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**Hospitality, Nation and Empire in Walter Scott's  
Waverley Novels**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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## Abstract

This research is a study of the notion of hospitality in the novels of Sir Walter Scott from a postcolonial perspective. Through the analysis of various acts of hospitality in the Waverley Novels, this thesis intends to examine how the notion of hospitality is represented as one of the most significant, ancient Scottish traditions defended and performed by people who have less power in society, but is abused by those (often the ruling class) who intend to use it as a mechanism to increase their existing power. Therefore, through the analysis of power relations between various host and guest characters, this thesis attempts to demonstrate the ways in which those groups who are under the rule of hegemonic power are constructed as the subaltern, a postcolonial term derived from the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci's usage in the *Prison Notebooks*. However, in contrast to the accepted view of subaltern muteness and passivity, this thesis argues that in his novels, Scott not only represents subalterns as individuals but also gives them agency to initiate action in engaging or resisting colonizing power. The subaltern groups of particular interest to this investigation include the Jacobites, the Covenanters, the Scottish Highlanders, socially-underprivileged classes, and the Orientals. This thesis ultimately seeks to demonstrate that, because of their serious concern over the underprivileged, subdued, or alienated identities in history, the Waverley Novels render Scott in this dimension a postcolonial novelist.

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My final thanks must be to my most loving and supportive family. My Scottish grandparents, Bert and Stella, are the beginning of my enduring relationship with Scotland, and they are my reason to choose to come here. Most important of all, they are the embodiment of the time-honoured Scottish virtue, hospitality. This thesis is particularly dedicated to my father, mother, my uncle and sister with thanks and love. Without their unconditional support, this thesis would not have been completed, and I would not have enjoyed so much of my research.

## Abbreviations & Author's Declaration

<i>Chronicles</i>	<i>Chronicles of the Canongate</i> (1827), ed. by Claire Lamont (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001)
<i>The Heart</i>	<i>The Heart of Mid-Lothian</i> (1818), ed. by David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004)
<i>Journal</i>	<i>The Journal of Sir Walter Scott</i> , ed. by W. E. K. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)
<i>Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of Sir Walter Scott</i> , ed. by H. J. C. Grierson and others, 12 vols (London: Constable, 1932-37)
<i>Old Mortality</i>	<i>The Tale of Old Mortality</i> (1816), ed. by Douglas Mack (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993)
<i>Poetical Works</i>	<i>The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.</i> , 12 vols (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1834)
<i>Prose Works</i>	<i>The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.</i> , 28 vols (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1834-36)

This thesis follows the latest MHRA (Modern Humanities Research Association) style (2008), and its spelling is based on the *New Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors* (2005) as suggested by *MHRA Style Guide*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors, Editors, and Writers of Theses*, 2nd edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2008); *New Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors: The Essential A-Z Guide to the Written Word* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

## Introduction & Literature Review

I have the gratification to think I fully supported the hospitality of my country—I walkd them to death—I talkd them to death—I showd them landscapes which the driving rain hardly permitted them to see and told them of feuds about which they cared as little as I do about their next-door news in Piccadilly. Yea I even playd at cards and as I had Charlotte for a partner so ran no risque of being scolded I got on pretty well.<sup>1</sup>

This quotation, from Walter Scott's letter to his friend John B. S. Morritt (1772-1843) in 1816, is one of the most illustrative examples depicting Scott's warm and unreserved hospitality extended to his wife's old friends, Miss Dumergue and Mrs Sara Nicolson. These words of Scott serve as an opening to the subject of this research—a study of the notion, practice and culture of hospitality in the novels of Walter Scott. Before entering into the discussion of hospitality illustrated in Scott's writing, it would perhaps be rewarding to look again in more detail at Scott's own practice of this virtue in his personal life as it would enable us to see more clearly the relationship between Scott and this ancient Scottish tradition.

Scott was widely recognized by his contemporaries as a generous and gracious host. The American novelist Washington Irving (1783-1859), who visited Scott in 1816, was deeply touched by the hospitality he was offered, and well remembered the warm reception given by the host: 'No time was reserved for himself; he seemed as if his only occupation was to entertain me; and yet I was almost an entire stranger to him, one of whom he knew nothing; but an idle book I had written, and which, some years before, had amused him.'<sup>2</sup> Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), the Irish writer who paid a visit to Scott in 1823, noted that the host's hospitality was given to his 'guests of all ranks—Prussian princes, Swiss barons, lords and ladies and gentlemen, artists, mechanics, antiquarians, authors—who came

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<sup>1</sup> Scott to John B. S. Morritt in *Letters*, IV, 268 (21 August 1816).

<sup>2</sup> Washington Irving, *Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1835), pp. 88-89.

endlessly to his house'. She was greatly surprised by the amount of time Scott spent on the reception of his guests, and curiously asked "WHEN has he time to write?" Edgar Johnson, the author of *Walter Scott: The Great Unknown* (1970), also pointed out that in the same year when Edgeworth visited Scott 'a stream of visitors that all that summer had been coming to make Scott's home, as Lady Scott said, a hotel in all but name and pay'.<sup>3</sup> John Buchan (1875-1940), who had also produced a famous biography of Scott, similarly noted that Scott's wife 'used to accuse him of overwalking, overtalking and overfeeding his guests, and no doubt some who were more used to Mayfair than to the hills may have found their days too strenuous'.<sup>4</sup> Buchan's words adequately reflect Scott's own description of his warm reception of his guests that I cited earlier and may well therefore have had much wider currency. Scott's hospitality was not only extended to his acquaintances but also to those who were complete strangers to him. His generous treatment of Tom Purdie (1767-1829), who first came to Scott's attention as a poacher but later became his shepherd, may well exemplify Scott's hospitable nature.<sup>5</sup> Because of his enormous hospitality extended to the public, Scott's private domain was often disturbed by unexpected visitors. Robert Pearse Gillies (1789-1858), Scott's contemporary and author of *Recollections of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (1837), once mentioned that '[Scott's] patience was often sorely trespassed on and tried by visitors, who made their *entrée* sometimes without even the shadow of previous introduction'.<sup>6</sup> From these comments given by those who know Scott well, we can clearly see a vivid picture of Scott as a hospitable host, and we are also able to recognize the effort that he put into the practice of this virtue.

Although from the above observations, we can readily identify the high status ascribed to hospitality in Scott's life, it is worth noting that hospitality may not be his

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Edgar Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown*, 2 vols (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1970), II, p. 843.

<sup>4</sup> John Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott* (London: Cassell and Company, 1932), p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> John Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Pearse Gillies, *Recollections of Sir Walter Scott, Bart* (London: James Fraser, 1837), p. 88.

inherent nature. In both his letters and journals, we can find, paradoxically, that Scott admits more than once that he is not a hospitable man who by nature likes to make friends readily. If he had been free to choose, peacefulness and solitude would have been his preferences. As he recollected in 1825, ‘from the earliest time I can remember, I preferred the pleasures of being alone to waiting for visitors, and have often taken a bannock and a bit of cheese to the wood or hill to avoid dining with company’.<sup>7</sup> To Scott, ideally, even the visits of those who are close to him are better to be regulated. As he interestingly puts, ‘The time devoted to hospitality, especially to those whom I can reckon upon as sincere good friends, I never grudge but I like to—Wellcome the coming speed the parting guest. By my will every guest should part at half past ten or arrange himself to stay for the day.’<sup>8</sup> Despite his genuine willingness to spend time with his guests, the above instance reveals Scott’s conscious wish to have more time and space for his personal pursuit.

If Scott is not by nature as sociable as the picture we have of him based on the evidence in the previous paragraph, I am led to wonder what were the likely causes that made him generally acknowledged as a generous host? With regard to this conundrum, Scott’s following words do make it clear: ‘As I grew from boyhood to manhood I saw this [i.e. the avoidance of society] would not do and that to gain a place in men’s esteem I must mix and bustle with them’.<sup>9</sup> This response indicates that, although the fact that Scott being a hospitable host is undeniable, in Scott, hospitality was more a learned act (or an acquired habit) than a spontaneous expression of his character. A. N. Wilson argues that ‘[Scott] had ideals of behaviour, and tried to make his own life match up to them’.<sup>10</sup> Hospitality, as we have seen its special status in the life of Scott, can be seen as one among his ideals of behaviour. This contrast between his personal character and his practices of hospitality in life arouses a greater interest in me in seeking to penetrate the underlying meaning of this

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<sup>7</sup> Scott, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by W. E. K. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 50

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> A. N. Wilson, *A Life of Walter Scott: The Laird of Abbotsford* (London: Mandarin, 1996), p. 6.

virtue in Scott's fictional writing.

In addition to the considerable effort Scott made in embodying the virtue of hospitality in his personal life, hospitality is indeed a constantly recurring theme in his novels. Whether the setting is medieval or contemporary, whether the scene is the exotic East or a small Scottish village, Scott provides a large number of detailed and multifaceted illustrations of this virtue. It is arguable that there is almost no fiction by Scott that does not touch on this subject. With regard to these representations of hospitality in the Waverley Novels, we find that they can barely be confined by the conventional dictionary definition such as from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, namely 'The act or practice of being hospitable; the reception and entertainment of guests, visitors, or strangers, with liberality and good will'.<sup>11</sup> Examples such as saving people's lives, giving alms to the poor, and being kind to animals are also demonstrated as different modes of hospitable expressions in Scott's fictions.

Stanley Sulkes, in his 1975 PhD thesis 'The Code of Hospitality in the Waverley Novels: A Study of Sir Walter Scott's Fictions', offers a pioneering reading of this virtue in a selection of Scott's Jacobite novels, including *Waverley*, *Rob Roy*, *Redgauntlet*, *The Tale of Old Mortality*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and *The Black Dwarf*. In this work, Sulkes presents an important, broad critique of the nature of this Scottian/Scottish hospitable expression, and argues that 'in the rites of hospitality Scott found a vehicle for expressing the traditional values that survived the accidents of historical change or political allegiance; hospitality is depicted as a universally recognized custom that can overcome or heal the divisions caused by sectarian rancor'.<sup>12</sup> While I am in broad agreement with Sulkes' reading of hospitality in Scott's Jacobite novels which sees hospitality as a virtue that transcends cultural, territorial, political and temporal boundaries, it is evident that this may

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<sup>11</sup> 'Hospitality', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>> [accessed 6 March 2009]

<sup>12</sup> Stanley Sulkes, 'The Code of Hospitality in the Waverley Novels: A Study of Sir Walter Scott's Fictions' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1975), pp. 6-7.

only be part of Scott's story. Indeed, through the application of modern critical theories, such as Jacques Derrida's discourse of hospitality and Frantz Fanon's discourse of resistance, to a close reading of a broader range of Scott's novels, this research finds that Scott does not write hospitality simply in celebration of the virtue itself. Scott's works have a great deal more to say particularly concerning the ways in which hospitality is appropriated by different groups of people for their respective purposes. Moreover, the relationship between various pairs of host and guest in the Waverley Novels is also often complex and difficult. It is this relationship developed under the discourse of hospitality which this thesis aims to decode.

Through a detailed examination of various acts of hospitality, this research suggests that there are broadly two competing and contrasted discourses of hospitality in the Waverley Novels. One is to a degree contingent; the other one is comparatively more unconditional and spontaneous. These two strands of hospitable expressions in Scott's work are very close in their notions to what Derrida defines as 'a *law* or a *politics* of hospitality' and 'an *ethics* of hospitality (an ethics *as* hospitality)'.<sup>13</sup> A more thorough reading, therefore, of this Derridean concept of hospitality will be given in the following chapter. My findings reveal that in Scott's novels representations of contingent hospitality are often shown by people who have ulterior motives other than simply serving their guests. Their hospitality is largely seen as a measure designed to strengthen their own existing power. However, the more positive illustrations of unconditional hospitality are given almost exclusively to the socio-economically, religiously, and politically disadvantaged group of characters, whom I term 'the subaltern'. Rather than following the conventional notion in understanding the subaltern as 'a junior officer', this thesis intends to follow modern critical theory and regard the term as denoting 'a member of a marginalized or

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<sup>13</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*, trans. by Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 19.

oppressed group'.<sup>14</sup> The subaltern is a term derived originally from the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci's usage in the *Prison Notebooks* (a series of the author's notebooks written in the 1930s) which refers to 'those groups in society who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes.' According to Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, 'subaltern classes may include peasants, workers, and other groups denied access to "hegemonic" power'.<sup>15</sup> The notion of the subaltern has been adopted by the Subaltern Studies Group of historians in their postcolonial studies. The Waverley Novels' subaltern group of characters that this research mainly looks at include the Jacobites, the Covenanters, the Scottish Highlanders, the socio-economically disadvantaged classes, and the Orientals. A more complete discussion of the notion of the subaltern will be given in the following chapter.

The findings of this research reveal that a fundamental feature of the subaltern characters in Scott's novels is that they generally belong to a relatively earlier stage of human progress based on the eighteenth-century stadial theory when compared with those groups of people with greater power, social status and advantages.<sup>16</sup> The renowned postcolonial critic Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak contends that under the rule of hegemonic power the subaltern cannot speak.<sup>17</sup> However, in contrast to the accepted view of subaltern muteness and passivity, this thesis argues that in his novels, Scott not only represents subalterns as individuals but also gives them agency to initiate action in engaging or resisting hegemonic forces. Although Scott has also used a number of other tropes, such as strategic operation of languages and disguises, to provide his subaltern group of characters with vibrant, independent voices of their own, a more fine-grained examination of the

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<sup>14</sup> 'Subaltern', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>> [accessed 20 June 2012]

<sup>15</sup> Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Post-colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 198.

<sup>16</sup> With regard to the concept of 'stadial history', see Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 132-36.

<sup>17</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by Cary Nelson and Larry Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 271-313.

relationship between Scott's depictions of unconditional hospitality and his representations of various subaltern groups in the *Waverley* Novels reveals, significantly, that hospitality is almost the only tool for the subaltern to use to enable him/her to speak. I will demonstrate that, in the absence of hospitality, the subaltern voice would be practically silent in Scott. For example, in *Guy Mannering*, the only way that the gypsy Meg Merrilies' voice can be heard is through the extension of her hospitality to Henry Bertram (although her famous speech made to the Laird of Ellangowan following the expulsion of the gypsies has received fair degree of critical attention in the past). This representation of the subaltern who can speak is understood in this study to be the result of Scott's particular concern over those subjugated, oppressed or isolated classes in history. Therefore, it is also this research's intent to show that the *Waverley* Novels, through their serious concern over the subaltern, render Scott, in this particular dimension, a postcolonial novelist.

In addition, I further argue that a strong case can also be set out for suggesting that Scott aligns this subaltern hospitality most centrally with the ethos of Scotland. This argument is built upon the fact that hospitality is identified as one of the four key Scottish identities, along with old Scottish faith, worth and honour, as pointed out by Scott in the 'Postscript' to *Waverley*.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, another main argument of this thesis is that Scott aligns many aspects of Scottish life with the subaltern, and Scottishness with positive ethics. Through the representations of unconditional hospitality in his works, Scott provides a significant venue for a subaltern Scotland to give a powerful and differentiating performance of the self. By means of this distinctive identity, Scott's novels offer a penetrating critique of the politics of Britishness since the latter is an act of finite, political hospitality which permits its minor partner's participation in the great project of nation and empire building, but simultaneously intends to assimilate the difference into a homogenized discourse of Britishness. It was particularly evident in the government's

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<sup>18</sup> Scott, *Waverley* (1814), ed. by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 363.

proposal in 1826 to stop Scottish banks from issuing banknotes which was viewed by Scott as an intrusion on Scottish rights. Although Scott is often considered as a conservative and an apologist for the Union,<sup>19</sup> this research demonstrates that he is also a powerful defender of Scottishness. His works may be termed, by using Fanon's phrase, a 'literature of combat'.<sup>20</sup> In the following section, I will trace the evolution of Scott criticism in the past century, and, more pertinently, I will demonstrate the most recent use of postcolonial theories in the study of Scott's fictional writing.

### Literature Review

Scott was one of the most celebrated and best-selling novelists of the early nineteenth century. In John O. Hayden's words, 'no writer before him had been so well received by his contemporaries—*ever*'.<sup>21</sup> According to William St. Clair's statistical analysis, Scott sold more copies of his novels 'than all the other novelists of the time put together'.<sup>22</sup> Richard Maxwell has contended that 'the Waverley novels circulated through the Anglophone world in every imaginable form [...] It is a slight overstatement to say that prose fiction in the Romantic period became the novels of Walter Scott. But there were noticeable tendencies in that direction'.<sup>23</sup> Scott's literary influence in European countries was also immense, and he was arguably the first English-language author to have gained international fame in his time. Take *Waverley* as an example, the novel was translated into Danish, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Swedish during

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<sup>19</sup> As Walter Graham argues, 'Altho he seems to have written no political articles himself, Scott was of all the greater Romantic poets most consistent and thoro in his conservatism, and most important in his political influence.' 'The Politics of the Greater Romantic Poets', *PMLA*, 36 (Mar., 1921), pp. 60-78 (73).

<sup>20</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), trans. by Constance Farrington (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 193.

<sup>21</sup> John Hayden, 'Introduction' to *Scott: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by John Hayden (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 1-24 (p. 1).

<sup>22</sup> William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 221.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Maxwell, 'The Historiography of Fiction in the Romantic Period', in *The Cambridge Companion to Fiction in the Romantic Period*, ed. by Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 7-22 (p. 12).

Scott's own life time.<sup>24</sup> It is uncommon at any time for a writer to win both popularity and critical approval, but Scott won both to an unprecedented degree. His outstanding literary reputation survived, almost without subsiding, for about one hundred years.<sup>25</sup>

However, from around the year 1885 or so, Scott's popularity and critical reputation waned. Since then, the view of Scott as a writer of children's classics was largely accepted.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, according to Paul Henderson Scott, David Hewitt and others, in the early twentieth century when school students were forced to read his less successful novels, such as *Kenilworth*, Scott's popularity suffered a great decline. In addition to the negative reaction caused by the enforced reading of Scott's second-class work in school, changes in critical theory and the general public's reading taste were also causes of a disastrous drop of Scott's fame during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>27</sup> Paul Scott suggests that it is Scott's 'romanticism, Toryism and militarism' that made him very unfashionable and unreadable in the early twentieth century.<sup>28</sup> The heaviest criticism of Scott in the most recent century was perhaps made by E. M. Forster (1879-1970) in his classic *Aspects of the Novel* (1927). According to Forster, Scott is an unskilful writer who wrote badly-plotted novels: 'He is seen to have a trivial mind and a heavy style. He cannot construct. He has neither artistic detachment nor passion'.<sup>29</sup> The decline in Scott's reputation reached its nadir between the 1930s and 1940s. In 1932, Donald Carswell coined the word 'Scottolaters' to mock those who see Scott as their idol and refuse to admit his lack of artistic integrity.<sup>30</sup> In 1943,

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<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Ian Duncan's Introduction to *Waverley* (1814), ed. by P. D. Garside (London: Penguin, 2011), pp. xi-xxx (p. xi). See *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, ed. by Murray Pittock (London: Continuum, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> See David Daiches, 'Scott's Achievement as a Novelist', in *Walter Scott: Modern Judgements*, ed. by D. D. Devlin (London: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 33-62; Paul Henderson Scott, *Walter Scott and Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1981), p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Hayden, 'Introduction' to *Scott: The Critical Heritage*, p. 20.

<sup>27</sup> Paul Scott, *Walter Scotland and Scotland*, pp. 2-3; David Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter (1771-1832)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24928?docPos=6>> [accessed 28 May 2010]

<sup>28</sup> Paul Scott, *Walter Scott and Scotland*, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (1927) (London: Edward Arnold, 1974), pp. 20-21.

<sup>30</sup> Donald Carswell, 'Why Scott is Neglected', *The Modern Scot*, 3 (1932): 111-13 (p. 112). Similar unrefined critique of Scott can also be found in Thomas Henderson's following remark: 'does it matter over much that it passes lightly over what some of us consider to be important issues -- Sir Walter's wilfully

Burns and Scott were both described by Edwin Muir (1887-1959) in his famous poem 'Scotland 1941' as 'mummied housegods in their musty niches/ Burns and Scott, sham bards of a sham nation'.<sup>31</sup> Muir's interpretation of Scott's works in particularly his *Scott and Scotland: The Predicament of the Scottish Writer* (1936), which was close to the views articulated by the major writers of the school of Scottish Renaissance, had made significant, if negative, impact on Scott scholarship of the next generation.<sup>32</sup>

'Scott fell with his age', as Andrew Hook contends, 'The reaction against the nineteenth century, against Victorianism, and, more specifically, against nineteenth-century romanticism, became in one of its aspects a reaction against Scott'.<sup>33</sup> The decline of Scott's literary reputation within this period of time was also experienced by most other Scottish writers of the Romantic period. With regard to this phenomenon, Murray Pittock proposes a convincing explanation suggesting that 'the inward and aestheticized Romanticism of the post-war era excluded Scottish Romantic writing in particular. [...] Scott's novels and Burns's songs, routinely part of "English" literature until 1945, begin to disappear from it afterwards, as Burns disappears from Romanticism.'<sup>34</sup> Scotland's central role in Romantic-period literature was to be largely obscured in the following sixty years.<sup>35</sup> For much of the first half of the twentieth century the works of Scott have largely been ignored and very few critical works on him of lasting value were published. Within these fairly dormant twenty years between the 1930s and 1950s of Scott studies, the most

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obstinate romanticism, his inaccuracy in historical scholarship, his lack of any desire (and perhaps ability) to apply reasonable canons of criticism to his work, his pathetically material standard of values in life, his fundamental carelessness in the conduct of business and his blindness in matters of political and philosopher import?'. Thomas Henderson, 'The Vulgar Tongue, The Problem of the Vernacular', in *Scotland in Quest of Her Youth: A Scrutiny*, ed. by David Cleghorn Thomson (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1932), pp. 144-57 (p. 150).

<sup>31</sup> *Edwin Muir: Selected Poems*, ed. by Mick Imlah (London: Faber and Faber, 2008), pp. 16-17.

<sup>32</sup> See Douglas Gifford, 'Sham Bards of a Sham Nation? Edwin Muir and the Failures of Scottish Literature', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 35/36 (2007), 339-61.

<sup>33</sup> Andrew Hook, 'Introduction' to *Waverley* (1814), ed. by Andrew Hook (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 2008), p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> For more detailed information, see Murray Pittock's 'Introduction' to *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, ed. by Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 1-12 (1).

noteworthy publications include John Buchan's sympathetic portrait of Scott in his *Sir Walter Scott* (1932) and H. J. C. Grierson's valuable twelve-volume edition of *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (1932-37).

Although Scott's literary reputation suffered somewhat in the preceding thirty years, it was gradually restored in the 1950s particularly because critics began to understand and accept him, in Jill Rubenstein's words, as 'a systematic thinker, a historical theorist, a conscientious artist, and an influence on the development of fiction'.<sup>36</sup> David Daiches' 'Scott's Achievement as a Novelist' (1951), Duncan Forbes' 'The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott' (1953) and the English translation of Georg Lukács' *The Historical Novel* (1962) (published originally in Russian in 1937) were three particularly influential works which not only saved Scott's works from being disparaged as little better than children's adventure stories, but also rekindled serious scholarly interest in Scott in the latter half of the twentieth century. By analysing eight of Scott's masterpieces, Daiches' hugely important work recognized Scott's achievement in the field of historical realism, and laid a strong theoretical foundation for Scott criticism in the subsequent two decades. Forbes' equally important essay was the first to draw attention to the impact of the philosophical history of the Scottish Enlightenment on the design of Scott's work. Lukács' seminal work demonstrated the significance of the Waverley Novels in the representations of historical conflict and social change. His encouraging remark on considering Scott as a pioneering historical theorist who established the classical form of the historical novel stimulated the critical revival of the 1960s and 1970s. Following Lukács' lead, four major works in the 1960s, including Alexander Welsh's *The Hero of the Waverley Novels* (1963), Francis R. Hart's *Scott's Novels: The Plotting of Historic Survival* (1966), Robert C. Gordon's *Under Which King? A Study of the Scottish Waverley Novels* (1969) and A. O. J. Cockshut's *The Achievement of Walter Scott* (1969), all read Scott in the light of his contribution to literary

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<sup>36</sup> Jill Rubenstein, *Sir Walter Scott: A Reference Guide* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978), pp. xii-xiii.

history.

In 1971, in order to celebrate the bicentenary of the birth of the Author of *Waverley*, the first international Scott conference was held in Edinburgh. During the two decades that followed the conference, new interests were taken; new studies were produced; once again Scott studies are receiving greater attention. Scott scholarship and criticism since then had gradually become a burgeoning transatlantic academic industry, and the author's reputation as a profoundly significant novelist once again became widely acknowledged. In 1970, Edgar Johnson's ambitious two-volume critical biography of the author of the *Waverley* Novels, *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown*, was presented to the public. This work, a well-balanced assessment of both the novelist's life and work, is still regarded as indispensable to students of Scott. W. E. K. Anderson's *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott* (1972) was also a significant publication for readers of Scott in the 1970s as it was a volume containing detailed annotation and comprehensive index of the novelist's journals. Andrew Hook's edition of *Waverley*, including detailed notes and an extensive glossary, was first published in 1972 and was one of the earliest modern editions of the novel. It remains widely used today by both academics and students.

In this period, the orthodoxies of earlier critics were replaced by new theoretical approaches, and a widening scope of texts and topics on Scott were produced. For example, Stanley Sulkes' unpublished doctoral thesis, 'The Code of Hospitality in the *Waverley* Novels: A Study of Sir Walter Scott's Fictions' (1975), was the first work to analyse the significance of the notion of hospitality in Scott's Jacobite novels. Sulkes' work is the direct inspiration of this research and I will return to it in the latter half of this chapter. Another notable unpublished doctoral thesis on Scott in the 1970s was Lorn M. Macintyre's 'Sir Walter Scott and the Highlands' (1976) as it is the first work to carry out a detailed and thorough research on Scott's Highland poems and novels. During the 1970s mainstream Scott criticism was primarily about the dialogue between novel and romance.

Northrop Frye's *The Secular Scripture* (1976) was one of the key texts. In this work, Scott, along with Spenser and William Morris, was regarded as one of the 'three major centers of romance in a continuous tradition'.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, owing to their increased awareness of the fragmentary nature of historical authenticity, Scott criticism began to shift its attention to the limitations of novelistic language in documenting history. Avrom Fleishman's *The English Historical Novel* (1971) and George Levine's *The Realistic Imagination* (1981) both dealt with Scott's words and reality.

By the early 1980s, it was commonly accepted that Scott's works are highly reflexive and self-conscious. David Brown's *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination* (1979), following Lukács' critical analysis of the Waverley Novels, regarded Scott's work as 'an imaginative working out of Scott's understanding of history and the historical process'.<sup>38</sup> James Reed's *Sir Walter Scott: Landscape and Locality* (1980) took the lead in studying a selection of Scott's poems and novels through the analysis of their representations of landscape and locality. Graham McMaster's *Scott and Society* (1981) examined the political underpinning of the Waverley Novels on the basis of the notions of the Scottish Enlightenment. Jane Millgate's *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist* (1984) gave a critical consideration of Scott's various authorial identities in relation to his fictions published up to 1819. Daniel Cottom's *The Civilized Imagination* (1985) studied Scott's work in relation to changes among aesthetic theory, literature, and society caused by the changing relation between aristocratic and middle-class values. Gary Kelly's *English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789-1830* (1989) carried out a comprehensive historical survey of Scott and Austen's fictions, and focused on the impact of the period's social history on the developments in literary criticism, theory and history. Addressing the language in the Waverley Novels, Graham Tulloch's *The Language of Walter Scott* (1980)

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<sup>37</sup> Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> David Brown, *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 4.

remains as the authoritative guide on Scott's dialects. Emma Letley's *From Galt to Douglas Brown* (1988) offered a chapter discussing the Scots in Scott's major novels. *Scott and His Influence* (1983) and *Scott in Carnival* (1993), both edited by J. H. Alexander and David Hewitt, were collections of papers given at the second and fourth international Scott conferences. Both of these works remain highly useful for students and scholars.

Scott studies reached a crucial stage of its development in the early 1990s, with the presentation to the public in 1993 of the very first volumes of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels (EENW), including *The Black Dwarf*, *The Tale of Old Mortality* and *Kenilworth*. This large-scale and long-term project was initiated as early as February 1984, and the last two volumes of the edition, *The Talisman* and *The Betrothed*, were only published in 2010. The project can be seen as a national endeavour since it received support from cultural institutions, industry and trade, with the Bank of Scotland as its chief financial sponsor. This scholarly edition is vital to the development of Scott studies as it makes available not only original texts based on Scott's manuscripts but also detailed notes and a full glossary for modern readers. Moreover, as Rubenstein stressed, this edition helps to inaugurate 'the much-needed corrective emphasis on Scott as a conscious craftsman who carefully revised and corrected the proofs of his novels'.<sup>39</sup> Although the EENW has profound significance to Scott studies, the contribution made by Claire Lamont's edition of *Waverley* published in 1981, the first modern, critical edition based on the first edition of the novel with comprehensive annotations, should also be recognized.<sup>40</sup> Lamont's edition of *Waverley* can arguably be seen as the predecessor of the EENW.

In the 1990s Scott's contribution to the development of the form and rhetoric of fiction continued to be acknowledged and highlighted by an ever richer variety of criticism. Ina Ferris' *The Achievement of Literary Authority* (1991) carried out a critical study of the

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<sup>39</sup> Jill Rubenstein, *Sir Walter Scott: An Annotated Bibliography of Scholarship and Criticism, 1975-1990* (Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1994), p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> See J. H. Alexander's 'Review' of Claire Lamont's edition of *Waverley*, *Scottish Literary Journal*, 17 (1982), 76-81.

intersections of genre, gender, and literary authority in the formation of a new type of the novelistic genre—the historical novel, whose special status was cemented by the publication of Scott’s series of historical fictions. Ian Duncan’s *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel* (1992) gave the full weight carried by Scott in heralding the domination of the novel, particularly through its romance and Gothic forms, in the nineteenth century. Fiona Robertson’s *Legitimate Histories* (1994) placed Scott’s novels within the context of Gothic fiction, and made an innovative study of Scott’s most critically acclaimed novels as well as those often neglected ones—such as, *The Pirate* and *Pevekil of the Peak*. Robertson’s work can be regarded as a successor of Ferris’ *The Achievement of Literary Authority* since, argues Bruce Beiderwell, ‘Both are concerned with how fictions achieve status, genres shape meaning, and political needs define historical truth.’<sup>41</sup> Moreover, Robertson and Duncan’s works could also be brought together because of their dealings with the Gothic. In addition to these three significant critical studies of Scott’s works, John Sutherland’s *The Life of Walter Scott* (1995) was also a notable publication in the 1990s since there has been no sustained, critical biography of Scott since Edgar Johnson’s ground-breaking *Great Unknown*. Moreover, in Peter Garside’s words, Sutherland’s work is ‘the first major rewriting of Scott’s life since J G Lockhart’s classic *Memoirs of 1837-8*’.<sup>42</sup> However, we also need to note that this biography by Sutherland has not been unanimously accepted by critics because of its generally negative tone in assessing Scott’s life and work.<sup>43</sup>

Although a number of critics before the 1990s had begun to show their interests in Scott’s dealings with national issues in particularly his novels, nationalist accounts of Scott’s influence gradually became the keynote of scholarly debate during the last twenty

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<sup>41</sup> Bruce Beiderwell, ‘Review’ of *Legitimate Histories*, *Studies in Romanticism*, 37 (1998), 105-108 (p. 106).

<sup>42</sup> Peter Garside, ‘Review’ of *The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography*, *Review of English Studies*, 48: 190 (1997), 267-69 (p. 267).

<sup>43</sup> See Tony Inglis, ‘Review’ of *The life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography*, *Scottish Literary Journal*, 43 (1995), 20-25; Jill Rubenstein, ‘Review’ of *The life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography*, *Studies in Hogg and his world*, 17 (1995), 80-82.

years of the twentieth century. Paul Scott's *Walter Scott and Scotland* (1981) was one of the earliest to contribute to the debate, and he was followed by Murray Pittock's *The Invention of Scotland* (1991), Robert Crawford's *Devolving English Literature* (1992), and Cairns Craig's *Out of History* (1996). Paul Scott, in *Walter Scott and Scotland*, powerfully argued a nationalist basis for Scott's life and work; in his edition of Scott's 1826 *Letters of Malachi Malagrowther* (1981) he stated unequivocally that the pamphlet provided 'the first manifesto of modern Scottish nationalism'.<sup>44</sup> Pittock in his *The Invention of Scotland* was less explicit about Scott's nationalist stance than in his latter publications but he made it fairly clear that Scott may have prevented Jacobitism from playing the role as an oppositional politics in Scottish history, 'Yet there lurks a revolutionary instinct in Scott. There is a sense that the happy and comforting conclusions he provides are forced endings'.<sup>45</sup>

Katie Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism* (1997) shared similar interest with the above works in the national narrative in Scott. However, the launch of the book was crucial as it marked the beginning of a distinct stage in Scott studies. The work placed Scott's historical fiction among the immense and diverse range of literary works that engaged questions of national identity and history during the rise of the modern, multinational, and imperial British state. In addition to Trumpener's work, James Chandler's *England in 1819* (1998), Leith Davis' *Acts of Union* (1998), and Janet Sorensen's *The Grammar of Empire* (2000) were also significant publications on Scott in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Chandler's book, which offers a chapter studying Scott's major novels against the historical background of 1819, was viewed by Nigel Leask as one of the most important contributions to romantic studies after the publication of Jerome McGann's *The Romantic Ideology* in 1983 as it gives a new meaning for romantic historicism in the notion of

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<sup>44</sup> Paul Henderson Scott, 'The Malachi Episode', in *The Letters of Malachi Malagrowther* (1826), ed. by P. H. Scott (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1981), pp. ix-xxxiv (p. xviii).

<sup>45</sup> Murray Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 87.

casuistry.<sup>46</sup> Davis' work emphasized the Union not as a homogeneous, firm constituent, but as a dynamic progress, a dialogue between disparate elements within it. Sorensen regards language as one of the key arenas of negotiation and struggle between the colonizer and the colonized.

Debate over Scott's influential role in the historical formations of Scottish and British national culture and identity continues to be extremely lively during the most recent ten years. Major publications include a special issue of *Studies in Romanticism*, entitled 'Scott, Scotland and Romantic Nationalism' (2001), Susan Manning's *Fragments of Union* (2002), Julian D'Arcy's *Subversive Scott* (2005), Caroline McCracken-Flesher's *Possible Scotlands* (2005), Douglas Mack's *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire* (2006), Evan Gottlieb's *Feeling British* (2007), Andrew Lincoln's *Walter Scott and Modernity* (2007), Kenneth McNeil's *Scotland, Britain, Empire* (2007), and Murray Pittock's edited work, *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (2007).

In *Subversive Scott* Julian D'Arcy attempts to claim a distinct Scottish nationalist basis for Walter Scott's criticism of the Union in his novels. He argues that there is 'indeed a nationalist subtext which provides considerable evidence to corroborate a claim that, despite his apparently 'politically correct' fiction and lifestyle, Walter Scott's Waverley Novels implicitly reveal a Scotsman's passionate concern with the issues of national identity, dignity and independence'.<sup>47</sup> Caroline McCracken-Flesher's *Possible Scotlands* defies a simplistic interpretation of Scott's work, and refuses to see it as pushing Scotland 'out of history' by providing stories of the past that allowed the county no future. It argues that Scott's tales, no matter how romanticized they are, also provide various possibilities for a national future. They do not tell the story of a Scotland stayed in the past and lacking value. Instead they create a narrative space where the nation is always imaginable and full

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<sup>46</sup> Nigel Leask, 'Imagining Otherwise', *History Workshop Journal*, 49 (2000), 246-54.

<sup>47</sup> Julian Meldon D'Arcy, *Subversive Scott: The Waverley Novels and Scottish Nationalism* (Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press, 2005), p. 19.

of ‘disturbing energies’.<sup>48</sup> In *Walter Scott and Modernity* Andrew Lincoln contends that, although Scott was fundamentally against radical reform, there was often seen a general interest in resistance to centralizing power in his work, and this awareness of the questionable basis of state legitimacy has a great impact on the ways in which he deals with moral issues and historical changes of the society. His novels are generally regarded as representing his Tory loyalism, but, as Lincoln notes, they actually ‘repeatedly problematise loyalty’. Following Bob Chase and others’ arguments, Lincoln recognizes it as Scott’s Tory scepticism, rather than Tory Loyalism. Being a Scot, Scott has an acute awareness of the process of political, religious and social repression by the state in the name of refinement or social unification/standardization. As a consequence, Lincoln argues, ‘Scott had reasons to identify with the subordinate, the marginalised, the vulgar outsiders against whom polite British identity was defined.’<sup>49</sup>

Kenneth McNeil in *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* intends, from mainly postcolonial perspectives, to demonstrate how British writers of the Romantic period shaped a complex national and imperial consciousness in a time when the imperial expansion abroad and consolidation at home demanded a new perception of ‘the relation between Scottishness and Englishness, between Scottishness and Britishness, and between Britishness and an imperial Otherness’.<sup>50</sup> Murray Pittock in his introduction to *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* puts forward a far more explicit view than in his earlier works about Scott’s attempt to develop a fictional articulation of the national self, as he argues that ‘Scott, who as a rule makes far fewer political statements than many nineteenth-century writers, and who moreover wrote nearly always of the past rather than

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<sup>48</sup> Caroline McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 13.

<sup>49</sup> Andrew Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 5, 14.

<sup>50</sup> Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007), p. 3.

the present, was politically more dangerous than almost all of them.<sup>51</sup> This argument can be best understood when we see the Enlightenment notion of stadial progression is not only entertained but is also challenged in a number of Scott's novels.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the above publications, two influential publications on Scott and Romanticism, including Ian Duncan's *Scott's Shadow* (2007) and Murray Pittock's *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (2008), have importantly recognized the significance of Scott as a central rather than peripheral figure in the literature of the Romantic period. Duncan's work was pioneering since it attempted to recuperate Scottish novels within the canon of Romantic literature; Pittock's book was revolutionary as it redefined Scottish Romanticism as Romantic nationalism, against the Anglo-British cultural and political hegemony that followed the 1707 Act of Union.

The most recent works on Scott include Sally Newsome's 2010 doctoral thesis 'Seductive and Monstrous Fictions: Discourses of the Orient in Walter Scott's Waverley Novels', Alison Lumsden's *Walter Scott and the Limits of Language* (2010), Tara Ghoshal Wallace's *Imperial Characters: Home and Periphery in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (2010), and Ann Rigney's *The Afterlives of Walter Scott* (2012). Newsome's thesis focuses upon the Waverley Novel's engagement with the discourse of orientalism and construction of the Orient. It is the very first work to offer a complete analysis of Scott's imaginative writings of the East. Lumsden's work explores the ways in which Scott generates creativity when facing limited communicative potentialities of language. Wallace's *Imperial Character*, a study of literary representations of British national character in relation to the experiences of imperial enterprise, includes a chapter particularly on Scott's imperial novels, *Guy Mannering* and 'The Surgeon's Daughter'. Different from the conventional

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<sup>51</sup> Murray Pittock, 'Introduction: Scott and the European Nationalities Question', in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, ed. by Murray Pittock (London: Continuum, 2007), pp. 1-10 (pp. 1-2).

<sup>52</sup> See Murray Pittock, 'Sir Walter Scott: Historiography Contested by Fiction', in *The Cambridge History of the English Novel*, ed. by Robert L. Caserio and Clement Hawes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 277-91.

study of the influence of Scott's work on other writers, Rigney's book focuses on the 'social life' of Scott's *oeuvre* and its strength in forging an alliance between fiction, memory and identity in not only national but also transnational contexts.

### **From Nationalist Discourse to the Discourses of Hospitality and the Subaltern**

Based on the above brief literature review of the development of Scott criticism in the past century, we have seen a considerable growth/rehabilitation of Scott's literary reputation during the most recent two decades, and we can now confidently state that Scott's contribution to the development of (national) literature in the Romantic period is not only meaningful but also substantial. Moreover, according to the research findings over the last twenty years, we can also conclude that Scott criticism after a long struggle has come finally to fully recognize inherent but covert patriot resistance in Scott's writing against the internal political and cultural colonialism. We no longer interpret Scott's *oeuvre* as having been written for the sole purpose of cementing the Union in the hearts of people from both sides of the Border. Scott's novels are, as I have demonstrated, full of 'disturbing' (McCracken-Flesher's term) and 'subversive' (D'Arcy's term) energies which are against an over-simplified interpretation of the messages they intend to convey. My research benefited largely from this trend of nationalist reading of Scott's work, and it will be a complement to and an extension of this specific reading of Scott.

There is to a large extent an agreement that Scott criticism that has its focus on national issues has now gained its maturity, but, as this research contends, there is still an insufficient understanding regarding the ways in which Scott affirms a specific national voice in his novels. There are questions yet to be answered by Scott criticism, such as: What are the dominant features that make Scotland Scotland in Scott's work? What is the most distinctive national identity as revealed by Scott? How does Scott maintain a sense of the self as difference? This research, in short, intends to carry out a study of the special and

essential quality that makes the Scots unique as revealed in Scott's work. Moreover, this study plans to use an innovative tool to analyse the ways in which Scott defines, expresses and forges a distinct national identity of Scotland.

Murray Pittock's *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* is one work that has to a great extent responded to most of the above questions when its intention is to define the nature of Scottish Romanticism. Pittock's work selects five criteria for its definition of such literature, including a persistent national public sphere, 'the inflection of genre towards a distinctive agenda of selfhood', 'the use of hybrid language and variable register to both simultaneously reveal and conceal the self, to challenge the heteroglossic hierarchies set by a metropolitan norm', 'the taxonomy of glory' and 'fratriotism', a national Romanticism performed by the self in diaspora.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, these five essential features as revealed by Pittock in Scottish Romantic literature are highly valuable for us in understanding the operation of a distinctive performance of the self in such literature. They are, for the purpose of satisfying the internal need, external performances of the self. However, in my current study what I am looking for is an innate quality of the self that is marked in Scott's work. Consequently, I propose that by analysing Scott's representations of the virtue of 'hospitality', one of the core values of traditional Scottish society and one of the key national identities as identified by Scott in his 'Postscript' to *Waverley*,<sup>54</sup> we may be able to see more closely the operation of a distinct self through a rather different form.

As I have mentioned earlier, approximately forty years ago, Stanley Sulkes offered a pioneering study of the notion of hospitality in a selection of Scott's Jacobite novels, and his thesis remains the sole work which deals with the notion of hospitality in Scott's work. While in general I agree with Sulkes' reading of hospitality in Scott's Jacobite novels which sees hospitality as a virtue that transcends cultural, territorial, political and temporal

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<sup>53</sup> See Pittock's 'Introduction' to *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, pp. 1-12 (pp. 2-5).

<sup>54</sup> Scott, *Waverley*, p. 363.

boundaries, it is evident that this is only part of Scott's story. Sulkes devotes most of his attention to various functions and forms of hospitality in Scott, but he has no intention of aligning this virtue with Scottish national character. Sulkes' interpretation of Scott's literary representations of hospitality, as a universal value, could actually be applied to any other cultural, geographical or historical context. In contrast, this research, by adopting postcolonial approaches to read hospitality, argues that in the *Waverley Novels* Scott purposefully uses hospitality in order to achieve self-expression since he was fully conscious that not all the constituent members of Britain had an equal voice in the new state. Scotland was in many points subordinate to England, and had been the target of assimilation. Therefore, for him it was essential to create space for a distinctive performance of the national self.

In addition to the investigation of the relationship between Scotland and hospitality, this study finds that socially, religiously or politically marginalized groups of people (i.e. the subaltern) in Scott's work are most often depicted as the provider of unconditional hospitality. In contrast, hospitality extended by those who possess relatively greater power in society is seen as contingent since it is frequently appropriated by its giver for gaining personal interests. Hospitality in the *Waverley Novels* on the whole is embodied by the subaltern group of characters. Consequently, we are able to see the implication of this triangular relationship, Scotland—hospitality—the subaltern. In other words, Scotland is aligned with both hospitality and the subaltern in Scott's work. Scotland, as having an essentially subaltern/subordinate role within the Union, is specifically defined by its unconditional hospitality in Scott's novels. I will set out in more detail to prove this is the case in the following chapter.

With regard to the subaltern group of characters, such as Meg Merrilies and Edie Ochiltree, they are often represented as holding a special place in Scott's work since they are most inclined to retain their Scottish identity, such as hospitality, and to resist the

cultural assimilation conducted by the central government. Indeed, the particular status of marginalized groups accorded by Scott in his work has aroused my curiosity about the author's objectives in the representation of these characters and his ways in dealing with issues arising from the experiences of these subordinate, but, novelistically, indispensable roles. Although a systematic reading of these subaltern characters in the *Waverley Novels* has yet to emerge, criticism in recent decades contains a growing concern, from mainly postcolonial approaches, with issues relating to the oppressed groups, and there has been a widening discussion on the significance of the heterogeneous elements, rather than homogeneity, in Scott's works.

There are a variety of subaltern characters in the *Waverley Novels*, but the most noticeable one is the Scottish Highlander. During the past twenty years a good number of works have paid serious attention to the status of the Highlands, the most politically and economically marginalized area in Scotland, as depicted in Scott's works. The following paragraph, excerpted from Claire Lamont's 'Introduction' to her edition of *Waverley*, offers a vital introduction to this postcolonial concern over the conditions of the Highlands after the Forty-five:

The defeat of Jacobitism had been a victory for rationalism and enlightenment. These were the values that were to carry Scotland forward into a new era. [...] But the experience of the wars following the French Revolution called these ideals in question. People were now more ready to recognize the tragedy implicit in social revolution, and to recognize that for everything gained something might have been lost. Any misgivings a Briton might have felt as he watched the weaker nations of Europe submit to a conqueror—conquering in the name of the most improving principles—prepared him to reconsider the plight of the Highlanders over a half a century earlier.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Claire Lamont, 'Introduction' to *Waverley* (1814), ed. by Claire Lamont (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. xii.

Lamont's reading of the Highlanders as the subaltern in *Waverley* was both pioneering and powerful since the mainstream interpretation of the ending of the novel could at most indicate its reconciliation and closure. Lamont's interpretation has helped the reading of Scott's work to attain a high intellectual level. In *Scott and Society* (1982), Graham McMaster endeavours to relate events happening in Scott's political and social outer world to his inner world of novel writing. McMaster appears, to my knowledge, to be one of the first critics to read the eviction of the gypsies in *Guy Mannering* in the light of the Highland Clearances. He points out Scott's deep concern about the fragility of justice, peace and harmony in communal life and the subsequent widespread damage caused to the poor in the early nineteenth century.<sup>56</sup> Elaine Jordan's 1985 essay, 'The Management of Scott's Novels' and Katie Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism* also offer their critical reading of the covert forms of the Clearances in *Guy Mannering*.<sup>57</sup> A detailed discussion of the Clearances is also held in Saree Makdisi's *Romantic Imperialism* (1998), but it is prompted by a close reading of the Scottish Highlands in *Waverley*. The Highlands are deemed by Makdisi as a site, after the defeat of the Jacobites at the battle of Culloden, which is colonized by the British hegemonic power where the Highlanders were forced to forsake their homes, language, and culture. Although Scott's reticence in *Waverley* regarding the battle of Culloden and its aftermath is criticized by Makdisi, the voices of the oppressed Highlanders indeed echo throughout the novel as Makdisi has also recognized. Makdisi's work is important to the present study as it exposes the presence in Scott's work of a considerable opposing energy emanating from anti-modern forces, such as Nature, the Scottish Highlands, and the Orient, that strenuously resist the hegemony of imperialist

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<sup>56</sup> Graham McMaster, *Scott and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 158-59.

<sup>57</sup> Elaine Jordan, 'The Management of Scott's Novels', in *Europe and Its Others Volume Two: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature, July 1984*, ed. by Francis Barker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iversen (Colchester: University of Essex, 1985), pp. 146-57; Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 264-65.

practices in the inexorable process of modernization.<sup>58</sup>

While the suffering of the repressed has received rightly a good deal of critical attention, favourable comment on the lower social orders has also been read as a characteristic of Scott's works. This portrayal of the socio-economically disadvantaged characters is 'revolutionary' as David Hewitt argued.<sup>59</sup> In *Walter Scott and Modernity*, Andrew Lincoln also draws attention to Scott's representation of an enlightened lower class, as he contends that 'Scott not only extends the social range of the novel by including many more characters from the lower ends of the social scale, but he also repeatedly places the polite heroes in situations of dependence on the lower orders, and shows that in the realm of local custom the polite gentleman may become the student rather than the model of culture.'<sup>60</sup> In *Scott's Shadow*, Ian Duncan devotes an entire chapter, entitled 'Modernity's Other World', to reading the Scottish Highlands and points out *Rob Roy* as a counterargument of the prospect of improvement in modernity. Duncan places emphasis on Rob Roy's vitality and his talent for survival when resisting the encroaching colonial power. According to his analysis of the actions taken by the primitive characters in *Rob Roy*, Duncan regards the Highlanders as 'the shadow of a world system, a sublime, dynamic, outlaw field of force that exceeds the official, public, enlightened boundaries [...] of civil society and the nation-state'.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, as Caroline McCracken-Flesher in *Possible Scotlands* argues, 'Scott, writing within a Scotland situated in relation to England [...], deploys multiple resistances in his texts through the persons and words of his performers. Powerlessness, in Scott and in line with Homi Bhabha, can offer a site of articulation for cultural challenge.'<sup>62</sup> Following the lead of these critics in handling

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<sup>58</sup> Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp 3-4.

<sup>59</sup> David Hewitt, 'Walter Scott', in *The History of Scottish Literature: Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Douglas Gifford (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 65-84 (p. 73).

<sup>60</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 21.

<sup>61</sup> Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 114.

<sup>62</sup> McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands*, p. 13.

subaltern issues, this research therefore attempts to examine and highlight Scott's constant endeavour to appeal to his readers to have concern for the 'small voices' of the marginalized people in history. Through the application of theories formulated by the Subaltern Studies Group and other postcolonial critics, this thesis aims at confirming the agency of the subaltern people in reassessing and reconfiguring their position in relation to the dominating power, and their effective strategies for moving from the subordinate role to a relatively empowering one in the Waverley Novels.

However, in addition to the above methodologies, I will argue that the subaltern characters identified by this thesis exhibit the value of hospitality in a much more unconditional way than the hospitality that was offered to Scotland by the new British state after the Union of Parliaments in 1707. By using this unconditionality of hospitality among his subaltern characters to challenge the very conditional welcome extended by the British state to its earlier component histories, Scott's novels not only recuperate various subaltern voices but also interrogate 'the teleology of civility',<sup>63</sup> one of the central intellectual incentives of the Scottish Enlightenment and commercial society in eighteenth-century Britain.

In the following chapter, I will outline the theoretical approaches that this thesis intends to adopt for the study of a wide selection of Waverley Novels with the intention of offering original insight into the treatment of the subaltern in Scott's fictions and contributing to a fuller understanding of the importance of the virtue of hospitality in these works. For this thesis the following fictions have been chosen, representing five groupings which cover the Jacobite novels (*Redgauntlet*), the Highland novels (*Rob Roy*, 'The Two Drovers', and 'The Highland Widow'), the Covenanter novels (*The Tale of Old Mortality* and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*), the vagrant novels (*Guy Mannering* and *The Antiquary*),

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<sup>63</sup> See Murray Pittock, 'Historiography', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. by Alexander Broadie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 258-79 (p. 260).

and the Oriental novels (*The Talisman*, 'The Surgeon's Daughter', and *Ivanhoe*). A critical study of each of these five subaltern groups will be carried out starting from Chapter Two to Chapter Six. I hope these selections will cover as many of the subaltern voices as possible and will also be fully representative to convey the autonomous and resisting voices of those often neglected characters.

## **Chapter One:**

### **Theorizing Hospitality and the Subaltern in the Waverley Novels**

This current chapter covers the theories that this thesis will apply for the analysis of a selection of Scott's novels in the following five chapters; but, more importantly, it is about the ways in which the notions of hospitality and the subaltern in these novels are theorized in this study. This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part, I will assess both the positive and negative discourses of hospitality in the Waverley Novels. Through a careful analysis of these two discourses, I will discuss each of their respective social and political implications. Representations of positive hospitality, as I intend to draw attention to, belong to the subaltern. In the second part, I will examine and highlight Scott's endeavour to appeal to his readers' concern over the subaltern in history by referring to a number of postcolonial approaches, particularly Frantz Fanon as well as the Subaltern Studies Group's theoretical approaches. This part specifically aims at understanding the ways in which the subaltern group of characters in the Waverley Novels reassess and reconfigure their position in relation to the dominating power, and, through their various effective strategies (such as disguise and hospitality), have their voices heard. In the final part of this chapter, I intend to argue that in Scott's novels there is a strong implication that Scotland is aligned with the status of the subaltern and its most central identity comes from its tradition of hospitality.

#### **Hospitality**

In his 'Postscript' to *Waverley* Scott indicates that the four significant Scottish virtues, namely old Scottish faith, hospitality, worth and honour, have suffered a decline in modern times because of 'the destruction of the patriarchal power of the Highland chiefs', 'the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions of the Lowland nobility and barons', 'the total

eradication of the Jacobite party’, and ‘the ‘influx of wealth, and extension of commerce’ in Scotland. His view is that society’s advance towards modernity is to a great extent at the expense of its own traditional values. According to the findings of this research, a great number of Waverley Novels reflect the weight Scott gives to these time-honoured but disappearing Scottish traditions, as well as his resolution to preserve them through his writings.<sup>1</sup>

Of the four representative Scottish virtues, hospitality has a privileged status since representations of it are particularly notable in Scott’s fictional writings. Because of its special status in Scott’s work, we may assume that Scott well appreciated the importance of hospitality as a virtue that forges a distinct Scottish national identity; at the same time, however, he is fully aware that hospitality as a key virtue in Scottish society is at risk due to the very changes that are now incorporating Scotland with a great Britain. As Scott comments, ‘[The] present people of Scotland [are] a class of beings as different from their grandfathers, as the existing English are from those of Queen Elizabeth’s time’.<sup>2</sup> It denotes that the pace of change for the Scots had been many times as fast as that for the English. Scott’s observation can also be understood through Robert Boyden Lamb’s following point: ‘Man’s sentiment and passions change or find different modes of expression with changes of social relations in different times, places, and circumstances.’<sup>3</sup> Hospitality, although a deep-rooted Scottish tradition represented in Scott’s work, is challenged particularly by a rapidly modernizing country’s new economic order which is mainly created by the activity of individual self-interest, upon which Adam Smith (1723-90) bases his economic theory in *The Wealth of Nations* (first published in 1776). In a word, traditional hospitality as Scott suggests is teetering on the verge of extinction. Therefore, this research argues that, as one of the main reasons, Scott writes hospitality intending to keep this venerable

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<sup>1</sup> Scott, *Waverley* (1814), ed. by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 363. ‘It has been my object, certainly, to describe these persons [...] by their habits, manners, and feelings’.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Boyden Lamb, ‘Adam Smith’s System: Sympathy not Self-Interest’, 35 (1974), 671-82 (p. 672).

Scottish tradition alive.

In Scott's work positive hospitality is generally demonstrated as a private language of the sphere of personal and intimate relationships; the code of immediate ties of family, friends, and community. It is the language which expresses spontaneous flow of personal feelings in private spheres; it is an innate act that aims to blur boundaries between individuals. It is about the ways in which hosts have always entertained their guests, and it has nothing to do with the modern vice of making profit from such relationships. These acts of hospitality are not based on market psychology and they are not tainted by the idea of commercial exchange. This strand of pure hospitable expressions in Scott's work, as I have pointed out in the previous chapter, is close in its notion to what Jacques Derrida defines as 'an ethics of hospitality', which is opposed to 'a *law* or a *politics* of hospitality'.<sup>4</sup> For Derrida, the true essence of infinite hospitality signifies that 'I have to welcome the "other"' (whoever they are) unconditionally 'without asking for a document, a name, a context or a passport. I have to open myself to the Other. I have to open my doors, my house, my home, my language, my culture, my nation, my state and myself'.<sup>5</sup> In short, as Derrida powerfully argues, 'Hospitality—this is a name or an example of deconstruction'.<sup>6</sup> By this term he claims that 'to blur the borders in the name of hospitality—that is what hospitality does, blur the border'.<sup>7</sup> In other words, Derridean hospitality in theory and practice is about crossing boundaries or thresholds, including those between self and other, private and public, inside and outside, individual and collective, familiar and foreign, and many other oppositional pairs. Scott's illustrations of positive acts of hospitality in his work include all the features of the Derridean definition of an ethics of hospitality, but it is to be noted that they are almost exclusively assigned to his subaltern group of characters.

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<sup>4</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Marko Zlomisljic, 'Conflict, Tolerance and Hospitality', *The Philosopher*, LXXXII: 2 (2004) <<http://www.the-philosopher.co.uk/conflict.htm>> [accessed 21 August 2012]

<sup>6</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Acts of Religion*, ed. by Gil Anidjar (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), p. 364.

<sup>7</sup> 'Hospitality, Justice and Responsibility: A Dialogue with Jacques Derrida', in *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*, ed. by Richard Kearney and Mark Dooley (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 65-83 (p. 73).

The Waverley Novels reveal that givers of pure and altruistic hospitality are characters drawn mainly from the socio-economically, religiously and politically disadvantaged groups. For instance, the gypsy Meg Merrilies and the farmer Dandie Dinmont's unbounded welcome extended to Henry Bertram in *Guy Mannering*; the beggar Edie Ochiltree's rescue of Sir Arthur Wardour and his daughter when the latter two are trapped on the sand in *The Antiquary*; Bessie Maclure's release, in *The Tale of Old Mortality*, of Lord Evandale from her fellow Covenanters by hiding, feeding and curing him in her hut, in spite of the fact that her own two sons have been previously slain by Claverhouse's forces; the Jewess Rebecca's selfless offer of her medical assistance to people of various backgrounds in *Ivanhoe*. One of these subaltern characters' common features, as I have mentioned in the previous chapter, is that they belong to an earlier stage of human progress based on Scottish Enlightenment's stadial theory when compared with their relatively more privileged and powerful counterparts. However, an argument concerning hospitality offered by the subaltern in Scott's works is further supported by Tahar Ben Jelloun's observation that 'Some people are more hospitable than others: generally speaking, they are those who have remained close to the soil and live in the wide open spaces, even if they are poor.'<sup>8</sup> Jelloun's point is of considerable use for us in our effort to understand particularly Scott's representations of Highland hospitality.

As well as the above subaltern characters, Scottish Highlanders (one of the most notable subaltern groups in Scotland) are strategically highlighted in the Waverley Novels as pivotal figures defending the Scottish tradition of hospitality. Representations of this merit in Scott's Highland works such as *Waverley* and *Rob Roy* have all the features and qualities listed in the above paragraph. But what makes the representations of Highland hospitality different from the rest of other acts of hospitality represented in Scott's *oeuvre* is the way in which Highlanders apprehend, define and apply this virtue. Hospitality is the

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<sup>8</sup> Tahar Ben Jelloun, *French Hospitality: Racism and North African Immigrants*, trans. by Barbara Bray (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 37.

dominant ethical norm upheld by the Highlanders, and it is one of the essential indicators of the Highland character. Most important of all, it is deemed as an unwritten law, ‘a sacred obligation’, in Highland society. The following passage that Scott may have read from Thomas Pennant (1726-98), Welsh naturalist and antiquary, precisely interprets this dominant tradition that is also celebrated in Scott’s Highland fictions:

Of all virtues their hospitality was the most extensive; every door and every heart was open to the stranger and to the fugitive; to these they were particularly humane and generous, vied with one another who would use them best, and looked on the person who sought their protection as a sacred depositum, which on no consideration they were to give up. [...] Hospitality was founded on immemorial custom, before the thought of men were contracted by the use of weights and measures, and reckoned so far *a sacred obligation* as to think themselves bound to entertain the man who from a principle of ill-will and resentment, scorned upon them a numerous retinue.<sup>9</sup>  
(emphasis added)

Pennant’s definition demonstrates that this virtue is such a key feature of Highland identity that can almost be comparable to a religious belief and must be observed and cherished. In short it is a defining aspect of the Highland life. This passage from Pennant also explains why people regard the Massacre of Glencoe, committed by the government and forces drawn from one of the major families of the Gaelic world in 1692, as an utterly appalling tragedy in Scottish history since it not only ignored but also defied one of the long-established values of the Highland tradition, hospitality.<sup>10</sup> More importantly, violation of hospitality in Highland and Gaelic culture can arguably be seen as a form of domestic treason. The Massacre was interpreted as ‘murder under trust’, a special category of murder under Scots law, but it was considered to be even more heinous than ordinary murder. A further discussion of this incident in relation to the reading of *Redgauntlet* will

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<sup>9</sup> Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*, MDCCLXXII. Part II. (London: printed for Benj. White, 1776), pp. 428-29.

<sup>10</sup> See Allan I. Macinnes, ‘Slaughter Under Trust’ in *The Massacre in History*, ed. by Mark Levine and Penny Roberts (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), pp. 127-48; John Prebble, *Glencoe: The Story of the Massacre* (London: Secker & Warburg: 1966).

be held in the following chapter.

Although the status of hospitality as a virtue in the Lowlands may not be as high as in the Highlands, the hospitality defined by the latter to a great extent can be applied to our understanding of that in the Lowlands since it is also an essential constituent part of its identity and culture. The following quotation from Robert Pearse Gillies helps to illustrate the fundamental importance of this virtue to Scotland in general. As Gillies maintains, ‘In Scotland, to be wanting in hospitality would indeed argue meanness of character, education, and birth; it would form a crime not excusable even on the score of poverty.’<sup>11</sup> Gillies may have slightly overstated the case, but his point does reveal certain truth as community, neighbourliness, clannishness, closeness, friendship and kinship are all implications of hospitality in Scotland.

In the Waverley Novels we can see Scott intends to align one of the key Scottish identities with an ethics of infinite hospitality, but what this study argues is that our understanding of Scott’s work is enriched by our knowledge that he has his own agenda in representations of hospitality other than the simple virtue of attempting to preserve or to celebrate it. Hospitality which serves as one of the key identities of Scotland in Scott’s work functions in three ways:

Firstly, in the Waverley Novels hospitality provides the subalterns with a domain where they can enact their domestic laws of hospitality without being censured by the laws of the state. This internal dynamic of the subaltern world is in effect a secret, hidden operating space particularly for the marginalized groups in Scott’s work. In *Guy Mannering* the ‘treasure of the tribe’ that Meg Merrilies secretly passes to Henry Bertram in a hut signifies her love, benevolence and hospitality to the heir of Ellangowan.<sup>12</sup> Through the expressions of their hospitality, the subaltern characters find a rare precious opportunity to reveal their voice, unfettered by the control of ruling classes or state power.

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<sup>11</sup> Gillies, *Recollections of Sir Walter Scott, Bart*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>12</sup> Scott, *Guy Mannering*, ed. by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 347.

Secondly, hospitality is demonstrated in Scott as an expression which enables people coming from subaltern backgrounds to manifest their significance as a constituent part of the society and its history. In *Ivanhoe* the Jewess Rebecca's selfless medical service offered to the people of England is a manifestation of her hospitality to the society (and it simultaneously calls into question the country's conditional hospitality that invites her to stay). Through the illustration of the subaltern's acts of hospitality extended to the society, Scott recuperates the 'small voices of history' from a relatively inferior status to one equal to the other more notable voices.

Lastly, subaltern characters' pure and unconditional hospitality can also be seen as an act questioning the government's conditional welcome extended to those people it invites to participate on the great project of nation and empire building. In accordance with the historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment, Scott's own novels are, in a sense, acts of hospitality, in which he invites his readers to join a future dominated by a single group, a new group which is victorious by subsuming all its exhausted old traditions. Although the novels are all great acts of hospitality, they often contain the paradox of a hegemony which sullies the concepts of hospitality because people can only enter into the future on one set of terms (for example, in *Ivanhoe* Rebecca is invited by Rowena to stay, but her hostess also suggests that she abandon her religion, an instance of 'inclusive exclusion'<sup>13</sup>). Scott shows that, because of this conditionality of hospitality, the losers are often left outside the gate. In other words, people who are considered as incompatible with the new British state and those who refuse to be subsumed are simply silenced or excluded (for example, in *Redgauntlet* the protagonist is forced to leave the country after his intended rising).

By contrast, subaltern characters in Scott's novels exhibit the merit of hospitality in a much more unconditional way than that offered by the great invitation of the British state

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<sup>13</sup> Karima Laachir, 'Hospitality and the Limitations of the National', in *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World*, ed. by Jennie Germann Molz and Sarah Gibson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp.177-92 (p. 178).

to the future. Therefore this thesis argues that in many of his works Scott applies ethics to challenge politics. He aligns Scottishness with ethics, and, to him, the ethos of Scotland is an ethical ethos confronted and threatened in so many points particularly in modernity by politics. Britishness is an act of politically finite hospitality which threatens an ethics of infinite hospitality which Scott invokes as the value and virtue of Scottishness. In so doing Scott's work also questions the prevailing orthodoxy of the teleological inexorable march of progress, to use Murray Pittock's term, the Scottish Enlightenment's 'teleology of civility'.<sup>14</sup>

As has been pointed out, Scott in his writings does far more than simply demonstrate the importance of hospitality as a significant Scottish tradition, for he both illustrates positive images of hospitality and yet reveals potential problems arising from the simple act of welcoming guests and strangers. By analysing various representations of hospitality in the Waverley Novels, I have identified a large number of host characters who appropriate/abuse the language of hospitality in order to demonstrate, wield and even increase their own power. But, at the same time, this close examination also finds that Scott's guest characters, while having subordinate roles, are provided with means through which they resolutely resist the accommodation of the hosts' discourses of hospitality which are intended to use and exploit them. The house, therefore, can be seen no longer as a sacred site for the pure manifestation of hospitality and friendliness, but becomes an arena where the host and guest struggle for power. Scott's intent in skilfully illustrating the many aspects of this continuous and problematic relationship between host and guest characters provides us with a nexus that demands careful interpretation. In the following section, I will start from comparing the conventional notions of hospitality to Adam Smith's theory of sympathy. Through a close reading of recent critique of the lack of

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<sup>14</sup> 'the idea that society's material and intellectual improvement was also a development towards higher standards of culture and refinement, such "high standards" usually being predicated on metropolitan norms of speech and culture.' See Pittock, 'Historiography', p. 260.

Smithean sympathy stemming from its disregard of issues concerning the experiences of the Highlanders, I begin my analysis of the problematic use of the discourse of hospitality that is richly represented in Scott's work. Moreover, by applying Derrida's theoretical analysis of the power relations between the host and guest to my study of hospitality in Scott, I regard hospitality as an ideological contact zone where the host and guest struggle for the ownership of power.

Before commencing a detailed discussion about the representations of problematic hospitality in Scott's works, I seek to link hospitality with the concept of sympathy as expounded by David Hume (1711-76) and especially Adam Smith. I wish to do so since sympathy, as one of the most lasting contributions made by the Scottish Enlightenment to European intellectual culture, is the fundamental philosophical basis of Scott's own zeitgeist and his literary construction. In so doing, I intend to achieve a more thorough understanding of the power relations at the site of hospitality.

In *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40), Hume claims that 'No quality of human nature is more remarkable [...] than that propensity we have to sympathize with others, and to receive by communication, their inclinations and sentiments, however different from, or even contrary to our own'.<sup>15</sup> Humean sympathy, as Alexander Broadie points out, 'is a principle of communication by which the spectator comes to have a passion that he believes the agent to have, and he comes to have it because of this belief'.<sup>16</sup> However, Smith, in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (first published in 1759, with overall six editions), adopts a more voluntaristic (in the sense of choice) point of view and reformulates Hume's argument into his own model through the imaginative experiment of placing the spectator in the agent's situation.<sup>17</sup> Smith contends that: 'By the imagination

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<sup>15</sup> David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 2nd edn, ed. by L. A. Selby-Bigge and P. H. Nidditch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 316.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 202.

<sup>17</sup> Regarding the comparison between Humean and Smithian sympathy, see Luigi Turco, 'Moral sense and the foundations of morals', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. by Alexander

we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him, and thence form some idea of his sensations, and even feel something which, though weaker in degree, is not altogether unlike them.<sup>18</sup> Sympathy, in Smith's understanding, is achievable only through imagination since 'we cannot know the experience or sentiments of another person, we must represent in our imagination copies of the sentiments that we ourselves feel as we imagine ourselves in someone else's place and person'.<sup>19</sup> Smithian sympathy is close to the modern understanding of 'empathy', which signifies the identification with the feelings, thoughts, or attitudes of another. Therefore, it is arguable that hospitality can be considered as one of the expressions of sympathetic understanding and also as an extension of a person's sympathetic treatment given to those in need of food, accommodation, spiritual consultation or even physical protection. In short, sympathy and hospitality, to a certain extent, can be seen as each other's complement.

While the last edition (the sixth) of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1790), argues Luke Gibbons, encourages social cohesion and mutual British reconciliation by interpreting and popularizing the notion of sympathy as the precise definition of virtue, conscience and moral judgment,<sup>20</sup> its unwillingness to address the hierarchy of power between that of the spectator (the giver) and the agent (the receiver) defines its theoretical limit. Since Smithian sympathy is characterized as an act solely dependent on the spectator's active imagination, rather than on the agent's judgement, the spectator's perspective is invariably prioritized and he/she is seen as the one dominating this psychological communication/exchange. Because of this standpoint, therefore, in Smith's account, sympathy arises solely from the spectator's imagination of the agent's passion,

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Broadie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 147-50.

<sup>18</sup> Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. by Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> David Marshall, *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy: Marivaux, Diderot, Rousseau and Mary Shelley* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> See Luke Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, Politics, and the Colonial Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 83-98.

and not the agent's actual situation. In other words, sympathy is the language which belongs exclusively to those who possess relatively greater power. Moreover, as Smith himself has also recognized, men are inclined to sympathize with the rich, rather than the righteous: 'This disposition to admire, and almost to worship, the rich and the powerful, and to despise, or at least, to neglect persons of poor and mean condition [...] is [...] the great and most universal cause of the corruption of our moral sentiments.'<sup>21</sup> Therefore, I argue, if the spectator cannot properly identify with the agent's situation, his/her sympathy can easily deteriorate into 'pity', the language which denotes difference rather than similarity.

For example, in considering the literature and history of the period, Murray Pittock reads Smithian sympathy and pity in the case of the improvement of the Highlands after the Forty-five, and maintains that: 'It might be doubted whether anyone could truly sympathize with a Gaelic or even a Scots speaker: the vernacular might invoke the colonization of pity, but not sympathy' since 'shared notions of civility and a shared standard language' are absolutely required.<sup>22</sup> When mentioning the similar case, Evan Gottlieb also notes that 'Neglecting to mention the extent to which the Highlands were forced into such "improvement," Smith seems confident that, with "the difference between the two countries growing less and less every day," the dissemination of sympathetic Britishness will soon be complete.'<sup>23</sup> With regard to this distribution of Britishness, Gottlieb's argument can be supported by what Smith firmly believes: 'Though they will never be unisons, they may be concords, and this is all that is wanted or required.'<sup>24</sup> It is this shortage of proper regard paid to the subaltern voices as well as their emotional needs under the hegemonic imperial (and sympathetic) discourse of unification that defines the

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<sup>21</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 72.

<sup>22</sup> Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, p. 65.

<sup>23</sup> Evan Gottlieb, *Feeling British: Sympathy and National Identity in Scottish and English Writing, 1707-1832* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), pp. 37-38.

<sup>24</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 27. This is also quoted in Ina Ferris, *The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 61.

noticeable deficiency of Smithian theories of sympathy.

While noting the inherent self-contradictory problem in the Smithian discourse of sympathy, I would wish to argue that our understanding of hospitality may not be complete if we accept the interpretation of this virtue in the *Waverley Novels* given by Sulkes, namely ‘a vehicle for expressing the traditional values that survived the accidents of historical change or political allegiance’,<sup>25</sup> as the only exposition. For example, the virtue of hospitality can be easily distorted if it is applied by the host for the purpose of demonstrating his/her power, rather than for the service of the guest. Therefore, to have a more comprehensive understanding of this virtue in Scott’s novels, a more nuanced study is required.

Hospitality, as I have referred to the *Oxford English Dictionary* in the previous chapter, is in general defined as ‘The act or practice of being hospitable; the reception and entertainment of guests, visitors, or strangers, with liberality and good will’.<sup>26</sup> The act of hospitality also includes showing respect for one’s visitors, satisfying their needs, and treating them as friends, relatives and equals. This conventional definition illustrates an ideal hospitable performance, and simultaneously presumes a harmonious relationship between the giver and receiver of a welcome as it has been seen as one of the most highly praised virtues in Christian religion and in the traditions of Greeks and Romans (as Homer’s *Odyssey* can exemplify). But, it fails to encompass fully the complex and dynamic relationship between host and guest characters under the name of hospitality that is so intently portrayed in the *Waverley Novels*. The suggested healthy relationship derived from such a presumption becomes problematic when the following hypothetical questions are required to be considered. Can hospitality still be seen as hospitable when the host does not give what is ideally expected? Can hospitality retain its name when it is forced to be given or accepted? How should we understand hospitality when it becomes merchandise

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<sup>25</sup> Sulkes, ‘The Code of Hospitality in the *Waverley Novels*: A Study of Sir Walter Scott’s Fictions’, pp. 6-7.

<sup>26</sup> ‘Hospitality’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* < <http://dictionary.oed.com/> > [accessed 6 March 2009]

offered by the ‘hospitality industry’? How do we demarcate between a warm reception and the exploitation of the market-place? I argue that the act of hospitality itself is not at question, but it becomes a paradox (or even a problem) when the giver of a welcome has his/her rational calculation of self-interest from the relationship with his/her guest. To read hospitality is not to read it as simply a time-honoured tradition but to read it against its social, cultural and political contexts. Only in such a way can we thus truly understand the situation when hospitality is appropriated by people who intend to exploit it. I utilize Derrida’s theoretical approaches to the notion of hospitality as a starting point to analyse the treatment/use/depiction of hospitality in Scott’s writings.

I should explain that my research subject has its origins primarily in the scholarship on the idea of hospitality over the last two decades. The central argument of this thesis concerning the representations of hospitality in the Waverley Novels owes its inspiration from the following works. A significant number of Derrida’s writings, beginning from the late 1990s, have been dedicated to the discussion of the philosophy of hospitality. His major works on the notion of hospitality, including *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas* (1999), *Of Hospitality* (2000), *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness* (2001), and *Philosophy in a Time of Terror* (2004), carry out a comprehensive analysis and critical reading of the virtue.<sup>27</sup> Derrida’s analysis of hospitality builds mainly on Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and on Emmanuel Levinas (1906-1995). In the ‘Third Definitive Article of Perpetual Peace: *Cosmopolitan Right Shall be Limited to the Conditions of Universal Hospitality*’, from *Toward Perpetual Peace* (1795), Kant argues:

[We] are concerned here with *right*, not with philanthropy, and in this context *hospitality* (a host’s conduct to his guest) means the right of a stranger not to be treated in a hostile manner by another upon his arrival on the other’s territory. If it can

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<sup>27</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas; On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. by Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (London: Routledge, 2003); Jacques Derrida and Anne Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality: Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond*, trans. by Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jurgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida*, ed. by Giovanna Borradi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

be done without causing death, the stranger can be turned away, yet as long as the stranger behaves peacefully where he happens to be, his host may not treat him with hostility. It is not the *right of a guest* that the stranger has a claim to (which would require a special, charitable contract stipulating that he be made a member of the household for a certain period of time), but rather a right to visit, to which all human beings have a claim, to present oneself to society by virtue of the right of common possession of the surface of the earth.<sup>28</sup>

In this passage, as pointed out by Judith Still, Kant importantly ‘produced a key reference point for cosmopolitan theories of the need for nations to unite together and to offer hospitality to the citizens of other nations’.<sup>29</sup> Kant’s cosmopolitanism, which ‘ensures the rights and duties associated with the movement of the foreigners around the world’,<sup>30</sup> could be progressive and revolutionary in his own time, but it is basically based on the modern virtue of ‘toleration’.<sup>31</sup>

A guest in Kant’s account has natural right ‘not to be treated in a hostile manner by another upon his arrival on the other’s territory’, but the welcome he receives is in any case a conditional (and perhaps reluctant) offer from the host nation. The offer a stranger receives in order to stay in a foreign country is under certain conditions: ‘first, being a citizen of another nation-state or country, he must behave peaceably in our country; second, he is not granted the right to stay, but only the right to visit’.<sup>32</sup> In short, the power the host can wield is far greater than the right the guest can enjoy in the Kantian discourse of hospitality. In addition, as Karima Laachir argues, Kant’s ‘cosmopolitanism is exclusive to certain powerful states that pass the law on the rest of humanity’.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Immanuel Kant, *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*, ed. and with an introduction by Pauline Kleingeld, trans. by David L. Colclasure (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 82.

<sup>29</sup> Judith Still, ‘Hospitality and Sexual Difference in Rousseau’s *Confessions*’, in *From Goethe to Gide: Feminism, Aesthetics and the French and German Literary Canon 1770-1936* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), pp. 22-33 (p. 26).

<sup>30</sup> Jennie Germann Molz and Sarah Gibson, ‘Introduction: Mobilizing and Mooring Hospitality’, in *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World*, ed. by Jennie Germann Molz and Sarah Gibson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 1-25 (p. 4).

<sup>31</sup> Zlomislic, ‘Conflict, Tolerance and Hospitality’, *The Philosopher*, LXXXII: 2 (2004) <<http://www.the-philosopher.co.uk/conflict.htm>> [accessed 21 August 2012]

<sup>32</sup> ‘Hospitality, Justice and Responsibility: A Dialogue with Jacques Derrida’, p. 70.

<sup>33</sup> Laachir, ‘Hospitality and the Limitations of the National’, p. 179. The extended study of the limitations of

In contrast, Derrida's understanding of hospitality originates from his penetrating and sympathetic insight into a stranger's inherent disadvantages when visiting a foreign state. The following paragraph quoted from Derrida's analysis of *The Apology of Socrates*, Plato's version of speech given by Socrates, demonstrates his acute awareness of a stranger's unavoidable and unfavourable circumstances:

the foreigner is first of all foreign to the legal language in which the duty of hospitality is formulated, the right to asylum, its limits, norms, policing, etc. He has to ask for hospitality in a language which by definition is not his own, the one imposed on him by the master of the house, the host, the king, the lord, the authorities, the nation, the State, the father, etc.<sup>34</sup>

Because of his comprehensive understanding of the difficult situation the foreigner must encounter, Derrida argues that hospitality is possible only 'on the condition of its impossibility'.<sup>35</sup> Based on his elaboration of Derrida's understanding of a welcome, Peter Melville puts it, 'where there is a door, there is always a politics of reception; there is always a rule of the household that imposes upon its guests and visitors the conditions of hospitality'.<sup>36</sup> There are always laws that the stranger needs to follow before he is able to receive the host's welcome. Consequently, under the ostensibly reciprocal relationship, the boundary between the giver and receiver of hospitality is rarely allowed to be crossed. The concept of hospitality, as in Derrida's interpretation, is unavoidably associated with the language of the dominant. Owing to his acute awareness that hospitality as a language has been tailored quite unproportionally for the host (rather than for the guest), Derrida suggests that there be 'the absolute Law of hospitality', in contrast to 'the laws of hospitality'.

In *Of Hospitality*, Derrida separates the absolute Law of hospitality, the unconditional

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Kantian notion of hospitality can also be found in Laachir's current article.

<sup>34</sup> Derrida and Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality*, p. 15.

<sup>35</sup> Jacques Derrida, 'Hospitality', *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 5 (2000): 3-18 (p. 5).

<sup>36</sup> Peter Melville, *Romantic Hospitality and the Resistance to Accommodation* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), p. 17.

demand that we accept and welcome any stranger/visitor, and the laws of hospitality, or workable conditions and functioning measures. The absolute Law of hospitality allows for the singularity of every visitor, whereas the laws of hospitality are built upon workable codes and practical principles.<sup>37</sup> Ethics, then, demands infinite openness, but politics rests on concrete issues arising from citizenship, immigration law, and the granting of asylum. Derrida pays considerable attention to theorize this absolute Law of hospitality, and further argues that ‘Pure, unconditional or infinite hospitality cannot and must not be anything else but an acceptance of risk. If I am sure that the newcomer that I welcome is perfectly harmless, innocent, that (s)he will be beneficial to me [...] it is not hospitality. When I open my door, I must be ready to take the greatest of risks’.<sup>38</sup> With regard to this Derridean notion of unconditional hospitality, the following episode from one of Scott’s most popular narrative poems, *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), offers an excellent example:

The mistress of the mansion came,  
Mature of age, a graceful dame;  
Whose easy step and stately port  
Had well become a princely court,  
To whom, though more than kindred knew,  
Young Ellen gave a mother’s due.  
Meet welcome to her guest she made,  
And every courteous rite was paid,  
That hospitality could claim,  
Though all unask’d his birth and name.  
Such then the reverence to a guest,  
That fellest foe might join the feast,  
And from his deadliest foeman’s door  
Unquestioned turn, the banquet o’er.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Derrida and Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality*, p. 77.

<sup>38</sup> Jacques Derrida, ‘Débat: Une hospitalité sans condition’, in *Manifeste pour l’hospitalité, aux Minguettes: Autour de Jacques Derrida* (Grigny: Paroles d’aube, 1999), p. 137. Quoted in Mireille Rosello, *Postcolonial Hospitality: The Immigrant as Guest* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 11-12. See also ‘Hospitality, Justice and Responsibility: A Dialogue with Jacques Derrida’, pp. 70-71.

<sup>39</sup> Scott, *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), in *Poetical Works*, Vol. 8, Canto First, XXIX, pp. 54-55.

This episode illustrates the unconditional hospitality given by Ellen, ‘the lady of the lake’, to a mysterious knight, James Fitz-James (King James V in disguise). Regardless of the danger she may be exposed to by opening her door to receive a total stranger, Ellen extends her friendly and hearty welcome to the knight. This kind of unconditional hospitality could be frightening, but it takes us beyond Kant’s perception of hospitality, which tells that we should only greet those well-behaved citizens of another country. Moreover, Derridean notion of unconditional hospitality also takes us beyond the Judeo-Christian understanding of a welcome where we are hospitable because we may be entertaining ‘Elijah or Angels or serving Jesus’.<sup>40</sup> There is a long history in European religious tradition to think in such a way that ‘the reward for giving was in God’s hands, and that it was therefore “sweet” to seek for grace, not lucre.’<sup>41</sup> As in the New Testament letter to the Hebrews 13:2, there is a commandment on hospitality which says: ‘Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.’<sup>42</sup> In George Herbert’s poem, ‘Love (III)’, the narrator is drawn to accept the welcome of Love, the persona in which the poet invokes God, and determines to devote himself to extending the welcome he earlier received to others as the act could bring him personal benefit.<sup>43</sup>

As well as Derrida’s theorization of his discourse of hospitality, there are a number of other publications in the past two decades which also deal with not dissimilar issues on the possible problematic uses of hospitality. Felicity Heal’s *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (1990) is a work about the practice of hospitality in England between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. In her work, Heal offers an in-depth analysis of beliefs and practices of hospitality at different social levels and in various settings, and she attempts to

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<sup>40</sup> Marko Zlomisljic, ‘Conflict, Tolerance and Hospitality’, *The Philosopher*, Vol. LXXXII  
< <http://www.the-philosopher.co.uk/conflict.htm> > [accessed 21 June 2012]; Derrida and Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality*, p. 77.

<sup>41</sup> Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> The Bible: Authorized King James Version, ed. by Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 279.

<sup>43</sup> George Herbert, *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. by F. H. Hutchinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 188-89.

show hospitality as one of the key virtues in early modern England. But Heal also makes it clear that the virtue was at times appropriated as a device for private interests. For example, ‘The house is sometimes described as an arena, in which the host can dramatize his generosity, and thereby reveal his *hegemony*.’ (emphasis added) Moreover, the house also functions as an embodiment of ‘the qualities of its owner’, and a ‘show’ of one’s hospitality.<sup>44</sup> Paul Langford’s *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (1991) and Stana Nenadic’s *Lairds and Luxury* (2007) are great in their depiction of this rather controversial aspect of hospitality as for the purpose of exhibiting a person’s wealth, social status, and power.<sup>45</sup> The performance of a welcome in this context serves as an affirmation of the role of the host, and, as Heal notes, ‘It appears at times that the outsider exists merely as the necessary instrument permitting the head of household to perform in his proper function.’<sup>46</sup>

Tahar Ben Jelloun’s *French Hospitality: Racism and North African Immigrants* (1999), which invokes Derrida’s philosophical concept of hospitality, demonstrates a link between France’s in/hospitality to immigrants and its racism. *Postcolonial Hospitality* (2002), by Mireille Rosello, is the first work which studies the language of hospitality in a postcolonial context. This book, focusing primarily on France and its former colonies in Africa, considers how hospitality is interpreted, practised, and represented in European and African literary works published around the end of the twentieth century. It attempts to interpret Western imperialism’s discourse of hospitality as a convenient means to win the best interest from its colonial domination, and focuses on various problematic moments when systems of imperial hospitality collapse. In *Romantic Hospitality and the Resistance to Accommodation* (2007), Peter Melville takes the texts of Enlightenment and Romantic hospitality, including those of Rousseau, Kant, Coleridge, and Mary Shelley, as a

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<sup>44</sup> Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Stana Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury: The Highland Gentry in Eighteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007).

<sup>46</sup> Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 9.

demonstration of the host's abuse of the language of hospitality since it is frequently mixed with forms of hostility or violence. Romantic hospitality, based on Melville's reading, is not only regarded as a moral virtue but is also considered as a learned act of responsibility. Judith Still's *Derrida and Hospitality: Theory and Practice* (2010) is the first full-length study of hospitality in the writings of Derrida. It importantly sets Derrida's work in a series of contexts including the socio-political history of France, and the writing on hospitality of other key modern thinkers, most importantly Helene Cixous, Luce Irigaray and Emmanuel Levinas. Still's latest work *Enlightenment Hospitality: Cannibals, Harems and Adoption* (2011) analyses representations of native peoples of the New World and of the Moslem Oriental in Persia and Turkey. Its particular interest is in the role of women in the rite of hospitality. Based on the above theoretical groundwork laid by Derrida, Heal, Jelloun, Rosello, Melville and Still, in the following section this research intends to demonstrate the range of challenges arising from the abuse of hospitality in the *Waverley Novels*.

A great many of Scott's fictions thread themselves through various hospitable scenes of receiving and accommodating friends, strangers and foreigners. Hospitality, as noted earlier in this chapter, is regarded by Scott as one of the four significant traditional Scottish values (along with old Scottish faith, worth and honour). But, the picture that emerges from a critical reading of Scott's novels undertaken by this research is that the substantial relations between host and guest characters under the shield of hospitality is not represented as a simple matter of peaceful contact and exchange. On the contrary, it is often inhospitable and, at times, even hostile. A great many of the supposed hospitable scenes are found to have implications of intolerance, violence and domination, and such inhospitable scenes are also staged in the *Waverley Novels*. In *Rob Roy*, Frank Osbaldistone's proposal to help Rob Roy's sons in enlisting in the British army is simply a colonial strategy since the Highlanders, whose political conviction is markedly different from the one held by the British government, are treated as cannon fodder in this case. In

*Ivanhoe*, before leaving England with her father for a more tolerant Muslim Grenada, Rebecca declines Rowena's invitation to stay since her lady's hospitality relies on the condition of her religious conversion. In 'The Surgeon's Daughter', Richard Middlemas' invitation of Menie Gray, his betrothed, to join him in India is in fact for the purpose of sending her over to Tipu Sultan as a gift in the hope of securing himself a powerful post there. In 'The Highland Widow', the widow Elspat MacTavish's parental hospitality to her son has eventually ruined his life. Accordingly, I argue that scenes of hospitality in the Waverley Novels cannot always guarantee to illustrate a pure reciprocal exchange between the host and guest; instead, they are often about the host who seeks to control, appropriate and master the guest who holds lesser power. Therefore, the language of hospitality, to a certain extent, often becomes a colonial discourse in the Waverley Novels.

While the aforementioned fictions contain much that could be considered conventional and stereotypical in the characterization of their subaltern figures, Scott also embraces the destabilizing features of the guest characters. The Waverley Novels offer illustrations of subaltern characters' determined resistance to accommodation, their resolute refusal to be incorporated by the British Imperial self/host who would otherwise wish to assimilate the difference into a discourse of the same. Saree Makdisi argues that these 'anti-modern' figures (i.e. the subaltern in this thesis) express their 'desire to preserve such sites of difference and otherness, to register opposition to a homogenizing system by upholding certain sites as differential loci of space and time'.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, although Scott's fictions ultimately enable the alterity of the subaltern to remain, these characters are far from presented as the powerless minorities. On the contrary, they are represented as spectres haunting their hosts and making demands as speaking subjects. As I have argued earlier that the house in Scott's works is often more than a sacred site for the pure manifestation of hospitality, generosity, and friendliness, it can also be understood here as

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<sup>47</sup> Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism*, p. 13.

an arena where host and guest struggle for power. Moreover, the house in this context can also be seen as a ‘contact zone’, the term frequently used by Pratt in her seminal book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, ‘where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—such as colonialism and slavery’. However, as Pratt continues to argue, ‘While subjugated peoples cannot readily control what the dominant culture visits upon them, they do determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own, how they use it, and what they make it mean.’<sup>48</sup> Accordingly, the contact zone narrates not only stories about colonial domination but also the ways in which the subaltern mount their powerful resistance. The centre of gravity within this space is unstable and is constantly challenged. I regard hospitality as an ideological contact zone, through which we can see clearly the struggle for power between the host and guest. In the following section, I will have my focus shifted to the significance of the *Waverley Novels*’ subaltern characters in the context of hospitality.

### **The Subaltern**

This section includes a theory-based study of the subaltern. It is designed to demonstrate Scott’s pioneering skill in giving voice to those who are not party to the ruling discourses in society. The theoretical foundation of this section is primarily based on the critique by the Subaltern Studies Group and also on Frantz Fanon’s postcolonial discourses of resistance, which, as I argue, is strongly related to the Group’s equally sympathetic attitudes towards subaltern peoples. Moreover, the main thrust of Fanon’s penetrating negative critique of colonial systems is also considered here as the precedent for the Group’s theoretical basis. This section concludes by offering five elements of the subaltern typology to demonstrate Scott’s bold and forward-looking vision in depicting the

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<sup>48</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 7.

subalterns as individuals with real strength and various identities, rather than treating them as powerless and unindividualized. In addition, the analysis of these features of the subaltern is intended to serve as a contribution to the Group and Fanon's theoretical approaches.

The subaltern characters in the Waverley Novels can be roughly divided into three groups which include socio-economically underprivileged people (i.e. the poor and the plebeian), the politically defeated people who are marginalized because of the discourses of empire and state unification (i.e. the Scottish Highlanders and the Jacobites), and people who come from Oriental backgrounds or those who themselves have been orientalized, such as gypsies, Indians, Jews, and Kurds. These three socially, politically or ethnically marginalized subaltern groups are seemingly unrelated to each other; but they, in effect, frequently have close affinity with each other when facing a common hegemonic power. For example, the Jacobites often have a cross class alliance with people from the lower orders of society, such as the smuggler Nanty Ewart's relationship with the Jacobite leader in *Redgauntlet*. Moreover, the definitions of these three groups also overlap in many cases. For example, it is important to note that Scott often uses the metaphor of gypsies to represent the Scots. In *Rob Roy*, Andrew Fairservice, the Lowland gardener, states that 'It's a mere spoiling o' the Egyptians',<sup>49</sup> as he gives a personal comment on the Scottish experiences of the impact of the Union of Parliaments in 1707. Andrew calls the Scots 'the Egyptians' since, on the one hand, according to the traditional national foundation myth, Egypt was the origin of the Scots as a people. On the other hand, this implicit message also suggests the internal orientalization of the nation through the process that Michael Hechter has called 'internal colonialism'.<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, Scott's stories of the gypsies who came from Egypt (as was commonly thought in the eighteenth century although was not a truth)

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<sup>49</sup> Scott, *Rob Roy*, p. 151.

<sup>50</sup> Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

are frequently the reflection of the Scots' own songs of lament.

Although Scott is often seen, overly simplistically, as a man with conservative political views and fearful of the plebeians' threat to the best interests of the ruling class, his serious attention to the issues of the heterogeneous group of the subaltern in his works cannot be ignored.<sup>51</sup> Contrary to the bland and passive heroes, such as Edward Waverley in *Waverley*, Henry Bertram in *Guy Mannering*, and Lovel (Major Neville) in *The Antiquary*, those supporting characters from the lower orders of society, such as Meg Merrilies (the gypsy tinker) in *Guy Mannering*, Edie Ochiltree (the beggar) in *The Antiquary* and Wandering Willie (the blind fiddler) in *Redgauntlet*, are consistently and powerfully portrayed as multifaceted personalities. They are, in David Hewitt's words, 'individuals, with a life of their own'.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, in his significant study 'Scott's Achievement as a Novelist', David Daiches also notes that: 'It is, as a rule, the unheroic characters who have the most vitality.'<sup>53</sup> Hewitt and Daiches' argument can be strongly supported by the following statement given by the Russian Romantic writer Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837): 'Shakespeare, Goethe, Walter Scott do not have a servile predilection for kings and heroes'.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, the best songs in the Waverley Novels, argues Fiona Robertson, are performed by socially marginalized characters such as Davie Gellatley in *Waverley*, Elspeth Meiklebackit in *The Antiquary*, and Madge Wildfire in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*.<sup>55</sup> With regard to these characters, Hewitt powerfully argues that:

It is long since critics thought it right to praise Scott for his treatment of social class and of the poorer members of society; it was recognised as revolutionary by his contemporaries, and it becomes wearisome to have to restate what is obvious but we do him a great injustice if we do not accept that this is indeed his greatest

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<sup>51</sup> A. O. J. Cockshut, *The Achievement of Walter Scott* (London: Collins, 1969), pp. 39-40.

<sup>52</sup> Hewitt, 'Walter Scott', p. 73.

<sup>53</sup> Daiches, 'Scott's Achievement as a Novelist', p. 34.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted in Donald Davie, *The Heyday of Sir Walter Scott* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> Fiona Robertson, 'Walter Scott', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature* V. III., ed. by Thomas Clancy, Murray Pittock, and Susan Manning (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 187.

achievement.<sup>56</sup>

Hewitt makes it clear that Scott's depiction of 'the poorer members of society' was recognized by his contemporaries and critics as a revolutionary and great achievement. Regarding Scott's deep concern with the condition of oppressed peoples, Murray Pittock, in his reading of Rebecca, the Jewess in *Ivanhoe*, argues that 'Scott's realization of repressed, destroyed, exiled or alienated identities may not at all points be innocent of contemporary caricature or lazy cliché, but is nonetheless extraordinarily sensitive, and renders him in that dimension of his work a postcolonial novelist.'<sup>57</sup> Indeed, Pittock's cogent argument concerning Scott's sympathetic handling of the traumatic experiences of the Jews can also be extensively applied to Scott's expression of his overall concern about other disadvantaged groups in the rest of his major works. The positive portrayal of the subordinate characters in Scott's works is mentioned earlier in this section, but the significance of these characters has not yet been systematically assessed. The lead has already been taken by Pittock in his studies of the Jews in *Ivanhoe* (i.e. a postcolonial reading of the colonized) and this is the method that I will seek to apply to the reading of the rest of other subordinate characters in Scott.

The theoretical foundation of this study is based on the critique developed by the Subaltern Studies Group, and I argue that this critique provides an effective channel for exploring the vitality of the subaltern characters in the Waverley Novels. As I have pointed out earlier, the modern definition of subaltern was given by Antonio Gramsci. This term calls attention particularly to 'those groups in society who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes.' Subaltern classes include various socio-economically, politically, and religiously underprivileged groups whose access to 'hegemonic' power is denied.<sup>58</sup> 'Since the historical unity of the ruling classes is realised in the State', argues Gramsci, 'their

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<sup>56</sup> Hewitt, 'Walter Scott', p. 73.

<sup>57</sup> Pittock, 'Sir Walter Scott: Historiography Contested by Fiction', p. 282.

<sup>58</sup> Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *Post-colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, p. 198.

history is essentially the history of States and of groups of States'.<sup>59</sup> Recognizing the need for a subaltern history, Gramsci therefore directs his attention to reconstructing the historiography of the subaltern classes. He affirms that the history of the subaltern is in all respects as important and rich as the history of the ruling classes, despite the fact that the history of the former is much neglected by the authority and that of the latter is generally recognized as official history. This awareness of the significance of history from below in Gramsci's work was also illustrated by E. P. Thompson in his pivotal work, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), where the author claims that 'I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the "obsolete" hand-loom weaver, the "utopian" artisan, and even the deluded follower of Joanna Southcott, from the enormous condescension of posterity.'<sup>60</sup> In addition to Thompson's work, Carlo Ginzburg, in *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980), also attempts to retrieve the subaltern history that is 'in silence, discarded, or simply ignored' according to the views of a medieval miller.<sup>61</sup>

The term 'subaltern' was adopted in the early 1980s by the Subaltern Studies Group (or Subaltern Studies Collective) of historians, founded by Ranajit Guha and other mainly Indian scholars, to encourage a systematic discussion and understanding of subaltern issues in South Asian Studies. The objective of the group is to shift the reader's attention from a sole focus on the élite culture to the history of the 'people' in South Asia. It is primarily concerned with the ways in which Indian history can be written outside the historically dominant frames of both colonialism and élite nationalism, as Guha contends:

The ordinary apparatus of historiography has little to offer us here. Designed for big events and institutions, it is most at ease when made to operate on those larger phenomena which visibly stick out of the debris of the past. As a result, historical scholarship has developed [...] a tradition that tends to ignore the small drama and

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<sup>59</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, trans. and ed. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), p. 52.

<sup>60</sup> E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin, 1963), p. 12.

<sup>61</sup> Carlos Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Millar*, trans. by John and Anne Tedeschi (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. xiii.

fine detail of social existence, especially at its lower depths.<sup>62</sup>

Drawing attention to ‘the small voice of history’,<sup>63</sup> the Subaltern Studies Group intends to offer an emendation to both colonialist and bourgeois nationalist historiography, which it regards as the ‘ideological by-products of British rule in India’,<sup>64</sup> and to provide an alternative history that is based on the distinct point of view of the people. The Group’s assumptions have been subsequently taken up and developed by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and other postcolonial theorists. Their research focuses on the exploration of the issue of whether the voice of the subaltern was either silenced or distorted during the imperial era by the hegemonic rule of the imperial élite. The essay ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’ is Spivak’s negative response to both this immediate concern and poststructuralist philosophers’ positive claim that underprivileged people can have their autonomous voices. She argues, from a Marxist point of view, that the subaltern is ‘a divided and dislocated subject whose parts are not continuous or coherent with each other’ and thus cannot speak.<sup>65</sup> Linda Smith, who follows Spivak’s argument, also claims that: ‘For indigenous peoples fragmentation has been the consequence of imperialism.’<sup>66</sup> In addition to this concern, Spivak asserts that there is a major weakness in the formulation of an unproblematically constituted subaltern identity since a single, major voice is unable to satisfy many other speaking voices. She therefore draws attention particularly to female experiences in various postcolonial contexts, and to many other marginal voices, such as those belonging to politically marginalized groups who have restricted access to the means by which they can generate their own representation.

The first comprehensive study of subaltern voices in Scottish literature, to my

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<sup>62</sup> Ranajit Guha, ‘Chandra’s Death’, in *Subaltern Studies V: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. by Ranajit Guha (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 138.

<sup>63</sup> This phrase is derived from the title of Guha’s essay, ‘The Small Voice of History’, in *Subaltern Studies IX: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. by Shahid and Dipesh Chakrabarty (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>64</sup> Jane Hiddlestone, *Understanding Postcolonialism* (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2009), p. 69.

<sup>65</sup> Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’, pp. 271-313, 280.

<sup>66</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999), p. 28.

knowledge, was carried out by Douglas S. Mack in his *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire* published in 2006. In the first chapter of the book, entitled ‘Introduction: “Can the Subaltern Speak?”’, Mack argues that, in Scotland as in India, there was a vigorous struggle between the élite and the subaltern class writers for control of the power to narrate and the authority to muffle other narrative voices. According to Mack’s point of view, members of the Scottish élite who were close to the centre of British imperial power were both quick and eager to adjust themselves to the new British norms in order to earn immediate profit; however, the subaltern classes who had limited access to the imperial enterprise mostly had an urge to maintain a distinctive Scottish identity. According to Mack, the imperial élite in Scottish literary circles was primarily made up of writers like Walter Scott and John Buchan whose significant contribution in their writings was to generate a collective British identity; however, subaltern Scottish writers like James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, challenged imperial Britain’s assumption of an integral identity by presenting an alternative subaltern voice. At the end of the chapter, Mack summarizes: ‘The Waverley Novels could be, and were, interpreted and appropriated in all sorts of ways for all sorts of political positions, but one of the crucial aspects of their political potency was their symbolic legacy in *the master-narrative of British Empire*.’<sup>67</sup> (emphasis added)

Mack was suspicious about the representability of the authentic subaltern voices in the Waverley Novels, as their creator was deemed as complicit in Britain's imperial enterprise. Subaltern characters in Scott’s writings simply cannot speak according to Mack’s understanding. In fact, they have no voice. Because of this sweeping generalization, *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire* has its key focus on subaltern characters produced by authors with roots in non-élite, subaltern Scotland, and has in fact overlooked the immense significance of various subaltern voices inherent in Scott’s work.

This study argues that the subaltern voice may be covert or marginal, but it is by no

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<sup>67</sup> Douglas Mack, *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 2, 7, 11.

means muted in Scott. The significance of the subaltern voice in the Waverley Novels, in fact, lies in its demand for liberation from the suppression by the dominant narrative. Scott's writing of the subaltern is, in short, resistant to such suppression, which is consistent with the essential feature of the historiography as written by the Subaltern Studies Group, the inherent combative form of historicism. The writing of the Group, as Jane Hiddlestone notes, 'is broad in its range and militant in its call for attention to the ongoing oppression of the people'.<sup>68</sup> Scott's Waverley Novels, therefore, can be read as a variant of Subaltern Studies Group texts of combative historicism. Moreover, this research argues that both the distinguishing characteristic of Scott's own work on the representations of the subaltern as well as the focus of the Group, in practice, correspond closely to what Fanon called a 'literature of combat' in *The Wretched of the Earth* (first published in French in 1961), which was published twenty years before the founding of the Subaltern Studies Group.<sup>69</sup>

Although the theories of the Group do not derive directly from Fanon, closer analyses demonstrate that they are conceptually very close to the latter's thinking and attitude. For revolution to be thoroughly successful, Fanon maintains that the voice of the people needs to be heard. This specific expression of the people, as Fanon argues, is found in 'the occult sphere' of the community which is understood to be:

entirely under magical jurisdiction. By entangling myself in this inextricable network where actions are repeated with crystalline inevitability, I find the everlasting world which belongs to me, and the perenniality which is thereby affirmed of the world belonging to us. [...] The supernatural, magical powers reveal themselves as essentially personal; the settler's powers are infinitely shrunken, stamped with their alien origin.<sup>70</sup>

By reintegrating soul and body, Fanon attempts to reconnect the colonized with those parts

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<sup>68</sup> Hiddlestone, *Understanding Postcolonialism*, p. 73.

<sup>69</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 193.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

of themselves that have been denied access to a spontaneous expression of the self.<sup>71</sup> By employing native language and culture, as Pittock notes, it is thus possible to ‘challenge the hierarchy of heteroglossia: it is control, not lack of control, over the registers of speech which creates the space for the distinctive performance of self’.<sup>72</sup> It is within such a domain that the subalterns enjoy a full articulation of the self and simultaneously celebrate their changing status from the colonized and marginalized to that of individuals who can relate history of their own without restraint. It is not to make those languages and cultures incomprehensible to those who do not have the knowledge of the subaltern; on the contrary, it is to call attention to the fact that the subaltern can equally possess authority and control over an exclusive knowledge of their own history and culture. Scott’s representation of his subaltern characters both illustrates and underlines Fanon and the Group’s arguments.

In the Waverley Novels, subaltern voices are constantly heard along with the illustrations of the subaltern characters. It is possible to identify a number of distinct features in Scott’s works that denote the power of the subaltern, rather than his/her limitations. Firstly, many of the subaltern characters (such as Rob Roy, Redgauntlet and Saladin) are represented as masters of disguise. By taking on forms of disguise, these characters have their original identities both concealed and shifted. They therefore enjoy an exceptional ability to travel about within the country and abroad. They remain unmolested even in the most dangerous circumstances. This mobility enables them to breach the boundaries between various social and political groups, and makes it easier for them to be in contact with all sections of society. The Waverley Novels attempt to define disguise as a political form of resistance to the hegemonic power of the ruling order and also as a way to reproduce/recover the self of the oppressed. This innovative strategy the subalterns adopt, as illustrated in many of the Waverley Novels, will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two of this thesis.

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<sup>71</sup> Hiddlestone, *Understanding Postcolonialism*, p. 42.

<sup>72</sup> Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, p. 23.

Secondly, the autonomy that the subaltern characters maintain is consistently emphasized in the Waverley Novels. These subaltern characters are self-determined and they repeatedly refuse to be assimilated or converted by the overarching power held by the ruling classes. Moreover, authority in Scott's fiction is relentlessly disrupted by the emergence of these marginal characters that persistently demand sovereignty and decline to acquiesce to the conditional hospitality of authority. Rob Roy is represented by Scott as having these specific characteristics, and his case will be studied in Chapter Three of this thesis.

Thirdly, the Waverley Novels constantly draw attention to the weight of the subaltern's languages. It is generally agreed that Scott deliberately uses languages to differentiate among classes in his fictions. Upper and upper middle class characters use standard spoken English; the other languages spoken by other social classes are more dialectical. This provincial speech is also called hearth language (such as Scots) as it is only spoken and understood by and within specific language communities. Accordingly, the vernacular languages of the subaltern serve not only as their exclusive protective colouring, but also as a site to resist colonizing power. Moreover, the use of non-standard forms of language in this case, as compellingly argued by Pittock, 'inevitably reinscribed altermentality rather than erasing it'.<sup>73</sup> In *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, the focus of Chapter Four in this thesis, the advice of the Duke of Argyle to Jeanie Deans to 'shew you have a Scots tongue in your head'<sup>74</sup> when having an audience with the Queen is a typical example.

Fourthly, as I have discussed in the earlier part of this chapter, subaltern characters are often providers of unconditional welcome, rather than recipients of hospitality. This willingness to give not only forms a symbolically significant part of subaltern characters'

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>74</sup> Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, ed. by David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 320.

identities, but also denotes their possession of strength. For example, as Chapter Five of this thesis will demonstrate, the disinterested generosity extended by Edie Ochiltree helps to knit together a potentially disintegrating community. Dandie Dinmont and Meg Merrilies also perform similar functions in *Guy Mannering*.

Lastly, as Chapter Six of this thesis aims to demonstrate, many of Scott's marginal characters with Oriental backgrounds frequently suggest a wish and demand for the kind of hospitality and toleration for foreign elements and peoples with dissimilar identities that the historical evidence cannot always support. Their internationalism and, indeed, cosmopolitanism reject national and geographical boundaries. Saladin, the common enemy of the Crusaders, is one such character who upholds the honour of chivalry, integrity, and hospitality in *The Talisman*.

The five features described above not only define subaltern characters in Scott's fictions as autonomous individuals but also emphasize the significance of their ability to initiate action in resisting any form of authority. In addition, they also confirm the agency of the marginalized people in reassessing and reconfiguring their position in relation to the dominating power, and their effective strategies for moving from the subordinate role to a relatively empowering one. In re-examining Scott's attitude towards socially and politically marginalized peoples, this section demonstrates five significant features of the subaltern in the Waverley Novels which could be considered as Scott's significant contribution to the development of postcolonial/subaltern discourse. Moreover, this study of the subaltern also indicates that Scott, well over a century before that discourse began, had already begun the process of giving the subaltern a truly authentic and powerful voice. By reading Scott in the context of modern critical theories, this thesis intends to argue that both Scott's work and these theories can be mutually supported and, yet, simultaneously challenged.

### Scottian Otherness & Defensive Orientalism

Based on the above reading of the subaltern and the discourse of hospitality, I contend that the creation and highlighting of the subaltern characters in Scott's novels can be understood as a reflection of an internal anxiety that constitutes the author's own awareness of the status of Scotland. It might imply a less manageable conflict between the relation of the imperial master and the colonized subject, as Scott often described himself (although never unconditionally) as a Jacobite situated at the position of a colonized subject resisting the erosion of the Scottish subjectivity since the 1707 parliamentary Union.<sup>75</sup> As Andrew Lincoln argues, 'On the one hand [Scott] was the post-Enlightenment observer, whom Bhabha describes as "tethered to, not confronted by, his dark reflection, the shadow of colonized man"'. On the other hand, he was also the colonized subject who bears the resentment of the dispossessed while aiming "to occupy the master's place".<sup>76</sup> Lincoln's contention adequately corresponds to the destabilizing features of the subaltern characters Scott illustrated in his works.

Even though Scott makes no secret of the fact that he deliberately uses his writings to encourage the formation of a common British identity (as we can clearly see from the ending of *Waverley*), he, argues P. H. Scott, also makes a powerful case for the ideas that cultural diversity is preferable to uniformity and centralization, especially when the hegemony of the concept of Britishness has caused a consequent dilution of Scottish cultural identity.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, many of Scott's fictions are indeed consciously constructed in opposition to the kind of cultural cannibalism exercised by England's intervention in Scotland's national culture. Furthermore, again as Lincoln states, Scott's works suggest a general 'awareness of what is at stake—psychologically, economically, politically—in the

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<sup>75</sup> Paul Henderson Scott, 'The Politics of Sir Walter Scott', in *Scott and His Influence*, pp. 208-19 (p. 208).

<sup>76</sup> Andrew Lincoln, 'Scott's *Guy Mannering*: The Limits and Limitations of Anglo-British Identity', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 26(1999), 48-61 (p. 49).

<sup>77</sup> Paul Scott, 'The Politics of Sir Walter Scott', p. 216.

need to assert difference'.<sup>78</sup> As a matter of fact, in 1826, dismayed by Westminster's proposal to bar Scottish banks from issuing small notes, Scott published the *Letters of Malachi Malagrowther* (1826) arguing, with unusual solemnity that:

For God's sake, sir, let us remain as Nature made us, Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, with something like the impress of our several countries upon each! We would not become better subjects, or more valuable members of the common empire, if we all resembled each other like so many smooth shillings.<sup>79</sup>

Despite the fact that Scott generally holds a unionist point of view in tackling issues concerning both of the nations, the above statement makes it clear that it is impossible for him to be blind to the erosion of Scottish culture that he values so dearly and highly. Therefore, as Evan Gottlieb puts it, 'Scott's recognition that being an Other and not the same may actually be desirable',<sup>80</sup> and, argues McCracken-Flesher, by 'constantly folding in otherness from the national margin',<sup>81</sup> a Scot can thus gain control over the British discourse. With Scotland constituting itself as an 'other', Scott acknowledges an opportunity to explore the nation's otherness as agency—a differentiating play for Scotland to gain the opportunity to speak.

Yet, to have a comprehensible understanding of the voices from the subaltern, the reading should not be restricted by a mere concern over the issues of Scottish characters and their identity. Scott's representation of the Oriental, as self-determining and respectable figures, has to be understood as having its origin from the tradition of Scottish Enlightenment. The years between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a prime period of Scottish Orientalism when a group of writers was committed to applying the model of 'philosophical history', mainly based on observation, to the study of human

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<sup>78</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 91.

<sup>79</sup> Walter Scott, *The Letters of Malachi Malagrowther*, ed. by Paul Henderson Scott (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1981), p.143.

<sup>80</sup> Evan Gottlieb, "To be at Once Another and the Same": Walter Scott and the End(s) of Sympathetic Britishness', *Studies in Romanticism*, 43 (2004), 187-20 (p. 207).

<sup>81</sup> McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands*, p. 117.

nature and societies in oriental countries.<sup>82</sup> As an inheritor of the Scottish Enlightenment, Scott tends to invoke the stadial theory, one of the key methodologies of the philosophical history, based on Adam Smith's definition of a four stage theory of economic development given in his 1763 *Lectures on Jurisprudence*: hunting, pastoral, agricultural, and commercial, in order to compare the conditions of societies in both European and Asian countries, as many of his works can illustrate, such as *The Talisman* and 'The Surgeon's Daughter'.<sup>83</sup> His fictions often include contrast between nations with different degrees of civilization, or varying nations in similar states of development. More detailed analysis of Scott's orientalism will be made in the final chapter of this thesis.

In addition to the philosophical history of the Scottish Enlightenment, Scott's Oriental writing can also be understood through the notion of 'Fratrism', an innovative concept introduced by Murray Pittock in his *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*. It is defined by Pittock as 'a mindset which arises from conflicting loyalties generated by inclusion in a state with which one does not fully identify'. There are basically two forms of 'Fratrism': 'the preservation of one's submerged national identity in the public realm in foreign countries, and the adoption of colonized nations and cultures as a means of expressing reservation concerning the nature and development of empire, of seeing oneself in the other'.<sup>84</sup> This act of 'seeing oneself in the other', on the one hand, corresponds to the notion of 'otherness' as I have discussed earlier; the overall concept of Fratristm, on the other hand, adequately explains the strategy Scott adopted in his Oriental writings, as it represents, argues Caroline McCracken-Flesher, both Scotland and the East.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> See Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', *The Historical Journal*, 25:1(1982), 43-69 (43).

<sup>83</sup> The impact of Scottish Enlightenment on Scott has been thoroughly discussed by Duncan Forbes in 'The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott', in *Critical Essays on Walter Scott: The Waverley Novels*, ed. by Harry E. Shaw (New York: G. K. Hall, 1996), pp. 83-97; Peter D. Garside's 'Scott and the "Philosophical" Historians', *History of Ideas*, 36:3(1975), 497-512.

<sup>84</sup> Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, p. 28.

<sup>85</sup> Caroline McCracken-Flesher, 'The Recuperation of Cannon Fodder: Walter Scott's *The Talisman*', in *Critical Essays on Sir Walter Scott: The Waverley Novels*, ed. by Harry E. Shaw (New York: G. K. Hall, 1996), pp. 202-17.

Scottish-Oriental comparison allows Scott, within a liminal space, to rhetorically assert both Scotland's proximity to the centre of Empire, and its proximity to the periphery. More importantly, it attempts to offer a critique of British colonialism at home and abroad, and to alter 'colonial pathologies of power'.<sup>86</sup> Pittock terms this master plan 'defensive orientalism'.<sup>87</sup> There is, in effect, rather little emphasis on the British overseas domination, but there are more representations of anti-colonial resistance within Scott's Oriental work. Saladin's execution of Giles Amaury in *The Talisman* and the 'fruit of the justice' of Hyder<sup>88</sup> given to the British renegade in 'The Surgeon's Daughter' are telling examples. Similar cases could also be found in the writings of Irish writers. Joseph Lennon's *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History* is a pioneering study of such phenomena.

It is this study's aim to argue that, in the Waverley Novels, Scotland is presented through the illustrations of a wide variety of the subaltern characters from both the East and West. Although this observation may help to suggest Scotland's subordinate role within the Union, Scotland's distinctive voice is never muted in Scott's work. Moreover, this study intends to demonstrate that Scotland speaks particularly by virtue of its unconditional hospitality extended to its visitors, and simultaneously it voices its complaint against the relatively more conditional hospitality it receives from the ruling order. Through a detailed analysis of five major subaltern groups in the Waverley Novels (including the Jacobites, the Covenanters, the Scottish Highlanders, socially-underprivileged classes, and Orientals), this study aims to draw attention to the considerable attention Scott pays to the depiction of the small voices of his own country and seeks to draw out some of the messages he sought to impart by so doing.

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<sup>86</sup> This phrase is derived from Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004), p. xxvii.

<sup>87</sup> Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, p. 102.

<sup>88</sup> Scott, 'The Surgeon's Daughter', p. 284.

**Chapter Two:**  
**(Re)covering the Self: the Jacobites, the Discourses of Disguise**  
**and Hospitality in *Redgauntlet***

*Redgauntlet* (1824)<sup>1</sup> is the last of Walter Scott's major Scottish novels in which he deals with the troubled relations between England and Scotland in the eighteenth century. The central political event in the novel is similar to the historical focus in its predecessors *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*: an attempt by the Stuarts to overthrow Britain's established Hanoverian monarchy. However, while some of the minor events in *Redgauntlet* are historically grounded,<sup>2</sup> as in the other novels, this particular attempted rebellion in the summer of 1765 is purely fictional since Jacobitism was to all intents and purposes dead twenty years after the Rising of 1745.<sup>3</sup> Nowhere in Scott's work is better in its illustration of the demise of this political endeavour than the painting of Fergus Mac-Ivor and Waverley each in Highland dress as represented at the end of *Waverley*. Jacobitism is here turned into an artistic creation, and is far removed from the flow of actual political events.<sup>4</sup> This view is once again ascertained by Darsie Latimer, the protagonist of *Redgauntlet*, who believes Jacobitism to be consigned to the realms of the past: 'The Pretender is no more remembered in the Highlands, than if the poor gentleman were gathered to his hundred and eight fathers, whose portraits adorn the ancient walls of Holyrood' (16). From the comparison between these two episodes, *Redgauntlet* can almost be seen as a sequel to *Waverley*: Darsie, the linking character of the two novels, reminds the reader of *Redgauntlet* of the ending of *Waverley*. Moreover, there is a similar sixty-year gap between

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Scott, *Redgauntlet* (1824), ed. by G. A. M. Wood and David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997). All subsequent references are to this edition, except where specified. Page numbers are given in brackets after quotations in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Charles did not return to Britain in 1765, but he did visit London in 1750. For more detailed historical background recounted in the novel see Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1959), pp. 418-19; 'Historical Note to *Redgauntlet*' in *Redgauntlet*, p. 442.

<sup>3</sup> See Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), p. 260; Colin Kidd, 'The Rehabilitation of Scottish Jacobitism', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 77:203 (1998), pp. 58-76.

<sup>4</sup> Walter Scott, *Waverley*, ed. by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 361.

the year when *Redgauntlet* (1824) was published and its own setting (1765). However, we may like to ask, if Jacobitism is no longer a threat to the new British state twenty years since the crushing defeat of the party at Culloden, what is the message *Redgauntlet* intends to convey to its reader? What does the author attempt to, in Fiona Robertson's term, 'exhume' from the past?<sup>5</sup> What was Scott's motivation in inventing such a rising? Is *Redgauntlet* evidence of what Karl Marx (1818-83) argues, 'History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce'?'<sup>6</sup>

This chapter argues that, based on Scott's own personal statement shown below, he does express an apparent emotional bond of affection for Jacobitism, and, *Redgauntlet*, to a certain extent, can be interpreted as a product of the author's desire to rekindle his childhood memories of the tales of Jacobite Risings which irresistibly drew the interest of the young Scott. In a letter written to Robert Surtees (1780-1834) in 1806 Scott stated: 'I became a valiant Jacobite at the age of ten years old; and, even since reason & reading came to my assistance, I have never quite got rid of the impression which the gallantry of Prince Charles made on my imagination.'<sup>7</sup> Those fascinating tales Scott heard in childhood were mostly recounted by his father's visitors to their house in George Square, such as Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, Argyllshire (1707-95) who had fought throughout the 1745-46 campaign. Scott's family, in reality, has a long history of connection with the Jacobite Risings. Scott's great grandfather, nicknamed 'Beardie', had participated in both the 1689 and 1715 Risings, and according to Peter Garside's latest findings Scott's father had almost taken part in the '45.<sup>8</sup> Fuelled by the Jacobite anecdotes of those who were personally involved, Scott's childhood imagination was gradually developing as an important stimulus for his artistic creativity. Scott, in his Introduction to

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<sup>5</sup> Fiona Robertson, *Legitimate Histories: Scott, Gothic, and the Authorities of Fiction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 246.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), trans. by Eden and Cedar Paul (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926), p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Scott to Robert Surtees in *Letters*, I (1932), 343 (17 December 1806).

<sup>8</sup> 'Genesis', *Waverley* (1814), ed. by Peter Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 370-71.

the 1832 Magnum edition of *Redgauntlet*, states that ‘The Jacobite enthusiasm of the eighteenth century, particularly during the rebellion of 1745, afforded a theme, perhaps the finest that could be selected, for fictitious composition, founded upon real or probable incident.’<sup>9</sup> For Scott, Jacobitism provides him with useful source materials for his creative writings. Indeed, for some critics, *Redgauntlet*’s very fictionality is seen as its most defining feature because it affirms Scott’s significant role as a consummate interpreter of history.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, as pointed out by Joanne Wilkes, a number of modern critics have suggested that Scott fabricates an intended Jacobite uprising in *Redgauntlet*, not for its own sake, but for his investigation of the social changes that had happened in Scotland since the ’45.<sup>11</sup> For them, Scott is not only an interpreter but also a chronicler of the history of Scotland. However, according to my reading of the novel, Scott can be more specifically identified as a chronicler of the history of socially and politically marginalized groups. Following the conventions of Gramsci and the Subaltern Studies Group, in this chapter I will term these various marginalized groups ‘the subaltern’.

The society of Scotland had been dramatically altered within the twenty years between the ’45 and Scott’s own invention of the third Jacobite rising of 1765, as a result of the aftermath of Culloden and the beginning of the overseas expansion of the British imperial enterprise. The battle of Culloden on 16 April 1746 was a complete victory for the Hanoverian forces under the command of the Duke of Cumberland. This event was regarded as the beginning of the gradual decline in Jacobite fervour and the overture to a massive military, legal and political onslaught on Scottish society. Several thousand Jacobite troops had been slaughtered during the massacre of the battle of Culloden itself and in the immediate aftermath. Many of those who survived were shipped to England and

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<sup>9</sup> Walter Scott, *Redgauntlet* (1832), ed. by Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> See James Kerr, ‘Fiction against History: Scott’s *Redgauntlet* and the Power of Romance’, *Studies in Literature and Language*, 29:3 (1987), 237-60 (p. 238).

<sup>11</sup> Joanne Wilkes, ‘Scott’s Use of Scottish Family History in *Redgauntlet*’, *The Review of English Studies*, 41 (1990), 200-11 (p. 1).

faced trial after prolonged imprisonment in Carlisle, York and London. A small minority of them were transported to the North American and West Indian colonies as indentured labourers (i.e. virtually slaves), but a number of them were freed later on by Jacobite sympathizers of the revolt.<sup>12</sup>

As far as the cultural and social aspects are concerned, the impact upon the Highlands after Culloden was also profound and unprecedented. For example, Highland dress was proscribed; heritable jurisdiction was abolished; Jacobite estates were forfeited to the Crown. The aftermath of this last pitched battle on British soil accelerated the dismantling of the clan system and was also seen as the indication of what was to come with the Highland Clearances, when the bulk of the Gaelic-speaking population from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland were forced to abandon their home. Moreover, as T. M. Devine has argued, ‘Long after the pillage had come to an end the state remained committed to a strategy of rigorous military control.’<sup>13</sup> For example, one of the mightiest artillery fortifications in Europe, Fort George near Inverness was completed in 1769 (although it was regarded as a bit of a ‘white elephant’ on completion). Within the twenty years following Culloden, Scotland remained relatively quiet, not only because of the tight social control of the military occupation but also because of the gradual growth of the economy resulting from the expansion of the empire that had helped to placate the disgruntled Scots. An extended period of British domination beyond Europe began particularly after the Seven Years’ War (1756-63). According to Bruce Lenman, the 1760s and early 1770s, the period *Redgauntlet* roughly covers, was an era of considerable prosperity in Scotland, and this situation was closely linked to the structure of the British imperial state-system. Nearly all Scots who were of importance were content with the status quo, and most of those ambitious people were offered opportunities for enrichment and advancement in the

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<sup>12</sup> See Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1992), p. 272; *Cùil Lodair: Culloden* (Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland, 2007), p. 64.

<sup>13</sup> T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 46.

colonies, although often the dreams turned sour.<sup>14</sup> Scott's novella 'The Surgeon's Daughter', set in the mid to late 1770s, is designed to illustrate the situation at home and abroad within this particular period.

Culloden, consequently, is often considered as the watershed between an old order and a new enlightened era, based on the historiographical model of the Enlightenment. Douglas Mack applies this conventional view to his reading of *Redgauntlet*, and suggests that 'times have changed since the bad old days of the feudal power of men like the Jacobite Herries' and 'the struggles of the past are over, freedom under the law has been won, and peace and prosperity have been securely established in a modern Hanoverian state.' Moreover, as Mack continues to argue, 'by the summer of 1765, we have reached what might be called the "they all lived happily ever after" stage of history's narrative'.<sup>15</sup> Mack's argument seems valid since he articulates the tradition of Whig historiography in treating Jacobitism as underdeveloped, marginal and ill-fated, and to regard the new British state as civilized, modern and rational. But such a view may not be unanimously held by other critics. As Mary Cullinan has pointed out, Scottish society in the 1760s is presented in *Redgauntlet* as 'more corrupt than that of earlier Jacobite novels'.<sup>16</sup> Andrew Lincoln also maintains that 'The novel is unusual among Scott's works for the intensity with which it evokes social disconnection, the absence of community in the modern world.'<sup>17</sup> The following monologue of Darsie Latimer clearly exemplifies Lincoln's contention:

I am in the world as a stranger in the crowded coffee-house, where he enters, calls for what refreshments he wants, pays his bill, and is forgotten so soon as the waiter's mouth has pronounced his "Thank ye, sir." (4)

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<sup>14</sup> Bruce Lenman, *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialization: Scotland 1746-1832* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), p. 42

<sup>15</sup> Douglas S. Mack, 'Culloden and After: Scottish Jacobite Novels', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, (20:3)1996, 92-106 (p. 103).

<sup>16</sup> Mary Cullinan, 'History and Language in Scott's *Redgauntlet*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 18(1978), 659-75 (p. 660).

<sup>17</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 203.

A growing feeling of alienation among people is particularly emphasized in the above passage. Moreover, hospitality, one of the core values that binds the ties within Scottish society, becomes a part of commercial transaction in the modern world; it requires to be purchased. Adam Ferguson in *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) also remarks on the phenomenon: ‘The members of a community may, in this manner, like the inhabitants of a conquered province, be made to lose the sense of every connection [...] and have no common affairs to transact, but those of trade’.<sup>18</sup> Progress, achieved through the division of labour, leads to a termination of certain valuable aspects of Scottish society. Whether or not, twenty years after Culloden Scottish society is moving towards a promising future, a close reading of the text is required in order to analyse the way in which Scott deals with the question.

This chapter follows Cullinan and Lincoln’s perspectives, and suggests that *Redgauntlet* offers little hope that the processes of history are leading humanity toward a happy Hanoverian ending. The modern, civilized and rational Hanoverian government welcomed those who consented to be incorporated and naturalized in the new British state, but those political dissidents, i.e. the Jacobites in *Redgauntlet*, are more often than not marginalized or simply excluded. In other words, a unified consensus is attained through some element of violent suppression. This fact is clearly illustrated in the novel, but the breakdown of the society is not what Scott expected to see, since, according to David Daiches, he ‘was deeply troubled at the break-up of organic structures in society’.<sup>19</sup> This chapter, for this reason, argues that *Redgauntlet* is a novel that is particularly aimed at representing significant dimensions of a society that are overlooked by the official record of the new British state, i.e. the unauthorized history of the Jacobites as/and the subaltern. The novel also attempts to valorise traditional Scottish culture, finding qualities (such as

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<sup>18</sup> Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), ed. by Fania Oz-Salzberger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 208.

<sup>19</sup> David Daiches, ‘Scott and Scotland’, in *Scott Bicentenary Essays*, ed. by Alan Bell (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1973), pp.38-60 (p. 42).

hospitality, sympathy and kindness) to admire in people who are generally very far from being considered in metropolitan society as urban, enlightened, and rational, such as the wandering minstrel, Willie Steenson, and the smuggler Nanty Ewart.

In addition, it looks at the ways in which radical and socially excluded characters both recover their muted voices and interrogate the Enlightenment notion of the teleology of civility. Moreover, while a number of critics have argued that the portraits of Alan Fairford and Darsie Latimer, the heroes of the novel, are in large part a portrait of Scott himself and those characters such as Saunders Fairford and Lilius Redgauntlet are both based on figures of crucial importance for Scott.<sup>20</sup> In reality, the most energetic and vividly-portrayed characters in *Redgauntlet*, as so often in Scott's major works, are by no means the main characters but the subordinate ones, such as Wandering Willie, Nanty Ewart, and Peter Peebles. As Margaret M. Criscuola has also remarked, 'The protagonists Darsie Latimer and Alan Fairford are more passive than other Scott protagonists [...] More than in other Scott novels, secondary characters carry the weight of the interest.'<sup>21</sup>

In the previous chapter, I have listed the features of hospitality and its use in particularly the subaltern cultures of the Waverley Novels. In this chapter, I attempt to define the Jacobites in *Redgauntlet* as the subaltern, and to examine their purposes in adopting disguises when resisting the ruling power. Then, I will analyse the use of in/hospitality as a discourse among the Jacobites within the text. Finally, I will look at the ways in which Scott illustrates the damage to hospitality, one of the great Scottish traditions, following the wrenching changes experienced by that society.

In *Redgauntlet*, as in *Waverley*, the most obvious subaltern group is naturally the Jacobites. However, it is worth noting the major difference between the representations of

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<sup>20</sup> See Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott*, II, p. 921; David Daiches, *Sir Walter Scott and his World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 111; Wilson, *A Life of Walter Scott*, p. 77. Alan Fairford and Darsie Latimer are seen as the portrait of Scott himself; Saunders Fairford is the image of Scott's father; Lilius Redgauntlet is Williamina Belsches.

<sup>21</sup> Margaret M. Criscuola, 'Constancy and Change: The Process of History in Scott's *Redgauntlet*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 20 (1985), 123-36 (p. 124).

the Jacobites in both of the novels. In *Waverley* the Jacobites' occupation of Edinburgh, their victory at Prestonpans, and their march into England as far as Derby are all based on real historical facts. They do fight, and they are the major threat to the government. But in *Redgauntlet* the Jacobites do not and cannot fight because they are illustrated as relatively powerless against the ruling order. Scott's representation of this group in 1765 renders them more fully subaltern and much weaker than their predecessors in *Waverley*. In *Redgauntlet* the Jacobites are represented as having almost no voice in society. I would argue that disguise is the only device they can adopt in order to make their dissenting voices heard. From the representations of the Jacobites we see Scott's profound understanding of and special interest in presenting these supporters of the old regime to his readers. Although the Jacobites are, without doubt, the losers in the history of Britain, the novel reveals that Scott not only recognizes this subaltern group's significance in their important role of challenging the hegemony of the ruling classes but more importantly intends to show how the Jacobites articulate their dissenting voices. This chapter, through a postcolonial perspective, aims to examine the ways in which disguise, as one of the major political forms of resistance to the hegemonic rule of the government, is represented as strategically and effectively applied by the Jacobites for creating space for the distinctive performance of the oppressed self. The chapter will also argue that Scott's use of disguise, which appears in a very wide range of situations in *Redgauntlet*, demonstrates the subversive role of the subaltern. Frantz Fanon's discourse of disguise will be applied to highlight my contention that Scott's use of disguise is a significant and innovative contribution to the subaltern's powerful self-expression in Romantic/postcolonial literature. But more importantly, this chapter argues that in *Redgauntlet* it is Scott himself who is speaking with multiple disguised voices. Working in various disguises (physical ones in particular), Scott uses the discourse of the subaltern in the service of his own defence of Scotland against the pernicious effects of a metropolitan hegemony. Although Scott does

not intend to conceal the fact that he intentionally uses his writings to encourage the creation of a common British identity, through the mouth of his protagonist in *Redgauntlet* he voices his disappointment at some slights to which he feels Scotland is being subjected by an insensitive, hegemonic government. Consequently, this chapter argues that Scott's use of the Jacobites in order to place an emphasis on the subaltern status of Scotland renders him, in this dimension of his work, a unique Romantic postcolonial novelist.

Although the postcolonial perspective Scott presents in *Redgauntlet* is itself both original and pioneering among the writings of his contemporaries, it has not yet received sufficient critical attention. Scott's creation, in particular, of those poetic, individualistic, multifaceted Jacobite figures in *Redgauntlet* still awaits acknowledgement from critics as representing one of the most noteworthy but lesser-known features of the subaltern culture in Romantic literature. Disguise, itself has played an important part in English dramatic tradition, but this feature seldom appears in Romantic literature. Scott, as usual, picks up an existing tool, but his great facility is to refashion and put the tool to uses never before considered by his contemporaries. This aspect of Scott's work is worth formal assessment.<sup>22</sup>

To highlight disguise as Scott's significant and innovative contribution to self-expression in Romantic literature, John Keats' manifesto concerning the distinguishing characteristics of a poet's imagination may be invoked here. In his letter to Richard Woodhouse (27 October, 1818), Keats commented:

it is not itself—it has no self—it is every thing and nothing—It has no character—it enjoys light and shade; it lives in gusto, be it foul or fair, high or low, rich or poor, mean or elevated [...]<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Richard Maxwell also argues that 'Scott is often seen as a [sic] innovator. But he was also a great synthesizer; he knew what everyone before him had done and found a way to put it all together, without losing a purposeful overall direction distinctively his.' 'The Historical Novel', in *The Cambridge Companion to Fiction in the Romantic Period*, ed. by Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 65-88 (p. 75).

<sup>23</sup> John Keats, 'To Richard Woodhouse, 27 October 1818' in *Letters of John Keats: A Selection*, ed. by Robert Gittings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 157-58.

Differing from the Wordsworthian ('egotistical sublime') model, Keats' brand of poet, who enters emphatically into other people's beings and natures, is a poetic 'chameleon' with 'no identity' and 'no self' of his/her own. This concept can also be illuminated and strengthened by Keats' own use of the term, 'negative capability', 'that is when man is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysterious, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact & reason'.<sup>24</sup> The expression of the self of the poet is temporarily suspended since he/she is to enter into the selves of those he/she intends to create. The ways in which Scott creates his subaltern characters also closely corresponds to Keats' idealization of the poet. This is particularly manifest in his sympathetic representations of the Jacobites in *Redgauntlet*. If Keats is celebrated as the chameleon poet, Scott could equally be regarded as the chameleon novelist. It is not because of the latter's attempt to conceal his authorship of the Waverley Novels for more than half of his career as a novelist ('the Author of Waverley', 'The Great Unknown' and 'The Wizard of the North' as Scott was nicknamed). It is rather because of Scott's proficiency in creating protean characters whose mutable natures allow fulfilment of the author's own intent in narrating the mentality of the oppressed. By analysing his characters in disguise, Scott's own philosophical and political agenda in portraying the subaltern classes can be properly comprehended.

It is generally accepted that, where the relationship between apparel and the wearer's identity is concerned, a person's outer markings can be largely understood as either a reflection or a true representation of an internal reality. However, it is also accepted that 'the clothes that wear us',<sup>25</sup> more often, carry subtle social, cultural, and even political meanings. In short, clothing could be an obvious and convenient marker of a person's or a

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<sup>24</sup> Keats, 'To George and Tom Keats, 21, 27(?) December 1817' in *Letters of John Keats*, p. 43.

<sup>25</sup> The term is part of the title of Jessica Munns and Penny Richards' edited book, *The Clothes that Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), but it is originally used by Virginia Woolf in *Orlando*, 'it is clothes that wear us and not we them; we may make them take the mould of arm or breast, but they mould our hearts, our brains, our tongues to their linking', p. 180. Woolf, *Orlando* (1928), ed. by Rachel Bowlby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

group's identity. The political dimension of clothing was famously seen in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland. Tartan was proscribed after the Jacobite Rising of 1745 since the government intended to outlaw visible statements of loyalty to a dangerously political cause. Moreover, it was also the government's intent to sever the link between tartan and Scottish national identity since tartan became widely associated with nationalism especially after the Union of the Parliaments in 1707,<sup>26</sup> as Scott commented:

I have been told, and believed until now, that the use of Tartans was never general in Scotland until the Union, with the detestation of that measure, led it to be adopted as the National colour, and the ladies all affected tartan screens.<sup>27</sup>

The notion that regards garment as a strong indicator of the wearer's personality and identity is generally useful when it is applied to the reading of Scott's fictional characters. However, this notion is not always applicable to our understanding of characters from socially, religiously or politically subaltern groups since a large number of them are constantly portrayed as having their real self concealed by their outer markings. Therefore, clothing can be a rather unstable marker of identity in Scott's work. For this reason, as Jessica Munns and Penny Richards would argue, 'clothing could function to appropriate, explore, subvert, and assert alternative identities and possibilities—sexual, national, and political'.<sup>28</sup>

The depiction of the subaltern classes has been recognized by Scott's contemporaries and modern readers as a great and, indeed, revolutionary achievement.<sup>29</sup> But, their adoption of disguise, one of the predominant features of the Waverley Novels, is not yet widely noted in Scott criticism. For example, Rob Roy MacGregor, the famous Highland

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<sup>26</sup> The wearing of tartan was banned from 1747 to 1782, except in the British Army. See Murray Pittock, 'Patriot Dress and Patriot Games: Tartan from the Jacobites to Queen Victoria', in *Culture, Nation, and the New Scottish Parliament*, ed. by Caroline McCracken-Flesher (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), pp. 158-74; see also Murray Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: The Jacobite Army in 1745*, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 39-42.

<sup>27</sup> Scott, *Journal*, pp. 711-13.

<sup>28</sup> Munns and Richards, *The Clothes that Wear Us*, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> Hewitt, 'Walter Scott', p. 73.

outlaw in *Rob Roy*, ‘wears the Hieland habit among the hills, though he has breeks on when he comes to Glasgow’;<sup>30</sup> in *Ivanhoe*, the eponymous hero is disguised as a pilgrim in order to preserve his true identity; in *The Talisman*, the Scottish knight is strategically transformed into a Nubian slave so as to return to the Crusaders’ camps ; in ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’, Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, disguises himself as a fakir and saves his country from the intended colonial intervention. There are many more examples which can further demonstrate disguise as an essential feature of Scott’s work. *Redgauntlet*, one of Scott’s most representative novels in illustrating the psychology of the subaltern, constructs the Jacobite followers’ disguises as one of the most powerful political forms of opposition to central government.

Although the experiences of the Jacobites during the time of their Risings between 1688 and 1746 may appear very different from the general experiences of the socially underprivileged groups, the Jacobites’ situation was very similar to most of the unvoiced subaltern classes since they were not only politically marginalized but were also almost entirely subject to the hegemony of the ruling orders of society. As Frank McLynn argues: ‘That the exiled House of Stuart was *the* target for eighteenth-century treason law emerges clearly from the number of statutes enacted after 1688, specifically aimed at the Pretender and his adherents. [...] The Pretender himself was declared guilty of treason from the mere fact of his claim to the English throne.’<sup>31</sup> Therefore, despite the fact that their political propaganda and campaign against the government were widely known, the Jacobites were, out of necessity, relatively muted in public, and they could not act openly as their original selves.

To achieve their political ends, the Jacobites had to combine forces with other socially disadvantaged groups, with the consequence that the leader of the Jacobite party in

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<sup>30</sup> Walter Scott, *Rob Roy*, ed. by David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 195.

<sup>31</sup> Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 156-57.

*Redgauntlet* remarks that he has been ‘the apparent associate of outlaws and desperadoes’ (320).<sup>32</sup> For example, smugglers were particularly instrumental in many Jacobite manoeuvres for landing arms in the Highlands. Moreover, they were a major source of intelligence for French military planners in the two invasion attempts of 1743-4 and 1745-6. The lower orders of society likewise also often voluntarily joined the Jacobites so as to gain their voices and potential benefits. Smugglers were perhaps the most fascinating group of ‘economic Jacobites’ since contraband had become big business by the early eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup> As Adam Smith argues, contraband was ‘The most hazardous of all trades, that of the smuggler, though when the adventure succeeds, it is likewise the most profitable.’<sup>34</sup> These men who saw the extension of excise duty to Scotland as the imposition of English law (as implied in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*) supported the Jacobites since it is the most noted anti-government political group. As McLynn argues, the assumption that the Hanoverian government was an illegitimate and possibly also an ‘illegal’ dynasty was obviously popular with men who daily broke its law. While in most cases the ‘Jacobitism’ of the smugglers simply amounted to finding a pretext of legitimacy for their illicit trading, sometimes it went beyond that into active support.<sup>35</sup> This particular and symbiotic relationship between the Jacobites and socially marginal groups can therefore be seen as a result of mutual advantage and mutual sympathy.

In *Redgauntlet*, Darsie Latimer offers an important observation about the formation of comradeship among various subaltern groups, as well as the intrinsic value they attach to their community: ‘I remembered that, in a wild, wandering, and disorderly course of life, men, as they become loosened from the ordinary bonds of civil society, hold those of

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<sup>32</sup> See E. P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: the Origins of the Black Act* (London: Allen Lane, 1975); Eveline Cruickshanks and Howard Erskine-Hill, ‘The Waltham Black Act and Jacobitism’, *The Journal of British Studies*, 24:3 (1985), pp. 358-65; Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 113-18.

<sup>33</sup> See Paul Monod, ‘Dangerous Merchandise: Smuggling, Jacobitism, and Commercial Culture in Southeast England, 1690-1760’, *The Journal of British Studies*, 30:2 (1991), pp. 150-82.

<sup>34</sup> Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), 2 vols, ed. by R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) II, p. 128.

<sup>35</sup> McLynn, *The Jacobites* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), pp. 83-84.

comradeship more closely sacred; so that honour is sometimes found among thieves, and faith and attachment in such as the law has termed vagrants.’ (200) This alliance between the socially subaltern groups and the Jacobite party is pointed out by Murray Pittock in *Jacobitism* (1998):

Jacobitism’s ‘outsider’ status tended to draw together (if only temporarily) disaffected groups, and to criminalize those ideologically opposed to the Hanoverian regime, thus driving them into cross-class alliance with criminals who themselves became politicized as a result of the connection [...] <sup>36</sup>

The Jacobites’ close affinity with underground cultures was commonly known. But, it is of importance to note that the Jacobites were not only marginalized as the outsiders of society but were also stigmatized as outlaws during and after their Risings, as Pittock notes:

the exiled monarch was presented as a social bandit, a criminal hero and a lord of misrule who would reverse the cultural categories of the Whig state in a restoration of customary rights. The image of the King as fellow-rebel in the struggle to restore true rights was reflected in Jacobite criminal subculture, chief among whom were the smugglers and the highwaymen. <sup>37</sup>

Unsurprisingly, as a result, the Jacobite party became an important part of the greater subaltern community, and arguably the subaltern themselves. What Pittock has described is demonstratively characterized in *Redgauntlet*.

Through this analysis of its fictional characters (such as Redgauntlet, Wandering Willie and Nanty Ewart), the Jacobite subaltern culture in *Redgauntlet* can be readily understood. Darsie Latimer’s comment to his friend Alan Fairford provides a concise introduction to the imagined Jacobitism of the 1760s: ‘I had heard, however, that there still existed partisans of the Stuart family, of a more daring and dangerous description; men who, furnished with gold from Rome, moved, *disguised and secretly*, through the *various*

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<sup>36</sup> Murray Pittock, *Jacobitism* (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1998), p. 78.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

*classes of society*, and endeavoured to keep alive the expiring zeal of their party.’ (187) (emphasis added) Darsie’s comment carries an important message by listing a number of significant features of the Jacobite underground culture, including its habitual disguise, its key constituent members and its culture of protest. It is this chapter’s particular intent to note that the value of disguise to Scott’s subaltern classes is emphasized by the large numbers of characters in *Redgauntlet* using various disguises. Because of the concealment of their identities, the names of the Jacobite members as shown in the novel are mostly aliases or nicknames. Moreover, as Paul Monod states, ‘The names of King James II and his heirs were officially anathematized; to proclaim their right to the throne verbally was to run the risk of punishment by imprisonment, fines, the pillory or a whipping.’<sup>38</sup> Therefore, in *Redgauntlet* Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the spiritual leader of Jacobitism, appears as a Catholic priest (Father Buonaventure), but he is called variously as the King, the Pretender, the Chevalier, and the Wanderer. Edward Hugh Redgauntlet, the most faithful follower of the Stuarts, is a fisherman in disguise. With regard to his names, he has ‘mair nor ane in Westmoreland and on the Scotch side’ (166), but still has ‘no certain name’ (60). He is generally known as Herries of Birrenswork, Squire Ingoldsby, and the Laird of the Solway Lakes. Maxwell of Summertrees, also a staunch Jacobite, is celebrated as Pate-in-Peril. Thomas Trumbull, the smuggler, is nicknamed Tam Turnpenny. Apart from people who are to a degree active in the rising, those who are passively involved are also compelled to adopt certain disguises in order to facilitate the action: Lilius Redgauntlet, the title character’s niece, disguises herself as a lady in green mantle; Darsie Latimer is forced by his uncle to put on ‘A skirt, or upper-petticoat of camlet, like those worn by country ladies of moderate rank when on horseback, with such a riding-mask as they frequently use on journies’ (204). This example of Darsie’s disguise as a lady is said to be based on the inspiration of a real historical fact. Bonnie Prince Charlie once disguised himself as an

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<sup>38</sup> Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788*, p. 6.

Irish maid, Betty Burke, when he was forced back into exile.<sup>39</sup>

In Trumbull and Darsie's comments to Alan quoted below, Scott exemplifies a well-formulated theoretical basis supporting the idea of concealing oneself:

Whereas, thou who art to journey in miry ways, and amongst a strange people, may'st do well to have two names, as thou hast two shirts, the one to keep the other clean. (242-43)

I have known my uncle often act the part of a hero, and sometimes that of a mere vulgar conspirator, and *turn himself, with the most surprising flexibility, into all sort of shape* to attract proselytes to his cause. (308) (emphasis added)

The subaltern's considerable 'flexibility' in concealing and revealing their identities, as the quotation has stressed, is also complementary to Alison Lumsden's argument that identity in the Waverley Novels is often contingent. She argues that identity in Scott's work 'is continuously posited as complex and fluid, consisting not of fixed epistemic models, but rather of residue and excess, constantly resisting closure.'<sup>40</sup> The reason that the subaltern resists adopting a 'closed' identity is because of his/her inability to survive when maintaining the mere self. To preserve the real self, the subaltern has to adopt many other secondary selves and thereby make the original one blurred or even invisible. However, this ability to change appearances may not denote real power. Graham McMaster points out that Redgauntlet often gives the impression of being powerful as he can assume a number of names at will, but his lack of 'a certain name' actually reveals his own real weakness as an outlaw.<sup>41</sup> McMaster's point is also applicable to other subaltern characters in many of the Waverley Novels. Taking an example from *Rob Roy*: Diana Vernon's father Sir Frederick, a proscribed Jacobite, has to live in the guise of a monk, Father Vaughan, in

<sup>39</sup> See Frank McLynn, *Bonnie Prince Charlie: Charles Edward Stuart* (London: Pimlico, 2003) (first published as *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts* by Routledge in 1988), pp. 280-86; Fitzroy Maclean, *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (Edinburgh: Canogate, 1988), pp. 250-58.

<sup>40</sup> Alison Lumsden, "'Beyond the Dusky Barrier': Perceptions of the Highlands in the Waverley Novels" in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*, ed. by Dauvit Broun and Martin MacGregor (Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, 2007), pp. 158-86 (p. 185).

<sup>41</sup> Graham McMaster, *Scott and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 38.

order to preserve his true identity.<sup>42</sup>

In *Redgauntlet* there are not only appellations and appearances that can be under cover; there are also codes hidden in the conversation of the Jacobites. This is an elaborate system of being evasive in order to avoid charges of treason. When Redgauntlet intends to drink in honour of the Young Pretender in exile, he simply says ‘Over the water’ (39) since he is in front of Saunders Fairford, the resolute Hanoverian Writer to the Signet.<sup>43</sup> He later uses the even more elliptical Gaelic, ‘*Slaint an Rey*’ (186), which literally means Health to the King, in order to toast the Young Pretender. When Alan Fairford seeks help from Tom Trumbull, the smuggler, he is also required by the latter to give a password before they began their private conversation. (236) This act of disguise in language serves not only for self-protection, as it becomes their protective colouring, but also for the strengthening of, in Benedict Anderson’s term, an ‘imagined community’,<sup>44</sup> since language is often a symbol of social, cultural, or political identity. This issue concerning communities based on languages is well exemplified by the users of the Romani language, since it is a secret language which enables Roma people to communicate amongst themselves without being understood by outsiders.<sup>45</sup> Scott’s most extended fictional treatment of the gypsies is in *Guy Mannering* and, although the use of Romani language is not alluded to, the internal dynamics of the gypsy world is indeed presented as a form of secret hidden operating space of the marginalized group in the novel.

The last but by no means least defining characteristic of the Jacobite subaltern culture presented in the novel is suggested by its place of locations. To investigate the cryptic nature of the narrative in *Redgauntlet*, Fiona Robertson points out the symbolic meanings

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<sup>42</sup> Walter Scott, *Rob Roy*, pp. 195, 323.

<sup>43</sup> See also McLynn, *The Jacobites*, p. 149.

<sup>44</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

<sup>45</sup> See Walter Simson, *A History of the Gypsies: with Specimens of the Gipsy Language* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1865), pp. 281-340; Jean-Paul Clébert, *The Gypsies* (1961), trans. by Charles Duff (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), pp. 168-69.

of mazes and labyrinths in the novel.<sup>46</sup> This observation neatly illustrates another crucial aspect of the subaltern's disguise tactics, as a Chinese proverb says, 'Crafty rabbit has three caves'<sup>47</sup>. Examples from the novel include: the 'perilous passages' and 'labyrinth of dark and deep lanes' (160) of the Solway; the subterranean vaults, narrow passageways and concealed trap-doors of Trumbull's hiding place (238); the winding lanes on the way to Fairladies, where '[all] the windows were dark as pitch' (267; 272).<sup>48</sup>

As above examples demonstrate, the members of the Jacobite party have their identities, languages and habitations both concealed and shifted by taking on elaborate forms of disguise. Therefore these three modes of disguise that the subaltern characters adopt do not in any way reveal the identities of the Jacobites; instead, they function as protective colouring. Like chameleons, members of the Jacobite party camouflage themselves by changing their garments, languages and houses in order to match their surroundings. Because of this concealment, they enjoy an exceptional ability to travel around at home and abroad. Moreover, this mobility makes it much easier for them to access all sections of society. They could even remain unmolested in the most dangerous circumstances, such as the Coronation Feast of George III (306) as exemplified in the novel. Most important of all, it enables the Jacobite party to recruit not only the sympathizers of the cause but also potential partisans from particularly the lower orders of society, such as 'outlawed smugglers, or Highland banditti' (308). In short, invisibility is invoked in *Redgauntlet* as a site of resistance. The importance of the notion of disguise for the subaltern to survive in this way is also acknowledged and elaborated in the work of the influential postcolonial theorist, Frantz Fanon. In the following section I will apply Fanon's interpretation of in/visibility, a strategic manoeuvre carried out by the subaltern when resisting colonizing power, to reinforce the importance of the Jacobites' disguises in

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<sup>46</sup> Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, p. 251.

<sup>47</sup> This is roughly equal to 'It is a poor mouse that has only one hole.'

<sup>48</sup> More examples are given in Robertson's *Legitimate Histories*, p. 251.

*Redgauntlet*.

As David Theo Goldberg puts it, metaphors of visibility and invisibility permeate Fanon's entire body of work.<sup>49</sup> To Fanon this dualistic view on the visible and the invisible is quintessentially a European construction. The roots of this racial and colonial Manichaeism in the modern period can be found in the European Enlightenment, which considered Europe as the centre of the world and the carrier of light to its dark regions.<sup>50</sup> As one contributor to the *Edinburgh Review* stated in 1802, 'Europe is the light of the world, and the ark of knowledge: upon the welfare of Europe hangs the destiny of the most remote and savage people.'<sup>51</sup> Accordingly, under western 'imperial eyes' (or gaze), whiteness has long been characterized in terms of light, power and visibility, blackness in terms of darkness, powerlessness and invisibility. This notion is particularly chosen and illustrated by Ralph Ellison in his famous novel *Invisible Man* (1952), where his coloured narrator states precisely, 'I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me [...] because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their *inner eyes*'.<sup>52</sup> To cope with such deeply ingrained European prejudice, Fanon's work reveals that if one is delineated by dominant powers as unavoidably an invisible other, the best strategy may be not to resist or express discontent at one's designation, but to embrace one's otherness and to use it.

Goldberg, whose understanding of the Fanonian concept of in/visibility is profound, argues that in Fanon 'visibility and invisibility are not simply states or conditions of being. Rather, they characterize, express, reflect, or they are the effects of strategic relations'. As

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<sup>49</sup> David Theo Goldberg, 'In/Visibility and Super/Vision: Fanon on Race, Veils, and Discourse of Resistance' in *Fanon: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Lewis R. Gordon, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Renée T. White (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 179-200 (p. 179).

<sup>50</sup> With regard to the notion of 'Manichaeism' in Fanon, see Nigel C. Gibson's detailed discussion in *Fanon: The Postcolonial Imagination* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003), pp. 113-17.

<sup>51</sup> Aeneas Anderson, 'Accounts of the Egyptian Expedition - Reynier's State of Egypt - Sir R. Wilson's History of the British Expedition - Captain Walsh's History of the Campaign - Anderson's Journal of the Forces', *Edinburgh Review*, 2:3 (1803), 53-64 (p. 64). This is quoted in P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams' *The Great Map of Mankind: British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1982), p. 303.

<sup>52</sup> Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (1952), with an introduction by John Callahan (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 3.

Goldberg continues to argue, in Fanonian thinking, ‘Constitutive or reflective of strategic relations, visibility and invisibility each can serve contextually as weapons, as a defensive or offensive strategy, as a mode of self-determination or denial of it.’<sup>53</sup> In *A Dying Colonialism* (1959) Fanon contends that ‘[t]he colonized exerts a considerable effort to keep away from the colonial world, not to expose himself to any action of the conqueror’ since under some conditions, invisibility could increase power or can be simply seen as an expression of power itself.<sup>54</sup> Invisible to the colonial conqueror, the colonized could therefore work behind the veil, doing things not otherwise possible or permissible. They are therefore holding a strategic position where they could reduce the power of the colonizer. From sites of invisibility, they are consequently able to fight against colonial control.<sup>55</sup> This, from my analysis of his work, is also Scott’s conception of disguise.

My argument concerning the flexibility of the subaltern’s identities as exemplified in *Redgauntlet* is not only supported by this Fanonian concept of the strategic use of invisibility but is also complemented by Alison Lumsden’s claim which considers identity in the Waverley Novels as contingent in general.<sup>56</sup> The key reason for the subaltern to assume a variable identity is due to their inability to survive when maintaining a single identity of the self. For the subaltern, embracing a fluid identity could potentially result in a constant regeneration of many differing secondary selves. In other words, it is the subaltern’s intent to construct ‘the self as the other’ and also to create ‘the other as the self’. Accordingly, the subaltern’s true identity, though blurred, can be sheltered within their own realm where, again in Fanon’s terms, ‘the settler’s powers are infinitely shrunken, stamped with their alien origin’.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, this ‘powerlessness in Scott and in line with Homi Bhabha’, as Caroline McCracken-Flesher argues, ‘can offer a site of articulation for

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<sup>53</sup> Goldberg, ‘In/Visibility and Super/Vision: Fanon on Race, Veils, and Discourse of Resistance’, p. 181.

<sup>54</sup> Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (1959), translated by Haak Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1965), p. 130.

<sup>55</sup> Goldberg, ‘In/Visibility and Super/Vision: Fanon on Race, Veils, and Discourse of Resistance’, p. 181.

<sup>56</sup> Lumsden, “‘Beyond the Dusky Barrier’: Perceptions of the Highlands in the Waverley Novels’, p. 185.

<sup>57</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 43.

cultural challenge.’<sup>58</sup> It is Scott’s assured use of the device of the disguised subaltern to draw the reader’s logical consciousness to the fact that such is the only way in which these characters can maintain their self and perform the function that the author has mapped out for them. Scott introduces us to these new stylistic forms with a profoundly focused intent which modern literary criticism is well placed to discern. To develop further the above discussion on the Jacobites’ disguise as a form of challenge to the ruling government, I intend in the following section to demonstrate and examine a particular ‘culture of protest’ fostered within the subaltern groups in *Redgauntlet*.

Despite the great diversity of subaltern groups represented in *Redgauntlet* (such as the Jacobites, fishermen, smugglers, beggars and Catholic nuns), the one invariant feature is their active resistance to elite domination. This characteristic of the subaltern in the fiction also reflects the culture of protest in Jacobitism. Pittock makes this particular culture clear:

For some Jacobites, the absent monarch was a messianic deliverer, the restorer of the Church, the nation’s and not least their own fortunes; for others, he was the symbol of Scottish or Irish nationality and independence. He was also the key oppositional point of focus, a figure who could be aligned with *a culture of protest* based not only on nationalism and “country” values, but also with more broadly radical issues of *resistance*.<sup>59</sup> (emphasis added)

In *Redgauntlet*, the representation of the intended Jacobite rising in 1765 is accompanied by several minor narratives of other socially marginalized groups’ resistance to elite domination. Although these minor narratives in the text have little to do with the development of the main storyline, they are fundamentally consistent with it in their appeal to being heard. Together they form a significant culture of protest in the text. By embracing this specific ‘culture’, *Redgauntlet* explicitly articulates the standpoint of the downtrodden, and represents the experiences of those who have been hitherto hidden from history.

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<sup>58</sup> McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands*, p. 13.

<sup>59</sup> Pittock, *Jacobitism*, p. 63.

Moreover, it demonstrates the ability of the oppressed to question and counter colonial discourses. In the following section, there are three cases, respectively from Peter Peebles' litigation, Wandering Willie's Tale, and Willie's personal experience, that are representative of the subaltern's attempt to amplify their distinct voices, and to challenge the authority's claim of its power.

Peter Peebles, the pauper litigant who suffers because of the delays of the law, has been obsessed for fifteen years with the legal case against his former business partner Plainstones. His life is almost ruined by the miscarriage of justice, but he still insists on believing that the law is on his side. Peebles' utter indifference to anyone and anything except his own needs and problems that reduces him to 'an insane beggar—as poor as Job, and as mad as a March hare' (116) is severely criticized by almost all the other characters (especially Nanty Ewart) in the text. Nevertheless, his radical demand for his own rights is clear evidence of the articulation of the subaltern's voice. Despite the fact that some critics seek to interpret Peebles' case as a critical comment both upon Redgauntlet's monomania and on the Pretender's claim to be restored to the throne he has lost,<sup>60</sup> their acts are all facets of a wish to be heard that modernity denies, and also a challenge to a claim of official impartiality in what is in effect a partial law. Moreover, the 'madness' of Peebles and the Pretender/Redgauntlet's acts, on the contrary, can be interpreted as the result of social and political oppression. Their cases, in fact, can be seen as a critique of the government's abuse of its power.

'Wandering Willie's Tale', also embedded within the larger narrative of *Redgauntlet* told by Willie the blind fiddler, concerns his grandfather Steenie Steenson's resistance to the feudal yoke and the Devil's temptation. In the tale, Steenie is asked by Sir John Redgauntlet to submit the receipt, which should have been issued by Sir John's late father

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<sup>60</sup> Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown*, II, p. 925; David Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature*, 2nd edn, 4 vols (London: Secker & Warburgh, 1969), p. 851; D. D. Devlin, *Walter Scott: Modern Judgements* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 19.

Robert, to prove that Steenie's rent has been paid. However, Sir Robert has died suddenly and has no chance to give the tenant the receipt that is peremptorily demanded by the new laird. When Steenie has fallen into utter despair over the issue, a dark horseman appears to guide him to the depth of Pitmurkie Wood. The scene is presumably set in Hell. There, he is met by the ghost of Sir Robert. Once in the castle, Steenie receives the late laird's hospitality, but refuses the temptation to eat, to drink and to play his host a tune on his bagpipes. He even 'charged Sir Robert for conscience-sake [...] and as he hoped for peace and rest, to spread no snares for him, but just to give him his ain.' (98) Steenie eventually receives what he wants by insisting upon his rights. Steenie's heroism, his refusal to compromise, and his determination to get 'his ain', to some degree similar to Peebles' demand for justice, is also representative of a subaltern's refusal of an unreasonable and enforced accommodation to hegemonic power.

Wandering Willie, like his grandfather, also rejects the accommodation of the rich. When on an occasion Darsie offered Willie money in order to persuade his newly acquainted friend to take him to a party, 'Damn your crowns!' (83) was the immediate reply of the disinterested minstrel. Moreover, we were told, Willie can, in fact, easily have a stable life since 'mony a bein nook in mony a braw house' has been offered to him 'if he wad but just bide still and play to the gentles' (81). But he simply declines sacrificing his own freedom and personal dignity in exchange for economic stability: 'Stay in a house and play to the gentles!—strike up when my leddy pleases, and lay down the bow when my lord bids! Na, na, that's nae life for Willie.' (81) Willie, as an advocate of unconditional hospitality, refuses selling this time-honoured Scottish value for pecuniary benefits. These three small narratives of the subaltern's resistance to the enforced accommodation of power have formed the background to the master narrative of the novel, the Jacobite plot in 1765. By providing parallels they alert us to the significant role of the Jacobites as subalterns.

In addition to the aforementioned examples of the subaltern's resistance, the intended Jacobite rising orchestrated by Redgauntlet also starkly illustrates the subaltern's struggle against the hegemonic rule of the state, as Redgauntlet passionately explains to Darsie: 'the liberty of which the Englishman boasts, gives as little real freedom to its owner, as the despotism of an Eastern Sultan permits to his slave' (193). This rhetoric of slavery is often seen in the long eighteenth century to characterize both the Jacobites (generally Scottish and Irish) and Catholics.<sup>61</sup> Redgauntlet's daring deed against the hegemonist discourse, as I seek to argue in the following section, may also be interpreted as a demonstration of his wish to extend personal hospitality not only to restore a banished royal house but also to preserve a cultural tradition that was soon to be extinguished. It was not an act for self-interest or personal gain. However, his self-assumed hospitality is often masked by (and misunderstood because of) his ineluctable performances of inhospitality, such as indifference, unfriendliness and even violence to his guests. These unfriendly gestures are, along with the function of his disguises of name, language and appearance, designed to further the cause. Redgauntlet's treatment of Darsie particularly exemplifies a mixture of necessarily inhospitable acts and yet his greater hospitable intention. The meaning of these manifestations of in/hospitality requires further interpretation and clarification through a close reading of the text.

Darsie becomes Redgauntlet's guest after he is rescued by the host (the laird, but is actually his own uncle, Redgauntlet) in the Solway Firth, where the incoming tide nearly costs him his life. But the host's lukewarm reception has made the guest fairly uncomfortable, rather than feeling at home. Darsie criticizes that the host 'receives [him] with civility, but without either good will or cheerfulness' (29). Moreover, he complains that Redgauntlet's entertainment has only an external form, 'but without even the

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<sup>61</sup> See Murray Pittock, 'Slavery as a Political Metaphor in Scotland and Ireland in the Age of Burns', in *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, ed. by Sharon Alker, Leith Davis and Holly Faith Nelson (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 19-30 (p.20).

affectation of hearty hospitality' (29). Darsie also protests that 'he neither asked my name, nor expressed the least interest concerning my condition' (30). In this case, obviously, Redgauntlet, as the host, fails to cultivate a healthy host-guest relationship. In a letter to Alan, Darsie mentions that 'there is something terrible about this man' (32). Redgauntlet's subsequent silence and his neglect of Darsie's request have even made the latter feel like an unwanted guest. Darsie's earlier suspicion about the host's probable underlying motivation, 'Why was it [...] that I could not help giving an involuntary shudder at receiving an invitation so seasonable in itself, and so suitable to my naturally inquisitive disposition?' (23), is subsequently confirmed when he is kidnapped on the English side of the Solway and held prisoner by the same man who intends to use him in the service of the Jacobite cause with which Darsie (whose real name is Sir Arthur Darsie Redgauntlet) is unwilling to become involved. However, Darsie has no choice but to co-operate and submit himself fully to his uncle's control since, by using Alexander Welsh's phrase, 'the law is being manipulated by Hugh Redgauntlet within his domain'.<sup>62</sup> In the latter half of the fiction, Darsie is forced to disguise himself as a country lady with an iron mask fastened on his face to enhance the party's mobility (204-205). Redgauntlet's violent accommodation of Darsie, particularly when he is portrayed as a skilled horseman who seizes his nephew on horseback and throws him across the horse, is considered by McMaster as a demonstration of 'control, discipline and authority'.<sup>63</sup> Redgauntlet's rough and even violent reception of his guest is seen on the surface as an instance of deformed or failed hospitality in the light of the response from the recipient end. But, if the host's violence is known to be an act of performance, his inhospitality towards Darsie may have other hidden meanings.

Generally speaking, the criterion which is applied to examine a host-guest relationship is normally based on the response of the guest, although without any consideration of the

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<sup>62</sup> Alexander Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1963), p. 228.

<sup>63</sup> McMaster, *Scott and Society*, pp. 22-3.

host's own situation. The host, according to an established Christian convention, is invariably required to co-operate with needs of the guest, as Exodus 22:21 says: 'Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.'<sup>64</sup> In this regard, Redgauntlet's failure to offer a 'tangible' hospitality could indeed be criticized. However, in contrast to the accepted view seeing Redgauntlet as an inhospitable host, James Reeds argues that 'Scott subtly qualifies Redgauntlet's manner as a host, using the conduct of the meal from beginning to end not only as a pointer to his character but as a way of assessing Latimer's priggish propriety.'<sup>65</sup> I do agree with Reed's argument concerning Redgauntlet's friendly reception of Darsie, but my understanding of Redgauntlet's hospitality is grounded on different argument.

I intend to argue that Redgauntlet's outward inhospitable expression, which is in the service of his political manoeuvres, is a subject that demands a more thorough assessment. In addition, the fact that Redgauntlet is himself a subaltern figure in the political context of the text also requires recognition. Many critics have agreed that Redgauntlet's Jacobitism (or his selfless hospitality to his nation) can actually be regarded as a form of patriotism. As David Daiches cogently argues, Redgauntlet's standing point is 'more than a matter of family pride or even of loyalty to a royal house: its basis is Scottish nationalism, a profound and even fanatical feeling for Scottish nationhood, which he identifies with the Stuart cause.'<sup>66</sup> Joanne Wilkes also agrees that Redgauntlet's machinations are 'motivated by political idealism and a sense of family destiny, rather than by a desire for self-preservation or personal gain.'<sup>67</sup> In other words, Redgauntlet's conspiracy against the government is firmly based upon his radical nationalism, an extreme form/performance of his sense of responsibility. According to Alan Fairford's account, his father (Saunders) takes his personal hospitality towards his friends and clients as a civic 'duty' (37).

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<sup>64</sup> The Bible, p. 93.

<sup>65</sup> James Reed, *Sir Walter Scott: Landscape and Locality* (London: Athlone Press, 1980), p. 158.

<sup>66</sup> Daiches, 'Scott's *Redgauntlet*', in *Critical Essays on Sir Walter Scott: the Waverley Novels*, ed. by Harry E. Shaw (New York: G.K. Hall, 1996), pp. 137-48 (p. 140).

<sup>67</sup> Wilkes, 'Scott's Use of Scottish Family History in *Redgauntlet*', p. 205.

Similarly, as far as Redgauntlet is concerned, he also considers his plot against the government as his bounden 'duty' to his nation:

The privilege of free action belongs to no mortal—we are tied down by the fetters of duty—our mortal path is limited by the regulations of honour—our most indifferent actions are but meshes of the web of destiny by which we are all surrounded. (193)  
(emphasis added)

When Saunders Fairford's performance of hospitality (towards Peter Peebles particularly) is criticized by Andrew Lincoln as in fact an act 'in the way of business',<sup>68</sup> Redgauntlet's self-imposed duty is, in contrast, a mixture of selflessness and even self-sacrifice. For him, the definition of 'duty' is much more rigid than the one adopted by Fairford, since it is an obligation rather than a question, 'to be, or not to be'. In his defence of his political plot, he says:

for any selfish purpose of my own, no, not even to win for myself the renown of being the principal instrument in restoring my King and freeing my country. My first wish on earth is for that restoration and that freedom—my next, that my nephew, the representative of my house, and of the brother of my love, may have the advantage and the credit of all my efforts in the good cause. (320)

This Jacobite rising is such a mission that Redgauntlet intends to carry out for the lasting happiness of his family and nation against certain forms of Hanoverian exploitation and oppression, although there is obviously a faint hope of success. When the Jacobitism of Redgauntlet is compared with that of Fergus Mac-Ivor, the latter one becomes less admirable since it is to an extent tainted by his personal considerations. Redgauntlet's practice of his political faith is much closer to that of Flora Mac-Ivor and Diana Vernon, whose unswerving devotion to the Stuart cause is utterly uncontaminated by any thought of personal advantage. Robin Mayhead in his study of Flora calls it 'the strength of the tragic realist', and explains:

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<sup>68</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 206.

Tragic realism involves the individual who strives to live according to one objective, or ideal, or personal code, only to find that the pressure of real life make this out of the question. Given the ultimate impossibility, there is no further reason for existing. Flora does not die, but her retreat to a convent is as much a farewell to the world as her brother's execution.<sup>69</sup>

In *Redgauntlet* the imagined uprising ends in failure, with the famous exclamation of Redgauntlet: 'the cause is lost for ever' (373). This utterance of his total despair may be interpreted as the resentment of a colonized man. At the same time, as Edwin Muir argues, it reflects Scott's own disappointment about the melting and dissolving of traditional Scottish culture within the new modernizing state.<sup>70</sup> At the end of the novel Redgauntlet left Scotland and chose to sever his connection with his beloved homeland by spending the rest of his life in a foreign monastery, where he 'never used the English language, never inquired after English affairs, and, above all, never mentioned his own family' (379). His farewell to the world, similar to the decision of Flora, proclaims the end of his lifelong hope for the future. To Scott, the shadow of the '45 is still there, not far away. *Redgauntlet* offers slim hope that the processes of history are leading the society toward a promising future, not only through an imaginative failed third Jacobite rising but also via the representations of those who are entirely unrelated to the plot.

Joshua Geddes, the Quaker, is often seen as a direct counterpart to Redgauntlet in his acts of pacificity and the ways in which he expresses his hospitality, particularly towards Darsie. Joshua's hospitality extended to Darsie is both genuine and friendly which is strongly reminiscent of Meg Merrilies and Dandie Dinmont's unconditional welcome extended to Henry Bertram in *Guy Mannering*. The altruistic love offered by these characters is not often depicted in the Waverley Novels. Joshua is commended by Francis Hart for his selflessness and is regarded by the same critic as 'the chief exponent of the

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<sup>69</sup> Robin Mayhead, *Walter Scott* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 32-33.

<sup>70</sup> Edwin Muir, *Scott and Scotland: The Predicament of the Scottish Writer* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1982), p. 100.

novel's governing values'.<sup>71</sup> Robert Gordon also argues that 'Among the more thoroughly developed dissenting figures in the Waverley Novels he is perhaps the most sympathetic'.<sup>72</sup> Stanley Sulkes, in his study of hospitality in the Waverley Novels, summarizes that 'Geddes [...] is the soul of hospitality'.<sup>73</sup> However, these positive evaluations of Joshua's hospitality, according to my reading of the text, are in some fashion a reflection of conventional thought rather than a critical assessment of that act. In the following section, I set out to re-evaluate Joshua's hospitality and seek to offer a more balanced view by pointing out conflicts within the manifestations of Joshua's hospitable welcome.

The almost impeccable hospitality given by Joshua to Darsie is based on the following three points. Firstly, Joshua unconditionally welcomes Darsie to his house even though the latter is an accidental guest handed over by Redgauntlet, with whom Joshua would least wish to have any relationship. Darsie could perhaps be Redgauntlet's spy plotting to infiltrate Joshua's commercial activity; he could simultaneously be a threat to his family. But the Quaker's hospitality overrides his mistrust of his guest. Secondly, Joshua's welcome is also illustrated by his generosity towards Darsie, especially the excessive amount of food he prepares: 'Tea and chocolate, eggs, ham, and pastry, not forgetting the broiled fish, disappeared with a celerity which seemed to astonish the good-humoured Quakers, who kept loading my plate with supplies, as if desirous of seeing whether they could, by any possibility, tire me out.' (56) Thirdly, when Darsie leaves Mount Sharon without even saying goodbye, there is no complaint but only worry from Joshua. Later on when Darsie is kidnapped by Redgauntlet, Joshua searches for him desperately:

He had skirted the whole coast of the Solway, besides making various trips into the

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<sup>71</sup> Francis R. Hart, *Scott's Novels: The Plotting of Historic Survival* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1966), p. 50.

<sup>72</sup> Robert Gordon, *Under which King? A Study of the Scottish Waverley Novels* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1969), p. 158.

<sup>73</sup> Sulkes, 'The Code of Hospitality in the Waverley Novels: A Study of Sir Walter Scott's Fictions', p. 81.

interior, not shunning, on such occasions, to expose himself to the laugh of the scorner, nay, even to serious personal risk, by frequenting the haunts of smugglers, horse-jockeys, and other irregular persons. (326-7)

Joshua's love for Darsie is little less than parental, as Rachel, Joshua's sister, said, 'Joshua loved him, and his heart clave to him as if he had been his own son' (213). The narrator also describes that 'Joshua Geddes' 'mourn[ing] for the fate of Darsie Latimer as he would for his first-born child' (326).

This unconditional hospitality given by Joshua to Darsie generally leaves a favourable impression with the reader of the novel, but that good reputation is tainted for the following two reasons. Firstly, Darsie is the sole beneficiary of the Quaker's hospitality and none of the other characters has ever enjoyed Joshua's welcome. As it is evident from the way by which Benjie, the son of a widow, is treated by Joshua (called by the Quaker the 'mischievous bastard' (51)), the latter's hospitality is apparently not universal. In fact, it is contingent and discriminating. Moreover, Joshua's shrewdness and unscrupulousness in running his fishing enterprise also exposes selfishness of his character. The Quaker is one of the principal partners of the Tide-net Fishing Company (137), and his fishing station is a type of commercial innovation that is highly profitable to himself but is seriously harmful to the customary practices of the local community. Joshua never feels apologetic for this commercial exploitation. Besides, as Alan points out to Darsie, Joshua's business operation is of questionable legality. Redgauntlet has once advised Darsie that the Quaker 'will shear thee like a sheep, if you come to buying and selling with them' (44). With regard to this remark, Mary Cullinan makes it clear that 'Although Redgauntlet views the Quaker through his own subjective lens, we must consider the validity of his perspective when he asserts that Geddes has "the simplicity of an old hypocrite" (340).'<sup>74</sup>

Joshua is presented as such a debatable figure in the novel that it is never easy in order to fully understand him. Further examination of his religion and his family history

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<sup>74</sup> Cullinan, 'History and Language in Scott's *Redgauntlet*', pp. 671-72.

only reveals how complex a person he, in fact, is. According to Saunders Fairford's following statement, the Quakers are commonly regarded by the society as the 'other' in the mid eighteenth century. 'Quakers—a people who own neither priest, nor king, nor civil magistrate, nor the fabric of our law, and will not depone either *in civilibus* or *criminalibus*, be the loss to the lieges what it may.' (74) Quakers are 'pestilent' (74) of the society since they do not conform to the law. McMaster argues that 'Geddes is like the Laird in another way: if the Laird is an outlaw, Geddes is outside the law.'<sup>75</sup> Francis Hart also claims that 'Joshua is as much out of place in the post-Jacobite world as Redgauntlet himself.'<sup>76</sup> The dilemma of Joshua's existence is also mirrored in the associations of his name and the violent history of his ancestors. 'Ged' means a pike—a tool for catching fish.<sup>77</sup> His forebears are border bandits famous for their 'successful freebooting, robbery, and bloodshed' (54). Consequently, Darsie's initial impression of Joshua and Redgauntlet as 'no bad emblem of Peace and War' (43) is too exaggerated as Joanne Wilkes points out.<sup>78</sup>

As has been analysed earlier, Redgauntlet's hospitality, a mixture of dominance, violence and even fanaticism, is ultimately for the purposes of his patriotism and nationalism. It is in fact an expression of his selfless love to his family and country. However, Joshua's hospitality is in general contingent and is to a degree less selfless in the way Redgauntlet's is. Moreover, the hospitality he gives to Darsie seems too perfect to be real, since it is based on no sound reasons; the unwelcoming gesture he makes against his neighbours is itself relatively violent. It is difficult to reconcile the difference between these incompatible attitudes. The story of *Redgauntlet* opens with a nationalist hospitality of Redgauntlet's; it illustrates a contingent welcome of Joshua's in its middle; it ends with the betrayal of hospitality by Cristal Nixon.

In the final episode of the novel, General Campbell's intervention decisively defuses

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<sup>75</sup> McMaster, *Scott and Society*, p. 30.

<sup>76</sup> Hart, *Scott's Novels*, p. 51.

<sup>77</sup> Wilkes, 'Scott's Use of Scottish Family History in *Redgauntlet*', p. 208.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

the intended rising. He, the representative of the government, walks unarmed into Joe Crackenthorpe's Inn where a little band of the Jacobites is gathered (371). His bravery seems to be extraordinary, but it is by no means the representation of personal charisma, since he is 'sufficiently supported both with cavalry and infantry' (372), which is a powerful reminder of the clout he possesses. Moreover, the Hanoverian government's triumph against the Jacobites in this decisive incident is actually grounded in the timely information given by Cristal Nixon, Redgauntlet's apparently devoted servant. This episode is reminiscent of the Massacre of Glencoe since it also deals with the betrayal of the notion of hospitality. On 13 February 1692, some 40 MacDonalDs from the Clan MacDonald of Glencoe were killed by their guests (many of them were Campbells) who had accepted their hospitable tradition of the Highlands, on the grounds that the MacDonalDs had not been prompt in taking an oath of allegiance to the new Williamite government. Another forty women and children died of exposure in winter storms after their homes were burned. This atrocity, committed by the government and one of the major Highland clans, was appalling since it ignored one of the time-honoured values of the Highland tradition, hospitality. It was, in short, 'murder under trust', a special category of domestic treason under Scots law which was considered to be even more unpardonable than ordinary murder.<sup>79</sup>

In *Redgauntlet*, Nixon's revolt against Redgauntlet is also shocking since his abuse of the host's hospitality is a reference to the incident of Glencoe. Although his betrayal, as 'betrayal under trust', is legitimate by the law of the Hanoverian government, Nixon is accused of committing violations against an important pre-Union Scottish moral code. It is this double-dealing that causes the defeat of the Jacobite party, rather than any military action taken by the government. His betrayal of the party, mainly as a result of his personal offence at Lillias' rejection of his advances and his resentment of his subordinate position

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<sup>79</sup> See Macinnes, 'Slaughter Under Trust', pp. 127-48; Prebble, *Glencoe: The Story of the Massacre*.

(360), illustrates the significant role the subaltern could also play at key historical turning points. This case certainly does not place emphasis upon the subversive power the subaltern possesses; instead, it indicates the author's despair over the loss of the tradition of hospitality, one of the dominant values of Scotland, and his profound disappointment with the general decay of the modern society.

Despite the fact that the history of the Jacobites is apparently closed after the party's crushing defeat at the battle of Culloden in 1746, Scott in *Redgauntlet* invents a third Jacobite rising to make this 'small voice of history' re-emerge. Through the representations of the Jacobites in *Redgauntlet*, Scott demonstrates the importance of disguise as one of the most effective strategies that this subaltern group could employ in order to preserve itself, and pursue its ultimate political ends in restoring the old regime. Although this invented Jacobite rising remains a failed coup in *Redgauntlet*, Scott's sympathetic representations of this repressed, defeated subaltern group renders him in this dimension of his work a unique Romantic postcolonial novelist. In addition, this chapter also argues that it is Scott himself who is speaking with these multiple disguised voices. Working in his various disguises, Scott is using this novel in the service of his own defence of Scotland against the corrupting/enervating effects of the metropolitan hegemony. Upholder of the Union though he is, Scott nonetheless voices time and again through the mouth of Redgauntlet his personal exasperation at some points to which he feels Scotland is being subjected by the London-based government. Moreover, from the betrayal of Nixon, we can feel Scott's disappointment about the damage of hospitality, the nation's long-held moral principle, because of the drastic changes of the society after the '45.

In the following chapter, I will look at the representations of the Highlanders in *Rob Roy*, the most noted subaltern group in Scotland, and compare them with those in *Waverley* and *Redgauntlet*. From postcolonial perspectives, I intend to see how Scott makes the voice of the Highlanders heard particularly when the colonizing power of the metropolitan

culture is silencing almost all the other minor voices. Moreover, I will pay special attention to the novel's critique of the 'imperial gaze', a metropolitan point of view represented by the novel's narrator and protagonist Frank Osbaldistone. The dialogue between this unique indigenous culture and that ineluctable modernizing trend of the age is of special concern to the next chapter.

**Chapter Three:**  
**Preserving the Self in the Highlands:**  
**Hospitality, Colonialism and Empire in *Rob Roy***

The subject of the previous chapter was the Jacobites, and this chapter shifts its focus onto the representations of another subaltern group of people, the Scottish Highlanders. However, the study of this socially and politically marginalized Gaelic culture is also for the enhancement of our understanding of the state's manipulation of its discourse of colonization.

Reference to the standard dictionary definition of the keyword of the title of this chapter, 'Preserving the Self in the Highlands', may be useful in demonstrating why it is germane to the subject matter of this chapter. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word 'preserve' denotes both 'To protect or save from injury, sickness, or any undesirable eventuality' and 'To keep safe from injury or harm; to save or spare a person's life'.<sup>1</sup> The notion of preservation signifies the operation of a certain defence mechanism when one reacts to a perceived threat to his/her being. However, in this novel who is the 'self' that demands preservation in the Highlands? Is Frank Osbaldistone, the narrator of *Rob Roy* (1817),<sup>2</sup> who is in need of protection when faced with myriad dangers in the Highlands, or the Highlanders themselves who have been marginalized and turned into victims by the inhospitable laws which enforce the rule of the British state?

*Rob Roy* is narrated in the first person by Frank Osbaldistone in old age to his business associate and friend Will Tresham in 1763, barely two years before the imagined third Jacobite uprising in *Redgauntlet*.<sup>3</sup> The story takes place against the first Jacobite Rising of 1715, although it is much less an historical account of events than its

<sup>1</sup> 'preserve', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* < <http://dictionary.oed.com/> > [accessed 30 October 2009]

<sup>2</sup> Walter Scott, *Rob Roy*, ed. by David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008). All subsequent references are to this edition, except where specified. Page numbers are given in brackets after quotations in the text.

<sup>3</sup> See David Hewitt, "Rob Roy and First Person Narratives", in *Scott and His Influence*, pp. 372-81.

predecessors, such as *Waverley* and *The Tale of Old Mortality*. The title character of this novel, Rob Roy, is also quite different from the historical figure as David Stevenson has amply demonstrated in *The Hunt for Rob Roy: the Man and the Myths*.<sup>4</sup> *Rob Roy* is, argues Avrom Fleishman, on the surface a memoir of Frank Osbaldistone which records the hero's own story of his progress into manhood after his accidental journey into the Highlands and his subsequent involvement in the campaign against the Jacobites.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, this fiction is also recognized as a *Bildungsroman* as it puts particular emphasis on Frank's growth from his revolt against parental authority to his ultimate acceptance of filial obedience and reconciliation with his father. This reading is also endorsed by Robert C. Gordon who points out that 'It is the issue of filial responsibility that unites *Rob Roy*'.<sup>6</sup>

However, this chapter's interpretation, which is to a degree different from the above views, does not regard Frank's personal progress arising from his accidental journey of discovery and exploration in the Highlands of Scotland as heading towards a fully mature and rounded personality. The manner in which he perceives the world remains unaltered—his attitude continues to be bourgeois, metropolitan and imperial as his autobiographical narrative clearly reveals. In Jane Millgate's words, Frank is 'deaf to all except the sound of his own voice',<sup>7</sup> and for this reason he learns almost nothing from his adventures. The central theme of the cross-cultural journey Frank undertakes centres on the contrast and comparison between his Englishness and the alien peoples he encounters. The journey from London into Rob Roy's country might have served to prove Frank's self-proclaimed adaptability in accommodating himself to different environments as he calls himself 'a citizen of the world' (28), 'confiding in my knowledge of the world, extended as it was by my residence abroad, and in the stores with which a tolerable

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<sup>4</sup> David Stevenson, *The Hunt for Rob Roy: The Man and the Myths* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Avrom Fleishman, *The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Gordon, *Under Which King?*, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Jane Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p.

education had possessed my mind' (32). However, his arrogance and complacency have in effect hindered him from understanding the world in a more sophisticated manner, and these attitudes have also deprived him of opportunities to have reciprocal exchanges with peoples from different regional sites. Most important of all, as Edgar Johnson argues, 'although the narrative begins in the tone of the mature man looking back on his past, Scott endows it with none of the [...] reflective insight gathered from later experience that Dickens, for example, so subtly uses in *David Copperfield* and *Great Expectations*.'<sup>8</sup> Millgate similarly puts that, '*Rob Roy* demonstrates the inability of narration alone to release the meaning of past experience or to provide a bridge between past and present selves. [...] Frank Osbaldistone possesses not hindsight—with all its potential for definition—but merely the capacity to re-see.'<sup>9</sup> Julian D'Arcy also maintains that 'he [Frank] lacks all reflective interpretative vision to give his memories meaning'.<sup>10</sup> In short, as Frank's personal narrative reveals, he is barely altered either during or after his journey since he can merely 're-see' but cannot learn and transcend from what he has either seen or experienced. Nowhere better can this be found than in the field of hospitality.

The reception and accommodation of guests (primarily Frank) have an important part in *Rob Roy*. There are various manifestations of hospitality illustrated in this text, and the ways in which hospitality is extended are based on the nature of the location. What is worth noting is that the expressions of hospitality become ever more alien from those shown by polite society as the hero ventures further into the Highlands of Scotland. This process of hosting is a significant feature of the novel, given Stanley Sulkes' observation that 'hospitality in the Waverley novels is presented as a moral value that provides an immediate index to the character'.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the gesture of hospitality in *Rob Roy* serves as a medium indicating the temperament of each distinctive group of people. Moreover, Scott

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<sup>8</sup> Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott*, I, p. 604.

<sup>9</sup> Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, p. 148.

<sup>10</sup> D'Arcy, *Subversive Scott*, p. 126.

<sup>11</sup> Sulkes, 'The Code of Hospitality in the Waverley Novels: A Study of Sir Walter Scott's Fictions', p. 57.

subtly demonstrates the contrast between the dispositions of different groups of characters according to the places they are located. His depictions are founded on a deeply held belief articulated by Adam Ferguson, in his *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, and particularly his discourse on the ‘Influence of Climate and Situation’ to the condition and manners of nations.<sup>12</sup> In short, people’s characters are shaped by their environment. *Rob Roy* amply demonstrates such a view.

And thus, as Frank progresses further into the North, the acts of hospitality diverge ever further from his preconceived standards. Moreover, these friendly gestures of hospitality extended to Frank are seldom accepted by him with pleasure. Indeed, it is easy to draw the conclusion that Frank’s stance and viewpoints provide a stark contrast to those adopted by almost all the other characters in the text. Time and again, the cultural, political and economic superiority that Frank obstinately asserts makes his hosts, whether in Northumberland, Glasgow, Aberfoyle or the Highlands, feel awkward in their effort to accommodate such a singular guest. Therefore, based on these observations, I shall argue that *Rob Roy* is a fiction which not only concerns the clash of different cultures and civilizations, but is also about the ways in which a man demonstrates his self-assumed superiority and his bourgeois forms of authority when encountering the disparate and the ‘other’. Despite the fact that the part Frank plays in the novel has been characterized by many critics, such as David Brown, as being that of an ‘ineffectual figure’ and also a mere ‘passive observer’ (a ‘powerless witness’ by Jane Millgate; ‘weak and colourless’ by Donald Davie)<sup>13</sup>, for my current study the significant fact is that of the function of his role in observing and recounting his experiences of peoples of various societies. In this role, Frank consistently employs a metropolitan and ‘imperial gaze’, in effect, the manner in which new settlers see other worlds. In contrast to David Hewitt’s claim that Frank is ‘best

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<sup>12</sup> Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, p. 106.

<sup>13</sup> Brown, *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination*, p. 93; Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, p. 134; Davie, *The Heyday of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 58.

thought of as a naive onlooker’,<sup>14</sup> it is precisely the nature of Frank’s narrative that this chapter is particularly interested in; a narrative that demonstrates that he is by no means a ‘naive onlooker’. This chapter reads Frank’s account as a travelogue that is in fact heavily laden with dominant ideologies.

Generally speaking Frank is not considered as particularly remarkable when he is compared with the majority of Scott’s fictional characters, but importantly to this chapter he is presented as an acute social observer, and, perhaps, even an anthropologist or an ethnographer. Frank’s project in this novel, as Murray Pittock argues, is seemingly ‘that of the science of man’.<sup>15</sup> Throughout *Rob Roy* Frank reinforces Highland difference in relation to cultivated society below the Highland line by comparing Highland society to other human societies also in a primitive stage of development. The Highlanders are depicted by him variously as the uncivilized (e.g., ‘savage’) (161), natives (e.g., ‘American Indians’)<sup>16</sup>, Orientals (e.g., ‘Arab chief’<sup>17</sup>, ‘the Sultan of Delhi’, ‘Israelite woman’) (292, 260) and animals (e.g., ‘simian’, ‘bull’, ‘otter’ and ‘deer’) (187, 275, 280, 292) according to the nature of each scene. These are not simply four distinct features, as this chapter observes, but in fact one construction since the Highlanders are classified by him as simply underdeveloped and as least close to civility. Frank’s judgement corresponds to the general Enlightenment view that considered Scotland as ‘the rudest, perhaps, of all European Nations’ and England as at the acme of human society.<sup>18</sup> In other words, to be English comes to mean membership in the class of people who are civilized and commercial, as

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<sup>14</sup> David Hewitt, ‘*Rob Roy*: trade, improvement and the destruction of “native” cultures’, in *Literary Tourism, the Trossachs and Walter Scott*, ed. by Ian Brown (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2012), pp. 85-97 (p. 88).

<sup>15</sup> Murray Pittock, ‘Enlightenment, Romanticism and the Scottish Canon: Cosmopolites or Narrow Nationalists?’, in *Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers and Liam McIlvanney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 86-103 (forthcoming).

<sup>16</sup> Scott, *Rob Roy*, ed. by Ian Duncan, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20

<sup>18</sup> David Wootton, ‘David Hume: “The Historian”’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Hume*, 2nd edn, ed. by David Fate Norton and Jacqueline Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 447-79 (p. 470). Quoted also in Pittock, ‘Historiography’, p. 264.

well as, using Margaret Hunt's term, 'private citizens'.<sup>19</sup> The hero never shows any interest in knowing that there can be an elaborate system of society devised within the world of the Highlands as he does not regard the Highlanders as his equal. However, as Ian Duncan has importantly pointed out, 'Clan culture enjoys a defiant autonomy rather than a fated obsolescence; it may look marginal and lawless in the eyes of Glasgow or London, but it is the center of its own world, and governed by its own laws.'<sup>20</sup> Throughout the narrative we never see Frank recognizing the fact that the Highlanders actually have their own forms of civility. On the surface, he plays the role as a traveller, or an adventurer, but inwardly he seeks to be the master, the dominator and the interpreter of everything he encounters. In short, Frank demonstrates, using Mary Louise Pratt's term in *Imperial Eyes*, 'the meaning-making powers of empire'.<sup>21</sup> The criteria Frank habitually applies to his reading of the disparate world are based on the norms of his preferred communities, English and French societies, since they represent the normative, superior and civilized values; the viewpoints he adopts to challenge and criticize the 'other' are generally designed to demonstrate his self-assumed privileged status.

Frank is definitely not the sole case of this kind of elevated stance. Instead, this chapter argues he is representative of a complete and closed set of values. His identity, argues Andrew Lincoln, is formed by 'the values of a system of power'; his judgements 'belong to an enlightenment discourse of civilisation, which links commerce with politeness and virtue, and which legitimises its subjection of what are thought of as pre-commercial cultures by representing them as at best in need of transformation and at worst as frighteningly barbaric'.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, as Pittock puts it, 'It is arguable that in the eighteenth century more xenophobia was directed internally in the British Isles than

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<sup>19</sup> Margaret Hunt, 'Racism, Imperialism, and the Traveler's Gaze in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993), 333-57 (p. 337).

<sup>20</sup> Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, p.115.

<sup>21</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 123.

externally towards France and other rivals.’<sup>23</sup> Frank’s attitude towards Scotland, the Highlands in particular, represents a broadly similar ideology to that which Pittock has described. Pittock’s argument is at the same time also supported by Frank’s case when it is noted that the hero is proud of his French education, the French standard and the French polish since they represent powerful symbols of modernity and civilization in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, what Frank has demonstrated also reveals the limitations of his metropolitan and Enlightenment thought structure in dealing with the ‘other’. Frank’s presence in this fiction, consequently, is far from ‘passive’, ‘ineffectual’ or ‘innocent’ but has its particular underlying assumptions, motivations and values which the reader has to decipher.

Scott minutely depicts the interaction between various pairs of host and guest in different episodes of *Rob Roy*. The narrative starts from the domestic arena and moves to different social strata. It also visits diverse societies in varying stages of progress to modernity. Although superficially he travels northwards, as Pittock points out, Frank Osbaldistone has journeyed back from the fourth stage of Smithian society (e.g., commercial London) through the third stage (e.g., the feudal society of Northumberland), back to the second adjacent to the first stage (e.g., the Highlanders as both shepherds and hunters). Ultimately, Frank’s narrative returns to the familial scene.<sup>24</sup> *Waverley* and Tobias Smollet’s *Humphry Clinker* (1771), as in *Rob Roy*’s trajectory, also move from England up into the Highlands. In *Rob Roy*, each setting determines its own meaning, but the power relation between host and guest stays consistently unstable and tense. In following Frank’s journey from London into the Highlands, this chapter examines hospitable/inhospitable exchanges between various pairs of hosts and guests, or guests and guests. It further attempts to make a thorough enquiry into the meaning of Frank as the guest and the ways

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<sup>23</sup> Murray Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 25; *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 150.

<sup>24</sup> Pittock, ‘Enlightenment, Romanticism and the Scottish Canon: Cosmopolites or Narrow Nationalists?’, pp. 86-103 (forthcoming).

in which he creates his narrative so as to preserve his 'self' during his sojourn in unknown terrain. From a postcolonial perspective, this chapter ultimately intends to read *Rob Roy*, being an earlier expression of 'the imperial traveller', as a critique on the discourse of colonialism in the early nineteenth century. Through Frank's 'naive' narrative, Scott powerfully demonstrates to his readers the deployment of the imperial rhetoric of colonization. But at the same time, he also reveals the anxiety and weakness of the incursive power when encountering the resistance of resilient and elusive natives.

### **England**

The story begins when Frank is summoned unexpectedly from France by his father William Osbaldistone to attend to the management of the family's London trading firm. The following scene illustrates the ways in which Frank and his father communicate after four years apart from each other. As Frank describes, 'I threw myself into his arms. He was a kind, though not a fond father, and the tear twinkled in his dark eyes, but it was only for a moment.' (8) This depiction does not in reality show mutual exchange of emotions between father and son, and William's welcome to Frank is portrayed as more or less a simple display of formality since he is portrayed as a man fastidious about social etiquette rather than affection. Their interaction is reminiscent of the emotional detachment between Julia and her father in Scott's second novel, *Guy Mannering*, but it is contrary to the strong familial bond of Dandie Dinmont's family in the same work. The stress on bodily contact between the farmer Dinmont and his family indicates the simplicity and unpretentiousness of their natures. However, Frank's excessive politeness to his father (e.g., 'I am happy, sir'; 'I am sorry, sir') (8) is actually, argues Andrew Lincoln, 'associated with deceit', and it 'signals his habit of polite duplicity, his strategic manipulation of the "civil phrase" (9)'.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the father seems to love more of his career than his son as Frank complains that

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<sup>25</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 129.

‘Love of his profession was the motive which he chose should be most ostensible, when he urged me to tread the same paths’ (10). The conversation with his father makes Frank feel anxious and uncomfortable, and the talk subsequently becomes business-like negotiation and finally turns into a verbal duel.

Osbaldistone Senior is determined that his son should accept the profession he has chosen for him, but Frank simply resists this parental hospitality. He is stubbornly determined to follow his own plan. When William threatens to disinherit Frank, the son retorts ‘You will do your pleasure [...] with what is your own’ and ‘I will never sell my liberty for gold’ (18-19). Frank refuses to be accommodated by this parental hospitality (and authority) since it is recognized by him as an asymmetrical exchange of interests and also an effective strategy for exploitation. Frank’s reference to ‘liberty’ and ‘gold’ in the above quotation is suggestive of an episode in Scott’s short fiction, ‘The Highland Widow’, where the widow Elspat MacTavish on one occasion exclaims that her son, Hamish Bean, ‘has sold himself to be the servant of the Saxons’ and ‘will perish like the bullock that is driven to the shambles by the Saxon owner who has bought him for a price’.<sup>26</sup> Hamish has indeed volunteered to serve in the British army, which had not long before killed his father, in exchange for the ‘King’s shilling’. References of this kind point back obliquely to the ‘bought and sold for English gold’ theme characteristic of eighteenth-century patriot Scottish discourse.<sup>27</sup>

With regard to the negotiation between Frank and his father, it ultimately collapses since Frank understands too well William’s transparently colonial ploy, which intends to use him, as Frank himself explains, to ‘increase that happiness by augmenting a fortune which [...] was already sufficient, and more than sufficient’ (11), not to be trapped by it. Consequently, Frank is sent north to Northumberland to stay with his Jacobite uncle, Sir

<sup>26</sup> Walter Scott, ‘The Highland Widow’, in *Chronicles of the Canongate* (1827), ed. by Claire Lamont (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp. 78, 106.

<sup>27</sup> See ‘Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation’, in *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland: Being the Songs, Airs, and Legends of the Adherents of the House of Stuart*, collected and illustrated by James Hogg, ed. by Murray Pittock, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002-3), I, pp. 56-57.

Hildebrand Osbaldistone, for a period of time; his place in his father's counting house goes to Sir Hildebrand's scheming son Rashleigh. Although Frank may regard himself as a victim under parental authority, his rigid attitude (the counterpart of his father's cold-heartedness) never changes throughout the novel. Frank's case demonstrates what seems to be a mere personal character, but his intransigence in the domestic site also reveals his manifestly arrogant attitude when dealing with those outwith his own social, cultural and political circles. Pittock notes that Frank is far more arrogant than Edward Waverley or Henry Morton or Guy Mannering, and his 'pridefulness manifests itself through his confidence in his Enlightenment education'.<sup>28</sup> His refusal to be accommodated by this first instance of hospitality is a constant and recurrent theme throughout his journey.

On his way to Osbaldistone Hall, Frank reaches his first stop, the Black Bear, an inn in Darlington. The landlord of the inn, being the keeper of 'old English hospitality', is said to lay 'aside his character of publican upon the seventh day, and invited the guests who chanced to be within his walls to take a part of his family beef and pudding' (28). All trades and professions are welcomed by such a tradition. At the same time:

The wits and humourists, the distinguished worthies of the town or village, the apothecary, the attorney, even the curate himself, did not disdain to partake of this hebdomadal festivity. The guests, assembled from different quarters, and following different professions, formed, in language, manners, and sentiments, a curious contrasts to each other, not indifferent to those who desired to possess a knowledge of mankind in its varieties. (28)

These guests do not think 'compliance a derogation' when their host assumes 'his seat of empire at the head of the board' (29). They respect this politics of reception, and observe the unwritten law of the household that imposes upon its guests and visitors the conditions

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<sup>28</sup> Pittock, 'Enlightenment, Romanticism and the Scottish Cannon: Cosmopolites or Narrow Nationalists?', pp. 86-103 (forthcoming).

of hospitality. They even endeavour to preserve this ‘civilized’ tradition as they are glad to be a part of this community. Whilst the site attempts to hold on to a sense of comprehensive community, it also has its own obvious limitations. As a matter of fact, such an enlightened practice is not entirely open-minded to people who do not belong to this ‘English’ community. In this case, the Scots are branded as the ‘other’. As the host knows well that the presence of a ‘Scotchman’ is likely to offend some of his English guests, he therefore applies ‘a sort of apologetic tone’ (29) to inform Frank that a ‘Scotch sort of gentleman’ (Rob Roy in fact) will dine with them. This act of discrimination invokes the even more shocking display of inhospitality extended to the Scots as depicted in Scott’s novella ‘The Two Drovers’.

In ‘The Two Drovers’, Robin Oig M’Combich, a Scottish Highlander, is described in the following passage as greeted in an English alehouse: ‘His arrival, as usually in such a case, put an instant stop to the discussion of which he had furnished the subject, and he was received by the company assembled with that chilling silence, which, more than a thousand exclamations, tells an intruder that he is unwelcome.’<sup>29</sup> Perhaps nowhere better can be found such an explicit portrayal of xenophobia in Scott’s work. Returning to the scene in the Black Bear, despite the fact that such a considerate act of the host illustrates his attentiveness in serving his English guests, nevertheless, this same act also reveals the imperfection of its own civilized manner. Frank feels comfortable with this old-fashioned English hospitality since it is within his cultural comfort zone, and he knows exactly what to expect from it. However, when he moves further away from London, things are no longer within the firm grasp of his comprehension and imagination.

If the challenge arising from the encounter with the aforementioned ‘Scotchman’ to the gesture of the host’s hospitality can be temporarily removed, the relationship between the host and guest in the Black Bear is suggestive of a finely crafted example of giving and

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<sup>29</sup> Walter Scott, ‘The Two Drovers’ in *Chronicles of the Canongate* (1827), ed. by Claire Lamont (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), p. 134.

receiving hospitality. Moreover, in this site there is a deep mutual understanding between the host and guest regarding the maintenance of this old English tradition. Frank feels firmly secure in that public sphere since he understands the culture there and he is fully satisfied with the ways in which he is served. But, when he arrives at his scheduled destination, Osbaldistone Hall, the manners in which the hosts handle the welcome are obviously far beyond his expectation and toleration notwithstanding the site is still within the bound of the English border and the hosts are Frank's relations. The presentation of hospitality at Osbaldistone Hall does not conform to the conventional pattern as displayed in the previous scene. In the first place, the welcome given by Sir Hildebrand is delayed since the host 'had to see the hounds kennelled first' (43) after hunting. When he is at the welcome banquet, Frank can neither enjoy his cousins' company nor appreciate the customs through which they display their hospitality. The scene is described by Frank as follows:

[T]he bottle circulated, or rather flew around the table in unceasing revolution. [...] The conversation which seasoned such orgies was as little to *my taste*, and, if any thing could render it more disgusting, it was the relationship of the company. (49) (emphasis added)

Frank simply cannot appreciate such manners of treatment, as he explains that '*My foreign education* had given me a distaste to intemperance, then and yet too common a vice among my countrymen' (53) (emphasis added). Again, it is the French cultural norm that Frank applies to distinguish himself from his 'uncivilized' relatives.

He also complains that his uncle's 'rude hospitality rendered him as indifferent as King Hal to the number of those who fed upon his cost. But it was plain my presence or absence would be of as little importance in his eyes as that of one his blue-coated serving-men.' (53) The depiction of such a host-guest relationship demonstrates that the guest not only disdains such an extraordinary generosity, but also regards his attendance at

such an occasion as unnecessary. Therefore, this welcome is a complete failure. However, if we may ignore the debate over the ways in which the guest is received by his hosts, Frank's attitude towards his northern cousins has also been rather unfriendly, even before he has actually met them. He despises them because they are Jacobites, papists, boorish and his intellectual inferiors, not just because they are inconsiderate hosts. Andrew Lincoln notes that, when Frank standing on 'the summit of an eminence' (36) first sees Osbaldistone Hall, the hero 'looks as with the eye of an imperial Roman upon a strange primitive northern culture. Seen in relation to the unimproved manners of Sir Hildebrand and his less educated sons, Frank's cultural superiority seems secure'.<sup>30</sup> His response to this alien world reflects the values placed by his education and social identification; at the same time, he declines to be assimilated by the culture of the Hall and refuses to accept, in his eyes, such a crude welcome in such a world of licence and misrule. Although Frank later takes part in some of his cousins' activities, the way he recounts the events makes it clear that he is only condescending in his attitude and he is insincere in his efforts to ingratiate himself with them, who, though they may be his intellectual inferior, are at least genuinely hospitable in entertaining their guest. In short, Osbaldistone Hall is apparently not Frank's preferred community. The bond between the guest and host has never had any chance to develop. Frank subsequently makes his escape from his cousins through a side-door and retreats to his desired sanctuary, the library. As far as Frank is concerned, the library of the Hall is the only site which is able to provide him with a warm and intimate refuge from the stupidity of his cousins. Moreover, argues Robert Gordon, there is 'an element of wish-fulfilment (literary and emotional sustenance) in Frank's experiences in the library'.<sup>31</sup>

The whole process of reception and accommodation of the guest in this episode is rather unsuccessful when it is compared with the one offered by the host of the Black Bear.

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<sup>30</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p.133.

<sup>31</sup> Gordon, *Under Which King?*, p. 72.

The comparison between the two sites reveals the ways in which Frank chooses his society and it further discloses his cultural bias. Even though the hosts of the Hall are his kin, they cannot avoid his merciless criticism. Frank's cousins, except Rashleigh, are all looked down upon, rather than sympathised with, by him since they, in Frank's own words, 'seemed to want [...] the exterior grace and manner, which, in the polished world, sometimes supply mental deficiency' (44). The blood bond of kinship does not at all make Frank sympathetic and kind to his hosts. However, Rashleigh, who has 'the air and manner of a man of this world' (44), is also unable to win respect from Frank. He is represented as a counterpart of Frank, and is also a threat to him since his presence challenges Frank's dominance of his sense of uniqueness. Rashleigh's ability in manipulating Lincoln's term 'civil deceit' also reflects the flaws of Frank's civility. The condescending attitude maintained by Frank remains unchanged when he is next required to confront various scenes in Scotland with which he is absolutely unfamiliar.

### **Scotland**

Frank's first impression of Glasgow is during a Presbyterian Sabbath and he is surprised by the atmosphere there especially when seeing the quietness and restraint of people returning home from their evening service. Yet the impressive hospitable character of Bailie Nicol Jarvie, a business correspondent of Frank's father, provides a striking contrast to the forbidding and austere religious ambience of the city. The following quotation depicts Jarvie's hearty welcome in the early hours of the morning to Osbaldistone's agent Owen, who is temporarily put in prison since MacVittie and Company of Glasgow turned against the Osbaldistone firm on the first sign of financial distress:

Cheer up a gliff! D'ye think I wad hae comed out at twal o'clock at night, and amaist broken the Lord's-day, just to tell a fa'n man o' his backslidings? [...] Why, man! it's my rule never to think on worldly business on the Sabbath, and though I did a' I could to keep your note that I gat this morning out o' my head, yet I thought mair on it a'

day than on the preaching—And it's my rule to gang to my bed wi' the yellow curtains preecesely at ten o'clock—unless I were eating a haddock wi' a neighbour, or a neighbour wi' me. (180)

Though the site, Glasgow Tolbooth, is not a usual place to welcome guests, the event expressly exemplifies Jarvie's enthusiastic hospitality to his friends. This observation is based on the following facts. Firstly, the host nearly violates his own religious disciplines as he is distracted by his guests' affair during the preaching, and he even attempts to work out a solution to the problem that Owen encounters on the day Presbyterians are not supposed to be working. Secondly, Jarvie sacrifices the routine and principles he obviously enjoys so much in order to give welcome to his guest. In other words, Jarvie welcomes his guest by welcoming the misfortune his guest suffers, especially when it is later confirmed by his own remark that 'I canna meddle wi' a friend's business, but I end wi' making it my ain' (216). He is portrayed as jolly and warm-hearted; in addition, he never spoils his hospitality by mingling it with either self-interest or dispassionate calculation for commercial acquisitions. In short, as Stanley Sulkes states, the Bailie's hospitable service 'may be viewed as an expression of his humanitarian concerns'.<sup>32</sup>

On Jarvie's dining table, the preparation for his guests is not only proper but also elaborate. It includes tea from China, coffee from Jamaica, English toast and ale, Scotch dried salmon, Lochfine herrings and double damask tablecloth (194-95). The best the host can offer has all been displayed for his guests to enjoy, although it simultaneously raises some uncomfortable questions that Jarvie has an interest in slavery, as the reader is told, Jarvie actually has 'a snug plantation of his own' (195) in Jamaica.<sup>33</sup> Dining with the host should have been a pleasant experience on such a joyous occasion, but again Frank, the difficult guest, resists the fashion of such generous hospitality, since the host's excessive enthusiasm and considerable confidence in his service become burdensome to Frank. He

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<sup>32</sup> Sulkes, 'The Code of Hospitality in the Waverley Novels: A Study of Sir Walter Scott's Fictions', p. 58.

<sup>33</sup> See Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 127.

feels that he is compelled by the host ‘to do rather more justice to the Scottish dainties with which his board was charged, than was quite agreeable to our southern palates’ (204). This reaction again puts Frank’s self-professed title ‘citizen of the world’ under considerable pressure. His ‘southern palate’ obviously undermines his ability to appreciate the different, and his specific emphasis on regional preferences only helps to define his own mental provincialism rather than cosmopolitanism. In addition, Frank’s reference to his ‘southern palate’ clearly highlights his recognition of the differences between that of the south and the north. The notion of North and (much less frequently used) South Britain in the eighteenth century was complex, but the power relations between England (South) and Scotland (North) were rather clear. Penny Fielding, in *Scotland and the Fictions of Geography: North Britain, 1760-1830* (2008), amply illustrates this relationship:

‘North Britain’ becomes a pejorative term for Scotland seen as a nation struggling to catch up with England’s economic progress. Within this inherently unstable structure, Scotland becomes both the spatial embodiment of the north as a foundational British identity and a ‘peripheral’ locality, a north that acts as England’s other.<sup>34</sup>

In a word, Frank’s response emphasizes his prejudice that the ‘southern palate’ is better than the northern one in its taste.

Returning to the Bailie’s dining table, we see a symbolic tug of war between the host and his guest which nearly mars the hospitable occasion. However, the guest deftly avoids the ‘well-meant persecution’ and does not make himself involved in the quarrel with the host since his polite education by no means allows him to ruin such a relation. Frank’s politeness in this situation, very close to Rashleigh’s, is such a manner that mingles hypocrisy and craft rather than modesty and deference as the following monologue further demonstrates:

it was ridiculous enough to see Owen, whose ideas of politeness were more rigorous

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<sup>34</sup> Penny Fielding, *Scotland and the Fictions of Geography: North Britain, 1760-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 11.

and formal, and who was willing, in all acts of lawful compliance, to evince his respect for the friend of the firm, eating, with rueful compliance, mouthful after mouthful of singed wool, and pronouncing it excellent, in a tone in which disgust almost overpowered civility. (204)

Frank not only criticizes Jarvie's hospitality but also finds fault with the manner in which Owen behaves himself in front of his host. He feels difficult in accepting the fact that Owen's suppression of his personal feelings is in deference to the tastes of their host. However, it never occurs to him that Owen is such a considerate person who chooses to identify himself with other people's feelings before giving consideration to his own. The same occasion reveals markedly dissimilar characters of these two figures. Frank's criticism of Owen's excessive politeness has actually challenged his own habitual diplomacy (i.e., 'I am happy, sir'; 'I am sorry, sir') (8) when conversing with his father and many of his superiors.

Apart from receiving and accommodating his guests, Jarvie extends his welcome so far as to serve as a guardian and a guide leading Frank to the Highlands, where he is himself also a stranger, in order to recover the promissory notes from Rashleigh. Before departing for the Highlands, Jarvie receives two parting gifts from the members of his household:

The first was conveyed in the form of *a voluminous silk handkerchief*, [...] which Mrs Mattie particularly desired he would put about his neck, and which, thus entreated, he added to his other integuments. The second youngster brought only *a verbal charge* on the part of the housekeeper, that her maister would take care of the waters. (220) (emphasis added)

The display of familial affection on this occasion contrasts with the scene when there was not even a goodbye from William Osbaldistone at Frank's parting from home. However, it reminds the reader again of the interaction between Dandie Dinmont's family as the touch of Jarvie's body by 'a voluminous silk handkerchief' and the touch of his heart by the

‘verbal charge’ from his family members both convey mutual affections. Similar examples can also be found from the interaction between Meg Merrilies and Henry Bertram in *Guy Mannering*, and the Laird of Dumbiedikes and Jeanie in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*. The hospitality exchanged within the Bailie’s household does extend itself to members outside the familial circle. Nevertheless, the alienation between Frank and his father reflects the limitations of the hero’s self-centred, civilized manner when dealing with those outwith his preferred social groups.

As Frank and the Bailie move further northward into the domain of the Highlanders, it seems that Frank becomes less and less comfortable with the situation and the environment. As the reader is told, the reception given by the clachan at Aberfoyle, a small village situated on the Highland line, forms a contrast to the welcome Frank previously received at the English inn. This site might be regarded as, borrowing Pratt’s term, the ‘contact zone’.<sup>35</sup> Aberfoyle, which exhibits a transitional character, is presented as a site for cultural and economic exchange (and a place where blood relationships are established through marriage according to McNeil).<sup>36</sup>

The site is highly fluid since it is a point of crossing/negotiation and of culture clash, where no one can quite understand the intentions of others, and where minor misunderstandings may lead to serious confrontation.<sup>37</sup> Frank and the Bailie enter into this contact zone, and are received by ‘a peeled willow-wand placed across the half-open door of the public’ (228) indicating that they are not allowed to get into the property as the tavern is reserved for those guests who have arrived earlier. Frank feels offended by the display of the wand since he has no knowledge of this particular Highland tradition and has no intention of understanding it. When people are at dinner they lay a white rod across the door to show their need of privacy, and none who sees it will come in.<sup>38</sup> A detailed

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<sup>35</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire*, pp. 66-70.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61.

<sup>38</sup> James Kirkwood, *A collection of Highland Rites and Customs*, copied by Edward Lhuyd from the

illustration of this tradition is provided by Thomas Pennant in his *A Tour in Scotland* (1776):

The old highlanders were so remarkable for their hospitality that their door were always left open, as if it were to invite the hungry travellers to walk in, and partake of their meals. But if two crossed sticks were seen at the door, it was a sign that the family was at dinner, and did not desire more guests. In this case the churl was held in the highest contempt; nor would the most pressing necessity induce the passenger to turn in.<sup>39</sup>

This is nothing more than a local tradition, but it is easily misread as evidence that ‘epitomizes a Highland world that is strange and threatening to outsiders’.<sup>40</sup> Though a warning sign itself, the ‘peeled willow-wand’ is not meant to be directed against any specific cultural, social, or political group. It is designed rather to show a desire for privacy. If there is any indication of the Highlanders’ intended resistance to the outsiders, the use of their language may be better evidence.

When Frank and Jarvie approach the village, people there express their lack of hospitality to these unwanted visitors by using Gaelic, ‘Ha niel Sassenach’ (228) (indicating ‘I can’t speak English’),<sup>41</sup> although their inability to communicate in English is also a given fact. Samuel Johnson and James Boswell did mention that they hired Gaelic interpreters to accompany them whilst travelling in the Highlands in 1773, which is more than half a century after Frank’s tour.<sup>42</sup> Facing the locals’ passive resistance, the Bailie is compelled to bribe a local boy in order to have a guide who can be made to speak English. The very situation happens as well to the title character of *Guy Mannering* when he happens to visit the Scottish village, Kippletringan, where the language is adopted by the

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manuscript of James Kirkwood (1650-1709) and annotated by him with the aid of John Beaton; edited by J. L. Campbell from MS. Carte 269 in the Bodleian Library (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1975), p. 30.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*, p. 49.

<sup>40</sup> McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire*, p. 55.

<sup>41</sup> Scott’s Gaelic is incorrect here. See ‘Explanatory Notes to *Rob Roy*’, in *Rob Roy*, ed. by David Hewitt, p. 547.

<sup>42</sup> Samuel Johnson, *Johnson’s Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell’s Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* ed. by R. W. Chapman. (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 28.

locals to emphasize their difference and also to activate their defence mechanism. In the Waverley Novels Scott places great emphasis on the power of the subaltern's languages. As I have pointed out earlier, it is generally agreed that Scott deliberately uses languages to differentiate among classes in his fictions. In most of the cases, the upper and upper middle class characters use standard spoken English; languages spoken by other social classes are more dialectal and provincial (although Jarvie uses Scots most of the time, rather than standard English, and Rob Roy is capable of adopting different languages and registers when speaking to different social groups). This provincial speech can be understood as hearth language as it is used within specific language groups. Accordingly, the vernacular languages of the subaltern classes serve not only as their exclusive protective colouring, but also as the site to resist colonizing power. In addition, the use of non-standard forms of languages in this case, as compellingly argued by Pittock, 'inevitably reinscribed altermentality rather than erasing it'.<sup>43</sup>

'No one bade us welcome', Frank complains (228). Even after his earnest request, the hostess of the inn, Jenny MacAlpine, still pays little attention to their requirement. Frank runs out of his patience in the end, and bursts into the public-house regardless of the lowland gardener Andrew Fairservice's advice that they may risk their lives. Frank's attitude is a classic example of a characteristic identified by Richard Schmitt that, 'the dominant groups pretend that they have it all their way' when facing the 'other'.<sup>44</sup> In this situation the hostess nominally loses her ownership of the house as early as when the property was temporarily transferred to the first group of visitors; however, since she also cannot resist Frank and his followers' uninvited visit, she is again deprived of her privileged status. Later on, as her authority is seriously undermined by these visitors, she naturally cannot prevent the ensuing conflict between the two groups under the shade of

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<sup>43</sup> Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Richard Schmitt, 'Racism and Objectification: Reflections on Themes from Fanon' in *Fanon: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Lewis R. Gordon, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Renée T. White (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 35-50 (45).

her premises.

This scene not only illustrates the conflict between different ideologies, but also reveals the fact that the relationship between host and guest is far from fixed. The shift of their positions indicates more than the differing customs of the Highland and Gaelic culture. It is also the implication of the political relations between England and Scotland in the early eighteenth century. Within such a historical and political context, the part Frank plays enriches the meaning of the power relation between the host and guest. As far as the Highlanders are concerned, Frank's presence stands for the arrival of a foreign/non-native culture, and his insistence upon the right of a guest in the inn at Aberfoyle may be seen as having a symbolic resonance of the arbitrary power of England wielded in the Highlands of Scotland. At the same time, Frank's uncompromising stance even illustrates a significant English impact on the Scottish culture and the locals' life particularly after the Acts of Union were passed in 1707, only a few years before the setting of this novel. Earlier in the text, Andrew Fairservice, 'perhaps the most blatant [or explicit] Scottish nationalist in all of Scott's Waverley Novels'<sup>45</sup> as Julian D'Arcy calls him, had given a personal comment on the Union as he stated that 'puir auld Scotland suffers aneugh by thae blackguard lowns o' excisemen and gaugers, that hae come down on her like locusts since the sad and sorrowf' Union' (151). The Porteous Riot (1736), the background story of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, to a large extent also illustrates Scotland's growing resentment against the intrusive organs of British government in the shape of the Customs Officers.

The confrontation between these two groups in this 'contact zone', in short, demonstrates the clash of two dissimilar cultures and powers. Both have their own unbending ideologies and both refuse to negotiate compromise, even though their relationship may be quite asymmetrical. Consequently, a fight ensues. During the conflict, Jarvie, who is the focal point of this scene, seizes a red-hot blade of a plough as his weapon

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<sup>45</sup> D'Arcy, *Subversive Scott*, p. 145.

when his *shabbl*e (cutlass) refuses to quit its sheath, and sets one of the Highlanders' plaids on fire (232-33). This very Scottian style of humour and witty comment on the peaceable Lowlander, to a certain degree, lightens the hostile atmosphere and helps transform the fight into a farce. The antagonism turns out to be less serious than it first appears to be. As Frank admits, 'there was more of bravado than of serious attempt [by the Highlanders] to do us any injury' (233). The scene eventually serves as a medium for both parties to be acquainted with each other and to prove themselves as worthy equals. The duel, different from the fatal confrontation between the Highlander Robin Oig and his English partner Harry Wakefield in 'The Two Drovers', is by no means designed to decide life or death; on the contrary, it is meant for the benefits of the two parties via their cultural exchange and mutual understanding. This similar technique is also applied to the encounter between the Scottish Knight Kenneth and Saladin in *The Talisman*.

From the moment they enter Aberfoyle, Frank and, to a lesser degree, Jarvie are actually conscious of the alien traditions they trample upon, but Frank's insistence upon entering the inn does create acute anxiety. When facing the alien culture, Frank's reaction is not only to guess but also to imagine and define what he has observed. As early as when they arrive at the tavern, the hostess' appearance provides Frank with a site for wild imaginings. The image of 'Her black hair, which escaped in uncombed elf-locks from under her coif', gives Frank the idea of 'a witch disturbed in the midst of her unlawful rites' (228-29). Moreover, the stare of the Highlanders in the tavern also has so profound an effect that Frank has no choice but to confess that 'I disguised as well as I could, under an appearance of indifference, any *secret anxiety* I might feel concerning the mode in which we were to be received by our predecessors' (231) (emphasis added). According to his responses to the adverse circumstances in the previous scenes, Frank is not a man who would easily succumb to external pressure, but the sight in such a wilderness captivates his fevered imagination and brings him nameless terror. Through Frank's great imaginative

power, an ordinary dame can undergo quite a metamorphosis into a ‘witch’ at this site.

On the following day when he follows Captain Thornton leaving the village, the appearances of villagers on the sides of the road also retain a remarkable hold on Frank’s imagination. His imaginative vision transforms all those Highland ladies into ‘the witches of Macbeth’, or ‘beldame’, or ‘sybil’. He even admits that ‘I imagined I read in the features of these crones the malevolence of the weird sisters’ (249). In addition, as Frank told his friend, children there also have ‘an expression of national hate and malignity’ (249). In short, the presence of women and children (the most socially disadvantaged ones), for Frank, becomes a certain threat to his being, especially when he is forced out of his spectator’s role, and being gazed at and judged. As Fiona Robertson argues, ‘The nightmare possibilities of the Waverley Novels begin when the roles of the observer and the observed are suddenly reversed’.<sup>46</sup> To resist the unfavourable circumstances and to preserve his self-assumed superior social status, Frank cannot escape but can only suppress his anxiety and pretend to be composed. Frank’s overall response to the surroundings simply reveals the effective operation of his defence mechanism which is activated in order to cope with his anxiety when he turns out to be the minority in the Highlands. Frank’s example could to a degree also confirm Nigel Leask’s argument concerning ‘the anxieties of the empire’.<sup>47</sup> The scene set at the clachan of Aberfoyle in *Rob Roy*, as Stanley Sulkes remarks, ‘serves as a form of initiation through which Frank and the Bailie pass into a landscape of adventure’ and their act of ‘crossing the Highland line’ is crucial in its meaning as two distinct ideologies officially begin to encounter each other.<sup>48</sup>

The focus of the following section is on the ways in which Frank understands the Highlanders, and how he defines his relationship with them especially when he is invited

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<sup>46</sup> Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, p. 182.

<sup>47</sup> Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>48</sup> Sulkes, ‘The Code of Hospitality in the Waverley Novels: A Study of Sir Walter Scott’s Fictions’, p. 59. See also *Crossing the Highland Line*, ed. by Christopher MacLachlan (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2009).

by Rob as his guest, and is no longer an unwanted visitor as in Aberfoyle. The very first detailed description of the Highlanders provided by Frank appears when the hero and the Bailie are still in Glasgow, one of the major markets for Highland drovers. He has no need to travel to the Highlands to see the Highlanders, as they are already present here in Glasgow:

Strangers gazed with surprise on the *antique and fantastic* dress, and listened to the *unknown and dissonant* sounds of their language, while the mountaineers, armed even *while engaged in this peaceful occupation with musket and pistol, sword, dagger, and target*, gazed with *astonishment* on the articles of luxury of which they knew not the use, and with avidity which seemed somewhat alarming upon the articles which they knew and valued. (155) (emphasis added)

The effect which the sight of the Highlanders in Glasgow has on Frank is reminiscent of his reaction to those in the Clachan of Aberfoyle. These ‘mountaineers’, as far as Frank is concerned, seem to come from an ancient past, but survive into the present. Pratt argues that the natives, under the Western eyes, are often represented as having ‘only a list of features, situated in a different temporal order from that of the perceiving and speaking subject’.<sup>49</sup> Pratt’s argument is especially applicable to the analysis of Frank’s case. With regard to the Highlanders, their dress (‘antique and fantastic’), their language (‘unknown’) and their understanding of the world (carrying arms whilst doing peaceful businesses) are all viewed by Frank as obsolete and even anachronistic. Moreover, in his imperial eyes, these Highlanders ‘from an Antique Land’ are depicted as extremely ignorant of the Lowland way of life. But this situation also reflects that Frank is equally uninformed about the Highlanders since their ‘astonishment’ causes his ‘surprise’.<sup>50</sup>

The quotation in the above paragraph mainly focuses on the Highlanders’ dress and their behaviour, but Frank’s following observation of the Highlanders further illustrates

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<sup>49</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 63.

<sup>50</sup> This usage is inspired by and borrowed from the title of Nigel Leask’s book, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840: ‘From an Antique Land’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). It was originally used by Shelley in his ‘Ozymandias’.

their physiognomy and their mentality. However, it is worth noting that the Highlanders are repeatedly illustrated by Frank in animal terms, such as ‘simian’, ‘bull’, ‘otter’, ‘dear’ and ‘bear’ (187, 275, 280, 292, and 307). I intend to argue in the following part that it is primarily this act of animalizing the Highlanders that is suggestive of Frank’s attitude as being colonial and imperial, although there are many other instances which can further reinforce this argument (for example, the Highlanders are also feminized, infantilized and orientalized in his remarks). Animalization is not a new concept in colonial discourse studies, but to my knowledge it has not yet been noted in the reading of *Rob Roy* as an evidence of the author’s powerful critique of ‘internal colonialism’.

The history of animalization as a discourse of colonialism is perhaps as long as the history of human beings. One of its most representative, modern interpretations in postcolonial studies is given by Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* where he powerfully argues:

At times this Manichaeism goes to its logical conclusion and dehumanizes the native, or to speak plainly it turns him into an animal. In fact, the terms the settler uses when he mentions the native are zoological terms. [...] When the settler seeks to describe the native fully in exact terms he constantly refers to the *bestiary*.<sup>51</sup> (emphasis added)

This treatment of the natives in animal terms by the settlers as criticized by Fanon in the above passage could be easily found in the history of former colonized countries particularly Africa and the East. For example, Pramod K. Nayar has argued that ‘The dehumanization of the Indian body or caste into animal-like, beastly and inhuman beings is central to the early English narratives on India.’<sup>52</sup>

However, this colonial discourse could also be found in the representations of socially, religiously, politically and culturally marginalized groups within the former colonial

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<sup>51</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>52</sup> Pramod K. Nayar, *English Writing and India, 1600-1920: Colonizing Aesthetics* (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), p. 49.

countries. The Highlands of Scotland is one of the most representative cases. Fanon's definition of animalization is highly pertinent to a reading of this specific colonial discourse in the following two passages of *Rob Roy*. The first is Frank's description of Dougal Gregor, the turnkey of Glasgow Tolbooth, when the Highlander unexpectedly met the chieftain of his clan, Rob Roy:

*a wild shock-headed looking animal, whose profusion of red hair covered and obscured his features, which were otherwise only characterized by the extravagant joy that affected him at the sight of my guide. In my experience I have met nothing so absolutely resembling my idea of a very uncouth, wild, and ugly savage adoring the idol of his tribe. He grinned, he shivered, he laughed, he was near crying, if he did not actually cry. He had a "Where shall I go?—what can I do for you?" expression of face; the complete, surrendered, and anxious subservience and devotion of which it is difficult to describe, otherwise than by the awkward combination which I have attempted.'* (173) (emphasis added)

In the above passage, Dougal's appearance is indeed described by Frank in precise animal terms. His 'profusion of red hair covered and obscured his features' has an obvious reference to an orangutan, 'the only Asian great ape, found in lowland rainforests on the Southeast Asian islands of Sumatra and Borneo'.<sup>53</sup> This image is reminiscent of another comment from Johnson, who has once pointed out that 'To the southern inhabitants of Scotland, the state of the mountains and the islands is equally unknown with that of *Borneo* and *Sumatra*: Of both they have only heard a little, and guess the rest.'<sup>54</sup> Therefore, in this case, Dougal is not only animalized but also orientalized by Frank. As Murray Pittock notes, as early as 1678, Highland Scots had been described by the Cameronian William Cleland as monkeys, a term intended to blend their supposed primitivism and Catholicism.<sup>55</sup> Frank's illustration of Dougal is also suggestive of the negative images

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<sup>53</sup> 'Orangutan', in *Encyclopedia Britannica*

< <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/430975/orangutan> > [accessed 1 July 2012]

<sup>54</sup> *Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, p. 70.

<sup>55</sup> Pittock, 'Slavery as a Political Metaphor in Scotland and Ireland in the Age of Burns', p. 20.

given to Irishmen in the early eighteenth century as they were also depicted as ‘ape’ and ‘wild’, just like the Yahoo in Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726).<sup>56</sup>

As a ‘seeing-man’, Frank’s customary act of interpretation, classification and many other similar examples in the following passage demonstrate what Pratt terms ‘the meaning-making powers of empire’.<sup>57</sup> The following passage further displays Frank’s sustained interest in the physiology and physiognomy of Rob Roy:

Two points in his person interfered with the rules of symmetry—his shoulders were so broad in proportion to his height, as, notwithstanding the lean and lathy appearance of his frame, gave him something the air of being too square in respect to his stature; and his arms, though round, sinewy, and strong, were so very long as to be rather *a deformity*. I afterwards heard that this length of arm was a circumstance on which he prided himself; that when he wore his native Highland garb he could tie the garters of his hose without stooping; and that it gave him great advantage in the use of the broadsword, at which he was very dexterous. (187) (emphasis added)

Rob’s unusually broad shoulder, square frame and long arms simply denote ‘deformity’ on the basis of Frank’s first-hand scientific observation as well as his sense of beauty, although this distinguishing characteristic is regarded by Rob as an asset since it offers him added convenience in daily life. In Frank’s description, Rob’s body, like the one belonging to his subordinate Dougal, also suggests that its owner is a certain anthropoid ape and a subhuman, ‘unfinished in the process of civilization’.<sup>58</sup> In short, Rob’s body is seen as distinctly different from the modern, developed form that Frank is pleased to possess.

Later in the novel when Rob is ‘in the dress of his country’, Frank observes that this Highland chief owns ‘a felt of thick, short, red hair, especially around his knees, which resembled in this respect, as well as from their sinewy appearance of extreme strength, the limbs of a red-coloured Highland bull’ (275). Rob’s physical features are not only

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<sup>56</sup> Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, p. 25.

<sup>57</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 9, 3.

<sup>58</sup> Neel Ahuja, ‘Cultural Difference and Development in International Ape Conservation Discourse’, in *Postcolonial Green: Environmental Politics and World Narratives*, ed. by Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt (University of Virginia Press, 2010), pp. 118-36 (p. 131).

simian-like but are also bull-like since both the Highland cattle and the Highlanders are perhaps the most renowned produce of the same land. In a word, all of Frank's observation and interpretation could be said to serve the same goal, of pretending that the Highlanders are not fully human at all. To consider the natives as not fully human, or not human at all, enables distance to be maintained. As L. Perry Curtis argues, 'In comic art this act of deflection often takes the form for reducing the perceived enemy or menace to an animal.'<sup>59</sup> Indeed, animalization of the Highlanders is one of the very methods Frank adopts to deal with his terror when meeting with those not of his kind, those who are likely to hurt him as he imagines.

Apart from its considerable detail in his illustration of both Dougal and Rob, every single word which Frank uses to describe these two Highlanders is both unequivocal and hardhearted. There seems to be no room allowed for the reader to negotiate the interpretation Frank has made. The manner in which Frank responds to the encounter with the Highlanders reflects what Fanon stresses as the usual attitude of colonialists: 'Phrases such as "I know them," "that's the way they are," show this maximum objectification successfully achieved.'<sup>60</sup> Moreover, with regard to objectification, Fanon argues that it 'is not best understood either as turning persons into things, or as depriving them of their freedom, but as a carefully orchestrated and systematic refusal of genuinely human relationships.'<sup>61</sup> Objectification is the act which rejects any sort of relationship with the other, and its attitude may be interpreted as, in Richard Schmitt's words: 'I already know all I need to know about him. Hence I need not to talk to him; if I do talk, I do not need to listen. If I listen, I do not need to hear what is being said to me.'<sup>62</sup> Indeed, animalization of the natives is one of the specific expressions of objectification which avoids not only

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<sup>59</sup> L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1997), p. xi.

<sup>60</sup> Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, Translated from the French by Haak Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1967), pp. 34-5.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>62</sup> Schmitt, 'Racism and Objectification: Reflections on Themes from Fanon', p. 43.

normal human relationships but also a common humanity that binds human beings together.

Ian Duncan points out that the settings of this fiction ‘represent not just geographically distinct spaces but anthropologically distinct stages, very much according to Enlightenment conjectural history’.<sup>63</sup> Duncan’s argument is indeed convincing, but the Scottish Enlightenment’s stadial theory is unable alone to explain when Rob’s appearance is illustrated as ‘unearthly’ and when he is demonstrated as belonging to ‘a sort of half goblin half human beings’ (187). Indeed, there is a long tradition of representing the Highlands from the metropolitan point of view as a supernatural locale by the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>64</sup> Johnson himself has commented that various kinds of superstition prevails in the Highlands ‘as in all other regions of ignorance’, and has compiled a long list of the natives’ superstitious beliefs and supernatural qualities, such as witchcraft, Brownie and Second Sight.<sup>65</sup>

Because of this quality, Rob is seen by Frank as naturally invested with an uncanny power to shift his shape, and appear or disappear at will. His appearances in the novel may be occasional, but they are dramatic and influential. He almost always appears mysteriously at critical moments to influence events. Earlier in the novel when Frank visits the Laigh Kirk of Glasgow, a mysterious voice from behind the massive round pillars whispers, ‘You are in danger in this city’ (163), and Frank glimpses only a dim phantom figure disappearing among the dreary vaults of the dark church. Of course, it is the warning given by Rob Roy. With regard to Rob’s disguises, Jarvie on one occasion mentions to Frank Rob’s habit of altering his garments when moving from the Highlands to the Lowlands. ‘[Rob] wears the Hieland habit among the hills, though he has breeks on when he comes to Glasgow’ (195). In addition to his habitual alteration of garments when being

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<sup>63</sup> Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow*, p. 109.

<sup>64</sup> Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 89-94.

<sup>65</sup> *Johnson’s Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell’s Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, pp. 97-100.

in different locations, Rob also has various names to suit local circumstances. He is widely known as Campbell when he is outside his own glen, but he asserts that when ‘my foot is on my native heath, and my name is MacGregor’ (289). Concerning the subaltern’s demand for changing their garments and names, Thomas Trumbull, the smuggler in *Redgauntlet*, shares his views with the hero Darsie Latimer: ‘Whereas, thou who art to journey in miry ways, and amongst a strange people, may’st do well to have two names, as thou hast two shirts, the one to keep the other clean.’<sup>66</sup> As well as his skilfulness in altering his garments and names, Rob is also adept at using languages as I mentioned earlier, including English, Scots, Gaelic and very likely French. McNeil argues that Rob is ‘double voiced and can shift dramatically depending on the cultural context he must negotiate’.<sup>67</sup>

In short, the malleability of Rob’s appearances, names and languages explains his ability, as an outlaw, to elude state power which seeks to have control over him; this ability is acquired because of the need to survive, rather than what Frank regards as innate or supernatural. Scott’s creation of Rob Roy as a chameleon-like figure corresponds to the defining features of the Jacobites as I have pointed out in the previous chapter and Saladin in *The Talisman* as I will be discussing in Chapter Six of this thesis. Rob Roy is not only a creation of Scott’s poetic imagination but also a fulfilment of the author’s own intent in narrating the flexible, survival mentality of the oppressed. As Rob’s case amply illustrates, the hidden and multifaceted self is in essence a refuge for the subaltern.

In 1760 Oliver Goldsmith (1730-74) began to publish a series of letters in the *Public Ledger* under the title *The Citizen of the World*, using his fictional character, a Chinese philosopher in England named Lien Chi Altangi, to comment on British customs and manners, and also to offer interrogative perspectives on the idea of the cosmopolitan.<sup>68</sup> In

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<sup>66</sup> Walter Scott, *Redgauntlet* (1824), ed. by G. A. M. Wood and David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 242-3.

<sup>67</sup> McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire*, p. 65.

<sup>68</sup> Oliver Goldsmith, *The Citizen of the World*, in *The Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. by Arthur

*Rob Roy*, Scott also uses the provincial Rob's remarkable adaptability in adapting himself to different environments in order that he can define that better quality of civility in contrast to the cosmopolitanism of Frank. Indeed, as Pittock argues, 'the provincial is more of a citizen of the world than the self-proclaimed cosmopolitan', and 'it is provincial Rob, not cosmopolitan Frank, who is the artful shapeshifter, and can accommodate himself to all shapes, places and seasons.'<sup>69</sup>

As far as Rob's other characteristics and qualities are concerned, he is also said to have the morality of 'an Arab Chief'<sup>70</sup>, and he is compared in the power of his command with 'the Sultan of Delhi' (292) [and 'Odysseus' (296)]. Rob's wife Helen MacGregor is also described as the Israelite heroines—Judith and Deborah (260). The juxtaposition of Scottish Highlanders and the Orientals by the author is by no means accidental; on the contrary, the tradition of this practice has already been well-established in literary works, and the comparativist mode of inquiry is an integral component of Scott's fiction. In an 1816 *Quarterly Review* essay, Walter Scott made a direct comparison between the manners of Scottish Highlanders and Afghan or Persian mountain tribes. He maintained that such 'curious points of parallelism' made a contribution 'to show how the same state of society and civilisation produces similar manners, laws, and customs, even at the most remote periods of time, and in the most distant quarters of the world'.<sup>71</sup>

However, in Frank's case, such a way of orientalizing the Highlanders demonstrates the fact that he is seeking a means so as to obtain a sense of security provided by the distance between the modern self and the primitive other. In addition to references such as animals, savages, elves and Orientals, constant comparisons are made between the Highland clans and American Indians throughout Frank's representations. Frank mentions

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Friedman, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), ii; See James Watt, 'Goldsmith's Cosmopolitan', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 30:1 (2006), 56-75.

<sup>69</sup> Pittock, 'Enlightenment, Romanticism and the Scottish Canon: Cosmopolites or Narrow Nationalists?', pp. 86-103 (forthcoming).

<sup>70</sup> Scott, *Rob Roy*, ed. by Ian Duncan, p. 20.

<sup>71</sup> Walter Scott, 'The Culloden Papers', *Quarterly Review*, 14: 28 (1816), 283-333 (p. 287).

to have visited Rob's 'hospitable wigwam' (293), a shelter used by the North American Indian peoples of the region of the Great Lakes and eastward.<sup>72</sup> In the 1829 *Magnum Opus* Introduction to the novel, Rob's character is depicted as 'blending the wild virtues, the subtle policy, and unrestrained license of an American Indian'.<sup>73</sup> In 'The Two Drovers', similarly, the Highlanders are also regarded as comparable to North American Indians in their tribal characters.<sup>74</sup> In fact, as Murray Pittock argues, 'In early colonial times, commentators could diagnose the Highlander's ability to get on with Native Americans as a sign of their common savagery.'<sup>75</sup> Moreover, as David Brown notes, 'the clan's social organisation, and the manners of its adherents, are nearer to those of other, far-flung tribal societies than they are to Jarvie's Glasgow, or indeed, to anything Scott's readers would have recognised as modern civilisation'.<sup>76</sup>

With regard to the distinctiveness of Rob's figure, Frank admits that 'Indeed, so much had this singular man possessed himself of my imagination, that I felt it impossible to avoid watching him for some minutes' (301). Despite his curiosity about them, Frank refuses to be the same as the Highlanders as he spares no effort in preserving the superiority of his self. To confirm his absolute supremacy, Frank, through his metropolitan representations, belittles the Highlanders and confines the meaning of their being within limited categories. This classification of the Highlanders 'offers a form of racial taxonomy that appears to uphold a permanent, biological grounded distinction between civilization and barbarism',<sup>77</sup> and shapes relations between the imperial power and primitive society. This deed reveals the violence of such 'civilized' values when applied to the treatment of the 'other', but it ultimately confirms the preservation of a superior self.

The previous section illustrates Frank's observation of the Highlanders outside their

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<sup>72</sup> 'wigwam', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>> [accessed 31 October 2009]

<sup>73</sup> Scott, *Rob Roy*, ed. by Ian Duncan, p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> Scott, 'The Two Drovers', p. 145.

<sup>75</sup> Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, p. 25.

<sup>76</sup> Brown, *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination*, p. 96.

<sup>77</sup> Watt, 'Goldsmith's Cosmopolitan', pp. 70-71.

glen; the following part depicts the situation when the two parties meet inside the glen. How will Frank interact with the natives especially when he is introduced by Rob as his invited guest, rather than an unwanted visitor? The Highlanders' enthusiasm in greeting their chief is vividly depicted as one Highlander 'clasped his leader so fast round the knees, that he was unable to extricate himself, muttering, at the same time, a torrent of Gaelic gratulation, which every now and then rose into a sort of scream of gladness' (292). It is obvious that the welcome given to Rob is transmitted through the contact of both bodies. Besides, the unleashing of the Highlander's emotion by scream also enhances the warmth of their welcome. This instance contrasts the unaffected nature of the Highlanders with the severely repressed emotion of people from polite society. The Highlanders are illustrated as people endowed with instinctive overflow of powerful emotions. Their indiscriminate reception of Frank is also beyond what he has ever experienced in polite culture as he has no choice but to accept such an enthusiastic welcome. As Frank describes:

I now sustained nearly as much inconvenience from their well-meant attentions as formerly from their rudeness. They would hardly allow the friend of their leader to walk upon his own legs, so earnest were they in affording me support and assistance upon the way, and, at length, taking advantage of a slight stumble which I made over a stone, which the press did not permit me to avoid, they fairly seized upon me, and bore me in their arms in triumph towards Mrs MacAlpine's. (292-93)

This passage demonstrates that the Highlanders are glad to welcome Frank as they share Rob's responsibility as general hosts of their guest. The burden in their arms is sweet.

According to Michael Newton, the highest moral imperative in Gaelic society is hospitality to all. The demands of hospitality are to be met whatever the cost to the host himself. It is this sacred obligation which has instilled the sense of generosity in Gaels to this day.<sup>78</sup> Thomas Pennant, in the following passage which I have cited earlier, offers a

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<sup>78</sup> Michael Newton, *Warriors of the Word: The World of the Scottish Highlanders* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2009), p. 154.

detailed illustration of this long-established Highland tradition:

Of all virtues their hospitality was the most extensive; every door and every heart was open to the stranger and to the fugitive; to these they were particularly humane and generous, vied with one another who would use them best, and looked on the person who sought their protection as a sacred depositum, which on no consideration they were to give up. [...] Hospitality was founded on immemorial custom, before the thought of men were contracted by the use of weights and measures, and reckoned so far *a sacred obligation* as to think themselves bound to entertain the man who from a principle of ill-will and resentment, scorned upon them a numerous retinue.<sup>79</sup>  
(emphasis added)

This Gaelic tradition makes Frank's reception in the glen natural and innate. It is an expression of spontaneous hospitality which seeks no negotiation of exchanges of goods. It is pre-commercial in its mode.

Frank's experiences of the Highlands are two extremes, but both of them are extremely memorable. One of the most impressive scenes in his narrative occurs earlier in the novel when Frank was asked defiantly by an enraged Highlander in the Clachan of Aberfoyle that 'Ye make yourself at home, sir' (231) when privacy is required. However, in the current scene, the Highlanders do attempt to make Frank feel at home in Rob's glen as the aforementioned quotation can bear witness to. Without Rob's invitation, Frank's life is threatened in Rob's glen; but, when Rob is in the company, Frank becomes an honoured guest. How can there be such a dramatic change? Their history of rough treatment by the power of the state made the Highlanders instinctively wary of people outwith their own circle. Helen's retort to Captain Thornton's claim can best illustrate the Highlanders' sense of persecution. But, the Highlanders' respect towards Rob has been effectively shifted to the reception of Frank.

The preparation of the bedding particularly reveals the host's attentiveness in accommodating the guest:

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<sup>79</sup> Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*, pp. 428-29.

Two of the least fragile of the bedsteads, which stood by the wall of the hut, had been stuffed with heath, then in flower, so artificially arranged, that the flowers being uppermost, afforded a mattress at once elastic and fragrant. Our cloaks, and such bedding as could be collected, stretched over this vegetable couch, made it both soft and warm. (298)

Highlanders are depicted as culturally rough and uncouth in the previous scenes, but the manners in which they provide accommodation for their guests (uppermost flower, elastic and fragrant mattress, vegetable couch) to a great degree not only transform their tarnished images but also further illustrate the refinement of their culture. The following quotation taken from *Guy Mannering* can be read as the counterpart of the scene where guests are accommodated in MacGregor's glen. Mrs. Dinmont, the farmer's wife, is described as preparing:

a very clean bed [...] and the sheets made good the courteous vaunt of the hostess, "that they would be as pleasant as her could find ony gate, for they were washed wi' the fairy-well water, and bleached on the bonnie white gowans, and beetled by Nelly and hersell, and what could woman, if she was a queen, do mair for them?"<sup>80</sup>

These two quotations manifest a fact that there is not only food but also bedding which may serve as an index indicating the host's hospitality as food and rest are most essential prerequisite for travellers to continue their journey. Moreover, the above two scenes point out a close relation between the bed and the land as heath and flower are essentially Highland produce and the 'fairy-well water' the Borderer Mrs Dinmont uses to wash the sheet is also local. In addition, 'heath', 'flowers' and 'the fairy-well water' are in short able to be considered as the pronouns of the hosts' hospitality. The hosts' carefulness in preparing the bedding not only illustrates their welcome but also expresses their wish that their guests could identify themselves with the land and perhaps could also develop emotional bond with it. Marcel Mauss' argument in *The Gift* (1950) is highly applicable to

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<sup>80</sup> Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 131.

the reading of these scenes in *Rob Roy* especially when he states: ‘The land, the food, and all that one gives are, moreover, personified: they are living creatures with whom one enters into a dialogue, and who share in the contract.’<sup>81</sup> The bond between host and guest is thus established through the medium of personified hospitality, and the boundary between them is blurred.

In *Guy Mannering* when Henry Bertram was ready to depart, the host ‘insisted upon mounting his guest, and accompanying him upon horseback as far as the nearest town in Dumfries-shire’;<sup>82</sup> in *Rob Roy*, Rob also chose to see Frank and the Bailie off as he said that ‘ye ken our fashion—foster the guest that comes—further him that maun gang [...] I must set ye on the Loch, and boat ye down to the Ferry o’ Balloch, and set your naigs round to meet you there’ (302). The act of seeing off guests in these two scenes is unique in its meaning since it is not generally regarded as the hosts’ duty. It can be understood as the extension of the rite of hospitality as the responsibility of the host is fulfilled as soon as the guest leaves the host’s premises, as Julie Kerr argues: ‘The host who escorted his guest beyond [his territory] exceed the demands of hospitality.’<sup>83</sup>

Before the guests’ departure, Helen MacGregor and her followers have even prepared a morning repast for Frank and the Bailie. Helen’s hospitality towards her guests requires her personal concern as much as her extrajudicial execution of Morris, a petty English official who undertakes to betray Rob’s hospitality for money, an act that casts a dark shadow over her guests. Helen’s administration of her ‘arbitrary power’ (185) is reminiscent of ‘the fruit of the justice of Hyder’ which is given to the English renegade Richard Middlemas in ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’.<sup>84</sup> The summary execution of Morris leaves a profound and indelible impression upon Frank’s mind as the latter describes:

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<sup>81</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1950), trans. by W. D. Halls (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 72.

<sup>82</sup> Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 141.

<sup>83</sup> Julie Kerr, “‘Welcome the coming and speed the parting guest’: hospitality in twelfth-century England”, *Journal of Medieval History*, 33 (2007), 130–46 (p. 141).

<sup>84</sup> Walter Scott, ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’, in *Chronicles of the Canongate*, ed. by Claire Lamont (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 284.

‘[Morris] set up the most piercing and dreadful cries that fear ever uttered—I may well term them dreadful, for they haunted my sleep for years afterward’ (267). Frank’s anxiety about the cruelty of the Highlanders is both interiorized and immortalized by the shocking sight of the whole incident. It is transformed into a long-term psychological effect. Even though Helen gives the Bailie a warm farewell hug before their departure, Frank remains unable to identify himself with the hostess and is also unable to accept her generous treatment. Frank reports that ‘she folded my friend, the Bailie, in an unexpected and apparently *unwelcome embrace* [...] in the gripe of a *she bear*, without being able to distinguish whether the animal is in kindness or in wrath’ (307) (emphasis added). This quotation, like all the other examples this chapter has presented, stresses the animal qualities (the tremendous strength and unpredictable eruption of emotions) of Helen who shares exactly the same nature as male Highlanders. Consequently, no matter how hospitable her reception shows, Helen’s presence is a menace particularly to Frank as the hero admits that ‘a chill hung over our minds as if the feast had been funeral, and every bosom felt light when it was ended.’ (308) This response certainly exemplifies again Frank’s anxious moment.

Despite its inhumanity, it needs to be understood that the execution of Morris and the ambush of Thornton’s troop by a rabble of Helen’s warriors (women and youths mostly), argues Ian Duncan, ‘belongs to the theater of colonial resistance rather than national history’.<sup>85</sup> However, it is unlikely that Frank would truly be able to understand the circumstances of the natives in this context since he is the beneficiary of the system of power that has been disturbing to the equilibrium of the Highlands. It should also be noted that Frank’s father had actually purchased vast tracts of forest land in the Highlands for investment. (31) Rob Roy’s speech thus concerns the suffering of the Highlanders under the rule of the hegemonic government:

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<sup>85</sup> Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow*, p. 113.

You must think hardly of us, Mr Osbaldistone [...] we are a rude and an ignorant, and it may be a violent and passionate, but we are not a cruel people—the land might be at peace and in law for us, did they allow us to enjoy the blessings of peaceful law—But we have been a *persecuted people*. [...] their hanging, heading, hounding, and hunting down an ancient and honourable name, as deserving better treatment than that which enemies give to enemies? Here I stand, have been in twenty frays, and never hurt man but when I was in het bluid, and yet they wad betray me and hang me up like a masterless dog, at the gate of ony great man that has an ill will at me. (303) (emphasis added)

Rob is clearly saying that the Scottish Highlanders are not treated as equal subjects of the same country, but are actually victims of oppression. In other words, he makes it clear that the Highlanders are more victims of brutality rather than the representatives of such accusation. However, when hearing Rob's recounting of his experiences of being the victim of persecution, Frank remains aloof and replies, 'that the proscription of his name and family sounded in English ears as a very cruel arbitrary law' (303). Frank is here satirizing the harsh law made in Scotland since the name of MacGregor was formally proscribed in 1603 by King James VI, but he is at the same time completely overlooking the hegemonic rule of the state over the Highlands. Frank seems to pretend to be completely ignorant of this latter fact. Pratt makes a powerful argument against this imperial rhetoric of conquest: 'In the literature of the imperial frontier, the conspicuous innocence of the naturalist [...] acquires meaning in relation to an assumed guilt of conquest, a guilt the naturalist figure eternally try to escape, and eternally invokes, if only to distance himself from it once again.'<sup>86</sup> It is rather apparent that Frank is here either trying to ignore his feeling of guilt or attempting to avoid showing it.

With regard to Frank's rhetoric, what is seen as even more ironic is the following hospitality Frank intends to offer to Rob and his sons. In order to reciprocate Rob's welcome, Frank suggests that 'I resumed my proposition of obtaining military employment

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<sup>86</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 56.

for himself [Rob], if he chose it, and his sons in foreign parts' (303). This proposal is declined by Rob although it seems ostensibly feasible when there is severe poverty and lack of opportunity in the 'over-peopled' (22) Scottish Highlands. With regard to Frank's offer, Rob understands well that it is simply a colonial strategy. On the one hand, the Highland upheaval can be efficiently settled when men are away from home, and disaffection among clan gentry can also be solved; on the other hand, the Highlanders' celebrated bravery and combat skills could be of considerable use to the progress of imperial expansion abroad. The Highlanders are useful in this case because they could also be cannon fodder.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, it is worthwhile to note that Frank's offer is in marked contrast to Rob's political stance since the latter makes it clear that he would like his sons to find 'their fortune in the French or Spanish service' (304).

So far we have seen Frank as a tourist, rather than a professional; but, the practical suggestions he made in this episode concerning the value of the Highlanders are also suggestive of the utilitarianism of ethnographers and landscape narrators. As Pratt argues:

[Landscape narrator] produces land as landscape and territory, scanning for prospects; [ethnographer] produces the indigenous inhabitants as *bodyscapes*, scanned also for prospects. Together they dismantle the socioecological web that preceded them and install a Euro-colonial discursive order whose territorial and visual forms of authority are those of the modern state. Abstracted away from the landscape that is under contention, indigenous peoples are abstracted away from the history that is being made—a history into which Europeans intend to reinsert them as an exploited labor pool.<sup>88</sup> (emphasis added)

Pratt's argument fits in well with the general theme of this chapter, and is highly applicable to our further investigation of Frank's attitude towards the Highlanders. Under Frank's imperial eyes, the Highlanders are viewed as 'bodyscapes', examined for possible

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<sup>87</sup> See Andrew Mackillop, *'More Fruitful than Soil': Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000); T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 310.

<sup>88</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 63.

exploitation. In short, the hospitality that Frank extends can be understood in a more subtle way through Pratt's analysis, as being rather for the exercise of his own power and for the benefits of the state than for the everlasting happiness of the Highlanders. Frank's offer can largely be seen as the imperial rhetoric of exploitation. The proposal Frank presents here is in fact realized in Scott's later work, 'The Highland Widow', the sort of sequel to *Rob Roy*. The story takes place after the defeat of the Jacobite uprising of the '45, and the Highland hero, Hamish Bean MacTavish, had indeed enlisted in a regiment of the British army and was about to fight French in America. As the hero articulates, a military occupation is 'the only service which is now open to the son of MacTavish Mhor',<sup>89</sup> a cattle dealer and a hunted outlaw, whose characteristics are clearly derived from Rob Roy. This fact reflects not only the strategic repression in the Highlands but also the urgent need of military manpower supply for British colonial expansion abroad.

So far as the relationship between Jarvie and Rob is concerned, it is sometimes in tension, but most of the time it is in relative harmony. They have conflicting views towards each other's preferred way of life, but they also have mutual understanding of the circumstances which have affected each other's standpoints. However, it is the blood bond of kinship (they are cousins) that helps establish a nexus of mutual obligation and hospitality between these two men.<sup>90</sup> These ties of kinship produce in them a powerful reciprocity of feeling as the following quotation can exemplify:

After kissing each other over very lovingly, and when they were just in the act of parting, the Bailie, in the fullness of his heart, and with a faltering voice, assured his kinsman, "that if ever an hundred pund, or even twa hundred, would put him or his family in a settled way, he need but just send a line to the Saut Market"; and Rob, grasping his basket-hilt with one hand and shaking Mr Jarvie's heartily with the other, protested, "that if ever any body should affront his kinsman, an he would but let him ken, he would stow his lugs out of his head, were he the best man in Glasgow." (310)

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<sup>89</sup> Scott, 'The Highland Widow', p. 91.

<sup>90</sup> McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire*, p. 66.

The quotation demonstrates the mutual reaffirmation of their kinship and the recognition that both worlds persist alongside one another. The inseparability of their blood and lands, as well as their emotional bond, make them one, rather than isolated worlds. From the following statement of Rashleigh's, we see further evidence of the Highlanders' strong bonds of kinship: 'Surmount this mound, you find an inner and still dearer barrier—the love of his province, his village, or, most probably, his clan; storm this second obstacle, you have a third—his attachment to his own family, his father, mother, sons, daughters, uncles, aunts, and cousins, to the ninth generation'. (87)

Moreover, through the depiction of Rob and Jarvie's mutually emotional and material support, the scene between the two men also points to the materially reciprocal interdependence between the Lowlands and the Highlands. The migration from the Highlands is important as it furnishes the Lowlands with the labour pool essential for its commercial expansion: 'This supply of hardy and useful population was of consequence to the prosperity of the place.' (155) The Lowlands also help to alleviate the problems arising from overpopulation in the Highlands. Frank seems to be isolated at this moment by the two who share the solidarity of land, ancestry and Scottishness, and he becomes the only outsider. Moreover, to Jarvie and Rob, English are simply 'southrons and strangers' (208). The bond between the two Scotsmen is nowhere to be found between Frank and his cousins in Northumberland. Because of their duel, Frank and his cousin Rashleigh have even been censured by Rob, who exclaims: "What! The sons of those who sucked the same breast shedding each other's bluid as it were strangers'!" (201).

When the Jacobite uprising broke out in 1715, Frank volunteers to join the government's forces against the rebels. This fact manifests his adherence to the authority where his power originates. Despite the fact that Frank fights against the Jacobites, it cannot be denied that he gives hospitality by granting protection to the Jacobite Sir Frederick Vernon and his daughter Diana Vernon. He says to them: 'here I will remain as

an outpost, and, while under my roof at least, no danger shall threaten them, if it be such as the arm of one determined man can prevent' (333). Although he voluntarily grants the father and daughter sanctuary, and by doing so he places himself in jeopardy, this gesture of hospitality is in fact driven by personal love rather than sympathetic benignity. Moreover, it is also for the sake of maintaining his personal status and interest. So, far from being a selfless act, it is an explicit demonstration of Frank's role as the patriarch extending largesse and protection within his own patrimony.

As early as in their first meeting in Osbaldistone Hall, Frank's politeness to Diana is perceived by the latter as 'a colonising project' which 'reduces women to the role of passivity'.<sup>91</sup> As she retorts:

Do not, therefore, throw away your pretty sayings—they serve fine gentlemen who travel in the country, instead of the toys, beads, and bracelets, which navigators carry to propitiate the savage inhabitants of newly discovered countries. [...] On me they are utterly thrown away, for I happen to know their real value. (46)

The quotation demonstrates Diana's clear understanding of the inequality of the imperial claims of reciprocal exchange. To her, Frank's polite compliments are no better than the conventional discourse of colonialism. Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), one of the very early colonisers who played similar tricks on American Indians and acquired vast tracts of land from them, admitted that 'It happened, indeed, that a certain sailor [of his] obtained in exchange for a shoe-strap as much worth of gold as would equal three golden coins; and likewise other things for articles of very little value, especially for new silver coins, and for some gold coins, to obtain which they gave whatever the seller desired'.<sup>92</sup> As well as suggesting the formulaic hospitality Frank extended as part of a colonial discourse, Diana's response simultaneously reveals her full understanding of the analogous status of women

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<sup>91</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 133; Pittock, 'Sir Walter Scott: Historiography Contested by Fiction', p. 283.

<sup>92</sup> Christopher Columbus, *The Letter of Columbus on the discovery of America* (New York: Printed by order of the Trustees of the Lenox Library, 1892), p. 6.

as the colonized in civil society. Frank demands that Diana's 'untaught simplicity, as well as native shrewdness and haughty boldness in her manner' (48), be modified. But Diana, who recognizes Frank's use of dominant language in his attempt to both patronise and 'other' her, resists the circumscription of her role as an autonomous individual, and even challenges the received gendered division of social roles, as she proudly said 'I can neither sew a tucker, or work cross-stitch, or make a pudding' (82). At the end of the novel the suggestion made by Frank's father to his son that 'it is but fair you should wive to please yourself' (342) particularly invokes the fact when women are treated as the subordinate of men. Moreover, it is clear evidence of Diana's correctness of her argument concerning the colonizing project of men.

In addition to challenging Frank's thought of subjugating women, Diana challenges the politics of the established government in her support of Jacobitism. She is closely related to both Flora Mac-Ivor in *Waverley* and Lillias Redgauntlet in *Redgauntlet* in her politics, for they are all romantic Jacobites who will take to the field, if necessary. Devoutly Catholic, Diana is a woman of action and determination, as she said, she is 'the wife of Heaven, betrothed to the convent from my cradle' (134). She yearns for the restoration of the Jacobite monarchy, and is committed to working towards this end. Her Jacobitism may be the result of her father's influence, but she clearly sees herself as being marginalized by the laws of the state because of her politics, religion and gender. Concerning the close relationship between gender and Jacobitism, Frank McLynn makes it clear: 'women and Jacobitism could come together in a mutual embrace of the outsiders and the marginalised. Both were minorities, and each could find uses in the other'.<sup>93</sup>

Throughout his tour in the Highlands, Frank has been constantly bewildered by the appearances and conducts of the Highlanders, which he habitually reads through the lens of his own 'civilized' prejudices. His reaction to and his interpretation of the Highland world

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<sup>93</sup> McLynn, *The Jacobites*, p. 154.

demonstrate his distrust and resistance to this alien culture even though he has personally experienced the warm hospitality shown by many of the members of Rob's clan. In fact, confronted with the alien culture of the Highlands, Frank rather takes personal protective measures than opens his mind to understand and appreciate their difference. There seems to be almost no reciprocal exchange between Frank and the Highlanders since he locks himself in his own pride and prejudice. Although he on the surface successfully shields/preserves himself from potential harm, the anxiety caused by his own biased view ultimately possesses him. When the Bailie had already fallen into sleep on the night before their departure from the Highlands, Frank confessed that 'I did not myself feel the same disposition to sleep, but rather a restless and feverish anxiety' (298). His imagination and emotions are cut adrift from his rational judgment, resulting in a nightmare of confusion, anxiety and terror. The memories of his resistance to the assimilation by the Highlands stay fresh as this nightmare keeps plaguing him even in the narrative present which is fifty years after his Highland tour. He admits at the beginning of his memoir, 'The recollection of those adventures [...] has indeed left upon my mind a chequered and varied feeling of pleasure and of pain, mingled' (5). The traumatic memory cannot be repressed even though Frank intends to make use of his seemingly 'frank' narration to pin down the meaning of it. The narrative simply records and demonstrates a mounting anxiety in his mind, rather than serving as 'the redemptive power celebrated by the Romantic poets'.<sup>94</sup> The more he attempts to push away the memory; the more the memory seems to seek to possess him. Ultimately, he appears to be devoured by his own recollections of his 'romantic adventure' (342) in the terra incognita and cannot preserve an intact self. Frank, the elevated, detached, and isolated traveller, presents himself in the end of his narrative as a lonely, sorrowful, and melancholic old man.

Although the Highlanders clearly have no access to the means by which they can

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<sup>94</sup> Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, p. 134.

create their own images in Frank's narrative, the vitality and integrity of the Highland culture represented by Rob Roy's clan, as the reader is told, are scarcely incorporated by the incursive colonizing power of the state. Despite the fact that Rob is a victim of state oppression, he is ultimately represented as a survivor, triumphant over the condemnation of his clan. Quite the opposite of a destiny of extinction, Rob's case provides a strong contrast with *Waverley*, where the defeat of the Jacobite party is identified with the historic end of clan society, indicated by the execution of the chieftain Fergus Mac-Ivor. Nevertheless, the Highlanders survive in *Rob Roy*. They are, as Ian Duncan puts it, 'the secret sharers of an imaginary present, invigorated rather than depleted by their station outside the law'.<sup>95</sup> As Frank himself makes it clear that Rob 'continued to maintain his ground among the mountains of Loch Lomond, in despite of his powerful enemies' and 'he died in old age, and by a peaceful death' (342). In the final page of *The Hunt for Rob Roy*, David Stevenson concludes with the following words: 'there are two Rob Roys. One lived and breathed. The other is a good story, a lively tale set in the past. Both may be accepted as 'valid', but they serve different needs and interests.'<sup>96</sup> Indeed, because of his full realization of and sympathy for oppressed and marginalized natives of the Highlands, Scott draws his serious attention to this 'small voice of history' in *Rob Roy*. For this reason, Scott in the early nineteenth century created a work that was a pioneering postcolonial novel. As the author himself in a letter to Major Donald MacGregor said 'I was the first literary man of modern days who chose the oppressed Clan as subjects of pity and sympathy.'<sup>97</sup> In the following chapter I will continue my study on the subaltern issues in the *Waverley Novels*, but will shift the attention to another famous subaltern group in Scottish history, the Covenanters.

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<sup>95</sup> Duncan, 'Introduction' in *Rob Roy*, ed. by Ian Duncan, p. xxvi.

<sup>96</sup> Stevenson, *The Hunt for Rob Roy*, p. 295.

<sup>97</sup> Scott to Major Donald MacGregor in *Letters*, XII (1937), 7 (8 April 1831).

**Chapter Four:**  
**Fanaticism, Hospitality and Forgiveness in**  
*The Tale of Old Mortality and The Heart of Mid-Lothian*

The novels that this chapter aims to examine include Scott's *The Tale of Old Mortality*<sup>1</sup> (1816) and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*<sup>2</sup> (1818). There is an obvious reason for this chapter to group these novels together since both of them have their primary focus on forms of extreme Presbyterianism in Scotland. The Covenanting movement and its aftermath had profound impact in the national history of Scotland. Moreover, the trend of thought based on this religious and political campaign also influenced considerably the behaviour of individuals as many of the key figures in these two novels can demonstrably exemplify. *Old Mortality* is set roughly thirty years before the signing of the Acts of Union in 1707 and *The Heart* is set around thirty years after the Acts joined the parliaments of England and Scotland. This sixty-year period that the two novels cover was significant in British history as the nation was in the throes of modernizing itself.

This process of modernization was fundamentally important to the birth and the development of the British Empire, but, it has to be recognized that this transformation was based on a reconciliation (although hardly completely successful) of differences in ideologies, politics, religious beliefs, classes, languages, and territories within the nations concerned. Moreover, it also needs to be noted that the successful integration of society in early eighteenth century Britain was in fact the result of a protracted and sometimes violent struggle between the above opposing factors, and the triumph of the new British state was largely at the expense of those who lost out (particularly those who had lesser or no power

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Scott, *The Tale of Old Mortality* (1816), ed. by Douglas Mack (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993). All subsequent references are to this edition, except where specified. Page numbers are given in brackets after quotations in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818), ed. by David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004). All subsequent references are to this edition, except where specified.

in society).<sup>3</sup> Scott was particularly sensitive to this situation. Although it is quite obvious that Scott's works to a large extent embrace the Enlightenment concept of stadial history and welcome the notion of the teleology of civility that old traditions were doomed to be succeeded or otherwise accommodated by a more advanced and superior (British) state of affairs (which came to be known as Whig history), it is also important to recognize that they clearly saw, as Adam Ferguson was to point out in *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, both gains and losses in this process of change.<sup>4</sup>

As the findings of the previous two chapters have demonstrated, Scott's fiction, although as a whole a depiction of 'the ineluctable tendency to improvement, reconciliation and civility',<sup>5</sup> sympathizes with the victims of history and society, and helps legitimize their voices, allowing them to articulate their own experiences of those great changes taking place in society and therefore to some degree challenge them. In a similar fashion, *Old Mortality* and *The Heart* also sympathize with individuals who are at odds with society and ultimately marginalized, and present these peoples' hidden or suppressed accounts of their lived experiences. These 'small voices of history' in *Old Mortality* and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* are again, as in *Redgauntlet* and *Rob Roy*, both distinctive and dissenting. Readers are invited by the novelist to listen closely to these voices and to reconsider history from the subaltern's point of view. The accounts of the subaltern characters in these two novels may not always have conspicuous historic importance, but they do represent alternative perspectives (in contrast to the winner's stance) that enable readers to recognize the minor but not necessarily unimportant components of history. The significance of these small narratives from the less noticed 'history from below' in Scott's work is also appreciated by Lukács (despite the fact that his understanding of history in

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<sup>3</sup> Regarding the contentious relations between these factors in early modern period, see Mark Netzloff, *England's Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism* (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> See Pittock, 'Sir Walter Scott: Historiography Contested by Fiction', pp. 277-91; 'Enlightenment, Romanticism and the Scottish Canon: Cosmopolites or Narrow Nationalists?', pp. 86-103 (forthcoming).

<sup>5</sup> Murray Pittock, 'Introduction: Scott and the European Nationalities Question', in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, ed. by Murray Pittock (London: Continuum, 2007), pp.1-10 (p. 3).

Scott is not always entirely accurate):<sup>6</sup>

What matters is that we should re-experience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act just as they did in historical reality. And it is a law of literary portrayal which first appears paradoxical, but then quite obvious, that in order to bring out these social and human motives of behaviour, *the outwardly insignificant events, the smaller (from without) relationships are better suited than the great monumental dramas of world history.*<sup>7</sup> (emphasis added)

With regard to his understanding of human behaviour, Lukács argues that ‘the outwardly insignificant events’ are, in short, more important than the grand narratives of history. Lukács’ insight can also be complemented by the Italian novelist Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873), who suggests that historical novelists are expected to offer ‘not just the bare bones of history, but something richer, more complete. In a way you want him to put the flesh back on the skeleton that is history’.<sup>8</sup> Stories from the ‘people’ are regarded by Manzoni as the flesh of history; facts and figures are the mere bones of it. In addition to its own essential value as a crucial part of history, the alternative realities recounted by marginalized groups of people also often challenge the Enlightenment notions of progress and stadial development. They simultaneously confirm the significance of the disenfranchised groups’ ability to initiate action in engaging with or resisting the power of the dominating narratives of history. *Old Mortality* and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* are works representing the marginal Covenanted strand of voices.

### ***The Tale of Old Mortality***

The primary focus of *Old Mortality* is on the Scottish Covenanters, a religion-motivated subaltern group named for their support of the tenets of the ‘National Covenant’ of 1638

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<sup>6</sup> See Pittock, ‘Sir Walter Scott: Historiography Contested by Fiction’, pp. 277-91.

<sup>7</sup> Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel* (1937), trans. by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (London: Merlin, 1962), p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Alessandro Manzoni, *On the Historical Novel*, trans. with an Introduction by Sandra Bermann (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp. 67-68.

and the ‘Solemn League and Covenant’ of 1643 (most particularly the latter). The Covenanting movement after 1660 was based on widespread opposition from mainly the west of Scotland to attempts by the state to enforce religious conformity in the interest of royal power.<sup>9</sup> Following the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 and his subsequent restoration of episcopacy on the Kirk in 1662, the persecution of Scottish Covenanters by military force was begun. Hence, this religiously-motivated popular movement, in which the Covenanters attempted to assert their ‘natural, civil and divine rights and liberties’, led to conflict in 1666 (the Pentland Rising, arguably the first popular rising in Scottish modern history) and then in 1679.<sup>10</sup> Peter Pattieson’s narrative in *Old Mortality*, taken from the stories of a Cameronian Robert Paterson (1715-1801, the title character Old Mortality), centres around the uprising of the Covenanters at the Battle of Drumclog in 1679 and their overwhelming defeat at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in the same year. The story ends when the conflict between an intolerant royalism and a radical religion was effectively settled after the Revolution of 1688-89 (although we have to admit that the settlement itself was hardly peaceful and satisfactory). Through adopting the name of a fanatical Cameronian as its title, the novel can be interpreted as commemorating a turbulent but fascinating history of this Covenanting movement.

At the outset of the novel, Scott, through the narrator Peter Pattieson, makes it clear the neutral stance *Old Mortality* will take when dealing with the Covenanting issues:

My readers will of course understand, that, in embodying into one compressed narrative many of the anecdotes which I had the advantage of deriving from Old Mortality, I have been far from adopting either his style, his opinions, or even his facts, so far as they appear to have been distorted by party prejudice. I have endeavoured to correct or verify them from the most authentic sources of tradition, afforded by the representatives of either party. (13)

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<sup>9</sup> Lynch, *Scotland*, p. 252.

<sup>10</sup> David Stevenson, *The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1988), pp. 66, 62.

However, immediately after its publication, *Old Mortality* was not well received by supporters of the Covenanting tradition for its seemingly more favourable representation of the royalist leader John Grahame of Claverhouse (Bluidy Clavers to the Covenanters, but Bonnie Dundee to his supporters) and his seemingly callous neglect of the defeated in the aftermath of the Battle of Bothwell Bridge. One of the most powerful critiques of Scott's work was given by Thomas McCrie (1772-1835) in his *Vindication of the Covenanters: in a review of the "Tales of my landlord"* (1845),<sup>11</sup> which appeared originally in the form of a review in the *Christian Instructor* edited by Andrew Thomson, and was extended through three successive numbers of that periodical in 1817. As McCrie alleges, 'Such of them as escaped execution were transported, or rather sold as slaves, to people desolate and barbarous colonies; the price of a whig was fixed at five pounds, and sometimes they were given away in presents by the judges.'<sup>12</sup> McCrie, as a committed supporter of Presbyterian tradition and the biographer of John Knox (1514-72), may have his own insight about the unique experiences of the Covenanters, but his allegation could also be the result of his biased interpretation of *Old Mortality*.

In addition to McCrie's outrage, Scott's work also provoked a number of responses from contemporary novelists. James Hogg (1770-1835) was sympathetic to the subaltern nature of the Covenanters, and his novel *The Brownie of Bodsbeck* (1818), basically a depiction of the suffering of the people of Ettrick during the Killing Times (roughly from 1680 to 1688), expressed his deep sympathy towards the oppressed subaltern Covenanters (but without defending their politics). John Galt (1779-1839) also took part in the debate triggered by Scott's supposedly irreverent treatment of the Covenanters. In *Ringan Gilhaize* (1823), Galt through the narrator of this work, Ringan Gilhaize, offered a

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas McCrie, *Vindication of the Covenanters: in a Review of the "Tales of my landlord"* (Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company, 1845). See also Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography*, p. 200; D'Arcy, *Subversive Scott*, p. 111; Mack, *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire*, p. 138; Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 168.

<sup>12</sup> McCrie, *Vindication of the Covenanters*, p. 43. This is cited in Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 168.

portrayal of the heroic deeds of the Covenanters who defended the Presbyterian Church and the rights of the people, which is in marked contrast to Scott's more moderate representation of the group (though it has to be noted that Ringan becomes mentally unbalanced at the end of the novel).<sup>13</sup> In his later work, *Literary Life* (1834), Galt again made it clear that Scott's *Old Mortality* had 'treated the defender of the Presbyterian Church with too much levity' and therefore he intended through his work to present a perspective that is truer to the spirit of the age.<sup>14</sup> Although Hogg and Galt's contribution to the voices of the Covenanters could be immensely rewarding to the modern debate of the Subaltern Studies Group, their work has as yet attracted comparatively little critical attention when compared with Scott's novel. The reason may be that, as David Stevenson argues, Hogg and Galt's works principally accepted the existing orthodoxy in interpreting the movement while Scott's had challenged this pro-Covenanting historiography developed in the eighteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

The depiction of both the Covenanters and the Royalists in *Old Mortality* has been more favourably received by modern critics than by its earlier readers in the first half of the nineteenth century. John Buchan contends that 'I think that he [Scott] does ample justice to the best in the Covenant and does not exaggerate the worst',<sup>16</sup> although it is interesting to note that Covenanters are depicted by Buchan as religious zealots in his own *Witch Wood* (1927). David Daiches regards Scott's work 'as an accurate picture of the state of affairs at the time', and asserts that '[*Old Mortality*] is clearly Scott's best work. Generations of subsequent research have only confirmed the essential justice and fairness of Scott's picture of both sides'.<sup>17</sup> The novel is also highly commended by Alexander Welsh as

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<sup>13</sup> See Stevenson, *The Covenanters*, p. 79; Mack, *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire*, p. 137; Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 168; Brian Hamnett, *The Historical Novel in Nineteenth-Century: Europe Representations of Reality in History and Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 87-89.

<sup>14</sup> John Galt, *The Literary Life and Miscellanies*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1834), I, p. 254.

<sup>15</sup> Stevenson, *The Covenanters*, pp. 79-80; Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 156.

<sup>16</sup> Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 161.

<sup>17</sup> Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature*, p. 842.

‘Scott’s highest achievement in historical and political fiction’.<sup>18</sup>

One of the most recent and telling criticisms of *Old Mortality* comes from Douglas Mack, whose analysis of the work is primarily based on Hogg’s argument concerning Scott’s class prejudice. As Hogg alleged (perhaps a little too exaggerated in his language), ‘The Whig ascendancy in the British Cabinet killed Sir Walter. Yes, I say and aver, it was that which broke his heart, deranged his whole constitution, and murdered him. [...] a dread of revolution had long prayed on his mind; he withstood it to the last; he fled from it, but it affected his brain, and killed him.’<sup>19</sup>

Following Hogg’s lead, Mack argues that the depiction of the Covenanters’ fanaticism in *Old Mortality* has actually implied its author’s anxiety about ‘the kind of popular revolutionary energy that had found expression in the subversive forces liberated by the French Revolution’. Moreover, Mack’s argument also suggests Scott’s clear determination to defend the political status quo of the Scotland of his day which had been established largely because of the achievements of the Revolution of 1689 and the Union.<sup>20</sup> Mack notes that the uprising of the Covenanters was a politically-sensitive subject during the radical agitation of the second half of the 1810s, since the Covenanting tradition had been firmly embedded in popular culture, especially in the Scottish lowlands, and the Covenants had been regarded as signifying the people’s cause, as a national cause as opposed to that of the corrupt and oppressive upper class. This position is supported by a quotation from *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*: ‘With the fanaticism of the Scotch Presbyterians, there was always mingled a glow of national feeling’.<sup>21</sup> In addition, as Mack points out, most subaltern Lowland Scots of Scott’s generation still remembered the Covenanters with respect, and were ready to follow the examples of their ancestors who took action against

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<sup>18</sup> Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels*, p. 155.

<sup>19</sup> James Hogg, *Domestic Manners and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Glasgow: John Reid & Co.; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Co., 1834), p. 131.

<sup>20</sup> Mack, *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire*, pp. 70, 146.

<sup>21</sup> Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, p. 314.

the hegemonic rule of the government.<sup>22</sup> In June 1815 thousands of textile workers marched to the battlefield of Drumclog to pay homage to the victory obtained by the Covenanters over the king's forces, and to celebrate the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba.<sup>23</sup> In short, according to Mack's interpretation, *Old Mortality* articulates the troubling fears of the ruling elite of Scott's age.<sup>24</sup>

However, standing in stark contrast to Mack's reading of the novel, Julian D'Arcy and Andrew Lincoln suggest interpreting the novel as an allegory of the national tale.<sup>25</sup> D'Arcy specifically points out a common link between the uprisings of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality* and the Jacobites in *Waverley* since both of these subaltern groups can be true representatives of the cause of Scottish nationalism. The depictions of the Covenanters by Scott have been generally appreciated by modern readers, but the significance of this subaltern group in *Old Mortality* has not yet been fully assessed. Following D'Arcy and Lincoln's lead in considering *Old Mortality* as a defensive nationalist discourse, this chapter intends to reassess the representations of the Covenanters from a postcolonial perspective, and hopes to demonstrate a more comprehensive understanding of Scott's portrayal of this particular religious/political group as the subaltern.

The following issues will be dealt with in particular in the first part of this chapter. Firstly, I will argue that *Old Mortality* challenges the ways in which the Covenanters are read invariably as innate religious zealots, and the Royalists as rational and civilized people. Scott's novel is read here as an attempt which aims to understand and reveal the fundamental cause of the Covenanters' fanaticism. It, at the same time, intends to redirect the myth of this fanaticism, which had been widely and uncritically invoked to characterize the Covenanters in history as Robert Wodrow (1679-1734) in *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restauration to the Revolution* (1721) had vividly

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<sup>22</sup> Mack, *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire*, p. 69.

<sup>23</sup> See Stevenson, *The Covenanters*, p. 77; Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 156.

<sup>24</sup> With regard to radicalism during this period, see also Martin Pugh, *Britain since 1789: A Concise History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 19-24.

<sup>25</sup> D'Arcy, *Subversive Scott*, pp. 110-24; Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, pp. 156-69.

described, towards the problems of an authoritarian government, anxious about those who are against it.<sup>26</sup>

Secondly, through a close analysis of the constituent members of the Covenanting party, this chapter intends to consider *Old Mortality* as a work about ‘the people’, a masterpiece that legitimizes the small voices of history. Although earlier research has offered certain evidence regarding Scott’s personal disapproval of the Covenanting form of Presbyterianism, *Old Mortality* precisely demonstrates the author’s recognition of the history of its followers’ sufferings, their psychology and their motives as well as the significance of their legacy.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, this chapter contends that *Old Mortality* lays considerable stress on the importance of the ‘history from below’ particularly through examples from subaltern characters, such as Bessie Maclure, the oppressed follower of the Covenanting tradition. Through the acts of hospitality selflessly extended by subaltern Presbyterian characters to the Royalist side, Scott not only offers a critique of the limited toleration of the ruling power, but also demonstrates the subaltern’s desire, as well as power, to reconcile political and religious opposition. However, Scott also offers a number of illustrations of the supporters of royalism who themselves are willing to provide victims of the history with hospitality. This reciprocal hospitality helps settle many of the most violent conflicts between the both sides, and simultaneously confirms Scott’s belief in the power of hospitality and forgiveness.

At the opening of the novel, Scott intends to characterize the government through the depiction of the wappen-schaw. This is an event where people from both the higher and lower ends of the society are welcomed to attend, but it is in fact organized in order to rally support for the royal cause. As the narrator describes, ‘The commands of the law were imperative; and the Privy Council, who administered the executive power in Scotland,

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<sup>26</sup> Robert Wodrow, *The history of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restauration to the Revolution*, printed by James Watson, His Majesty's printer (Edinburgh: 1721).

<sup>27</sup> See W. S. Crockett, ‘The Religion of Sir Walter Scott’, *Hibbert Journal*, XXVII (1929), 483-97; Richard French, ‘The Religion of Sir Walter Scott’, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, II (1964), 32-44.

were severe in enforcing the statutory penalties against the crown vassals who did not appear at the periodical wappen-schaw' (15). The government invites its subjects to the festival, but punishes those who decline its hospitality, since this refusal is regarded as an act of open defiance of the King. The hegemonic rule of the government as this episode clearly manifests has not fostered national solidarity but fuelled its people's resentment. Moreover, the wappen-schaw heralds the uprising which will be led by the Covenanters.

To examine Scott's illustration of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality*, this chapter intends to start from investigating the constituent members of this religious/political group, and then analysing that for which they have often been attacked, their fanaticism. With regard to the participants of this popular insurrection, Scott makes it fairly clear in this novel that the forces of the Covenanters were mainly constituted by 'a few hundred peasants' (156), who are 'without leaders, without money, without magazines, without any fixed plan of action, and almost without arms' (156). Moreover, most of them were merely equipped with 'scythes set straight on the poles, hay-forks, spits, clubs, goads, fish-spears, and such other rustic implements' (130).

These Covenanting forces were united in the sense that their liberty as subjects was being infringed by the high-handed government who intended to enforce religious conformity in the country. The Covenanters were, as *Old Mortality* explicitly points out, 'the principal sufferers during the oppression of the time' (169), despite the fact that they were disparate in the degree of their fanaticism and they were also varied in their position in the social hierarchy. More importantly, the narrator recognizes that many of the insurgents were rendered fanatical owing to the fact that '[their] minds were fretted, soured, and driven to desperation, by the various exactions and cruelties to which they had been subjected' (169). This argument is reinforced by Henry Morton's earlier claim that the persecution 'has made wise men mad' (47). In addition to men, 'women and even the children, whom zeal, opposed to persecution, had driven into the wilderness' (131).

Consequently, under such circumstances, the untrained and lightly armed Covenanting subaltern forces were formed. They declared open war against the established government, who were supported by ‘a regular army, and the whole force of three kingdoms’ (156), and aimed to ‘obtain the liberty of conscience of which they had been long deprived, and to shake themselves free of a tyranny, directed both against *body and soul*’ (169) (emphasis added).

So far it is therefore fair to say that, as Scott has rather clearly demonstrated in the novel, the uprising of the Covenanting forces can actually be seen as the product of a harsh authoritarian government; the insurgents’ fanaticism, similarly, is highly correlated to the government’s repressive rule. Later in the novel, Scott, through the point of view expressed by the Royalist Lord Evandale, powerfully reinforces the above argument and once again points out the radicalism of the Covenanters as a direct outcome of the government’s oppression. As Evandale exclaims, ‘I have been for some time of opinion, that our politicians and prelates have driven matters to a painful extremity in this country, and have alienated, by violence of various kinds, not only the lower classes, but all those in the upper ranks, whom strong party-feeling, or a desire of court-interest, does not attach to their standard’ (198). This nicely balanced criticism effectively illustrates *Old Mortality*’s attitude towards the governing class and the oppressed Covenanting party.

With regard to the cause of fanaticism, the notion of ‘enantiodromia’ elaborated below by the psychiatrist C. G. Jung provides us with a psychological explanation:

I use the term enantiodromia for the emergence of the unconscious opposite in the course of time. This characteristic phenomenon practically always occurs when an extreme, one-sided tendency dominates conscious life; in time an equally powerful counter-position is built up, which first inhibits the conscious performance and subsequently breaks through the conscious control.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. by Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, and William McGuire; trans. by R. F. C. Hull, 20 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 8, p. 426.

In other words, enantiodromia can be interpreted as a process of the transformation of an extreme part into its opposite. V. Walter Odajnyk expands Jung's theory, and develops his own conception of religious and political fanaticism:

Of course, doubt, heresy, and fanaticism are not new, nor are they confined to secular ideologies. But the dislocation of the religious function into the secular realm, its serious distortion, as well as the absolute state's insistence on unquestioning adherence to the official ideology all work to produce greater doubt and resistance than is normally the case with a religious movement. The greater doubt and resistance then lead to a more intense propaganda, fanaticism, and so on.<sup>29</sup>

However, since the situation has reached such extremes, there has to be a solution in order to settle the conflict between the two parties. David Daiches contends that 'Scott's interest [...] would lie in the possibilities for compromise, in the techniques of adjustment, in the kind of character who can construct a bridge between the two factions.'<sup>30</sup> James Kerr also argues: 'With this new story, Scott seeks to overcome the distortions of the Whigs and their persecutors and to forge a position epistemologically superior to their mutually destructive fanaticisms.'<sup>31</sup> But which character is able to reconcile this religious and political antagonism, and what is the value that can transcend the ideological struggle between the extremes? Henry Morton is the person, as Daiches and Kerr suggest, who can help create a better future; hospitality is the value that this chapter proposes in order to untie the knot.

In a manner similar to Edward Waverley who became involved in the Jacobite uprising of 1745, Morton, the sensible, moderate, Presbyterian of the lower gentry, becomes associated with similar comparable circumstances on the side of the Covenanters. However, Morton is far more actively engaged on the side of the rebels than Waverley whose involvement in the Jacobite uprising of 1745 is quite accidental. Morton is

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<sup>29</sup> V. Walter Odajnyk, *Jung and Politics: The Political and Social Ideas of C. G. Jung* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), p. 56.

<sup>30</sup> Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature*, p. 842.

<sup>31</sup> James Kerr, *Fiction against History: Scott as Storyteller* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 44.

represented as politically and religiously moderate, but his moderatism, as Francis Hart argues, is an ‘active faith’ and it is ‘grounded in his sense of a general law of natural humanity.’<sup>32</sup> Moreover, his detestation of oppression, whether in politics or religion, is firm and uncompromising, although he does not entirely belong to any of the oppressed subaltern classes.

The narrator makes it clear that Morton is ‘revolted by the tyrannical and oppressive conduct of the government, the misrule, license, and brutality of the soldiery, the execution on the scaffold, the slaughters in the open field, the free quarters and exactions imposed by military law, which placed the lives and fortunes of a free people on a level with *Asiatic slaves*’ (110). (emphasis added) With regard to the analogy between the insurgents and ‘Asiatic slaves’, the narrator is here using an Orientalist discourse of absolutism, which is strongly linked to Catholicism, to characterize the hegemonic rule of the government, and to create an image of those people who suffer under repressive regimes.<sup>33</sup> Later in the novel, Morton is also noted to have once exclaimed: ‘I will resist any authority on earth [...] that invades tyrannically my chartered rights as a freeman’ (124). (It is worth noting that ‘chartered rights’ is an English concept indicating the future of Britishness.) It is his individual conscience that guides him to defend civil liberty, rather than his religious persuasion (although his defence of freedom accidentally represents the Covenanters’ cardinal virtue) or personal interest that prompts Morton to become committed to the Covenanting movement. In addition to his enlistment in the poorly organized Covenanting forces which are banded together to resist a cruel and unreasoning government, Morton also provides a powerful critique of the limited toleration of the authority by his own selfless acts of hospitality.

Stanley Sulkes argues that ‘As in *Waverley* and later *Rob Roy* (1817), the hero [Henry Morton] upholds hospitality, but here he displays it at the outset rather than being educated

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<sup>32</sup> Hart, *Scott’s Novels*, p. 74.

<sup>33</sup> Pittock, ‘Slavery as a Political Metaphor in Scotland and Ireland in the Age of Burns’, p. 20.

into it, as was the pattern in those novels.’<sup>34</sup> Indeed, Morton is represented as an active volunteer who gives hospitality to people in need. The sanctuary he extends to John Balfour of Burley, one of the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe, at Milnewood not only repays the favour his father previously received from the fanatic but also defines himself as a brave defender of the virtue of hospitality. This relationship between Morton and Burley is very similar to that between the Duke of Argyle and Reuben Butler in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* which will be discussed in the second half of this chapter. As Morton explained to his unexpected guest: ‘I must shelter you at Milnewood, or expose you to instant death’ (37), his hospitality does not just demonstrate a simple expression of the host’s good will; instead, it is an act that can decide life or death. It is without doubt a compassionate and humanitarian act, but it has to be recognized that this hospitality is actually grounded on the grave risk that Morton could be charged with harbouring a fugitive. In addition to the hospitality he extended to Burley, Morton also gives sanctuary to the evicted servants of Lady Margaret, Cuddie Headrigg and his mother, and provides them with a job, although the narrator says that Morton actually ‘exhausted his own very slender stock of money in order to make Cuddie such a present (i.e. the work)’ (59).

Later in the novel, Morton also strives to preserve the lives of Major Bellenden, Lady Margaret, and Edith from the fury of the insurgents. He even effectively intervenes and saves the life of Lord Evandale from the hands of Burley after the Battle of Drumclog, despite the fact that Evandale is least likely to be his friend. Morton’s deed is in reciprocation for Evandale’s earlier hospitality in saving his own life, as he said: “‘My interference would have been the same from common humanity,’ replied Morton; ‘to your Lordship it was a sacred debt of gratitude’” (149).

Throughout the novel, Morton risks a great deal through all sorts of danger because of his own charitable acts of hospitality. Morton can be seen as the champion of the law of

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<sup>34</sup> Sulkes, ‘The Code of Hospitality in the Waverley Novels: A Study of Sir Walter Scott’s Fictions’, p. 100.

humanity; his humanitarianism is deeply rooted in his respect for life, as he argued: ‘God gives every spark of life—that of the peasant as well as the prince; and those who destroy his work recklessly or causelessly, must answer in either case’ (271). Morton’s hospitality transcends political and religious boundaries during the age of terror, and his hospitable acts best exemplify the philosophy of his religious belief and the true essence of his heroism. In addition to the depiction of Morton’s hospitality, Bessie Maclure’s following example also demonstrates the significance of compassion; one of the central motifs in this novel.

Bessie Maclure, though a humble woman, receives considerable critical attention since she is noted for having saved Lord Evandale’s life from the pursuit of her fellow Covenanters by hiding, feeding and curing him in her hut, in spite of the fact that her own two sons were slain before her own eyes by Claverhouse’s forces, and her own people pressured her not to extend hospitality to Evandale. When Morton asks why she did so, she simply responds that ‘I wot I hae nae divine command to shed blood, and to save it was baith like a woman and a Christian.’ Besides, her additional remark explains that a betrayal of ‘Lord Evandale’s young blood to his enemies’ sword wad ne’er hae brought my Ninian and Johnie alive again’ (328). Her hospitable act defines her noble thought; her interpretation of her own deeds manifests her rational deliberation. Daiches maintains that ‘Bessie Maclure shows the Covenanting side at its best’;<sup>35</sup> Buchan commends Scott for an example which ‘has revealed tenderly and subtly the beauty of holiness in the most humble’.<sup>36</sup> The following review by H. B. de Groot most powerfully determines the significance of Maclure’s hospitable act at the time when the society is divided by the opposing fanaticisms:

if there is any one character in the novel who functions as a moral centre it is Bessie Maclure, who is as fierce and extreme in her religious convictions as any Whig but

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<sup>35</sup> Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature*, p. 843.

<sup>36</sup> Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 163.

who always sets the claims of humanity above those of political and religious ideology. [...] Scott's conviction that what links us to a fellow human being is of greater importance than what divides us in terms of ideology.<sup>37</sup>

Maclure's courage in saving Evandale from the danger can also be recognized as an act of heroism. Besides, her example has also challenged the Scottish Enlightenment's notion of the teleology of civility.

With regard to the representations of other subaltern characters in *Old Mortality*, Cuddie Headrigg also plays an influential role in this work. He is the key person who voluntarily and heroically restores Tillietudlem to the Bellendens by shooting Basil Olifant, the swindler, 'from behind the hedge' (347). This episode may seem a little melodramatic, but Scott's ingenious plan becomes clear when we recall the fact that Cuddie's marksmanship at the wappen-schaw is second only to that of Morton and Lord Evandale. (86) Moreover, Cuddie has been depicted as truly loyal to Morton, who had unconditionally offered accommodation to him and his mother.

After the Covenanters' disastrous defeat at Bothwell Bridge, the fanatical Ephraim Macbriar is tortured and sentenced to death by the Privy Council in Edinburgh since he resolutely refuses to reveal the whereabouts of Balfour of Burley. Before his execution, Macbriar's last words demonstrate his admirable fortitude and unwavering faith: 'Ye send me to a happy exchange—to the company of angels and the spirits of the just for that of frail dust and ashes—Ye send me from darkness into day—from mortality to immortality—and, in a word, from earth to heaven!' (283) Besides, Buchan suggests that 'Macbriar's sermon [...] is both superb prose and historically true. It is hard to see how Scott can be accused of maligning the Covenanters when in Macbriar's defiance of the Privy Council he has shown to what heights of courage they could attain.'<sup>38</sup> Robert Hay Carnie also mentions that 'the real eloquence of the dignified martyr Ephraim Macbriar,

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<sup>37</sup> H. B. de Groot, 'Scott and Galt: *Old Mortality* and *Ringan Gilhaize*' in *Scott and His Influence*, pp. 321-30 (p. 324).

<sup>38</sup> Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 163.

whose acceptance of torture and death for his religious ideals is sympathetically and beautifully done.’<sup>39</sup> Regardless of the narrow-mindedness and inflexibility of the tenets that Macbriar upholds, his courage and bravery in attempting to preserve the civil rights he upholds are likely to win the reader’s admiration and sympathy. A. O. J. Cockshut concludes that ‘Fanaticism is a solemn and terrible subject; and it is characteristic of Scott to give it its full dignity where Hume and Gibbon had sneered.’<sup>40</sup>

This chapter has so far listed a number of examples of hospitalities given by the Covenanting side, but, there are also several examples from the supporters of Royalism whose acts of generosity are no less extraordinary. Scott makes use of these individuals, who are willing to cross the boundary of this political divide, to criticize the state’s intolerance towards those religious and political dissidents. For instance, Lady Margaret, who is an enthusiastic royalist cherishing the memory of a visit made to Tillietudlem by Charles II, does not initially enjoy a good reputation at the novel’s opening because of her cold-hearted eviction of her disobedient domestics, the Headriggs, who had avoided attending the wappen-schaw. However, her active intervention in pleading for Morton’s life before Claverhouse has to be recognized especially when it is noted that Morton’s father had been one of those responsible for her husband’s death in the Civil War. Lady Margaret’s following response, similar to Maclure’s that I have shown earlier in this chapter, is also rational and compassionate: ‘The shedding of this young man’s blood will not call back the lives that were dear to me; and how can it comfort me to think that there has maybe been another widowed mother made childless, like mysel, by a deed done at my very door-stane?’ (115-16)

In addition to Lady Margaret’s example, Lord Evandale’s acts, both decent and honourable, are also manifestations of hospitality and forgiveness. He has, together with

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<sup>39</sup> Robert Hay Carnie, ‘Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence and *Old Mortality*’, *Scottish Literary Journal*, 3:2 (1976), 51-61 (p. 59).

<sup>40</sup> Cockshut, *The Achievement of Walter Scott*, p. 143.

Lady Margaret, appealed to Claverhouse to spare Morton's life from execution, although the latter has been his chief rival for the hand of Edith. With regard to his heroic and selfless act, Evandale can be largely seen as the counterpart of Morton on the government side. Welsh points out that the plot of *Old Mortality* can actually be reckoned as 'a contest in unselfishness between Morton and Lord Evandale',<sup>41</sup> a 'race of generosity' (192) in Scott's own words.

Regarding Claverhouse, most critics consider him as the counterpart of John Balfour of Burley owing to their equal willingness to take life. As the narrator describes:

At the moment when Grahame delivered these sentiments, his eye glancing with the martial enthusiasm which formed such a prominent feature in his character, a gory figure, which seemed to rise out of the floor of the apartment, stood upright before him, and presented the wild person and hideous features of the maniac so often mentioned. His face, where it was not covered with blood-streaks, was ghastly pale, for the hand of death was on him. (268)

However, it is also important to note that, together with other hospitable characters in the novel, Claverhouse is equally represented as having a humane quality. Morton is saved from his former Covenanting allies by the personal intervention of Claverhouse, who makes it clear that he is repaying the personal debt of Morton's selfless protection of his friend Evandale. Later in the novel when Morton is captured by the Royalist forces, Claverhouse also treats him 'rather as a friend and companion than as a prisoner' (274). Since Claverhouse is depicted as having such conflicting roles in the novel, it is rather difficult to give a comprehensive assessment of this figure represented by Scott. In an anonymous review of his own 'Tales of My Landlord', Scott says of Claverhouse: 'Few men have left to posterity a character so strikingly varied. It is not shaded—it is not even chequered—it is on the one side purely heroic, on the other, cruel, savage and

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<sup>41</sup> Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels*, p. 172.

sanguinary.’<sup>42</sup> If on the one hand Henry Morton and Bessie Maclure show the best value of the Covenanting side, the forgiving Lady Margaret, Lord Evandale and to a lesser degree Claverhouse play the same part for the other side. This is undoubtedly the point the novel’s critics could not stand.

If both the Covenanters and the supporters of royalism are more or less willing to show hospitality to the opposing party, and are also pleased to reciprocate the welcome they received, there are Balfour of Burley and Habakkuk Meiklewrath (the insane and fanatical preacher) who stand irrationally firm on their principles and refuse to make any possible concession. Burley and Meiklewrath are described as daring to take whatever action that is necessary to their needs since they believe even murder can be justified by their religious aims. Although the state’s oppression is closely linked to the cause of the Covenanters’ fanaticism as this chapter has earlier revealed, Burley and Meiklewrath are exceptions in this case. These two figures resort to every conceivable means to achieve their religious ambitions. Their fanaticisms are simply beyond any human comprehension. As Burley declares earlier in the novel:

we are called upon when we have girded up our loins to run the race boldly, and when we have drawn the sword to smite the ungodly with the edge, though he be our neighbour, and the man of power and cruelty, though he were of our own kindred and the friend of our bosom. (43)

Burley’s aim is simply to extirpate those who hold views different from his own. He is indifferent to the hospitality (i.e. the truce) extended by the Royalists, and kills the envoy. Andrew Lincoln comments: ‘Burley is a religious extremist, one would now be called a fundamentalist.’<sup>43</sup>

Meiklewrath’s attitude is almost identical to Burley’s when he is making the

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<sup>42</sup> Walter Scott, William Erskine and William Gifford, ‘*Tales of My Landlord*’ (review), *Quarterly Review*, 16:32 (1817), 430-80 (p. 472).

<sup>43</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 159.

following proposal for dealing with Lady Margaret and her family at Tillietudlem:

Who talks of peace and safe-conduct? who speaks of mercy to the bloody house of the malignants? I say, take the infants and dash them against the stones; take the daughters and the mothers of the house and hurl them from the battlements of their trust, that the dogs may fatten on their blood as they did on that of Jezebel the spouse of Ahab, and that their carcasses (*sic*) may be dung to the face of the field even in the portion of their fathers! (181)

Even though the hostages he is going to deal with are mainly women and children, Meiklewrath's expression is filled primarily by hatred and violence, rather than sympathy and compassion. Similar to the representations of Burley and Meiklewrath, Macbriar is also represented as an extreme Covenanter, but he has not been illustrated as that bloodthirsty and insane. Instead, as this chapter has earlier pointed out, his somehow more rational deliberation of his belief gains himself respect even from the opposing side of the religious divide. In the final episode of this novel, Burley was found by Morton hiding himself like a primitive in a cave entirely isolated from human habitation. This representation places him in a stadially earlier stage of society. Although his ultimate plan was to root out his religious others, he is after all excluded from the society and has almost nowhere to stay after the Revolution of 1688.

Between the Covenanters and the Royalists, there is another group of men who survive remarkably well at the time of extremes because they know exactly how to earn profits from both of the parties by keeping quiet about their political inclination and selling their hospitality to their guests. Niel Blane, the canny innkeeper, appears firstly to offer refreshments to the participants of the festival of the popinjay. The following instructions he gives his daughter for attending the customers from both of the parties disclose his acute sense for business: 'Jenny, ye'll be civil to a' the folk, and take nae heed o' ony nonsense daffing the young lads may say t'ye. [...] When the malt gets aboon the meal, they'll begin to speak about government in kirk and state, and then, Jenny, they are like to quarrel—let

them be doing—anger’s a drouthy passion, and the mair they dispute. The mair ale they’ll drink’ (27-8).

Moreover, when he finds the situation precarious, Blane accommodates himself in a least harmful state. Seeing the suspicious murderer of the archbishop of St Andrews, Balfour of Burley, in his tavern, Blane instructs his daughter: ‘Serve him cannily, Jenny, and wi’ little din, and dinna bring the sodgers on him by speering ony questions at him; but let na him hae a room to himself, they wad say we were hiding him’ (27). David Brown makes it clear that ‘Blane’s object in life is solely self-interest, playing off one side against another to his own advantage, and quite prepared to turn a blind eye to injustice if there is a profit to be made from it.’<sup>44</sup> Blane’s opportunism keeps him safe from being noticed and condemned. Although Blane’s pragmatic hospitality is only for self interest, his comical responses to the impending crisis have largely relieved the dramatic tension between the opposing parties.

In *Old Mortality* Scott provides a perspective that will transcend the bitter opposition of the Covenanters and the Royalists. With the story he partially collected and partially invented, he hopes to overcome the difficulties the two warring factions are facing, and to forge a position from which he can bring the conflict to a satisfying end. And he proposes that hospitality and forgiveness are the feasible solutions to the problems between the two warring parties. In the following section of this chapter, I will continue to deal with issues concerning the subaltern’s resistance to the ruling authorities, and the transcending power of hospitality and forgiveness.

### ***The Heart of Mid-Lothian***

*The Heart*, one of Scott’s most popular and highly acclaimed novels, is the second series of Tales of My Landlord which is set sixty years after the historical background of *Old*

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<sup>44</sup> Brown, *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination*, p. 76.

*Mortality*. It is a work in which readers can strongly sense the enduring legacy bequeathed to Scotland by the Covenanting tradition. Davie Deans, the heroine Jeanie Deans' father and the linking character of *The Heart* and *Old Mortality*, is described by the narrator as 'a staunch presbyterian, of the most rigid and unbending adherence to what he conceived to be the only possible straight line [...] between right-hand heats and extremes, and left-hand defections' (71). Although Davie is seen by Julian D'Arcy as 'a far more damning portrait of a Presbyterian extremist than was ever presented in *Old Mortality*',<sup>45</sup> he is by no means as fanatical as Balfour of Burley or as insane as Habakkuk Meiklewrath in following his belief. His stoicism is the master of his deeds and thoughts which suppresses his natural and spontaneous feelings particularly in the case of Effie, but it is far from a blight to be compared to the fanaticism as illustrated in *Old Mortality*. Besides, Davie cannot be regarded, as many critics note, as Scott's attempt to assuage contemporary critics who had attacked his portrayal of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality* since the primary concerns of these two novels are in some degree different. If religious issues are the primary concern of *Old Mortality*, 'the people' is the theme that *The Heart* intends to explore.<sup>46</sup>

A large number of Scott's novels have their focus on the motif of politically, racially and religiously marginalized groups (such as the Jacobites, the Highlanders and the Covenanters that have been addressed in previous chapters), but none of them is quite like *The Heart* which pays as close attention to the subaltern matters, and puts the common life of Scotland at the heart of the work. Through the overarching theme of 'the people' in the two main episodes of *The Heart* (i.e. the Porteous Riot and Jeanie's interceding in Effie's case), Scott has the following two large-scale concerns: firstly, the relationship between Scotland and England after the Union of 1707; secondly, the ways in which Scotland, having been relegated to an essentially subordinate role within the Union, resists the

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<sup>45</sup> Julian Meldon D'Arcy, 'Davie Deans and Bothwell Bridge: A Re-Evaluation', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 12:2 (1985), 23-34 (p. 24).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23

hegemonic rule of the new British state and preserves its national identity. According to the findings of the previous two chapters, from the representations of hospitality we are able to see not only the privileged status of this Scottish tradition clearly articulated in Scott's work but also the appropriation of this discourse by some of his more powerful characters who intend to use it to gain self-interest. This chapter will continue to use the same methodology in order to analyse the complex power relations between characters from different social, national and religious backgrounds.

It is apparent from a reading of the *Waverley Novels* that Scott had a clear and consistent purpose in representations of the positive values of hospitality. The postscript to *Waverley* clearly demonstrates his belief that the notion of hospitality signifies one of the most important moral codes of traditional Scottish society. But, the underlying motives of those in power who extend hospitality to socially, politically or religiously marginalized groups are often depicted as highly questionable. In the *Waverley Novels*, many scenes of hospitable reception and accommodation of guests in fact contain a subtext of intolerance and domination, instead of demonstrating a 'pure' or 'unconditional' welcome. Moreover, such acts of hospitality frequently serve to gain the host's best advantage from the relationship since the rite is skilfully manipulated within his/her own domain.

Hospitality, in short, can be appropriated as a discourse by those who intend to use it for enhancing their own power. In many of Scott's novels, the language of hospitality is actually presented as a colonial discourse. For instance, in *Rob Roy*, Frank Osbaldistone's offering of careers for Rob Roy and his sons in the British army to an extent can be interpreted as a colonial strategy. In *Redgauntlet*, Captain Campbell's hospitality extended to the Jacobite members in the final episode of the work is nakedly a projection of power by other means; it is by no means a mere reflection of his selfless generosity. Many other examples can further illuminate the import of Scott's narratives, which provide an incisive critique of the psyche of the ruling authorities. However, might the representations of

hospitality (especially those extended by the Queen to her subjects) in *The Heart* also be considered as a colonial discourse?

The most vital and powerful figures who extend hospitality to the heroine Jeanie Deans in her journey to save her sister Effie include Queen Caroline and the Duke of Argyle. Without their timely intervention in Effie's case, the fate of the accused could have been very different. However, the motivations of the Queen and the Duke in providing the heroine with support are dissimilar in Scott's representation. This chapter argues that it is possible to consider Caroline's clemency as the outcome of her careful political calculation, rather than a simple expression of sympathy towards a nobody, such as Jeanie or Effie. As the narrator's description of the Queen's political acumen says:

[It] was a maxim of Queen Caroline, to bear herself towards her political friends with such caution, as if there was a possibility of their one day being her enemies, and towards political opponents with the same degree of circumspection, as if they might again become friendly to her measures. (331)

Caroline's political wisdom corresponds precisely in its idea to the witty remark given by Jenny Dennison (Edith Bellenden's attendant in *Old Mortality*): 'Forbye that, it's maybe as weel to hae a friend on baith sides'.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, Caroline is, as she is described in *Tales of a Grandfather* (1828-31), 'a woman of very considerable talent, and naturally disposed to be tenacious of the crown's rights'.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, Caroline's decision to extend hospitality to Jeanie is based on her full understanding of the enormous advantage the Crown can get from John Campbell (1678-1743), 2nd Duke of Argyle, since by doing so the state may be able to secure support from the latter to deal with the agitated people of the North of Britain. In real history, Argyle was known as the leader of the government army at the Battle of Sheriffmuir defeating the Jacobites led by the Earl of Mar in the Rising of 1715. Moreover, he is an active supporter of the Union of England and Scotland. Therefore, the

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<sup>47</sup> Scott, *The Tale of Old Mortality*, p. 197.

<sup>48</sup> Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, p. 966.

Queen knows that Argyle is too important a personage for the state to afford to lose.

Caroline, as the narrator notes, knows well that the Jacobite Rising of the 1715 had already been an expensive experience for the state; to her, precautionary measures become not just necessary but urgent (332). Moreover, Scotland, a place which ‘barbarous people’ inhabit (338), is compared by the Queen to ‘a volcano, which might, indeed, slumber for a series of years, but was still liable, at a moment the most unexpected, to break out into a wasteful eruption’ (332). This characterization also shows her views that Scotland has as yet only reached an early stage of Enlightenment’s stadial history, but England has already attained a more mature and civilized point in history. To the Queen, Scotland is in any case a thorny problem to the state, and has to be tackled by an able man.

In view of the above reasons, Caroline in Scott’s depiction is more than willing to give her hospitality to Jeanie in exchange of the support of so important a personage as the Duke of Argyle. She, at the same time, understands that she may help the King through this easy benevolent act to win general favour in Scotland. In addition, it is also worth noting that Caroline’s hospitality is conditioned by the fact that Jeanie is not associated with the Porteous Riot and has no acquaintances who are involved in this uproar. With regard to the government’s response to the Riot, Bartoline Saddletree, saddle maker and employer of Effie, commented that, “‘The king and queen is sae ill pleased with that mistak about Porteous, that de’il a kindly Scot will they ever pardon again, either by reprieve or remission, if the hail town o’ Edinburgh suld be a’ hanged on ae tow’” (220). These words demonstrate clearly English indignation against the Scots’ lawless behaviour; therefore, it explains why the Queen is so concerned over Jeanie’s involvement with the affair.

Although Caroline’s generosity may not be categorized as an absolute ‘colonial deed’, it can arguably be considered as an act which lends a helping hand to the state’s performance of its ‘colonial discourse’. Effie’s reprieve, argues Julian D’Arcy, is no more

than ‘an act of political expediency’.<sup>49</sup> Caroline’s private hospitality is appropriated in this case for not only stabilizing but also showing the power of the state. Before leaving the court, Jeanie received a farewell gift from the Queen which contained ‘the usual assortment of silk and needles, with scissors, tweezers, &c.; and in the pocket was a bank-bill for fifty pounds’ (344). The sewing kits may indicate Caroline’s expression of her solidarity with Jeanie as fellow women, but the symbolic meaning of the fifty pounds (the same denomination as Effie sends Jeanie regularly, later in the work, once she becomes Lady Staunton) is more difficult to comprehend. The notes from Caroline could be interpreted as intended for the purposes of subsidizing Jeanie’s cost of travel to London; however, to an extent it is also rather patronizing since giving people money is in fact an act of demonstrating power. In short, no matter what the real purpose is, there is no doubt that Caroline loses nothing from dealing with such ‘an obscure individual’ (335) as Jeanie. But, with regard to the entire event, we should also admit that, as Claire Lamont convincingly argues, ‘it was Jeanie’s good fortune to be there at the very moment when acceding to her request was of political advantage to the Queen’.<sup>50</sup>

Even though Jeanie’s rhetorical power and the note that Reuben Butler has supplied to her have been effective in obtaining hospitality from the Duke of Argyle (321-22), Argyle’s personal intervention for Jeanie’s family is much closer to a spontaneous expression of his natural affection towards the people of Scotland than an execution of political manoeuvre.<sup>51</sup> According to David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden, the highly positive portrayal of Argyle in the text is in fact in accordance with his historical reputation.<sup>52</sup> In the novel Argyle is depicted as a ‘benevolent enchanter’ (380), who with little effort helps Jeanie to obtain a royal pardon for her sister, relocates Davie Deans from the crags of Saint Leonard’s to his own dairy farm on the banks of the Gare-Loch (378), and bestows the

<sup>49</sup> D’Arcy, *Subversive Scott*, p. 156.

<sup>50</sup> Claire Lamont, ‘Introduction’ to *The Heart of Midlothian* (1830), ed. by Claire Lamont (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. xvi.

<sup>51</sup> Jeanie’s powerful usage of her language will be discussed in the latter half of this section.

<sup>52</sup> *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, ed. by David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden, p. 592

Kirk of Knocktarlittie upon Reuben Butler (403). Although Argyle is presented as a figure who can wield his power at random as the above examples have shown, he is, more importantly, depicted as a hospitable host who puts his heart into the very detail of receiving his guest. On one occasion, in order to encourage the depressed Jeanie to eat, he thrusts upon her a large piece of cake, and asks her not to break off a fragment, and lay the rest on the salver (359).

Hospitality extended by the Duke to Jeanie's family is impressive, but its greatness relies not only upon the facts mentioned in the previous paragraph but also on those unknown risks he could incur from the involvement of Effie's case. His intercession in fact is at the expense of his own political career since he has been an unpopular figure at Court. The narrator makes it clear that Argyle was 'always respected, and often employed, but he was not a favourite of George the Second, his consort, or his ministers' (317). Argyle's staunch defence of the cause of Scotland and his open opposition to the administration of Sir Robert Walpole have obviously placed himself in a rather difficult situation. Moreover, the Porteous Riot has reinforced a prejudice in government against Scotland in general, which they consider can only be managed by measures of menace and draconian law (320). Although the Queen's intervention is the key to saving Effie's life, the Duke's involvement in helping Effie to gain a reprieve and his generous offer of a new life to Jeanie's family in Roseneath do render his hospitality more genuine and extraordinary. In Scott's representation, despite a distinct unionist himself, Argyle has never forsaken the interest of his countrymen. As he said 'I have shewn myself the friend of my country—the loyal subject of my king' (318), Scotland is always his priority as Scott's representation clearly demonstrated. He has never been criticized of complicity with the central government in subjugating Scotland as a subordinate nation. Instead, he acts as the voice of his own subaltern country fighting against the encroachment of unjust laws, such as the Porteous Bill (318).

Despite the significance of hospitality from Queen Caroline and Argyle, those small narratives of hospitality given by subordinate Scottish characters to Jeanie while on her way to London are also vital in both its practical effect and its underlying meaning. Dumbiedikes offers Jeanie a travel fund regardless of the fact that the girl has just declined his marriage proposal. Jem Ratcliff, formerly known as ‘the father of a’ the misdoers in Scotland’ (143) and currently the governor of the Tolbooth prison itself, not only advises Jeanie to gain the interest of Argyle in Effie’s case, but also gives the heroine a pass, which turns out to be a talisman against the robbery of highwaymen on her way to London. Moreover, he refuses Jeanie’s money on account of his own personal concern over Effie’s accommodation in prison. Mrs Bickerton, a Scottish lady living in York, is described to ‘[display] so much kindness to Jeanie Deans [...] [show] such motherly regard to her’ (253). Mrs Glass, Jeanie’s ‘friendly and hospitable kinswoman’(347), offers the heroine free accommodation in London.

These small episodes of hospitable reception of the heroine may seem insignificant when compared with the marked effect exerted by the Queen and Argyle’s decisive intervention, but, without them, Jeanie might never have been able to reach London. Besides, these small narratives of hospitality exemplify one of the key qualities characteristic of the Scots. Jane Millgate makes it clear that ‘Scottishness is everywhere at issue—not merely among the dissatisfied citizens of Edinburgh, their national pride offended by the compounded insensitivity of the British court in dealing with the Porteous affair, but also on the road to London and in the capital itself.’<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, throughout the text, hospitality and Scottishness are constantly presented in counterpart to each other. The following quotations illuminate the import of this remark:

[The] eagerness with which Scottish people meet, communicate, and, to the extent of their power, assist each other, although it is often objected to us, as a prejudice and

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<sup>53</sup> Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, p. 154.

narrowness of sentiment, seems, on the contrary, to arise from a most justifiable and honourable feeling of patriotism [...] (253)

Perhaps one ought to be actually a Scotchman to conceive how ardently, under all distinctions of rank and situation, they feel their mutual connexion with each other as natives of the same country. (346)

Hospitality, as the first quotation demonstrates, is defined as the highest expression of Scottish patriotism. I would argue that in this novel hospitality—similar to patriotism—functions as the cement strengthening the emotional bond between Scottish people from both the higher and lower orders of society. Moreover, in *The Heart* it is presented as a distinguishing characteristic of being Scottish, although England is also illustrated as a country where hospitality is not lacking. As the narrator has noted: '[Jeanie] found the common people of England, although inferior in courtesy to strangers, such as was then practised in her own more unfrequented country, yet, upon the whole, by no means deficient in the real duties of hospitality' (250). However, it is significant to discover that almost all the small narratives of hospitality in the text are reserved to the description of interaction between Jeanie and the people of Scotland. In short, in the spirit of this practice, Scottish identity is formed in conditions different from, and quite opposed to, the established conventions of the British state.

In addition to Queen Caroline, there is only one English character of any social rank in *The Heart* who extends his welcome to Jeanie. That is George Staunton's father, the Rector. Despite the fact that Mr Staunton offers his place for Jeanie to stay, his hospitality is conditioned by the girl's agreement that she will have no further correspondence with his son (310). He is suspicious of Jeanie's motives, and is distressed by his own fancy that his son could have already formed 'a low and disgraceful marriage' (308) with this subaltern girl from Scotland. Mr Staunton's personal prejudice against class and national differences in this episode is also strongly suggestive of England's general attitude at that time towards her sister country. The observation by Murray Pittock that has been quoted in the previous

chapter of this thesis can again reflect this phenomenon, ‘It is arguable that in the eighteenth century more xenophobia was directed internally in the British Isles than externally towards France and other rivals.’<sup>54</sup> Hospitality in this novel, quite obviously, is preserved by Scott as a distinctive national characteristic of Scotland. Jeanie walks to London by herself in order to have an audience with the Queen, but she has never been alone on her trip since she has support from many of her fellow countrymen in England.

It is not only Jeanie’s wish that Effie would receive a pardon from the King; it is to an extent also suggestive of the country’s desire that its citizen be released, although we have to admit that Effie’s case is unlikely to be known nationwide. Therefore, while Jeanie’s selfless devotion to her sister’s cause is significant, Effie’s last-minute reprieve is also the result of numerous small acts of hospitable cooperation among her own people—a national collective effort. Consequently, from this point of view *The Heart* is to be seen as a veritable national tale. In addition, the theme of the woman-nation, ‘a Scoto-Irish phenomenon’ in literature, is powerfully presented through the heroine Jeanie in this work.<sup>55</sup>

What Jeanie has done for Effie not only manifests the genuine love from a sister, but also exemplifies again an unconditional offer of hospitality, one of the time-honoured Scottish traditions that the Waverley Novels constantly strive to depict. Before Effie receives a full pardon from the King, Jeanie is criticized by public opinion on the ground that she refuses to save the life of her sister by a ‘simple’ act of perjury. As Ratcliffe’s remark demonstrates: ‘I must needs say [...] that it’s d—d hard, that when three words of your mouth would give the girl the chance to nick Moll Blood (i.e. the gallows), that you mak such scrupling about rapping to them.’ (189) Jeanie shows in this case very strongly the effects of her upbringing in a strict Presbyterian tradition. As the narrator notes, ‘Douce

<sup>54</sup> Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, p. 25; *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789*, p. 150.

<sup>55</sup> Murray Pittock, ‘The Complaint of Caledonia: Scottish Identity and the Female Voice’, in *Archipelagic Identities: Literature and Identity in the Atlantic Archipelago 1550-1800*, ed. by Philip Schwyzer and Simon Meador (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 141-52 (p. 148).

Davie Deans [...] schooled and trained the young minion, as he called her, that from the time she could talk, upwards, she was daily employed in some task or other suitable to her age and capacity; a circumstance which, added to her father's daily instructions and lectures, tended to give her mind, even when a child, a grave, serious, firm, and reflecting cast' (72). The moral and religious ethos promoted by Presbyterianism, which came to characterize the mindset of many Scots after the Covenanting period, is powerfully illustrated in the words and acts of Davie and Jeanie. Jeanie's decision not to tell a lie to save her sister's life can largely be understood through the notion of honesty that she owes to her deeply-held religious principles.

Despite Jeanie's insistence upon having her own way, it needs to be recognized that the resolve in setting out to obtain justice for her sister is even more admirable. Jeanie sacrifices the relatively easy and comfortable life she has, choosing instead to go to London alone and to face serious risk of losing her life. Effie knows perfectly well what Jeanie has given her: 'When I look backward myself, I have always a ray of comfort; it is in the generous conduct of a sister, who forsook me not when I was forsaken by every one' (418). In addition to the assistance Jeanie gives to Effie, in the final episode set in Roseneath, it is also Jeanie who enters her nephew's place of confinement and brings about his release. In her eyes, the Whistler, the parricide, is a mere 'poor unhappy abandoned lad', an 'unhappy boy', and 'To let him be execute in this dreadful state of mind would be to destroy baith body and saul' (466). Again, Jeanie properly defines the essential thought of sympathy by extending her hospitality to this casualty of history. In the Waverley Novels, it is probably only cases such as Meg Merrilies and Dandie Dinmont's hospitality extended to Henry Bertram in *Guy Mannering* that can compare as favourably with the noble endeavour of Jeanie. *The Heart*, through the deeds of Jeanie Deans, not only reaffirms the virtue and integrity of its subaltern heroine, but also highlights the importance of the small voices of history. Jeanie's personal hospitality strongly articulates the national character of

Scotland. At the same time, that national identity is here manifested through her personal relationships. The small voice of history is both the personal voice and the national voice since Scotland is depicted as having a mere subordinate role within the Union. Moreover, through the personal case of Jeanie, Scott addresses the themes of Scotland's resistance to the hegemonic rule of the state.

James Kerr argues that Jeanie's journey to London 'is a key structural element of Scott's belated protest on behalf of his homeland against English cultural imperialism, a cautious and deferential form of self-assertion.'<sup>56</sup> Carole Anderson also notes that, *The Heart* is above all the Waverley Novels which 'so powerfully presents the passionate Scottish sense of national identity and pride'.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, Jeanie's subaltern background invites the reader to reconsider the status of Scotland within the Union. The novel is set almost thirty years since the Treaty of Union between the Parliaments of Scotland and England was passed in 1707, and tension between the two countries is increasing. As it is illustrated in the novel, 'new customs laws, causing an influx of "English gaugers and excisemen", were resented; power was in that far-off place "Lunnon", and [...] wealth and fashion had followed political power and left Edinburgh for the south'.<sup>58</sup>

The Porteous Riot, the first episode of *The Heart*, to a large extent is rooted in the conflict of interest between the people of Scotland and the central government. Ever since the Act of Union there had been considerable hostility towards the English system of customs and excise duties that had been introduced into Scotland eventually in the 1720s. This newly-introduced system had never been welcomed by the people of Scotland since it was regarded as a deliberate act of injustice against them by the hegemonic state. As Scott notes, 'the people, unaccustomed to imposts, and regarding them as an unjust aggression upon their ancient liberties, made no scruple to elude them wherever it was possible to do

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<sup>56</sup> Kerr, *Fiction against History*, p. 69

<sup>57</sup> Carole Anderson, 'The Power of Naming: Language, Identity and Betrayal in *The Heart of Midlothian*', in *Scott in Carnival*, pp. 189-201 (p. 196).

<sup>58</sup> Claire Lamont, 'Introduction' to *The Heart of Midlothian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. vii-xx (p. ix).

so' (22). Therefore this unpopular revenue system encouraged illicit trading, which became a common practice in many areas of Scotland, notably along the coast of Fife. However, as far as the state was concerned, it considered it legitimate to collect customs and excise duties, and maintained its right by using force. The people's resistance to the state law is hence seen not just as against the law but also as a challenge to the authority of the King and the government. This explains why the Queen was so displeased with the Porteous affair and wanted 'the hail town o' Edinburgh suld be a' hanged on ae tow' (220).

The Porteous affair in *The Heart* is an illustration of Scotland's growing resentment against the intrusive organs of British government. This fictional account of the actual historical riot, as argued by David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden, is made to appear 'closer to rebellion than to mobbing'.<sup>59</sup> But it must be recognized that this multitude, in Scott's representation, is far from a wild rabble. Instead it is depicted as a well-organized and disciplined force. As David Lodge argues, Scott 'makes us understand the provocation and gives the perpetrators full credit for their determination and self-discipline, which contrast favourably with the muddle and panic of the official custodians of law and order'.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, in *Tales of a Grandfather*, Scott again confirms his own representation of the Porteous Riot in *The Heart* as a measured response arising from rational deliberation by regarding the affair as 'unmingled with politics of Whig and Tory, and must be simply regarded as a strong and powerful display of the cool, stern, and resolved manner in which the Scottish, even of the lower classes, can concert and execute a vindictive purpose'.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, through the following examples of Jeanie, we can also see the depiction of the actions of a rational mind executed by a common woman of Scotland when facing adverse circumstances.

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<sup>59</sup> David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden, 'Historical Note to *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*', in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, p. 587.

<sup>60</sup> David Lodge, *After Bakhtin: Essays on Fiction and Criticism* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 114. See also David Hewitt, 'The Heart of Mid-Lothian and "The People"', *European Romantic Review*, 13 (2002), 299-309.

<sup>61</sup> Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, p. 963.

In Chapter Two of this thesis I attempted to define the Jacobites' disguise as both a political form of resistance to the hegemonic rule of the state and a way to reproduce/recover the self of the oppressed. In *The Heart*, Jeanie, unlike the Jacobite figures in *Redgauntlet*, has no apparent need to camouflage herself throughout the novel; but, in many cases she is somehow compelled to conceal her identity by altering the Scottish parts of her dress on her route to London since she is continually jeered at by English people for her markedly different identity. Because of this national prejudice and discrimination, she has to find ways to assimilate into the more dominant culture. As a result, 'Her checked screen was deposited carefully in her bundle, and she conformed to the national extravagance of wearing shoes and stockings for the whole day' (249).

In addition to the issues about her clothes, Jeanie's Scottish accent also attracts considerable attention since it is another key signifier of national identity. Although language can function effectively as a differentiating performance of a speaker, as Fernando Toda has revealed in his essay on *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, sometimes there could be of necessity for he/she to obscure his/her distinguishing characteristics since they may not be welcomed when taken as the 'other'.<sup>62</sup> As it is clearly argued by Andrew Lincoln: 'Since polite English has a hegemonic status in the novel [*The Heart*], Scottish identity can be asserted in public or official terms only by its own erasure.'<sup>63</sup> Therefore, Jeanie learns quickly from her unpleasant experiences, 'many jests and gibes' (249) caused by her marked accent, and adjusts herself to 'speak as little and as seldom as possible' (249) since it is far more difficult to alter a person's tone than garments. Both of these examples of changing clothes and language are illustrated by the author as the subaltern's strategic manoeuvre for self-preservation.

The Duke of Argyle, who fully understands the appropriate ways to behave at the

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<sup>62</sup> Fernando Toda, 'The Function of Linguistic Variety in Walter Scott's *The Heart of Midlothian*', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, ed. by Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 190-201.

<sup>63</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 172.

court, is the key role of Jeanie's success in obtaining the Queen's sympathy for Effie's case. As is noted, Argyle has his dress changed before calling on the Queen. He is described on this occasion to be 'attired as plainly as any gentleman could then appear in the streets of London' (331). By dressing plainly, Argyle is showing solidarity with not only Jeanie but also with the people of Scotland. But this deliberate removal of additional adornment of oneself also reflects upon the strategy Argyle requires Jeanie to follow. Before having the audience with the Queen, Argyle advises Jeanie that 'You have no occasion to call her any thing but Madam. Just say what you think is likely to make the best impression' and 'Just speak as plainly and boldly to this lady, as you did to me the day before yesterday' (328-29). Even though disguise has been shown in *Redgauntlet* as a useful way for the subaltern to preserve the self, Jeanie is encouraged to show her authenticity in this occasion when meeting the Queen. Jeanie's adherence to her Scottish dress at the court and her commitment to speaking the truth turn out to be a winning strategy. James Kerr also argues that 'Jeanie, oblivious to the contextual significance of her dress and speech, presents herself to the Queen without the mask of a self-conscious style. Her authenticity wins the day. Jeanie means exactly what she says, and the essential integrity of her words and their meaning conquer even the Queen'.<sup>64</sup> As Jane Millgate also argues, 'Jeanie Deans is the heroine of truth'.<sup>65</sup> Argyle himself does not belong to the subaltern group, but the master plan he draws up for Jeanie, while rather different from the strategy of some other subaltern characters in *Redgauntlet* and *Rob Roy*—who create space for performance by wearing disguises—is also a remarkable success.

The Covenanting tradition runs through *Old Mortality* and *The Heart*, and it is the master of its followers' words and deeds in daily life. But, the ways in which Scott handles it vary enormously in these two novels. In *Old Mortality*, those who follow this religion are presented to an extent similar to what we term today, as religious fundamentalists; however,

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<sup>64</sup> Kerr, *Fiction against History*, p. 75.

<sup>65</sup> Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, p. 153

in *The Heart* the example of Davie Deans becomes somehow old-fashioned and even anachronistic. It is interesting to note that the sixty-year gap between the settings of these two novels again invokes 'Tis Sixty Years Since, the subtitle of *Waverley*. Scott intends to demonstrate to his readers another model that the society progresses since time has changed. As Pittock argues, 'The taxonomy of glory in Scottish history has given way under the inexorable pressures of the teleology of civility' of the modern society.<sup>66</sup> The main concern of the following chapter will also be on the representations of the victims of history, but its focus will be shifted from the religious and political issues to the economically and ethnically disadvantaged groups of society.

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<sup>66</sup> Murray Pittock, 'Introduction: Scott and the European Nationalities Question', in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, ed. by Murray Pittock (London: Continuum, 2007), pp. 1-10 (p. 2).

**Chapter Five:**  
**Vagrants, Modernization and Hospitality in**  
*Guy Mannering and The Antiquary*

As in the previous chapters, the subaltern figures represented in the Waverley Novels remain the focus of this chapter. However, I now intend to shift its attention from the work's earlier concerns over the political, religious, and racial subaltern groups to ordinary, socio-economically underprivileged people. I will argue that both *Guy Mannering* and *The Antiquary*, like *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, project powerful non-élite voices, and record a well-recounted history which has ordinary people as its primary concern.<sup>1</sup> In other words, subaltern groups in these novels are viewed as the subjects of their own history. Aside from that, this chapter also aims to demonstrate the profoundly humane tones of these two novels with their attention particularly paid to the situation of human suffering that is revealed as the consequence of domination and oppression at various intersecting levels, including class, gender, and violence. Furthermore, this chapter also intends to demonstrate the fact that it is the tradition of hospitality that integrates a society during a period of great changes brought about by the tidal power of modernization.

***Guy Mannering***

*Guy Mannering* (1815) is, in Scott's own words, a 'tale of private life' since its main plot is chiefly concerned with the restoration of the fortunes of an ancient Dumfriesshire family, the Bertrams of Ellangowan, and the family's heir.<sup>2</sup> As John Buchan puts it, this novel is primarily about 'plain country people in a remote corner of Scotland'.<sup>3</sup> On the surface this

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Scott, *Guy Mannering* (1815), ed. by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999); Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (1816), ed. by David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995). All subsequent references are to these editions, except where specified. Page numbers are given in brackets after quotations in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Scott to John B. S. Morritt in *Letters*, IV (1933), 13 (19 January 1815).

<sup>3</sup> Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 143.

novel has little to do with any major historical event to which its reader can easily refer as in *Waverley*, but the episode concerning the expulsion of the gypsies in fact reflects widespread displacement of the agricultural poor both in Lowland and Highland Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. This social movement, as I argue, was to a degree bound up with the development of the British colonial enterprise abroad. According to Peter Garside, the novel's main action takes place between November and December 1782 as the English hero Guy Mannering's Edinburgh visit is 'near the end of the American war' (201), but the beginning of the tale actually happens in the late 1750s when Mannering makes his first visit to Scotland.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, as we can see, this tale is set within a decisive era of British imperial expansion when the country had consolidated its own power in Canada, India and other overseas territories (although it had lost control of the American colonies during the same period of time).

It is arguable that because of the influx of colonial wealth, the country was becoming prosperous. However, this material advancement, as it is noted in *Guy Mannering*, had also become one of the key causes that brought about drastic social changes. This inexorable progress of the society not only altered the traditional social structure (the feudal system thus became history) but also threatened the perceived core values of the Scottish society (i.e. old Scottish faith, hospitality, worth and honour as listed in the Postscript to *Waverley*) and the existence of those people who embody and defend these time-honoured values.<sup>5</sup> In the first of the following two sections, I will demonstrate the close relationship between the expansion of the empire and the modernization of society. In the second section, I intend to show the significance of the gypsy heroine, Meg Merrilies, who gives voice to those who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes and whose unconditional hospitality is the key to the integration of a community that has almost fallen apart. As the subaltern in

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<sup>4</sup> Though there is no specific historical event identified which offers clues regarding the beginning of this tale, the hero Mannering did mention that he spent 'twenty-five years, battles, wounds, imprisonment' in India (68). Therefore, the tale is likely to begin in around 1750s if the main action takes place in 1782.

<sup>5</sup> Walter Scott, *Waverley* (1814), ed. P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 363.

society, Meg's story is highly suggestive of colonial deeds at home and abroad although she is often regarded as having a mere subordinate role in this novel.

If colonial experiences could cause physical, conceptual and linguistic alteration to those individuals who had spent a certain period of time in Britain's overseas colonies, there was also considerable impact on the life of the majority of people who remained at home since the fortune amassed through colonial trade was one of the major causes (along with Industrial and Agricultural Revolution) that had radically transformed Scottish society since the mid eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The following quotation from Scott's novella 'The Surgeon's Daughter' (1827) can lead us to the discussion of British modernization prompted by the country's colonial and imperial expansion. Chrystal Croftangry, the fictional writer of the work, talks about his own fictional writing:

I have composed my shawl by incorporating into the woof a little Thibet wool, which my excellent friend and neighbour, Colonel MacKerris, one of the best fellows who ever trod a Highland moor, or dived into an Indian jungle, had the goodness to supply me with.<sup>7</sup>

Here Croftangry is making reference to Oriental tales, heard from his friend returned from India, to his writing, but, further, the act of 'incorporating into the woof a little Thibet wool' indicates the ways in which raw materials from the East are taken and used by Britain's manufacturing industry.

Long before the storming of Tipu Sultan's capital at Seringapatam in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War in 1799, the British forces had already gained control of a greater part of the Subcontinent, and India had been regarded as the cheap source of raw materials. Cotton imported from India, which symbolizes the imperial fortune brought back home by

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<sup>6</sup> See E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947* (London: Polity, 2001); See Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); T. M. Devine, 'Empire and the Transformation of Scotland' in *Scotland's Empire: 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 320-45.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Scott, 'The Surgeon's Daughter', in *Chronicles of the Canongate* (1827), ed. by Claire Lamont (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), p. 288.

the colonists, enormously expanded the output of the textile industry in Britain and successfully contributed its significant role in accelerating industrialization at home, especially in Scotland. Being Scotland's premier manufacturing industry and the biggest industrial employer in the second half of the eighteenth century, the textile industry employed about 20,000 handloom weavers in the 1770s and a much bigger group of female spinners from all over the country were involved in this industry.<sup>8</sup>

In fact, as T. M. Devine puts it, 'the textile sector above all [...] sustained the first phase of the Scottish Industrial Revolution'. Since industrialization was the key engine for urbanization and modernization in the 1770s, 'Scotland began to experience a social and economic transformation unparalleled among European societies of the time in its speed, scale and intensity'. Therefore, cotton, seen arguably as colonial loot, can be regarded as one of the key factors contributing to the modernization of Scotland. Even though there remains little focused study on the relationship between the expansion of the empire and the country's economy growth, '[British] empire was fundamental to the moulding of the modern Scottish nation', as Devine argues.<sup>9</sup>

In *Guy Mannering*, the close relationship between colonization abroad and the transformation of society at home are exemplified through the episode concerning the loss of Godfrey Bertram's Ellangowan estate. Bertram's loss of the estate is revealed in the novel as chiefly 'an inevitable outcome' of social progress. As it is pointed out by Devine, the costs of maintaining landed status were going up steeply in the eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Bertram's financial difficulty is the main cause that forces him to sell the estate as it is meant 'to substitute the interest of money instead of the ill-paid and precarious rents of unimproved estate' (72). However, the intervention of Gilbert Glossin, Bertram's unscrupulous law-agent who has purchased Ellangowan from the bankrupt laird, in this

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<sup>8</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p. 320.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 323, 322, 326 and xxvii.

<sup>10</sup> T. M. Devine, *Clearance and Improvement: Land, Power and People in Scotland, 1700-1900* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), p. 7.

event also requires serious consideration. Bertram belongs to the class of the declining feudal system, but Glossin is representative of the rising power of the middle-class. Glossin's former obscurity is pointed out by Meg Merrilies, as she states that '[Glossin's] mother wasna muckle better than mysell'(121). Despite his low birth, Glossin knows well the best means to wield his power through the use of law. No matter how morally reprehensible they are, his acts are nevertheless within the bounds of the law. This fact reveals, in practice, the rivalry between aristocracy and the middle class, and it also implies the process of modernization in Britain, since the emergence of a sizeable middle class is a particular phenomenon of the social movements of the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

As I have argued, the advance of the country towards a more modern society was stimulated by industrialization which was largely built upon and stimulated by the wealth accumulated from overseas colonial expansion. In *Guy Mannering*, the colonial wealth acquired through colonial trade is suggested by the author as an enormously powerful force in transforming Britain into a modern country. However, this 'economic modernization', as Devine puts it, 'itself fuelled to a significant extent by empire, created a huge discontinuity between an older Scotland and the new dynamic world of booming towns and cities, manufacturing industry and agricultural capitalism'.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, to some critics, the modernization of the society, a '*cultural revolution*' as Saree Makdisi argues, may actually do a great deal of harm to the disadvantaged minorities of the country.<sup>13</sup> This point can also be greatly supported by Scott's following words. In a letter to Maria Edgeworth in 1829 Scott wrote: 'The state of high civilization to which we have arrived, is perhaps scarcely a national blessing, since, while the few are improved to the highest point, the many are in proportion brutalized and degraded, and the same nation displays at the same time the very highest and the very lowest state in which the human race can exist in point

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<sup>11</sup> See Stana Nenadic, 'The Rise of the Urban Middle Class', in *People and Society in Scotland: 1760-1830*, ed. by T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald in association with The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1988), pp. 109-26.

<sup>12</sup> Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p. 346.

<sup>13</sup> Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism*, p. xii.

of intellect.’<sup>14</sup> The anxiety expressed through these words is also powerfully illustrated in *Guy Mannering*.

*Guy Mannering* is a story primarily about the Scots but it is also a narrative of the history of the gypsies in Scotland, the people who are represented by the author as the defenders of Scottish folk tradition and the group that suffers the most on account of the modernization of society. Many earlier critics have paid attention to the ways by which Henry Bertram, the heir of Ellangowan, is restored. They generally agree that it is through the agency of the gypsy heroine, Meg Merrilies, that Henry is eventually able to reclaim his ancient estate. However, instead of being treated as an integral individual worthy of more detailed reading, Meg is often viewed as having a mere subordinate role in this fiction. In the last three decades, due to the growing awareness of the significance of disadvantaged minorities in history raised by the research of the Subaltern Studies Group and other postcolonial critics, Meg’s position has gradually been reinstated. It is broadly agreed that, in Scott’s representation, she is not only a parental figure to Henry Bertram but also a significant preserver of Scottish folk history whose resistance against a ‘cultural revolution’ staged by the advance of modernization in mid eighteenth-century Scotland cannot be ignored.<sup>15</sup> Despite the significant role Meg plays, she and her people are the ones who suffer the most when society makes progress towards a further stage of development. Moreover, the gypsies’ suffering in this novel is highly suggestive of both the Highland Clearances in Scotland and the conditions within Britain’s overseas colonies.

As Scott makes it clear, those gypsies, whose survival fundamentally relies upon the hospitality of the old-fashioned feudal social structure, are simply not allowed to be incorporated by this inevitable tide of modernization. The mode of expulsion of the gypsies as represented in *Guy Mannering* is convincingly argued by Elaine Jordan and Graham McMaster as highly suggestive of the Highland Clearances, part of a policy of

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<sup>14</sup> Scott to Maria Edgeworth in *Letters*, XI (1936), 128 (4 February 1829).

<sup>15</sup> Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism*, p. xii.

improvement extended over about 100 years from the 1760s to the 1850s, though there were evictions both before and beyond these dates.<sup>16</sup> Jordan and McMaster's argument is supported by an argument that the characters of 'gypsy' and 'Scot' are interchangeable since the origin of the Scottish people derives from a lineage of an Egyptian princess called Scota and there was a mistaken belief that gypsies had come from Egypt (although they in fact came from India originally) in the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Based on this theory, the gypsies and the Scots were believed to share the same origin, and therefore the eviction of the gypsies is highly suggestive of the Clearances in the Highlands of Scotland.<sup>18</sup> In June 1814, Patrick Sellar, the factor of the Duchess of Sutherland, evicted twenty-seven sub-tenants at Strathnaver as their lands were wanted for more profitable purposes.<sup>19</sup> Sellar was tried (and acquitted) in 1816 of culpable homicide for his part in the Strathnaver evictions. McMaster contends that it is more than likely that Scott knew the incident since he was Clerk of the Court of Sessions (i.e. the supreme civil court of Scotland) at that time.<sup>20</sup>

Concerning the relationship between the Clearances in the Highlands and colonial exploitation abroad, Allan I. Macinnes powerfully contends that 'It is hardly surprising that the imperial classes who ruthlessly exploited the slave trade in the American South and the West Indies, where they regarded the naming of their slaves on a par with the naming of their livestock, should show limited sympathy in effecting the removal and relocation of their erstwhile clansmen'.<sup>21</sup> The analogy drawn by Macinnes between these two major

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<sup>16</sup> Jordan, 'The Management of Scott's Novels', pp. 146-57; Graham McMaster, *Scott and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 158-59. See also T. M. Devine, *Clearance and Improvement*.

<sup>17</sup> Martin MacGregor, 'Gaelic Barbarity and Scottish Identity in the Later Middle Ages' in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall*, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern, ed. by Dauvit Broun and Martin MacGregor (Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, 2007), pp. 1-48 (p. 40).

<sup>18</sup> Murray G. H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, p. 37; See also 'Gypsies' in *A New Canting Dictionary* (London : printed; and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1725).

<sup>19</sup> Jordan, 'The Management of Scott's Novels', p. 148; McMaster, *Scott and Society*, pp. 158-59.

<sup>20</sup> McMaster, *Scott and Society*, p. 159.

<sup>21</sup> Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), p. 233.

historical events is well founded; nevertheless, the history of the Highland Clearances has also invoked the memory of another traumatic social affair in Scotland. In 1739, two Highland Chiefs, MacLeod of Harris and MacDonald of Sleat, were accused of plotting to deport around 110 undesirable clansmen who were described (though groundlessly) as thieves to the Plantations in America. Eventually, these intended slaves escaped when the ship stopped in Northern Ireland.<sup>22</sup>

Many critics have pointed out that Bertram's expulsion of the gypsies from his estate evokes not only the aforementioned Highland Clearances but also the Permanent Settlement of Bengal in 1793, particularly when the Ellangowan gypsies are described as 'the *Parias* of Scotland, living like wild Indians among European settlers' (37).<sup>23</sup> From the relationship between the gypsies and the Highlanders and the relationship between the gypsies and the Indians, we can therefore find a connection between the Highlanders and the Indians. In fact the comparison of the Highlanders with colonial peoples within the British Empire was pronounced in the eighteenth century. With regard to the relationship between British imperialism and its own modernization, Makdisi contends that, 'Modernization can [...] be understood as the purest form of imperialism'.<sup>24</sup> Modernization is viewed as the progress from the ancient unwritten values of the feudal system to the cold, businesslike concern with the letter of the law of a modern age. In addition, modernization can be regarded as a process of social transition from 'custom to law; from communal, clan, tribal, or despotic forms of property to private property'.<sup>25</sup>

In fact, Makdisi's statement, to a degree, echoes Garside's note of the British modernization of India as the latter argues that there is a broader parallel between the

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<sup>22</sup> Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *Scotland in Modern Times 1720-1939* (London: W. R. C. Chambers, 1941), p. 43; Duane Meyer, *The Highland Scots of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), p. 42; James Hunter, *Scottish Exodus: Travels Among a Worldwide Clan* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2005), pp. 67-71.

<sup>23</sup> See Garside, 'Meg Merrilies and India', pp. 163-64.

<sup>24</sup> Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism*, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

expulsion of the gypsies and the nature of the British administration of India.<sup>26</sup> Katie Trumpener suggests that it is ‘Merrilies who makes explicit the links between displaced Gypsies in Scotland and displaced natives in India, who sets in motion the novel’s passage from Scotland to India, and who raises the political questions that haunt the rest of the novel’.<sup>27</sup> According to Garside, British government, in the mid-eighteenth century, parcelled together many villages, especially in Bengal, in order to establish property rights, which were concepts relatively foreign to Indians at the time; consequently, many local villagers were turned into landless labourers.<sup>28</sup> In addition, because of the impracticability of this controversial system of land allocation, the policy was, in fact, a leading cause of many of the worst famines of the nineteenth century in India. This British policy, which arbitrarily enforced a Western type of ‘law’ system to Indian communities and requested them to give up their ancient ‘customs’ in order to set up a new mode of ‘private property’, is nearly parallel to what Bertram did to the gypsies in *Guy Mannering*. Moreover, since the gypsies are frequently associated with the East (particularly with Egypt) in this novel, Pittock argues that ‘Bertram the Scottish laird is playing out a grim localist version of empire in his own parish’.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, as Nigel Leask puts it, there is an instance of ‘internal Orientalism’ based on the persona of Meg Merrilies in this novel.<sup>30</sup>

The laird, who is newly appointed as a Justice of the Peace (JP), imposes metropolitan policies upon his own rural community, and the drastic action he calls for is fatal to the symbiotic relationship between his family and his gypsy friends who come to figure as the first consequence of modernity. Rural equilibrium is utterly destroyed. In fact, the administrative role of the JP, which was an anglicizing measure introduced by James VI &

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<sup>26</sup> Peter Garside, ‘Meg Merrilies and India’ in *Scott in Carnival*, pp. 154-71 (p. 164).

<sup>27</sup> Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, p. 222.

<sup>28</sup> Garside, ‘Meg Merrilies and India’, p. 164. See also Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Pittock, ‘Sir Walter Scott: Historiography Contested by Fiction’, p. 284.

<sup>30</sup> Nigel Leask, ‘Scotland’s Literature of Empire and Emigration, 1707-1918’, in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707-1918)*, vol. 2, ed. by Ian Brown, Thomas Owen Clancy, Susan Manning and Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp.153-62 (p. 161).

I (1566-1625) to Scotland, has been rather disturbing and devastating to the society. The following quotation from the novel vividly illustrates the extent to which the community is affected:

A strong posse of peace officers, sufficient to render all resistance vain, charged the inhabitants to depart by noon; and, as they did not obey, the officers, in terms of their warrant, proceeded to unroof the cottages, and pull down the wretched doors and windows. (41)

These strong measures taken by peace officers on behalf of the JP signify an irreversible and permanent break from the past, the feudal society where gypsies reside. These actions are taken as a direct result of the process of social improvement, but, for the gypsies, there is no return to their old life.

Although the forced eviction of the gypsies is an unpalatable fact, the tone the narrator of this fiction maintains has been sympathetic since the healthy relationship between the gypsies and the community is also an undeniable fact. As Andrew Lincoln suggests, ‘The East (as represented by the gypsies) is not only the name of remote territories over “there” settled by “us”. It has already established itself “here”, as part of “our” world’.<sup>31</sup> Gypsies in this novel are represented as part of the fabric of varying groups that make up the Scottish nation; and, in fact, Scott, being both the Sheriff of Selkirkshire and the owner of Abbotsford, had personal dealings with gypsies who were unmolested on his own ground.<sup>32</sup> As the narrator of this novel says, these gypsies ‘had been such long occupants, that they were considered in some degree as proprietors of the wretched sheelings which they inhabited. This protection they were said anciently to have repaid’ (37). However, how might the presence of these gypsies be defined in such a situation? Are they intruders, or immigrants, or foreign labourers or just the guests of the land? Or, might we see them as we see other autochthonous Scottish people? Their

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<sup>31</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 98.

<sup>32</sup> Reed, *Sir Walter Scott: Landscape and Locality*, p. 71.

identities may be too diffuse to be contained by any of the above categories or even by all of them.

Over two centuries, these gypsies have been part of the history of the Bertrams, and therefore parts of the history of Scotland, and their own history simultaneously records both the Bertrams' and Scotland's past. These gypsies work for both the family and the community as domestic servants and are rewarded for their labour with protection. In the remote past, they had even fought for former lairds, quite like clansmen, as Elaine Jordan puts it, though the tale is set in the Southern uplands.<sup>33</sup> These gypsies are regarded as the laird's 'exceeding good friends' (37), and Meg Merrilies' voluntary service to the family is also read as evidence of her steadfast attachment towards the Bertrams. Moreover, her maternal devotion to the care of Henry exceeds the obligation she is expected to fulfil. Meg's relationship with the family is strong, and therefore, the hospitality she gives to the family, which originates from her customary affection, is elastic and extensible. It can extend far beyond obligation.

On one occasion, when little Harry was ill, Meg lay all night below the window and continued to sing a rhyme, which she thought good to the boy, until 'she was informed that the crisis was over' (40). In addition, during normal days, she 'sing[s] him a gypsy song, give[s] him a ride upon her jack-ass, and thrust[s] into his pocket a piece of gingerbread or a red-cheeked apple' (40). Such a picture of domestic happiness is only illustrated here and later in the farmer Dandie Dinmont's family, but cannot be found elsewhere in this novel. The gypsies are described as having formed an organic unit with the Scots within the Scottish community over the past two centuries. Whether or not they have legal right to occupy the land, these gypsies' affection and their virtues of hospitality towards the people in general, and their full integration within the community are accepted and even appreciated by the locals. These gypsies to a great extent can be viewed as fundamentally

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<sup>33</sup> Jordan, 'The Management of Scott's Novels', p. 147.

Scottish. But, ironically, they are also the first group to be sacrificed in the process of the country's modernization.

Although Bertram is the one who gives orders for the gypsies' eviction, he is not depicted as an utterly cold-hearted person enjoying the fruits of his newly-acquired power. He, to a degree, is 'driven on by circumstances' (38) as the narrator makes it clear. On the day of the eviction, he attempts to avoid meeting the gypsies on their retreat because of his 'certain qualms of feeling' (42). Aside from Bertram's personal feelings of uneasiness, the eviction of the gypsies also brings an overwhelming sense of loss to the villagers as the narrator notes that '[w]e are not made of wood or stone, and the things which connect themselves with our hearts and habits, like bark or lichen, be rent away without our missing them' (33-34). In addition, the following quotation, as well, demonstrates the general ethical standpoint of the novel when it intends to make clear the proper relationship that would have existed between the laird and his dependents within such a close-knit community:

ought the mere circumstances of Bertram's becoming a magistrate to have made at once such a change in his conduct towards them? Some means of reformation ought at least to have been tried, before sending seven families at once upon the wide world, and depriving them of a degree of countenance which withheld them at least from atrocious guilt. (43)

This quotation may perhaps reveal Scott's own attitude when dealing with similar situations, but the following instance could more clearly illustrate his stance when viewing much the same issues regarding the treatment of gypsies by society. In a *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* article on a history of the crimes and punishment of a Gypsy band, Scott wrote that: the "cruel and sanguinary laws usually overshoot their own purpose, drive to desperation these [sic] against whom they are levelled, and, by making man an object of

chace [sic], convert him into a savage beast of prey.”<sup>34</sup>

As has been noted, Scott has a keen interest in cross-cultural comparisons particularly between Scotland and the East.<sup>35</sup> Besides, he is highly optimistic about the reciprocal cohabitation of distinct cultures. In fact, as Garside argues, Scott’s personal politics are as moderate as his friend Sir John Malcolm’s as both of them called for ‘moderation and prudence’ on the part of British administration in India.<sup>36</sup> When considering the eviction of the gypsies in *Guy Mannering*, which is suggestive of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal at the end of the eighteenth century, Garside argues that Scott was strongly drawn by Malcolm’s ‘vision of a society held together by gentlemanly standards, professional aptitude and native loyalty, where commerce was validated by a larger purpose and land could be *owned* without being transferable against the interests of its occupants’.<sup>37</sup> This attitude is apparently parallel to the stance of the narrator of *Guy Mannering*.

Even though *Guy Mannering* is a story primarily about a huge sweep of modernization in a Scottish village, Henry Bertram’s restoration of the Ellangowan estate can also be read as implying the significance of tradition that the author consistently emphasizes. According to Elaine Jordan, the base of Walter Scott’s fictions is a ‘Romantic principle of piety and continuity’ and *Guy Mannering* manifestly supports such an argument through the Bertrams’ example, but what I seek to understand is the means by which the tradition is maintained in this novel.<sup>38</sup> As it is clearly indicated, the continuation of the Bertram family is via the intervention of the laird’s former gypsy friends. People look forward to seeing the continuity of the family as the narrator notes that ‘The ancient descent and unblemished integrity of the family were respectfully remembered’ (78).

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<sup>34</sup> Walter Scott, ‘On the Gypsies of Hesse-Darmstadt in Germany’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 2:10 (1818), 409-14 (p. 414).

<sup>35</sup> Scott, ‘The Culloden Papers’, *Quarterly Review*, 14: 28 (1816), 283-333 (p. 288). Further discussion on the comparisons between Scotland and the Orient is in the following chapter of this thesis.

<sup>36</sup> Garside, ‘Meg Merrilies and India’, pp. 164-65.

<sup>37</sup> Rajat Kanta Ray, ‘Indian Society and the Establishment of British Supremacy, 1765-1818’ in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume II The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by P. J. Marshal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 508-29 (p. 521); Garside, ‘Meg Merrilies and India’, p. 165.

<sup>38</sup> Jordan, ‘The Management of Scott’s Novels’, p. 146.

Besides, as it is illustrated in John Galt's *The Last of the Lairds* (1826), Mr Bertram, just like Mr Mailings, is 'the representative of an ancient family' and 'the habits and affections of the people of Scotland are still strongly disposed to take the part of a man of his condition when he suffers from oppression'.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from that, these people had been the beneficiaries of the laird's hospitality, and they strive to rehabilitate the nostalgic past, and they wish that their involvement can be of help to the family to whom they are grateful. In other words, they expect to see this lost Paradise regained. Both Mannering and Meg, key figures in the restoration of Ellangowan estate and its heir, had been the witnesses and recipients of Bertram's hospitality. When as a traveller venturing on his way to Kippletringan, Mannering got lost in a peat bog, but he was immediately given hospitality by the generous laird in 'the sister country' which was absolutely foreign to him (3). Mannering's situation also corresponds to, whether it is the author's intention or not, a fact noted by Pittock that 'These countries (Wales, Scotland and Ireland) were ideal for the [English] traveller not only because of the "authentic" quality of their people, but also because they (like Native Americans) were renowned for the virtues of hospitality'.<sup>40</sup>

As far as Meg is concerned, she has been, for a long time, the recipient of the laird's hospitality and protection. She is unmolested within the estate of Ellangowan, and she is more like a family member than a guest. Her people have the laird's connivance in building their own residences on his estate, and, within this small world, gypsies are protected because of the laird's hospitality. As it is noted, 'Pedlars, gypsies, tinkers, vagrants of all descriptions, roosted about his outhouse, or harboured in his kitchen' (10), and his gate 'remained at all times hospitably open' (38). The laird's powerful sense of hospitable obligation makes him blind to the class or quality of his guests. Besides, there is no need

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<sup>39</sup> John Galt, *The Last of the Lairds or The Life and Opinions of Malachi Mailings Esq. of Auldbiggings* (1826), ed. by Ian A. Gordon (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1976), p. 73.

<sup>40</sup> Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, p. 39.

for him to regulate the behaviour of his guests as he is shown to be relatively happy to embrace these gypsies. In addition, he enjoys their companionship, especially when he finds ‘recompence for his hospitality in the pleasure of questioning them on the news of the country side’ (10). Both parties are in practice mutually dependent and reciprocal. As Mireille Rosello argues, ‘the laws of hospitality form a symbolically significant part of any national identity’.<sup>41</sup> The laird’s hospitable attitude towards his guests has appropriately defined the character of both himself and his domain which is exactly described in the text by the biblical term, a ‘city of refuge’ (37).

Yet, Bertram himself is subject to history, and is unable to resist the evolution of the society (and of course his own vanity in being a magistrate). Being the accomplice of the government in imposing modernization upon his rural village actually brings the laird no profit; it merely leads to his own loss. The village and the gypsies suffer from the explosion triggered by Bertram’s enforcement of the law; the laird is diminished because of the implosion caused by his own actions. His expulsion of the gypsies is for the purpose of welcoming the ideas of progress and modernity, but this act makes a sudden break with the past and irremediably destroys the long-standing organic unity of the village. The death of Meg at the end of the tale symbolizes the end of the history of gypsies in Scotland, and this event reminds us of the corresponding fate of the Scottish Highlanders. As it is mentioned in the Postscript to *Waverley*, ‘This race (the Highlanders) has now almost entirely vanished from the land’ after the insurrection of 1745.<sup>42</sup>

Adam Ferguson, the only major Enlightenment figure who was a Gaelic speaker deeply sympathetic with the changes in the Gaelic society in Scotland, suggests that these ‘pre- or anti- modern’ clans were the preservers of values which modern society had lost.<sup>43</sup> Unlike Hume and Smith’s belief (though in different degrees) in the structural stability of a

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<sup>41</sup> Rosello, *Postcolonial Hospitality*, p. 6.

<sup>42</sup> Scott, *Waverley*, p. 363.

<sup>43</sup> Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism*, p. 10.

modern, commercial state, Ferguson manifests his mixed feelings towards the idea of progress in his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* as he clearly sees ‘both losses and gains in historical change’.<sup>44</sup> Ferguson further claims that ‘highly developed societies are in near and clear danger of retreating into barbarian despotism’.<sup>45</sup> In *Guy Mannering* Scott properly interprets Ferguson’s anxiety by presenting a situation when power is obtrusively and blindly wielded by a high-handed government towards a disadvantaged minority of its own people.

After the murder of Frank Kennedy, an excise officer, and the abduction of Harry Bertram, Meg, the real hero who does nothing wrong in the tale, is said to be:

*long* confined in jail under the hope that something might yet be discovered to throw light upon this dark and bloody transaction. Nothing, however, occurred; and Meg was at length liberated, but under sentence of banishment from the country as a vagrant, common thief, and disorderly person. (59)

Meg’s life is thus ruined by this violent and irrational act of the law, and the miscarriage of justice has never been criticized or corrected. Instead, every single word from the sentence passed on Meg is both heavy and callous. This act of the modern law ironically reveals its own paradox in its promotion of a rational, peaceful and enlightened future. After the death of the gypsy, a clergyman attempts to make an objective evaluation of her life and at the same time endeavours to reinstate the gypsy to her right position, but his words only intensify the air of his own dismissive patronizing attitude:

In some degree she might be considered as an *uninstructed heathen*, even in the bosom of a Christian country; and let us remember that the *errors* and *vices* of an *ignorant* life were balanced by instances of disinterested attachment, amounting almost *heroism*. (340) (emphasis added)

The minister is correct when noting Meg Merrilies’ ‘disinterested attachment’ to the

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<sup>44</sup> Pittock, ‘Historiography’, p. 274.

<sup>45</sup> Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, p. xx.

Bertrams, but apparently he is biased when seeing Meg as ‘an uneducated heathen’ only because of her different religious belief. What Meg had offered to the family is without doubt worthy of the name ‘heroism’, but her otherness and her ‘errors and vices’, seen by the minister as parts of her intrinsic nature, are also stressed. In any case, justice arrives too late. She had already been destroyed by a country that is so eager to get itself involved in the process of its own refinement.

It is questionable what ‘errors and vices’ Meg has actually committed in her life. If child abduction is what the gypsies are commonly accused of, as the narrator reminds its reader at the beginning of the tale of the kidnapping, when he was little, of the Enlightenment philosopher Adam Smith, Meg’s own nephew Gabriel reveals that ‘his aunt Meg Merrilies saved the child, and that he himself assisted in doing so’ (347). The novel leads its reader to form a tenuous association between the misfortunes of Adam Smith and Henry Bertram, but it allows Meg’s personal hospitable act to speak for herself and to challenge the prejudice people may have against her people.

While the subaltern characters, such as Redgauntlet and Rob Roy, have successfully articulated their own voices and claimed the narration of their respective history, where is the gypsy’s history in *Guy Mannering*? Even if these gypsies would eventually be, argues Deborah Epstein Nord, ‘understood to have mingled with dominant cultures and even, perhaps, to have been their (the British’s) progenitor’, I maintain that their presence, as the novel attempts to tell, is only tolerated either in the past or in the memory, but absolutely not in the present, as they are seen as the residue of a modernizing nation.<sup>46</sup> When the heir of Ellangowan is restored, with the people’s high expectation, to the right position, where is the gypsies’ continuity? Who does really care? The tribe literally vanishes and is obviously ignored after the eviction. Is the continuity of their history of lesser importance because of their otherness?

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<sup>46</sup> Deborah Epstein Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807-1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 42.

Besides, what is even more violent in the treatment of the gypsies is shown in what follows. On her way to seek justice from the kidnapper of Henry Bertram, the smuggler Dirk Hattaraick, Meg Merrilies attempts to reconnect the bond between herself and Henry, as she says:

I've held you on my knee, Henry Bertram, and sung ye sangs of the auld barons and their bloody wars—It will ne'er be green again, and Meg Merrilies will never sing blithe sangs mair. But ye'll no forget her, and ye'll gar big up the auld wa's for her sake? (328)

It is such a pity to note that there is no apparent corresponding affection given by the heir of Ellangowan. All that Henry Bertram can apprehend is the madness of this gypsy woman whom he chooses not to get too close to. The narrator describes Henry's rational observation of Meg: 'There was no such touch of humanity about this woman. The interest, whatever it was, that determined her in his favour, arose not from impulse of compassion, but from some internal, and probably capricious, association of feelings, to which he had no clew' (146). Earlier in the novel when he unexpectedly encounters Meg in Cumberland, Henry, with similar response, can barely recognize his surrogate mother: 'Have I dreamed of such a figure? [...] or does this wild and singular-looking woman recal to my recollection some of the strange figures I have seen in an Indian pagoda?' (123)

As she lies dying from the smuggler's gunshot, Meg is tended neither by Henry nor by any of her own people. There are only a surgeon and a clergyman whose presence is either 'from curiosity, or rather from the feeling that his duty called him to scenes of distress' (336). None of them attempted to comfort her or tries to understand her innermost need. These men simply noted down all she had said, and they felt regret that 'they had not examined her more minutely' before her death (339). Other people have all gone to celebrate the restoration of the heir of Ellangowan, and they exclaimed that "'Bertram for ever!"—"Long life to the heir of Ellangowan!"—"God send him his ain, and to live amang

us as his forebears did of yore!” (338) This exclamation sounds particularly ironic when it is compared to what Meg is suffering.

After the celebration of his restored name and rank with the villagers, Henry Bertram goes back to the vault for no particular reason. Seeing the dead body of Meg, he is involuntarily in tears, but he remains rather detached from her both physically and emotionally. His emotional connection with Meg seems so tenuous and his physical contact with her seems impossible. (340) Is she untouchable to him? In short, there is simply no contact and exchange from Henry's part with his surrogate mother. This merciless neglect of Meg as represented in this episode is criticized by Garside as he argues that ‘The final un-figuring of Meg could represent a betrayal more devastating in its effects than the elder Bertram's original sin in evicting the gypsies’.<sup>47</sup> Meg is destroyed in the final affray with Dirk Hattaraick for the sake of doing justice for what had happened to the Bertrams in the past, and yet the history of the gypsies is discontinued since they are only allowed to occupy the position of an extreme other. Meg is seen in the end, at most, as a noble pagan. Is it not reasonable to say that the praise of her ‘heroism’ in the aforementioned quotation smacks of the lip service of a disinterested compassion, when the sense of justice and the generosity of hospitality Meg has offered are simply ignored by those around her? At the end of the tale, Henry Bertram is planning to build a cottage at Derncleugh, but it is unlikely a new ‘city of refuge’ for the gypsies, as these nomads are fundamentally extirpated from this land and they ‘have no place in the heart of the young laird’, as James Reed argues.<sup>48</sup>

Meg Merrilies' heroism is determined primarily by her virtue of hospitality offered to the Bertrams as the laird's kindness in the past earns her profound gratitude. The following quotation, in Meg's own words, states her original intention: ‘Many's the awmous (alms; a good deed) your house has gi'en Meg and hers—she has lived to pay it back in a small

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<sup>47</sup> Garside, ‘Meg Merrilies and India’, p. 168.

<sup>48</sup> Reed, *Sir Walter Scott: Landscape and Locality*, p. 77.

degree' (152). However, in reality, what she has contributed to the family is far more than 'a small degree'. Mannering has an important role in restoring Henry Bertram's true identity, but Meg Merrilies is pivotal since Henry's journey home would nearly be impossible without her guardianship and secret support. It is no exaggeration to say that the role Meg plays is similar to both a mother figure who leads the lost child home, and a hospitable hostess who takes good care of her guest.

Firstly, in a hut, on his way back to Kippletringan, Henry is saved by Meg from the attack of a gang of ruffians. Shortly before the arrival of the villains, 'She caused him to couch down among a parcel of straw [...], covered him carefully, and flung over him two or three old sacks which lay about the place' (146). The protection Henry is offered is similar to the parental care that a child might receive. Meg's act not only portrays a fundamental feature of a mother figure that is ready to defend her child at the expense of her own life, but also presents the image of a hostess who is willing to embrace danger from shielding her guest at the moment of crisis. When those ruffians left, Meg was so considerate and generous that she gave Brown an immense pocket, which contained 'the treasure of the tribe' (347) which was unknown to the guest. The narrator makes it clear that, on account of this act, '[Meg] had risked her own [life] to preserve his, and who had voluntarily endowed him with this treasure,—a generosity which might thus become the means of her ruin' (154). The hospitality Meg extended to Henry is far more than a reciprocal exchange.

Secondly, Meg's maternal love and unconditional hospitality were demonstrated through the food she prepared for her guests. Before their departure for Dirk Hattaraick's hut, Meg provided cold meat and a glass of spirits for Henry and Dandie Dinmont (329). Yet, in fact, Meg previously had also cooked 'a goodly stew, composed of fowls, hares, partridges, and moor-game, boiled in a large mess with potatoes, onions and leeks' for Dominie Sampson, as she told her guest that the foods could 'warm [his] heart' (279).

Although Meg's feminine qualities (such as her maternal love and attentiveness) are so admirable and profound, this text intends to make her an 'unsexed' woman with distinct masculinity, energy, power and towering height.<sup>49</sup> In Harry E. Shaw's words, Meg Merrilies is created as a 'super-human'.<sup>50</sup> One classic example, concerning the Dominie's encounter with the gypsy, illustrates such an association: 'Meg, armed with supernatural strength [...] broke in upon his guard, put by a thrust which he made at her with his cane, and lifted him into the vault, "as easily," said [the Dominie], "as I could sway a Kitchen's atlas"' (279). However, when simultaneously performing the role as a maternal figure and a hostess, her consideration, kindness, generosity and sympathy to her child/guest only confirm the distinguishing characteristics of her feminine qualities.

Even though by the end of the tale she has disappeared from the narrative, Meg is arguably the key character in maintaining both the spirit of the Scottish tradition and the integrity of its history. She knows well the ways by which she has been treated by the society, as she says: 'When I was in life, I was the mad randy gypsey, that had been scourged, and banished, and branded, that had begged from door to door' (337). Yet she is never sparing in giving welcome to those around her. Moreover, her respect to the law which has almost ruined a major part of her life never dwindles, as she once suggests to Henry and Dinmont that they 'take captive, but save life—let the law hae its ain' (329). Meg accepts her own fate, respects authority and keeps tradition alive. In a broader sense, she, being a mother figure, helps re-establish an organic community at the expense of her own life. But more significantly, she fully deserves to be regarded as the survivor of old Scottish faith, hospitality, worth and honour. We can, perhaps, best understand these selfless acts of Meg's by citing the following words of Adam Ferguson. When evaluating the nature of primitive people, he pointed out that such people are blessed with 'a

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<sup>49</sup> This term is derived from Scott's 'The Surgeon's Daughter'. Begum Montreuil, a European lady, is described by Adam Hartley as an 'unsexed woman', p. 259.

<sup>50</sup> Harry E. Shaw, 'Scott, Women, and History', *European Romantic Review*, 13 (2002), 285-97 (p. 290).

penetration, a force of imagination and elocution, an ardour of mind, an affection and courage, which the arts, the discipline, and the policy of few nations would be able to improve'.<sup>51</sup> Such an insight might well serve as an adequate assessment of Meg Merrilies' life. Although we might perhaps be able to read *Guy Mannering* as a threnody for the abused and abandoned race to which Meg belongs, we should also note that the warm hospitality Meg selflessly extended to her surroundings has become part of a rich history belonging exclusively to this subaltern group of people. If Meg Merrilies can be seen as Henry Bertram's surrogate mother in this tale, Dandie Dinmont, the Liddesdale farmer, can similarly be regarded as performing the paternal role to Henry.

Henry Bertram's visit to the lowland village of Liddesdale, which occurs near the beginning of his long journey back to Ellangowan, introduces to the reader of this novel a site which is absolutely different from the polite society in their respective characters. In this small world, the emphasis on bodily contact between Dinmont and his wife Ailie as well as their kids shows the simplicity and unpretentiousness of their characters. Ailie is described as embracing Dinmont with 'unfeigned rapture' (128), and Dinmont is said to '[kiss] and [hug]' his children (130). As far as the Dinmonts are concerned, the 'body is seen as a site of pleasure, and its communicative function', argues Andrew Lincoln.<sup>52</sup> Such an expression of spontaneous overflow of powerful affection showed towards their family members is also unreserved to the treatment of their guest, Henry Bertram. In the first place, the foods they prepared exemplify their warm reception of Henry. It includes 'A *huge* piece of cold beef-ham, eggs, butter, cakes, and barley-meal bannocks in *plenty*, made up the entertainment, which was to be diluted with home-brewed ale of *excellent* quality, and a case-bottle of brandy' (131) (emphasis added). As the adjectives the narrator used to describe the meal (including 'huge', 'plenty' and 'excellent') can tell, the hospitality extended from the host and hostess to their guest is extremely generous. Besides,

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<sup>51</sup> Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, p. 76.

<sup>52</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 102.

the emphasis on the 'home-brewed' ale also indicates the sincerity of the hosts as the drink is produced by their own hands and is unpurchasable elsewhere. In other words, genuine hospitality is meant to be unpurchasable as well. From the Dinmonts' hospitable reception of Henry, the reader can feel a strong bond between the host and guest.

In addition to the generous reception Henry was given at the beginning of this episode, we are told that he is warmly invited by his host to stay when he is about to leave the village. As Dinmont says, 'The fiend a bit o' that—I'll no part wi' you at ony rate for a fortnight' (133) since he intends to share the entertainments of Charlieshope (fox-hunting, salmon hunt, otter hunt and badger-baiting) with his guest. Before Henry is eventually allowed to depart for his next destination, Dinmont's children were said to '[roar] manfully in full chorus at his departure, and he was obliged to promise twenty times that he would soon return' (140). In addition, 'the good dame too, with matron modesty, and an affectionate simplicity that marked the olden times, offered her cheek to the departing guest' (140). This episode stresses again the importance of 'touch', which communicate emotions. Such a reciprocal exchange between Henry and the Dinmonts enriches the general definition of a relationship between the host and guest.

After the Liddesdale episode, Dinmont's hospitality again extends to Henry when the latter is imprisoned by Glossin. This plain farmer rides a whole day in order to send supper to Henry and spends the night in prison with his former guest. What this episode illustrates is closer to parental care than friendship. Dinmont has been Henry's constant companion since they meet in a 'small public-house' in Cumberland, and he never leaves him until his friend finally restores his home, name and reputation. The way in which Dinmont treats Henry has again far transcended the general definition of a relation between the host and guest, and even the boundary between the self and the other, especially when Brown is treated by the farmer as his own flesh and blood. As Dinmont has said, 'Faith, naething will please me [...] that's no pleasing to him' (271).

As Andrew Lincoln argues, ‘Scott’s own interest in historical border communities, in highland clans, in people living relatively self-contained lives remote from the centres of state power does not simply represent nostalgia for lost worlds, but is clearly shaped by the contemporary experience of empire’.<sup>53</sup> At the time when Scotland is heading towards an inexorable future of progress, this lowland community seems to be less tainted by the modernization of the nation since it remains ‘wild, solitary, and pleasingly rural. No inclosures, no roads, almost no tillage’ (127). Despite the fact that there are some signs showing that the community is under growing pressure to follow the steps of cities: ‘Their houses are more commodious, their habits of life regulated so as better to keep pace with those of the civilized world, and the best of luxuries, the luxury of knowledge, has gained much ground among their hills during the last thirty years’ (128), it is clear that it has not yet been fully tainted by the tidal power of modernization in the 1780s. Its improvement seems to be more internal and spontaneous, rather than absolutely as a result of external forces. It is undeniable that the external patterns of their living are gradually changing, but they change for the better, with no destruction to their tradition, as the narrator illustrates that ‘Deep drinking formerly their greatest failing, is now fast losing ground; and, while the frankness of their extensive hospitality continues the same, it is, generally speaking, refined in its character, and restrained in its excess’ (128). No matter how the external environment might alter, the novel stresses that the purity of human heart and the strength of human will can still transcend the changes of time and space. Hospitality is particularly introduced in this context to emphasize the nobility of human heart. However, it is also seen as a virtue that is both universal and timeless. Hospitality is part of the nature of the gypsy Merrilies and the peasant Dinmont; it is also practised by a disinterested metropolitan lawyer.

Guy Mannering’s journey to Edinburgh can be largely compared to Henry Bertram’s

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

visit to the lowland village of Liddesdale. Both of them are visiting a place they are by no means familiar with, but both of these guests receive warm hospitality from their hosts. Despite of these similarities, it is worth noting that Mannering, unlike Henry who enjoys the cleanliness and tranquillity of the Liddesdale community, at first, suffers from Edinburgh's 'noise and clamour, its sounds of trade, of revelry, and of license, its variety of lights, and the eternally changing bustle of its hundreds groupes [sic]' (201). He feels particularly uncomfortable when seeing the lawyer Mr Pleydell indulging in his pastime of High Jinks with his companions. Dinmont, who also visits Pleydell for his personal lawsuit, exclaims 'Deil hae me, if they are na a' mad thegither' (205) when seeing the lawyer:

enthroned, as a monarch, in an elbow-chair placed on the dining-table, his scratch wig on one side, his head crowned with a bottle-slider, his eye leering with an expression betwixt fun and drunkenness (204)

Nevertheless, these sorts of drinking games, as Murray Pittock argues, convey a 'sense of classless community' and bear 'signs of [a] fulfilled community at play'.<sup>54</sup> The gathering of these intermingled people offers the idea of the permeability of boundaries between different social strata; at the same time, it also appropriately defines Pleydell's personal characters and his attitudes towards those outside his circle.

No business is usually conducted on Saturdays by Pleydell, but an exception is made for Mannering and Dinmont. Besides, the entire Edinburgh episode becomes a sort of 'city pastoral' for Mannering, as Pleydell, the tour guide, is such a hospitable host who never cold-shoulders his guest.<sup>55</sup> The host's welcome is best understood by his own words: 'I was born in a time when a Scotchman was thought inhospitable if he left a guest alone a moment, except when he slept' (211). During the entire week, 'these golden days' in Mannering's own words (226), the Scottish lawyer provides his English guest with a brief

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<sup>54</sup> Murray Pittock, 'Allan Ramsay and the Decolonisation of Genre', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 58 (2007), 316-37 (pp. 322-23).

<sup>55</sup> Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, p. 75.

but intensive introduction to the essence of ancient Scottish culture. He invites Mannering to go with him to Greyfriars Church to hear Erskine's speech, and to attend Mrs Bertram's old-fashioned funeral. In addition, because of Pleydell's hospitality, we are told that Mannering has a venison dinner with representative Enlightenment figures of the Athens of the North – David Hume (1711-76), John Home (1722-1808), Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), Joseph Black (1728-99), Lord Kaimes (1696-1782), James Hutton (1726-97), John Clerk of Eldin (1728-1812), Adam Smith (1723-90), and William Robertson (1721-93). Mannering's Edinburgh visit, similar to Henry's stay in Liddesdale, has significantly widened his horizons. These hospitable acts have nothing to do with profit-making; instead, they are, in Mannering own words, 'at the service of every stranger who is introduced' (227). Hospitality is one of the important personal characteristics of Pleydell, but it simultaneously defines the character of Scotland. As far as the main story of the tale is concerned, though not being a major figure in saving the estate of Ellangowan, Pleydell has been concerned with the misfortune of the family for a prolonged period of time since he (being the sheriff of the county) was called upon to investigate the murder of Kennedy and the abduction of the young Bertram. He has never left the family until he knows the truth has come to light.

*Guy Mannering* could be interpreted as a narrative depicting the impact and misdeeds of colonialism both abroad and at home. If nabobs are criticized because of their violation of the social order, the advent of modernization can also be seen as breaching the order of tradition. The late eighteenth century is regarded as the starting point of a drastic transformation of the social and economic structure of Britain. Those serving at the frontier for the British Empire bring home wealth, which stimulates the development of the nation. However, as Makdisi alerts us, this drastic change, in fact, happens not only in Britain, but also in a global scale as the nation brought with it 'the most advanced, most civilized

people from the most developed societies' moulding the future of a whole new world.<sup>56</sup> The contact and exchange between the West and the East, on account of the expansion of the Empire, become not only more frequent but also more efficient. The theme regarding the encounter, exchange and even fusion between distinct cultures frequently appears in Scott's fictions since history for Scott is 'a lengthy process of racial mixture, [...] a record of difference', as Michael Ragussis argues.<sup>57</sup> Even though *Guy Mannering* is described as a 'tale of private life', the historical context this work covers is about a real story of its age and its future.<sup>58</sup> However, more importantly, the story of Meg Merrilies and her people, 'the trace memory of the traumatic cost of improvement and expansion', has also shown that attention should be paid to those who are marginalized and sacrificed when the world is writing a new page of its own modern history.<sup>59</sup> Although Ian Duncan importantly argues that 'Modernity, far from abolishing the difference between civilization and barbarism, preserves it—produces it—inside itself, in a relation of perpetual violence', the notion of hospitality as it is manifested in this fiction might serve as a medium that could overcome the division between various cultures, civilizations, religions and politics.<sup>60</sup>

### ***The Antiquary***

*The Antiquary* (1816) is the third in the first series of the Waverley Novels, coming after *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering*. The action of the story happens within a period of four weeks between July and August 1794, roughly a decade after the action of *Guy Mannering*, and it takes place in the northeast of Scotland although the exact location remains indefinite.<sup>61</sup> Scott, in the Advertisement at the head of the first edition of the work,

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<sup>56</sup> Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism*, p. xii.

<sup>57</sup> Michael Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion: "The Jewish Question" and English National Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 100.

<sup>58</sup> Scott to John B. S. Morritt in *Letterss, Letters*, VI (1934), 13 (19 January 1815).

<sup>59</sup> Katie Trumpener, 'The Time of the Gypsies: A "People without History" in the Narratives of the West', *Critical Inquiry*, 18 (1992), 843-84 (p. 868).

<sup>60</sup> Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, p. 107.

<sup>61</sup> 'Historical Note to *The Antiquary*', in *The Antiquary*, pp. 447-48.

maintains that '[*The Antiquary*] completes a series of fictitious narratives, intended to illustrate the manners of Scotland at three different periods. *Waverley* embraced the age of our fathers, *Guy Mannering* that of our own youth, and the *Antiquary* refers to the last ten years of the eighteenth century' (3). In fact, these three works can be regarded as a survey of the history of Scotland from the 1745 uprising to the wars against revolutionary France. Scott was to say towards the end of his life that *The Antiquary* was his 'chief favourite among all his novels'.<sup>62</sup>

Despite its authorial endorsement and initial success (6000 copies of the first edition were sold out within the first six days, and the work went through another nine editions in Scott's lifetime), the novel, argues Nicola Watson, 'has been perhaps the most persistently underestimated work of (since the end of the nineteenth century) our most persistently underestimated major writer'.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, the work was famously used by E. M. Forster as an example to criticize Scott's general writing technique.<sup>64</sup> Many of the complaints made against the work have mostly resulted from the comparison with its action-packed predecessors. David Daiches asserts that the plot of the work is 'not to be taken seriously' since it is 'essentially a static novel', and within the work 'the characteristic tension of Scott's novels is scarcely perceptible'.<sup>65</sup> David Brown, whose research has concentrated on the historical dimensions of the *Waverley Novels*, also argues that:

The tension that we feel *The Antiquary* lacks in comparison with the best of Scott's works is the novel's own final criticism. In other novels, Scott's insight into society in its historical dimension is dynamic, and this fact inevitably undermined by implication his static portrayal of modern society in *The Antiquary*. The stability, even boredom, of life for the modern character of the novel, subtly and humorously depicted though it is, results in a lack of the sense of the pressure of the times on

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<sup>62</sup> John Gibson Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1842), p. 332.

<sup>63</sup> The information is obtained from The Walter Scott Digital Archive <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/works/novels/antiquary.html> [accessed 30 June 2010]; Nicola J. Watson, 'Introduction' to *The Antiquary*, ed. by Nicola J. Watson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. viii.

<sup>64</sup> Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*, pp. 20-26.

<sup>65</sup> Daiches, 'Scott's Achievement as a Novelist', pp. 48-50.

typical individuals conveyed in Scott's greatest work.<sup>66</sup>

However, my interpretation of *The Antiquary* is to a degree different from the above criticisms. I argue that the tension within the work is not determined by its external plot; instead, it is governed by an internal momentum that urges the strengthening of bonds between human hearts. To truly understand *The Antiquary*, the reader is encouraged to group the work with *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering* within a closely-linked historical context. Scott, in a letter to his friend John B. S. Morritt, expounded his own idea in giving a portrayal of a static modern society in his latest novel in 1816: '[*The Antiquary*] is not so interesting as its predecessors—the period did not admit of so much romantic situation.'<sup>67</sup> In order to attain modernity and to create a better future, those violent and rebellious elements of the country's past have to be discarded, as Scottish Enlightenment historians, such as William Robertson, have particularly emphasized. Therefore, as Philip Shaw argues, 'Unlike, *Waverley*, which indulges in displaced representations of "brute violence" by transporting its readers back to a time of feuds, abuse, and revenge, *The Antiquary* presents a portrait of a modern "well-ordered island" dedicated to the promulgation of conflict resolution, respect for property and the restraint of desire.'<sup>68</sup>

*The Antiquary*, without having any major historical event serving as its background, is a purely fictional story about the life of a group of ordinary people in an imaginary place, Fairport. Like *Guy Mannering*, it is also a 'tale of private life'.<sup>69</sup> The development of the empire abroad is not mentioned in this work. Despite the fact that the whole story is shadowed by anxiety caused by the possible invasion of the French Navy, this supposition does not have a noticeable impact on the development of the work. The central focus of this novel is on the exchanges between common people in a modern society. When

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<sup>66</sup> Brown, *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination*, pp. 66-67

<sup>67</sup> Scott to John B. S. Morritt in *Letters*, IV (1933), 233 (16 May 1816).

<sup>68</sup> Philip Shaw, *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 62.

<sup>69</sup> Scott to John B. S. Morritt in *Letters*, IV (1933), 13 (19 January 1815).

speaking of *The Antiquary* in a letter to his friend Daniel Terry (1780-1829), Scott said: ‘It wants the romance of *Waverley* and the adventure of *Guy Mannering*; and yet there is some salvation about it, for if a man will paint from nature, he will be likely to amuse those who are daily looking at it.’<sup>70</sup> What Scott really meant to say is that *The Antiquary* is such a work that provides its readers with a vivid portrayal of real life which is close to their own, instead of presenting an imagined heroic past. As it is argued by Murray Pittock, ‘Scott writes of history as closure, [...] The past may be magnificent, but it is over: the taxonomy of glory in Scottish history has given way under the inexorable pressures of the teleology of civility.’<sup>71</sup>

To properly appreciate the spirit of *The Antiquary*, *Guy Mannering*, its immediate antecedent, needs to be seen as the counterpart of the work. Two pairs of leading characters in these two novels, Godfrey Bertram of Ellangowan and Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns, Meg Merrilies and Edie Ochiltree, are the particular focus in this section of this current chapter, for reasons I will address shortly. Moreover, the way in which the notion of hospitality is presented, and how it functions through these central characters will also be examined. In the *Guy Mannering* section of this chapter, I have argued that Godfrey Bertram’s rashness in withdrawing his hospitality from the gypsies, who have been his ‘exceeding good friends’, is partially prompted by his vanity and short-sightedness. Such violent measures taken by the laird not only ruin the equilibrium of an organic community but also raise major questions over the essence of progress in a modern age.<sup>72</sup> However, *The Antiquary* takes different approaches and attitudes in handling apparently similar situations.

Following the steps of *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering*, *The Antiquary* also deals with the import of hospitality, a time-honoured tradition in Scotland, in a modern society. I

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<sup>70</sup> Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 332.

<sup>71</sup> Murray Pittock, ‘Introduction: Scott and the European Nationalities Question’, in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, ed. by Murray Pittock (London: Continuum, 2007), pp. 1-10 (p. 2).

<sup>72</sup> Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 37.

intend to argue that *The Antiquary* is such a work that determines both to rescue the relationship between different social classes and to recuperate the spirit of hospitality in a society where the fellowship between various pairs of characters is in an imminent danger of falling apart. Meg Merrilies, the pivotal role in *Guy Mannering*, is more a giver than a taker of hospitality, but she is woefully neglected by those who have received her kindness and help at the end of the tale. In *The Antiquary*, however, hospitality is reciprocated between people from different social classes; it enhances unity and pools the strength of the community, especially when ‘Progress, attained through the division of labor, results in a sinister dissolution of the public sphere’, as Yoon Sun Lee argues.<sup>73</sup>

Scott himself admits that Jonathan Oldbuck, the antiquary of the title, is based, although unconsciously, on his father’s friend George Constable (1719-1803); some critics, however, have discovered ample persuasive evidence that Oldbuck is rather a portrait of Scott himself.<sup>74</sup> Lockhart has also mentioned that Scott could hardly ‘have scrupled about recognising a quaint caricature of the founder of the Abbotsford Museum, in the inimitable portraiture of the Laird of Monkbarns’.<sup>75</sup> The life of Oldbuck, like his estate, Monkbarns, is riddled with the remains of the past. His failed competition with the Earl of Glenallan for Eveline Neville and his subsequent childlessness have, to some extent, made him misogynous and solitary. However, it is obvious that he has gradually displaced the disappointment and grief of the past by his obsessive dedication to antiquarianism and to the welfare of his own Fairport community. Although he is often accused of his habitual meanness in his expenses, his hospitality to the surroundings has never been spared.

Oldbuck’s personal expression of hospitality could be particularly associated with the history of his family estate. As it is understood, Monkbarns itself has been resurrected on the site of a medieval monastery (the dissolution of the monastery was due to the

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<sup>73</sup> Yoon Sun Lee, ‘Giant in the North: Douglas, the Scottish Enlightenment, and Scott’s *Redgauntlet*’, *Studies in Romanticism*, 40:1 (2001), 109-21 (p. 112).

<sup>74</sup> Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 31; Millgate offers numerous references of Scott’s own identification with Oldbuck after the publication of the novel. *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, pp 88-89.

<sup>75</sup> Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 332.

Reformation in the sixteenth century), ‘a *hospitium, hospitale, or hospitamentum*’ (27), where the monks received pilgrims and the poor. In medieval times, clergymen were expected to offer their care to the poor and material support to the community. In the Rule of Saint Benedict (a fundamental rule of Western Christian monasticism lasting for 1500 years since the seventh century), it is emphatically stated that monks should follow the command of Christ and give sanctuary to those in need.<sup>76</sup> In *Distinctio* 42 (one among a series of *Distinctions* formulated by Gratian in the twelfth century), it clearly states that hospitality is regarded as one of the most important duties of the priesthood, as they are obligated to provide an example for their followers, and must not be found deficient on the day of judgement. Therefore, from the very beginning of Western monasticism, the offer of care to visitors and strangers became an imperative for this religious establishment; so much so that monasteries were the principal centres of hospitality for much of the medieval period.<sup>77</sup> It is, therefore, possible to view Oldbuck’s hospitality as an echo of this more ancient monastic tradition.

Oldbuck is a person who respects tradition and is proud of the past of his estate and family history. His dedication to the welfare of the public can be seen as the inheritance and extension of the long established tradition of the former proprietors of his property. Although he is represented as ‘habitually parsimonious’, he is ‘not mean’ (17). When the occasion is appropriate, he grants favours to whoever asks for it (although habitually he can never stop nagging). Monkbarns to some extent can be seen as another exemplar of the estate of Ellangowan, the ‘city of refuge’, depicted in *Guy Mannering*. Edie Ochiltree, the mendicant and one of the pivotal roles in the tale, is actually under the protection of Oldbuck.<sup>78</sup> As the laird points out, ‘[Edie] is a sort of privileged nuisance—one of the last specimens of the old-fashioned Scottish mendicant, who kept his rounds within a particular

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<sup>76</sup> John Bowker, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 135; Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: the Benedictines in England, c. 1070-c. 1250* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007).

<sup>77</sup> Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, pp. 224, 225.

<sup>78</sup> Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 37.

space' (33).<sup>79</sup> The bond between Oldbuck and Edie is very similar to the relationship between Godfrey Bertram and Meg Merrilies. Both Oldbuck and Bertram are represented as givers of hospitality, but it has to be noted that the ways in which these two figures handle with issues arising from the changing of times are quite dissimilar.

As it has already been pointed out in the *Guy Mannering* section of this chapter, it is the laird's personal vanity which prompts him to impose metropolitan policies upon his own rural community when he was appointed as a Justice of the Peace. The drastic action he calls for is in practice fatal to the symbiotic relationship between his family and his gypsy friends, who eventually come to figure as the first casualty of modernity. Rural equilibrium is thus mercilessly destroyed in the laird's own hands. However, in *The Antiquary*, Jonathan Oldbuck, also a JP, in the nick of time offers his connivance to beggars and good care to the community so as to defend tradition and maintain the integrity of the community when modernity encroaches and society changes (the reader is informed that mendicants in England could no longer enjoy their freedom as those in Scotland still could).

Although Oldbuck could have chosen to close himself off within the security of his easy life and enjoy his leisured time devoting himself to the antiquarian pursuit on his father's invested wealth, he chooses to intervene in almost every tiny thing that happens in the village. His acts of hospitality in effect can be seen as expanding the standard dictionary definition of hospitality. Moreover, Oldbuck blends his sympathetic attitude into his general expression of hospitality, and therefore enriches the spirit of the latter. When Sir Arthur and his daughter are trapped by the tide, the narrator notes that: 'Oldbuck was the foremost and most earnest, pressing forward with unwonted desperation to the very brink of the crag, and extending his head (his hat and wig secured by a handkerchief under his chin) over the dizzy height, with an air of determination which made his more timorous

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<sup>79</sup> According to Buchan, the representation of Edie Ochiltree is based on Andrew Gemmels, a famous bedesman on the Border who died in 1793 at the age of 106. *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 149.

assistants tremble.’ (61) Although Oldbuck has no need to take the risk of rescuing the father and daughter in person in this case, his brave attempt has greatly enriched the spirit of his generous act of hospitality.

So far as the episode of the funeral of Steenie, the son of the fisherman Saunders Meiklebackit, is concerned, it may be seen as redundant as it has less direct connection with the main storyline, but it is important as the response from Oldbuck to the family in grief well defines the subtlety of his sympathetic attitudes. When the fisherman is described as feeling a deep pang of sorrow for his son and cannot carry the head of the coffin to the grave, Oldbuck volunteers to take the responsibility and announces that he, ‘[being] landlord and master to the deceased, “would carry his head to the grave”’ (252). Moreover, when the fisherman is unable to carry on his work repairing the boat, Oldbuck helps to divert Saunders’ attention away from his inconsolable grief and galvanize him to complete his task. As it is noted by Adam Smith in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ‘The bitter and painful emotions of grief and resentment more strongly require the healing consolation of sympathy.’<sup>80</sup> Oldbuck understands this principle well and knows how to heal the fisherman’s pain. His hospitable attitude towards the Meiklebackits denotes his deep fellow-feeling; his treatment of the family’s grief as his own demonstrates his sympathetic concern for his people, although he is not depicted as ubiquitously sensitive. After the funeral, Oldbuck stays and keeps Saunders company, and talks to the bereaved man since the laird is represented as having full realization that, again in Smith’s words, ‘Society and conversation [...] are the most powerful remedies for restoring the mind to its tranquillity, if, at any time, it has unfortunately lost it’.<sup>81</sup> The two men later on, as the narrator notes, weep openly together for the lost son. Their emotions are so entwined that the boundary of class seems to be largely blurred. Steenie is the son of Saunders, but he is as well treated as Oldbuck’s own flesh and blood. The ways in which Oldbuck puts himself

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<sup>80</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

in Saunders' situation can be regarded as a more than excellent example of the Smithian definition of sympathy:

By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him, and hence form some idea of his sensations, and even feel something which, though weaker in degree, is not altogether unlike them.<sup>82</sup>

Oldbuck's act of seeing himself in the other's situation not just produces emotional link between the two but also turns out to be one of his distinguishing characteristics.

The catalytic role assumed by Oldbuck in piecing together the tragic history of the Glenallan family ensures the future happiness of the young heir. Although it employs skills particular to the lawyer or the antiquary, the investigation conducted by Oldbuck relies even more on human sympathy for those whose fate is urgently in need of the establishment of the true fact. In fact, Oldbuck, though childless and a self-professed misogynist, has shown himself truly paternal – not only to Lovel but also to his niece and nephew, to Isabella, and to his tenants the Meiklebackits. As Millgate comments, 'Oldbuck takes under his protection various children, gives himself not for the sake of personal power or pride of lineage but out of that intrinsic generosity of heart'.<sup>83</sup> Through his selfless dedication, Oldbuck wins the hearts of his people; Godfrey Bertram's selfish motive, on the contrary, only disappoints his tenants. From the words of Saunders Meiklebackit, we are able to see the evidence of people's loyalty towards the laird:

Ye were aye kind and neighbourly, whatever folk says o' your being near and close; and I hae often said in thae times when they were ganging to raise up the puir folk again the gentles—I hae often said, ne'er a man should steer a hair touching to Monkbarns while Steenie and I could wag a finger—and so said Steenie too. (268)

This reciprocal relationship between Oldbuck and his tenants consolidates the emotional

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>83</sup> Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, p. 101.

foundation of the community. If the fear of both invasion from abroad and insurrection at home can bind the community together, that whole community, I would argue, has already held itself together much earlier than the anxiety caused by the false alarm at the end of the tale.

Justice will not be served if the relationship between Jonathan Oldbuck and Edie Ochiltree, two vital roles in *The Antiquary*, is simply defined by the one who gives and the other one who takes. Millgate argues that ‘Both Edie and Oldbuck are givers rather than takers—despite the fact that one of them is a beggar and the other enjoys the reputation of being tight-fisted.’<sup>84</sup> In *The Antiquary*, Walter Scott, with the ingenuity and insight he has demonstrated in *Guy Mannering*, again complicates and challenges the category of social roles. Meg Merrilies, who and her fellow gypsies are evicted by the laird, plays the major role in restoring the laird’s son to his rightful place at the end of the tale; Edie Ochiltree, who relies upon public hospitality for living, also performs a leading role in reinstating the lost heir in *The Antiquary*. The presumption of Enlightenment stadialism in time, class and language is seen to be applied by the author to the design of the framing of these two works, but it is simultaneously challenged by their internal structure. As a matter of fact, subaltern characters, such as Andrew Fairservice, Jeanie Deans, Meg Merrilies and Edie Ochiltree, often occupy the most significant and memorable roles in the Waverley Novels. David Daiches mentions that these subordinate characters of the Waverley Novels ‘live in the minds [of readers] long after the plots of the novel in which they appear are forgotten’.<sup>85</sup> In addition, argues David Hewitt, the treatment of ‘the poorer members of society’ in Scott’s works has long been recognized by his contemporaries and critics as a great success.<sup>86</sup>

*The Antiquary* demonstrates particularly its awareness of the status quo of the

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>85</sup> Daiches, ‘Scott’s Achievement as a Novelist’, p. 22.

<sup>86</sup> Hewitt, ‘Walter Scott’, p. 73.

subaltern in the late eighteenth century, as the depiction of their physiognomies is delivered with sustained attention, and the characterization of their interior world is extraordinarily vivid. For instance, Maggie Meiklebackit's habit fully defines a fisherwoman's life: 'A handkerchief close bound about her head, and a coat, which had formerly been that of a man, gave her a masculine air, which was increased by her strength, uncommon stature, and harsh voice.' (88) This depiction highlights the hardship of her life, which forces her to become manlike, both physically and mentally. Femininity has to be diluted under such harsh circumstances. Yet, in the novel this situation can never happen to ladies of higher social backgrounds, such as Isabella Wardour and Maria MacIntyre. On one occasion when Oldbuck intends to bargain for the price the fisherwoman charges, she retorts: 'It's no fish ye're buying—it's men's lives.' (89) As she continues to protest:

“Aye, aye—it's easy for your honour, and the like o' you gentle folks, to say sae, that hae stouth and routh, and fire and fending, and meat and claith, and sit dry and canny by the fire-side—But an' ye wanted fire, and meat and dry claise, and were deeing o' cauld, and had a sair heart, whilk is warst ava', and had just tippence in your pouch, wadna ye be glad to buy a dram wi't, to be eilding and claise, and a supper and heart's ease into the bargain, till the morn's morning?” (89)

Maggie's complaint reveals the condition of people's life at the bottom of society and their general feelings about their betters. However, it can also be interpreted as an invitation to Oldbuck's sympathy. In addition, it also demonstrates the beginning of class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat in the modern age (although Lukács inaccurately contends that: 'Scott very seldom speaks of the present. He does not raise the social questions of contemporary England [sic] in his novels').<sup>87</sup>In spite of the fact that Oldbuck is not a person who would be willing to profit at other people's expense, Maggie's argument points out a certain tension between upper and lower social classes. The society

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<sup>87</sup> See Tony Clarke and Tony Dickson, 'The Birth of Class?', in *People and Society in Scotland: 1760-1830*, ed. by T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald in association with The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1988), pp. 292-309; Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, p. 32.

could be in crisis because of factors such as this; however, owing to Oldbuck's unreserved hospitable attitude towards his tenants and his surroundings, tension between different social classes is significantly reduced. Besides, there is Edie Ochiltree, the beggar, who is a medium between different social groups and who is able to bring reconciliation to difficult situations between them, as he is the sole person in the tale at ease in various environments and understanding of people with different backgrounds.

Although they are fictional characters in the Waverley Novels, beggars, like Edie Ochiltree, have their real history in the early nineteenth century. As John Sutherland notes, the mass vagrancy in Edinburgh and North Britain was occasioned by the demobilization after the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) when unemployed soldiers were swarming the countryside.<sup>88</sup> Scott, being a long-time Sheriff of Selkirkshire and Clerk to the Court of Session, could not have been unaware of this state of affairs. However, the depiction of beggars in *The Antiquary* may also be based on an earlier historical fact. When the Seven Years War ended in 1763, most regiments were disbanded and the army was drastically reduced from 120,000 to 30,000. As Chris Tabraham and Doreen Grove have noted, this situation was roundly condemned by William Pitt the Elder (1708-78) since he argued that 'it would leave some of the "bravest men the world ever saw" to "starve in country villages"'<sup>89</sup>. In fact, when modern law was implemented, as it is noted in *Guy Mannering*, these beggars were sent to 'the neighbouring workhouse'.<sup>90</sup>

This phenomenon is reminiscent of Wordsworth's emotional appeal made to the public for the liberty of beggars in his famous poem, 'The Old Cumberland Beggar', where he says: 'May never HOUSE, misnamed of INDUSTRY! / Make him a captive!'<sup>91</sup> Therefore, the part Edie plays is actually based on a real historical context. However, it has to be noted that Edie's situation is fairly different from most of the beggars, since he is the

<sup>88</sup> Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott*, p. 193.

<sup>89</sup> Chris Tabraham and Doreen Grove, *Fortress Scotland and the Jacobites* (London: Batsford, 1995), p. 111.

<sup>90</sup> Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 33.

<sup>91</sup> William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'The Old Cumberland Beggar', in *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), ed. by Michael Mason, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 2007), pp. 308-16 (pp. 315-16).

‘King’s Bedesmen, or, vulgarly, Blue-gowns’ (30). According to Scott’s own annotation in the Magnum Opus edition of the Waverley Novels, the King’s Bedesmen:

are an order of paupers to whom the Kings of Scotland were in the custom of distributing a certain alms, in conformity with the ordinances of the Catholic Church, and who were expected in return to pray for the royal welfare and that of the state. [...] each Bedesman receives a new cloak, or gown of coarse cloth, the colour light blue, with pewter badge, which confers on them the general privilege of asking alms through all Scotland.<sup>92</sup>

Edie’s blue gown and badge, in short, are his exclusive protective colouring. Accordingly, he has privilege visiting every corner of the society and he can easily cross boundaries between different social classes, in spite of the fact that he still belongs to the bottom rung of the social ladder and relies heavily on people’s hospitality for his living.

Edie’s privileged status enables him to construct a natural adaptability to the external environment without changing his appearance, unlike Redgauntlet and Rob Roy who need to change their garments in order to accommodate themselves in varying domains. By taking this advantage, Edie willingly maintains various identities, and takes on a variety of social responsibilities, such as being news-carrier, minstrel, local historian, genealogist, mender, adviser, physician, and the repository of local traditions and customs. In short, Edie is presented as a polymath and a figure before the division of labour when people still take on multiple roles in society. Most of the roles Edie plays in this novel had also been performed by Meg Merrilies, and both of them occupy a very similar position in the regional context, the recipient of public hospitality but the provider of public service.

Moreover, the illustrations of Edie and Meg’s physical characteristics are also quite similar. Both of them have considerable height and picturesque dressing. When Meg Merrilies was delivering her famous speech to the laird of Ellangowan, her height was particularly emphasized by the narrator of the novel: ‘She was standing upon one of those

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<sup>92</sup> Scott, *The Antiquary*, ed. by Nicola J. Watson, p. 7.

high banks, which, as we before noticed, overhung the road; so that she was placed considerably higher than Ellangowan, even though he was on horseback; and her tall figure, relieved against the clear blue sky, seemed almost of supernatural stature.’<sup>93</sup> Edie is also described as having ‘uncommon height’ (161). Scott would perhaps have given these two characters greater height to emphasize the fact that although on the edge of society they were able to earn through people’s hospitality their daily crust and did not go hungry. However, the representations of the towering figures of these two characters also seem to suggest that they have a better understanding of human life, as they are able to see things clearer from higher (both physical and spiritual) stature.

Furthermore, Edie is also portrayed as ‘rather like a grey palmer or eremite, the preacher or ghostly counsellor of the young men who were round him’. (161) Therefore, he is represented in this case as a rather philosophical and sacred figure, with wisdom, prudence, compassion and vision. Oldbuck’s description of the beggar perhaps offers the best picture of Edie’s philosophical life:

He is so far a true philosopher, as to be a contemner of all ordinary rules of hours and times. When he is hungry he eats; when thirsty he drinks; when weary he sleeps; and with such indifference with respect to the means and appliances about which we make a fuss, that I suppose, he was never ill dined or ill lodged in his life. Then he is, to a certain extent, *the oracle of the district* through which he travels. (290) (emphasis added)

When compared with Edie, other major characters in this novel do not seem to be able to gain an insight into life as they more or less get entangled with either current affairs or past events.

Lovel is troubled by both his unrequited love for Isabella Wardour and his own mysterious past. Oldbuck to some extent also suffers from the trauma caused by his disappointed love in the past. Hector MacIntyre, Oldbuck’s nephew, is stuck in the ancient

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<sup>93</sup> Scott, *Guy Mannering*, p. 43.

glory of his Highland ancestors and cannot get out of it. Sir Arthur Wardour seeks quick success and instant benefits, but almost ruins all that he has. The Earl of Glenallan has never been able to know the mystery of his tragic past until almost the last minute of his life. Elspeth Meiklebackit has been at pains in keeping secret the scandal of her mistress, living like an automaton throughout almost the latter half of her life. Edie, among all the characters within this tale, is the figure who has his feet most firmly on the ground, and he is arguably the sole person who lives in the present and yet has a firm grasp of the past. Edie, the evidence of love and the mark of reason, could be seen to signify continuity. He knits together what could easily fall apart in the society. Edie, in common with most other marginal figures populating the Waverley Novels (the idiot, the outlaw, the criminal, the Oriental, and all the other ‘others’), turns out in the end to be the core role, dominating the development of the tale. Moreover, as Robert Gordon argues, ‘Edie is like Meg in his ability to appear helpfully on the scene at critical moments’.<sup>94</sup> In Buchan’s words, Edie is one of the ‘true heroes of the tale’.<sup>95</sup>

Those actions that Edie undertakes all become crucial to the ensuing development of the plot. He attempts to save Sir Arthur and his daughter when they are trapped on the narrow sands. He helps Lovel to rescue Sir Arthur’s fortune, and he is crucial to securing Lovel’s identity. In addition to what he has achieved, Edie’s exposure of the credulity of Oldbuck’s antiquarianism raises the primary concern related to the title of the work. In one particularly notable instance, Oldbuck proposes to Lovel one of his pet theories concerning the location of the final battle between the Romans and the Caledonians. Oldbuck is convinced that the conflict took place on part of his own property. However, at the height of his ‘ecstatic description’ of the ancient fortifications, a voice breaks in: ‘I mind the bigging o’t’ (30). This is the voice of the King’s Bedesmen, Edie Ochiltree, who then proceeds to explain that the stone bearing the letters ‘A. D. L. L.’ (*Agricola Dicavit Libens*

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<sup>94</sup> Gordon, *Under Which King?*, p. 37.

<sup>95</sup> Buchan, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 152.

*Lubens*, according to Oldbuck) (29) was raised by a stonemason a mere twenty years earlier to commemorate ‘auld Aiken Drum’s bridal’ (31). Based on Edie’s interpretation, ‘A. D. L. L.’ stands for ‘Aiken Drum’s Lang Ladle’ (31) and is a mere ‘bourd’ (31) or joke.

And later, Edie tactfully diverts Oldbuck’s attention from his love of old artefacts to the love of elderly people like him:

I reckon ye’ll be gaun to make an antic o’t, as ye hae dune wi’ mony an orra thing besides. Odd, I wish ony body wad mak an antic o’ me; but mony ane will find worth in auld bits o’ capper and horn and airn, that care unco little about an auld carle o’ their ain kintra and kind. (190)

What Edie has done, similar to what Meg Merrilies has achieved, is to pay back the hospitality he has received from the society he lives in, but it is obvious that what he has contributed has far surpassed the value of those acts of generosity given to him. All he expects to obtain in the end is no more than having the regard from Oldbuck as he passes away: “‘De’il hae’t do I expect—excepting that a’ thae gentles will come to the gaberlunzie’s burial; and maybe ye’ll carry the head yourself, as ye did puir Steenie Meiklebackit’s.’” (346) Edie’s words not only display a close bond that links people from varying classes but also demonstrate the fact that he holds Oldbuck in considerable respect. Besides, Edie hopes very much that people will not forget him when he becomes the past of the community.

In fact, Edie’s wishes have also been expressed by Meg Merrilies. Almost with her dying breath, Meg demands to see Henry Bertram again as she looks forward to re-establishing the bond between her and the boy she brings up. Unfortunately, the linkage is broken and the clock cannot be rewound. In *The Antiquary*, however, Scott makes a revision to this situation. Edie has never been forsaken by his surroundings. When he was arrested for the attack on the German swindler, Dousterswivel, there was ‘more than one kind hand thrust meat and bread and pence upon Edie, to maintain him in the prison’ (234).

Although beggars are in general obscure in a society, *The Antiquary* particularly draws attention to such neglected figures and affirms their importance to the country's equilibrium and history, instead of treating them as the residue of a modernizing nation. Edie, argues Mike Goode, is a 'state-sanctioned object of sympathy, he is also the novel's most obvious emblem of sentiment's importance to national strength.'<sup>96</sup>

In *The Antiquary*, just as in the rest of the Waverley Novels, Scott uses language to differentiate classes, but the border between different social classes in Scott's works is often crossed because of the contribution of hospitality and human sympathy by people from all walks of life. Moreover, hospitality in *The Antiquary* not only blurs the boundary between the self and the other but also has its essential function of binding the community together. In *Guy Mannering* the rightful heir is restored in the end and its ending marks the birth of a new epoch, but the happy conclusion is built upon a violent break with the past and also upon the desertion of hospitality to those who deserve attention. The denouement of the tale is optimistic in name only. As Peter Garside argues, *Guy Mannering* 'offer[s] a microcosm of dubious Scottish "progress" during the eighteenth century'.<sup>97</sup> Characters in *Guy Mannering* feel an overwhelming urge advising them to pursue the essence of modernity, but those in *The Antiquary* are encouraged to hold firmly to the past and their elders as they can indicate a reliable way to move forward.

Oldbuck and Edie are in their different ways the guardians and transmitters of the past of Fairport. By linking the present to the past, they ensure continuity into the future. Murray Pittock's following observation offers a further emphatic remark on the import of the past in the Waverley Novels, for he says: 'The past was no longer a realm for the free play of fantasy, as it had hitherto been in much fictional representation (a state of affairs which has arguably returned to haunt us today), but instead a place where things happened

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<sup>96</sup> Mike Goode, 'Dryasdust Antiquarianism and Sappy Masculinity: The Waverley Novels and the Gender of History', *Representations*, 82 (2003), 52-86 (p. 60).

<sup>97</sup> Peter Garside, 'Picturesque figure and landscape: Meg Merrilies and the gypsies', in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, ed. by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 145-74 (p. 149).

for a reason; a place where character and situation felt the pressure of circumstance and changing times.<sup>98</sup> Since the past is ‘a place where things happened for a reason’, Ranajit Guha calls upon his readers ‘to try and relate to the past by listening to and conversing with the myriad voices in civil society’.<sup>99</sup> Through the analysis of hospitality in *The Antiquary*, we find the history and voices of ordinary people. Besides, the tradition of hospitality shared by people from different social backgrounds in this novel helps to carry on the past and open a new way for the future. Therefore, the new born era has its dependable foundation and thus retains a greater integrity.

The ending of the tale notes that Edie Ochiltree has gradually settled down because of his increasing age. However, it may also suggest that Edie belongs perhaps to the last generation of beggars in Scotland who are protected by their Blue-gowns, as Rosalind Mitchison notes, these customs appear to disappear in the later eighteenth century.<sup>100</sup> Although Edie’s participation in the community’s public affairs will gradually decrease because of his growing age, this organic progress of the community will not stall as history of the past retains deep roots in the present. With hospitality highlighted as a powerful Scottish tradition key to the well-being of society, Scott draws a conclusion at the end of the first series of the Waverley Novels. Through *Guy Mannering* and *The Antiquary*, Scott demonstrates his particular concern over the conditions of subaltern classes in society, and again makes his fictions important texts narrating the history of socially underprivileged classes when society is heading towards an inexorable future of progress.

Although the gypsies in *Guy Mannering* are much mingled with the culture of Scotland, they are still repeatedly represented as associated with the East. In the following chapter, I intend to further the understanding of issues regarding the Oriental subaltern figures in the Waverley Novels through the analysis of ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’ and *The*

<sup>98</sup> Pittock, ‘Sir Walter Scott: Historiography Contested by Fiction’, p. 278.

<sup>99</sup> Ranajit Guha, ‘The Small Voice of History’, in *Subaltern Studies IX: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. by Shahid and Dipesh Chakrabarty (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 1-12 (p. 3).

<sup>100</sup> Rosalind Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574-1845* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 98.

*Talisman*, two of Scott's major Oriental works.

**Chapter Six:**  
**Orientalism, Hospitality and Empire in**  
*The Talisman* and ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’

The previous chapter of this thesis has made a study of the gypsies in *Guy Mannering*, particularly through the analysis of the representation of Meg Merrilies. Although Meg and her people are represented as being excluded when the local community is heading towards its own modernization, the gypsies’ significance to their former locality, as the author has especially emphasized, cannot be neglected since they are the cement in the fabric of a community that has almost disintegrated. Regardless of their subaltern status, the gypsies, as a consequence of their hospitality, are significantly highlighted by the author as having voices of their own in this novel. Following the study of ‘Oriental’ gypsy characters in the previous chapter, this current chapter has its focus on Scott’s two major oriental novels, *The Talisman* and ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’, and intends to conduct further analysis of Scott’s representations of the East, and his attitude towards the enterprise of the British Empire in the late eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Although the major high-status oriental figures represented in *The Talisman* and ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’, including Saladin and Hyder Ali (Scott’s spelling), are unlike the gypsies in *Guy Mannering* who belong to the subaltern class within their own society, they are nevertheless considered in this current research as subaltern characters since they are Oriental and therefore constructed as ‘other’ within the prevailing metropolitan imperialist discourse or under the so-called Western imperial ‘gaze’.<sup>2</sup> As Edward Said argues in *Orientalism* (1978), one of the fundamental features of the discourse of European Orientalism is its construction of binary divisions between East and West. If the West is

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Scott, *The Talisman* (1825), ed. by J. B. Ellis with J. H. Alexander, P. D. Garside and David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’ in *Chronicles of the Canongate* (1827), ed. by Claire Lamont (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000). All subsequent references are to these editions, except where specified. Page numbers are given in brackets after quotations in the text.

<sup>2</sup> See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 3.

assumed to be the model of civilization, then the Orient is the site of barbarism. The Orient is conceived as invariably being everything that the West is not; its alter ego. Therefore, since the starting point for European Orientalism in the late eighteenth century, the East is frequently described through a set of preoccupations and negative assumptions which serve to strengthen a sense of the West's own superiority and power.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, Said argues that 'European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self'.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in the discourse of Orientalism, 'The West occupies superior rank while the Orient is its "other", in a subservient position', as John McLeod argues.<sup>5</sup> This constructed relationship becomes an important part of the Western discourses of colonialism as it functions particularly to justify the propriety of Western colonial rule of non-Western lands. Orientalism could therefore be seen, in Said's famous phrase, as 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient', and 'the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient'.<sup>6</sup> Many of the writers of the British Romantic period, such as William Beckford (1760-1844), Walter Scott (1771-1832), Robert Southey (1774-1843) and Lord Byron (1788-1824), are identified by Said as complicit in constructing the Western discourse of Orientalism, and simultaneously the discourse of Empire since they 'had a political vision of the Near Orient and a very combative awareness of how relations between the Orient and Europe would have to be conducted'.<sup>7</sup>

Despite its significant contribution to a new approach to the study of colonialism, *Orientalism* does generate criticism from both Orientalists and postcolonial critics.<sup>8</sup> One of the frequent objections to Said's thesis is that his concept of Orientalist discourse is exceptionally broad and perforce generalized, and that devotes less attention to individual

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<sup>3</sup> See John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 37-45.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978) (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>8</sup> McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, pp. 46-50.

historical moments or the entangled nature of colonial encounters. As Dennis Porter argues, Said posits the ‘unified character of Western discourse on the Orient over some two millennia, a unity derived from a common and continuing experience of fascination with and threat from the East, of its irreducible otherness’.<sup>9</sup> There is a view that Said’s work simply flattens out historical nuances into a fixed binary opposition between East and West, and therefore has no thought of differences between a number of distinct types of Orientalist discourse. In addition to such concerns, another major criticism of *Orientalism* centres on its lack of consideration of acts of resistance by the colonized. In *Orientalism*, there is no discussion relating to how Oriental peoples receive and respond to European representations of them (however, we should note that Said does include a chapter entitled ‘Resistance and Opposition’ in his later work, *Culture and Imperialism*).<sup>10</sup> As Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman have argued, there is little notion of the colonized subject as a constitutive agent with the capacity for political resistance in *Orientalism*.<sup>11</sup> Thus while Said is seen to merely offer a one dimensional interpretation of the relationship between West and East: the dominant West and the passive East, John Mackenzie points out that at various historic moments we do actually find instances where Western artists approach the Orient with perfectly honourable intentions and ‘genuine respect’.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, in his recent study of Oriental novels written by Irish authors, such as Sydney Owenson’s *The Missionary* (1811) and Thomas Moore’s *Lalla Rookh* (1817), Murray Pittock introduces a concept of ‘defensive orientalism’, ‘a stress on eastern origins which provided spurious racial separation from the teleological language of Anglo-Saxon manifest destiny and

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<sup>9</sup> Dennis Porter, ‘Orientalism and its Problems’, in *The Politics of Theory: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature July 1982*, ed. by Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen and Diana Loxley (Colchester, University of Essex, 1983), pp. 179-93, 181.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) (New York, Vintage, 1994).

<sup>11</sup> Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, ‘Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: An Introduction’, in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 1-20 (p. 16).

<sup>12</sup> John M. Mackenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 60.

Germanic propensities to liberty'.<sup>13</sup> This dimension of the discourse of Orientalism in European literature, as Joseph Lennon's *Irish Orientalism* has also revealed, has a long tradition, but has not been considered in *Orientalism*. Furthermore, Linda Colley's *Captives* (2003), a work about the misfortunes of those who participated in Britain's rise to imperial pre-eminence, tells stories which are rather different from Said's own concern.<sup>14</sup> Eighteenth and Nineteenth-century Orientalist discourses, in short, are far more heterogeneous in their concerns than the scope and reach of *Orientalism* can possibly encapsulate, and Scott's *The Talisman* and 'The Surgeon's Daughter' can in their own way exemplify such diversity.

Although Scott wrote and published *The Talisman* and 'The Surgeon's Daughter' as Britain was advancing into the period of extraordinary rapid imperial expansion, these works are far from an uncritical celebration of the British Empire. Indeed, it is possible to view them in the light of the concerns expressed in recent years over Said's broad brush categorizations. Following the lead of James Watt, this chapter also intends to argue that the primary focus of these two works is on the ramification of a peaceful cultural contact and exchange between the two rival empires.<sup>15</sup> The relationship between the East and the West is presented as reciprocal. Moreover, we shall see that in *The Talisman* and 'The Surgeon's Daughter', Scott takes the trope of oriental despotism which as Watt has argued has been 'so widely and uncritically invoked to characterize Eastern societies', and skilfully applies this 'othering' characteristic to the deeds of an unstable and decadent European self.<sup>16</sup> Rather than buttressing a sense of the West's superiority and strength through the construction of binary divisions between the Orient and the Occident, these two works tell us that it is Saladin and Hyder Ali who have real wisdom, courage and power. These novels cast a contingent light on the seemingly triumphant march of

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<sup>13</sup> Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, p. 102.

<sup>14</sup> Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (London: Pimlico, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> See James Watt, 'Scott, the Scottish Enlightenment, and Romantic Orientalism', in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 94-112.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

European imperialism, and give scant comfort to that belief that Europe was in a superior position. Lastly, Saladin and Hyder do speak in these terms, and as hosts of the homeland, they find ‘voice’ particularly through their acts of hospitality which they generously extend to their European guests. Their acts of hospitality also help to blunt popular Western prejudicial thoughts against them. This chapter, in essence, through a close reading of *The Talisman* and ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’ intends to make a special study of Scott’s Orientalism. But, before looking at these two fictional writings of Scott, we first consider his grounding in the philosophies of the Scottish Enlightenment since they have a major role in the formation of his attitude toward the East.

The early nineteenth century was a prime period of Scottish Orientalism when a group of writers, such as Alexander Hamilton (1762-1824), James Mackintosh (1765-1832), James Mill (1773-1836), William Erskine (1773-1852), John Leyden (1775-1811), Alexander Murray (1775-1813), Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), John Crawfurd (1783-1868) and Vans Kennedy (1784-1846), invoked the stadial theory of the Scottish Enlightenment, based on Adam Smith’s definition of four stages of economic development, to compare the conditions of societies in Europe and Asia.<sup>17</sup> Under the immediate impact of key transmitters of Scottish social theory, such as Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), Scott developed great interest in applying the model of ‘philosophical history’—the kind of historical writing characteristic of the Scottish Enlightenment—to the illustration of human nature as many of his works amply demonstrate.<sup>18</sup> His fictions often illustrate contrasts between different degrees of civilization, or varying nations in similar states of development. In an 1816 article of *The Quarterly Review*, Scott famously made a comparison between the manners of Scottish Highland clans and Afghan tribes:

The genealogies of the Afghaun tribes may be paralleled with those of the [Highland]

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<sup>17</sup> See Rendall, ‘Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill’, pp. 43-69.

<sup>18</sup> See Garside, ‘Scott and the “Philosophical” Historians’, pp. 497-512; Forbes, ‘The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott’, pp. 83-97.

clans; the nature of their favourite sports, their love of their native land, their *hospitality*, their address, their simplicity of manners exactly correspond.<sup>19</sup> (emphasis added)

This comparison is the outcome based on his profound belief that ‘the same state of society and civilization produces similar manners, laws, and customs, even at the remote period of time, and in the most distant quarters of the world’.<sup>20</sup>

In this era, in addition to the general interest in the comparison of the positions on the ladder of civilization of different societies and peoples, there was a particular interest in and respect for the Oriental culture, and there had been an extensive discussion on the assertion of Christian superiority over the non-European world. Through her examination of the representations of Tartars, Tibetans, and Bhutanese in the works of George Bogle (1746-81), an envoy to Tibet, Kate Teltscher challenges the notions of a binary opposition between Eastern barbarism and European civility.<sup>21</sup> Andrew Lincoln also argues that the Scottish historian William Robertson and some other figures of the Scottish Enlightenment had even thought the influence of Oriental culture could be of help in dispelling the barbarism and ignorance of Europe. Moreover, Lincoln notes that Enlightenment thinkers, such as Voltaire and Lessing, ‘had satirised the prejudice and superstition of the Christian at the time of the Crusades, while representing Saladin as an example of humanitarian tolerance’.<sup>22</sup> As a follower of Scottish philosophical history, Scott’s attitude towards the Crusades has been pointed out as having a strong link with that of Hume and Robertson, and his novel *The Talisman*, as one of the very few early nineteenth century English language fictions to portray Muslims in a positive light, possesses defining characteristics of Enlightenment philosophy.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Scott, ‘The Culloeden Papers’, *Quarterly Review*, 14: 28 (1816), 283-333 (p. 289).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>21</sup> See Kate Teltscher, ‘The Lama and the Scotsman: George Bogle in Bhutan and Tibet, 1774-1775’, in *The Global Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Felicity A. Nussbaum (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 151-64.

<sup>22</sup> Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 106.

<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusaders in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*

### *The Talisman*

The theme of the Crusades attracted Walter Scott at different times throughout his writing career, and there are a wide range of references to it in his novels, poems and essays.<sup>24</sup> Among the Waverley Novels, there are five works, including *Ivanhoe* (1819), *The Betrothed* (1825), *The Talisman* (1825), *Count Robert of Paris* (1831) and the unfinished ‘The Siege of Malta’ (1832), which contain the crusading movement in some form or other. *The Talisman*, the focus of the first section of this chapter, is about the Third Crusade which had been triggered by the conquest of almost the whole of Palestine, including Jerusalem, by Saladin in 1187.

From the beginning of his writing career, Scott consistently paid great attention to the Scottish Borders, where people with dissimilar cultural backgrounds and stages of civilization meet, since, as Susan Oliver argues, he intended ‘to promote the Scottish Borders as a region that could serve as a focus for British national identity, particularly in times of war’.<sup>25</sup> The concept of a ‘border’ is also introduced to his readers in *The Talisman*, although in different fashion from the Scottish Borders. The novel begins in a period when there is a truce between the Crusaders and Saladin. The truce, as I argue, could be seen in this context as an imagined border where people from rival parties with diverse civilizations are brought into peaceful contact with each other. The results of such contact, in Scott’s own terms, ‘are interesting to the moral observer as those which take place on the mixture of chemical substances are to the physical investigator’.<sup>26</sup> Scott sees the encounter between different cultures as moral and historical parallels of a chemical reaction altering the existing substances and with the possibility of bringing new substance into being. Contact is, in other words, seen by Scott as beneficial and capable of producing useful compounds.

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(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 113.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>25</sup> Susan Oliver, *Scott, Byron and the Poetics of Cultural Encounter* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Scott to Robert Southey in *Letters*, V (1933), 115 (23 March 1818).

At the opening of the novel, the Scottish knight Sir Kenneth (in actual fact David, Earl of Huntingdon, a royal prince of Scotland in disguise) is introduced to the reader as being alone confronting an alien, inhospitable environment—the Palestinian desert. Sir Kenneth's situation of wandering in the middle of a dangerous no-man's land echoes the plight of the title character of *Guy Mannering* when Mannering is looking for a safe passage out of a Scottish moss which is described as 'impassable by any but the natives themselves'.<sup>27</sup> These parallel situations sketch the two characters' foreign identities against the locality, and create a sense of growing alienation, and further question the relationship of these characters with such localities. In addition to drawing attention to the otherness of Sir Kenneth in such a foreign locality, the narrator of this fiction goes on to describe the unsuitability of the dress of the knight: 'The dress of the rider and the accoutrements of his horse, seemed chosen on purpose, as most peculiarly unfit for the traveller in such a country' (4), and emphasizes the overall incompatibility of the Crusaders with the environment so as to point out the inherent paradoxes of their ambition in such a foreign land.

However, whatever the threat the locale poses or how incongruous the knight is in this setting, I suggest that the unwelcoming external factors are utilized by the author in order to contrast the hospitality that is to be generally extended by Saladin to his European guests during their 'visit'. Before the encounter of Sir Kenneth and Saladin (now disguised as the warrior Ilderim), the narrator quotes an Eastern proverb, 'In the desert [...] no man meets a friend' (6). But, in quite marked contrast to what the proverb expresses, the encounter between the two warriors is brief and actually not very unpleasant. It is interesting to note that this episode disappointed *Monthly Magazine* readers who complained that 'here we are altogether among the Crusaders—in the very heart of the camp, and yet without a battle'.<sup>28</sup> The conflict between Sir Kenneth and Saladin is brief

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<sup>27</sup> Walter Scott, *Guy Mannering*, ed. by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> 'Review' of *Tales of the Crusaders*, *Monthly Magazine* 59 (1825): 551-52 (552). This is quoted in James

and without any bloodshed. Their first-round fight temporarily terminates as the Saracen loses his turban. According to the Eastern chivalrous tradition, the fight is supposed to end, but Sir Kenneth is dubious about the Saracen's suggestion concerning the possibility of a truce between them. However, after observing the confidence the Muslim showed, the Christian knight feels ashamed of his unfounded suspicion and agrees to accept the proposal. From this point, Sir Kenneth has struck up a friendship with the Saracen emir.

Before the end of the aforementioned encounter, there is an interlude worth noticing. When Sir Kenneth is bested by his foe and drops heavily from his horse, the Saracen dismounts in order to examine the condition of his rival. But, before realizing his antagonist's artifice, the Saracen is grasped by Sir Kenneth and is beaten back. This is actually a trick played by the knight in what ought to be a chivalric encounter, and the act apparently dishonours the European knightly spirit and the knight himself. In the light of this first encounter between the Orient and the Occident, it is obvious that the text attempts to challenge and perhaps reverse the notions of European superiority and the negative prejudices of the West against its Eastern counterpart, who is, based on Said's observation, usually described as dishonest, canny and treacherous. It is evident, therefore, that this novel handles the portrayal of the two cultures in a far more even-handed manner, and seeks to present an alternative Oriental image substantially different from the one that Said criticizes. A derogatory tone directed against the Orient is almost nowhere to be seen in the text. In fact, *The Talisman* shifts the Saracen's otherness from an unfavourable position to the one generally appreciated by the Western world.

These two warriors, Sir Kenneth and Saladin, present a striking contrast in their physical characteristics, but these physical differences do not denote any inferiority or superiority of their respective cultures. In fact, these two warriors stand parallel in every instance. Most important of all, the distinction between the East and the West personified

in these two warriors is largely blurred as a result of cultural exchange and assimilation. As Scott notes, ‘the Christian and English monarch showed all the cruelty and violence of an Eastern sultan, and Saladin, on the other hand, displayed the deep policy and prudence of a European sovereign’.<sup>29</sup> The crossover of the properties of the East and the West is vividly embodied in these two rival warriors.

What makes it most extraordinary in the representation of the Saracen is that he is shown to be rather civilized and understanding as well as good-humoured, but the Christian knight finds it harder to make allowance for cultural differences. Moreover, it is the Saracen who first shows friendship and hospitality, and calls his adversary ‘brother’ (19). In short, as it is pointed out by Ian Duncan, ‘Scott’s romance, interestingly, does not award Christianity any privileged historical destiny over Islam’.<sup>30</sup> Duncan’s argument is sound, and I would further suggest that *The Talisman* distinguishes itself from its contemporary Oriental writings, such as Southey’s *Thalaba* (1801) and Byron’s ‘Eastern Tales’ (1813-16), since it, as James Watt importantly argues, ‘eschew[s] the increasingly influential language of racial essentialism, and complicate[s] the mythology of oriental despotism, while at the same time focusing on the ramification of cultural contact and exchange’.<sup>31</sup> As Scott endeavours to counter the conventionally perceived images of the Orient, racial essentialism is indeed largely dispelled from the text. Cultural contact and exchange emerge as the focal point of the novel. War in this case becomes advantageous since it offers opportunities for mutual understanding and learning. The battlefield not only offers a platform for both parties to be acquainted with each other, but also provides them with actual opportunities to repair past hatred and misunderstanding. As the narrator of the novel says, ‘war, in itself perhaps the greatest of evils, yet gave occasion for display of

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<sup>29</sup> Scott, ‘Introduction’ to *The Talisman*, ed. by Andrew Lang (London: John C. Nimmo, 1894), p. xvii.

<sup>30</sup> Ian Duncan, ‘Scott’s Romance of Empire: *The Tales of the Crusaders*’, in *Scott in Carnival*, pp. 370-79 (p. 375).

<sup>31</sup> See Sharafuddin Mohammed, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters of the Orient* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1994); Watt, ‘Scott, the Scottish Enlightenment, and Romantic Orientalism’, p. 94.

good faith, generosity, clemency, and even kindly affections, which less frequently occur in more tranquil periods' (9-10). I suggest that, as the quotation shows, the text has rather successfully managed to bridge the seemingly unbridgeable gap between the two rival camps and created an unexpected outlook for them. There is no need to draw a line of demarcation between the self and the other as the tale tells that rivals could turn out to be friends, and difference might be appreciated and loved rather than feared and hated.

Moreover, in *The Talisman*, war also serves as a background displaying a peaceful fusion of various races. For example, in the Crusaders' camps, there is 'a motley concourse in their tents of musicians, courtezans, Jewish merchants, Copts, Turks, and all the varied refuse of the Eastern nations'. This hybrid wartime culture as we are told is 'neither an uncommon nor an alarming sight in the camp of the crusaders' (191). Although the phrase 'varied refuse of the Eastern nations' is to a degree an indication of the contempt and non-individualization of the West towards the East, the penetration of the Western camps by the Eastern 'others' does provide the mainspring of the plot and challenge the colonial ideology of centre and periphery. As the text illustrates, although the political and religious conflict between the two empires has not yet been resolved, there is no obstacle to peaceful contact and exchange between individuals. For instance, Saladin, disguised as a sage physician (El Hakim), saves Richard the Lionheart (1157-99) from a potentially fatal fever. The physician, after the treatment of his patient, refuses Richard's payment and is praised by the latter as setting 'an example to them [the Europeans] who account themselves the flower of knighthood' (109). This episode echoes Adam Hartley's refusal of payment for his treatment of Barak El Hadgi in 'The Surgeon's Daughter', and the Jewess Rebecca's selflessness in healing Wilfred and the peasants in *Ivanhoe*. Besides, in order to end the unresolved conflict, Saladin proposes the idea of a joint alliance by claiming the hand of Richard's cousin, Lady Edith of Plantagenet. The idea is actually supported by Richard: 'why should one not seek for brotherhood and alliance with a Saracen, brave, just,

generous, who loves and honours a worthy foe as if he were a friend' (174). Earlier in this novel when intending to defend Saladin's good intentions against other European leaders' accusation that his show of friendship and hospitality is hypocritical, Richard states that '[Saladin] loves me as I love him—as noble adversaries ever love each other' (77). It is worth noting that Saladin's offer of marriage to Lady Edith is illustrated as being a rational and selfless gesture, which is diametrically opposed to Tipu's selfish interest in Menie in 'The Surgeon's Daughter', since he believes such a marriage could be a solution to the impasse of strained relations between the East and West, and thereby strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two. In *The Talisman*, the illustration of hatred between the two rival worlds is never evident; on the contrary, Scott draws his readers' attention in particular to the peaceful and beneficial contact between them.

As I have pointed out earlier, Said takes the discourse of European Orientalism as a powerful medium for dominating, restructuring and possessing authority over the Orient. Orientalism therefore produces a general notion of European superiority while the East invariably functioning as the West's negative complement. But apparently *The Talisman* does not fully reflect Said's assumptions. To take an obvious example, Saladin is presented as a strong and confident autonomous individual. Most important of all, he is presented as the host of the Holy Land welcoming the unexpected visit of the Crusaders. He embraces the risk arising from the reception of these European visitors and never attempts to use force to accommodate his guests in his land. In other words, the welcome that Saladin offers to a degree conforms to the Derridean definition of unconditional hospitality, as those guests Saladin received and treated are not originally his friends but rivals for the land. This episode is reminiscent of a scene in *The Lady of the Lake* which depicts the meeting between Roderick Dhu and Fitz-James. Despite the fact that his guest is an enemy, Roderick remains hospitable to Fitz-James:

It rests with me to wind my horn,—  
 Thou art with numbers overborne;  
 It rests with me, here, brand to brand,  
 Worn as though art, to bid thee stand:  
 But, not for clan, nor kindred's cause,  
 Will I depart from honour's laws;  
 To assail a wearied man were shame,  
 And stranger is a holy name;  
 Guidance and rest, and food and fire,  
 In vain he never must require.<sup>32</sup>

In *The Talisman* Saladin's hospitality is most obviously shown in his act of saving Sir Kenneth from the gallows and helping him to disguise as a 'Nubian slave' (it is interesting to note here that a European Self takes on the guise of an Oriental Other) whereby the latter succeeds in atoning for his carelessness in losing the English Banner. Saladin's kindness and attentiveness to his guests are further illustrated by the banquet he prepares for the Crusaders:

The most ample refreshments, both in the Oriental and after the European fashion, were spread before the royal and princely guests of Saladin, each in their own separate pavilion; and so attentive was the Soldan to the habits and taste of his visitors, that Grecian slaves were stationed to present them with the goblet which is the abomination of the sect of Mahommed. (257)

The European food and wine are all prepared in order to accommodate the Crusaders' tastes. Such detailed consideration illustrates the unbounded welcome the host willingly prepares for his guests even though what he serves (i.e. wine) is against the law of his land and those to whom he attends are his enemies. However, what is even more extraordinary in the above passage is that the hospitality offered by the East to the West is through the use of European slaves as Saladin is himself the owner of Grecian slaves. In addition to the extension of his hospitality, Saladin not only assists Richard in identifying true villains in

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<sup>32</sup> Scott, *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), in *Poetical Works*, Vol. 8, Canto Fourth, XXXI, p. 202.

the European camps, but also plays the role of executioner, in this case the criminal being the Grand Master of Knights Templar. Richard praises the deed performed by Saladin as ‘a great act of justice’ (275), and Judith Wilt argues that Saladin is the novel’s King of Kings.<sup>33</sup> This episode is reminiscent of Hyder Ali’s execution of Middlemas, which is described as ‘the fruit of the justice of Hyder’, in ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’.<sup>34</sup> Illustrations of Oriental justice are the climax of these two novels since the Orient, as Said’s *Orientalism* attempts to demonstrate, is seldom represented in European literature as holding the position of authority when facing its Western counterpart.

The supreme power Saladin possesses allows him complete freedom to take on various identities, and the numerous identities he adopts simultaneously make him even more powerful. Saladin’s exercise of his power in/through disguise is strongly reminiscent of Redgauntlet and Rob Roy’s character, and it is particularly interesting to note that Rob is described by Frank Osbaldistone as having the morality of ‘an Arab Chief’.<sup>35</sup> The malleability of Rob’s appearances, names and languages explain his ability and need to elude state power which seeks to have control over him. However, it also explains the flexible, survival mentality of the oppressed. Because of his need to negotiate and contend with the Western power, in a situation similar to that faced by Rob Roy, Saladin has to deploy various identities: including the warrior Ilderim, the sage physician El Hakim, and the Sultan. As Sally Newsome argues, Saladin ‘casts a veil that obscures his own identity and the sight of those around him’.<sup>36</sup> Although it is Saladin’s power that enables him to freely construct different identities, Scott makes it clear that it is also the Europeans’ ignorance of the East that affords Saladin such consummate ease in transforming himself. Saladin is described as almost invisible to the Crusaders at the beginning of the tale since

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<sup>33</sup> Judith Wilt, *Secret Leaves: The Novels of Walter Scott* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 182-84.

<sup>34</sup> Scott, ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’, p. 284.

<sup>35</sup> Scott, *Rob Roy*, ed. by Ian Duncan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 20.

<sup>36</sup> Sally Newsome, ‘Seductive and Monstrous Fictions: Discourses of the Orient in Walter Scott’s Waverley Novels’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 2010), p. 178.

these Europeans can hardly individualize their racial others. Sir Kenneth initially takes Saladin for an Arab, but he is actually a Kurd. A similar situation also occurs in *Rob Roy*. Not a single person at the Black Bear, an inn in Darlington, uncovers the true identity of Rob Roy even after a long conversation with him.<sup>37</sup> With these external and internal factors, argues Caroline MacCracken-Flesher, ‘far from being subjected by his erasure, Saladin turns it to his advantage [by] transform[ing] his bodily difference and its accompanying erasure into mutability and mobility’.<sup>38</sup> Being a master of disguise, a shape-shifter, Saladin takes advantage of this property by getting involved in the moral issues of Europeans, curing King Richard, and helping his own people reach a peaceful treaty with the Western power. At the same time, although being the racial other under the Europeans’ gaze, through his wit, not violence, Saladin places himself as an equal and also a friend to his rivals. More importantly, he has even received the Crusaders’ endorsement as a generous and gracious host of the land.

In addition to the introduction of Saladin as a shape-shifter, the novel’s creation of this Saracen emir as a rational man is another remarkable feature that is worthy of the reader’s attention. For instance, Saladin rejects treating dogs as unclean and dismisses as superstition this Islamic practice of treating dogs as tainted. He is described as giving medical care to Roswal, Sir Kenneth’s faithful hound, ‘with as much care and attention as if he had been a human being’, and carrying the dog by himself to his own tent for further treatment (134). Moreover, in order to lift the spirits of the knight who is in great despair, Saladin shares with him the wisdom that ‘Knowledge is the parent of power’ (136). Such a depiction of an enlightened mind in an Oriental character is a significant application of Scott’s own belief in the universality of rationalism, a quality that he does not slackly apply solely to the privileged European ‘Man of Sentiment’.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Scott, *Rob Roy*, ed. by David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 28.

<sup>38</sup> McCracken-Flesher, ‘The Recuperation of Cannon Fodder: Walter Scott’s *The Talisman*’, p. 210.

<sup>39</sup> See Forbes, ‘The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott’, pp. 83-97.

According to Said's argument, Oriental people are frequently represented in European literature as uncivilized and as without individuality. However, the comparison between Saladin and most of the European characters in *The Talisman* reveals that the Eastern King esteems himself highly and better understands his value as an individual than his European counterparts. As the narrator notes, 'Both were courteous; but the courtesy of the Christian seemed to flow rather from a good-humoured sense of what was due to others; that of the Moslem, from a high feeling of what was due to be expected from himself.' (14) Saladin's proposition of marrying Lady Edith as a peaceful engagement between the two rival empires has also supported the argument of his individuality and independent thinking. When Richard tells Saladin about Sir Kenneth's inclination to Lady Edith and tries to provoke him, he calmly replies that Sir Kenneth's love 'existed ere my own wishes had been formed. [...] I cannot, in honour, revenge me for my disappointment on him who had no hand in it' (256). In another instance, when Richard brings up the idea of meeting in a single combat in order to decide the sovereignty of Jerusalem, Saladin simply replies that 'Allah has already given Jerusalem to the true believers, and it were a tempting the God of the Prophet to peril, upon my own personal strength and skill, that which I hold securely by the superiority of my forces' (276-77). Saladin's confidence and firm determination makes Richard's suggestion in this case sound irrational and somehow ridiculous.

With regard to religion, the major cause of the Crusaders' campaign, even though Saladin firmly insists upon the legitimacy of his own religious persuasion, he is not as narrow-minded as the arrogant Richard, who intends to go to every expedient to convert others:

I will convert him to Holy Church with such blows as he has rarely endured—He shall recant his errors before my good cross-handled sword, and I will have him baptized in the battle-field, from my own helmet, though the cleansing waters were mixed with the blood of us both. (77)

Saladin, although he is hardly a pacifist, makes clear his own religious doctrine to Sir Kenneth, ‘Saladin makes no converts to the law of the Prophet, save those on whom its precepts shall work conviction.’ (136) Edgar Johnson describes Saladin as ‘the hero of rationalism’ and, when making a comparison between Saladin and Richard, he comments that ‘Scott’s European prepossessions do not prevent him from giving this enlightened role to the Moslem ruler rather than the English King.’<sup>40</sup>

Although despotism is widely associated with the Oriental form of government in Europe’s accepted knowledge in the eighteenth century, *The Talisman*, unconventionally, demonstrates that despotic characters similarly exist in the Western world.<sup>41</sup> The following speech of Conrade of Montserrat properly exemplifies his wish to become a despot:

Grand Master, I will confess to you I have caught some attachment to the eastern form of government: A pure and simple monarchy should consist but of King and subjects. Such is the simple and primitive structure—a shepherd and his flock—All this internal chain of feudal dependence is artificial and sophisticated, and I would rather hold the baton of my poor marquise with a firm gripe, and wield it after my pleasure (97)

Despite the fact that this speech may at most reveal Montserrat’s personal fantasy of turning himself into an Eastern type of tyrant, readers of this novels are also told that ‘many of the princes of the crusade [in fact] had introduced black slaves into their household, in imitation of the barbarous splendour of the Saracens’ (220). Richard is no exception, and also keeps black slaves. Similar instances are also found in *Ivanhoe* where two Norman squires, Prior Aymer of Jorvaulx and Brian de Bois-Guilbert, are described as ‘followed by two attendants, whose dark visage, white turbans, and the oriental form of their garments, shewed them to be natives of some distant eastern country’.<sup>42</sup> A more

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<sup>40</sup> Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott*, II, p. 937.

<sup>41</sup> See Rendall, ‘Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill’, p. 64; Teltscher, *India Incribed: European and British Writing on India 1600-1800* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 163.

<sup>42</sup> Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (1819), ed. by Graham Tulloch (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 25.

detailed discussion of this notion of despotism will be held in the second part of this chapter through examples given in ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’.

In addition to dealing with issues concerning the nature of European politics and its moral fibre, the novel more importantly questions the motive of the Crusades. *The Talisman* makes clear that this Third Crusade is a complete failure, not because of the intervention of any external factor but because of the internal division among various European factions:

Such discords, and particularly those betwixt Richard and Philip of France, created disputes and obstacles which impeded every active measure proposed by the heroic though impetuous Richard, while the ranks of the crusaders were daily thinned, not only by the desertion of individuals, but of entire bands, headed by their respective feudal leaders, who withdrew from a contest in which they had ceased to hope for success. (54-55)

The Crusading enterprise has already been in jeopardy, but there are even the Master of Templars and Conrade of Montserrat who plan to take the advantage of this situation and bring down Richard’s power regardless of the danger from surrounding enemies. In fact, Richard has already been fully aware of the imminent disaster that will occur in the European camps as he points out the fact that the Master of Templars is ‘a worse pagan than himself [Saladin]—an idolater—a devil-worshiper—a necromancer—who practices crimes the most dark and unnatural, in the vaults and secret places of abomination and darkness’ (61). Discord exists not just between England and other European nations; there is also internal dissension, between ‘the Italians and the Germans, and even between the Danes and Swedes’ (65). The failure of the Crusade has been foretold and the intention of occupying the Holy City is itself becoming questionable, too.

Scott’s contingent view of the Crusades can be seen in several of his works dealing with the expeditions. In *The Betrothed*, the first of the *Tales of the Crusaders*, Wilkin Flammock, Flemish merchant at Castle of Garde Doloureuse, blames the irrationality that

has taken Hugo de Lacy, Constable of Chester, to Palestine: ‘I see little save folly in these Crusades, which priesthood has preached up so successfully. [...] foreign expeditions and profligate habits have made many poor’.<sup>43</sup> Holding similar views as those in *The Betrothed*, Scott in *The Talisman* also speaks through the mouth of Saladin blaming the crusading zeal: it is ‘that insanity, which brings you hither to obtain possession of an empty sepulchre’ (17). The Crusades thus become ‘an undertaking wholly irrational’ pursuing ‘the holy yet romantic purpose of rescuing the distressed daughter of Zion from her thralldom’ (114, 219). The novel demonstrates that this enterprise is undertaken only for the interest of its leaders rather than for the actual happiness of their people. If there may be any chance to seize the Holy Land, it will surely be at the expense of the public.

The hermit of Engaddi, though illustrated as a religiously fanatical figure, also knows the moral priority of being a political and religious leader. He curses Richard for his irrational and insatiable demand for fame and land: ‘for thee—a grave in which thou shalt be laid [...] without the tears of a people, exhausted by thy ceaseless wars, to lament thee [...] without having done aught to enlarge their happiness’. (168) This criticism relates directly to the motif of ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’: the conflict between a person’s ambition in pursuing his career and his domestic responsibility. Richard Middlemas was punished because of his villainous schemes and never has any opportunity to redeem his guilt; but for Richard this Crusade is in fact not such a bitter pill to swallow, who learns eventually from Saladin the responsibility of being a political leader: ‘[the] master places the shepherd over the flock, not for the shepherd’s own sake, but for the sake of the sheep’ (277). Furthermore, in *Ivanhoe*, the accusation levelled against the Crusades has been shifted from a leader’s responsibility for his people to an individual’s negligence of filial piety. The following quotation records the bemoaning of the hero’s father, Cedric: ‘Ah, Wilfred, Wilfred! [...] could’st thou have ruled thine unreasonable passion, thy father had not been

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<sup>43</sup> Walter Scott, *The Betrothed* (1825), ed. by J. B. Ellis with J. H. Alexander and David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 214-15.

left in his age like the solitary oak that throws out its shattered and unprotected branches against the full sweep of the tempest!’<sup>44</sup> The imagery Cedric employed is for the sake of accusing Ivanhoe of not giving enough care to him. In addition, Ivanhoe’s pursuit of glory is criticized by Rebecca as being at the expense of ‘domestic love, kindly affection, peace and happiness’.<sup>45</sup>

In 2005, Twentieth Century Fox produced a film about the Crusades, *Kingdom of Heaven*, which is set a few years before Richard the Lionheart who decides to launch his own campaign.<sup>46</sup> This film is apparently influenced by *The Talisman*, but it is a significant departure from Scott’s work.<sup>47</sup> The film stages numerous scenes with fierce and intense fighting between the Crusaders and Muslim soldiers. It is bloody, violent and brutal, far different from the mild and amiable atmosphere we sense in *The Talisman*. The brutality of this film perhaps reflects and satisfies a modern audience’s taste, but it is worthwhile noting that, the film, following *The Talisman*, also criticizes the fanaticism and futility of this crusading enterprise. The film ends with the appointment of a new Crusading leader who eventually decides to surrender the Holy Land to Saladin in order to assure the safe return of his followers to their countries. Similar to *The Talisman*, *Kingdom of Heaven* reveals the vulnerability of the Crusaders who attempt to negotiate with a powerful Orient, but markedly dissimilar to Scott’s work, the film does not present an illustration of peaceful contact and exchange between the two rival empires.

At the end of the novel, Saladin sends ‘the talisman’ as ‘a nuptial present’ (277) to Sir Kenneth and Edith Plantagenet. It is not only to celebrate the marriage between Scots and English, but also to commemorate the reconciliation of the East and West. Although the gift might be seen as a political and diplomatic act, it could be more properly interpreted as a manifestation of Saladin’s hospitality. Yet since the guests he receives are also his fiercest

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<sup>44</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p. 37.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 249.

<sup>46</sup> *Kingdom of Heaven*, dir. by Ridley Walter (20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox, 2005).

<sup>47</sup> See Jonathan Riley-Smith, ‘Truth is the First Victim’, *The Times*, 5 May 2005, p. 12.

competitors for the same land, Saladin's hospitality can be viewed as both selfless and unconditional. In *The Talisman*, through the friendship and hospitality of Saladin, the power exercised by the rival camps is curbed, and the novel is thus able to bridge the geographical and racial gaps between the West and East, and drive away antagonism which seems to be inevitable without the 'blessing of the war'. What is even more remarkable is the text's staging of the chemistry between the two blocs upon their meeting, and its presentation of the means by which individuals redeem stereotypes. Sir Kenneth's discomfort with the locality causes his distrust and anxiety towards the Orient; but, with the hospitality and the open-mindedness of the Sultan, mutual understanding is built up, and further exchange and reciprocity become feasible. Recognition and identification with those others are achieved in the end. Similar to the favour and sympathy won by the Jewess Rebecca in *Ivanhoe*, respect is also inspired by the deeds done almost unobtrusively and imperceptibly by Saladin throughout the novel. The demarcation line between the stereotypical Western self and its Eastern other is consequently blurred. In other words, what *The Talisman* has achieved is its bridging the mental gap between the European readers and their imagined Eastern 'others' because of the effect of this invisible talisman made from the notion of hospitality.

### **'The Surgeon's Daughter'**

Walter Scott's Waverley Novels, argues Douglas Mack, 'could be, and were, interpreted and appropriated in all sorts of ways for all sorts of political positions, but one of the crucial aspects of their political potency was their symbolic legacy in the master-narrative of British Empire'.<sup>48</sup> The second half of this chapter looks at Scott's novella 'The Surgeon's Daughter', which was published in 1827, along with 'The Highland Widow' and 'The Two Drovers', in a work entitled *Chronicles of the Canongate*. *Chronicles* was the

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<sup>48</sup> Mack, *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire*, p. 11.

first work of fiction to which Scott put his name, since his financial crash in 1826 had obliged him to acknowledge his authorship of the Waverley Novels.<sup>49</sup> ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’ is set in the 1770s between the first (1767-69) and the second (1780-1784) Anglo-Mysore War, ‘the formative decades for the emergence of the discourse of colonialism’ as Kate Teltscher points out, and it is Scott’s sole imperial narrative that has its setting on the colonial frontier (although the first scene is set in Scotland, in the little town of Middlemas, also the name of one of the major characters in this tale).<sup>50</sup> All the other Waverley Novels concerning the British imperial enterprise, such as *Guy Mannering*, are set within the borders of the British Isles. Following the study of Scott’s attitude towards the Crusades, in this section I intend to examine Scott’s stance towards the enterprise of the empire in India through the analysis of ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’.

‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’ purports to be told by Scott’s fictional writer Chrystal Croftangry. Preceding the tale, Croftangry consults his friend Fairscribe about the material for his new novel since his Highlands theme is ‘becoming a little exhausted’ (154). Fairscribe thus suggests his friend to send his muse to India since, as he explains, ‘[it] is the place for a Scot to thrive in; and if you carry your story fifty years back, as there is nothing to hinder you, you will find as much shooting and stabbing there as ever was in the wild Highlands’ (155). This concept of ‘fifty years back’ is the same as ‘’TIS SIXTY YEARS SINCE’ in *Waverley*. The author is allowed to have greater freedom to exercise his imagination when there is certain distance from the present circumstances. However, Croftangry is rather uncertain of his ability to write a proper Indian tale since he has ‘never been there, and know[s] nothing at all about them’ (155). This episode may reveal Scott’s own concern as he had never been to India in his entire life, although he had once seriously considered going there. As he once secretly confessed to his younger brother Thomas in

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<sup>49</sup> ‘Introduction’ to *Chronicles of the Canongate* (1827), ed. by Claire Lamont (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp. xi-xxix (p.xii).

<sup>50</sup> Teltscher, *India Inscribed*, p. 2.

1810 about his Indian dream:

[Were] I you I would take the advice of medical friends whether my constitution was likely to agree with the climate and if they were of opinion that I only incurred the usual risqué which may be to a great extent guarded against by care and temperance I would not hesitate to accept of an honourable & lucrative situation such as you allude to. And I have no objection to tell you in confidence that were Dundas to go out Governor to India & were he willing to take me with him in a good situation I would not hesitate (altho' I by no means repine at my present situation) to pitch the Court of Session and the Booksellers to the Devil & try my fortune in another climate but this is strictly *entre nous*.<sup>51</sup>

With regard to this 'honourable & lucrative' career, Scott's attitude seemed to be fairly determined. At the time of writing this letter, Scott was not yet forty. Like many of his countrymen, he may have also dreamed of the chance of returning home in a few years in the Subcontinent with a fortune which would afford him to live as he desired for the rest of his days.

Henry Dundas died in 1811, and Scott was never able to go to India. However, like many of his generation and class, Scott had a large network of Indian connections. His uncle Colonel William Russell of Ashestiel (1738-1803) was in the service of both the army and the East India Company. His eldest brother Robert (1767-87) and brother-in-law Charles Carpenter (1772-1818) also worked for the Company. Lord Dalhousie (1770-1838), Scott's friend of schooldays, went out to India as Commander-in-Chief. John Leyden (1775-1811), who is very likely to be Scott's inspiration for the invention of the character Adam Hartley in 'The Surgeon's Daughter', worked as assistant surgeon at Madras. Moreover, Sir David Baird (1757-1829), the hero of Seringapatam, and Sir John Malcolm (1769-1853), the Governor of Bombay, were both Scott's close friends.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Scott to Thomas Scott in *Letters*, VII (1934), 451-52 (1 November 1810); Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1979), p. 114.

<sup>52</sup> Information regarding Scott's connections with India, see "Historical Note to 'The Surgeon's Daughter'", in *Chronicles of Canongate*, ed. by Clair Lamont (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 360; Iain Gordon Brown, 'Griffins, Nabobs and a Seasoning of Curry Powder: Walter Scott and the Indian Theme in Life and Literature', in *The Tiger and the Thistle: Tipu Sultan and Scots in India*,

For him, these returned Indians were useful since their experiences in the Subcontinent were key source materials for his fictional writing. When he was writing ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’, Scott’s neighbour Colonel James Ferguson, one of the sons of the Enlightenment philosopher Adam Ferguson who had been serving in India for 25 years, did provide him with important sources based on his personal experiences of the East. As Scott admitted in his journal, ‘I cannot go on with the tale without I could speak a little Hindhanee, a small seasoning of curry powder – Ferguson will do it if I can screw it out of him [...] I God forgive me finished the *Chronicles* with a good deal of assistance from Colonel Ferguson’s notes about Indian affairs’.<sup>53</sup> In addition to ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’, there are many other Waverley Novels which have also been inspired more or less by the experiences of those of Scott’s connections in India. For instance, the title character of *Guy Mannering* and the hero, Henry Bertram, have served in southern India. In *The Antiquary*, Oldbuck’s brother-in-law loses his life when going on a military mission against Hyder Ali. In *Saint Ronan’s Well*, Captain MacTurk is said to be captured by Tipu Sultan in Bangalore.

For Scott, the Indian connections were not only useful for his imaginative writings but were also important to the future of Scotland. He knew well the value of India to Scotland, and he believed that India could be a place for his countrymen to perform since opportunities at home were few. In 1821 Scott famously wrote to Lord Montagu (1776-1845) that India is ‘the Corn Chest for Scotland where we poor gentry must send our younger sons as we send out black cattle to the South’.<sup>54</sup> For nearly three decades, Scott made the most of his associations of every kind in the interest of his own people and acquaintances. By exercising his power of patronage, Scott, similar to what Henry Dundas had done, successfully assisted many of his fellow countrymen to get jobs in the

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1760-1800, ed. by Anne Buddle, Pauline Rohtagi and Iain Gordon Brown (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1999), pp. 71-79.

<sup>53</sup> Scott, *Journal*, pp. 343, 352.

<sup>54</sup> Scott to Lord Montagu in *Letters*, VI (1934), 489 (1 July 1821).

Subcontinent.<sup>55</sup> In 'The Surgeon's Daughter', Scott also sends his main characters to India to seek their fortune; but it is important to note that he does not allow any of his British characters to have their various Indian dreams fulfilled.

'The Surgeon's Daughter' is the tragic tale of Menie Gray, the only child of Dr Gideon Gray. In Dr Gray's household are also Richard Middlemas and Adam Hartley. Menie has been very close to Richard, an illegitimate child of an English Jacobite father and a Portuguese Jewish mother brought up by the surgeon. Richard has been educated by Dr Gray to the medical profession, and is subsequently engaged to the surgeon's daughter. However, since he is unsatisfied with the limited prospects as a doctor at home, Richard leaves Scotland alone to find his fortune in India. There he forms a close and unusual relationship with a European adventuress, the Begum Montreville (daughter of a Scottish immigrant and the widow of a Swiss officer). The Begum concocts a plan to persuade Menie to India and give her to Tipu Sultan as a contribution to his harem in the hope of securing Richard's appointment as governor of Bangalore. Richard, driven by his own greed, follows the Begum's scheme. Menie, who has been living in grinding poverty after her father's death, accepts Richard's invitation to join him in India. The hero of the tale is Adam, an apprentice of Dr Gray and Richard's unsuccessful competitor for Menie's affection. Through his honesty and sincerity, Adam obtains the help of Hyder Ali, who rescues Menie and punishes Richard by having him crushed to death by an elephant. Shortly afterwards, Adam dies when continuing to provide medical treatment during an epidemic, and Menie Gray returns to Scotland and never marries since her 'feelings were too much and too painfully agitated, her health too much shattered' (285).

The ending of this tale is full of pathos since there is a great deal of death, much violence, and no happy conclusion to be found in the last few pages. It is difficult to assert the triumph of the empire with any confidence through the depiction of the misfortunes of

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<sup>55</sup> See Iain Gordon Brown, 'Griffins, Nabobs and a Seasoning of Curry Powder: Walter Scott and the Indian Theme in Life and Literature', pp. 71-79.

the main characters in this tale, let alone to regard it as ‘a conquest narrative’, despite the fact that in real history Hyder Ali died in 1782, Tipu Sultan was killed at Seringapatam in 1799, and almost all the Indian peninsula in the 1820s was ruled by Britain either directly or indirectly.<sup>56</sup> Claire Lamont argues that “‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’ is a work which is pessimistic about crossing boundaries’, and the three main characters seem only to waste their spirit when attempting to have their dreams realized.<sup>57</sup> Although the depiction of India by one of the characters in the earlier part of this tale, such as “‘Oh, Delhi! oh, Golconda! [...] India, where gold is won by steel; where a brave man cannot pitch his desire of fame and wealth so high, but that he may realize it, if he have fortune to his friend!’” (198), does reflect a widely-accepted view at the time that India was a fabulously rich society with huge potential for plunder, and at the same time does also support Edward Said’s thesis in treating the East as a glittering career that the Europeans intend to pursue: ‘the East was something bright young Westerners would find to be an all-consuming passion’.<sup>58</sup> However, the pessimistic closure of the tale makes India a contingent site, and through this novella we may catch a glimpse of Scott’s general political stance on the presence of the British in India. However, we may also link the ending of this tale to *Guy Mannering*’s illustration of the physical hardship experienced by those British who had once stayed in India, as well as to the author’s response at the time when his elder son Walter was faced with the possibility of going to India with his regiment.

E. M. Collingham in *Imperial Bodies* argues that the ‘British experience of India was intensely physical’. The torture of wars, the prickly heat, and the incessant bites of mosquitoes were all spectres that haunted British soldiers. Collingham carries on her argument and points out that, ‘[all] Europeans, even if they escaped serious disease or

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<sup>56</sup> Douglas M. Peers, ‘Conquest Narratives: Romanticism, Orientalism and Intertextuality in the Indian Writings of Sir Walter Scott and Robert Orme’, in *Romantic Representations of British India*, ed. by Michael Franklin (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 238-58.

<sup>57</sup> Claire Lamont, ‘Scottish and Eighteenth-Century Imperialism: India and the Scottish Highlands’, in *Configuring Romanticism: Essays offered to C. C. Barfoot*, ed. by Theo D’haen, Peter Liebrechts, and Wim Tigges (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2003), pp. 35-50 (p. 44).

<sup>58</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 5.

death, were believed to undergo a subtle constitutional transformation'.<sup>59</sup> Linda Colley's research to a large degree supports Collingham's observation as she also argues that 'In the eyes of many of their compatriots at home, all Britons who spent substantial time in India were at risk of becoming captive there in a fundamental, if not in a literal sense' as they have to take the risk of being subjected to an alteration of the self in both physical and mental aspects.<sup>60</sup> In *Guy Mannering*, Scott does not offer an explicit portrayal of the physical transformation of these returned Indians; however, from a few minute details, it is not too difficult to observe what Mannering and others have experienced in the foreign land. In the letter to his friend Mervyn, Mannering unreservedly expounds the torture he endured when serving in India and his awareness of his own changes:

Do you think, after the lapse of twenty-five years, battles, wounds, imprisonment, misfortunes of every description, I can be still the same lively unbroken Guy Mannering, who climbed Skiddaw with you, or shot grouse upon Crossfell?<sup>61</sup>

This traumatic memory is more about what Mannering had lost than what he had obtained from the service in the subcontinent. He keeps reminding Mervyn of the fact that his friend should cherish his domestic happiness as it is the source of the integrity of his health and temperament, rather than envying what he had experienced in the Subcontinent. In Henry Bertram's letter to his friend Captain Delaserre, we find a similar sentiment to what Mannering expresses as it states clearly that 'for us poor devils, that we have a little resting-place between the camp and grave, if we can manage to escape disease, and steel, and lead, and the effects of hard living'.<sup>62</sup> In *The Talisman*, the example of Richard the Lionheart in a similar situation is also fairly illustrative. Richard, although having an 'iron frame', is unable to 'support, without injury, the alterations of the unwholesome climate,

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<sup>59</sup> Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Colley, *Captives*, p. 254; Teltscher, in *India Inscribed*, also offers examples from real history of the transformation of the British soldiers' manner, language and appearance in India, p. 243.

<sup>61</sup> Walter Scott, *Guy Mannering*, ed. by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 68.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

joined to ceaseless exertions of body and mind' and becomes 'afflicted with one of those slow and wasting fevers peculiar to Asia'.<sup>63</sup> Henry, Mannering and Richard's experiences bear out Collingham's argument regarding the fraught physical and moral plight of imperial bodies in the East, and indirectly reveal Scott's attitude when suggesting his son to stay at home, not to pursue his career in India.

In a letter to his son Walter in 1821, Scott made it clear the prospect of service in India as a 'sentence of banishment', and he said to him that 'It is no part of my plan for you that you should go there'.<sup>64</sup> Scott further explained to Walter that '[being] an officer in the Kings service by which you can get neither experience in your profession nor credit nor wealth nor anything but an obscure death in storming the hill fort of some Rajah with an unpronounced name [...] or if you live it is but to come back 20 years hence a lieutenant or captain with a yellow face a diseased liver and not a rupee in your pocket to comfort you for broken health'.<sup>65</sup> While Scott's observation was based upon certain truth, his pessimism and anxiety about border-crossing in real life, as we may guess, could be as a result of his parental care to his son and partially due to the shadow of his friend John Leyden's premature death in India (1811). Leyden had an important role assisting Scott with the preparation of *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-3), and his post in India was actually secured by Scott.<sup>66</sup> These two events are possibly decisive in determining the general tone of 'The Surgeon's Daughter'. Some critics argue that the pessimism of this tale could be as a consequence of Scott's financial crisis in 1826, but there is no particular reason to think it is relevant, any more than it is in other of Scott's works.<sup>67</sup> Although there is lack of biographical evidence, there are some passages from the novella itself that could be strongly suggestive in demonstrating Scott's attitudes towards both the East and the

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<sup>63</sup> Scott, *The Talisman*, p. 55; see Newsome, 'Seductive and Monstrous Fictions: Discourses of the Orient in Walter Scott's Waverley Novels', p. 176.

<sup>64</sup> Scott to Walter Scott in *Letters*, VI (1934), 425 (27 April 1821).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 433-34.

<sup>66</sup> Brown, 'Griffins, Nabobs and a Seasoning of Curry Powder', p. 75.

<sup>67</sup> Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott*, p. 314.

presence of the British in India.

Preceding the novella, Croftangry, the supposed writer of ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’, reports what he has learned from Robert Orme’s *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan 1745-1761* (1763-78) the characters of the people of the East. As he describes, there are ‘various religious costumes, habits, and manners of the people of Hindustan,—the patient Hindhu, the warlike Rajahpoot, the haughty Moslemah (Muslim), the savage and vindictive Malay—Glorious and unbounded subjects!’ (155). This account itself seems to show an inclination to essentialize the innate characters of these various Oriental races, but, in fact, most of the Oriental characters in this novella are not invariably depicted as stated by the above formula. Despite the fact that Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan to a degree may still be represented in terms of the clichés of the Western view of the Orient as despotic rulers, their merits (such as the father’s enactment of justice on the traitor and the son’s repentance for his lust) are also clearly acknowledged in this tale.<sup>68</sup>

As I have pointed out in the first section of this chapter, despotism was considered by the Europeans in the eighteenth century as one of the most notable features of Oriental governments, and it was often the target the Europeans picked to criticize the lack of civilization in the East. Nevertheless, as Franco Venturi suggests, ‘despotic monarchy is neither “barbarian” nor “oriental”’. ‘It is not only governments which are despotic; society may be so too. It is not only disregard for or negation of the Law of the Land which characterizes this type of rule, but it is also the violation of the laws of society and the transformation of men into instruments of the will of the despot’. More importantly, as Venturi goes on to argue, the ‘concept of despotism had simply been made to serve as the instrument of justification for the oppression practiced by the Europeans in Asia’.<sup>69</sup> Based on Venturi’s argument, the notion of Oriental despotism could therefore be understood as a

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<sup>68</sup> See Teltscher’s “‘Vocabularies of Vile Epithets’: British Representations of the Sultans of Mysore” in her *India Inscribed*, pp. 229-58.

<sup>69</sup> Franco Venturi, ‘Oriental Despotism’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 24 (1963), 133-42, (pp. 133, 134-35, 138).

construct, and is used by the Europeans as a discourse which legitimizes their exploitation of the East.<sup>70</sup> Similar to what Venturi argues, ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’ to a degree challenges the myth of Oriental despotism. Many of the European characters working for the East India Company in this novella, such as Richard Tresham, Tom Hillary and Captain Seelencoper, are represented as having a certain degree of the so-called despotic manners. These characters’ personal conduct, I argue, simultaneously reflect Scott’s negative attitude towards the Company’s policy on the management of its enterprise in India.

Richard Tresham, the biological father of Middlemas, is known as General Witherington after moving from Scotland to India and working for the Company for a certain period of time. With regard to his personal policy aimed at governing his subordinates, he is described as a person who ‘was never known to restore one recruit to his freedom from the service, however unfairly or even illegally his attestation might have been obtained’ (220). General Witherington’s absolute rule has ‘made his name as great a terror to the speculators at home, as it had been to the enemies of Britain in Hindostan’ (220). Among many of the General’s subordinates, Tom Hillary, although a mere recruiting captain of the Company, is also said to have ‘a despotic nature’ (206). As Hillary is described when he is harbouring his personal colonial ambition:

a few white faces never failed to strike terror into these black rascals; and then, not to mention the good things that were going at the storming of a Pettah, or the plundering of a Pagoda, most of these tawny dogs carried so much treasure about their person, that a won battle was equal to a mine of gold to the victors. (202)

This passage is short but it offers sufficient information to enable us to interpret Hillary’s thoughts. In the first place, it reveals his racial discrimination against the East (‘black rascals’, ‘tawny dogs’); secondly, it illustrates his imagination of India as a treasure house (‘a mine of gold’); lastly, it discloses his intention to plunder (‘storming’, ‘plundering’).

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<sup>70</sup> Similar argument has also been made by Teltscher in *India Inscribed*, p. 238.

There is one more example which could also illustrate Hillary's despotic manner. When he is said to use threats against Middlemas in order to force his friend's submission to him, 'I am your officer, and should you hesitate to follow me aboard [...] I could have you sent on board in handcuffs' (211). Since that time, Middlemas is forced to stay under Hillary's command. Although at first he does not hand over his wallet, he is very soon drugged, and all of his belongings are taken by this villain-friend. In addition to Tresham and Hillary, Captain Seelencoper is also one of the characters represented in this novella as a despotic ruler. When he is said to make his rounds in his own territory (the inferno-like military hospital), all the complaint and remonstrance from the patients are suddenly silenced because of the power of his 'magic wand' (215). The effect exerted by the presence of the Captain is further noted by the narrator: 'Agony softened her shriek, Insanity hushed its senseless clamours, and even Death seemed desirous to stifle his parting groan' (214).

Even though Scott makes very few explicit comments about the Company's management of its business in India in 'The Surgeon's Daughter', the manners of these despotic figures have somehow provided readers of the novella with suggestions for examining the Company's attitudes towards not only its own employees but also the East. Linda Colley argues that 'oriental despotism, if it ever existed, was now being matched in some respects by the East India Company's military despotism in India'.<sup>71</sup> Colley's argument matches well with the examples of despotic Europeans given by Scott's novella. In real history, Warren Hastings (1732–1818), the first Governor-General of Bengal, could largely be viewed as a prototype for the aforementioned despotic characters in 'The Surgeon's Daughter', and his case may also be useful for us to consider the despotic nature of the Company. Hastings was famously charged by Edmund Burke (1729-97) in a nine-year-long impeachment (1787-95) with a series of crimes, including 'bribery, oppression, and tyranny'; 'avarice, rapacity, pride, cruelty, ferocity, malignity of temper,

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<sup>71</sup> Colley, *Captives*, p. 300.

haughtiness, insolence'. Most importantly, Burke put great emphasis on arguing that Hastings was 'a despotic prince'.<sup>72</sup> The government was also, as pointed out by P. J. Marshall, concerned lest Hastings declared himself 'the sovereign prince of Indostan' should the French offer him enough military force.<sup>73</sup>

Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816), the playwright and comrade of Burke in the impeachment, also presents a graphic illustration of the temperament of Hastings:

Mr Hastings left Calcutta in 1781, and proceeded to Lucknow, as he said himself, with two great objects in his mind, namely, Benares and Oude. What was the nature of these boasted resources? — that he should plunder one, or both, [...] In such a state of generous irresolution, did Mr Hastings proceed to Benares and Oude.<sup>74</sup>

Sheridan gives a forthright view of the attitude maintained by Hastings who seeks to grab control of all if he can. This mock-heroic narration of Hastings' mindset and the aforementioned Tom Hillary's attempt to seize the East complement each other well in their reflection of the Company's general attitude in managing its enterprise in the Subcontinent. Consequently, it could be argued that one of the primary motives of this novella was to suggest that its despotic characters reflected the Company's rule in India. It can also explain why Scott decided to carry his tale 'fifty years back' (155) from his own time and set it in the 1770s since this was a period when criticism of the East India Company was increasingly widespread.<sup>75</sup> It is worth noting that William Bolts' *Considerations on Indian Affairs* (1772), as pointed out by Kate Teltscher, was one of the earliest writings during this period to shift the notion of oriental despotism to the Company ascendancy.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Edmund Burke, 'On the Impeachment of Warren Hastings, 15-19 February 1788', in *Imperialism & Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook*, ed. by Barbara Harlow & Mia Carter (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), pp. 31-38.

<sup>73</sup> P. J. Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 65.

<sup>74</sup> Fintan O'Toole, *A Traitor's Kiss: The Life of Richard Brinsley Sheridan* (London: Granta Books, 1997), p. 215.

<sup>75</sup> Teltscher, *India Inscribed*, p. 5; see also Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings*, pp. xvi-xix.

<sup>76</sup> Teltscher, *India Inscribed*, pp. 163-64.

It is worth noting that the setting of the tale is also within the heyday of nabobery (1760-1785).<sup>77</sup> Around two to three hundred Indian ‘nabobs’ returned to Britain within this period of time, and they were in general resented by the public. Renu Juneja argues that people’s feelings towards these returnees are ‘neither simply envy nor simply moral anger, but complex feelings spurred by violations of class hierarchies’.<sup>78</sup> In John Galt’s novel, *The Last of the Lairds* (1826), ‘Mr Rupees’, ‘the Nawbub came hame frae Indy’, is viewed as an avaricious figure who had bought up the lands of ‘the right stock o’ legitimate gentry’.<sup>79</sup> In *The Member* (1832), Galt presents a ‘Mr Jobbry’, also ‘a man comes home from India’, who bought himself a seat in the Parliament.<sup>80</sup> This violation of social hierarchy is conceivable to have made a great commotion at the time as ‘to be rich or ambitious beyond one’s place was socially undesirable’ in eighteenth-century Britain.<sup>81</sup> In India, these European adventurers are also not welcomed.

In the latter half of ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’, through a Muslim religious mendicant, Scott again gives comment about the Europeans’ insatiable greed when undertaking their enterprise in India:

‘A Feringi can then refuse gold!’ said the Fakir. ‘I thought they took it from every hand, whether pure as that of an Houri, or leprous like Gehazi’s – even as the hungry dog reckoneth not whether the flesh he eateth be of the camel of the Prophet Saleth, or of the ass of Degial – on whose head be curses! (247)

In most of his imperial novels, we do not often see Scott’s critique of the deeds of the Empire in such plain terms, but this example cannot be even more evident. ‘The Surgeon’s

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<sup>77</sup> See Renu Juneja, ‘The Native and the Nabob: Representations of the Indian Experience in Eighteenth-Century English Literature’, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 27 (1992): 183-98 (p. 184); Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, ‘“Our Execrable Banditti”: Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 16 (1984): 225-41 (p. 227).

<sup>78</sup> Juneja, ‘The Native and the Nabob: Representations of the Indian Experience in Eighteenth-Century English Literature’, p. 184.

<sup>79</sup> John Galt, *The Last of the Lairds or The Life and Opinions of Malachi Mailings Esq. of Auldbiggings* (1826), ed. by Ian A. Gordon (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1976), p. 25.

<sup>80</sup> John Galt, *The Member: An Autobiography* (1832), ed. by Ian A. Gordon (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975).

<sup>81</sup> James M. Holzman, *The Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926), p. 15.

Daughter' demonstrates the author's serious awareness of the pull as well as the value of India to Scotland. But more importantly this tale also, as J. M. Rignall argues, 'interrogate[s] rather than endorse[s] notions of empire and the practice of empire-builders'.<sup>82</sup> It expresses its author's anxiety about the imperial venture in India not because the Subcontinent is seen as a death-trap but because of the Europeans' own deeds there. Octave Mannoni's argument about the psychology of colonialists is also useful in explaining Scott's anxiety about the presence of the British in India. He argues that when deep-sea fish rise to the thinner atmosphere (i.e. the colonies), they expand and deform. Finally, they become the cause of their own destruction.<sup>83</sup> Richard Middlemas and the Begum Montreville are the best examples in this novella to illustrate Mannoni's thesis.

Richard Middlemas, as readers of the novella are told, is 'dark, like his father and mother, with high features, beautifully formed, but exhibiting something of a foreign character' (188). This illustration tells especially Middlemas' inheritance of his mother's Jewish background, and proceeds to direct its readers to associate his avarice with his Jewish descent. As Said would recognize, this is an Orientalist gesture on Scott's part, but the link between Middlemas' greed and his Jewish background gradually becomes tenuous as his disposition is shown to be moulded largely by the external factors, such as his shattered dream of one day seeing 'his valiant father coming for him unexpectedly at the head of a gallant regiment, with music playing and colours flying' (180). As Edgar Rosenberg argues, after embarking on his own adventure in India, Middlemas becomes 'less as a Jewish villain than as an indiscriminated species of depravity'.<sup>84</sup> After killing his commanding officer during a duel, Middlemas becomes an outcast from the European society, and several years later chooses to work secretly as a double agent for both the

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<sup>82</sup> Rignall, 'Walter Scott, J. G. Farrell, and Fictions of Empire', p. 13.

<sup>83</sup> Octave Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization* (1950), translated by Pamela Powesland (London: Methuen, 1956), pp. 97-98; quoted also in Rignall, 'Walter Scott, J. G. Farrell, and Fictions of Empire', p. 20.

<sup>84</sup> Edgar Rosenberg, *From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction* (London: Peter Owen, 1961), p. 112.

British government and the Indian King. As I have mentioned earlier, Middlemas successfully persuades his betrothed, Menie Grey, to join him in India, and intends to send her as a gift to Tipu Sultan in order to increase his personal power in India. Soon after this event, it is revealed that Middlemas is the main cause of his own complete ruin. Mannoni's thesis about the psychology of colonialists is rather applicable to the study of Middlemas' personal deterioration. The case of Kurtz in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902) is also rather similar to that of Middlemas. When both of these two characters are removed from the external restraints of European societies, they have no 'inborn strength' to suppress unchecked desires and to keep them from doing whatever they please.<sup>85</sup> As a result, in these two cases, the Europeans appear less civilized than the natives, whom the Europeans often consider as languishing in an early stage of stadial progression towards civility.<sup>86</sup>

As I have pointed out earlier in this chapter, it could be argued that after a period of time in India most of those Europeans may unconsciously experience a series of physical transformation. 'The Surgeon's Daughter' also addresses similar theme regarding the Indianization of those Europeans who have 'gone native'. Nevertheless, 'The Surgeon's Daughter' is more about those European characters who 'voluntarily' assimilate themselves into the native culture rather than being 'passively' orientalized by the environment and culture of India, purely for the sake of self-interested gain. This tale barely shows any anxiety over the East's (corrupting) influence on the British character, as represented in the work of Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859), since most of its European characters do not seem to have complete moral integrity at the beginning.<sup>87</sup> The Begum Montreville and Richard Middlemas are the most notable examples in this tale having willingly undergone

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<sup>85</sup> Joseph Conrad, *Youth, Heart of Darkness, The End of the Tether* (1902), ed. by Owen Knowles, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Joseph Conrad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 86.

<sup>86</sup> See also John G. Peters, *The Cambridge Introduction to Joseph Conrad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 58.

<sup>87</sup> See John Barrell, *The Infection of Thomas De Quincey: A Psychopathology of Imperialism* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1991); see also Teltscher, *India Inscribed*, p. 169.

a series of colonial metamorphoses.

The following description is about the appearance of the Begum, whose Indianized figure provides the reader with an immense visual feast of exoticism:

a Semiramis-looking person, of unusual stature and amplitude, arrayed in a sort of riding habit, but so formed, and so looped and gallooned with lace, as made it resemble the upper tunic of a native chief. [...] Her throat and arms were loaded with chains and bracelets, and her turban, formed of a shawl similar to that worn around her waist [...] The brow, of European complexion, on which this tiara rested, was too lofty for beauty, but seemed made for command. [...] A black female slave, richly dressed, stood behind her with a chowry, or cow's tail, having a silver handle, which she used to keep off the flies. (249-50)

This passage illustrates the artificial construction of the term 'oriental' since the Begum's dress, a concoction of two distinct cultures, is presented as more outlandish than those of the real oriental characters in this novella. The Begum is, in Tara Ghoshal Wallace's term, a 'bi-racial cross-dresser' who presents herself as a native chief while having European complexion.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, she is also depicted as an 'unsexed woman, who can no longer be termed a European' (259) as she has aligned herself with Tipu Sultan in an agreement that betrays both Britain and her gender. Besides, she is proud of her masculinity as she with little effort is able to command a detachment of Hyder Ali's troops. When mocking Middlemas' weakness in proclaiming his own independence, she even aligns herself with, in Wallace's term, a 'superwoman' figure: 'I am a woman, renegade, but one who wears a dagger, and despises alike thy strength and thy courage.'<sup>89</sup> I am a woman, who has looked on more dying men than thou hast killed deer and antelopes [...] Go where thou wilt, slave, thou shalt find me thy mistress' (262). The Begum's despotic manner allows no one to disobey or betray her, and her despotism is parallel to those aforementioned male despotic characters working for the East India Company.

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<sup>88</sup> Tara Ghoshal Wallace, 'The Elephant's Foot and the British Mouth: Walter Scott on Imperial Rhetoric', *European Romantic Review*, 13 (2002), 311-24 (p. 318).

<sup>89</sup> Rosenberg, *From Shylock to Svengali*, p.110.

Although the Begum and Middlemas are both working with the same aim of making maximum profit for themselves, they each have schemes to betray the other. Middlemas takes up his lodgings in the Begum's house and stays as her guest, but their relationship is much closer to that of the colonizer and the colonized. The colonizer (the Begum) regards the colonized (Middlemas) as a part of her personal belongings and attempts to use him for her own purpose. Nevertheless, the colonized, who bears the anti-colonial consciousness, strives to gain the right to independence. The colonized even devises a scheme in order to form an alliance with the third party (Hyder Ali), and overthrow the regime of the colonizer. However, no matter how the power shifts between the two, they (the Europeans/the guests) eventually have to follow the rule of their general host (Hyder Ali) since the law is manipulated by him within his own domain. As the text demonstrates, Hyder Ali, the master of the land, allows no one to challenge his authority.

Before the final conclusion of the Begum and Middlemas' lives, these two European characters are said to appear in Tipu's durbar. The Begum is as usual dressed in Oriental garments, and Middlemas (now the Begum's General) is also:

in a dress as magnificent in itself as it was remote from all European costume, being that of a Banka, or India courtier. His turban was of rich silk and gold, twisted very hard, and placed on one side of his head, its ends hanging down on the shoulder. His mustachoes were turned and curled, and his eyelids stained with antimony. The vest was of gold brocade, with a cummerband, or sash, around his waist, corresponding to his turban. He carried in his hand a large sword, sheathed in a scabbard of crimson velvet, and wore around his middle a broad embroidered sword-belt. (280)

This passage offers an illustration of Middlemas' orientalization, and it also manifests his attempt to cross the boundary between different cultures and genders. On the one hand, he is presented as an Indian courtier carrying a large sword; on the other hand, following what ladies do, he applies cosmetics (antimony) to his eyelids. Because of these similarities with the natives, the demarcating line between Self and Other is blurred, and it reflects what

Bhabha argues: ‘no Self and Other but the otherness of the Self inscribed in the perverse palimpsest of colonial identity’.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, this representation of Middlemas also clearly illustrates what Nigel Leask argues, the colonizer is highly vulnerable to ‘being absorbed into the oriental world which he has sought to subordinate to his own standards of civilization’ because of his own loose moral principles.<sup>91</sup> The illustration of such a deformed self has also foretold his own ruin.

Scott pays particular attention to embellish these two European characters, who not only arouse the reader’s curiosity when reading such an exotic tale, but also makes it clear that their deeds expose the unscrupulous quest of opportunistic Europeans for personal profit in the subcontinent. Scott does not make criticism about their adoption of Indian costumes or their submission to Indian chiefs, but he clearly seeks to utilize the facts in order to suggest that the dark deeds they commit are far from the Western moral code and culture, particularly when they are compared with what Adam Hartley has achieved. This illustration reminds readers of ‘The Surgeon’s Daughter’ again of Burke’s impeachment against Hastings when the latter was accused of abandoning Christian values and ethics when governing the East India Company. However, in this tale, Scott does not allow these European villains to achieve their purposes, in contrast to what had been achieved by Hastings. Middlemas is in the end ordered by Hyder Ali to be stamped to death under the feet of an elephant, when his machinations were divulged to the King prior to the durbar. With regard to the Begum, she ‘died by poison, either taken by her self, or administered by some other person’ (285). Both of their stories end in tragedy, and through their cases the novella casts a sceptical light on the achievement of the East India Company in the subcontinent. This sort of intention is foretold by Hyder Ali: ‘Hitherto I have been in the Carnatic as a mild prince - in future I will be a destroying tempest!’ (284). Hyder’s warning

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<sup>90</sup> Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 44.

<sup>91</sup> Nigel Leask, ‘Colonialism and the exotic’ in *Romantic Writings*, ed. by Stephen Bygrave (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 227-50 (p. 242).

is the harbinger of the defeat of the British during the second Anglo-Mysore War which broke out in 1780. However, the depiction of Hyder's admonition itself is interesting since the original readers of 'The Surgeon's Daughter' would have known that Hyder had already died in 1782 and Tipu Sultan was destroyed by the British force in 1799. Hyder Ali would not be able to remain 'a destroying tempest' for long, resisting the encroachment of the British power. Such an illustration temporalizes the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, and amplifies the dramatic effect of the tale.

Although the dominant tone of 'The Surgeon's Daughter' is pessimistic, it is to a degree balanced by its author's firm belief that the virtue of hospitality can actually help cross boundaries between different cultures, nations, races and religions. If Richard Tresham, Tom Hillary, Captain Seelencoper and many others represented in this novella reflect the despotic nature of the Empire, Adam Hartley, in contrast, would be the embodiment of some of the highest values of humanity, such as modesty, selflessness and hospitality. He gives an utterly different example of a European in India. While most of the people who leave Britain for India aim to increase their wealth and fame, Hartley goes there as a surgeon's assistant, restoring the health of both the British and the Indians, with no thought of reaping personal profit. He follows closely what he had learned from the model of Dr Grey, as he is said to treat his patients sympathetically and 'attend the poor of all nations gratis whenever he was called upon' (245). Moreover, he studies oriental languages in order to be more effective in communicating with his native patients.

Besides, Hartley also holds in high regard the customs of the local culture. On one occasion when examining a patient (a fakir named Barak el Hadgi), Hartley is said to '[lay] aside his shoes at the gates of the holy precincts, and [not] to give offence by approaching near to the tomb' (246). After examining the patient, Hartley is given a ring by the fakir for the treatment, but he declines the gift since his service is not for the sake of profit but for forging friendship. As he says, 'the wise of every country are brethren. My left hand takes

no guerdon of my right' (247). The fakir appreciates Hartley's kindness, and also calls him 'my brother'. This reciprocal hospitality, as James Watt suggests, 'establishes the possibility of peaceful cross-cultural dialogue and exchange' between two distinct cultures.<sup>92</sup>

Hartley's success in establishing a relationship with the Orient is due to the following facts. Firstly, he regulates his own behaviour and accommodates himself so as to follow the law of the land, and thus makes himself a guest not just acceptable but also welcomed by the host country. Being the guest of the land, he treats the natives as his equals and brothers, not as his subordinates or inferiors. At the same time, he studies native languages, using them not only for his medical purposes but also for cultural exchanges. Moreover, he respects the wisdom of the Indian religion and follows closely its teachings. He uses it as a common ground for understanding the locals and simultaneously making himself understood by them. More importantly, unlike the Begum Montreville and Richard Middlemas who have abandoned their original identities and have undergone a process of Indianization, Hartley never loses his European roots. Due to these reasons he is able to cross the boundaries between the two distinct cultures, religions and nations, and gains respect from the natives. Moreover, he successfully enlists the help of Hyder Ali to save Menie Grey.

Although we have examples of villains such as the Begum Montreville and Richard Middlemas, another British imperial 'self' is also created through the representation Adam Hartley, as a modest, sympathetic and selfless surgeon, who devotes his life to the service of both the British and the natives in the Indian subcontinent. Hartley, who establishes the possibility of peaceful cross-cultural dialogue and exchange with the locals, demonstrates the often neglected narratives of British imperialism's peaceful nature. However, more notably, rather than celebrating Britain's historic, decisive victory against the stiff

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<sup>92</sup> Watt, 'Scott, the Scottish Enlightenment, and Romantic Orientalism', p.102.

resistance of Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, Scott also uses the deeds of despotic European characters to make clear his pessimistic attitudes towards the development of Britain's imperial enterprise in India.

Even though 'the growth of an ethnic confidence in Britain's essential superiority over its Eastern other', as James Watt notes, is one of the key features of the Romantic-period literature, Scott's *The Talisman* and 'The Surgeon's Daughter' tell markedly different stories.<sup>93</sup> In these two novels, the binary oppositions often promoted in British Orientalist discourses between the civilized West and barbarous East are almost nowhere to be found. On the contrary, in these texts Scott's Oriental characters through their acts of hospitality not only challenge perceptions of the despised 'other' but also through their expressions of higher feelings and nobility (i.e. hospitality) reverse the stereotypical representations of them. The result is that it is the Western character that is seen as despotic, arbitrary, and prone to the corrupting influence of the pursuit of power. Moral agency is not invariably attributed to European characters in these novels. Moreover, Scott calls into question the validity of the Crusades and the expansion of the Empire in India, and by implication he raises doubts over the civilizing rationale of these two imperial enterprises. These novels therefore could be read as being, in a sense, rather subversive with regard to the accepted notion of their time and have the potential to be viewed as postcolonial works in a sense that they write powerfully of the voices of the subaltern.

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<sup>93</sup> James Watt, 'Orientalism and Empire' in *The Cambridge Companion to Fiction in the Romantic Period*, ed. by Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 129-42 (p. 140). Similar argument was also made by Teltscher: 'After the fall of Mysore, the imperial pen re-inscribes India with greater assurance, and a firmer hand.' *India Inscribed*, p. 255.

## Conclusion

Leading on from Stanley Sulkes, this research has also picked up ‘hospitality’ and taken it as one of its main analytical approaches to the reading of a wide selection of Scott’s novels, including those that deal with the Jacobites, the Covenanters, the Scottish Highlanders, the socio-economically underprivileged classes and the Orientals. As the findings of this research have revealed, hospitality is demonstrably one of the most rewarding keywords that we might utilize in seeking to explore the inner world of the Waverley Novels. Placing hospitality in a postcolonial context, this research shows that this time-honoured tradition of Scotland is embodied mainly and in a genuine fashion by Scott’s ‘subaltern’ characters.

The postcolonial term ‘subaltern’, as this study has demonstrated, is not only adequate but also useful in analysing Scott’s representation of his country since his sympathetic illustrations of subaltern characters do correspond to the author’s conscious awareness, revealed in his letters and journals, of Scotland’s subordinate status within the Union. However, this research has also demonstrated that, in contrast to the accepted conviction commonly held by postcolonial critics of subaltern muteness and passivity, Scott’s characters coming from subaltern backgrounds are represented as speaking subjects. They speak particularly through the extension of their unconditional hospitality to their visitors (including less than friendly ones) although they are also provided with many other means to make their voices heard. Therefore, via his subaltern characters, Scott reaffirms the importance of hospitality as one of the distinctive characteristics of Scotland. By aligning the ethos of Scotland with the virtue of hospitality, Scott’s work simultaneously files complaint against the inhospitable, unjust treatment the country (particularly its Gaelic speaking people) receives from the ruling order. Consequently, this can be considered as Scott’s own act of resistance against the dominant voices of the governing power, but it can also be interpreted as Scott’s personal hospitality to his country.

This innovative approach to Scott’s novels has proven itself particularly fruitful in

enriching our understanding of a multifaceted ‘Scott-land’, but this may only serve as a prelude to a modern critical reading of hospitality in Scott.<sup>1</sup> I hope this research could open up many other possibilities for reading, by using Caroline McCracken-Flesher’s term, ‘Scotlands’ in Scott.<sup>2</sup> To my knowledge, in fact, critics have started to show their interest in using hospitality, the cardinal virtue of Scotland, as a keyword to read Scott. For example, in his forthcoming book *Walter Scott and Contemporary Theory* (2013), Evan Gottlieb adopts Derridean notion of hospitality along with the Habermasian concept of the public spheres as his innovative approach to *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *Chronicles of the Canongate*.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of this study, I pointed out that Scott’s writings, in accordance with the historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment, are, in a sense, acts of hospitality, in which he invites his readers to join a future dominated by a single group. Moreover, this study has offered a further dimension to our understanding of Scott’s writings and concludes by arguing that his works are truly gestures of hospitality because of their sympathetic and serious concern over the oppressed or destroyed identities in history. Because of these factors, they do render Scott in this dimension a postcolonial novelist.

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<sup>1</sup> This is from the title of Stuart Kelly’s book, *Scott-land: The Man Who Invented a Nation* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands*.

<sup>3</sup> Evan Gottlieb, ‘Hospitality and Community, or *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *Chronicles of the Canongate* with Derrida, Habermas, and a Multitude of Theorists’, in *Walter Scott and Contemporary Theory* (London: Continuum, 2013) (forthcoming).

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