Sir Walter Scott as Historical Novelist: Part IV

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Sir Walter Scott as Historical Novelist

Part IV

A Legend of Montrose

The historical background of *A Legend of Montrose* (1819) is the Montrose campaigns in the Highlands, 1644 and 1645; two incidents only are selected by Scott for special treatment—the battle at Inverlochy and the conference of Highland chiefs which inaugurated the war. As Inverlochy comes into the class of well-worn paths of history, Scott describes it from the accepted accounts. More interesting is the conference of chiefs, at which Montrose dramatically reveals his identity and shows his commission, and which is dramatically interrupted by Sir Duncan Campbell, the envoy of Argyll, with a proposal of mutual abstention from plunder. Such conferences might be said to be favourites with Scott; he introduces them into *Waverley* and the *Legend* without historical warrant, beyond what is provided by Mac's gathering of chiefs in 1715. All the same, there is a curious and interesting foundation for the conference in the *Legend*.

Peter Rae, in his history of the '15 rebellion, describes a conference between rebel leaders and a Sir Duncan Campbell, in which the rebels—not Campbell—propose that neither party should plunder. The conference came to nothing, according to Rae, owing to Campbell's unwillingness to make any agreement with rebels. Here is another direct and unmistakable borrowing from the annals of 1715. It will be remembered that Argyll, in the novel, refused to treat with Dalgetty, as representing rebels.  

This novel also makes use of historical material from the more restricted field of clan and family history—the story of James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, and the annals of the McGregors who slaughtered his

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1 *A Legend of Montrose*, p. 137. Henceforth cited as *Legend*.
3 Peter Rae, *History of the late Rebellion...* (Dumfries, 1718), pp. 288-289.
4 *Legend*, p. 204.
uncle, Drummond-Enoch. The question of recorded fact and tradition in McGregor history has already been touched upon. The interesting thing is that Scott, in developing the fictitious theme of deadly feud between Allan Macaulay (representing James Stewart) and the outlaws who had so injured his family, might well have taken his details wholly from Highland tradition without going any further afield; and yet he does not do so. Allan produces a bleeding, newly-severed human head at his father's dinner-table, as evidence that he has slain a family foe; these words exactly describe an incident in The Cid, quoted by Scott from Robert Southey's edition, in the course of his review of that work for the Quarterly in 1809. Spanish tradition has therefore contributed something to the Waverley Novels.—incidentally, Scott values the Cid as a source for social history: "whether the history of the Cid be real or fictitious, it is exceedingly valuable as a singular picture of manners."

The celebrated Dugald Dalgetty is derived by Scott himself from Sir James Turner; and there are indeed other points of correspondence besides the discussion about fides et fiducia, explained by Scott himself in his Note A. "Being discontented with my colonel . . . for imposing too hard conditions of recruits on me, I took my leave of that service."\(^{6}\) In such a manner did Dugald quit the Spanish service—after a difference with his Spanish colonel. Turner quotes a "dangerous maxim" which he had picked up in Germany: "so we serve our master honestly, it is no matter what master we serve."\(^{7}\) This of course is a leading feature of Dugald's philosophy and the key to his varied career. Turner, after failing to obtain a passage to England to serve the King in the Civil War, took passage to Scotland and served the Covenant—Dugald, inclining to the Covenanters as better pay-masters, joins the King because he has accidentally fallen in with congenial royalist company. Serving in Ireland, Turner complains "we fingered no pay the whole time" except for three months—Dugald makes the same complaint about the Swedish service. At the capture of Newcastle by the Covenanters in 1644, Turner complained that he had "not one pennie worth" of the plunder—Dugald, too, was baulked of booty after Inverlochy.\(^{8}\) Perhaps Turner's friendship with two Jesuits, "witty men and jolly companions," suggested Dugald's drinking bout with Father Falsides.\(^{9}\)

\(^{1}\) *Legend*, p. 103; review of Southey's Cid (*Prose Works*, XVIII, 46).

\(^{6}\) Turner, p. 11.

\(^{7}\) Turner, p. 14.

\(^{8}\) *Legend*, pp. 330, 366.

\(^{9}\) Turner, p. 127.

\(^{10}\) *Legend*, p. 57.
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Turner is not Dalgetty, however; Scott's great characters are always independent. Turner had some conscience, beyond the scruples of the mercenary soldier; he says he turned royalist in principle in 1644, although he did not change sides in practice till 1648, after Argyle's party "obliged many officers, to ease the kingdom forsooth, to quit a third part of their pay voluntarily; for which simper the kirk cryd them up for good patriots, and this was enough to put these simpletons in the full possession of a fool's paradise."—Sir James differs from Sir Dugald in having a wife, and displaying a very evident affection for her. Nor can one imagine the Rittmaster writing philosophical essays.12

There can be little doubt, however, that the main prototype of Dugald is Col. Robert Monro, who published in 1657 an account of his service under Christian of Denmark and Gustavus of Sweden, and to whom Scott himself acknowledges his indebtedness in the Introduction (1830) to the Legend. For admirers of Dugald, this book will richly repay study. Much of Dalgetty's characteristic vocabulary is in Monro—the invincible Gustavus, the immortal Gustavus, the Lion of the North, provant, sconces, stackets, caduacs, old Tilly, the Irishman Walter Butler, Ludovick Leslie, stout Hepburn, valiant Lumsdale, the Scottish convent at Wurzburg, camardes, worthy cavaliers, dorps (for villages), boors (for peasants), the black beer of Rostock—it is all here, together with endless lectures on the military art, and on the duty of officers and commanders. Dugald's reprobation of the German mercenaries who cried "Geld! Geld!" on the battlefield, and threw down their arms instead of engaging the enemy (Legend, p. 53; and Monro, I, 7,13 24, 30); his song,

"When cannons are roaring, and bullets are flying,
The lad that would have honour, boys, must never fear dying,"

(Legend, p. 109, and Monro, I, 65—in prose); his account of the gallantry of an Irish regiment at the siege of Frankfort (Legend, p. 65, Monro, II, 34); his wound in the left thigh (Legend, p. 251, and Monro, II, 149); the immortal Gustavus's addiction to the use of spade and shovel in war (Legend, p. 176, and Monro, II, 140); Dugald's attachment to his horse (Legend, passim, and Monro, I, 30-31); his word of command—"To your right, countermarch, and retreat to your former ground"—(Legend, p. 99 and Monro, II, 189); his professional

11 Turner, p. 50.
12 See DNB.
13 The two volumes are bound in one.
desire to try out the new device of burning bullets full of fire, as used by Stephen Bathian, King of Poland, at Moscow (Legend, p. 178, and Monro, II, 213)—all these come straight out of Monro’s pages, although they are incorporated in the novel so naturally and flexibly that no one would ever suspect it. The point about the soldier’s attachment to his horse is, as one might suppose, greatly developed by Scott.

But unlike Dalgetty, Monro seems to have been not only a gallant officer but a decent man, showing, for example, much deeper feeling on the occasion of Gustavus’s death (Monro, II, 167-170) than Dalgetty could ever be capable of, in spite of his endless allusions to the warrior king; reproving plunder in war; not harping on pay and allowances; adhering loyally to the Protestant side; and ending his book with “The Christian soldier going on service his Meditations” (Monro, II, 217).

Among the additional pamphlets which Scott inserted in his edition of Somers Tracts is Sir Roger Williams’ Actions in the Low Countries. This is an account of the career of a mercenary in the Netherlands at the time of the revolt against Spain, in the course of which he fought both for and against the Spaniards. The story of the mercenaries who shouted “Geld! Geld!” instead of fighting, appears here also; describing the siege of Harlem, Williams informs us that among the defenders, was a company of three hundred women, and that the women’s captain was “a most stout dame”—surely the original for Dugald’s “Captain of the Queans” in Alva’s army; finally, Williams frankly admits that he entered the Spanish service (after serving the Dutch) because he had no money. In this respect, Williams resembles Dugald more than Turner or Monro. It is of some interest to note that Williams was a Welshman; and so one of the greatest Scotsmen in fiction has, as it were, a dash of Welsh blood in him. One thinks of Fluellen and Captain Jamy.

Still another original for Dugald is our old acquaintance the Master of Sinclair, already proposed as an element in the Baron of Bradwardine—after all, Dugald and the Baron have a good deal in common. All three of them are given to lecturing; and in Sinclair’s disquisition on the fortification of Perth, the scheme whereof was to include some high ground overlooking the town, one can hear Dugald’s criticism of the

14 Somers, I, 337, 341, 352.
15 Somers, I, 366; Legend, pp. 183-185.
16 Somers, I, 379-380.
17 Sinclair, pp. 197-199.
defences of Ardenvoth, which is overlooked by an eminence called
Drumsna, and will therefore not be safe until that hillock is provided
with a sconce and graffe, or ditch,\textsuperscript{18} not to speak of certain stackets or
pallisades. Sinclair says, "I could not propose to be of any use among
the Highlanders, whose language I did not understand, or, if I did,
who were so savage that it was impossible for any man to bring them
to discipline;\textsuperscript{19}" and Dugald echoes, after a compliment to Highland
courage, "Were I undertaking to discipline such a breechless mob, it
were impossible for me to be understood; and if I were understood,
judge ye, my lord, what chance I had of being obeyed among a band
of half salvages," etc., etc.\textsuperscript{20} In the event, Dugald commanded the horse,
like Sinclair. The moral inferiority of the Rittmaster to all except per-
haps one of his originals may be significant, and will call for comment
later.

John, Master of Sinclair, loathed the Earl of Mar, his commander-
in-chief in 1715, and makes a great deal of play with the fact that Mar
had no commission from the "King," contenting himself with producing
a portrait of that Prince and kissing it frequently in public.\textsuperscript{21} The
sinister Lord Lovat, in his memoirs, mentions a meeting of Jacobite
leaders in 1703, at which a Drummond objected to the proposal of a
rebellion because the "King" had appointed no general, and that "the
Scottish nobles would never brook submission to one of their own body,
unless he were expressly nominated by a particular commission."\textsuperscript{22}
This objection, says Lovat, was fatal to the proposed rising. Scott must
have had all this in mind in composing the Legend, in which the chiefs
decide to rise without a royal commission to a fit leader—high-born,
wise, brave, and so forth—but are unexpectedly satisfied by Montrose's
dramatic throwing-off of his disguise and production of the royal
commission, "couched in the most full and ample terms."\textsuperscript{23}

\textbf{The Bride of Lammermoor}

The story of The Bride of Lammermoor (1819) is derived, as Scott
himself has explained, from a tragedy in the private life of a family of
rank in the later 17th Century. But the novel has a basis in more gen-

\textsuperscript{18} Legend, pp. 175 ff.
\textsuperscript{19} Sinclair, p. 182.
\textsuperscript{20} Legend, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{21} Sinclair, pp. 20, 25.
\textsuperscript{22} Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, Memoirs (London, 1797), pp. 163-164.
\textsuperscript{23} Legend, pp. 134-139.

[ 18 ]
eral history as well: it is clearly connected with the famous Gowrie Conspiracy of 1600,24 to which Scott refers frequently in his historical writing—Somers, Secret History, Provincial Antiquities, Grandfather, and the "Lardner" History—so often in fact, that it would be surprising if the case produced no echo in the novels. King James VI, having exhausted his horse in the chase, visited, at his house in Perth, the Earl of Gowrie, whose father had been executed by the King’s warrant; Sir William Ashton, having seen Ravenswood exhaust his horse in the chase, visited, at his house of Wolf’s Crag, the Master of Ravenswood, whose father had been ruined and driven to his death by Ashton’s chicanery. Logan of Restalrig, one of the conspirators, proposed 25 to kidnap the King at Gowrie House and imprison him in his fortress of Fast Castle, on the Berwickshire coast: and behold, Wolf’s Crag, though Scott would not admit its identification with Fast Castle,26 cannot in fact be anything else. The secret chamber, said Caleb, had not been used since the time of the Gowrie Conspiracy.27 The name of one of the lesser men in the conspiracy—Craigengelt, the Gowrie cook, who, like Caleb, sent out for a fowl for the unexpected guest’s dinner—is given to a petty intriguer in the novel. In a letter to Gowrie, Logan proposed a conference over a hattit kit; now, this old-fashioned Scottish sweet is mentioned nowhere in Scott’s writings except in the Bride, where Caleb Balderstone’s simulated thunderbolt spoils the hattit kit that was for the Master’s dinner,28 just after Ashton and his daughter have entered Wolf’s Crag. The Gowrie Conspiracy developed into an obscure stabbing incident in a locked room: so did Lucy’s marriage to Bucklaw, and in neither case has the whole truth about what happened ever been discovered. The Gowries were interested in magic and astrology;29 James VI was a notorious witch-hunter; and the Bride of Lammermoor is the supreme literary product of popular superstition, a story enacted beneath a brooding cloud, and pervaded by an evil fate.

There can be no doubt that Scott was deeply influenced, when writing this novel, by the work he and Sharpe had been doing on Law’s Memorials (published 1818). Law’s history is not of much value, and Scott recognises this when he remarks that Law is less interesting

25 That is, if his "lettets" have any genuine basis.
26 Canongate, p. 19.
27 The Bride of Lammermoor, I, 144-145. Henceforth cited as Bride.
28 Bride, I, 199.
29 Scott remarks on this in The Lay of the Last Minstrel, p. 57.
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historically than Kirkton, but whereas a historian passes over the Venerable Bede's miracle stories, Scott seizes upon Law's supernatural tales, and imparts their atmosphere—greatly heightened, of course, by his poetical gift—to this grim fiction.

Sharpe's Preface to Law quotes the case of one Agnes Fynnie, prosecuted for witchcraft in 1644; she had bewitched a youth for calling her in a nickname "Annie Winnie." We have here one of the three fearsome old women in the Bride. Again, Sharpe quotes a pamphlet called 'Dialogue between Maggie and Janet' to this effect: "But dear Janet, ye're braw and lang o' the memory, d'ye mind o' the waefu' blast, when the foul thief was in the air" etc.—here we have the quality of the old women's conversation—"did ye ever see the foul thief?"—"But, Ailsie Gourlay, ye're the auknest o' us three, did ye ever see a mair grand bridal?"

Several versions of the original story on which the Bride was based are given by Sharpe in his edition of Law, including one to the effect that it was the bridegroom, not the bride, who went mad, and killed the other party; he had been bewitched by the bride's mother, who disapproved of the marriage. Further, Sharpe refers in his Introduction to the Countess of Huntly who lived in Knox's time, as an employer of witches. Taken together, these facts seem sufficient to account for the employment by Lady Ashton of the "witch," Ailsie Gourley, to break her daughter's spirit.

While there is no need to doubt Scott's statement that he had the story of the Bride from the fireside narrations of his mother and his great-aunt, Mrs. Swinton, there is obviously more to the matter. No doubt the material which reached him through more than one channel was the more likely to impress him and find its way into his imaginative work.

The pamphlets in Scott's little collection entitled Secret History of the Court of James the First include a Perfect Description of the people and country of Scotland, an English satire on the stingy hospitality of Scotland by a member of James VI's entourage on his visit to Scotland in 1617. The tone is indicated by the following quotations: "They

10 Letters, IV, 538.
11 Law, p. 1x.
12 Law, p. 8.
13 Bride, I, 388; II, 125.

[ 20 ]
(the Scots) could persuade the (English) footmen that oaten cakes would make them long-winded... they commend the brave minds of the... gentlemen of the (King's) bed-chamber, which choose rather to go to taverns than to be always eating the King's provision... they persuade the trumpeters that fasting is good for men of that quality; for emptiness, they say, causes wind, and wind causes a trumpet to sound well. For the King's retainers, substitute those of the Marquis of A... whose courier to Wolf's Crag was assured that cold water was better for the stomach in the morning than ale or brandy; and those of Sir William Ashton who were excluded from Wolf's Crag and bidden to seek entertainment at the change-house of Luckie Sma'ttrash; and you have Caleb Balderstone and his much criticised light relief. The jolly troop of huntsmen who "execrated the niggard and unworthy disposition" of Ravenswood, or rather of his deputy Balderstone, represent the English train of James VI in his state visit of 1617; the pride & poverty of Ravenswood represent the pride and poverty of the Scots in general; and spiteful English satire is converted into Scots comedy. Gentle King James lurks at every turn in the Bride, which might almost be said to belong to the century before its ostensible date. The retention in the story of the old Scottish Privy Council, which did not exist at the period of the novel—the last four or five years of Queen Ann—is thus seen to be in perfect keeping after all; it is the references to the Union and the British Parliament which are intrusive and possibly a trifle out of place.—And yet who notices this?

Redgauntlet

The archaic tendency just referred to may be found also in the last of the great "Scotch novels," Redgauntlet (1824). Sir Harry Redgauntlet, a Jacobite, "suffered" for his rebellion in 1745, and the widow became legal guardian of the children, to the exclusion of her proscribed brother-in-law, Edward Hugh Redgauntlet, a more fanatical Jacobite than Sir Harry, although he escaped death in the rising. In spite of her legal rights, the lady stood in constant fear lest the zealot should somehow gain control of the children, and infect them with the Jacobitism which had cost her a husband; so she hid herself and them in Devonshire. Hugh followed her there, broke into the orchard...
a party, and succeeded in kidnapping his niece Lilias and taking her to France to be educated as a Catholic. The novel turns round his subsequent efforts to seize his nephew, Darsie, and use him (the chief of the Redgauntlet family) as a figure-head, in his plans for a Jacobite rising in 1765. —Such things undoubtedly happened. Macfarlane has a story about a certain young Mackintosh, who, being under age, became the ward of one Hector Mackintosh, representing his father's kin. The mother's family, Ogilvies, obtained control of the boy, whereupon Hector was furious and set about harrying and plundering his opponents. Hector's position closely resembles that of Redgauntlet; but a story which is true of 16th Century Scotland may be less characteristic when told of a family of rank in the South of England round about 1750. The case in 18th Century history which Scott probably had in mind shows significant differences from the case in the novel. The Duke of Perth (titular) died in 1720, and his widow immediately decamped with the young heir to France, to ensure that he would have a Catholic education. Lockhart of Carnwath, the Jacobite leader, objected to this course: "Here is a child, (the custody of whom by the present laws belongs to another [i.e., the Tutor-male]), taken or rather stolen away by his mother;" such a step "gives a handle to the Whigs to make a terrible outcry, that here is the heir of a noble family carried off from his friends, and what may they not expect and dread from the Papists." Scott's adaptation of this incident seems to carry us into an older world; and yet it may never occur even to regular readers of Redgauntlet that there is anything wrong, until they are asked to suppose what Lockhart would have said about Redgauntlet's doings, in the light of his strictures upon a much less morally reprehensible proceeding.

The backward-looking tendency in Redgauntlet, appropriate enough in a novel about the death of a cause, is emphasised by the quantity of 17th Century superstition and tradition which it incorporates. The famous Redgauntlet family feature—the horse-shoe mark on the forehead—was the witch-mark of the notorious Jean Weir, sister of Major Weir the Edinburgh warlock; this was noted a century ago by Sir Daniel Wilson. The passage describing this phenomenon was quoted

"Walter Macfarlane, Genealogical Collections, Scottish History Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1900), I, 220.
"Wilson, II, 94.
from *Satan's Invisible World* by Scott in the *Somers Tracts*, many years before writing *Redgauntlet*, and again by Sharpe in his edition of *Law's Memorials* (p. 23, n).

Sharpe was entitled to claim a certain amount of credit for both the *Bride* and *Redgauntlet*; his citation from *Satan's Invisible World* includes the statement that Major Weir's money-bag, when put on the fire, circled and danced in it, and another "clout," when put on the fire, "circled and sparkled like gunpowder, and passing from the tunnel of the chimney, it gave a crack like a little cannon." All this is very reminiscent of the behaviour of Steenie Steenson's receipt from hell in *Wandering Willie's Tale*. The miraculous recovery of a receipt through the agency of the powers of darkness is described by Law; the Laird of Bargarran was drowned in Clyde with a newly-obtained receipt in his pocket; the granter, understanding that the body was lost and the receipt with it, presented his bill to the heir after a safe interval, but found himself in an embarrassing position when the corpse was discovered in a ditch, uncorrupted, with clothes, papers, and the receipt in question all as dry as a bone. (Why this good deed should be ascribed to the "hid works of darkness" is perhaps not very evident.) It was the granter, not the grantee who died in Scott's story, thus making room for the visit to hell which constitutes one of the highlights of literature. The source for this latter episode may be found in more than one book or pamphlet, and Sharpe may have communicated a family tradition to Scott; but the most respectable source is Wodrow, who, by the way, enlightened as he was, accorded a kind of half-belief to the superstitions he mentioned in his history. Speaking of Grierson of Lagg, a "persecutor," and an ancestor of C. K. Sharpe, Wodrow says "Dreadful were the acts of wickedness done by the soldiers at this time, and Lagg was as deep as any. They used to take to themselves in their cabals the names of Devils, and persons they supposed to be in Hell, and with whips to lash one another, as a jest upon hell.

—Of the minor persecutors whom Steenie saw in hell, the Lang Lad of the Nethertown is honoured with a biographical notice in Howie's

"Somers, VIII, 550.

"Law, p. 112.

"Wandering Willie's Tale* is deeply indebted to certain sources which lie outside the usual range of general history, but are well covered in Coleman O. Parsons, *Witchcraft and Demonology in Scott's Fiction* (Edinburgh and London, 1964). The "lost receipt" theme occurs in various forms.

"Wodrow, II, 501.

"Redgauntlet, I, 207; Howie, App., p. 48.
Appendix, and the Deil’s Rattlebag occurs in Walker’s *Life of Pedea* (Ch. 42). The invaluable Howie in his appendix on persecutors tells us that Sir Robert Lawrie’s wine turned to blood, and John Allison’s feet boiled water, both of which phenomena are transferred to Sir Robert Redgauntlet.

But one must remember that such stories were part of a common stock. The editor of Blackader’s memoirs, Crichton, wrote in 1823: “In the cottages of Nithsdale it would still be heresy to deny that Lagg’s spittle was inflammatory and that Dalzell’s feet would boil water.” Scott must have had an immense knowledge of popular superstition independently of Sharpe, Law, and the rest. Law tells us that “one hanged himself in the Tolbooth of Ayr with his own ribbons that tied his sleeve and was gotten hanging with his hands bound down, none being in the room but himself, which gives ground to think that the divill personally helps to that unnatural murder.” This is very reminiscent of Mr. Skriegh’s account in *Guy Mannering* of the deaths of Glossin and Hatteraick in jail; the turnkey having sworn that he had locked Glossin safely in his own cell the night before his corpse was discovered in Hatteraick’s, Skriegh and his friends chose to believe that “The Enemy of Mankind brought these two wretches together upon that night by supernatural interference, that they might fill up the cup of their guilt and receive its meed, by murder and suicide.” Whether Scott had read Law’s *Memorials* in MS. before writing *Guy Mannering* is probably not ascertainable, but if he had not, the comparison of these two anecdotes pays striking testimony to Scott’s general authenticity in this special field.

Advancing into the early 18th Century, we find the annals of 1715 supplying matter for this novel of 1765. Peter Rae’s history mentions a Provost Crosbie of Dumfries in 1714, who fought as a volunteer on the Hanoverian side in 1715. The name is borrowed in *Redgauntlet*, and little else. Much more important is the Earl of Mar’s Journal, printed as an Appendix to Robert Patten’s *History of the Rebellion*.

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87 *Biog. Preb.*, I, 78.
88 Howie, App., pp. 35-36.
90 Law, p. 99.
91 *Guy Mannering*, II, 372. Again, Coleman O. Parsons explains that this is a recurring theme and points to a parallel much closer than the one in Law—see *PQ*, XXIV (1945), 169.
92 *Guy Mannering* was written in 1815; Law published in 1818.
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A glance at this document shows that the departure of Charles Edward in 1765 is modelled upon the departure of the Old Pretender in 1716. After the Jacobite retreat from Perth, James was advised by his supporters to leave the country: "whilst he was in the kingdom, they could never expect any terms or capitulation but by abandoning him or giving him up; which rather than ever consent to, they would be all to the last man cut in pieces." So, in the novel, Sir Richard Glendale proposed to escort Charles Edward back to his vessel, defend him with his life against all assailants, then make his own peace with the ruling powers; and so did the Jacobites throw themselves around the Prince to defend him from the Hanoverian General Campbell. "A small ship," says Mar, "was now pitched upon to transport him . . . the Earl of Mar . . . made difficulty and begged he might be left behind; but the Chevalier, being positive for his going, and telling him that in a great measure there were the same reasons for his going as for his own; that his friends would more easily get terms without him than with him and that as things now stood he could be no longer of any use to them in that country, he submitted." In much the same way, Charles says to Redgauntlet, "The air of this country is as hostile to you as it is to me. These gentlemen have made their peace . . . but you—come you, and share my home where chance shall cast it . . ." These two accounts of the embarkation of a Stewart claimant are worth more extended comparison; the beautiful valedictory melancholy of Scott’s noble conclusion owes nothing to Mar.

Redgauntlet, then, is the Earl of Mar; but perhaps he is also Murray of Broughton—before his apostacy—and McGregor of Bohaldie. Just when Scott first read Murray of Broughton’s MS. Memoirs, it is impossible to say. Charles Edward’s unfortunate secretary had a grandson, W. H. Murray of the Edinburgh theatre, who was a friend of Scott’s, and who certainly showed him the MS. at some time; Scott used it in writing *Tales of a Grandfather,* but there is no proof that he had it earlier. There is a passage in the *Memoirs* which describes how Murray, travelling in the Highlands as a Jacobite agent, met a party of five

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49 *Redgauntlet,* II, 338, 376.

50 Patten, p. 206.

51 *Redgauntlet,* II, 382.

52 3rd Ser., 1829. See John Murray of Broughton, *Memoirs,* Scottish History Society, 1st Ser., No. 27 (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 177; *Grandfather,* V, 98; also *Rob Roy,* I, 106.

[ 25 ]
persons on horseback. Being one against five, he proposed to pass by without taking any notice, but one of the party desired him to stop, asked who he was and where he was going. They thought he was a Hanoverian officer, and he thought they belonged to the independent companies, but it turned out that they were all Jacobites together. This episode is mightily reminiscent of the meeting of Dalgetty in the Pass of Leny (?) with Menteith’s party of three, who challenged him to declare his allegiance—to King or Estates. But the material is perhaps not distinctive enough to found a conviction upon, although there is nothing improbable in supposing Scott to have had access to the MS. as early as 1819, since early in that year W. Murray was staging a highly successful dramatisation of 'Rob Roy.' At any rate, Murray’s account of his life as a Jacobite agent before 1745 seems to be the nearest thing available in the records to the account of Redgauntlet’s endless and tireless intrigues on behalf of the Stewarts after 1745. The resemblance, however, is quite general. The one particular detail which corresponds to something in the novel concerns not Murray himself but McGregor of Bohaldie, who, according to Murray, kept lists of people who had at any time dropped expressions favourable to "the cause," and reported them to the French court as so many sure cards; Sir Alexander McDonald of Slate discovered that he was on the list and angrily denied that McGregor had even spoken to him on the subject. Redgauntlet also kept a list; "it seemed as if some rash plotter had put down at a venture the names of all whom common report tainted with Jacobitism." The list included the name of his nephew, who hoped, for their sakes, that the other people in it had more acquaintance with the Jacobite plot than he had been indulged with.

Modern Glasgow supplies a little point; the Dumfriesters, according to Latimer, justify Bruce’s slaughter of the Comyn in their kirk by "observing it was only a Papist church"—Sir John Dalrymple attributes this remark to the tender conscience of would-be Glasgow privateers in Spanish America (during the American War: 1779), justifying their plundering of churches.

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88 Murray, pp. 164-165.
89 Legend, pp. 43 ff.
90 Lockhart, III, 254.
91 Murray, p. 31.
92 Redgauntlet, II, 275.
93 Redgauntlet, I, 52.
94 Dalrymple, Pt. IV, App., p. 23.
SIR WALTER SCOTT AS HISTORICAL NOVELIST

From what might be called the lesser Scots novels—Black Dwarf, St. Roman's Well, and Chronicles of the Canongate—there is nothing to hand for the present purpose except in the case of The Highland Widow, one of the "Canongate" stories (1827). Elspat MacTavish drugged her soldier-son Hamish, to make it impossible for him to rejoin his unit before the expiry of his embarkation leave; she relied upon his Highland horror of the corporal punishment which must follow, to make him desert what she regarded as a disgraceful engagement. Stewart of Garth, whose Sketches appeared in 1822, speaks very frequently of the shame associated with corporal punishment in the Highland mind.65 According to Garth, a number of Highlanders deserted the colours at London in 1743, in consequence of which crime three deserters were shot at the Tower, as an example to the remainder, who were paraded to witness the execution. "Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and namesakes, and buried in one grave near the place of execution."66 Similarly, Hamish was shot kneeling on his own coffin, in presence of the regiment, and was then placed in the coffin and buried in Dumbarton Churchyard by a party from his own company.—One can hardly imagine Scott depicting Garth's story in its authentic form. Hamish died partly because of the failure of his General to understand the Highland mind;67 Garth blames such failures for most of the trouble with Highland soldiers.

(To be continued)

EDINBURGH

65 See Sketches, I, 275, 292, 394.
66 Sketches, I, 261.
67 Highland Widow, p. 274.