twopence. [1840? — British Museum catalogue] 31 p. (Frontispiece, "Quentin did full justice to the rich pasty and excellent wine, &c." and five simple illustrations on pp. 6, 15, 17, 23, and 27.)

Historical and fictional characters are effortlessly associated in the opening of William Cole's chapbook: "In the reign of Louis XI. of France, a reign distinguished by intrigues and contests between the King and his vassal the Duke of Burgundy, — Quentin Durward . . . set out for France in search of adventures." Before the reader turns the first page, he has learned of the fortunate Scotsman's encounter with Maître Pierre (Louis XI in disguise). Quentin's character as a valiant innocent

²² Apparently working in close conjunction, at times from the same address, Hodgson and Cole alternated as proprietors of common titles. Thus the front cover of the Cole *Quentin Durward* contains "Hodgson's List of Pamphlets, &c. 111, Fleet Street," of which No. 100 is *Quentin Durward*.

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

who always lands on his feet is soon familiar. And he maintains this character in cutting down a hanged man, accepting the travel charge of the heroine and her amorous aunt, fighting the Duke of Orleans, spying on the gipsy guide, rescuing Isabelle from besiegers of the Bishop of Liège's castle, using the Wild Boar's bastard as a hostage, winning Isabelle when his uncle beheads the Wild Boar, and generally being present at and influencing important historic events. In his short space, the anonymous adapter somehow finds room for dialogue between Quentin and his uncle; Isabelle and her vain aunt; Quentin and the guide on gipsy customs, freedom of thought, and intuitive knowledge of the future. By concentrating on key episodes, he reduces dry summary to a minimum and can adequately describe such a personage as the Wild Boar of the Ardennes.

In about the shortest of the Waverley chapbooks, the small, two-penny Alnwick *Quentin Durward*, the story is greatly simplified. The cutting is more severe in historical, or semi-historical, events than in fictional adventures. Thus the imprisonment of Louis XI by the Duke of Burgundy and his dependence on astrology are omitted. Burgundy's promise of Isabelle Countess of Croye's hand to whoever masters the Wild Boar, with Quentin's uncle winning the prize and bestowing it on him, is too complicated for brevity. Instead, by doing the martial beheading himself, Quentin needs no intermediary in gaining the heroine's hand.

ST. RONAN'S WELL

61. CLARA MOWBRAY, OR, ST. RONAN'S WELL: AN AFFECTING NARRATIVE. By the Author of Waverley, Kenilworth, Pirate, &c. London: Published by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle-street. Price six-pence. n.d. 38 p.
62. ST. RONAN'S WELL; OR, THE FATAL EFFECTS OF A CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE. A SCOTTISH TALE. IN WHICH ARE DISPLAYED THE VILLAINOUS TREACHERY AND JUST PUNISHMENT OF THE EARL OF ETHERINGTON; THE MISFORTUNES OF HIS BROTHER, FRANCIS TYRELL; AND THE BARBAROUS TREATMENT AND CRUEL DEATH OF HIS AFFIANCED BRIDE, MISS CLARA MOWBRAY. London: Printed and Published by J. Fairburn, 110, Minories. Price Sixpence. n.d. 24 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in two compartments, both representing Tyrell and Clara.)
63. Same title, with slight deletions and a misspelling (Villanous), and same text. Otley: Printed by William Walker. n.d. 24 p.
64. ST. RONAN'S WELL, same text as Fairburn and Walker. The only copy which I have seen, Dr. James C. Corson's, lacks a title-page but is identified on p. 24 as "Printed by Hodgson & Co. 10, Newgate-street."

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

London. n.d. 24 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in five compartments, "Pub. by Hodgson & Co. 10 Newgate St.;" names spelled in text Mowbray, Tyrell, and MacTurk appear in the picture captions as Mowbery, Tyrrell, and macTurk.)

65. ST. RONAN'S WELL. London: Printed by and for W. Cole, 10, Newgate-Street. Price Sixpence. n.d. (Not seen, but listed on the front cover of Cole's *Kenilworth*, Part I.)

The better of the two versions is *Clara Mowbray*, in which detail is functionally conveyed rather than in objective summary. The story opens, "About twenty years ago, the Mowbray Arms, commonly called the Cleikum Inn, at the village of St. Ronan's, in the South of Scotland, was kept by Mistress Meg Dods." The oddities and racy dialogue of "this virago" are sufficiently played up, and four pages are devoted to the eccentric guests at the rival Fox Hotel. Francis Tyrrel links the comedy of manners with the gothic plot by having serio-comic relations with the resort set and tragic relations with the Mowbrays. The two levels of contrasting narrative value are emphasized and are most effectively brought together in the four pages given to Squire Mowbray's amateur theatrical party. At three points, letters which reveal much about the tension of the half-brothers, Tyrrel and Valentine Bulmer, Earl of Etherington, are used to advance the story. Clara dies after "a fit of apoplexy"; her brother, learning of Etherington's treachery, kills him in a duel; and Tyrrel, cheated of love by honor and by his half-brother, "left England, as it was supposed, to enter into some religious society."

The Fairburn chapbook (pirated at Otley) is too often drawn away from the fatal love story by the *humours* of Meg Dods at the Clickum (*sic*) and of the fashionable coterie at the Fox. Tyrrel's conversation with Meg Dods and Captain MacTurk's word battle with her fill almost a quarter of the text. The villainous earl is in part checkmated by an eccentric London merchant, Touchwood. Thus the tragic strand is greatly attenuated. A certain unity is achieved, however, by opening and closing with a description of the decay of St. Ronan's.

Despite its trumpery elements, the reality of setting and local characters, the closeness of place and happenings to the known and contemporary, made *St. Ronan's Well* a more popular chapbook account of a hero and heroine tricked by relatives and doomed than the much finer story of *The Bride of Lammermoor*. In both versions, it may have been reassuring to lower-class readers to discover the middle class portrayed as idle and eccentric for the most part and the upper class as wayward, at times villainous, and certainly tragic.

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

THE TWO DROVERS

66. STORIES OF THE TWO DROVERS, AND COUNTESS OF EXETER.
Glasgow: Printed for the Booksellers, [No.] 38, n.d. 24 p. (Title-page vignette of two shepherds, sheep, and sheepdog, not drovers and their cattle; pp. 3-23, "The Two Drovers," and 23-4, "Countess of Exeter.")

This 21-page tale begins, "It was the day after the Doune Fair when my story commences." It ends with the last words of Robin Oig before his execution at Carlisle for the murder of his friend, Harry Wakefield: "I give a life for the life I took,' he said, 'and what can I do more?'" Scott's long short story opens and closes with the same words. Despite necessary condensation in between, nothing essential to the pace and inevitability of this Chronicle of the Canongate is omitted. Robin yields to his second-sighted aunt's warning against carrying his fatal dirk by giving it in keeping to the Lowland drover, Hugh Morrison. But when, on the road between Falkirk and Cumberland, Robin is "insulted, abused, and beaten" by Wakefield in a quarrel over grazing rights, he gets his dirk back and stabs the English drover. His surrender to a peace officer is his acceptance of fate. The introduction by Scott's fictitious narrator, Mr. Croftangry, is of course omitted.

In his best short stories Scott moves away from amplitude toward the spareness of chapbooks. The strength and control of "Wandering Willie's Tale" in *Redgauntlet* or of "The Highland Widow" may have invited further narrative compression. But as far as I know "The Two Drovers" is the only short story by Scott which appeared in chapbook form.

* * * * *

Long before the rash of Waverley chapbooks began, Scott had been like Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Lamb a boyhood reader of pamphlet literature. Among his 114 purchases, most of them "from the baskets of the travelling pedlars," were *The History of the Noble Tom Thumb . . . and . . . his Familiar Acquaintances with King Arthur; An Elegy in Memory of . . . Sir Robert Grierson, of Lag; The History and Lives of all the most notorious Pirates . . . Captain John Gow . . . hanged at Execution Dock, June 11, 1735;* and Allan Boyd's *The Explication of Thomas Rhymer's Prophecies*.²³ In these may have lain germs that later stirred in passages of *The Talisman*, *Redgauntlet*, *The Pirate*, and *Guy Mannering* respectively. Other novels which seem to bear the marks of

²³ James C. Corson, "Scott's Boyhood Collection of Chapbooks," *The Bibliotheca*, III (1962), No. 6, pp. 202-18.

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

chapbook reading are *The Black Dwarf*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and *The Heart of Midlothian*.

Eighteenth century buyers of such penny and twopenny pamphlets as are found in Scott's collection seem to have been less literate and more carefree than those who spent their sixpences on Waverley chapbooks. The favorite of later readers was *The Heart of Midlothian*, simplified into a fairy tale, with plain Jeanie Deans, the Scottish Cinderella, seeing the queen, morally triumphing over her frail and glamorous sister, and achieving happiness. The two most popular novels in dramatic versions, *Ivanhoe* and *Kenilworth*, stand next highest on the chapbook list because racial persecution and injured innocence are stressed by the epitomizers. The latter theme also elevates *St. Ronan's Well* to high rank in popularity.²⁴

What publishers considered poor grist for the chapbook mill is evident from certain omissions. Because further Waverley titles may turn up in chapbook form, I suggest tentatively that *The Antiquary* was too antiquarian, as well as unimpressive in its love story; *Old Mortality* was too anti-Cameronian in sympathy for the Scots and too satirical about dissent for the English; *A Legend of Montrose* was too dependent on Highland second sight; *Redgauntlet* was unwieldy because of its epistolary technique; *The Talisman* and *The Betrothed* were remote in time and place; and *Woodstock* was crammed with incredible supernatural horseplay. *The Fair Maid of Perth*, with a smith as craftsman, fighter, and lover, would undoubtedly have invited condensation if it had come out during the heyday of Waverley chapbook production. But it was published in 1828, and the latest Scott novel to be epitomized was *St. Ronan's Well* of 1823.

Although chapbooks based on Scott were published spasmodically from 1816 to 1849, the peak of the Waverley vogue in cut form was 1820 to 1823. Of those which can be positively dated from title-page or frontispiece, *Ivanhoe* (1820), *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822), and *Peveiril of the Peak* (1823) appeared the same year as the novel, and *The Pirate* in the following year (1822) but only a month or so after

²⁴ Richard D. Altick notes that Scott was sometimes excluded from mechanics libraries as merely entertaining, not didactic or improving, yet he headed the list in a statistical report of 1838. *The English Common Reader . . . 1800-1900* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 200, 217. In 1886 the British Museum acquired a 24-page chapbook, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, which bore the stamp of "Carmichael's Circulating Library Hutchesontown," Govan Parish, Glasgow; its readers were probably shipworkers.

CHAPBOOK VERSIONS OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

its original. Because the market for these chapbooks was predominantly English, stories with English settings were more immediately converted. Among the tales with a Scottish setting, the interval for *The Pirate* and for *Guy Mannering* (1815, 1816), the earliest of the chapbooks to appear, was brief but that for *Waverley* was seven years (1814, 1821).

The peak period for dramatizations of the Waverley novels, 1816-1821, was earlier than that for pamphlet epitomes. It has already been indicated that such chapbooks as *Guy Mannering*, *Rob Roy*, and *The Heart of Midlothian* capitalized on the popularity of stage versions. At times hackwriters probably found it easier to work directly from a play than from an expensive three- or four-volume novel. *Guy Mannering* cost a guinea as a novel and half a crown as a printed play, a cost gap between narrative and drama which widened even more in 1816, 1820, and 1821. The gap between dramatic and narrative condensations, 2s.6d. and 6d., tended to remain fixed except in "Hodgson's Juvenile Drama." In this sixpenny series, Hodgson and Co. reduced adult dramatizations of several of the Scottish novels and of *Ivanhoe* to 24, 26, and 28 pages. Although the juvenile plays are undated, they probably came before the Hodgson sixpenny chapbooks, beginning with the two volume *Kenilworth*. In still another way dramatizers set the pace. At least eleven of the Waverley novels were imitated on the stage during the year of publication. *Guy Mannering* was the earliest of the dramatizations (*Waverley* waited eight years for its first stage presentation, with Perth and Edinburgh versions preceding the London one). Almost consistently, with such notable exceptions as *Old Mortality* and *The Talisman*, chapbook epitomizers followed the dramatic trend.

Nor was the quality of chapbook production markedly below that of dramatizations. Occasional bad grammar, misspelling, and difficulty with French names crop up. In *Peveril of the Peak* the usually careful firm of Dean and Munday lapses into "the monk islanders," meaning Manx, and "in any think," and in *The Heart of Midlothian* Hay and Turner make such slips as "Rubben Butler," "thou hellical devil," and "the hag your brother." Nevertheless, the level of English is surprisingly high. There is the same relative excellence in the illustrations. The work is at times rude, insipid, or grotesque in proportions; it may depend on cuts already in stock or it may be anachronistic in costume or in architecture. But most of the art work contributes to the text. Perhaps the best frontispiece is that of the highpriced (1s.) Mackenzie and Dent *Heart of Midlothian* of about 1830. "Jeanie Visits Effie in the Tolbooth," in black and white, effectively masters perspective, is well composed and realistic. George Cruikshank's colored frontispieces in

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

William Hone's *Guy Mannering*, Hodgson's *Kenilworth*, and Bailey's *The Pirate* have good drawing and vitality.²⁵

For the most part, both anonymous and known epitomizers took their assignments seriously. Dean and Munday employed William Francis Sullivan and Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson, the latter four times; D. Stewart worked for Mackenzie and Dent, J. C. Mauris for Hay and Turner (or Duncombe, identified as publisher in the British Museum catalogue), Emelia Grossett for Bailie, and William Chambers for himself. Although their task was primarily a moneymaking one, it was also a convenient packaging of upperclass culture for consumption by adults of the lower class and by children of the lower and middle classes. In reducing the vast panorama of the Waverley novels to the pockets and the comprehension of tens of thousands of new readers, the epitomizers performed a hitherto unrecognized service—the extension of Sir Walter Scott's impact to the masses in his own day.²⁶

THE CITY COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

²⁵ Although I have not found the original, I suspect that the Mackenzie and Dent frontispiece was pirated from an illustration of the full-length novel. George Cruikshank, it may be noted, worked for publishers of chapbooks, plays, and novels. Meg Merrilies in the 1816 chapbook of *Guy Mannering* and of Douglas Jerrold's *The Gipsy of Derncleugh*; Dominic Sampson ("Pro-di-gi-ous!") in the chapbook and the collected edition of the Waverley Novels (1836-38); and Amy Robsart falling through the trap in the chapbook and in Cruikshank's *Sketch Book* (Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum) reveal the artist's economy.

²⁶ Although directories can be spotty in their coverage and a year behind in their facts, entries for London printers and publishers of Waverley chapbooks can be added here: William Hone at 55 Fleet Street [1816], 1817-9; Dean & Munday at 35 Threadneedle Street, Bank, 1817-1832, etc.; William Mason at 21 Clerkenwell Green, 1817-9 (list of addenda), 1820; John Bailey, 1818-21, then Joseph and H. W., about 1822-3, John and William, 1823-4, and John Norton Bailey, 1825 on, all at 116, Chancery Lane; Hay & Turner, printers, 11 Newcastle Street, Strand, 1820; Webb, Millington & Co., not listed, but James Millington, printer, 2 Clifton Street, Finsbury, 1820-1; John Fairburn at 110 Minorities, 1821-32, etc.; J. & C. Evans, 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield, 1822-8, then John Edward Evans, 1829 on; Hodgson & Co. at 10 Newgate Street [1824], 1825, but no listing of William Cole at that address. *Triennial Directory* for 1817-9 and 1822-4; *Post Office London Directory* for 1817, 1819, 1821-32, 1836; and *Robson's Improved London Directory* for 1820.