Chapbook Versions of the Waverley Novels

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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 Peveril 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.


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


2. The same, type reset, with slight corrections, 34 p.


5. WAVERLEY. Alnewick: 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 cramped text. He also corrected the spelling of *kindered, madien, delibetating, Waverly,* and *Carlisle,* thereby showing a con-

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5 "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.
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. 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 more 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

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Captions the spelling of proper names may differ from that of text in a 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


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.)


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 Domine Sampson exclaiming "Prodigious!" as Mr. Liston. These actors opened in the parts at Covent Garden on March 12, 1816.8

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

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8 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.
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Scots speech used, but the Dominie’s comic Latin exorcism of the gypsy swainswife 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 workmanlike fashion: “The reader must also take leave of him [Mannering] 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 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 newtold 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 glowing 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 working class 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 Merrilie’s 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
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." 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 1825 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. This was not the last occasion on which a Chambers rode on Scott's back.

THE 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). 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


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


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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 expense.” 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 Jacobites 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 *Queenin Derward*, 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.)


15. The same as 1840 (?) except that the blank verso of the title-page is occupied by a large figure of "Bailie Nicol Jarvie."


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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 nearly 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 pages (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, 1825); The Life and Exploits of Rob Roy MacGregor, 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.
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Freebooter (Kilmarnock: Printed by H. Crawford, Bookseller, 1827); and The Life and Exploits of Rob Roy Macgregor (Stirling: W. MacNicol, 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. Grieve, 1823). Rob Roy and the smuggler, Captain Thomas Johnston, in Plutarchian 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:

Ballie Nicol Jarvie's Journey to Aberfoill. 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.


THE HEART OF MIDLOTHIAN

18. THE HEART OF MIDLOTHIAN; 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. London: Printed and Published by J. Bailey, 116.

Thomas Dielman'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.

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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." 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 Hutchesontown," and is attributed in the B. M. catalogue to Joseph Claude Mauris, epitomizer. I have supplied title and printer from pp. 3, 24.)


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 Comp'y. Wine Office Court Fleet Street 14 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 Quintin Durward; conceivably

The 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.

At the bottom of p. 31, "Webb, Millington & Co., Printers, Leeds and Otley."
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: "Jeanie rushes in with Deans and Reuben. . . . Effie looks amazed, faintly screams, and falls into Jeanie'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 Jeanie 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 ("Jeanie 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 Jeanie'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 Jeanie'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).
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 nursering and seducer of her daughter; the use of demonology to characterize Staunton and Meg; and the evocation of spirit of place (the eeriness of Muscat’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
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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 Argyile 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 Bogba, 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

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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 Quentins Durward).

Having suggested in print that The Bride of Lammermoor is like a chapbook in compression and melodramatic power,¹⁶ 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")


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 "Blows 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")


31. HISTORY OF IVANHOE AND REBECCA THE JEWESS. London: Webb, Millington and Compr. 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, Jamie Dean 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 jew's 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 Bois-Guilbert
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 Ivan-
hoe 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 Ivan-
hoe, 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 Gurfch. 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 Daugh-
ter, 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
The popular interest in persecution and conflict was much the same in audiences as among the readers of sixpenny booklets.

THE MONASTERY


33. THE MONASTERY. 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)

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 Grosset 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 Piersie 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 Waverly. Epitomized by William Francis Sullivan, A.M. London:

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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.

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Printed and Sold by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle-street. Price Sixpence. [1820] 40 p. (Folding, colored frontispiece in four 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 Waverly. To which is added, the affecting Tale of Anningait and Ajur; 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 Quenin 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 Kennaquhair, 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
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 Mannering*. "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.18 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 Bellby & 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.)

18 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.
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   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 Forster, loses her life"; frontispieces, done by George Cruikshank, are dated January 28 and April 1, 1823, respectively.)


43. KENILWORTH CASTLE; OR, THE TRIALS OF AMY ROBSART. London: Webb, Millington and Compr. 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, Jeannie 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 Quenin 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

* 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.
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 "conubial 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
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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


48. THE PIRATE, OR MINNA AND BRENDA. 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.)

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 Norma 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 Jarlstopp, 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 Norma, all driven to inhospitable shelter by a storm. The pirate Cleveland is shipwrecked, rescued by Mordaunt,
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 pistoried 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 Scudgel 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.)


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50. Same title, frontispiece, and text, except for corrections. As above. 34 p.


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 Quemin Durward.)

The Wilkinson version includes considerable dialogue and allows ample space for character studies of James I and Sir Mungo Mallasgrowther. 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 “Alsacia.” His multiple involvements with George Heriot, Ramsay and his daughter Margaret, Buckingham and the dissolute 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 proofreading and correction, chiefly for the best. For example, the opening sentence changes James the Sixth of the first issue to James the sixth, alleged 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.

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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!" Lon-
don: Printed by and for Hodgson & Co. No. 10, Newgate Street. Six-
pence. 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 situa-
tion 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 super-
titions 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 Hodgson'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-

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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 "despot 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


59. The same, published by Hodgson & Co."

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

"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.

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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 sum-
mary 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 Darward, 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 CLANDE-
STINE MARRIAGE. A SCOTTISH TALE, IN WHICH ARE DIS-
PLAYED THE VILLAINOUS TREACHERY AND JUST PUNISH-
MENT 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. Fair-
burn, 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

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.”

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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 trumping 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.
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
giavette 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 "in-
sulted, 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 peddlars," 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 Rhymers Prophecies.29 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

29 James C. Corson, "Scott's Boyhood Collection of Chapbooks," The
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.54

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 Monrose 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 Peveril 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

54 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 Midlothian, which bore the stamp of "Carmichael's Circulating Library Hutchesontown," Govan Parish, Glasgow; its readers were probably shipworkers.
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 Marx, 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
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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 epimizers took
their assignments seriously. Dean and Munday employed William
Francis Sullivan and Sarah Scudell 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 him-
self. 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 epimizers
performed a hitherto unrecognized service—the extension of Sir Walter
Scott's impact to the masses in his own day.26

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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 Dornseagh;* Dominie 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 35 Fleet Street [1816], 1817-19; Dean &
Munday at 35 Threadneedle Street, Bank, 1817-1852, etc.; William Mason at
21 Clerkenwell Green, 1817-9 (list of addenda), 1820; John Bailey, 1818-21,
then Joseph and H. W., about 1822-5, 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 Minories, 1821-32, etc.; J. & C. Evans, 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield,
1822-8, then John Edward Evans, 1829 on; Hodgson & Co. at 10 Newgat
Street [1824], 1825, but no listing of William Cole at that address. *Triennial
Directories* for 1817-9 and 1822-4; *Post Office London Directory* for 1817, 1819,
1821-32, 1836; and *Robson's Improved London Directory* for 1820.