

“Hospitality to the Exile and Broken Bones to the Tyrant”: Early Modernity in Walter Scott’s *Waverley*

Sinan Gül

Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey

Published anonymously in 1814, Waverley; Or ‘Tis Sixty Years Hence is a historical novel by Sir Walter Scott which unfolds the story of a young English soldier, Edward Waverley, and his journey to Scotland. Regarded as the first historical novel, it contains elements of modernity, heralding a new upcoming era in England. Scott obviously displays the concept of the modern/modernity differently from the perception that writers are conveying today, but he hints at the emergence of a society detached from feudal customs in several aspects through the issue of union between England and Scotland. Highlighting the modern characteristics of Walter Scott’s Waverley, this paper argues that Scott employs elements of modernity in his novel long before their disclosure in literature and politics.

Keywords

Historical novel; *Waverley*; Walter Scott; modernity

Introduction

Modernism in literature reflects a search for a new way of narration and expression of life and Walter Scott’s novel *Waverley* (1814) does not clearly belong to that category. However, the novel contains multiple references to the concept of modernity which Anthony Giddens defines as “modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence” (1). Giddens attributes the characterization of today’s highly developed societies to the conceptual framework of social science and the historical legacy of Enlightenment rationality. *Waverley* is a novel that consists

of several community characteristics of pre-modern society and anticipates the emergence of modernity.

Although Sir Walter Scott's novels were popular in his era¹, it was Georg Lukacs who credited him as "the father of the historical novel" as he thought Scott's handling of the matters of property and ownership achieved historical significance. Scott's books in general, and the *Waverley* novels in particular, did not only combine history with individual romance, but also showed the path for a modern society. "The classic historical novel, inaugurated by *Waverley*", Perry Anderson points out, "is an affirmation of human progress, in and through the conflicts that divide societies and the individuals within them" (25). Using a concept of modern intrinsically different from the perception contemporary writers are conveying at the moment, Scott predicts the emergence of modernity in several aspects through the issue of a union between England and Scotland. Highlighting modern characteristics of Walter Scott's *Waverley; Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, this paper argues that Scott creates a network for the elements of modernity in his novel long before their disclosure in literature and politics.

The time Scott lived in witnessed turmoil and revolutions in different parts of the world. The French Revolution shocked many people in the sense that it signalled the end of an era, an understanding, and modes of power whose existence people could not even dare to question before. The end of monarchy and the reign of kings and/or queens galvanized every aspect of life. Romantic poetry applauded the rebellious spirit; bandits became the new heroes, and literary fiction began to portray protagonists as well as antagonists from all classes of society. Scott also had romantic inclinations in his youth as his earlier narrative poems did illustrate romantic elements. In addition, Scott uses Edward Waverley as a romantic observer who remains excluded from the main plot of his novel. Among all the changes and transitions, Waverley is a witness passing through places at the time of events. He is but a disinterested observer whose duty is, "to observe, to register the proper responses, and in the end to accept, however reluctantly, the proper solution" (Daiches 93). In general, Scott's characters represent, to some extent, the reader, who like Edward, has limited access. The replacement of the protagonist with romantic tendencies, sharing limited information about him, and keeping his involvement minimum to the real plotline of the novel represent a divorce from former formulations of the genre. Scott highlights the difference and warns his reader to be ready to encounter a new experience. As Daiches points out, Scott's heroes are "not heroes in the ordinary sense, but symbolic observers" (92).

“HOSPITALITY TO THE EXILE AND BROKEN BONES TO THE TYRANT”

The Latin term *modernus*, which means “now time”, also indicates the term’s connection with social and personal context. Anthony Giddens’s definition of modernity, which questions identity in modern society as a consequence and a cause of changes at the institutional level, conveys an alternative reading of modernity from different aspects. Giddens focuses on phases of capitalism to see connections between the micro and macro aspects of society as well as other components such as state, industry, and globalization. Similarly, Marshall Berman analyses modernity in *All That is Solid Melts into Air* (1982) and divides it into three conventional phases: early, classical, and late modernity. Berman’s emphasis is on the contribution of modern technologies to the process of modernity, but here I would like to explain social and political factors Scott handles in *Waverley*. Despite disagreements and differences among theorists such as Lyotard, Adorno and the aforementioned writers, modernity is the result of a society revolting and it is the voice of new forces trying to redefine humanity. Scott reveals his intention in one of his letters to Mr. Surtes, which explains how he means to reflect the changes in every aspect of life:

Certainly I will not renounce the idea of doing something to preserve these stories, and the memory of times and manners which, though existing as it were yesterday, have so strangely vanished from our eyes. Whether this will be best done by collecting the old tales or by *modernizing them* as subjects of legendary poetry, I have never very seriously considered, but your kind encouragement confirms me in the resolution that something I must do, and that speedily. (Letters, 66-67, emphasis added)

Scott is fully cognizant of the expectation from a novel and he knows that history has been a constructed and, to some extent, fictive narrative. He knows that novels might be used to dispel myths and antagonisms between the societies of Scotland and England. If a mission would be appropriate to impose upon *Waverley*, it would be to serve as a signifier for dissolution of antiquarian methods and an introduction to modern politics under the dominance of colonial England. Scott’s historical novel is one of the pioneer texts that prove how powerful novels can be in gradually shaping public opinion.

Starting with the Scottish revolution in 1560, and coming to a reciprocal solution in 1707, Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland, which can also be read as the real victory of England over Scotland, is sealed with the Battle of Culloden of 1745. Although the demise of Charles Edward Stuart, the

Bonnie Prince Charlie, diminished the hopes of Catholic reformers in Scotland for good after 43 years, literal affirmation of this event was not celebrated or announced until *Waverley* (Michael 67-73). Not only did it celebrate this victory between two forces, but it reflected a society discarding its traditional forms of social structure. In a way, Scott authenticates the emergence of a new and modern United Britain in the literary sphere.

Waverley can also be read as a justification for the forces of social change transferred from the battleground to the realm of literature, art, and domesticity. It does not describe a war between two different forces because the sides of the war did not embody only religious differences. Charles Edward and his supporters rejected modern mercantilism and demanded the to-be-King to withhold all the reforms realized in the 1707 Union. The Highlanders had strong Jacobite tendencies and Roman Catholicism was predominant on the islands of Scotland. Their cultural stand, with its clan structure, concepts of strong personal loyalty, was far from the emerging English culture which aimed to erase the traits of feudal production relations. Scott's point is that while they may have adequately expressed some particular strategy of power, each approach has different fundamental differences at the molecular level.

Scott approaches the transition of culture from feudal to modern values firmly in his novel. The difference Edward Waverley feels when he visits the Highlands originates from the modern upbringing he received as a child. In addition to his estranged feelings, the most obvious part, where the values of feudal society are recognized not to be valid or legitimate anymore, is the court scene where Donald Bean Lean is tried. As Lean tragically offers to fetch six other fellow Highlanders to save his own neck, laughter breaks out in the courtroom. Such an idea of feudal loyalty and sacrifice does not belong to the modern laws of Britain. Thus, Lean and other rebels are remnants of a system that needs to be eliminated. His speech represents the death of feudalism and personal loyalty, which constitute the foundation for the landlord system. The commercial interests of new Scotland have no place for the likes of Donald Bean Lean, whose mind and body do not fulfil the new interests of the country and the time.

Unlike a feudal society, a modern society depends on its rules and laws, which are indispensable and enforceable for each and every member of that society. Feudality relies on blood bonds and the authority of certain tribal leaders over people whereas modern societies have democratic parliamentary systems where elected people represent the voters. Furthermore, England had bigger plans for overseas growth after solving inner conflicts in 1688. To

focus on expansion and the establishment of a modern society, the English administration had to finalize its transition into a united country with roots of stability and security. Although Scotland always seemed more submissive and manageable in terms of controlling the land and people, unlike Ireland, the struggle for the unity on the largest of the British Isles was also fierce.

The united state of the Kingdom Scott advocates had no similarity with the Britain that existed before 1745. The country he describes is victorious against the feudal and separatist goals of old Scotland. In terms of geography, Scotland's coming to mutual terms with England enabled the emergence of a new epoch for modern England. Some historians date the end of the eighteenth century to 1814 – the time of Napoleon's rise in France, and, coincidentally, Scott's first novel *Waverley* was also written/published in that year. Ironically, Scott worked as a counsel and advocate in Edinburgh, and he knew well how to defend or justify people's actions, events or organizations, so in his own way he was one of the writers who authorized the emergence of the United Kingdom in literary stance. He combined his professional world with fiction, and confirmed the superiority of law and central authority over feudal values. The implication of the fact that the *Waverley* novels were published anonymously might refer to the solid composure of the nation, where a book is intended to represent a common view in contrast to a product of an individual mind.

Edward Waverley as a character

Edward Waverley, unlike any of his predecessors as a protagonist in literature, and individuals in his family tree, is a much more passive character. Rather than having beliefs or principles, he searches for identity. Although he descends from a strong family bond and tradition, he is politically and culturally neutral. Parallel with the characteristics of a *bildungsroman*, he represents a round character that goes through the phases of maturity. Despite being written in the Romantic Era, *Waverley* does not praise chivalric traits.

One of the reasons for Edward to be a withheld character is to show his compliant nature for the new era. Most characters in the separatist cause have unbendable traits of personality, whereas Edward is open to novelty. Edward's character reflects the changing spirit of the times. Since the *Waverley* novels are primarily concerned with the conflict between old and new, between feudal Jacobean and mercantile Hanoverian, the fact that Edward remains as the

future of the union at the end of the novel is another sign of Scott's coherent technique to express his allegiance to new governance. Despite Scott's sceptical approach to Edward's political inclinations, Edward forms a unity of cultural and political values which originates from the heterogeneous structure of the Union. Moreover, Edward's family's loyalist Tory political idea(s) are not favoured at all. Unlike Fergus and his friends, Edward compromises his Scottish (feudal) connections, and bends it with the British values. This assimilation, to an extent, is celebrated because it conveys the fragmentary and jointed modern world in opposition to traditional clan life.

From the viewpoint of Britain's heterogeneous culture, Edward seems to embody a somewhat unifying character. However, it is not certain whether his interest in Scottish traditional tales, songs, poems, and myths comes from the desire to enlighten his spirit with the knowledge of a national culture or if it is simply part of an English hegemonic strategy to adapt the culture to be able to rule in the name of universal progress and liberal internationalism. His strategic marriage with Rose might be rendered as an element which inherently guarantees the survival of Lowland culture because, as the other dismissed bridal candidate Flora's name (Latin for the Roman goddess of flowers) indicates, the Catholic and the French oriented Highlander culture is excluded and expelled from the borders of the Empire. Daiches states that "Waverley's affair with these two girls is not presented as a serious love interest but as a symbolic indication of the nature of his final withdrawal from the heroic emotions of the past" (93). Woven with symbolic meanings, *Waverley* clearly takes side with the restoration of old Scotland into an empirical and practical union.

Another point about the relatively "weak" character of Edward is that such a protagonist is capable of survival and he can fit into the new age, in which heroic virtues have no place. Edward is not a mighty knight or a diehard romantic, but he is the future because in the end he survives without the capabilities of heroism. It is exactly Edward's lack of such preoccupation, and adventurism, as well as his "natural" loyalty to his king and country, that makes him modern and persistent in the face of adversity. Despite its similarity to a feudal value system, loyalty to social norms rather than a lord determines the borders of citizenship and patriotism. Modern times do not promote romantic heroes but structure of the society or, as modern pioneer novels do, express the individual's frictions and conflicts with that organization. The impression of emptiness and conflicts echoes notoriously in the language of heroes. Lincoln points out that "their speech is often most disconcerting precisely

when its symbolic function, as representative of moderate modernity, is most in evidence” (31) and suggests that Scott makes his characters use a polite English prose of “disabling formality” (13). Edward’s daily speech even during his encounters with ladies is an example of such formality. Edward does not give up his embroidered language despite the mockery he receives from the mountainous warriors. However, Edward’s attempt to use Standard English rather than a Scottish language can also be read as part of the modernization project because the conversion of all languages used in the United Kingdom into Standard English is a larger movement towards economic and political homogenization that endangers the current autonomy of Scotland within the Union.

As the name suggests, Waverley is inclined to waver in his political and romantic loyalties. Edward’s wavering is presented as the dichotomy that is formed within his family; his father’s support for the new order and his uncle’s mild support for the pretender. He starts a new page in terms of family and country traditions. Characters who live in the past, or at a distance to modern times unlike Edward look back to the past as the future hold no promise for them. *Waverley* is an attempt to clear the past and make it possible for every member of the United Kingdom to look forward to the future. Edward and other holdbacks live in their world of fantasy. Therefore, they let no one or nothing, even through the means of a marriage, intervene in their world.

Scott’s fictional hero, like the narrator, usually has the image of a polite Christian gentleman whose loyalty in the realm of personal relations is an indication of moderate virtue. However, these virtues become connected with radicalism, superstition or corrupt ambition in the realm of the political world. The devotion of the Jacobite, the Covenanter, and others is considered troubling and illogical by the successful organization of wealthy new regimes. The hero of Scott’s fictions, as Andrew Lincoln points out, “is usually destined to be separated ultimately from the stern demands of patriotic duty and to be consigned to the enjoyment of personal liberty and material prosperity” (8).

Education

When Edward is captured to be tried for treason, the main reason that he is forgiven is stated by feudal lords:

True, religiously speaking; but mercy to a criminal may be gross injustice

to the community. I don't speak of this young fellow in particular, who I heartily wish may be able to clear himself, for I like both his modesty and his spirit. But I fear he has rushed upon his fate.

And why? Hundreds of misguided gentlemen are now in arms against the Government; many, doubtless, *upon principles which education and early prejudice* have gilded with the names of patriotism and heroism; - Justice when she selects her victims from such a multitude (for surely all will not be destroyed), must regard the moral motive. He whom ambition, or hope of personal advantage, has led to disturb the peace of a well-ordered government, let him fall a victim to the laws; but surely youth, misled by the wild visions of chivalry and imaginary loyalty, may plead for pardon. (252, emphasis added)

In a modern society the generations are raised in accordance with the shared cultural norms, and the eighteenth century is often regarded to be the starting point for such a mental and physical conditioning. The most convenient way for governors of the eighteenth century to generate a nation with common interests and beliefs is education. Scott is criticized for reserving unnecessary and irrelevant space in the first six chapters of *Waverley* to describe the childhood of Edward. It is, however, an underestimated commentary since Scott was one of the few who anticipated the importance of education for a powerful United Kingdom, whose citizens should strive for the future benefaction of the country. "Education and early prejudice" quoted above are the main hindrances in Edward Waverley's upbringing to understand the glory of feudal values.

The fact that Edward was facilely tempted to join the ranks of the Jacobean army comes from his education. His upbringing does not fit the standard of a modern education. His parents and uncle are incapable of providing a national consciousness for the boy, and the texts his teacher chooses for him are far from promoting his personal attachment to his nationality or country. Thus, Edward lacks the sense of belonging to and identifying with a modern country. Even though he was not given his identity through education, he finds his path instinctively. It is not known "whether the boy's nurse had been a Welsh or a Scotch woman" (43), and, as his complex nature indicates, the child was the product of British culture and not exclusively English. Scott emphasizes the importance of education in order to justify Edward's adhering to the rebellion since formal education was severely lacking. Edward was solely left to his own devices as a child.

The question of what needs to be learned and what needs to be left out is one of the central themes of the novel. While Edward becomes a victim of educational needs, Flora and Fergus are victims of learning “wrong” things. Education or illiteracy of “others” made them bigoted and blind; in such case, education needs to be teaching what dominant ideology, or mainstream policy the state requires people to believe.²

The problem with education arises from the fact that most fanatical protagonists of the Jacobite as well as the Hanoverian cause are well-educated; they have been trained to take certain sides and have been well grounded in their respective principles. This situation enables them to act as loyal supporters of their cause. Scott indirectly advises, through the individual story of Edward, to cultivate harmless and well-behaved generations through the texts they will be exposed to during their pubescence and adolescence. If education is capable of turning people into fanatics, Scott advocates using it for the well-being of the Kingdom by using it for the right purposes.

In the case of the Jacobite rebels, particularly Flora, early education impressed upon her mind an attachment to the exiled family of Stuarts. Edward criticizes her for the provincialism of her taste, a defect understandable in terms of her unsociable condition in Glenaquoich, where “her resources in French, English and Italian literature, were likely to be few and interrupted” and where Highland traditions “fill up the vacant time” (101). Unlike those people, Edward’s lack of education, instead of being an impediment, is his hope. He will be able to see beyond traditional prejudice and hatred. He is the “tabula rasa” of the coming new society that needs to be purified of past hatreds and traditional prejudices. It is also somewhat suggested by the fact that any rational individual has the potential to sense what is right and the truth as Rose and Edward did despite the impact of his/her education. While Fergus and Flora’s irrational ethno-nationalism is criticized because of the French education they had, “the failure of the British state system which provided no uniform education in an effort to secure homogeneity of nation and culture” (Brekalo 90) is a criticism Scott brings in to show the arbitrary and reluctant mechanisms of British decision-making in favour of Englishness.

The position of reading and the emergence of canonical literary texts did increase in Scotland and the number of newspapers published then is an indicator of a trend for utilizing literacy to educate the masses. In 1782 there were only eight Scottish newspapers, the number considerably increased to twenty-seven by 1790 and even more in 1791-1792 (Brekalo 44). It is clear that

the internal harmony of the nation-state was a substantial part of these texts and they contributed to the point that people could see events through the eyes of a writer. The manipulative effect of reading is undeniably natural since the consciousness of the reader is open to the stream of information without resistance and with a certain desire to believe or visualize.³

France, a much needed enemy

Political powers governing a country have often needed malicious enemies in order to win the public's acquiescence and unconditional support. In addition to a myriad of forms of unconditional obedience, denizens do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives or pay the highest taxes in order to protect their motherlands from the evil enemies. Anyone whose image is linked with those evil powers is usually accused of treason, and somehow either executed or forced to flee.

England has had its share of enemies like every other nation. Having close borders, and being one of the most powerful rivals for colonial plunder, France has always had quite tense relations with England. After rejecting Catholicism and establishing the Anglican Church, England managed to survive despite the intrigues, political turmoil and wars spreading from the heart of Catholic Europe. Being granted a more favourable position towards their rules after the revolution of 1688, the Britons considered France to be overtly monarchic and thus lacking liberty. After so many years of wars and France's conspicuous aid to the American rebels, the public held a malicious image of France, whose only aim seemed to be to destroy the United Kingdom from the other side of the Channel. Partly true, this statement was a product of political wars and intrigues rather than being the result of public relations. As part of a modern inclination, the natural enemies of the state were usually attributed with the qualities of external enemies as Walter Scott did in *Waverley*.

It is a historical fact that during the time when *Waverley* was being written France and Napoleon constituted a great threat to the United Kingdom. Napoleon's political and personal ambitions led the people of France to the delusion of marching across the whole of Europe, and even into Russia. Moreover, French aid in Bonnie Prince Charlie's attempt to regain the English throne became another undeniable obstacle for both countries' hopes of negotiation in the historical course of international politics. Despite this antagonistic atmosphere against France, the way Scott uses the image of France

in *Waverley*, however, produces confusion. The political background of the Stuart family is disregarded and the uprising of the Scots is degraded as an intrigue of the French. Regardless of the Highlanders’ atrocious conditions, their demands are considerably ignored by English authorities for their possible connection to outside forces, particularly the French. In the same way, the barbarian image of the Highlanders and the French was mirrored in order to vocalize the superiority of the English over them.

Although *Waverley* and Scott’s other novels mark the success of the Anglicization process against the French and other possible foreign influences, resistance in Scottish people has been a major inclination against outsider influences. Despite the English authority’s rapid success at gaining ground in the Lowlands, Highlanders had always an attitude of opposition to English dominance (Dale 113). Thus with the defeat of 1745, the immigration of most resistance leaders to America, and re-narration of the historical events in parallel with a romantic British youngster’s story manifested the victory of the empire over the Scots. History was to be rewritten according to the demands of the new emerging empire; real events of shady history were to be rearranged to complete the gaps of nation building narration.

The influence of other nations does not consist of harmful effects on characters in *Waverley* as long as it heaves a strong sense of national identity which is a product of the nation-state theory. In contrast to his naïve and unbiased internationalism, Edward’s interest in other cultures and customs, yet no complete dedication to any of them, Scottish internationalism, as characterized in the Baron of Brandwardine, the Lowlanders, Fergus, Flora, and the Highlanders is an allegedly dangerous type, since it is connected with England’s greatest enemy, France. That is the reason why the Baron of Bradwardine is “more like a Frenchman than an Englishman of the period”, with the characteristics and ability of “a Swiss officer of the guards, who had resided some time in Paris” (86). Additionally, the Baron’s “language and habits were as heterogeneous as his external appearance” (87). The heterogeneity, the plurality of national identities, suggests the Baron’s internationalism together with a lack of national character.

The narrator in the novel makes it clear that the dangers of a connection to France are present everywhere. Donald Bean Lean “had served in some inferior capacity in the French army”, and receives Edward “with a profusion of the French politeness and Scottish hospitality” (141). The background provided for Donald Bean Lean, Fergus and Flora implies that the French side of their character is more harmful and subversive than the Scottish one.

The association of the Scots with the French is clearly affirmed as a threat and at the end of the novel these intimidating elements to the modern structure of the Empire are eliminated.

Culture: Change on the way

Waverley's implicit message as a response to the contemporary turmoil of Europe is relatively simple: Britain, in a condition of advanced liberty (more than "sixty years since"), has already experienced this violent phase of history. The struggle between absolutist ancient regimes and peoples are prophesied in the 1745 rebellion, which Scott's representations accentuate to a "Frenchified highland chief" on one side, and a "levy en masse" of belligerent Presbyterian Lowlanders on the other. Such a narration could stimulate the clash between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces within France and ancient and modern struggles for national independence. The British conflict's resolution was not by political revolution or war but by "the gradual influx of wealth, and extension of commerce" (363) that had a more powerful effect than any revolution. This idea that claims to resolve paramount conflicts by a process of modernization bestows the past with its special significance in the novel. Modernizing involves the erosion of cultural difference and idiosyncratic identities, the displacement of one kind of culture by another. Therefore, it requires a loss of memory as well as shaping of it (Lincoln 50-51).

The cultural signifiers of Scottish culture in *Waverley* are depicted to be vanishing and inferior to English culture. The lifestyle and poverty are unquestionably considered to contain wild elements. Scott, however, neglects to explain the reasons for this considerably atrocious situation. This is one of the points where Scott utilizes a triumphant narrative of the modern nation. "Scott's attitude to Scotland", Daiches points out, "was a mixture of regret for the old days when Scotland was an independent but turbulent and distracted country, and of satisfaction at the peace, prosperity and progress which he felt had been assured by the Union with England in 1707 and the successful establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty on the British throne" (91). Scott attempts to reconcile Scotland's traditions with English culture and does not get into the details of why Scotland, despite being on the same small island, failed to keep up with advancement and modernism as England did. Scott's eclectic approach endorses the dominant culture and shows the remnants of previous traditions as archaic.

“HOSPITALITY TO THE EXILE AND BROKEN BONES TO THE TYRANT”

One scene in *Waverley* illustrates Scott's attempt at the reconciliation of cultures. Waverley attends the hunting party that Fergus organizes with other clan chiefs. Although it is a secret meeting for the Highlander in order to discuss the plan for the uprising, Edward is not aware of the hidden agenda behind it. Unfamiliar with the Highlander methods of hunting, he does not feel comfortable among these others. In addition to his confusion, he has an accident and injures his leg. On a symbolic level, Edward's injury illuminates his detachment from the Highlander culture and his different inclinations as well as talents. The way Highlanders and their free-time activities are portrayed suggests an obviation of Scottish values. It is not only hunting that loses its value, but also oral traditions and other cultural attributions disappear in the modernist sense. The capacity of modern culture to absorb and neutralize antagonizing ideas as well as feelings proves its power on the cultural side.

In chapters 20 through 22, where Scottish tradition is discussed, a “profusion of Celtic verses” is chanted to feasting clansmen by the family *bhairdh*. Then the song is reproduced by Flora, performed to “a lofty and uncommon Highland air” with a harp. The song is about a call to arms seeking revenge for past defeats. The Gaelic audience transforms into a form of “ecstasy” with the excited, fervent performance. The English version by Flora functions in a different way though. The Highlanders are themselves irrelevant to this performance: paradoxically, Flora sings of the loss of their way of life. This scene can be considered as an example of a process by which a supposedly debased popular art is “restored” to its appropriate, aristocratic form. Despite the effort, the song does not persuade or influence Edward to join the Jacobite cause. The translation of the Gaelic war song is a preminent symbol for *Waverley*. It is figurative of modern culture, and displays the notion of heterogeneous culture (Lincoln 57-58).

The rough character of the Highlanders due to their habitat is opposed and castigated upon in comparison with the Lowlanders. In that sense the novel draws a line between the lower-class Presbyterians and the gentlemanly figures such as Morton and Melville, who represent the transformation of Scottish manners by politeness. In relation to the lower-class Lowlanders, the Highlanders are more civilized, but in comparison to the standards of British culture, they are “impolite”. The narrator pays attention to the politeness of Callum Beg;

The Highland politeness of Callum Beg – there are few nations, by the way, who can boast of so much natural politeness as the Highlanders – the

Highland civility of his attendant had not permitted him to disturb the reveries of our hero. But observing him rouse himself at the sight of the village, Callum pressed closer to his side, and hoped ‘When they cam to the public, his honour wad not say nothing about Vich Ian Vohr, for ta people were bitter Whigs, deil burst tem’. (226)

The pattern of the English culture’s superiority over the Scottish is repeated in elaborate forms. The way Scott narrates Scottish ceremonies proclaims that they do not fit the needs of the contemporary times:

After this ceremony was duly performed, the old Esculapius let his patient’s blood with a cupping-glass with great dexterity, and proceeded, muttering all the while to himself in Gaelic, to boil on the fire certain herbs, with which he compounded an embrocation. He then fomented the parts which had sustained injury, never failing to murmur prayers or spells, which of the two Waverley could not distinguish, as his ear only caught the words Gasper-Melchior-Balthazar- max- prax-fax, and similar gibberish. The fomentation had a speedy effect in alleviating the pain and swelling, which our hero imputed to the virtue of herbs, or the effect of chaffing, but which was by the bystanders unanimously ascribed to the spells with which the operation had been accompanied. ...

Edward observed, with some surprise, that even Fergus, notwithstanding his knowledge and education, seemed to fall in with the superstitious ideas of his countrymen, either because he deemed it impolitic to affect skepticism on a matter of general belief, or more probably because, like most men who do not think deeply or accurately on such subjects, he had in his mind a reserve of superstition which balanced the freedom of his expressions and practice upon other occasions. (190-191)

The irony and sense of humour is overtly solid in these two paragraphs above. However, the metaphor of “the old Esculapius” evokes an image of a person with a belief in multi gods, which is regarded heretic in Christianity. Such a comparison does not only degrade the belief of the Scots but also puts a religious blame on them. The words mentioned during the ritual are from a different language, but the way they are conveyed turns these words into an absurdity. Fergus is also criticized for using or believing these superstitions despite his education. Assumingly, what Scott attempts to deliver through Fergus is emphasis on the superstitious character of the Highlanders. Since

this superstitious feature cannot be removed by education, it needs to be eliminated entirely or successfully merged with the modern approach, whose key element is not using any spells. After all the treatment is effective, what remains is a combination of selection by modern culture.

The house where the Bradwardine family lives constitutes a central figure in *Waverley*. It is the first genteel place Edward visits and a possible future house for Edward and Rose. The eventual reconstruction of Bradwardines' ruined estate with English money makes an effort to rebuild the house to its original condition: a new greenhouse, and lighter stables are added, but the main idea is recreation and conservation, not improvement. Tully-Veolan, the garden of Bradwardine, represents the cultural memory of its local community and nation's history. It is strongly associated with romantic values, sentimental Jacobitism, and feudal understanding of beauty. In its new form, the estate no longer represents feudal authority; on the contrary, paternalistic values are harmonized with politeness and sociability. The final image of the novel, the portrait of Fergus and Waverley on their way to inevitable defeat, as Lincoln points out, will inspire no further rebellion (61). Walter Scott's notion of the aesthetic becomes a consolation for the loss of political autonomy.

Conclusion

Waverley is not a modern novel: it clearly lacks a search for a new way of expression or fragmented forms dense with allusions, and it is not despairing in tone but its usage of modern elements of a new system and structure on a literary dimension is markedly different from what its age demanded. Modernism is located around the transition from *Gemeinschaft* (rural and stable community) to *Gesellschaft* (urban and unstable society) and Ferdinand Tönnies points out that “Community means genuine, enduring life together, whereas Society is a transient and superficial thing. Thus, *Gemeinschaft* must be understood as a living organism in its own right, while *Gesellschaft* is a mechanical aggregate and artifact” (19). *Waverley* exemplifies a pre-modern perception of such transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*. It also transforms the folklore into a national and historical sense that started to emerge in the nineteenth century. Matthew Wickman points out how interpretations of *Waverley* over time have manifested its subversive role in eliminating ancient traits:

This attitude of modernity in *Waverley* has come to inflect criticism of Scott

as much as it has Scott's novel. Interpretations which focus on this attitude perceive in Scott's Highland romance such discourses as historicism, imperialism, and capitalism; and in harboring these discourses, Scott's work becomes a virtual Highland line dividing ancient and modern. (12)

Being notoriously successful at combining historical facts and individual romances, Scott reflects the features of a country which was at the threshold of its modern era. "In many novels", Daiches points out, "[Scott] introduces the loyal and respectable Englishman, allows him to be temporarily seduced by the claims of Scottish nationalism in one form or another, and then, reluctantly, sends him back to his respectable way of life again" (92). Although he was a Scot (Lowlander) as his name suggests, he was not concerned about transferring historical facts. History for him was an element where he could reflect his ideas and discuss the coming of the new era. In the times of a crisis of memory, his texts served as a guide for others having difficulties with combining the old with the new, the feudal with the modern, and the past with the present. Certain parts of *Waverley* can be historically inaccurate and incomplete in terms of reflecting the *zeitgeist*, but it heralds the coming of a new age with the vanishing losers and rising winners.

Notes

1. As Ina Ferris reports, the novels of Scott were not well-received in literary circles, but in six years' time his *Waverley* novels achieved such authority and prestige that his other novels to be published became legendary as soon as they entered the literary world.
2. Scott's focus on the importance of education to create a manipulated consciousness might exemplify the external policy of the United Kingdom, which was able to keep its higher political and colonial position due to its determined policy of educating its "subjects". The English were among the first to combine physical methods with education. Scott's influential position in English literature also marks how valuable and effective his writings have been in terms of shaping the nation.
3. Theoretically, the most influential example of similar thinking belongs to Benedict Anderson whose "imagined communities" takes the print-languages and the new forms such as the novel and the newspaper as the new representatives of the nation.

Works Cited

- Anderson, Benedict Richard O'Gorman. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991. Print.
- Anderson, Perry. "From Progress to Catastrophe: On the Historical Novel." *London Review of Books*. Vol. 33 No. 15. July 2011: 24-28. Print.

- Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991 (1981). Print.
- Brekalo, Anjo. *The Discourse of Nationalism and Internationalism in the Nineteenth-Century British Novel*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Tulane University, 2001.
- Burke, Edmund, and L.G. Mitchell. *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Print.
- Cottom, Daniel. *The Civilized Imagination; A Study of Ann Radcliffe, Jane Austen, and Sir Walter Scott*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Print.
- Daiches, David. *Literary Essays*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Print.
- Ferris, Ina. *The Achievement of Literary Authority, Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1979. Print.
- Lincoln, Andrew. *Walter Scott and Modernity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. Print.
- Lukacs, Georg. *The Historical Novel*. Trans. by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962 [1937]. Print.
- Lynch, Michael. *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Print.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Consequences of Modernity*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1990. Print.
- Griffith, Dale K. *Scott's Fiction and The Union of 1707*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. University of Nevada, 2007.
- Scott, Walter, (1932-7). *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, 12 Vols., London: Constable. Print.
- Scott, Walter. *Waverley*. Ed. Claire Lamant, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. Print.
- Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Community and Civil Society*. Trans. by J. Harris & M. Hollis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Print.
- Wickman, Matthew. *The Ruins of Experience: Scotland's "Romantick" Highlands and Birth of the Modern Witness*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. Print.

SINAN GÜL received his Ph.D. in English Literature from the University of Arkansas (USA) in 2017 and is a part-time professor in the department of

SINAN GÜL

American Culture and Literature at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey. His primary academic research interests are focused on modern and contemporary drama, Renaissance and Reformation Drama, and the nineteenth-century novel.

sinangul36@gmail.com