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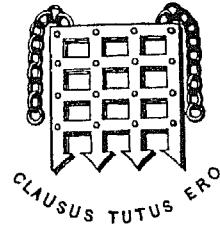
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# THE SCOTT NEWSLETTER

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## THE EDINBURGH EDITION

In the course of the next year the Edinburgh Edition will reach the half-way mark in terms of novels published; the Newsletter celebrates the occasion with a set of notes from the editors.

### THE EDINBURGH EDITION OF THE WAVERLEY NOVELS: NEARLY HALF-WAY

*David Hewitt*

To date nine volumes in the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels have been published; another nine are due in 1999. These will be: in January, *Guy Mannering*, ed. P. D. Garside, EEWN 2; in summer, *The Monastery*, ed. Penny Fielding, EEWN 9, *The Abbot*, ed. Christopher Johnson, EEWN 10, *Chronicles of the Canongate*, ed. Claire Lamont, EEWN 20, and *The Fair Maid of Perth*, ed. Andrew Hook and Donald Mackenzie, EEWN 21; and in autumn, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, ed. David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden, EEWN 6, *The Pirate*, ed. Mark Weinstein and Alison Lumsden, EEWN 12, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, ed. Frank Jordan, EEWN 13, and *Anne of Geierstein*, ed. J. H. Alexander, EEWN 22. In addition the first three titles (*The Antiquary*, *The Tale of Old Mortality*, and *Kenilworth*) in the Penguin Scott, which will consist of the EEWN texts, notes and glossary, with a commissioned critical introduction, will appear in January 1999. The target date for completing the Edition remains the end of 2002, although the final two volumes, with the introductions and notes written for the Magnum, and with corrections to earlier volumes, will appear a couple of years later.

There must be doubt about the capacity of the general editors to process the final stages of nine novels in a year, about the publisher's ability to sell nine titles in a year, and about the willingness of the readers to purchase so many in a short time. But even if this programme extends into 2000, it is clear that the half-way mark will be passed in 1999.

The Edition has received much praise, but there has also been criticism. Although nominally directed against editorial policy, the criticism has actually been focused on the General Introduction. Certain aspects of the General Introduction are regrettable, and are regretted by their author. The introductions and notes Scott wrote for the Magnum Opus are fascinating extensions of his historical and autobiographical fictionalising (they are not explanatory, and they are no more history than the novels). They do not cabin, crib and confine the narratives: such a judgment is a hang-over from an earlier era of Scott criticism, and appeared in the Gen-

eral Introduction from an over-enthusiasm for the new. Further, the Magnum has a cultural significance in that it is the form of Scott's novels which has been read for most of the nineteenth and all of the twentieth centuries. A critical and cultural defence of the Magnum is easy and proper, and the General Introduction should not have indulged in Magnum bashing, so to speak.

Nonetheless, as text the Magnum still presents great problems. The one wholly appropriate textual strategy for the Magnum is that adopted by Ian Duncan in his World's Classics edition of *Rob Roy*. He has introduced from the Interleaved Set readings which were either not incorporated into the Magnum version, or altered in the process of incorporation, together with readings in the 1822 edition of the novel which Scott had corrected in the Interleaved Set, but which were lost when the 1819 edition was used as the compositors' copy-text. Because he is dealing with the materials that belong to the process of creating the Magnum, this is an editorial procedure of integrity. But the fundamental problems of the Magnum text are still there. On about 1,500 occasions the manuscript of *The Antiquary*, to choose one example, was misread or misunderstood; there are about 1,500 differences between the 1822 octavo edition of the novel (which Scott corrected for the Interleaved Set) and the first edition, most of which are certainly non-authorial; there are 293 occasions on which Scott corrected or revised his text in the interleaved copy of the novel; and there are around 1,800 changes made between Scott's correcting the text and its publication in the Magnum, some of which are certainly authorial, but most of which are equally certainly not. Although the situation is clear, in practice what is non-authorial and lacks authorisation cannot be removed from the Magnum except in the precisely delimited way followed by Ian Duncan.

The choice of a first-edition text for the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels is fully in accord with contemporary theory and practice. In spite of the availability of manuscripts, a new edition could not be based on the manuscripts: Scott used proof-correcting as part of the creative process and so the manuscripts are not the final, pre-publication form of the text; secondly, Scott expected his novels to be prepared for presentation in print, and this implies a need to accept the full procedure of processing the text. But there is still a question of value: even although Scott expected his text to be 'socialised', to be prepared for its engagement with the world (to adapt Jerome McGann's phraseology), one must still prefer the author's very own words where it can be demonstrated that they have been lost through 'accident, error, or misunderstanding'. Thus we emend the first-edition text, to create an 'ideal first edition'. We can no longer apply the eclectic procedures advocated by Greig and Bowers, and so cannot attach to this text material prepared for the Magnum, for to

do so would be to create a new version of the novels, which confounds the very different circumstances and motivations which gave birth to the novels as first published, and to the *Magnum Opus* between 1829 and 1833. However, Scott's new material in the *Magnum* will still form part of the Edinburgh Edition of the *Waverley Novels*, as it will be edited afresh from his holograph and be published in Volumes 29 and 30.

The case for the text of the Edinburgh Edition of the *Waverley Novels* should have been made without demonising the *Magnum*; in this the critics are right and a revised General Introduction will appear for the first time in *Guy Mannering*. But the positive case for the editorial policy and procedures of the Edition has repeatedly been proved as work has proceeded on successive volumes, and there has been a gratifying absence of substantial criticism of editorial practice. Few mistakes in the text have been reported; a limited amount of new information correcting existing notes, or providing material for new ones, has been received. The editors continue to be grateful for such responses, and invite more; they are pleased to be corrected where this is necessary, and are happy to explain to enquiring readers that, for example, Scott's Latin at this point or that is deliberately wrong.

The other substantial criticism of the Edition has concerned the publication schedule. Publishers and marketing people would like books to be delivered according to a regular timetable, and it is annoying for all parties when a strict timetable is not maintained. But these books can only be delivered to the Press when they are done; two-thirds of a glossary will not do, nor will a glossary that is full of errors. The most important feature of a scholarly edition is its reliability, and there can be no compromise on editorial standards in order to maintain a timetable, although the law of diminishing returns is applicable and there is a point where the editor-in-chief decides that publication must proceed. Some feel that the EEWN volumes appear very slowly; but by other standards a spanking pace has been maintained: the first volume of the principal French edition of the *Chroniques de J. Froissart* appeared in 1869 and the last in 1975 (sic)! The original target date for the completion of the EEWN was 2000.

No doubt a stricter timetable would have been maintained and the original target date for completion would have been met had there been more money. The whole editorial process, including typesetting and proof-reading, is the responsibility of the Advisory Board, which includes among its members the general editors and the editor-in-chief. The Board has now to raise about £40,000 a year to meet the salary of the Edition's research fellow, to pay the proof-readers, to prepare camera-ready copy, and to meet general editorial costs. All the royalties, and all the money from the sale of camera-ready-copy to Edinburgh University Press are committed to the continuing work of the Edition, but the Board still has to

raise about £30,000 annually from grants. In practice each year the editor-in-chief makes between four and six major applications, writes about twenty begging letters to trusts and businesses, and files half a dozen progress reports. The maximum grant available from the British Academy, the main source of public money, was for long £17,500, and was for one year; a new, full application had to be made each year. Fund-raising is a necessary discipline; but the restricted sums available mean that a lot of time is wasted and a lot of anxiety is generated.

Editing the *Waverley Novels* has proved to be a form of slavery; the work is unremitting and there can be no remission. It has also proved to be an intellectual adventure infinitely more exciting than what was anticipated. Editing has produced solid evidence about Scott's artistic practices. For instance, we cannot now say that Scott wrote too quickly unless we mean that literally, for the EEWN's documentation of the genesis of the novels shows that they had often been gestating for a considerable period before Scott put pen to paper. The precise time-scheme found in each of the novels to have been edited to date suggests a detailed control which was formerly unsuspected. Scott may not have been conscious of where he was going, but his narratives, when subject to editorial scrutiny, have shown an underlying direction which is present from the outset. The variety of source materials shows an intellectual capacity to synthesise which we have always claimed, but have been relatively unable to document.

The work has generated materials which we hope will continue to support critical studies of Scott for many years. It has a potential to support far-reaching cultural studies. For instance, more than in any other writer the printed form of words and sentences in Scott seems provisional, a gesture towards other 'realities'; we are well accustomed to ideas of representation, but have still to go further in asking what print itself represents. But above all editing Scott has confirmed the rightness of my initial judgement: 'The return to the original Scott produces fresher, less formal and less pedantic novels than we have known'.

#### **The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels: a Checklist of Published Titles**

- The Antiquary*, ed. David Hewitt, EEWN 3, 1995;
- The Black Dwarf*, ed. P. D. Garside, EEWN 4a, 1993;
- The Tale of Old Mortality*, ed. Douglas S. Mack, EEWN 4b, 1993;
- The Bride of Lammermoor*, ed. J. H. Alexander, EEWN 7a, 1995;
- A Legend of the Wars of Montrose*, ed. J. H. Alexander, EEWN 7b, 1995;
- Ivanhoe*, ed. Graham Tulloch, EEWN 8, 1998;
- Kenilworth*, ed. J. H. Alexander, EEWN 11, 1993;
- Saint Ronan's Well*, ed. Mark Weinstein, EEWN 16, 1995;
- Redgauntlet*, ed. G. A. M. Wood and David Hewitt, EEWN 17, 1997.

**EDITING THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR AND  
A LEGEND OF THE WARS OF MONTROSE**

*J.H. Alexander*

Editing a Scott novel involves two largely distinct types of activity: the preparation of the text, and the provision of explanatory notes. They require roughly the same amount of time: textual work on a three-volume novel can be calculated fairly precisely as requiring 1500–1750 hours input by the volume editor, and experience suggests that the explanatory annotation will roughly match this. (The general editor is likely to put in 500–600 hours work for a typical novel, covering both aspects.) Some editors incline naturally towards one of the two activities, but most of us working on the Edinburgh Edition derive more or less equal satisfaction from both of them. In this essay I hope to give readers an insight into some of the problems and rewards of editing *The Bride* and *Montrose* in particular, and to answer some of the questions that may arise when looking at the editorial material in these novels.

Perhaps the first thing that is likely to strike a reader with an interest in textual matters when they open a volume of EEWN is the length of the emendation list. The basic reason for this is well understood: Scott's manuscripts were only the first stage in a production process involving several intermediaries, and while his coadjutors were remarkably efficient they quite often misunderstood what Scott had written; they were not always as sensitive as they might have been to the signals given by the manuscript; copyists tended to be rather approximate (especially with small words, or word order), and inevitably there was a certain amount of straight misreading. The emendation list largely involves correction of the first edition against the manuscript in *The Bride*, whereas in *Montrose* (most of which was probably dictated) proof readings and proof corrections become more central. In neither novel are there any extensive individual emendations, and this is typical of most of the EEWN volumes. Rather one finds a thousand or two mostly very small changes. Many of them are hardly significant in themselves, but taken as a whole they have something of the effect of the thousands of tiny swabbings which enable a restored picture to emerge with something of its original clarity and precision from under layers of varnish, dirt, and inferior restoration attempts.

The main principles governing the emendations are explained in the essay on the text in each volume. Each editor prepares a version of the final emendation list with a justification added to each emendation (hence the in-house term 'justification list'). The justification lists are part of the Edition's archives, along with the sets of collation sheets. But there is space to print only a very few justifications of unusual emendations in the

printed volumes. So a few notes on the reasons for emendations, supplementary to those so far given, may be of interest.

For most of *The Bride* we have a manuscript but not proofs, and this is more often the case than not with the novels. The editor has to judge in the case of each variant whether it is likely to have been introduced by Scott himself or an intermediary acting in accordance with his presumed 'standing orders', or whether it is more likely to have been the work of an intermediary acting inadvertently or deliberately and of a sort which Scott would not have approved. Quite often, the editor is estimating whether there was good reason, within the parameters established by a study of Scott's undoubted revisions in proofs, for a change to have been made. Where a change appears deleterious, pedantic, or simply pointless, the manuscript reading will normally be restored. Editors are aware, of course, that from time to time Scott himself can harm his original text in proof revision: by not being in contact with his original, by being pedantic himself, or (as far as one can tell) occasionally by making a pointless change to keep his pen working so to speak. In a novel without proofs they will sometimes unbeknownst restore a manuscript reading which Scott himself was responsible for changing; but the overwhelming majority of the emendations will reverse unauthorised changes made by intermediaries. Readers can judge themselves from the emendation list whether in any particular case they themselves would have made a different judgement.

A handful of examples from the beginning of the *Bride* will give an idea of what is involved in the exercise of editorial judgement. The opening sentence runs, in the first edition: 'Few have been in my secret while I was compiling these narratives, nor is it probable that they will ever become public during the life of their author.' The manuscript has 'while I was engaged in compiling' for 'was compiling'. In this case the editorial judgement was that a characteristic Patteson phrasing was trimmed, very likely accidentally by the copyist, or mechanically at a later stage to eliminate fancied tautology, so EEWN follows the manuscript. A smaller example of a restored omission occurs at 7.10 where in the first edition Tinto paints 'some round dozen of the feuars and farmers', whereas the manuscript has 'the neighbouring feuars and farmers'. In this case it is difficult to see why anybody should have deleted 'neighbouring', and the likelihood is that it was simply overlooked by the copyist. The same argument would apply on the same page (line 29) where the word 'very' has been restored to the EEWN text in the reference to 'the sloth, which, having eaten up the very last green leaf upon the tree where it has established itself, ends by tumbling down from the top, and dying of inanition'. (Scott himself rarely deletes isolated single

words, though when he is revising a passage a single word nearby may attract his attention.)

Pedantry may have been involved in the change to the first sentence of the novel. It was more certainly so at 15.6, where the words between arrows were added between manuscript and first edition: 'The Castle of Ravenswood ... was of importance both in ↑time of ↓ foreign war and domestic discord.' Something of the same inflationary quality can be seen at 92.5: 'as he undid the cape of his cloak, and raised his beaver from his face, his fingers fumbled as if the one had been linked with rusted iron, or the other had weighed ↑equal with ↓ a ton of lead'.

The editors of most of the novels tackled so far have noted examples of 'toning-down' apparently prompted by a prissy sense of propriety usually associated with the name of James Ballantyne. In the *Bride Lucy* is a little less lady-like in manuscript. At 117.8 the first edition describes her conduct while she and her father are unexpected guests at Wolfsrag: 'His daughter did not speak much, but she smiled; and what she did say argued a submissive gentleness, and a desire to give pleasure, which to a proud man like Ravenswood, was more fascinating than the most brilliant wit.' The manuscript, clearly and evenly written at this point, has 'His daughter did not speak much but she smiled and she sang [or 'sung']]. This girlish spontaneity was toned down for the first edition. Earlier, Lucy had already been the victim of toning-down, though in that case almost certainly because of eye-slip. At 30.34 the first edition has her urge her father simply 'Do, sir, come and see old Alice.' But the manuscript combines additional spontaneity and practicality, so that EEWN now reads: 'Do, sir, come and see old Alice—her cottage is so bad besides, and I am sure you will cause Former the carpenter put it somewhat to rights if you see how decayed it is—Do come to see old Alice.' The repetition of 'see old Alice' builds on the manuscript version of line 13 on the same page 'Come, you must go to see Alice', where the first edition has 'go to Alice'. As a further reinforcement of Lucy's girlishness, EEWN is able to restore the word 'on' in the next line, to end the chapter thus: 'And with the freedom of an indulged daughter, she dragged on the Lord Keeper in the direction she desired.' (Even the restoration of 'filial fondness' for the first edition's strange 'filial kindness' at 31.19 tends in the same direction.)

Other examples of toning-down can be found at 19.29 where the funeral trumpets in manuscript sound 'lugubrious' rather than merely 'melancholy' notes (shades of original-instrument performances), at 124.42 where Lockhard has orders to detain the Marquis's courier and 'fill him drunk' rather than 'ply him with liquor' as in the first edition, and at 167.18, where the short first edition paragraph

"Is it a long story you are going to tell?" said Bucklaw, interrupting him [Craigenelt] without ceremony.

has now been restored to its manuscript force:

"Is it a long story you are going to tell?" said Bucklaw, yawning.

One of the most laborious, but ultimately among the most satisfying, categories of emendation involves the restoration of the movement of speeches evident in manuscript. This is a complex area. Scott's manuscript punctuation is very restricted, being limited almost to the dash, the full stop, and inverted commas, with some question marks and a very few exclamation marks, followed by upper or lower case initial letters. The punctuational palette available to the compositors was much richer than that in common use nowadays, with every conceivable combination of dash long and short, full stop, colon, semicolon, question mark, and exclamation mark. Usually the movement of speeches is rendered reasonably sensitively and helpfully. But from time to time it is evident that the original movement has not quite been caught, and where this can be restored without disrupting a carefully built up hierarchy of first-edition punctuation, editors will take action. We know from proofs that Scott liked dashes, and if he had thought it worth while doing a thorough revision of first-edition punctuation he would no doubt have restored more than he did in practice. Often the original dashes bring clauses into closer relationship with each other than they are in the first edition. Old Alice has this speech to Ravenswood in the first edition:

"God forbid I should say so; I know nothing of the youth but what is honourable and open—honourable and open, said I?—I should have added, free, generous, noble—but he is still a Ravenswood, and may bide his time—remember the fate of Sir George Lockhart."

In EEWN (35.12–15) this becomes:

"God forbid I should say so; I know nothing of the youth but what is honourable and open—honourable and open, said I?—I should have added, free, generous, noble. But he is still a Ravenswood, and may bide his time. Remember the fate of Sir George Lockhart."

Restoration of the manuscript punctuation can reactivate a looser and more ambiguous relationship between clauses, as in the following paragraph which appears thus in the first edition:

"If such are your sentiments," said Lucy, "you have played a cruel game with me. But it is not too late to give it over—take back the

faith and troth which you could not plight to me without suffering abatement of honour—let what is passed be as if it had not been—forget me—I will endeavour to forget myself."

The EEWN text (158.16–20) restores MS ‘me—but’ in the second line, though this is balanced by the restoration of ‘me and I’ at the end of the speech.

A curious feature that editors become aware of is the way in which nonsense, or near-nonsense, can persist through every edition, or several editions, of a Scott novel. The footnote on page 167 of the Edinburgh *Bride* translated a Gaelic proverb, in manuscript and in every edition until the present, as ‘Cut a drink with a tale’. The proverb actually means ‘Cut a tale with a drink’: it is correct in *Quentin Durward* and is now at last correct in the *Bride*! It was possible for a clarification of the sense made for an edition subsequent to the first to fall by the wayside if it was not in the direct line of transmission to the Magnum. At 192.16 the manuscript and all editions except the 1821 duodecimo ascribe a speech to Anne Winnie; only the 1821 duodecimo spotted that it must be by Ailsie Gourlay.

Every editor has a number of emendations of which they are particularly fond, which does not mean to say that they are particularly important in any objective sense. It may be of interest to some readers to know my own favourites from the *Bride* and *Montrose* (which because there is no manuscript for the most part, has comparatively few emendations).

In the *Bride* at 85.29 the first-edition text says that ‘Caleb came’, but the manuscript has ‘Caleb came and saw’, with a nice mock-heroic allusion to Julius Caesar. The manuscript version of 93.25, ‘Soot, which had now been disturbed for centuries, showered down the huge tunnelled chimnies’, is much stronger than the first edition which begins ‘The soot’ rather than ‘Soot’. In the first edition Caleb says, ‘...I ance had the ill hap to say he [Girder] was but a Johnie Newcome in our town, and the carle bore the family an ill-will ever since’, but the manuscript has ‘in our town-end—the carle ...’ (105.17). It is always good to be able to restore Scott’s original plans for a volume division (in the case of the *Bride* between volumes 1 and 2), which had to be changed to control the lengths of the original physically separate volumes. At 133.17 Scott’s manuscript change of ‘Craigengelt’ to ‘Graigengelt’ is a pleasant comic touch. I take pleasure in the addition to the Marquis’s speech at 202.15: in the first edition this ended ‘here we are at the change-house’, but from the manuscript it has been possible to add ‘and if the things have been dressed which I took the precaution of sending forward, we shall have an indifferent good nooning of it’. At 210.15 the Aberdonian ‘Ravenswee’s are to be savoured, and at 268.41 I remain more than happy with the decision to restore the words ‘in a great degree’ which James Ballantyne so ob-

jected to in the summary of Lady Ashton’s activities, but which there is no evidence that Scott himself ever deleted. In *Montrose* I would single out at 12.32 the word ‘jargling’ rather than the less distinctive ‘jangling’: since both the original edition of Hall’s poem from which the motto is taken and Chalmers’ edition at Abbotsford have ‘jargling’ it is likely that there was a slip in the transmission process. The restoration of the terse manuscript reading at 100.15 ‘it was a merry jest, that of the bread’ is immensely superior to the first edition’s ‘it was a merry jest that, of cramming the bread into the dead man’s mouth’ (in case the reader should have forgotten that incident from the everyday life of country folk). Substituting the original ‘crimson veil’ for ‘dark veil of division’ (103.20) restores the allusion to the veil of the temple in 2 Chronicles, and on pages 158–9 it is good to have Dalgetty’s new horse called Loyalty Rewarded rather than the pedantic Loyalty’s Reward. Finally, I am pleased to have been instrumental in rescuing Scott’s original title for the novel from the strange, and now certainly merely curious, objections of his colleagues.

I would like to end by making a few comments on the explanatory notes for the two volumes. Here, like every EEWN editor, I owe much to others: particularly to previous editors and to specialist advisers. Among previous editors, Fiona Robertson’s work on the World’s Classics *Bride* has been particularly valuable, and the expansive style of notes favoured by that series forms an interesting contrast with EEWN’s more austere approach. Among the advisers, the *Bride* has benefited particularly from the expertise in Scots law of John Cairns, and *Montrose* from the Gaelic erudition of Donald Meek and Colm O Boyle.

There are frustrating times in annotation, not invariably overcome. In spite of diligent searching and enquiring, I still do not know in the *Bride* whether or not Scottish Episcopalians observed St Margaret’s Eve (75.9); where the quotation allegedly from Fordun actually comes from (123.6–7); what Scott is referring to in his reference to the principle of the Spanish generals (205.30–36); or whether or not there is historical support for Lady Ashton’s assertion ‘that the deeds must be signed before the hour of noon, in order that the marriage might be happy’ (244.20). I know where I found the story of the double vision (177.16–18), but where Scott found it I know not. Similarly, for *Montrose* I located the glossing of ‘Engel’ as ‘gute Geister’ (in a massive eighteenth-century encyclopaedia published in Halle which happens to be on the open shelves in the Bodleian Library), but where Scott gleaned it I have no idea: it is of a piece with his allusion to a marginal translation of Exodus in the *Bride* 112.22–23. If any readers know the answers to these, or any of the other unsolved mysteries referred to in the notes, please share your knowledge with me so that the information can be included in the last two volumes

so that the information can be included in the last two volumes of the Edition.

The pleasures of explanatory annotation are many: the detective hunt element, the excursions into strange areas of recondite knowledge (it's amazing how much there is to find out about white cattle), the satisfaction of seeing a note gradually coming into focus and addressing the precise issue raised by a passage, and the continuing wonder at the breadth of Scott's erudition and the range of his enquiring spirit as the amanuensis of history. Moments stand out in my own memory: the location of a hitherto untraced hunting couplet (*Bride*, 81.8–9) and other related points in George Turberville's *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting*, expeditions to Fast Castle (on a foggy afternoon), the Kaim of Uri or Mathers (on a crisp late December morning), and Dunstaffnage and Inverlochy castles (on a mid-summer day with continuous drenching rain blowing horizontally off the Atlantic); and, much nearer home, observing the variant spelling Drumthwacket on the name board of Dalgetty's once fictional paternal acres. Such pleasures must remain essentially private. For the rest, the editor can only hope that EEWN readers will share something of the delight which he has experienced in the long task of restoration, and the challenge to alert and joyful reading which he continues to find in these rich and wonderful texts.

#### A NOTE ON IVANHOE

Graham Tulloch

In the latter half of 1997 when I was near the end of my work on the *Ivanhoe* volume of the EEWN I had occasion to look at my earliest correspondence about taking on the role of editor and realised that I had been working on *Ivanhoe*, on and off, for more than ten years. It was a sobering moment (combined with the lingering aftermath of disquiet at just having turned fifty) and I reflected, amongst other things, that my daughter (now fourteen) could not remember life without *Ivanhoe*. However what strikes me most now is the extraordinary resilience of the text. Ten years of intensive study of the manuscript, proofs, three separate British editions, six American editions, three European editions, three versions in the collection called *Historical Romances*, Scott's Interleaved Copy and the Magnum—many of my students would see it as a recipe for total disenchantment with the text, yet I still find *Ivanhoe* an enchanting book, deepened and enriched by my study but still with something of the freshness with which it burst on the world late, very late, in 1819 bearing, like its latest incarnation the EEWN volume, the date of the following year.

I spent the second half of 1986 on sabbatical in Edinburgh and, as is not surprising, I had encountered Peter Garside in the NLS where he suggested to me the idea of editing one of the EEWN novels. But I might have gone no further if I had not, by sheer chance, run into David Hewitt on the train to London. He was going to a meeting of the editorial board of EEWN in York and we naturally fell into talk about editing Scott. From such chance encounters arise ... in my case, editing *Ivanhoe* (although there is perhaps not really much chance about someone who had worked on Scott's archaic language and edited his short stories ending up where I did).

*Ivanhoe* was not the first Scott novel I read—my first was *Peveril of the Peak* for which I still preserve a special fondness (I suspect I am one of the few people who regularly goes back and reads it for pleasure) but *Ivanhoe*, given to me for my twelfth birthday in a Collins Classics edition with a shiny red flexible cover, was the second. *Ivanhoe*'s arrival at Rotherwood, the tournament, the attack on Torquilstone, Ulrica on the turret 'empress of the conflagration she had raised', Rebecca tied to the stake and the death of Bois-Guilbert 'a victim to the violence of his contending passions'—I loved it all and I still do. But what ten years of studying *Ivanhoe* has brought home to me is the extraordinary richness of the novel's texture: one can hardly chase after the hundreds of references to literary, religious and historical works (some of which baffled me to the end) without realising that one reason why the novel survives is the astounding amount of detail that Scott managed to weave into it. A lifetime of reading, and some well chosen works consulted while he was actually working on the text, went into page after page of the novel so that, no matter how hard you push the text, you still find more depth in it. But it is not just that Scott drew on a vast range of resources, it is also that he could make so much out of so little. Only Scott could have read that very odd document, the Templar Rule, and seen what possibilities it offered. The Bible, the Templar Rule and some knowledge of the charges made against the Templars when they were dissolved is all that Scott really used in creating Lucas de Beaumanoir, surely one of his finest studies of fanaticism.

The other thing that working intensively on *Ivanhoe* confirms is something many of its more recent readers have noticed, its profoundly ambivalent nature. The glamour of the Middle Ages was clearly upon Scott and he presents us with a picture of brave knights and fair ladies which is still remarkably alluring and which Hollywood and the BBC still love to reproduce; yet the novel embodies for us all the darker side of the Middle Ages as well. If Richard is idealistic and generous he is also capricious and arbitrary; if Rowena is adored by her faithful (if somewhat colourless) lover she is also threatened by rape. It is also a novel in which

the tragic and high-minded Rebecca joins with the comic and selfish Athelstane to offer a critique of the chivalric pursuit of fame and glory at all costs. Scott's strong attraction to chivalry is balanced by his understanding that it is in the end a dangerous fantasy. Perhaps even more than the richness of his borrowings from his sources, it is this deep ambivalence informing the text which allows it to offer something more at every reading.

Nearly forty years after I first started reading it, I still believe that *Ivanhoe* had every reason to be one of the most widely read novels of the nineteenth century and I still understand, through my own reactions to it, why it lives for ordinary readers today, and even for prime ministers (brought up, incidentally, like me, in Adelaide). It is very pleasant to celebrate the approaching half-way point of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels and it is truly satisfying to admire the many kinds of work from many different people that has been put into producing the individual volumes but the true object of celebration remains that extraordinary act of creation, the Waverley Novels themselves. I feel immensely lucky that I have spent a decade of my life in close proximity to one of the finest of them all.

### FILTHY LANGUAGE IN THE PIRATE

*Mark Weinstein*

In *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, Oliver Goldsmith observes that the good Doctor no longer attends the theatres. Johnson replies, 'Why, Sir, our tastes greatly alter. The lad does not care for the child's rattle, and the old man does not care for the young man's whore' (entry, Spring 1766). Fifty-five years later, Scott writes in *The Pirate*, 'The youth, says the moralist Johnson, cares not for the boy's hobby-horse, nor the man for the youth's mistress' (Chapter 15). This is the clean, wholesome Author of Waverley, who criticised Fielding for 'much stronger language than ours' and 'several passages at which delicacy may justly taken offence',<sup>1</sup> and whose contemporaries enjoyed 'the satisfaction which lay in the certainty that they [the Waverley Novels] would never give offence'.<sup>2</sup>

But 'never give offence' is too strong since even Scott's friend, printer, and editor, James Ballantyne, could take offence. In the manuscript of *The Pirate*, Scott gave Bunce the following words, which were then punctuated as follows in the proofs:

What a dashing attitude the jade had with her, as she seized the pistol—d-n me, that touch would have brought the house down.  
What a Roxalana the bitch would have made! (for in his oratory,

Bunce, like Sancho's gossip, Thomas Cecial, was apt to use tye  
most energetic word which came to hand, without accurately con-  
sidering its propriety.)  
(Proofs, 3. 218)

On the proofs, James Ballantyne placed an 'X' next to 'bitch' and objected, 'Needless offence, I think; and the SOLE instance in about 40 volumes'. Scott capitulated, changing 'jade' to 'wench', and 'bitch' to 'jade', even though the changes made nonsense of the parenthesis. More surprising equally objectionable language survives in *The Pirate*. For example, when asked what he has to complain of in Zetland, Triptolemus Yellowley responds,

Of every thing that has chanced to me since I landed on this island,  
which I believe was accursed at the very creation ... and assigned as  
a fitting station for sorcers, thieves, whores, (I beg the ladies' par-  
don,) witches, bitches, and evil spirits.  
(Chapter 30)

So, after all, Doctor Johnson's 'whores' and Bunce's 'bitches' make it into the text. The tempting rationalisation that perhaps Ballantyne did not see this particular gathering of proof sheets (he apparently did miss some gatherings) is obviated by clear evidence elsewhere in this gathering of his editorial hand. If Homer himself hath been observed to nod, Ballantyne may sleep.

The only trusty generalisation is not to trust any generalisation. Human inconsistency is evident repeatedly in the making of the Waverley Novels: within the individual stages in the development of a text, between the different stages of the same text, and between different novels. Of the many examples of inconsistency that I have accumulated, let me use the most trivial. In the Interleaved Set of *The Pirate*, Scott introduced 200 variants—78 additions, 14 cuts, and 108 alterations. These variants are predominantly substantive. Only five involve punctuation, and only two are of the 'he said' variety. In contrast, of the 232 variants in the Interleaved Set of *Saint Ronan's Well*, on which Scott worked only a few months later,<sup>3</sup> 53 involve punctuation, and 36 are of the 'he said' variety. I choose a trivial illustration precisely because nothing is at stake here. Even Professors of English would have trouble arguing that Scott radically changed his methodology because of some significant purpose. Scott simply handled the interleaved versions of different novels inconsistently.

Inconsistency reigns in more important matters also. I believe, for example, that Scott himself played a role in the revision of the text of *Saint Ronan's Well* for the first collected edition. I base this belief on both external and internal evidence, most notably on Scott's own testimony and the existence of substantive changes.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, I believe just as

strongly that Scott played no role in the revision of the text of *The Pirate* for the octavo version of *Novels and Romances*. There is neither external evidence nor a single revision that suggests Scott himself contributed to the changes. At their best, the variants demonstrate sharp-eyed and conscientious editing, but they are neither creative nor imaginative. Can each of these two contradictory beliefs be correct? Yes. Each case must be judged on its own merits, and the scholarly desire for uniformity must be strenuously challenged.

#### NOTES

- 1 Sir Walter Scott on Novelists and Fiction, ed. I. Williams (New York, 1968), 55.
- 2 This is the judgement (a negative one) of George Brandes, writing in 1975. See *Scott: the Critical Heritage*, ed. John O. Hayden (New York, 1970), 478.
- 3 Jane Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History* (Edinburgh, 1987), 24–5.
- 4 *Saint Ronan's Well*, ed. Mark Weinstein, EEWN 16, 394–6.

#### A COUNT ROBERT FRAGMENT (NLS MS 23140)

A.G. Stevenson, Solicitor, Glasgow

*Count Robert of Paris*, probably the most neglected of Scott's novels, possesses several intriguing features. Not simply does it have the earliest historical setting: it is the only work in which of two conflicting social systems feudalism is fresh and vibrant. Uniquely, the moribund order in *Count Robert* is the decaying Byzantine remnants of the Roman Empire. Regrettably, by this stage in his life Scott lacked sufficient mental power fully to explore this contrast. Also, the novel reveals the influence of Matteo Maria Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (1483) and its sequel, Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532), romances with which Scott was familiar from an early age. According to Edward Cheney, whom Scott visited in Italy in 1832, Sir Walter professed that formerly he had read these works annually.<sup>1</sup> Features of the *Orlando* epics may be discerned in *Count Robert*, although the novel is set around three centuries later. Charlemagne's greatest champion Orlando, armed with his sword Durindana, fights Saracens, mythical beasts and knightly rivals, while the Crusading Count Robert, accustomed to carrying his trusty blade Trenchefer, encounters apparent wizardry, grotesque looking infidels, a ferocious tiger and a murderous humanlike ape. All three works have an outlandish, magical and exotically cosmopolitan quality, and combine the

ancient and mysterious of Classical antiquity, mediaeval superstition and a sense of supernatural disorientation.

Also, they all feature female combatants. Boiardo describes Marfisa, an invincible pagan queen in enchanted armour who indulges in wholesale massacre and who literally slices men in half (a trick which she repeats in Ariosto's tale). She and Bradamante, another female protagonist of *Orlando Innamorato*, meet in *Orlando Furioso* where they do battle together in the jousting lists over a misapprehension that they are rivals in love. The spectacle of two redoubtable female warriors fighting is comparatively normal in the fantastical world of *Orlando Furioso*. Scott, his judgement clouded by ill-health, made the mistake of seeking to depict a similar combat in *Count Robert*. Obviously forgetting how Ballantyne and Constable had prevailed upon him to alter *Saint Ronan's Well* in respect of the seduction of Clara Mowbray, this time he aroused the squeamishness of Cadell and Lockhart over a similarly delicate episode. In the published version of the novel Nicephorus Briennius, the devious son-in-law of the Emperor Alexius, attempts to seduce Brenhilda, the Amazonian wife of the then captive Count Robert. He is rebuffed and, her honour having been insulted, Brenhilda challenges him to joust. This combat never happens and several chapters later Brenhilda abruptly disappears from the story. She is last seen carrying away the body of the traitorous philosopher Agelastes, recently strangled by the orang-utang Sylvanus. By contrast, in the original story the villainous Nicephorus by seduction or worse actually impregnates Brenhilda and she subsequently takes part in a battle with his wife Anna Comnena. The spectacle of women fighting was dubious enough; that one of the participants was pregnant with the child of the other's husband was unthinkable. Scott's readership of the 1830s would have been outraged, and Scott singularly failed to appreciate that he was not dealing with the robust members of the mediaeval Italian court who could listen to Boiardo's description of cannibalism and necrophilia.

By suppressing Scott's original version of *Count Robert of Paris* I would suggest that Cadell and Lockhart acted properly in protecting, at that time, Sir Walter's literary reputation. None of the butchery of Marfisa could match that of these men in their attempt to fashion a book which they considered to be printable, and even after this carnage the novel was poorly received. *Count Robert's* bowdlerisation left discarded fragments, one of which left Ballantyne's premises soon after Scott's death and returned to Edinburgh only in 1990, when it was acquired by the National Library of Scotland, and given the reference MS 23140. Its travels were as follows:

In 1826 James Shaw, hitherto an employee of Constable, joined Cadell. Shaw 'was in the secret of the authorship of the [Waverley] nov-

els from the beginning' and he 'had strong literary tastes and read much in his day.<sup>2</sup> Also, he was an intimate acquaintance of another bibliophile, John Kerr, a Glaswegian lawyer. Kerr (1791-1881), the son of an Ayrshire farmer, studied at both Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities and in 1813 he had begun practice in Glasgow as a solicitor. Ten years later he was admitted to the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow. Kerr was a friend of Lockhart<sup>3</sup> and 'He devoted much of his time to literary pursuits and was largely instrumental in forming the Maitland Club.'<sup>4</sup> Shortly after the dismemberment of *Count Robert* Shaw 'stole two sets of the castrations of Count Robert of Paris before their being packed off as waste paper—one for myself and another for' Kerr, to whom he sent one of the portions in 1833. Shaw revealed to him that he knew 'of no other possessing a copy and it is not wished to be known that such things were—so don't blah but keep it snug within your library uniques.'<sup>5</sup> Shaw died in 1849 and, remarkably, Kerr was still practising as a solicitor in 1877. In that year he was joined by a new partner, William Barrie.<sup>6</sup> Kerr gave the fragment of *Count Robert* to his own son, Commissioner Kerr of London, who in turn gave it to his own son Robert Malcolm Kerr, who was a London barrister. Meanwhile a Barrie dynasty was succeeding to the partnership of what was now called Messrs Kerr and Barrie. In 1926 the grandson of William Barrie, also named William, assisted Robert Kerr in donating to the Faculty Library (in St George's Place, now Nelson Mandela Place, Glasgow) three books which had originally belonged to John Kerr, namely Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles*, Washington Irvine's *History of New York*, and the *Count Robert* portion.<sup>7</sup> The last of these remained there until the Royal Faculty, as it had then become, sold it at Christie's on 15 March 1990. Although it was given a estimated sale price of £700-1000<sup>8</sup> the lot fetched £2400, bid by the National Library of Scotland.

The fragment itself, bound in green morocco, contains unique material. The book has been given the code NLS MS 23140 and it comprises two distinct sets of proof sheets, one from Volume II and the other from Volume III of *Count Robert*. The first set comprises pages 217 to 336 and it is identical to those pages 217 to 336 of another set of discarded proof sheets already held by the NLS namely MS 3777. The latter set also has a page 337 which ends 'End of Volume Second'. MS 23140 has no equivalent page.

Accordingly, there is nothing in the first part of MS 23140 which cannot be found in pages 217 to 336 of MS 3777. Indeed, the latter are more interesting, being covered with deletions and emendations marked with pen by Lockhart and Cadell. The comparable pages in MS 23140 are entirely clean.

The second part of MS 23140 is far more interesting. Its pages 3 to 16, i.e. all of Chapter 1 and part of Chapter 2, are differently worded to the equivalent pages of MS 3777. The remainder of MS 23140 is identical to the parallel pages of MS 3777. Accordingly, these fourteen pages in the middle of MS 23140 are unique. The following passages exemplify the types of difference which exist between the two sets:

MS 23140 : '...apprehension of the approaching convulsion by singular actions and movements inferring fear and disquietude. It can scarcely be doubted that the human nature also possesses something of that prescient foreboding which announces the coming tempest to the inferior orders of creation.'

MS 3777 : '..apprehension of the approaching *thunder-storm* by singular actions and movements inferring fear and disturbance. *It seems that* human nature, *when its original habits are cultivated and attended to,* possesses something *upon the same occasion* of that prescient *forboding* [sic] which announces the coming tempest to the inferior ranks of creation.'

It must be conceded that MS 23140 adds little to our knowledge of the nature of the material which Scott's editors and advisors insisted be excised from the first version of *Count Robert*. This is already clear from the three volumes of amended proof sheets held by the National Library, namely MSS 3776, 3777 and 3780. However, all four of these Manuscripts are fascinating reminders of the fate which befell Scott's ill-judged and anachronistic penultimate published novel.

#### NOTES

- 1 J.G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (7 vols, 1838), 7.370.
- 2 Obituary of James Shaw, *The Scotsman*, 14 July 1849, p. 2.
- 3 Lockhart, 2.177n.
- 4 Annotated Roll of the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow 1668-1874, handwritten by James Gourlay, p. 137.
- 5 Letter from Shaw to Kerr, Edinburgh, 11 June 1833, inserted into NLS MS 23140. The fate of the copy kept by Shaw seems unknown: *The MSS and Proof Sheets of Scott's Waverley Novels*, by Gillian Dyson, in *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 4 (1955-1971, printed 1974), p. 15.
- 6 Obituary of William Barrie, 1938 *Scottish Law Review*, p. 84.
- 7 *The Glasgow Herald*, 9 March 1926, p. 11.
- 8 Sales catalogue, Christies Scotland, Thursday 15 March 1990, p. 25. (lot no. 135).

## WAVERLEY HYPERTEXT HOMEPAGE

Andrew Monnickendam has a Scott hypertext site under construction and accessible at <http://seneca.uab.es/scott>

### A COLERIDGE COMMENT ON SCOTT

By courtesy of Anthony Harding, and transmitted by Bill Ruddick shortly before his own death, a comment from one of Coleridge's late notebooks:

Sunday Night, 21 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1830—

¶ Good Novels, I know by in my own instance, have the effect of making a small experience go a great way—by preparing the mind—Characters truly & naturally drawn will in every age & neighborhood find their successors—a sort of metempsychosis—and tho' it is true, that the qualities which affect the sensibility, the amiable, and the splendid, may have had too exclusive prominent a place—yet this is but a suggestion for future Men of Genius to avail themselves of—& Q<sup>y</sup>.—Whether there has not in Sir W.S. & others been a tendency to a contrary fault—a flattery to cold-hearted prejudices of rank / Ex. gr. Scott's Heroine—Miss Isabel War-dour & other specimen of Deeorum Ice Creams /

—Notebook 48 (BM Add MS 47543) f. 23<sup>v</sup>

### QUERIES

Christopher Johnson has several further queries relating to his EEWN edition of *The Abbot*. Please let the editor of the *Newsletter* know of solutions or leads as soon as possible.

- 1 At 2.295 Catherine Seyton are left alone in a Lochmaben apartment, and Scott writes: 'Catherine Seyton, on her part, sate still like a lingering ghost, which, conscious of the awe which it presence imposes, is charitably disposed to give the poor confused mortal whom it visits, time to recover his senses, and comply with the grand rule of daemonology by speaking first.' Does anybody recognise a source for this 'grand rule of daemonology'?
- 2 At 3.9–10 there is a reference to a pardoner who boasts 'the virtues of small tin crosses, which had been shakenin the holy porringer at Lor-

etto'. Loretto is familiar, but has anyone come across its holy porringer?

- 3 At 14.23–24 Doctor Lundin refers to 'a curious distillation of rectified acetum [purified vinegar], or vinegar of the sun'. Can anyone throw light on 'vinegar of the sun'?
- 4 At 3.136.21–22 Bothwell's accomplices in the murder of Darnley are referred to by Mary as 'his lambs'. Does anyone recognise a source for this expression?
- 5 At 3.277.3–4 Mary is referred to as 'in the language of the time, the Fortune of Scotland'. Does this ring any bells?
- 6 At 3.187.20 Mary's horse is called Rosabelle. Again, any source for this?
- 7 Another *Abbot* query actually involves a passage from *Paul's Letters*. Scott writes there (*Prose Works*, 5.295): 'The Protestants of the South are descendants of the ardent men who used to assemble in the wilderness—I will not say with the scoffer, to hear the psalms of Clement Marot sung to the tune of Reveillez vous, belle endormie—but rather, as your Calvinistic heroes of moor and moss ...'. Does anybody know who the 'scoffer' in question is?
- 8 In The Opies' *Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1997 edn, p. 158) there is a reference to 'Scott's theory that "Auld King Coul" was the fabled father of the giant Fyn M'Coul'. Does anybody know where Scott suggests this?

Penny Fielding would welcome help with any of the following problems in *The Monastery*. Please send any suggestions directly to her at Department of English, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9JX, or e-mail [Penny.Fielding@ed.ac.uk](mailto:Penny.Fielding@ed.ac.uk)

- 1 1.56.12–13 'Such, and so great is the difference betwixt reading a thing one's self, making toilsome way through all the difficulties of manuscript, and, as the man says in the play, "having the same read to you," ...' Source?
- 2 1.56.22–23 'Since the trees walked forth to chuse themselves a king, never was an honour so bandied about.' Reference?
- 3 1.62.18–22 'the national adage: / The king said sail, / But the wind said no.' Source?
- 4 1.73.19 'the juggler's disciplined ape, to which a sly old Scotsman likened James I., "if you have Jackoo in your hand, you can make him bite me; if I have Jackoo in my hand, I can make him bite you."
- 5 1.186.12 'the old general who, in foreign armies, is placed at the elbow of the Prince of the Blood, who nominally commands in chief, on

condition of attempting nothing without the advice of his dry-nurse.' Reference?

- 6 3.105.10 'sweet engaging Grace / Put on some clothes to come abroad, / And took a waiter's place.' Source?
  - 7 3.250.23 'a Scottish noble's march is like a serpent—the head is furnished with fangs, and the tail hath its sting, the only harmless point of access is the main body.' This may be original to Scott, but does anybody recognise the image?
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**Romantic geographies:** Scotland and Ireland, England, Wales; Scotland in Britain. Scotland and Empire. Scotland and the Americas, Europe, the Colonies: Canada, India, the Caribbean, Australasia and the Cape. Region and nation: Highlands and Lowlands. Edinburgh, London, Glasgow, the Borders, 'the Lakes'. Cultural, ethnic, racial others: Catholics, Celts, Gypsies, Jews, Muslims, Africans.

**Versions of tradition:** Folklore and popular culture; ballad revivals; antiquarianism. Orality and literacy. Demonology, superstition, the primitive. Industrialism and transformations of popular culture. **Legacies of Enlightenment:** moral philosophy, political economy, social history, rhetoric, anthropology. Historiography and historians. Scott and the eighteenth century. Scotland after 1800: Post-Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment; versions of Romanticism, Anti-Romanticism.

**Civic life and institutions in Edinburgh.** Architecture and the arts; Wilkie, popular life and history-painting. Scott and the drama; Scott and opera.

**Inventions of Scotland:** National identity and culture, nationalism, Scott and versions of literary/cultural tradition. Representing Scotland/Scotland as *topos* of Romanticism, in poetry, fiction, theatre, painting, music, cinema.

**Genealogies:** Gothic, romance, historical fiction, national tale. The novel in relation to other narrative and non-narrative genres. History, chronicle, news, gossip: the macro-, micro- and meta-narratives of collective life. The world-historical and the everyday. The politics of literary form.

Further details—keynote speakers, special events, registration and accommodation, etc.—to be announced shortly. Please send proposals [hardcopy only, please] and inquiries to Ian Duncan at the English Department, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403-1286, U.S.A.

Fax no. 541 346-1509.

e-mail [inquiries only, please]: [iduncan@oregon.uoregon.edu](mailto:iduncan@oregon.uoregon.edu).

Website:

<http://www-english.tamu.edu/pers/fac/snodgrass/scott99.html>

The fifth quadrennial meeting of the International Scott Conference will take place on 21-25 July, 1999 at the University of Oregon Humanities Center, Eugene, Oregon. While the thematic focus of the conference will be on Scott and his literary, cultural, historical and intellectual contexts in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Scotland, contributions are encouraged on all aspects of and approaches to Scott's life, works, sources, reputation and influence, as well as on other Scottish, Irish, British regional and colonial writers of the period, and related topics. Proposals are invited for individual 20-minute papers, or for sessions consisting of 3-4 papers addressing a particular topic. These are due (1-page paper proposals, 3-page session proposals) by **31 JANUARY 1999** at the address below. In addition to formal papers, it is planned to devote a number of sessions to *symposia/ round-table discussions* of current teaching, research and general-interest issues in Scott criticism and scholarship, Scottish studies, Romanticism, etc.

**Literary production:** Contemporary Scottish writers (e.g. Hogg, Galt, Ferrier, Lockhart, Wilson, Baillie, Brunton). Irish writers (Edgeworth, Owenson, Maturin, Moore). Women writers and intellectuals. Working-class readers and writers. Scott and the Romantic poets and critics. 'Scotch Reviewers' and periodical journalism. Authorship, publishing and institutions of cultural production. Patronage and the market. Literature and the professions. Editing Scott and Hogg. Scott's lives: biography and memoirs.

**Literature and politics:** The Edinburgh ascendancy, 1802-32. Whigs, Tories, Radicals and the 'culture wars'. Revolution, Counter-revolution and Reform. Law, order, crime and criminality.

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**END**

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