Sir Walter Scott as Historical Novelist: Part VI

James Anderson

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/ssl

Part of the English Language and Literature Commons

Recommended Citation
Available at: https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/ssl/vol5/iss3/2

This Article is brought to you by the Scottish Literature Collections at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Studies in Scottish Literature by an authorized editor of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact dillarda@mailbox.sc.edu.
Sir Walter Scott as Historical Novelist

Part VI

Alterations to historical fact in the Waverley novels: a caution.

Liberties with history in the narrow sense are much more obvious to criticism than the kind of thing which has been discussed in the foregoing parts, and yet, as everyone knows, they are of very frequent occurrence in the Waverley novels. Scott himself, introducing Castle Dangerous, remarks that considerable liberties have been taken with history, and proceeds to give a summary of the accepted facts about the period concerned; this practice might well be extended by students of Scott to the other novels, but the proper place to do so would be in the pages of a new, critical edition. Here, only a few cases of special interest can be treated.

The question of the survival of the Scottish Privy Council in the Bride has already been touched upon. The action of that novel is limited to the year 1710, and a short period before and after it; this date is forced upon us by the great change of ministry from Whig to Tory, which in the novel brings Ravenswood’s kinsman the Marquis of A—into power, and which in fact occurred in 1710. Any previous change of ministry is ruled out of consideration by the fact that the action occurs wholly in the post-Union period; we see Sir William Ashton, from the very beginning, apprehensive about an appeal to the House of Lords which might force him to disgorge some of the Ravenswood property. A minor but very delightful feature of the novel is provided by the scenes in the Scottish Privy Council, which in reality was abolished in 1708. The anachronism is chronologically slight, but is very glaring none the less. It could be justified simply by the humours of Lords Turntippet, Hirplehooely, and the rest, but the deeper justification lies in the fact that the atmosphere of the Bride is far from Augustan; that much of its material is derived from an earlier period; and that therefore there is a psychological appropriateness in the retention of the old Privy Council.

1 Bride, I, 253.
STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

Much was made at one time of Scott’s great anachronism in Ivanhoe, where the Anglo-Saxons are represented as still surviving into Richard’s day as a separate people, with aspirations for the re-establishment of the old native line of Kings. Now there can be no question of Scott’s having written in ignorance of historical opinion; he must have known that Hume’s history maintains that by 1189 the Normans were entirely incorporated with the people. Scott chose to adhere to a somewhat different view, in order to obtain the contrast of Norman and Saxon; and yet he did so with discretion, representing Cedric and his friends as merely the lingering remnant of a party, whereas John Logan paraded a high-spirited Anglo-Saxon nobility at Runnymede. It is the discretion rather than the liberty in Scott’s book which deserves emphasis; and that it is wrong to speak, as Freeman did, of Scott’s “blunders.” Blundering is ignorant, but Scott’s knowledge was encyclopaedic.

In Old Mortality, Scott represents the two conflicting factions among the rebel Covenanters of 1679 as Anti-Indulgence and Pro-Indulgence, the Anti-Indulgence party of fanatics being the more vigorous, and the more troublesome to the common cause. It is generally accepted that the “Indulged” people were not “out” in 1679; that the contending factions were those of extremists and moderates in a uniformly Anti-Indulgence assemblage; and that the moderates, not the extremists, showed the greater vigour. Scott’s alteration to this scheme must certainly have been prompted by the wish to obtain a simpler situation and a brighter contrast; yet his introduction of “Indulged” people into the army and the councils of the insurgents is not quite without historical justification. Wodrow says that the moderates hoped the Indulged would join; and James Russell has the words “hearing that Mr. Welsh was joining with all sort of indulged folk . . .” The phrase “indulged folk” may be no more than a term of abuse, but for all that we do seem to have a certain basis here, though flimsy. The attribution of superior activity to the fanatical group appears to be definitely wrong, yet Scott’s procedure can be justified on grounds of natural probability: extremists often seize the initiative, and in the present case the facts seem stranger than the fiction.

It has already been remarked that Triptolemus Yellowley is less of

2 Hume, I, 465-466.
4 Wodrow, II, 55-57.
5 Kirkton, p. 453.

[144]
SIR WALTER SCOTT AS HISTORICAL NOVELIST

an anachronism than he looks: the introduction of novelties in husbandry from the mainland of Scotland to Orkney was not unknown in the 17th Century, and this is enough to give Triptolemus a certain authenticity.

We know that Scott defended his anachronisms on the ground that everything is justified provided the result be interesting, plausible, and inoffensive; but the points just discussed seem to show that his liberties may often be capable of a subtle historical justification as well; they are the work of a man who really knew his material, and are worthy of close inspection before being classed as artistic licence pure and simple.

Regard for the susceptibilities of his readers forced upon Scott a type of historical distortion which has not yet been mentioned. He wrote for the world of Jane Austen, and Jane regarded the Spectator as "coarse"; the Rabelaisian element in literature was therefore suppressed long before the days of Queen Victoria. People who read The Fortunes of Nigel in youth, and then in later life meet with the scandalous suspicions attaching to Gentle King James in respect of his moral character, may think that Scott displayed his ignorance and innocence both, in representing a disgusting profligate as a "Scotch comic." In fact, Scott was perfectly familiar with the gossip of Jacobean London, having met it and used it in connection with the Somers Tracts and the Secret History; nay, he actually believed some of it; yet he could never contemplate giving his public anything in the style of I, Claudius. One cannot doubt that these scruples must frequently produce falsification of history; yet there are occasions when he indicates the missing element by a turn of the brush, as when he suggests that some of the troops in the Jacobite army were late for parade the morning before Prestonpans on account of "the fascinations of the Circes of the High Street." Perhaps the dignity of history should not be asked to tolerate any more than this.

The very free and fluid treatment of historical material in the Waverley novels; the dependence of "period" authenticity upon the existence of a plentiful imaginative literature from the period concerned; the importance of English history and historians, even for the Scotch novels; and the importance of Scott's personal experience even in novels whose period is remote from his own—these propositions, it

*Northanger Abbey*, Chapt. 5, last paragraph.

*Somers, II, 488.

*Waverley*, II, 141.

[145]
STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

is hoped, have now been suitably illustrated. Before the subject of Scott's attitudes to history, as displayed in the novels, is entered upon, something should be said on the question of Scott's success or failure in his attempt to achieve historical plausibility in his fiction.

Something, but not very much; since opinion on this point must vary a good deal from individual to individual, from social group to group, and from age to age. C. K. Sharpe supposed, and doubtless with good reason, that Sir Robert Redgauntlet represented his own ancestor, Grierson of Lagg, and wrote, à propos of the horse-shoe witchmark which distinguished Major Weir's sister: "Sir Walter Scott has spoilt this in Redgauntlet, fixing the horse-shoe on my uncle Grierson's brow. The family had nothing to do with it." This illustrates neatly the relative character of judgements on Scott's historical manipulations; Sharpe's objection would scarcely occur to anyone outside his circle, or indeed to anyone but himself; if his personality had been different, he would have enjoyed the Redgauntlet horse-shoe all the more for knowing where it came from.

At the present time, the quasi-Elizabethan English which Scott used so often to simulate antiquity is not popular; Gadzooks, and all that, merely provoke the cultured snigger or even a certain distress. But is there any certainty that this situation will be everlasting? One of these days, no doubt, Elizabethan English, modern English, and Scots, will all alike be dead languages; but whatever happens, the ridiculous associations attached to particular words or styles cannot last long.

To the present writer, after a fairly long course of reading in history and literature, there appears to be in Scott only one serious violation of historical plausibility: one thing which really disturbs the "willing suspension of disbelief," and that is the character of the White Lady of Avenel in The Monastery. This disembodied spirit, intended as a companion-piece to Ariel, is doubtless a failure in the purely literary sense; but her most objectionable feature to the historian is that she, a fountain-haunting folk-lore sprite or nixie, proves to be an ally of the Calvinists in their struggle against the unreformed church; she recovers heretics' Bibles for them, after confiscation by the Roman Catholic authorities. As a representative of the powers of darkness, she might have been acceptable; even as a champion of the old faith, she might have been made tolerable, with careful handling; but her association with the Geneva gown is the last straw. Yet who can say that this absurdity will be equally evident to future civilisations? Time har-

* Wilson, II, 95.

[146]
monises many incongruities: the Homeric poems, we are told, are a horch-potch or patch-work, historically speaking, put together during several periods of Greek civilisation; but if so, no one worries about that now.

Finally, a word about C. K. Sharpe's criticism to the effect that Scott's romances "contain pictures of manners that never were, are, or will be, besides ten thousand blunders as to chronology, costumes, etc." Sharpe must have known more about the genesis of the Waverley novels than almost any other person, then or since, having been a personal friend, fellow-antiquary, and research colleague of Scott's. Much of the evidence presented in this study must have been known to him, and perhaps much more; and there is no doubt that his words contain a great deal of truth. The way to reconcile Sharpe's statement with the very deep impression which the Waverley novels made on Europe is to take the hostile tone out of it while preserving the meaning, and say that in this series of volumes, Scott, like Robert Henry, presented "The History of Scotland and its neighbours on a New Plan"—a much more original plan than Henry's, involving the free handling and presentation of the material on aesthetic, not scientific, principles, and aiming at general fidelity to human nature rather than at close adherence to the historical structure of a given period. History, in fact, is given no special status; it is an extension of the artist's personal experience, and Scott's commonsense rules for its treatment are the commonsense rules which govern the treatment of any material whatever.

Attitudes to History in the Novels

In formal historical writing, Scott was very much a man of his time in his attitude to the past; that attitude was, on the whole, and strange as it may seem, unfavourable. There is a common belief that Scott idealised the past; but in fact he always regarded the present as something to be thankful for, and specifically taught that belief to his grandson. He shared the eighteenth century's complacent awareness of its own advanced civilisation, and its appreciation of the recently won blessing of domestic peace, scarcely alloyed by the continuance of foreign war, which affected life in Britain comparatively little. Through-

---

11 Henry's plan was to give new prominence to social, cultural, and other types of history, previously neglected in favour of political, military and ecclesiastical history.
12 Grandfather, IV, 109.

[ 147 ]
out, he emphasised the barbarism and lawlessness of the past;12 even when he found it picturesque rather than revolting, it was still the barbarous past.

We find him pouring scorn upon Macpherson’s idealising “Ossian,” and satirising the crudeness of life as it was actually lived in the Scottish Highlands from the evidence of the genuine Ossianic ballads;14 we find him writing pages and pages of atrocity stories about Highland life in more recent centuries;15 we find him ascribing the virtues even of his Borderers to the influence of superstition or the unreasoning tyranny of custom.16 True, he frequently praises the close personal ties which bound chief and clansman, laird and peasant; at times, again, he has glimpses of the sociologists’ picture of patriarchal or feudal society;17 but these are subordinate features in Scott’s historical writing. His out-of-door, extravert (but not romantic) interest in chivalry is, similarly, counterbalanced by his emphasis on medieval superstition, licentiousness, tyranny, and turmoil.18 Trial by ordeal was “absurd”;19 touching for the “King’s Evil” was a “farce.”20 Hume and William Robertson, in crying up Islam at the expense of the Crusaders, certainly influenced Scott.

On the subject of the Reformation, Scott wrote conventionally about the abuses of the old church,21 and gives only a slight hint,22 for something he was to follow up in fiction: the suggestion that much of the trouble arose out of the excessive demands made upon the medieval priest by his ideals and his rules. Queen Mary, the hope of the Catholic world, he regarded as guilty in the famous murder mystery, while not concealing his interest in her great qualities, and his compassion for her sufferings.23

12 The Pitcairn Review, in Prose Works, XIX, illustrates the point very well.
15 Grandfather, Chaps. 39 and 40.
16 Minstrelsy, I, 173.
17 See the Culloden Papers Review in Prose Works, XX.
18 See especially the Essay on Chivalry in Prose Works, VI.
19 Sir Tristrem, pp. 426-429 (Poetical Works, V); Grandfather, VI, 60.
20 Somerville, I, 51n.
21 Grandfather, Chapt. 28.
22 Essay on Chivalry, Prose Works, VI, 43.
23 Grandfather, Chaps. 31-33.
SIR WALTER SCOTT AS HISTORICAL NOVELIST

It is well known that, in spite of a Presbyterian upbringing, Scott developed Tory and (very moderate) episcopal views; a frugal, "low-church" episcopacy was his ideal for Scotland. This attitude reflects eighteenth century admiration for compromise, and Scott could not forgive his ancestors for what he regarded as their fanaticism; in discussing seventeenth century religious conflicts in Scotland, he condemns whichever party—royalist or Covenanter—is in power, speaking of them as "two fierce contending factions in a half-civilised country." He accepts the Presbyterian establishment of 1689 as the best practical solution of the country's difficulties.

In English affairs, Scott seems to regard the English as more civilised than the Scots, and he adopts a more definitely Royalist attitude towards the civil troubles of the Stewart period, yet is wholly orthodox in accepting the Glorious Revolution.

Whoever initiated the sentimental vice of "Charlie-over-the-waterism," it was not Scott. Though a Jacobite by sentiment, he was a Hanoverian by conviction. He knew that the Jacobite revolts were not national or Highland risings against "English" rule. The concluding pages of Grandfather make it very clear that Scott could never contemplate seriously any reversal of the verdict of 1688. In the matter of impartiality, however, his greatest success is with the Jacobites.

Scott's love of country finds perhaps its most touching expression in the closing words of the Minstrelsy Introduction: speaking of his ballad collection as a memorial to a dying nation, he says, "trivial as may appear such an offering to the manes of a kingdom, once proud and independent, I hang it upon her altar with a mixture of feelings which I shall not attempt to describe." This deep feeling leads occasionally (though only occasionally) to a bitterness against England not easy to justify, particularly when he discusses the Darien Scheme and the Union.

26 Kirkton Review, Prose Works, XIX, 625.
27 This is shown throughout the voluminous annotation of Somers, Dryden and Swift.
28 Grandfather, IV, 264, 273, 280, 301; V, 213, 310, 312, 411.
29 Grandfather, V, 400 ff.
30 Grandfather, IV, 48.
31 Grandfather, IV, 68; Somers, XII, 514.
STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

To sum up: for Scott, as for most of his contemporaries—excepting a few pioneers of sociology, and the Rousseauistic cranks—the past, tribal or feudal, was more or less barbarous; in the field of modern British history, he chose his side as others did. Balance, when achieved, was the result, not of detachment, but of equilibrium between conflicting feelings.

Is there any difference between Scott's attitude to the past as a historian and his attitude to the past as a novelist? The answer seems to be that, though there is much common ground, there are also differences, and these are significant.

Whereas in historical writing Scott maintained the barbarous, anti-Ossianic view of the Highlands, we find in the novels a marked swinging away from this attitude, which carries him, not to the opposite extreme of idealization, but to a sound central position; not the anthropological view, which perhaps would hardly do in fiction, but rather the friendly attitude of an interested and sympathetic visitor, as shown by the contemporary Oriental historians Elphinstone and Malcolm towards the Afghans and Persians. Although Edward Waverley was an English visitor to the Highlands, the hostile emphasis of persons like Burt on poverty, dirt, savagery, and the rest, is quite absent; or rather is cleverly brought into a corner of the picture by means of the English Colonel Talbot; on the other hand, Waverley nowhere idealises the Highlands in the manner of Ossian. The choleric Highland gentleman MacIvor and his followers give the impression of being represented as Scott really knew them—the gentleman, whose type he knew well personally, in full-length, and the followers, who were more remote in Scott's experience, as sketches.

In Rob Roy, the Legend, and The Highland Widow, new elements enter—the poetical outlaw and the Highland seer. In Waverley, the cateran Donald Dean Lean makes but a brief appearance, and then in a French uniform, which is doubtless largely responsible for his never "dropping into poetry"; the Highland seer at Prestonpans utters only a few impressive words. But Helen McGregor, Rob himself at times, Ranald McEath, Allan Macaulay, and Elspat MacTavish, all speak at length in an elevated and poetical style which the hasty reader may be excused for branding as Ossianic, melodramatic, and unreal. Scott, in attempting to do justice to the maligned Highland outlaw, seems to have adopted all the absurdity of the "noble savage" school of thought.

Scott refers to Elphinstone, and the parallel between Afghans and Highlanders in Calloden Papers Review, Prose Works, XX, 10.

Rob Roy, II, 313; Letters, XII, 24.
But, although such writing undoubtedly moves away from the realist approach, strong defences are available.

Scott's use of various kinds of poetic speech in the novels is worth the attention of students of literature. This is found largely, if not wholly, in the speech of characters drawn from the outer and lower fringe of society—Edie Ochiltree the beggar; a whole series of half-crazy outcasts and enthusiasts—Meg Merrilees, Madge Wildfire, the Black Dwarf, Ulrica the Saxon, Magdalen Graeme, Norna of the Fitful Head; the religious enthusiasts of the 17th Century; and of course these Highland robbers and prophets. We are dealing with something bigger than "Ossian"; it is as though Scott used this device to render acceptable in his fiction people who in real life would probably disgust. Reversion to more primitive styles of speech has a certain appropriateness in such cases, since we are told that the emotional speech of primitive people, translated into English, often reads like poetry. In the case of the aberrant Highland characters under discussion, inspection reveals that they do not reproduce the "sentimental exclamation" and "romantic effusions of tenderness or sensibility" of the false Ossian; all that they emulate is simply that elevated language which is not confined to the pseudo-Ossian, but is a genuine feature of the real Ossian, of the Bible, and in fact of primitive poetry in general when at its best. Scott's pseudo-Gaelic eloquence, at its best, resembles the language of the real Ossianic ballads: "The woods in which we had dwelt pleasantly, rustled their green leaves in the song, and our streams were there with the sound of all their waters"—thus speaks Ranald McEag; this is not only fine in itself, but is wholly in the spirit of the Ossianic ballads, where we read: "Vale of Daruadh! Pleasant to me would be each of its people: Sweet is the note of the cuckoo from the bending tree of the mountain above Glen-da-Ruadh." When Scott fails, as he undoubtedly does at times, the failure is literary, and is not due to the intrusion of the "noble-savage" type of sentimentality into his approach to history.

Examples of such sentimentiality do, however, occur in Kenneth Macleay's book, Historical Memoirs of Rob Roy and the Clan Macgregor, a publication presumably inspired by Rob Roy. Macleay presents Rob Roy as a model of all chivalrous and knightly virtue, who "would spend whole days in the admiration of a sublime portraiture of nature,"

---

34 "Ossian" review, Edinburgh Review, VI (1805), 441.
35 Legend, p. 222.
36 "Ossian" review, p. 443.
rescued a distressed damsel from the clutches of a "base knight of England," and surveyed a ruined castle "with emotions of reverence for its antiquity."

Rubbish like this never occurs in Scott; even Wordsworth's Rob Roy is more in the style of Robin Hood than Scott's.

There may sometimes be a doubt. The dying Ranald McEagh invokes the Spirit of the Mist, and is reproached by the selfish materialist Dalgetty for not dying like a Christian. This piece of irony may well suggest the doctrine of the superiority of the savage to the civilized man, and in fact the same chapter carries as its motto Dryden's famous lines on "the noble savage."

But even if a question-mark remains opposite the names of these socially and mentally handicapped persons, it is to be noticed that ordinary Highlanders, like the Campbell gentry and Angus Macaulay in the Legend, or the "Dougal creature" in Rob Roy, continue to be treated in the Waverley spirit, although they might with some justification, as members of a primitive society, have been accorded a certain measure of poetical treatment.

In the novel of Rob Roy, Highland economic problems are no more romanticised than they are in the historical introduction. Nicol Jarvie's lecture on the Highlands, mentioned earlier, helps to give Rob Roy that undertone of realism which belies its romantic and adventurous surface. In Stirlingshire: an Inventory of the Ancient Monuments (H.M.S.O., 1963), the Commissioners for Ancient Monuments in Scotland remark in their introduction (p. 6) that in Stirlingshire there exist, or did exist, two contrasting cultures. "The point should ... be kept in mind and a modicum of truth recognized under the romantic licence of Scott's Rob Roy. Another aspect of this same picture, but one un mixed with romance, was given in 1795 by the minister of Campsie Parish, who stated that 'so late as the year 1744' his father had 'paid black mail to McGrigor of Glengyle.'" This clearly suggests that the romantic Scott suppressed the blackmail question from his account of Rob Roy, and yet we find Bailie Jarvie giving a full account of the institution, denouncing it as "clean again our statute law ... clean again.
SIR WALTER SCOTT AS HISTORICAL NOVELIST

Thus the 20th Century condemns Scott for the sins of his contemporaries; but one day it will be realised that Scott's romanticism is little more than a veneer.

Were it not for the ravings of Elspat MacTavish, The Highland Widow would be the sober literary presentation of a problem in real life—the adaptation difficulties created for individuals by a sudden extension of the apparatus and ideology of the modern state over an area hitherto organised on more primitive lines. In fact, The Two Drovers, another story in Chronicles of the Canongate, makes the same point better because there is no Elspat howling through its pages.

The Fair Maid of Perth, too, is fortunately free from the loquacity of maladjusted Gaels. The atmosphere is thus enabled to return to the conditions of Waverley; Simon Glover is the visitor from the Lowlands who witnesses interesting and picturesque ceremonies among the mountaineers. Highland life is accepted as being different and a little more primitive, and that is all; we find neither "polished" contempt nor foolish adulation, and the absence of bad poetic prose enables the reader to enjoy the presentation of a different kind of problem: the difficulty experienced by a man who finds himself chief of a clan, yet lacks the strength of nerve required in one who is expected to lead the clan personally in battle. Scott's attitude to any historical period is at its most balanced when he becomes absorbed in one of these problems of individual life.

The appeal which Ivanhoe and The Talisman used to make to the boy in people is sufficient evidence that Scott in his fiction broke away from the historian's unfavourable view of the Crusading period. The average person, thinking back to the remote days when he read these books, would probably judge that they offer a romantic idealisation of mediæval life; but this of course is not true. Just behind the façade of tournaments, brilliant costumes, and knightly deeds, there lurks the ghost of David Hume. The Christian King Richard, for all his prowess and his gallantry, is clearly represented as an official guilty of criminal neglect of duty; in The Talisman he is decidedly inferior to his Mohammedan antagonist Saladin—the very point made by Hume and Robertson. The immense superiority of the Jewess Rebecca may be traced to the same source, as she is really the representative in England of Mohammedan civilisation. When her Eastern unguent, that which had cured Higg, the son of Snell, was examined at her trial by two


Ivanhoe, II, 324-327; Talisman, p. 335.
STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

native "doctors," they testified that since the ingredients lay outside their knowledge, they must belong to an unlawful and magical pharmacopeia, inhibited to the use of Christian doctors; the unguent, says Scott, was confiscated "when this medical research was ended" —a phrase typical of the Enlightenment. After her narrow escape from death by burning as a sorceress, Rebecca beats a hasty retreat back to civilisation—that is, to Mohammedan Spain.—Apart from the virtuous hero, the remaining representatives of chivalry in Ivanhoe are detestable —the arrogant and licentious (or bigoted) Templars, the brutal Front-de-Boeuf, the treacherous snake Prince John. Ironically enough, the one knight who shows a trace of gentlemanly feeling, Maurice de Bracy, is a mere mercenary captain. The Christian leaders in Palestine are little better (see The Talisman). It seems, then, that Scott is not merely realistic about the Crusading period—after all, the superiority of Saladin and the civilisation he represented may well be objective truth—but retains more than a trace of 18th Century prejudice against it.

If the crusading novels show a certain tendency to under-romanticise, the opposite tendency may be seen in one of the fifteenth century novels; Anne of Geierstein (1829), treating of Switzerland, Germany, Burgundy, and Provence in the time of Charles the Bold, shows the belated influence of the melodramatic German plays which had a vogue in Britain at the end of the eighteenth century. We have a secret underground tribunal, before which accused persons are haled through the agency of a bed sinking through the floor of the inn; we have a mysterious Black Priest with dark glance and withering smile;47 a German baron in his castle by the Rhine, whose midnight studies in the occult sciences give the place a sinister legendary fame—and much else of the sort. This romantic "cloak-and-dagger" picture is quite as unfair in its way to the mediaeval world as the hostile realism of a Scottish historian. It is interesting that Scott should turn to this inferior conception only in his last years when his powers were failing, after having rejected it in earlier days when it was more fashionable.

And yet, once these exceptions have been made, we are still left with a body of writing, both in the Crusading novels and those of the 15th Century (Quentin Durward, Fair Maid of Perth, and Anne), which avoids on the one hand the hostility of the 18th Century cultural parvenu, and on the other the falsifications of the stained-glass devotee or the cloak-and-dagger dreamer. The prevailing atmosphere of these books is simply one of keen, open-air interest in whatever is

48 Ivanhoe, II, 251.
47 Anne, I, 320.
Sir Walter Scott as Historical Novelist

go on; it is the atmosphere of Froissart, which ought not to be called
romantic, though it often is: the proper word is "extravert."

Certainly, there is a good deal of tyranny in the novels, and a good
deal of bloodshed, whether on the field of battle, or in the way of
private assassination, or on the scaffold. But then a certain amount of
this is justified by the record; except in the case of Ivanhoe, there is
no wholesale condemnation of a class or a régime; and Scott's treat-
ment can help to restore a sense of proportion in the minds of modern
readers by means of a Froissartian enthusiasm for gallant deeds, or by
means of a certain macabre humour. The gallows and the noose, for
example, are a prominent feature of Quentin, but Louis XI's hangmen,
Trois-Echelles and Petit-André, are professional humourists, whose jests
lower the temperature most effectively.—Archibald de Hagenbach, in
Anne, is a petty tyrant, publicly beheaded at last with the sword for his
misdeeds; but the reader is impressed rather by the dry humour with
which he discusses his plans for fleecing the next wealthy traveller, and
by the public executioner who finally ends Hagenbach's career.
This functionary, we are told, had to his credit the beheading, at one
clean sword-stroke in each case, of eight noblemen; the equally skilful
despatch of a ninth would entitle him to claim a patent of nobility, in
accordance with the Imperial regulation to that effect made and pro-
vided. The ninth proved to be his own superior, Hagenbach, and, on
the successful completion of his duty, the headsman bowed to the
audience from all four corners of the scaffold, claiming their con-
gratulations on his promotion, and duly receiving the meed of ironical
cheers. Such treatment helps to hold the vessel on an even keel.

A border-line case occurs in the Fair Maid. The horrors are plenti-
ful—Rothesay's murder, the doings of the vile brute Bonrhom, the
clan battle; one wonders if the records quite justify all this, and most
unfortunately the heroine, Catharine Glover, has a horror of violence
and a conception of civil peace far in advance of her age; she therefore
presents at times the appearance of an 18th Century blue-stockings lect-
turing the barbarians of the 15th. On the other hand, the Highlands
are very well handled, as remarked above; some grim humour relieves
the brutality of the Bonnet-maker's murder; and Catharine's status as a
Lollard sympathiser lends a certain colour of historical justification to
her pose as a champion of advanced doctrine. On the whole, perhaps,
pass for the Fair Maid, though Quentin Durward deserves to be called
the most consistently successful of this group, in this matter.

* Anne, I, 273 ff.
* Anne, I, 347.
MENTION OF LOLLARDRY RAISES THE QUESTION OF RELIGION, THE NOVELS CONTAIN SOME VERY SYMPATHETIC TREATMENT OF THE MEDIAEVAL CHURCH. NO TOPIC WAS MORE DIFFICULT FOR SCOTT, AS A PROTESTANT, TO HANDLE FAIRLY; NO TOPIC WAS LESS ADEQUATELY TREATED IN THE FORMAL HISTORIES OF PROTESTANT BRITAIN; THEREFORE NOTHING ILLUSTRATES MORE CLEARLY THE ADVANTAGES OF THE HISTORICAL NOVEL AS A MEDIUM THAN HIS HANDLING OF THE PRIESTS IN IVANHOE, CHIEFLY PRIOR AYMER AND THE HERMIT OF COPMANHURST. THERE IS NO REFORMIST DENUNCIATION OF THE WORLDLINESS OF THE CLERGY; SCOTT FOLLOWS INSTEAD LINES SUGGESTED BY FOLKLORE, CHAUCER, AND THE CHAUCERIANS. IT IS AS THOUGH HE SET OUT FROM THE PROPOSITION THAT HOLY ORDERS MAKE GREAT DEMANDS UPON A MAN; DEMANDS TOO GREAT FOR MOST MEN.  


FATHER CLEMENT, THE LOLLARD PREACHER IN THE FAIR MAID, IS ACCEPTED BY THE NOVELIST AS BEING IN THE RIGHT IN HIS ATTACKS ON THE OLD CHURCH, AND YET CLEMENT IS DULL, AND SCOTT'S SYMPATHIES ARE OBVIOUSLY WITH THE SHREWD, IRONICAL SIMON GLOVER, WHO FEELS HOW AWKWARD IT ALL IS WHEN PEOPLE THINK TOO FAR IN ADVANCE OF THEIR TIME, AND HOW REGRETTABLE IT IS THAT CLEMENT ESCAPED MARTYRDOM, SINCE HIS LAST WORDS AT THE STAKE

---

90 Essay on Chivalry, p. 43.
91 Fair Maid, II, 186.
would have converted thousands. In this case, the 18th Century dislike for enthusiasm operates, as it did in the case of Hume, to the benefit of the Old Church. Glover displays a more tolerant spirit than Clement in the matter of the Highland coronach, which Clement stigmatises as paganism.

The same Simon Glover, as it happens, offers a very advanced view of the Reformation in an interesting remark about Father Clement: "I defy foul fame to show that I ever owned him in any heretical proposition, though I loved to hear him talk of the corruptions of the Church, the misgovernment of the nobles, and the wild ignorance of the poor, proving, as it seemed to me, that the sole virtue of our commonweal, its strength and its estimation, lay among the burgher craft of the better class, which I received as comfortable doctrine, and creditable to the town." This pawky little preview of the economic interpretation of religious controversy is not paralleled elsewhere in Scott's works, and is, to say the very least, no part of the mental small change of his time.

Trial by ordeal appears in the Fair Maid, and is not dismissed as a "farce." After the murder of the Bonnet-maker, the suspects are paraded in Church past the murdered corpse, to see if it would bleed and thus indicate the murderer. Certainly, the guilty party refers to "juggling tricks" as his excuse for demanding ordeal by battle in lieu—a touch in the manner of Robert Henry—yet the remark falls naturally enough into its context. Certainly again, Scott's impressive account of this devout appeal to the judgement of Heaven is a little spoiled by Catharine Glover's condemnation thereof as an insult to religion, but as she is a Lollard, the feature can be accepted in this case as authentic, though we are apt to feel that we are listening to the voice of a later age.

Apart from Father Clement, Scott's principal studies of enthusiastic priests are Father Eustace and Henry Warden, in The Monastery. The devotion and sincerity of Eustace the Catholic matches that of Warden, the Protestant, although the novelist obviously belongs to Warden's party. But Scott's lack of sympathy for religious enthusiasm makes both of them unconvincing and rather tiresome, except for a moment when

---

60 Fair Maid, II, 181.
61 Fair Maid, II, 135.
62 Fair Maid, II, 98.
63 Fair Maid, II, 48, 132-134.
the pair are engaged in wordy warfare and Scott smiles at them as he would at a couple of squabbling gamecocks. But when, as in Ivanhoe, he uses church history as material for the compassionate account of a human weakness, he furnishes an object-lesson to historians. Abbot Boniface, in The Monastery, is an easy-going, good-natured lover of creature comforts, who is unlucky enough to find himself in a position of responsibility at a time of crisis, to wit, the Reformation. The kindly humour with which his weaknesses are described, and the unexpected dignity with which he is invested when the time comes for him to retreat from an impossible position, make a startling contrast to the standard Protestant accounts of clerical debauchees and martyr-burning bigots; one sees how imaginative insight may lift a man above the rights and wrongs of local and temporary controversy on to a really universal level. Boniface resembles, in essentials, Trollope's Mr. Harding, in The Warden.

The influence of Abbot Boniface is lost in The Abbot, where he sinks to a minor character—the poor old gardener who has no peace to look after his fruit-trees because Catholic conspirators on behalf of Queen Mary insist on using his premises as their headquarters. The field is left free by his eclipse for an orthodox Protestant position; there are some more conscientious studies of devout Catholics, and some equally dull ones of Protestant enthusiasts, and we are really no further on than with a scrupulous text-book. If a novel is to illuminate and transform history, the spark of inspiration is indispensable. On the question of Queen Mary, The Abbot is most unsatisfactory. What interests the public principally is the elucidation of her guilt or innocence in the great mystery, but Scott evades the question throughout, and we are left with her charms, her heavy sarcasm, and her adventurous escape. Obviously he thought she was guilty, but that the public would prefer a romance which showed her as innocent. His Queen Mary adds nothing to history.

Scott the Protestant had been able, on occasion, to rise above party in the Reformation controversy, and one might expect Scott the royalist and Tory to do the same when handling the political and religious controversies of the 17th Century. So far as the English novels are concerned—Woodstock and Peveril—this does not really happen. Once again, the fair-minded Scott labours hard to be just, but his Puritan characters, Cromwell, Holdenough, Bridgenorth, and the rest, always seem to remain on the far side of the fence. The spontaneous, affectionate treatment of the easy-going old priests does not recur. What

77 The Monastery, II, 258.
we do get is some laughter at the expense of two wrangling divines, as in the Eustace-Warden case.\textsuperscript{58} The most interesting feature of these two books is not therefore the contrast between parties, (Scott said he was “hampered” with his “fanatics”),\textsuperscript{59} but a human situation inside one of them, namely, the tragedy of unselfish devotion to an unworthy leader. While Sir Henry Lee and his family are risking their lives to save Charles II from capture after Worcester, the king attempts to seduce Sir Henry’s daughter. (We are told in the Somers Tracts\textsuperscript{60} that Sir Charles Sedley resented the debauching of his daughter by James, Duke of York; it is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the attentions even of royalty might be regarded by quiet country people of that day as a wicked abuse of hospitality, in real life as well as in the novel.) Charles displays on reflection better instincts, being not yet wholly given up to selfish indulgence; and as the action approaches crisis, his conduct acquires that dignity and gentlemanly feeling which only Scott could portray in fiction without turning his character into a moralist’s dummy. But when in the end the King returns from exile, to be met by the dying Sir Henry with his last Shakespeare quotation:

Unthread the rude eye of rebellion,
And welcome home again discarded faith,

much of the poignancy of the scene is owing to the reader’s knowledge of what Charles had come back to do.

In the slightly earlier Peveril, treating of the Popish Plot, the same contrast appears between the cynical, shrewd Charles, whose chief virtue is a kind of lazy good-nature, spending his time surrounded by frivolous courtiers and loose women; and the honest, loyal souls who shared his adversity and are now neglected, or abandoned to the tempest of the Plot. The twirling by the worthless Buckingham of Major Coleby, a Worcester stalwart sunk through neglect to a very humble post in the Tower of London, sums it all up.\textsuperscript{61} Yet the King’s shame on recognising Coleby, and his sorrow at the old man’s death, which follows within a few minutes as a result of the painful agitation of the meeting, shows once more that we are not dealing with a simple case of black and white.

But in all this writing, excellent as it is, Scott is concerned with his “own” party, and he cannot therefore be said to transcend the limita-

\textsuperscript{58} Woodstock, II, 368.
\textsuperscript{59} Letters, IX, 412.
\textsuperscript{60} Somers, X, 331.
\textsuperscript{61} Peveril, Chapt. 40.
tions of the historians of his age. Very different is the case of the Scottish Covenanter.

For the Covenant, in the days of its success, Scott has not much sympathy; in the Legend, Montrose is the friend, and Argyle, however restrained his treatment, is the enemy. The intervention of the non-aligned philosopher Dugald Dalgetty, however, pushes everything else, including conflicts, into the background; Scott transcends party only by subordinating it to something more interesting.

David Hume, as an adherent of the Glorious Revolution, felt obliged to condemn the actions of the government in Scotland before 1688, and therefore to accord a grudging sympathy to the Covenanters, whose enthusiasm he detested; Scott as historian tends to take the same view, though with more kindness for the Covenanters, whose nationalism attracted him. 62

This ambiguity is very obviously present in Old Mortality. There, the royalists range widely from good to bad; from the gentle Monmouth, the worthy Major Bellenden, and Lady Margaret, through the gallant but merciless Claverhouse, to the brutal and tyrannical Privy Council and its agents the dragoons. The Covenanters range similarly from the virtuous Bessie Maclure through the moderate Morton and the "Indulged" Pountext to the fanatics.

Tory prejudice may, however, be read into the fact that the mild and moderate Covenanters are greatly overshadowed by the fanatics—men who murdered the Archbishop, and were prepared to murder Morton; pale-eyed zealots, half-crazy enthusiasts. These were in real life a small minority among the Presbyterians, and in fact the craziest of them—Gibbites, Sweet Singers—were disowned by the rest; but they occupy the front of the stage in the novel, and, as we have seen, take the lead in the affairs of the insurgent army which seems in fact to have belonged to the moderates. The artist's plea of the need for a strong contrast is perhaps not quite sufficient here. The influence of 17th Century royalist satire is also clearly visible in the choice of Covenanting names—Kettledrummle, Pountext, Mucklewrath. (Yet John Half-text the episcopal curate must be borne in mind.)

As against this, no one can say that Scott white-washed the government; his account of the conduct of the dragoons and of the lords of the Privy Council concedes without question whatever their enemies said about them, although defense is possible—Burnet, 63 for example, says

62 Heart, II, 164.
63 Burnet, I, 583.
that members of the Privy Council had to be forced to witness the torture of accused persons; but Scott takes no advantage of this. Further, it is a fact that Scott’s unfavourable account of the “Indulged” people, in the person of the slothful Pountext, who preferred his noggin of ale to fighting the battles of the Church, adopts the picture presented by the enthusiasts of the Covenant; the Cloud of Witnesses, in its article on John Wilson, condemns the Indulged for their “overweening love of ease,” whereas Burnet the prelatist says the Indulged ministers preached Christianity instead of polemics. These facts suggest that Scott really wrote from the Covenanting point of view much of the time; more evidence to this effect has already been offered above where his debt to the Cameronian writers is shown.

Disproportionate attention may, however, have been paid by Scott to the somewhat untypical extremist James Russell; it certainly is the case, as admitted above, that the fanatics are given an unhistorical prominence. Here, however, Scott’s treatment can be justified on essentially the same grounds as his treatment of the backsliding priests of the old church in The Monastery and Ivanhoe; he accepts the faults of the persons concerned, but handles them with an imaginative sympathy which triumphantly overcomes the tendency to hostile caricature. Of the many great moments in Old Mortality, only one—Lady Margaret’s protest against Claverhouse’s proposal to shoot Morton in her courtyard—is given to the royalists; the rest go to the Covenanters—the psalm before Drumclog, the noble oration of Machtiair after the battle, his conduct before the Privy Council (“I trust my soul is anchored firmly on the rock of ages”), and the dying words of Muckle-wrath (“How long, O Lord, holy and true . . .”). The rescue of Morton from the fanatics at Drumshinnel by the opportune arrival of Claverhouse is perhaps a divided honour. The enthusiastic but comic eloquence of Mause Headrigg is an exact analogue to the talk of Abbot Boniface and the others; it enlists the smiling sympathy of all, except perhaps for a few of her own persuasion who have no sense of humour. Thus, if the predominance of the fanatics is unhistorical, it is the reverse of unfair; Scott gave them a greatness which they may not have had in real life.

Old Mortality is not uniform in tone; and there remains enough of hostile satire—in the offensive names, for example—to induce Scott to take up the Covenant again, and to combine in David Deans the comedy of Mause Headrigg and the nobility of the other Old Mortality worthies.

44 Burnet, I, 282; but the interpretation of this remark is doubtful.
45 Old Mortality, I, 241.
STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

at their best, whilst toning down the element of dark fanaticism. Scott's noblest woman is David's daughter.

It is easy to understand the hostility of Thomas McCrie, who reviewed Old Mortality in hot haste—the novel was published in December 1816, and McCrie's Review appeared in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor for January, February and March 1817.66 (Periodicals could be late in appearing, but not this one; see Letters, IV, 381.) Old Mortality on the whole transcends party, but McCrie could not do so, and did not wish to do so; he obviously wished any account of royalists and Covenanters to be done in black-and-white.67 The novelist's superiority is clearly visible here.

McCrie scored a point when he said that Scott betrayed the vain and puffed-up mentality of a modern age, which fails to appreciate the achievements of its predecessors;68 he saw the cloven hoof of David Hume in some expressions of distaste in the novel; but on the whole his attack is invalidated by an unduly partisan approach. He committed himself to the unfortunate statement that Scott wrote without the necessary extensive, minute, and accurate acquaintance with the period,69 and even stigmatises Scott as "a Scotsman retailing English blunders."70 The enlightened readers of the present study (not to mention Scott's 1829 notes) will enjoy McCrie's condemnation of the "strange, ridiculous, and incoherent jargon" of Scott's Covenanters.71

In this section, the object is to bring out Scott's ability when writing fiction to rise above the limitations of the historians of his period, including himself; but before the topic of Old Mortality is dropped for the last time, it may be well to record that Sir Robert Rait lent the weight of his authority to the defence of Scott's historical accuracy, as well as fairness, in his article, "Scott and Thomas McCrie."72 Scott's only material factual error, he says, is his statement that a Prayer-book was used in churches in the prelatical days, and even this is not serious, since the English prayer-book was in fact not unknown in Scotland at that time.73 He admits McCrie's evidence that episcopal sermons of

66 Reprinted in Works, 1855.
67 See his review, passim.
69 Review (ed. 1855), pp. 12, 72.
70 Review (ed. 1855), p. 93.
71 Review (ed. 1855), p. 46.
73 Sir Walter Scott today, pp. 7-8; Old Mortality, I, 223.
SIR WALTER SCOTT AS HISTORICAL NOVELIST

the 17th Century could be fully as absurd as any Presbyterian eloquence, but catches him in the serious misstatement that by the Revolution of 1688 the Covenanters achieved their aims. When McCrie defended the factional squabbles of the Covenanters before Bothwell Brig, he was going farther even than John Howie, who condemned them, Cameronian as he was—Both McCrie and Rait are, as Caleb Balderstone says, "worthy of a large perusal"; but the Covenant has already had its full share of space in the present pages.

Dugald Dalgetty was, as we have seen, morally inferior to all his prototypes, except perhaps Sir Roger Williams. It is very probable that his thick-skinned selfishness may be ascribed to Scott's wish, conscious or unconscious, to repeat the achievement of Falstaff in a different mode; but it is also possible that the feature represents the sublimation of a modern dislike for mercenary soldiers. Similarly, when Dalgetty samples every service in Europe, and even considers taking a turn with the Turk, his creator exaggerates the versatility of mercenaries beyond what his sources warrant, for more perhaps than humorous effect. If so, the odious and delightful Dugald is another triumph over prejudice for the novelist.

In the matter of superstition, to which Covenanters were prone, it is hardly necessary to point out that while Scott deplored it in an enlightened fashion when writing history, he entered into its spirit when writing fiction, and produced the masterpieces of the Bride and Wandering Willie's Tale.

On the Jacobite movement, there is little to be added; Scott's historical writing on the Jacobites was a model of detached and yet sympathetic treatment, and so all that his fiction had to do was to maintain the standard. This, beyond all doubt, it did. Scott's fictitious Jacobites numbered in their ranks good people—Bradwardine, Flora MacIvor; mixed people—Redgauntlet, Fergus MacIvor; and bad people—Rashleigh Osbaldistone, Captain Craigengelt. The same may be said of his Hanoverians. It is unnecessary to pursue this point further; Thomas McCrie read Old Mortality before he criticised it, and therefore demands an extended and considered reply; those who think Scott idealised the Jacobites need only be directed to page one of any edition of Waverley or Redgauntlet, Rob Roy or the Bride, with instructions to read on and forget the false picture of "Charlie-over-the-water-ists."

In Scott's later years Scottish national feeling was becoming more evident in the historians, and was acquiring a new, quasi-religious colour, with some recrudescence of the old anti-English sentiment.
STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

Scott himself, as a historian, was not entirely free from this tendency, although there is little cause for serious complaint.—Now, in the novels, there is plenty of evidence for Scott’s deep feelings about Scotland. Apart from the “Scotch novels,” Scottish patriotism is obvious at a glance in Quentim Durward, and in The Talisman, whose great moment is the revelation of the obscure knight Sir Kenneth as David, Earl of Huntingdon, Prince Royal of Scotland. Anne of Geierstein is in a sense a Scotch novel in disguise, so often is the parallel between the Scots and the Swiss suggested, and even openly drawn. The Swiss, we are told, kneeled to pray before the battle of Granson, misleading Charles the Bold into the belief that they sought mercy—a reminiscence of Bannockburn. The fact that both nations were well-known as recruiting-grounds for mercenary soldiers had been impressed on Scott by his work on the Somers Tracts.

Being a Scot seems to have given our author an unfailing sympathy with the weaker party. Here is one possible reason for the tyrannical character of the Norman barons in Ivanhoe. When Cedric the Saxon says “Our deeds are lost in those of another race—our language, our very name is hastening to decay,” we can surely hear speaking the man who ended his Minstrelsy Introduction with the fine valedictory words quoted earlier. The same theme recurs in Count Robert, whose hero is an exiled Saxon in the Imperial Guard at Constantinople, recalling the Scottish mercenaries in France and elsewhere in later times.

It is clear, therefore, that we need expect no consistent adoption of a supra-national, universalist stand-point. Yet it is vain to seek evidence of anti-English feeling in the novels, even in The Monastery, where Pinkie has to be mentioned, and the consequent English occupation of the South-East. In fact, Swarath Bolton, the English soldier sent to harry Glendearg, is represented as a decent man, like many another soldier before and since, in England and out of it. The Jacobite zealot Redgauntlet does indeed speak of Scotland’s subjection after 1707 to a foreign judicature, and of the Providential interposition which stopped Edward I on his way to Scotland in 1307, but this is reasonably in character, since the Jacobites had proposed to abrogate

"Talismen, p. 523.
Anne, II, 166; Letters, XI, 29.
Anne, II, 291.
Somers, II, 125.
Ivanhoe, I, 101.
Redgauntlet, II, 268-269.
SIR WALTER SCOTT AS HISTORICAL NOVELIST

the Union. The peasant Andrew Fairservice constantly "girns" at the Union; but the burgess Nicol Jarvie champions it.\textsuperscript{80} We have here a faithful piece of observation, borne out shortly after the novel was written by what happened after the rediscovery of the Regalia. Lockhart says that Edinburgh society, even high Tory, showed little interest, whereas the common people in town and country were greatly excited by the rediscovery of these national relics.\textsuperscript{81} It would be wrong, doubtless, to accuse either Jarvie or Edinburgh society in Scott’s time of lack of interest in Scotland, but it was the common people who looked back with regret to the days of independence. Business people and governing class people are presumably quicker to find out that the drawbacks of a small, independent state are great and increasing.

The novel of Kenilworth, as a whole, shows how by 1820 a Scot was capable of taking pride in the great age of Elizabeth, almost as if the Union had already taken place in Elizabeth’s time, and as if Queen Mary had not existed. Scott’s professional and enthusiastic immersion in the history and literature of the Elizabethan, Restoration, and Augustan periods guaranteed that the “English” novels inspired by that literature, would show no trace of anti-English sentiment. It would be unreasonably cynical to suppose that Scott suppressed his feelings with an eye to the English book-market; he had, quite genuinely, a multiple cultural nationality, like many others since.

All this is much; the transcendent quality of the novelist, however, is seen at its best in two of the more obscure corners of his work. Magnus Troil, the Shetland Udaller, has a Norwegian background and sympathies, and resents the intrusion of Scotsmen into Shetland; he speaks in a style which sometimes recalls Cedric the Saxon. On the other hand, the Scots in Shetland are represented by the pedantic Yelowley and his miserly sister Baby, whose kindred, the Clink scales of the Mearns, are depicted in as unflattering a light as if the author were a hostile English visitor to Scotland.\textsuperscript{82}

Secondly and lastly, there is in The Black Dwarf a remarkable passage about an anti-Union (1707) meeting.\textsuperscript{83} “Our commerce is destroyed”, hallored old John Bewcastle, a Jedburgh smuggler . . . ‘Our agriculture is ruined’ said the Laird of Broken-girth-flow, a territory which since the days of Adam had borne nothing but ling and whortle-

\textsuperscript{80} Rob Roy, II, 153.
\textsuperscript{81} Lockhart, III, 158.
\textsuperscript{82} Pirate, I, 63 ff.
\textsuperscript{83} Black Dwarf, pp. 315 ff.
berries . . . 'Think of the piracies committed on our East-Indian trade by Green and the English thieves,' said William Willieson, half-owner and sole skipper of a brig that made four voyages annually between Cockpool and Whitehaven.' This piece of anti-nationalist satire makes a fitting conclusion to this study, which shows that Scott's New Plan, in addition to the merits already detailed, enables him to achieve, not throughout, but still very often, a universality of outlook surpassing in quality even the best historical work of the Scottish Golden Age.

(Conclusion)

EDINBURGH