

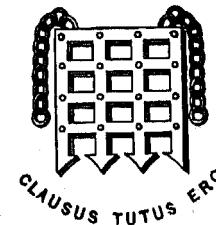
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CONTENTS

- J.H. Alexander: 'Das Goldene Schloss': A Likely Source for
The Bride of Lammermoor 2
- Michael Murphy: The Adventures of Waverley's Portmanteau 7
- A.G. Stevenson: Scott's 'The Christian and Jewish Dispensations
Compared' 13
- Query: 15
- Royal Mohock Theatre Posters 15

'DAS GOLDENE SCHLOSS': A LIKELY SOURCE FOR THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR

J. H. Alexander

In Scott's library at Abbotsford there is a two-volume collection of supernatural stories published at Erfurt in 1818 and edited jointly by the novelist and dramatist Friedrich von Fouqué (Friedrich Meinher de la Motte Fouqué, 1777–1843) and Friedrich Laun (*Aus der Geisterwelt: Geschichten, Sagen und Dichtungen*: From the Spirit World: Stories, Legends, and Poems). The collection contains three stories by Fouqué's wife Caroline Baronin de la Motte Fouqué (1773–1831), two by Laun, and two by Carl Baron von Miltitz. The first of Caroline's stories (1.103–84) is 'Das goldene Schloss' (The golden castle): this narrative combines several distinctive motifs found in *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and if Scott received the volumes shortly after publication it is very likely that it fed into his version of the traditional Dalrymple story. This note offers a summary of the story, with liberal quotation, concentrating on features it shares with Scott's novel.

In the German story a dreamy young woman (Gretchen) is fascinated by the favourite song of her father (Martin, an old forester) about an enchanted prince, 'Prinz Eugen der edle Ritter' (the noble knight: 105). She herself sings her 'Hoffnungsliedchen im Stillen' (little song of hope secretly: 106), longing to meet a prince, and staring 'mit leuchtenden Augen wie auf lauter goldenen Bergen' (with shining eyes as if on pure gold mountains: 108). Martin teases her, saying that there may be lots of enchanted princes in the woods, and she had better watch out for a certain handsome stag. Her mother recalls that, last summer, when asked to fetch water from the nearby fountain, Gretchen thought she was referring to a golden fountain in the pine gorge ('Tannenschluft'), with a castle (109). Martin disillusions her by saying: 'Du bist einmal als Kind mit auf der Stelle gewesen, von der dir jetzt so große Dinge träumen. Es ist da ein alter Brunnen, und ohnweit ein Hirschstand, ich brachte dich dazumal zu einer Hirschkuh, die rnit ihrem weißen Kälbchen dort graste, das Schloß und das Gold hast du dir später hinzugedacht.' (Once, as a child, you visited the place you're fantasising so much about. There is indeed an old fountain, and nearby there is a deer stand. I brought you to a hind, which was feeding there with her white fawn, The castle and the gold are your later addition: 110.) The whole of Gretchen's little fairy world collapses (111).

An itinerant Italian hawker of engravings (Puzinelli) visits the family (112), and while he is there Gretchen's admirer (Jacob), whose courtship her mother encourages as laying the foundation for the future happiness

of her daughter and herself, brings the head of a white stag he has shot. Gretchen is horrified: the stag's great royal eyes seem to gaze at her tenderly (112). She is intrigued by a set of Puzinelli's pictures telling the story of an unfortunate royal house coming to an end with a handsome prince. Puzinelli 'schlug immer erzählend ein Blatt nach dem andern um, als er jetzt bei dem letzten stehen bleibend, auf das höchst vornehm edle Geschicht eines schbnen Jünglinges wies, und rnit seltsamer Stimme sagte: rnit diesem kommt es zu Ende!' (kept on telling the story as he turned the leaves one by one, until he lingered on the last of them, indicated the distinguished noble face of a handsome young man, and said with a singular intonation: with this it comes to an end! 121–22) The hawker then continues on his travels after taking leave of Gretchen at the well (128).

At market Gretchen buys a ring that fits her finger well, but her mother notes with concern that it is a mourning ring (130). On their way back from the market mother and daughter find themselves in danger from restive horses in the street. The mother is unable to do anything as she is weighed down with the stuff she has bought. 'Da bot ihr ein feiner Mann die Hand und zugleich Gretchen und sie rnit fortziehend, sagte er liebreich: kommen Sie! kommen Sie! ich helfe Ihnen durch.' (Then a fine gentleman took her hand, and pulling Gretchen and her along with him said very kindly 'Come! come! I'll help you through.' 134) The stranger turns out to be Colonel Gaston, a French exile. 'Das edelste, jedem unbefangenen Auge, unverkennbar wahre Feuer gekränkter, und Über die Kränkung hinausstrebender Seele, gab den Worten des Obersten etwas ganz eigenthümlich Gewichtiges, ja melancholisch Erhabenes, was unwillkürliche Ehrfurcht und Liebe erfüllte.' (The noblest, and to an unbiassed eye unmistakably genuine ardour of a wounded soul, struggling to overcome its injury, gave the colonel's words a quite extraordinarily significance, indeed a melancholy solemnity, which could not but inspire profound respect and love: 150) Martin takes pity on Gaston and offers him accommodation in the family house (152). Gretchen is captivated by him: she lies in bed thinking of his 'großen tiefesinnigen Augen' (great profound eyes: 155). Apparently in a dream, Puzinelli promises her that Gaston will be hers: 'dein schbnner Gast trägt den Goldreif auf der Stirn' (your handsome guest has the gold diadem on his forehead: 155). Her mother worries that Jacob may be jealous and take revenge (162).

Gretchen remembers an incident from her childhood, when she was standing at a window with her nurse, who told her that a commotion in the trees was caused by the wood-spirits, 'Und Paffl gieng's unten, und eine Kugel flog in den Baum, eine große Eule nach der der Vater geschossen hatte, stürzte auf den Boden, doch wie sie fiel, spritzte ein Tröpfchen von ihrem Blut auf Gretchens Hand.' (And there was a Bang!

below, and a bullet shot into the tree. A big owl at which her father had shot fell to the ground, and as it fell a little drop of its blood spurted on to Gretchen's hand: 164–65).

Gretchen says to Gaston: 'Auf **dieser** Stirn glänzt ja schon die Krone, die ich immer sahe, die bald jedermann sehen wird.' (On **this** forehead the crown is already sparkling which I have always seen and everyone will soon see: 167.)

Wo finde ich dich allein? fragte dieser dringend. Morgen, morgen! entgegnete sie, ganz früh da bin ich in der Schlucht am Hirschbrunnen.

Gretchen lachte und sang den ganzen Abend, wie Jemand der so recht aus Herzensgrunde vergnügt ist, und weiß, daß seine Wünsche erfüllt sind. Die Mutter hatte sie seit lange zum ersten Male mit Jacob freundlich am Heerde redend gefunden. Sie kniff dem sorglos Wumenden, von nichts was um sie vorgieng wissendem, Kinde in die Backen, und nickte dem zuversichtlich lachenden Jacob zu, als wolle sie sagen: schon recht! es wird alles werden, nur nicht abgelassen.' ('Where can I find you alone?' he asked urgently, 'Tomorrow, tomorrow!' she replied, 'I will be in the gorge at the deer-fountain quite early.' Gretchen laughed and sang the whole evening, like someone who is profoundly happy and knows that her wishes are fulfilled. Her mother found her talking to Jacob in a friendly manner beside the hearth for the first time in ages. She pinched the child's cheeks, carelessly dreaming and unaware of anything happening around her as she was, and nodded to Jacob who was laughing confidently, as if to say to him: 'yes indeed! it will all come to pass if you don't give up.' (168–9)

The next morning Gretchen comes to the breakfast table: 'Na, nun wird er König! hub endlich Gretchen mit verzücktem Lächeln an' ('Well, now he will be king!' Gretchen began at last, with an ecstatic smile: 169). She describes how she saw Gaston taken away from the deer-fountain by messengers from abroad (170).

Jacob observes to Martin that Gaston would not have lasted so long if the police had sniffed him out (171). He tells Martin about the growing relationship between Gretchen and Gaston: 'Da saß er mit der Jungfer—na ich will nichts gesehen haben, aber wahr ist es, auf dem Brunnenrande saßen sie beide so vertraulich und hatten sich umfaßt, und thaten so schön.' (There he sat with the young woman—I would rather not have seen anything, but it is true—the two of them sat together so familiarly, arms around each other, and behaved so nicely: 171). He persuades Martin that Gaston is a French political criminal, but Gretchen has her own fantasy: 'Es wird wohl Überall bekannt werden, und dann kommt auch der Prinz, und holt mich ab in sein neues Reich. Vielleicht schickt er gar noch heute die schöne prächtige Kutsche mit den großen schwarzen

Pferden, ich will drum lieber nur gleich einpacken.' (It will soon become known everywhere, and then the prince will come and take me away into his new kingdom. Perhaps this very day he is sending the beautiful, wonderful coach with the big black horses: I'd better do my packing: 172.) 'Jacob stand wie versteint. Gretchens wahnsinniges lächeln hatte ihm in's Herz geschnitten. Die Rache war überdem gesättigt, und nichts dabei gewonnen. Es brannte ihm etwas wie Reue in der Brust.' (Jacob stood as if turned to stone. Gretchen's crazy smile wounded him to the heart. His revenge was complete, and nothing gained by it. Something like remorse burned in his breast: 172–3). Gretchen's mother says to her husband that their daughter 'sitzt vor ihrer Lade und singt und jubelt ... / Der Schreck, sagte der Vater, hat's ihr gethan.' ('sits in front of her chest and sings and rejoices ...'. 'It's the shock has done it,' said her father: 173–4).

Gretchen träumte wie eine Seelige in ihrem unseligen Zustande fort. Überall ahndete und erwartete sie den Geliebten. Vorzüglich war ihr der Sturm in seinem hohen Rollen, stets ein verkündener Bote. Horch! rief sie denn, die Brautkutsche fährt vor. Es störte sie hernach aber auch weiter nicht, daß es anders war. Sie sang ununterbrochen weiter, und packte Koffer und Kisten unermüdet aus und ein. (Gretchen's blissful dream persisted in her unhappy situation. She anticipated and expected her loved one everywhere. Above all, the storm at its height always had a special message. 'Listen!' she cried then, 'the bridal coach is on its way.' But afterwards it didn't worry her that it wasn't so. She kept on singing, and never tired of packing and unpacking bags and boxes: 174–5.)

A newspaper report tells the true story about Gaston, who has been delivered up to his persecutors (176). Gretchen raves on as she imagines his execution (177). Jacob repents, and Martin dies (180).

After her father's funeral Gretchen goes to the well.

Man fand sie hemach in der Tannenschlucht am Brunnen ... Vergeblich flehete die Mutter und Jacob, Sie solle zurück in das Haus kommen. Sie lächelte, aber nichts brachte sie von der Stelle.

Tage und Nächte saß sie so, und erwiederte auf alle Vorstellungen nichts anders, als: das Stückchen Erde ist alles, was der Mensch braucht' (They found her afterwards at the well in the pine gorge ... it was in vain that her mother and Jacob pleaded with her to return home. She smiled, but nothing could induce her to leave the spot. Day and night she remained sitting there, and only answered every objection with: 'All a person needs is their little bit of earth': 181–2)

Jacob builds her a little hut, but she refuses to enter it. Her mother exclaims: 'Gott im Himmel, du Unglückskind! das ist nun dein Schloß und der goldene Brunnen!' (Dear God, you unhappy child! there is your castle and the golden fountain! 182) Gretchen dies recognising the nature of true love, saying:

Ja so müssen es die Menschen immer erst lernen, setzte sie mild hinzu, was wahre Liebe ist! Mich ziehen die lieben Augen hier so trübe in das Grab hinein, ich ziehe dich mir nach—die Kette schlingt sich fort—sind doch lauter Herzen Jacob, die sich zusammenreißen, und zuletzt—sie lbehelte angenehm—zuletzt wird aus allem ein Herz. ('People always have to be learning', she added gently, 'what true love is! The dear eyes draw me here into the grave so sadly; I draw you after me—the chain wraps itself strongly around—for there are true hearts, Jacob, that join together, and finally—she smiled pleasantly—everything will become one heart.' 183)

Readers familiar with *The Bride of Lammermoor* will recognise many familiar motifs: the dreamy young woman verging on feeble-mindedness and eventually driven to madness by intolerable pressure; the rival suitors, one the portentously profound last scion of a noble line, the other an insensitive sportsman; the hunting motif; the rescue from animal peril of daughter and parent; the familiar behaviour beside a well in the forest; the blood spurting from a shot bird; the young woman's persistent singing (this, by the way, reinforced from manuscript in the Edinburgh Edition text!); and her disconcerting smiles and laughter. The presence of all of these elements in two contemporaneous texts may be a coincidence, but it would be odd if it were so. The strong probability is that Scott has taken more than just hints from a good Germany story, adapting them and fusing them with Scottish oral tradition, to result in his remarkable narrative.

The remaining stories in *Aus der Geisterwelt* seem to have made little impression on Scott, but in two of them family portraits play a prominent role. In Laun's 'Die Totenhand' (The Hand of Death: 1.241–60) the protagonist recognises two deceased inhabitants of a castle from their portraits; and in the same author's 'Das Liebes-Geheimniß' (The Love-Secret: 2.101–68) there is room in a castle hall for only the two new portraits of the present incumbents: one of the portraits in situ is a fearful representation of the Countess's father-in-law. The portraits which feature so prominently in the *Bride* may have had their origin here.

THE ADVENTURES OF WAVERLEY'S PORTMANTEAU

Michael Murphy

The adventures in question are related in chapters twenty-eight to fifty-one in Walter Scott's first novel *Waverley* (1814), in which a romantic, young, English army officer becomes involved in Jacobite rebellion in the Scottish Highlands and Lowlands in 1745.¹ The portmanteau of the title is described as a leather bag with a lock (312), heavy or awkward enough to need to be carried upon one's shoulders when on foot (281), and particularly suited to travel on horse-back. It holds clothes, a few books (245) and, no doubt, other personal effects?

In *Waverley* the adventures of the portmanteau parallel those of their owner, for it follows him everywhere without fail, even in the most extraordinary and perilous moments. Thus, when Waverley leaves Fergus Mac-Ivor, the Perthshire Highlands chief, he returns to the Lowlands 'with a saddle-horse to carry his portmanteau to Edinburgh' (228). Arrested en route on a charge of suspected treason, he is rescued while under escort to Stirling Castle. His Highland rescuers run for two miles and walk several more, carrying both Waverley and his portmanteau, so that next morning 'his own portmanteau, which the Highlanders had not failed to bring off, supplied him with linen...' (271).

Alice Bean, daughter of a bandit with whom Waverley had spent some time, arrives at Waverley's hiding place, and secretly shows him a packet of papers; then 'she folded the packet with great address and speed in one of his shirts, which she deposited in the portmanteau' (275), unseen by his attendants. At night, Waverley and the Highlanders leave the hiding place, creep past an army outpost, run quarter of a mile, and walk for half an hour to hidden horses. Then 'Waverley's portmanteau was placed on ... a pony' (279). Later, waking up in Doune Castle, Waverley finds his portmanteau has been 'deposited in his apartment during his sleep' (280), but it is immediately carried off to a rebel 'baggage-cart' upon the shoulders of a servant, so that Waverley 'was now dispossessed ... of the only documents which seemed to promise some light upon the dubious events which had of late influenced his destiny' (281).

In Edinburgh, Waverley is fitted out in Highland dress, for his luggage is still elsewhere: 'his leather *dorlach* wi' the lock on her was come frae Doune, and she was awa again wi' Vich Ian Vohr's walise' (312). At this point 'Waverley thought upon the mysterious packet of the maid of the cavern, which seemed always to escape him when in his very grasp' (312).

Following the first Jacobite victory, at Prestonpans, Waverley is given reason to guess that the packet in his portmanteau will explain how Alice Bean's father stole his personal letter seal, and used it to subvert Waverley's troop in the government army during his absence. Back in Edinburgh, Waverley finds his portmanteau and the 'mysterious packet' of letters (348), which do indeed show that Bean used the stolen seal to convince Waverley's troop in Dundee to mutiny in favour of the Jacobite rebellion, to Waverley's discredit.

The portmanteau, this intrepid travelling companion, is thus used to tantalise both the reader and Waverley for over one hundred pages, during which it carries a promised solution to the puzzle of Waverley's disgrace with his army superiors and the British government.

The portmanteau is a successful device for sustaining suspense. This is evident enough. However, it also attracts attention to other areas of interest in *Waverley*, as well as in subsequent novels in the series, through the importance thereby given to dress.

Besides the packet of letters, Waverley's portmanteau also carries his clothes. Indeed, Alice hides the letters in one of his clean shirts. This intimate gesture is that which first makes the portmanteau a significant focus for narrative suspense. It is also an extraordinary betrayal, for Alice thereby betrays her father for this handsome stranger whom she can hardly be said to know: she demurely flirted with him from a distance when he visited her father's cavern hideout, but they did not speak together for she knows no English and Waverley does not speak Gaelic. Thus, we are to understand that the mere presence of the handsome gentleman is enough to explain why this simple country girl should betray her father and his political secrets.

Waverley's sexual attractiveness to women is again associated with his clothing when he reaches the capital. In the absence of his portmanteau, Waverley is offered a tailor-made tartan suit in 'the *cath dath* (battle colour ...)' (279), along with Highland military accessories: shield, broadsword, pistols, and dirk. This adds decisively to the striking effect he makes at Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Edinburgh ball, at which 'Flora Mac-Ivor appeared to be the only female present who regarded him [Waverley] with a degree of coldness and reserve,' while 'many ladies' used 'various pretences' to be near him (310).

Besides the traditional English and Lowland Scottish association of Highland dress with a sexually attractive (or dangerous) virility, Waverley dressed up introduces a motif which was to become characteristic in Scott's novels, that of identity and the changing of

identity. *Rob Roy* (1817), *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), and *Redgauntlet* (1824), for example, are all rich in this sense.

Waverley crosses a number of identity frontiers by his change of dress: a national one, as the Englishman adopts Scottish dress, and a cultural one, for his Highland dress demonstrates an ease with Highland customs, acquired after an initial period of cultural transition (from the English to the Highland way of life) at the home of his Lowland friends. Waverley's interest for and participation in something of Highland life is summed up by the way in which he is later able to demonstrate aspects of the latter to an English student: 'Edward was obliged to satisfy his curiosity by whistling a pibroch, dancing a strathspey, and singing a Highland song' (413).

Indeed, Waverley's adoption of Highland dress suggests a radical, almost 'anthropological' interest in a culture whose members and physical environment are described in the following words: 'wild' (135); 'living in pathless deserts' (137); 'a wild native, whose language was unknown to him' (148); 'like...animals of prey' (151); 'savage' (154); 'tribe' (170); 'barbarous' (179); 'primitive' (197); 'wigwam' (270); 'Indian' (276, 277); '[like] an invasion of African Negroes, or Esquimaux Indians' (316).³ That Waverley is seduced by a certain temptation to 'go native' is signalled by his reaction to the initial, startling interruption of Highlanders into his Lowland visit; that he should witness such 'without his having to cross the seas, and while he was yet in the otherwise well-ordered island of Great Britain' was to Waverley no nightmare, but rather 'like a dream' (141).⁴

Waverley's Highland dress also suggests how his political naivety leads him to adopt what an alarmed government considers as the uniform of their political enemies; as such, it was to be forbidden by The Disarming Act of 1746.⁵ This sartorial demonstration of political rebellion marks a high point of the movement which has led Waverley from England to Scotland, from the Lowlands to the Highlands and seductive Jacobites.

However, Waverley's identity shifts are all wavering, ambiguous, and reversible. It is as if he were seduced by the idea of dressing up and disguising himself, while retaining the possibility of discarding any borrowed appearance. Indeed, the fact that he will be allowed to escape punishment for such an open show of treason may be said to underline the carnivalesque element of this dressing up, particularly since Scott allows Waverley, though tainted by disorder, to return to established order and 'normality' by way of a number of transitional disguises! He exchanges aristocratic Highland dress for an English yeoman's clothes, then lives as a clergyman for a month, spends several weeks travelling by slow coach to London under the assumed identity of one Captain Butler,

before adopting the name and passport of a Frank Stanley, student at Cambridge: 'Edward Waverley, alias Williams, alias Captain Butler, must continue to pass by his fourth *alias* of Francis Stanley' (41).

Dress is associated with sexuality, identity, and carnivalesque disguise and disorder. Clothes are an important social marker, too. When Waverley asks to 'take out a change of linen' as his portmanteau is being carried away at Doune Castle, he is told he can borrow one of the face-trimmed 'ruffled sarks [shirts]' of the garrison commander (281); and his suit of Highland plaid, made to order by a clan chief's personal tailor, is complemented by loans and presents of other items of clothing and military accessories from both the clan chief (Mac-Ivor) and the Prince. These loans or presents concern men of high rank, gentlemen all.

The mysterious package amongst Waverley's clothes also unites Waverley and the 'English gentleman' (337) whom he had captured, and thereby saved, in the heat of battle, for when they read the letters together 'COLONEL TALBOT became more kindly in his demeanour towards Waverley after the confidence he had reposed in him ...' (353).

However, it would appear that Edward Waverley did much more at the Battle of Prestonpans than rescue Talbot, this 'English officer, apparently of high rank', as he had remarked to himself at the time (330). Indeed, '[t]he Chevalier [Prince Charles Edward] received Waverley ... and paid him many compliments on his distinguished bravery' (344). John Sutherland has plausibly suggested that this 'bravery' must have consisted in killing a number of ordinary enemy footsoldiers.¹ This proof of martial bravery, but also of treason, is neither referred to nor punished after the failure of the rebellion. Sutherland suggests that such 'bravery' expresses the vision of a ruling elite: gentlemen from both sides in the conflict respect each other more than they do the ordinary enemy footsoldiers or, indeed, their own rank and file, the cannon fodder; 'the scum of the earth - the mere scum of the earth,' to quote the Duke of Wellington's opinion of his army in 1831.²

Waverley is but the first novel in which Scott describes a clearly stratified society, divided into the upper and lower ranks. The shared dress code of politically opposed gentlemen is one aspect of this. The fact that Waverley and his portmanteau are inseparable marks his belonging to the upper ranks of society: his suggested or overt concern for dress, for appearance, even in difficult circumstances, marks him out as a gentleman, on the civilized and civilizing side of the great social dividing line. Edmund Burke described this social frontier of civilization in the following manner:

Nothing is more certain, than that our manners, our civilization, and all the good things which are connected with manners, and with

civilization, have, in this European world of ours, depended for ages upon ... the spirit of a gentleman....³

* * *

The letters hidden in the portmanteau reveal the secret which explains much about Waverley's adventures and misconceptions.⁴ However, by concentrating on the portmanteau, its primary use, the clothes it holds, we identify a coded world where clothes hint at sexuality; questions of national, cultural, and political identity; and, perhaps above all, social identity.⁵ In turn, the codes associated with dress in Scott's novels are part of a wider coded world; the social aspects of dress, for example, being associated with codes of honour, armorial bearings, genealogies, and so on.

In conclusion, Sir Walter Scott's gentleman would hardly be a gentleman without a few fresh shirts in his portmanteau, but properly equipped with such necessities he is fit to face that most adventurous of centuries, the eighteenth.

NOTES

- 1 Walter Scott, *Waverley* (London: Penguin, 1994) for all page references.
- 2 Elsewhere, both in *Waverley* and other Waverley Novels, Scott mentions different names for baggage particularly suited to travel by horseback: valise, cloke-bag, pillion-mail, saddle-bags, pokmancy....
- 3 Here, there is perhaps the suggestion of another underlying link between Highlanders and North American Indians, that of reputed sexual virility. Compare Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker* (1771), in which the sexual vigour of Lismahago equals that of North American 'savages': he dances over a naked sword 'to show how little his vigour was impaired by the fatigues of the preceding day [and marriage night].' *Humphrey Clinker* (London: Penguin, 1967), 392.
- 4 The 'anthropological' theme in the Scottish novel goes back to Lismahago in *Humphrey Clinker*, for example, and also forward, to such as *The Master of Ballantrae*. However, as an English theme it goes back beyond *Robinson Crusoe* to at least the fourteenth century, when the Statutes of Kilkenny attempted to stop English planters in Ireland adopting Irish dress, sports, language, and so on, and becoming more Irish than the Irish themselves. It suggests both Scott's cultural distance from the Highlands and his enjoyment and appropriation of certain Highland elements, evident in the famous pageantry organised for the State Visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822.
- 5 'and the removal of the act proscribing the wearing of tartan ... happened after the Government had come to appreciate the advantages of recruiting Highland regiments into the British Army in no small part, perhaps, for the effect the "barbaric" dress would have on the enemy. A feared dress was turned to advantage.' Iain G. Brown, letter to the author, 17/11/98.

- 6 The disguised men who execute Captain Porteous in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, the master of disguises Rob Roy, and the many disguised men described in *Redgauntlet*, for example Darsie Latimer disguised against his will as a woman and wearing a steel-plated mask, also use and symbolise coexisting elements of identity change and disorder.
- 7 John Sutherland, 'How much English blood (if any) does Waverley spill?' *Is Heathcliff a Murderer?*, World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996), 10–13.
- 8 Qtd. in Paul-Gabriel Bouc, 'Semaines de guerre, moissons de paix au XVIII^e siècle,' P.G. Bouc, ed., *Guerres et paix: la Grande-Bretagne au XVIII^e siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1998), 10.
- 9 '... and the spirit of religion.' *Reflections on the Revolution in France, 1790* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), 173, qtd. in Marc Puel, 'Le Gentleman, la propriété foncière et le ndgoce,' *XVII-XVIII, Bulletin de la société d'études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* 39 (nov. 1994), 37.
- 10 Of course, the adventures of Waverley are somewhat more comfortable, more tourist-like and Raebumesque, than those of James Bond, that well-dressed Scottish adventurer in fiction of a later period. Identifying the aim of Waverley's adventures helps to explain their nature. The Englishman's adventures are to allow him and the reader to approach, understand, and sympathize with the clannish, tribal society of Highland Scotland, destined to be replaced by a more advanced stage in civilized society. At the same time, Scott, the sheriff, principal clerk to the Court of Session, draws an underlying political parallel; Stuart rule, the rule of a monarch above the law, or whose mere word or whim is law (as in the case of Mac-Ivor the chief in his Scottish territories), was replaced by the rule of law at the time of the Glorious Revolution. This legal revolution, as Scott would see it, was completed after the 1745 Rebellion by the abolition of Scottish heritable jurisdictions, a feudal arrangement often thought to have underpinned clan society, and which allowed the inheritors of certain offices, in effect wealthier landowners, to judge and punish their tenants and less privileged neighbours.
- 11 In *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* for example, Lady Staunton's social rank is immediately suggested by the phrase: '[t]wo footmen, in rich liveries... lifted out a trunk and portmanteau' (495). An English servant to the Duke of Argyll is signalled as a target of ridicule by her excessive baggage; not only does she claim 'a travelling trunk ... or portmanteau,' but also 'that there band-box, and that pillion mail, and those seven bundles, and the paper bag' (421). Members of the lower orders (Jeanie Deans and Madge Wildfire) carry few clothes: 'a small bundle contained such changes of linen as were absolutely necessary' (258). All references are to the edition by Tony Inglis (London: Penguin, 1994).
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SCOTT'S 'THE CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH DISPENSATIONS COMPARED'

A.G. Stevenson

Scott is not renowned for having been a churchgoing man, and his affiliations are unclear. Although an elder of the Church of Scotland his sympathies were undoubtedly Episcopalian. Regardless of his particular persuasion, or strength of religious conviction, that he was well able to articulate Christian doctrine is clear from the book *Religious Discourses by a Layman*, published with its author's grudging consent in 1828. It comprises two sermons by Sir Walter the longer of which is entitled 'The Christian and Jewish Dispensations Compared'.

The work begins with Christ's message, uttered during the Sermon on the Mount, 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfill' (*Matt. v 17*), and this is the theme of the entire thesis. Scott explains that Jesus used the Sermon to deal with 'the purpose of his heavenly mission and the relation which it bore to the ancient dispensation of Moses, under which the Jews had been trained for so many centuries'. However, His Jewish audience rejected the message and 'the nearer they approached in external observances... the less were the Jews disposed to recognise Him that was greater than Moses'. So Christ found most hostility from the Pharisees, 'a sect who placed their pride in the most precise observances of the law of Moses', due to the 'Saviour's detection of their hypocrisy, and his publicly exposing' their 'foul principles and practices'.

Scott believed that during the Sermon on the Mount Christ showed 'in what the spirit and efficacy of the Mosaic institutions actually consisted ... not in a strict and literal interpretation of the express precepts of the Law, but in the adoption of an ample and liberal interpretation, carrying the spirit of each precept into all the corresponding relations of life', so that not just killing was wrong but groundless enmity, violent language etc. Thus Jesus fulfilled but did not destroy; he came 'not to take away the positive prohibition of gross evil but to extend that prohibition against the entertaining of angry and evil thoughts, which are the parents of such actions'. Christ proceeded by extending a prohibition against malevolence to 'a positive precept enjoining to benevolence in action'. Thus 'such a fulfilment of the Law ... might in spirit and effect far exceed the dry, formal, literal compliances' of the Mosaic code which, after all, contains the injunction 'thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (*Lev xix 18*).

So far Scott's thesis is coherent and well structured. The remainder of the work is more fragmented and it shows its age. Firstly, Scott questions

whether Christ's coming destroyed the Jews, beginning with the fall of Jerusalem [sacked in 70 AD by the army of Vespasian] and the scattering of the Jewish people. The carnage which accompanied the Roman subjugation of Judaea was a matter well known to Scott. In his *Memoirs* he mentions having read as a child 'an odd volume of Josephus's wars of the Jews'? In Scott's view the destruction of the Jews was 'a consequence of their own rejection of the terms of proffered salvation'. He regarded them as the villains of Christ's parable of the vineyard, so that once those 'wicked labourers had slain and cast forth his only Son' God was moved to destroy them and to 'let his vineyard to other labourers', the Gentiles (*Luke xx 9-16*). Their ingratitude was worse in that Jesus was born a Jew, always complied with the Mosaic Dispensation and enjoined others to do likewise, although he taught that benevolence was more important than the payment of tithes—Scott refers to *Matthew xxiii 23* and *Luke xi 42*.

Sir Walter felt that it was clear that Jesus wanted to 'bring within the pale of his salvation the ancient people distinguished as the favourites of the Deity' and he refers to Christ's anguish at his rejection (*Luke xiii 34*). Thereafter, 'the Gentiles, like younger children, were invited to accept of the inheritance which the others had repudiated'.

Scott states that Judaism was founded on 1) the Law and 2) the prophets, but that both sources revealed 'that the system of Moses was but for a season, and that it was to be in due time superseded by a brighter and more efficacious display of the divine power, and the arrival on earth of a greater than Moses'. So, for example, the Law refers with minute detail to animal sacrifices, but without regard to the system of which they form a part they 'might seem to a hasty observer arbitrary and trivial'. There were 'hidden meanings of those very ceremonies' so that, for instance, the scapegoat was a 'presage of Him who alone could have borne the burden of human iniquity'. Referring back to the subject of the thesis Scott opines that the law of Moses was not destroyed but fulfilled since 'the type became unnecessary when the event typified had taken place'.

In relation to the prophets Scott refers to *Luke xxxiv 27* and *xviii 31* and states that their prophesies were fulfilled in the coming of Christ: 'He took upon himself that curse of the Law which mere humanity could not endure, and by his perfect obedience and bitter sufferings, he made that atonement which his heavenly Father had a right to exact but which even the destruction of the world could not have made; and gave us a right, trusting in his merits, to plead an exemption from the strict and severe denunciations of the law under which we could not survive.'

This passage demonstrates a sound understanding of Christian belief. Sir Walter compares the Mosaic law to the moon which 'having fulfilled her course of brightness, fades away gradually before the more brilliant

and perfect light of day'. Scott ends the article by a plea, 'May God in his mercy make us all partakers of the blessings purchased and promised by his blessed Son, by whom the law was not destroyed but fulfilled!'

NOTES

[Unless otherwise stated all quotations are from 'The Christian and the Jewish Dispensations Compared' in 'Religious Discourses by a Layman', published Henry Colburn (whom Scott thought 'a puffing quack')—*Journal*, 25 January 1825), New Burlington Street, London, 1828.1

- 1 Henry R Sefton, 'Scott as Churchman', in *Scott and his Influence*, ed Alexander and Hewitt (Aberdeen, 1983), p. 234.
- 2 'Scott on Himself', ed. Hewitt, (Aberdeen, 1981), p. 13.

QUERY

Michael Murphy, 13, rue du Cluzel, 37000 Tours, France, writes: 'I seem to remember Scott describing the living conditions in his apartment during his Edinburgh childhood "like living in the underdeck of a ship", or words to that effect.' He would be grateful if anyone can direct him to the source of this comment.

ROYAL MOHOCK THEATRE POSTERS

Our host at the 1999 Scott Conference, Ian Duncan, has turned up two intriguing mock-posters for the Royal Mohock Theatre in the library at Guelph University. They are obviously related to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and its 'Noctes Ambrosianae' series, and are reproduced here for the amusement of readers and in case anyone has any idea who might have been responsible for them. In order to reassure readers that nothing has been missed out, the second page devoted to each poster repeats part of the first.

Third Edition, with Additions.

Royal Mohock Theatre GABRIEL'S ROAD.

This Evening will be Performed, by his Majesty's most obsequious Servants, SHERIDAN'S celebrated Comedy, as altered by WILLIAM GIFFORD, Esq. of

THE School for Scandal,

Sir Peter Teasie, a Testy Uxorious Old Gentleman, lately married to a Young Wife—Mr JAMES HOGG.
Sir Benjamin Backbit, by Dr MORRIS, whose appearance here is limited to a few Nights only,
being engaged at the *Spirit's Theatre*, Abbotford, to Perform the Characters of the *Duke*
in the "Honey Moon," and *Love*, in "Rule a Wife, and Have a Wife."
Sir Oliver Surface, by SIR WALTER SCOTT, who will Dance a Pas Seul to the National Air of
"Young Lochielair."
Joseph Surface, by Mr WILSON, from the Theatres Royal *Hoax-Box* and *Glass-Box*.
Charles Surface, by Mr R. P. GILLIES, from the German Theatre, Leipzig.
Crabtree, by Mr WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, his last appearance on this Stage, previous to his
entering upon the Management of the Billingsgate Theatre.
Moses, by Mr WILLIAM WATSON, Manager of the Private Theatre, Gosport's Close.—Rather a losing concern.
Careless, with the Scotch Song of the "Handle o' Proverbs," or, "A White Rod may gang a Black Gate,"
by SIR PATRICK WALKER.

After the Play, the Celebrated

MOHOCK DANCE,

In Character, by Messrs WILSON and LOCKHART, in which will be introduced a Representation of the various
Modes of Scalping in use among the Civilized Savages of Gabriel's Straits.—The Scalps of the late Professor
PLAYFAIR, Mr LESLIE, Mr WORDSWORTH; and several other of Mr WILSON'S
most intimate and bosom Friends, will be exhibited for the amusement of the Public.
In the Course of the Evening, Gentlemanlike Tricks and Disguises, by Mr LOCKHART, who will also deliver his
"Sketches of Character," after the manner of GEORGE A. STEVENS' Lecture on Heads, introduced by a
New Comic Song, entitled "The Black Bull," or, "Costs and Damages," to the Tunes of
"Five Hundred Yellow Boys all in a Row."

To which will be added, a new Monologue, in Imitation of Mr MATTHEWS' Trip to Paris, called

THE ISLE OF PALMS, OR, Mirth and Moonlight.

To which will be added, a new Monologue, in Imitation of Mr MATTHEWS' Trip to Paris, called

THE ISLE OF PALMS, OR, Mirth and Moonlight.

Joe Spender, a Poet of the Lake School, fond of Punch and Looch Company—Mr WILSON !!
Tomie Weston, an Itinerant Preacher, with a Parody on the Song of Solomon—Mr WILSON !!
Dan Dilectanti, a Connoisseur and Presentor, with the Anthem, (accompanied by himself on the Musical Glasses),
of "To Ambrosius Landmann"—Mr WILSON !!!
Dr Drawcansir, Professor of Morality in the College of *Recklessome*, a Gentleman who Professes what he does not
practise—Mr WILSON !!!!
Ezekiel Ego-I, Editor of Blackguard Monthly Mirror—Mr WILSON !!!!
Matthew Muller, a Boxing Bully, Eulogist General, and Biographer in Chief to the Gentlemen of the
Pug—Mr WILSON !!!!!
monsieur L'Eau de Vie Illetrique de la Spoutingville—Drafter of the Illustrous Living, and Literary Resources
Man, or Pillerer from the Illustrous Dead—Mr WILSON !!!!!!!

Tight Rope Dancing, by DAVIE BRIDGES.
Astilite Performances, by the whole Group.
Clowns to the Ring—Mr JAMES HOGG.

The whole to conclude with the Pantomime Harlequinade of

THE UPAS TREE; OR, HARLEQUIN IN JAVA!

Ebony, the Guardian of the Tree—Mr BLACKWOOD.
Journalistic Egotist-Pomposo—Mr BALLANTYNE.
Villicabulus, (afterwards Harlequin) Mr WILSON, who in that Character will throw a Somerset over the
Heads of Two Men, into a Chair, supported on the Shoulders of Waverlow.
Lauerwinkelton, (afterwards Lover) by the Fortunate Youth, alias Dr MORRIS, alias Mr LOCKHART.
Waverlow, (afterwards Pantaloons) SIR WALTER SCOTT.
Eltrivo Porco, a Booby who sticks much upon his Gentility, (always Clown !) Mr HOGG.
Ipecacuanha, an Apothecary in Chains, with the Song from Guy Mannerin of "Smeichen al the festern ein,"
Mr MANDERSTON.
Corras-Ponidas, a person totally unacquainted with the Elements of Grammar and Common Sense; notwithstanding
which, principal Contributor to the Illory Tory Gazette—Mr WILLIAM WATSON.
Goato Crescentio, Caterer to Corras-Ponidas, writer of BALAH, Printer Devil, Bill Sticker, Distributor of Tory
Placards, Ambassador and Lyon King at Arms to the Court of Kleg Crispin—SIR PA'RICH WALKER.
The parts of Spies and Informers, by Castles, Edwards, Olives, Reynolds, FRANKLIN, alias Fletcher.
Captain of the Guard, Mr BROWN.—Call Boy, ARCHY CAPDELL.
Candle Snuffer, by Mr CHARLES—Scene Shifters, by Messrs ROSS and CROMBIE.
Property Man and Treasurer—Mr DENHOLM.
Stage Manager and Waiter—Mr AMBIROSE.

VIVAT REX ET NON REGINA!

D. Webster, Printer, Leathen Street.

Third Edition, with Additions.
Entire Change of Performances.

Royal Mohock Theatre,
GABRIEL'S ROAD.

The Public are most respectfully informed, that his Majesty's most obsequious servants, will, with no deference to Public opinion, present a series of Entertainments to their notice, and which, it is confidently hoped, will meet their entire approbation; seeing that the interest of the different pieces depends not upon an adherence to the musty time, place, and unity of Aristotle, nor the obsolete critical canons of Longinus, but reared on those flexible principles so acutely laid down by Sir Robert Filmer, the Vicar of Bray, and other able writers and practitioners in the Science of Passive Obedience and Divine Legitimacy. The first piece, which must speedily be withdrawn, is one which has already met the unqualified applause of a select number of Toad-Eaters, assembled at a private rehearsal in Argyle Park, Bird-Cage Walk, entitled

THE
BEACON.
OR,
More Smoke than Fire.

Ex Luce Dara Fumum.

Bombastes Fustiano Dashim—a Monthly Critic—and Incipient, &c. Inispid—Hedonismal Politician—a Personage with more punch than brains—and more mind than sense—Mr H.—SS—L.

Stephano Stilletto, a hired Bravu, and impotent would-be destroyer of all true Gentlemen—libeller of men whose writings and opinions are favourable to the march of Freedom and right thinking—a Grub Street composer of hating speeches—Mr Dow. M.—N.—H.

Slops—a renegade water-gruel leading article man o' war, at present employed in propping up the tottering fortunes of a fast decaying Fabric, near Gossard's Alley—a promised assistant to the Beacon—Mr H.—SL—I.

Meadow Padlock, a Printer from Pingal's country, whose learning has hitherto been more devoted to the turning of a penny than the turning of a period—Mr Dow. ST—V—NS—N.

Scape Goat—a simple compositor, employed by Meadow Padlock in fusing false speeches upon the Public, and giving the sanction and weight of his name to scurrilities, of which even Meadow Padlock was heartily ashamed—Jas. BL—CK.

Fungus Mortuus—a grim serg of Toryism, about to give up the ghost—Mr W.—TS—N.
Coal culs gatherers, fetchers of fuel, layers of rotten wood, diggers of *fusiform* turf, scrapers together of decayed thatch for the use of the Beacon—By Sirs J. H.—Y. T. W.—LR—IC, Makers &c. WH—G—M, J. H.—PC, J. W.—LK—R, W. M.—NZ—ES, D. CH—PE, J. M—C—N—CH—E, H—Y F—ItB—S, &c. &c.
The Prologue to be spoken by the Irish Rascius, CUDDIE WILLIE, the celebrated Peripatetic China Merchant;

After the PLAY,

A MELANGE,

After the PLAY,

A MELANGE,

Originally written by SIR W.—I.T.—R SC—TT, revised and amended by SIR J.—IN H—Y, and Mr H—Y P—R—S, consisting of Songs, Glees, Catches, Recitations, &c. &c. in the following succession:—Introductory Ode, in imitation of a really, truly, and only *Loyal Address*, Strophe, Antistropho, and Epodes, by Mr M—NY—RS—N, PR—NC—I—L, H—RD, and DE I—GL—S.

Comic Song, "The Awkward Recruit," in Character, by the H—x. C. H—PE.

"The Witches Glees, for four voices.

Hecate—"When shall we Address again?" By SIR J.—IN H—Y.

1st Witch—"When the Whigs put us in pain?" By G—LB—RT INN—S.

2d Witch—"When our Masters wish it done?" By D—C—N DR—MM—ND.

3d Witch—"With a reason, or with none!" By Mr M—CK—NZ—E.

Catch—"We'll keep what we have, and catch what we can," By the Four B—LL—E'S.

Recitative and Grand Chorus of Addressors, from the *Higher and Middle Classes* of Society, by their Honours the Scavengers, Bankers Clerks, Porters, Students of Divinity, Cadets, Boards of Excise and Customs, Policemen, Postmen, Stump Officers, Town-Officers, Town Drummer, Dempster of Justiciary, &c. &c.

Slack Wire and Trampline Performances, by DAVIE BR—DG—S.

After which, the Humours of the Taylor's Journey in Brentford—Billy Button by D—C—N R—SS—Ostler, by ARCHY C—MUB—L—L—B's Horse by the Famous Major Peatle, out of Mortar.

In the Course of the Evening, S—R P—TR—CK W—I.K—R, in the Character of *Sir Andrew Aquachek*, will perform an interesting interlude, composed by the Knight, called "*The Melville Monument Lament*."

From the feeling way that the Knight usually goes through this Piece, it is understood the audience must necessarily burst into tears of sympathy to the Author of the Lament.

SONG—"We're Finished at all Hands," sung by the Knight to a full audience at Giaport's Close, who heard him in melancholy silent silence.

The whole to conclude with an Oriental Melo-Drama, translated from the Persic of Hafiz, by Sir Gore Ouseley, and arranged for representation by BOB SOUTHEY, P. L., and author of the National Tragedy of Wat Tyler, &c.

Entitled

M A G A,
on,

The Chaldee Assassins.

Loh-Kou-Tehing, Leader of a Host of Veiled Assassins in the Jungles of Dark Timber Plains—Mr L—CKH—RT.
Loo-Kar-Tien, Lieutenant of the Hounds—a scuffer at the kindly feelings and domestic privacies of Friendship, with the east of Religion on his tongue, and the honey of Belzobub in his heart, Mr W—LS—N.

Quong-Ho, formerly a wine-horn in Bagdad—entrapped unwittingly into the Hounds, and retained there unwillingly for the amusement of the Assassins—Mr H—GG.

Mar-Meo-Ong, A Visionary Arabian Story-Teller, more famed for the beauty of his Narratives, than for his prudence in the choice of Associates—SIR W—L—T—R SC—TT.

Fee-Fa-Fun, A Negro Jew, employed by the Hounds in vending their Stolen Goods, and disposing of the Bodies of the Assassinated—Mr H—CKW—).

Kell-Soo-Jen, A Type of the New Times—foul of the garbage and refuse of brother Tradesmen—Mr H—L—NT—NE.

Med-Ling-Gnat, Not worth the speaking about—SIR P—TH—CK W—LK—R.

Jin-Tu-Snug, By the T—WN C—UNC—L, &c.

N. B.—The supporters of the Mohocks are respectfully informed, that a Grand Dinner will be given in the Green Rooms on the 12th instant, to those Gentlemen whose meeting again under the same auspices is by no means probable. The Manager will have to apologize for his determination in giving his Eleemosynary Fete at this inclement season; but he rightly considered, that the keen frost of a Winter Evening was more congenial to the Red-hot Loyalty of a True Tory, than the broiling rays of a sun in the dog days.

The M—RQU—S of H—NT—Y in the Chair.

VIVAT REX ET NON REGINA.

W. W. —— Orlater, Fashion Street.

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