The Scott Newsletter appears twice a year.
It is published by the Walter Scott Research Centre
at the University of Aberdeen.

The minimum subscription is for four issues, and costs £5,
or £10 for libraries

Payment must be made in sterling—by cheque or credit card
(Visa or Master Card): please quote card type, number, expiry date,
and the name as it appears on the card.
Cheques should be made payable to 'The University of Aberdeen'.

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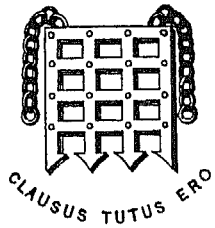
ISSN 0264 2522



THE SCOTT NEWSLETTER

NUMBER 33 **WINTER 1998**

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EDITORIAL NOTE

In case you have not book-marked the Oregon conference on 'Scott, Scotland and Romanticism' (21–25 July 1999), a reminder that the web-site address is

ttp://www-english.tamu.edu/pers/fac/snodgrass/scott99/html

It is a very attractive site: still under construction, but quite safe to wander round!

The editor would like to issue one of his periodic reminders that the *Newsletter* depends on readers offering contributions. If you have anything that you think might interest other readers, please send it in: notes, queries, short articles, from the frivolous to the solemn, on any aspect of Scott or his period.

SCOTT'S HALTING FELLOW: THE BODY OF SHAKESPEARE IN THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

Fiona Robertson

At the Theatrical Fund Dinner in February 1827, during which Scott publicly acknowledged for the first time his authorship of the Waverley Novels, he proposed toasts to major figures in the history of the British stage. Prominent among them was of course Shakespeare, to whose works the Waverley Novels were coming to be regarded as a triumphant appendage. Anyone who has edited Scott, and most who have read him, will be aware of Shakespeare's constant haunting presence in those fictions: registered in a scene, in a cadence, sometimes in an elaborate and sustained imaginative parallel over the course of an entire novel. This artistic relationship has long been the focus of critical attention. When Scott comes to praise Shakespeare at the hour of his own great unveiling, however, he uses one simile which opens up another, and as far as I know an unexplored, aspect of the place of Shakespeare in his own creative identity:

> When I come to his honoured name, I am like the sick man who hung up his crutches at the shrine, and was obliged to confess that he did not walk better than before. It is indeed difficult, gentlemen, to compare him to any other individual.[1]

In the oil painting, attributed to William Allan, which depicts 'Sir Walter Scott on the occasion of his visit to Shakespeare's tomb in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-upon-Avon, on 8 April 1828' Scott stands leaning on a stick, conspicuously lame, slightly bowed, and swathed in a homely grey mantle designedly contrasted with a more dashing red-bordered item arranged to the right of the figure of Shakespeare. It is a curious image, apparently representing a relationship respectful on both sides, but full of ambiguity. For what Scott faces in Allan's representation is a series of fragments of the body of Shakespeare: the raised bust in its shrine, an elaborately-carved sarcophagus with books scattered on and around it, a rich red-edged mantle shrouding an indistinct shape. And when one turns again to the Waverley Novels with these two different images of a lame man at a shrine in mind, what one finds is a curiosity in the history of the physicality of true genius.

Images of the body underlie critical discussion of Shakespeare in the Romantic, as in other, periods; and are partially hidden by their obviousness. When William Hazlitt presents Shakespeare in *Lectures on the Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (1819) as 'one of a race of giants, the tallest, the strongest, the most graceful, and beautiful of them' the model of the artist is at once conventional and prescriptive, in line with James Boaden's claim in his *Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Various Pictures and Prints ... of Shakspeare* (1824) that 'A reader who rises from the perusal of Shakspeare's writings will be apt, from a fanciful analogy, to invest his person with extraordinary graces'.[2] When Jonathan Bate contends that 'The Romantics' reinvention of Hamlet as a paralysed Romantic was their single most influential critical act' the writers of whom he speaks become a collective body but also lose their individual claims to physical imperfection.[3] So subtly intertwined with our notions of the Romantics has been the image of the peripatetic that we forget that even Dorothy Wordsworth, according to Thomas De Quincey, could be abashed at the inadequacy of her brother's legs when contrasted with those of an 'active Westmoreland clergyman'.[4] The bodily form assumed by genius has a long and varied cultural history, and one which has been brought into focus in recent years by the influence of works such as Susan Sontag's essays 'Illness and Metaphor' and 'Aids and its Metaphors'.[5] As I shall show later in this essay, the physical image of Shakespeare is affected by critical preconceptions about his work and in turn has an impact on interpretation of it. Scott's presentation of Shakespeare in three novels in particular—*Kenilworth*, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, and *Woodstock*—is a significant part of how Shakespeare was perceived not just critically but also as a living and breathing presence by generations of readers.

My immediate context for thinking about these issues was a seminar devoted to 'Fictions of Shakespeare's Life', the first of its kind to be organised at the World Congress of the Shakespeare Assocation of America. Shakespeare has had a significant afterlife in the fictions of others, and the manifestations considered in the seminar included the ghostly presences in Joyce's *Ulysses* and Woolf's fictions (especially *Orlando*), the *Kenilworth*-influenced characterisation in Ludwig Tieck's *Dichterleben*, and the varied biographical fictions of Leon Rooke's *Shakespeare's Dog*, Philip Burton's *You, My Brother: A Novel Based on the Lives of Edmund and William Shakespeare*, Anthony Burgess's *Nothing Like the Sun: A Story of William Shakespeare's Love-Life*, Robert Nye's *Mrs Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, and Neil Gaiman's comic-book saga *The Sandman*. Scott's representations of Shakespeare, which like most of his other historical characterisations have a traceable past and a largely untraced future, seemed in such a varied context at once strikingly idiosyncratic and intriguingly 'natural'. As in so many other ways, the literary culture has effectively internalised Scott. My interest in the remarks which follow, in consequence, lies in some revealing quirks of Scott's Shakespeare and in the way in which the idea of Shakespeare becomes, over a range of Scott's novels, not just a text (as opposed to the texts of his works) reclaimed in the service of royalist apologia which Nicola J. Watson has identified in the labyrinths of *Woodstock* but more pervasively a shining example of the creative meeting-point of disability, manliness, and artistry.[6] Watson's case is persuasive on the appropriated and redirected 'body' of the texts but its focus on the political and moral cannot encompass the complications introduced by Scott's idiosyncratic ideas about the physical body of Shakespeare.

In *Shakespeare's Lives*, Samuel Schoenbaum refers to Shakespeare's supposed lameness as 'a curious part of [his] narrative', but it is not one on which critics have lingered long.[7] By Scott's time, the most influential assertion of Shakespeare's lameness was Edward Capell's in his 1768 edition of Shakespeare, which took Sonnet 37 to be proof of physical disability: the more obvious reference to the speaker's assuming lameness in Sonnet 89 protected it from such a literal reading.[8] Capell suggested that Shakespeare's lameness made it necessary for him to take the parts of decrepit characters in the plays; later accounts traced the lameness to a severe beating (Samuel Butler) and to military service (William J. Thoms).[9] Scott's acceptance of this idea reflects, perhaps, a form of self-identification, for Shakespeare could be seen to have suffered from, and to have triumphed over, the same disability endured by Scott as a result of his infantile paralysis. Interacting with any such self-identification, however, is the broader interest of an age which Carlyle was to censor as 'the sickliest of recorded ages';[10] an age fascinated by the 'healthiness'/ lameness of Scott and by the supposed moral degeneracy/lameness of Byron. There are many traditional links between infirmity of body and special gifts of mind. Carlyle, reflecting on Scott's childhood affliction, presents it as an honorific dispensation of nature, a way of displacing energy to the brain: 'Disease, which is but superficial, and issues in outward lameness, does not cloud the young existence; rather forwards it towards the expansion it is fitted for.'[11] Medical opinion of the time tended to support such views. Illness 'sometimes seems to contribute to the clearness and acuteness of the judgement, as some people testify who have been afflicted with the gout,' states Andrew Duncan, Jr., in the long essay 'Medicine' for the 1810 Fourth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[12] At any rate physical affliction might serve the purpose of marking out the individual as distinctive, as in Lady Charlotte Bury's observation that 'there is something I think graceful in Walter Scott's hitch; it would be a pity he should walk like any body else'.[13]

Scott never introduces Shakespeare as a moving and talking character in his novels, but he differs in important respects from what most commentators have described as typical Romantic-period representations of Shakespeare. In contrast to the 'paralysed Romantic' Hamlet, Scott's Shakespeare manfully overcomes physical weakness to emerge as the opposite of the contemplative dreamer. Howard Felperin, accepting the common practice of placing Coleridge at the centre of Romantic-period responses to Shakespeare, asks: 'Why should he have been so idealized, indeed transcendentalized, as he was in the romantic period? And why should the idealist discourses through which his work was dehistoricized have remained dominant for so long since?'[14] Any such idealization and dehistoricization is much less of a problem in the works of Scott, who both directly and indirectly reinstates Shakespeare in history. If Romantic-period criticism narrowly understood (for Felperin's remark is not likely to satisfy Coleridgeans either) tends to separate Shakespeare and his age, Romantic reconstructions of his life and times, and pre-eminently Scott's, emphasise social and intellectual placing, connectedness with the cultural movements and shifts of his time, and the provisionality of his fame and cultural significance.

In all his historicizations of Shakespeare Scott explores the contingencies of artistic production and reception and the afterlife of the author, fittingly for a writer whose own role as national 'wizard' and 'Scottish Prospero' was shaped in the mould of Shakespeare.[15] Comparisons were commonplace, and, although superficially rejected by Scott ('The blockheads talk of my being like Shakespeare—not fit to tie his brogues'),[16] are a discernible undercurrent in much of his critical and personal prose. In 1810 he proposed an edition of Shakespeare; later, he planned a *Life*, to constitute the first volume of a projected ten-volume edition suggested by

Constable in 1822 and probably begun in 1823 or 1824.[17] More bleakly, at crisis points in his life and most of all in the depths of his financial ruin in 1826, his sense of self melds with readings of *King Lear*.[18] The identification is taken further in fiction (Sir Henry Lee in *Woodstock* identifies himself with Lear in times of adversity) and in Scott's dying weeks, when he is said to have suffered from the delusion that he *was* Lear.[19] More broadly, the parallel drawn so insistently between his own art and Shakespeare's can be seen occasionally to have drawn him to reflect on possible intersections of their lives. On 2 March 1827 he records in his *Journal* an incident which had clearly struck him forcibly: 'Funny thing at the theatre. Among the discourse in *High Life below Stairs* [by James Townley] one of the Ladies' ladies asks who wrote Shakespeare. One says "Ben Johnson" another "Finis". "No" said Will Murray [manager of the Edinburgh Theatre and organiser of the Theatrical Fund Dinner] "it is Sir Walter Scott; he confessd it at a publick meeting the other day."'[20]

If Scott can be seen to blur elements of his own life, art, and feelings with those he ascribes to Shakespeare, his literal interpretation of references to lameness in the sonnets begin to fit a pattern. Readings of the sonnets as autobiographical were commonplace among his contemporaries, Wordsworth's claim that 'with this key / Shakspeare unlocked his heart' being only the best-known of identifications of sonnet and self.[21] In the 'Ashestiel Autobiography' Scott describes his early storytelling to groups of schoolfriends as a compensation for the inactivity imposed by his lameness; and, considering himself 'rather disfigured than disabled by [his] lameness', he placed great importance on physical robustness and energetic exercise, described by John Sutherland as a lasting obsession with heroic feats of equestrianism.[22] Late in life he reflected: 'I have perhaps all my life set an undue value on these gifts [strength and activity]. Yet it does appear to me that high and independent feelings are naturally though not uniformly or inseparably connected with bodily advantages.'[23] In this context, it is unsurprising that he should avail himself of the belief, which would have been validated by his reading of Capell, that Shakespeare suffered from the same bodily restriction. So, the passage from the *Journal* in which he laments his physical decline and lifelong disability, and rejoices in the strength of his two sons and son-in-law Lockhart, is subtly intertextual with the literal reading of Sonnet 37 which he espoused, as the 'decrepit father takes delight, / To see his active child do deeds of youth'. Significant areas of Scott's literary output are monuments to disability, most notably the several series of *Tales of a Grandfather* written for his invalid grandson John Hugh Lockhart and chronicling Scottish history as a series of manly feats of valour. Misshapen but balefully powerful figures are common in his work: conventional enough, of course, but going beyond convention in the depiction of the mutilated knight Ramorny in *The Fair Maid of Perth*.

The first of Scott's fictional representations of Shakespeare belongs to the same year, 1821, which saw the publication of the 21 volumes of the Malone-Boswell *Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare* (the 'Third Variorum'). *Kenilworth* is organised around the entertainments of 1575, but creates a composite picture of Elizabethan England by means of striking anachronisms and conflations. It reproduces and embellishes a number of historical myths, such as Ralegh's gallant cloakmanship, keeps Amy Robsart alive for fifteen years to clash with Elizabeth at Kenilworth and Sir Philip Sidney alive for ten to murmur lines from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in his sleep, and in its London scenes has characters ponder the artistry and personal qualities of one Will Shakespeare. That Ralegh in 1575 should be able to quote winsomely from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is only the least of the oddities of this rather early appearance by Shakespeare as the exciting new dramatist of the age. The Earl of Sussex, the novel's representative of bluff old English values, describes Shakespeare as 'a stout man at quarter-staff, and single falchion, as I am told, though a halting fellow; and stood, they say, a tough fight with the rangers of old Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecot, when he broke his deer-park and kissed his keeper's daughter'; he is a 'gamesome mad fellow' who writes 'whoreson poetry' which is 'all froth and folly—no substance or seriousness in it'.[24] In a striking anticipation of new historicist emphasis on plots and power, the Earl of Leicester suggests a rather more political purpose for theatrical representation: 'When men are agape to see how Marlowe, Shakespeare, and others, work out their fanciful plots as they call them, the mind of the spectators is withdrawn from the conduct of their rulers.'[25] Elizabeth herself registers her approval of the histories and thinks that their blend of entertainment and instruction will benefit not just her own but also the next generation of ordinary Englishmen. The episode as a whole sets forth several different Shakespeares, but they have significant qualities in common. They are all thoroughly immersed in the practicalities of the theatre and in the risks attendant upon theatrical representations of politics and history. The plays are not isolated or miraculous but contingent and debatable. Most of all, Sussex's characterisation of a worldly, lusty, gamesome fighting man with a limp rescues art from the imputations of childishness and effeminacy which he sets out in an earlier conversation, in which, recoiling from Ralegh's impassioned quotation from *The Faerie Queene*, he dismisses 'this piping, whining, childish trick of poetry'.[26] The implications of this are obvious enough when one recalls the feminisation of Spenser which was so common in Scott's time. The scene chosen for the debate on Shakespeare, however, is even more telling. In his 'Essay on Drama' two years before, Scott had

been caught by the story of the petition to the queen by the keeper of the royal bears, identified in the novel as Orson Pinnit, against the growing popularity of theatre-going.[27] In *Kenilworth*, Elizabeth discusses the petition with her courtiers, setting 'the manly amusement of bear-baiting' against the feints of 'roguish players'. Shored up by extracts from the manly Shakespeare, Elizabeth ends the episode by dropping Pinnit's petition into the Thames. In *Kenilworth* as a whole, it is a key episode, for the novel presents a much more sinister portrait of artists. Although Shakespeare is lauded as 'the veriest wizard in Europe', the artist is most disturbingly manifested as the evil adept and alchemist, Alasco. The culminating entertainments at Kenilworth set forth the moral design of Scott's interpretation of Elizabethan society: these chapters emphasise the entertainments' elaborate falsity, ingenious flatteries, and, above all, their signification of an achieved and self-confident English national identity. Shakespeare is the acclaimed centre of Elizabethan artifice while also being protected by manly directness from its darker implications. At the same time, shades of Scott's own perceived role in the history of the novel in the Romantic period may be traced in his account of Shakespeare. This role, as Ina Ferris and others have analysed, was to rescue the novel for masculinity, for action, vigour, and historical learning.[28]

Two later novels trace Shakespeare's transformation into the bard of all England in ways which similarly emphasise his masculine energy: their presentations are contrasted, however, one reflecting on the plays as staged events and the other viewing them as sources of private meditation and consolation. Published in 1822, the year after *Kenilworth*, *The Fortunes of Nigel* presents the next generation of playwrights dominating the cultural life of Jacobean London. At a key point in this novel, with its many theatrical references and imitations, the hero goes to see Burbage in *Richard III* at the Fortune, little guessing the applicability of plots about usurping villains to his own situation. The episode retains the anecdotal familiarity of *Kenilworth*, but the tone in which Shakespeare is discussed has coarsened, registering his appropriation by the profligates of the new age. Dalgarno refers to 'Will Shakespeare, who lives after death' and 'matchless Will'; Nigel is said to feel 'all the magic of that sorcerer', then goes to supper with the actors at the Mermaid Tavern.[29] A much more thoroughgoing use of Shakespeare characterises *Woodstock*: or, *The Cavalier. A Tale of the Year Sixteen Hundred and Fifty-One* (1826), in which, as Nicola Watson has argued, the emphasis on reading Shakespeare (as opposed to debating his virtues on the Thames or going to see his plays at the Fortune) is all-pervasive and politically all-defining.[30] This is the next stage of Shakespeare's cultural assimilation as national royalist bard: 'it would be as easy to convert [Sir Henry Lee] to the Presbyterian form of government, or engage him to take the abjuration oath, as to shake his belief in Shakspeare'.[31] Lee has known Jonson and caroused in the Mermaid, cites Charles I's love for the works of Shakespeare as 'medicine' amid public strife, and discourses on the first folio.[32] The novel's puritans, however, condemn Shakespeare as 'the prime teacher of fine words, foppery, and folly': 'Verily I say, that since the devil fell from Heaven, he never wanted agents on earth; yet nowhere hath he met with a wizard having such infinite power over men's souls as this pestilent fellow Shakspeare'.[33] The examples, which proliferate, all tend to suggest Shakespeare's various forms of passionate appetite, an image of him which is enhanced during a later debate between Sir Henry Lee and the disguised Charles II about the paternity of William Davenant.[34] The connections between verse and politics are extensively rehearsed in a scene during which Markham Everard quotes from *Comus* in order to prove that a modern bard can equal Shakespeare, the moral of the episode from Scott's readers surely being that time has smoothed away Milton's politics and left only 'the poetry doomed in after days to support the eternal structure of his immortality',[35] a strikingly sepulchral image which rather reinforces than deflects Sir Henry's desire to see the republican bard safely entombed.

Two points of significance arise from these representations of Shakespeare, which are more varied when seen as a group than can be suggested by a reading of *Woodstock* alone and which therefore oblige us to modify the increasingly accepted image of Scott's Shakespeare as a legitimising royalist bard. The first is that Scott's 'halting fellow' is an icon of physical energy as distinct from Carlylean 'healthiness'. The second is that he is social and theatrical. He has not been moved into the library or into the service of domestic respectability.[36] Nor has he been gentrified, as Edmond Malone gentrified him. Scott aligns him with broader popular concerns as well as making him the subject of courtly debate. The Shakespeare of *Kenilworth* is of the people, a prankster, unfettered, slighting authority. By *The Fortunes of Nigel* he has become the conjurer of London and the toast of young gallants. By *Woodstock*, he is the locus of royalist memory. These two latter manifestations are Scott's way of tracing a cultural image and its impact, rather than his version of Shakespeare the man; and, as I have suggested, they are contrasted in the cultural use they show being made of him. It is therefore not possible to identify either of them as representing the image of Shakespeare which Scott enshrined for his contemporaries and for the age to come.

Instead, Scott's most direct fictional representation of Shakespeare serves to clarify an aspect of his literary criticism which has sometimes seemed out of step with his broadly conservative social and political views: that is, his insistence on drama as a democratic art. In the 1819 'Essay on Drama', Scott distinguishes English drama for retaining 'un-

equivocal marks of its popular descent' and claims that Shakespeare, having no access to restrictive models of dramatic composition, freed drama from rules and pedantry. His account of Shakespeare's methods of composition also sounds remarkably like his own. Shakespeare, he believes, 'appears to have composed rapidly and carelessly; and, sometimes, even without considering, while writing the earlier acts, how the catastrophe was to be huddled up', a view in stark contrast to most twentieth-century criticism even though it corresponds with characterisations, such as Milton's, of Shakespeare's 'easie numbers'.[37] Shakespeare's freedom from rule was a critical commonplace of the times, and it was likewise common for critics, including Carlyle, to suggest links between Shakespeare and Scott as writers 'unconscious of an aim in speaking'.[38] But, with our attention to the links between physical and intellectual characteristics in mind, it is possible to discern a wider significance in such celebrations of an unfettered, irregular, 'halting fellow'. Carlyle's 1840 lecture 'The Hero as Poet' makes striking use of the image of the body of Shakespeare or rather of Shakespeare *as* the body: he is 'the Practice or body' of the historical condition of Europe while Dante becomes its 'Faith or soul'.[39] 'All that a man does is physiognomical of him', Carlyle declares.[40] If the Shakespeare of *Woodstock* is a monarchically legitimising force, the Shakespeare of *Kenilworth* and *The Fortunes of Nigel* is a more unsettled and unsettling, more ambiguous figure. If he is becoming, by *The Fortunes of Nigel*, to be associated specifically with the historical muse, in *Kenilworth* he is a more fanciful bard, of comedy and romance. It is appropriate in this history of a much more mixed and shape-shifting Shakespeare that the play most central to Scott's imagination in *Kenilworth* is *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

In William Allan's painting of Scott visiting Shakespeare's tomb the modern bard stands as if enshrined by his audience in the imagined situation of Sonnet 37. Schoenbaum's only reference to Scott's dissemination of ideas about Shakespeare is to the use of gossip about William Davenant's parentage in *Woodstock*.[41] Yet Shakespeare has a highly formative afterlife in Scott's fiction, as well as in aspects of Scott's life and critical reception. Beyond the Waverley Novels' internal debate about the manly status of art lies the wider context of early- to mid-nineteenth century uncertainty about the position of art in modern society. Scott's fictional Shakespeares help to reposition poetry and drama among the manly arts, but their manliness is underscored by a heroic, distinguishing, disability.

[An early version of part of this essay was written for the Sixth World Congress of the Shakespeare Association of America (Los Angeles, 1996). I am grateful for the support of the University of Durham, which enabled me to attend the Congress, and to Professor Michael Dobson and Dr Nicola Watson for inviting me to take part in the seminar 'Fictions of Shakespeare's Life'.]

NOTES

1 The details of the meeting, already reported in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, are quoted here from David Vedder's *Memoir of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., With Critical Notices of his Writings, Compiled from Various Authentic Sources* (Dundee: Archibald Allardice, 1832), 59.

2 *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt* Centenary Edition, ed. P. P. Howe, 21 vols (London and Toronto: Dent, 1930-34), VI.180; James Boaden, *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Various Pictures and Prints, which, from the decease of the Poet to our own times, have been offered to the Public as Portraits of Shakspeare* (London: Robert Triphook, 1824), 3.

3 'Introduction' to *The Romantics on Shakespeare*, ed. Jonathan Bate (London: Penguin, 1992), 2. See also Bate's *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

4 De Quincey, 'William Wordsworth' (*Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1839), in *Recollections of the Lakes and the Lake Poets*, ed. David Wright (London: Penguin, 1970), 136.

5 First published in 1978 and 1989 respectively, the two essays are printed together in *Illness as Metaphor and Aids and its Metaphors* (London: Penguin, 1991).

6 Nicola J. Watson, 'Kemble, Scott, and the Mantle of the Bard', in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. Jean I. Marsden (New York: St Martin's, 1991), 73-92.

7 *Shakespeare's Lives*, new edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 55.

8 See Schoenbaum, 54-5. Of the reference in Sonnet 89, Keats's friend Charles Armitage Brown comments in his 1838 *Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems being his Sonnets clearly developed*: 'Had he really been lame this would have lost its point.'

9 Schoenbaum, 326, 331.

10 Review of Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, 1838, reprinted in John O. Hayden, ed., Scott: *The Critical Heritage* (London, 1970), 350.

11 Hayden, *Critical Heritage*, 351-2.

12 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 4th edition, [ed. J. Millar], 20 vols (Edinburgh: Constable, 1810), XIII.212.

13 *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth, Interspersed with Original Letters from the late Queen Caroline, and from various other distinguished persons*, 4 vols, vols 3 and 4 edited by John Galt (London: Henry Colburn, 1838-9), III.153-4. For the relationship between Scott and Bury, see my *Walter Scott*, vol. III of *Lives of the Great Romantics by their Contemporaries*, 2nd series (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1997), 274-6.

14 *The Uses of the Canon: Elizabethan Literature and Contemporary Theory*, corrected edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 3.

15 Review of *The Pirate*, *London Magazine*, January 1822.

16 *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. W. E. K. Anderson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 252 (December 1826).

17 See *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson *et al.*. 12 vols (London: Constable, 1932-7), I.413, VII.79, 270-71, 272, VIII.225, IX.51, 385, X.59, 76-7, 88, 112, 159, 178, 186, 224-5, 267, 275, XI.302.
18 *Journal*, 135 (April 1826), 210 (October 1826).
19 See Edgar Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown*, 2 vols (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1970), II.1056, 1275 ('The image of himself as Lear, which he had entertained as a metaphor in 1827 ... now tormented him as if it were a reality, and poor, hapless, loving Anne and Sophia became the brutal Regan and Goneril, against whom he pronounced sentence on the rain-drenched and lightning-seared heath'); *Gentleman's Magazine* (1869), I.691.
20 *Journal*, 284.
21 'Scorn not the Sonnet', published in 1827, the opening sonnet of the second sequence of *Miscellaneous Sonnets*, *Wordsworth: Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson, rev. Ernest de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), 206.
22 *Scott on Himself: A Selection of the Autobiographical Writings of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1981), 21, 35; John Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 65.
23 *Journal*, 21 (30 November 1825).
24 *Kenilworth: A Romance*, ed. J. H. Alexander, Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, XI (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 174. This is a reading emended from manuscript; in the first edition and Magnum Opus, the relative reliability of Shakespeare's feats of valour and Shakespeare's lameness shift. Sussex's speech reads '... and single falchion, though, as I am told, a halting fellow'. The lameness is more heroic in the manuscript reading restored by Alexander.
25 *Kenilworth*, 175. Again this is a reading emended from manuscript; the first edition and Magnum Opus elaborate on the 'others', identifying them as 'other play artificers'. The return to manuscript in this instance loses a detail which in published versions strengthens the links between dramatists and the novel's other adepts.
26 *Kenilworth*, 135.
27 *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 28 vols (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1834-6), VI.347-8.
28 *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991).
29 *The Fortunes of Nigel*, vols XXVI and XXVII of *The Waverley Novels*, 48 vols (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1829-32), XXVI.255, 256.
30 'It appears then that the reading of Shakespeare may stand for and ensure a proper understanding of the State as constituted within the counter-revolutionary cultural ideology of the early nineteenth century.' Watson, 80.
31 *Woodstock*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Constable, 1826), III.19.
32 *Woodstock*, I.43-6, 92: see also II.152, III.4, 268, 274, 354-5 for Lee's characteristic Shakespeare-saturated habits of speech.
33 *Woodstock*, I.92, 93. Even the novel's hero, the moderate Markham Everard, opines that he 'cannot, even in Shakspeare, but see many things both scandalous to decency and prejudicial to good manners' (III.18).
34 *Woodstock*, III.16-19.
35 *Woodstock*, III.24.

36 See Michael Dobson's analysis of these moves in *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), esp. chs 3 and 4.
37 *Miscellaneous Prose*, VI.331, 336, 341.
38 See Hayden, *Critical Heritage*, 357: 'surely since Shakspeare's time there has been no great speaker so unconscious of an aim in speaking as Walter Scott'. The lack of straining after wider significance and deeper meaning (carefully distinguished by Carlyle from a work of art's *possessing* such qualities), is marked in Shakespeare as well as in Scott: 'Beyond drawing audiences to the Globe Theatre, Shakspeare contemplated no result in those plays of his.' Carlyle follows Samuel Johnson in arguing that Shakespeare wrote without a moral purpose.
39 Bate, ed., *Romantics on Shakespeare*, 246.
40 Bate, ed., *Romantics on Shakespeare*, 251.
41 Schoenbaum, 64. Scott's visit to Stratford in 1828 is also mentioned, 71.

'INDIAN PETER' AND SCOTT'S INTEREST IN NORTH AMERICAN NATIVES

A.G. Stevenson, Solicitor, Glasgow

The final pages of *The Heart of Midlothian* reveal the fate of Effie Deans' child, named 'The Whistler'. Aged about eight years, he is sold to a ruffian named Donacha Dhu, 'an agent in a horrible trade then [in the 1740s] carried on betwixt Scotland and America for supplying the plantations with servants, by means of *kidnapping*, as it was termed, both men and women, but especially children under age'. The savage lad eventually seeks refuge on board a sloop harboured at Greenock. He is taken captive by Donacha's accomplice, an 'avaricious shipmaster', who, 'having transported [The Whistler] to America', sells 'him as a slave, or indented servant, to a Virginian planter, far up the country'. Finally, he escapes and flees 'to the next tribe of wild Indians. He was never more heard of; and it may therefore be presumed that he lived and died after the manner of that savage people'.[1]

Scott's inspiration for the character may have been an Aberdonian called Peter Williamson, more commonly known as 'Indian Peter'. 'Between the years 1740 and 1746 Aberdeen, in common with some other towns in Scotland, was disgraced by a barbarous traffic which consisted in kidnapping persons of both sexes, and transporting them to the American plantations where they were sold as slaves for a limited period.' With the connivance of the crooked City authorities, 'Parties of men patrolled the streets of the burgh like press-gangs, and, by open violence, seized on such boys as seemed fit for their purpose' including Peter.[2] Significantly,

of the hundreds of victims Williamson was able to return to Scotland and spectacularly and successfully to confront his persecutors.

In 1743 young Peter fell foul of 'that villainous and execrable Practise call'd kidnapping that is stealing young Children from their Parents and selling them as slaves in the Plantations abroad'. Like David Balfour in Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886) and like the Whistler himself, Williamson was tricked into boarding a ship bound for the American colonies. Eventually he achieved his liberty. Settling upon a farm in Philadelphia he encountered an incursion of Indians; 'threatened with instant death by a tomahawk unless he agreed to accompany his new masters' Williamson was taken captive and forced to witness the torture and massacre of European colonists attacked by, 'this Infernal Crew'. After a couple of months of captivity he escaped, hearing as he fled the tribesmen's 'Wood-cry as 'tis call'd', to which, 'the Shrieks of Hyænas or the roaring of Tygers would have been Music to my Ears in comparison'.[3]

Peter reached safety and became a celebrity, his story appearing in the press. After further escapades he arrived in Plymouth. Williamson travelled north publishing at York an account of his adventures and in June 1758 he reached Aberdeen. Here, 'exhibiting himself in the dress and arms of the American savages, his representations of their gestures and war-whoop were applauded by crowded houses'.[4] However, his 'exposure of the system of kidnapping' meant that his reception by the town officials was hostile. Accused of defamation he was convicted, gaoled, fined and banished from the town. Eager for redress, Peter went to Edinburgh and raised proceedings in the Court of Session against the corrupt magistrates of Aberdeen. Previous victims who had tried to obtain justice, 'were threatened with imprisonment and banishment and were so terrified ... that they abandoned their attempts'. Williamson's grievance engendered two litigations which occupied nearly ten years. Only in December 1768 was he finally victorious. Interestingly, 'It would appear from a letter written by the Baillies of Aberdeen to Walter Scott, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, that Sir Walter's father acted as agent for the defenders ... A further "link" with Scott is afforded by the fact that ... our hero ... was represented by no less an advocate than Andrew Crosbie one of the leaders of the Scots bar and the prototype of Mr Counsellor Pleydell'.[5]

Williamson's reputation was made as a performer when, according to Archibald Constable, 'he used to exhibit himself in the dress of an American Indian performing the war-whoop etc.',[6] exploiting and exaggerating his knowledge of his native hosts. Although a captive for only a short time Williamson claimed to have had 'acquired a particular knowledge of their customs, manners and dress'. Whilst a charlatan in this regard, Peter was also entrepreneurial and innovative. In 1773 he published the first Edinburgh Directory, in 1776 he established 'a system of penny

postage for letters and parcels throughout the city',[7] and he issued a periodical entitled the *Scots Spy*. As well as printer and publisher, Williamson was a publican, operating 'a tavern, in which a good deal of small legal business used to be transacted' near Parliament House, and then as 'Indian Peter's Coffee-room' within the edifice itself. This 'howff of all the legal worthies of the day'[8] is mentioned in Robert Fergusson's 'The Rising of the Session'.

Constable states that Peter's 'last occupation was keeping a tavern at the bottom of Gavinloch's Land in the Lawnmarket, where he died about the year 1798. He was a great wag of very jocular manners and was accustomed to say droll and amusing things to those persons with whom he was in habits of intercourse'.[9] At that time Scott was a twenty-seven year old advocate who had spent the recent years frequenting Edinburgh hostelries. Andrew Crosbie, both a renowned advocate and alcoholic, died in 1785[10] and Mr Scott, who was neither, in 1799. It is inconceivable that the latter's son and namesake had not either read or heard Williamson's colourful story related by Mr Scott, Constable, his legal colleagues, his toping cronies or the garrulous publican himself.

There are strong similarities between the fates of Williamson and the Whistler. Each is abducted as a child from Scotland of the 1740s, transported to a North American plantation and enabled to achieve his liberty only to fall into the clutches of natives whose habits he adopts or emulates. It must be likely that Scott's acquaintance with 'Indian Peter' furnished him with the idea of the Whistler. Williamson's was not the first court case where a youth had been kidnapped and sent as a slave to the American plantations. In 1728 the young James Annesley, son and heir of Lord Altham, was abducted in Dublin and put upon a ship 'bound to Philadelphia' as an indented servant, all upon the instructions of his villainous uncle. Four inconclusive and labyrinthine litigations between 1742 and 1745 were the result. The matter was reported in 'State Trials' of 1813, and Lockhart believed, it influenced *Guy Mannering*,[11] but it lacks the involvement of American Indians common to the stories of Williamson and the Whistler.

Prior to his writing *The Heart of Midlothian* Scott had demonstrated in the notes to his works an awareness of some of the alleged characteristics of the North American natives. For example in the notes to 'The Fray of Suport' in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-3) he likens the hue and cry of a Border Hot Trod to the 'Indian war-whoop', and he states in the annotations to *Rokeby* (1818) that 'The patience, abstinence, and ingenuity exerted by the North American Indians, when in pursuit of plunder or revenge, is the most distinguished feature in their character'. [Note to Canto Three, Stanza II] In *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1831) he was disparaging of the Indian Powah, 'the native sorceror

of North America'. However, although he emphasized the supposed malevolence of the North American natives, both before and subsequent to *The Heart of Midlothian* Scott received some interesting letters pertaining to them, demonstrating a contrary nature. Clearly, interest in their customs and habits had not waned since the time of Indian Peter.

The law practice of Walter Scott W. S. had passed into the hands of Scott's brother, Tom, who through ineptitude and dishonesty ruined the business. Amongst other misfortunes, 'He lost the agency for the city of Aberdeen',[12] which had been the cause of his father's acquaintance with Indian Peter in the 1750s and '60s. Tom required to seek sanctuary from his creditors. In 1810 Scott helped him become an officer in the 70th Regiment and in 1811 he was posted to Canada. In 1815 whilst on leave he accompanied Indians in a canoe down the St Lawrence River and commended the natives: 'In truth, my intercourse with the Indians was the only thing from which I received any pleasure ... and I preferred the manners of the native Indians to the insipid conversation of our own officers.' He was particularly impressed with 'Captain Norton, the chief of the Five Nations ... a man who makes you almost wish to be an Indian chief'. This man was a polyglot with 'possession of all modern literature—having read with delight your Lady of the Lake, and having translated the same, together with the Scriptures, into Mohawk'. Yet, claimed Tom, he was 'at the same time an Indian chief, living as they do and following all their fashions', such as painting himself and scalping. Thus, 'with the most polished manner of civilized life, he would not disdain to partake of the blood of his enemy at the banquet of sacrifice'.[13]

In 1822 Scott was advised of the generosity of a family of Canadian Indians towards some European settlers by leading them to an idyllic plain to which the latter removed.[14] One wonders whether this remarkable magnanimity was reciprocated. Also, one can speculate upon whether Scott could have successfully developed the Whistler story into a tale involving Indian characters. In 1826 Scott received a letter critical of the fiction of James Fenimore Cooper, who 'has introduced into his last work some fine traits of Indian character, although his knowledge of Savage life is extremely limited. Many of his On-eidas talk like sentimental men milliners who have assumed the language and costume of these stern "Romans of the west" and bear the same resemblance to the original Iroquois that Sir Wm. Curtis, [the lord Mayor of London who appeared in Edinburgh with George IV in 1822, ridiculously] arrayed in "the garb of old Gaul" does to the sturdy Celt of the days of Montrose and Dundee.'[15]

NOTES

1 *The Heart of Midlothian*, ed. Clare Lamont (Oxford, 1982), pp. 502, 506.
2 *The Book of Bon-Accord* (Aberdeen, 1839), pp. 86, 87.

3 William Roughead, 'Indian Peter', *Juridical Review*, 1924, pp. 5, 7 etc.
4 *Bon-Accord*, p. 91.
5 'Indian Peter' pp. 13-14.
6 *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents*, ed. Thomas Constable (Edinburgh 1873), 1. 538 (App.).
7 'Indian Peter' pp. 20, 25
8 Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, New Edition (1868), p. 126.
9 *A.C.L.C* 1. 539 (App.).
10 W.S. Crockett, *The Scott Originals* (1912), p. 101
11 *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, New Edition (1844), p. 310n.
12 Sir Herbert Grierson, *Sir Walter Scott, Bart, A New Life* (London, 1938), p. 98.
13 Letters from Thomas Scott, respectively postmarked 15 July 1815, and undated, in *Familiar Letters* pp. 344-6. Grierson and James Corson disagree over the date of this epistle: see respectively *Scott's Letters*, 3. 503n and *Notes and Index* thereto (Oxford 1979), p. 107. For a letter by Scott referring to Norton see *Letters*, 5. 309 and 8. 138n, and Corson, p. 158.
14 Letter from John McDermid, Gremister, 14 February 1822, in *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Wilfred Partington (London, 1930), p. 302.
15 Letter from Daniel Winne, New York, 28 August 1826 in *Private Letter-Books, supra.*

THE STOKESAY CASTLE CHIMNEY: The *Gabion* that got away

A.G. Stevenson, Solicitor, Glasgow

In the early 1820s Scott was busy embellishing Abbotsford with various architectural features of historic significance such as the door of the Edinburgh Tolbooth, discernible high on the west wall.[1] In 1824 he was informed by his friend Mrs Mary Ann Hughes, of Uffington, Berkshire [1770–1853][2] that there was the possibility of his acquiring another oddity: 'Lord Cravens principal Agent has just called here: he says he is quite sure you might have the old curious wooden chimney piece at Stokesay Castle ... for [the] asking'.[2] William Craven, 7th Baron Craven of Hampsted Marshall, Berkshire, and 1st Early of Craven (1770–1825) was made Viscount Uffington in 1801[4] Mrs Hughes had already written to Scott about him. Following the publication of *Kenilworth* in 1821 she wrote to Scott to advise him that Craven had hindered access to Wayland's Smithy, the Neolithic burial site less than two miles from Uffington and which features in the novel.[5]

Stokesay Castle, around half a mile from the town of Craven Arms in Shropshire, is indeed an architectural gem, which I was fortunate to visit in August 1996. Located in the Welsh Marches it was constructed in the

late thirteenth century. The 'castle' is really more in the nature of a fortified manor house. It came into the possession of the Cravens in around 1620. The first Lord Craven of Hampsted Marshall, William Craven, eldest son of a Lord Mayor of London, had a colourful career. He was a Royalist in the Civil War and then a supporter of the exiled Charles II, who made him Viscount Craven of Uffington in 1664. At the time of the Glorious Revolution he was a Jacobite. However, Craven had little to do with Stokesay, and for most of his busy life the buildings were leased to the Baldwyn family, who were the occupants when the castle was besieged by Parliamentary forces in 1645. The last Baldwyn to live there died in 1706 and soon afterwards the castle ceased to be occupied. Then began the decrepitude of the house. It was never again inhabited and, instead, the buildings were used by neighbouring farmers, for cider-making and so on. No steps were taken to preserve the castle until around 1850. It is now in state care under the auspices of English Heritage.[6]

So Mrs Hughes was justified in claiming that 'The mansion is in utter decay',[7] and to suggest to Scott that he might like the chimney piece. Sir Walter was concerned about the neglect of the item and his response shows him to be enthusiastic about its acquisition: 'I should be *quite delighted* to become proprietor at any reasonable rate of the old chimney piece.'[8] Clearly, he had given some thought to the dismantling of the artefact, by an 'expert joiner who completely understands his business', to its packaging, 'With saw dust and shavings (or what do you call them in English, I mean planings of wood) in a proper case', and its transport, 'By sea from Liverpool to Glasgow where there is a daily communication, & Lockhart would cause someone there to send it through the canal to Edinburgh.'[9] Probably he envisaged a rooftop spot at Abbotsford for the display of the piece. However, although he was keen to have the chimney he was disinclined to ask its proprietor, Lord Craven, whom he 'did not know in the slightest degree'. Also, he made the intelligent observation that 'there is a sort of affront in asking a man for a curiosity of this kind, as your request must be founded on the supposition that he has not himself taste to value it'. He finishes his epistle by dropping the heavy hint to Mrs Hughes that 'If I had any friend to *sound* Lord Craven it would be a different matter.'[10]

Sadly, Scott's hopes were dashed and the chimney never adorned Abbotsford. The over-enthusiastic Mrs Hughes appears to have raised his expectations without proper basis. Although she had confidently told him about Craven's agent, she refers in the notes to her letters to her merely having 'heard the chimney piece had been once offered to Sir F. Cunliffe. I was in hopes it would have been procured for Sir Walter, but Lord Craven having refused it to Lady Denbigh was with regret obliged also to deny the request.'[11] Scott's daughter Anne later described Mrs Hughes as

'a most active, bustling, good-natured woman ... so fond of Papa that she would do anything, or take any trouble, for him.'[12]

Three months later, in September 1824, we find Scott putting on a brave face: 'I am not in the least bit disappointed about the chimney piece or surprised that Lord Craven should (even without an apology) have declined a request which a stranger had no title to make.' He feels 'none of the paltry spirit of appropriation which induces many ... [antiquarian pedlars] ... 'to disjoin curiosities from the place to which they are fitted by association for the poor gratification of calling them their own. The chimney piece at Stokesay is of ten times the value which it can be any where else and it was only the idea that it was neglected and going to decay (which I am happy to understand is erroneous) that could have induced me to accept your tempting offer to mediate for it in my favour.'[13]

Interestingly, in 1831, after Lord Craven's death and shortly before his own, Scott made the acquaintance of his younger brother, 'The Hon. Richard Keppel Craven (1779–1851), third son of the 6th Baron Craven'.[14] He was a keen travel writer. Prior to his journey to Malta Sir Walter had read with pleasure his *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Italy* (London, 1821).[15] Keppel Craven 'was a brilliant child of a broken home and amongst the richest persons in the Neapolitan English colony'.[16]

NOTES

1 See its illustration in *Abbotsford: The Personal Relics and Antiquarian Treasures of Sir Walter Scott* (London, 1893), plate XXV.
2 *Letters and Recollections of Sir Walter Scott by Mrs Hughes (of Uffington)*, ed. Horace G. Hutchison (1904), Introductory Sketch, pp. 1 and 11.
3 *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Grierson, 8.306n
4 *Ibid.*, 8.309n.
5 *Sir Walter's Postbag*, ed. Wilfred Partington (1932), pp. 150–1.
6 *Stokesay Castle Guide Book*, by Julian Munby, 1993.
7 *Letters and Recollections*, p. 178n.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 178.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 178
10 *Ibid.*, p. 179
11 *Ibid.*, p. 178.
12 *Letters by Members of Scott's Family*, edited by the warden of Wadham College, Oxford (1905), pp. 125–6.
13 *Letters and Recollections*, pp. 180–1.
14 *Sir Walter Scott in Italy: Sir William Gell's Reminiscences*, ed. with notes by James C. Corson (1957), p. 41.
15 *Ibid.*, pp. 2 and 41, and Donald Sultana, *The Siege of Malta Rediscovered* (1977), p. 61.
16 Carola Oman, *The Wizard of the North* (1973), p. 348.

QUERIES

The editor of the *Newsletter*, who is currently editing *Anne of Geierstein* and co-editing *Quentin Durward* would welcome answers to the following questions, or any clues towards solutions. These modest lists may well not be the last requests in respect of the two novels. The points are those which experience suggests may turn out to be really problematic: others will very likely join them in the spring! References, as usual, are to the first editions.

QUENTIN DURWARD

1 1.xii.9–11 The narrator of the Introduction writes: 'I assure you the fellow is, as my friend Lord L------ said, a complete giblet-pie, all legs and wings'. Who was Lord L------, and what is the source of this saying?

2 1.20.22–24 On his first appearance Quentin is thus described: 'the smart blue bonnet, with a single sprig of holly and an eagle's feather, was already recognized as the Scottish head-gear'. The blue bonnet is familiar, but does anybody recognise the holly and eagle's feather?

3 1.31.14 'a braeman, and therefore, as we say, a bowman'. Any other occurrences of this apparently proverbial saying?

4 1.116.4–6 Le Balafré says that Louis 'is not like the King of Castile, who choked of thirst, because the great butler was not beside to hand his cup'. This has puzzled all previous editors, who have been able to suggest only that Scott may be recalling the story that the death of Philip III of Spain was caused because etiquette forbade his attendants to remove a brazier too close to him until the proper functionary arrived. Anything closer?

5 1.182.18ff. 'The jealous habits—the reserved manners—the deep and artful policy of the King, had estranged this splendid circle from the throne, and they were only called around it upon certain stated and formal occasions, when they went reluctantly, and returned joyfully, as the animals in the fable are supposed to have approached and left the den of the lion.' Does anyone recognise the fable: not apparently Aesop?

6 2.121.8–9 'The page slew the boar, / The peer had the gloire.' Any source?

7 2.157.2 Hayraddin will swear 'by the Seven Night Walkers'. There have been various suggestions here (Pleiades, or just the seven planets, being the most plausible), but has anyone come across the phrase?

8 3.170.2–6 'On this occasion, Campo-basso gave his opinion, couched in the apologue of the Traveller, the Adder, and the Fox; and reminded the Duke of the advice which Reynard gave to the man, that he should crush his mortal enemy, now that chance had placed his fate at his disposal.' This resembles an Aesop fable, in which a man takes a frozen snake into a house and warms it but is then stung by it; but there is no fox. Maybe that is not a problem, but does anyone know of a version of the story with fox ready-made?

9 3.205.2–4 (With reference to Oliver le Dain) 'As was said of another active political agent, "his finger was in every man's palm, his mouth was in every man's ear"'. This defeated William Baker and myself when we were editing the fifth series of *Tales of a Grandfather*. Has anyone come across the reference?

10 3.358.10–13 'In days, traces of which I myself can remember, not only were the "fifteen friends" of the happy pair invited to witness their union ...'. Has anybody come across the expression 'fifteen friends' in this bridal context?

11 Finally, there are analogues for the motto, 'La guerre est ma patrie, / Mon harnois ma maison, / Et en toute saison / Combattre c'est ma vie', but does anybody recognise a specific source?

ANNE OF GEIERSTEIN

12 2.226.3 (In Strasbourg) ' the revel was hushed into deep silence, and so attentive were the company to what should arrive next, that the bells of the village-church, striking the first hour after midnight, made the guests start as if they heard them rung backwards, to announce an assault or conflagration'. Bells rung backwards, starting with the lowest one, works in Britain with change-ringing, but could it work on the continent where bells are (usually) jangled?

13 3.200.11–13 'the poor lunatic, who went to the summit of the mountain, that he might meet the rain half way'. Source?

14 3.248.6 King René bids his grandson '"gird on his sword in strength"'. Is this a quotation? Psalm 45.4 ('Gird thy sword upon thy thigh' has been suggested, but isn't really close enough to be significant.)

15 3.374.22–23 'no one ever heard of a demon appearing just before breakfast'. A recorded superstition?

EEWN IN PAPERBACK

The first three volumes of the Edinburgh Edition
of the Waverley Novels to appear in paperback
have now been published by Penguin.

They are:
The Antiquary, ed. David Hewitt, introd. David Punter;
The Tale of Old Mortality, ed. and introd. Douglas Mack;
and *Kenilworth*, ed. and introd. J. H. Alexander.
The Antiquary costs £7.99,
but the other two are bargains at £6.99 apiece.

MARMION – AND THE IMPEACHMENT

Jill Rubenstein notes: *Marmion* has made its mark on the impeachment debate. This morning (7 February 1999) on 'Meet the Press', a well-respected news chat show, a senator misquoted the following passage, which has apparently been incorporated into a draft censure resolution of President Clinton:

> Ah! What a tangled web we weave,
> When first we practice to deceive.

Appealing to the 'literary background' of the moderator, Tim Russert, the senator asked for an attribution. Mr Russert unhesitatingly identified the source as 'Shakespeare's *Macbeth*'.

END