

Scotland, United Kingdom, Europe, Referenda: An Updated View of Walter Scott's Waverley

Escocia, Reino Unido, Europa, Referenda: Una visión actualizada de Waverley, de Walter Scott

EVA MARÍA PÉREZ RODRÍGUEZ Y MIGUEL LÓPEZ MORENO
Universidad de Islas Baleares

Resumen:

La novela de Walter Scott sobre el levantamiento Jacobita del '45 *Waverley*, o *Hace sesenta años* (1815), expresa la postura ambivalente del autor entre el apoyo de la individualidad escocesa, por un lado, y una actitud Unionista a favor de Inglaterra, por otro lado. La publicación de la novela sesenta años después de Culloden (1745) llevaría a los lectores contemporáneos de Scott a reflexionar sobre las ventajas del Unionismo, a pesar de lo que éste implicaba para la cultura e identidad de los montañeses de las Tierras Altas escocesas. Del mismo modo, la lectura de *Waverley* doscientos años después, coincidiendo con el referéndum escocés de 2014 para independizarse o continuar en el Reino Unido, dio lugar a un renovado interés en la visión de Scott del nacionalismo escocés, y por extensión en su novela. Este artículo analiza esos rasgos de la individualidad escocesa en tiempos de la revuelta (el paisaje, la poesía, la hospitalidad, la lealtad), que encontrarían eco entre el electorado escocés para decidir su voto en 2014. A la vez, el artículo analiza la compleja actitud de Scott de apego a ambas naciones, Escocia e Inglaterra, pero en última instancia a favor de la unión.

Palabras clave: Walter Scott, *Waverley*, rebelión Jacobita de 1745, identidad escocesa, referéndum escocés de 2014

Abstract:

Walter Scott's novel of «The Forty-Five» Jacobite rebellion, *Waverley*, or *'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1815), expressed the author's ambivalent position between support of Scottish individuality and a Unionist, pro-English stance. In the same way that the novel's publication sixty years after Culloden (1745) was meant to make his readers reflect on the advantages of Unionism, despite what it implied for the loss of Highlander culture and identity, the reading of *Waverley* two hundred years later, coinciding with the 2014 Scottish referendum to leave or remain in the United Kingdom, sparked a renewed interest in Scott's views on Scottish nationalism, and by extension his novel. This article analyses those features of Scottish individuality prevalent around the

time of the uprising (landscape, poetry, hospitality, loyalty) that might resonate with the Scottish electorate to decide on their vote in 2014. At the same time, it examines Scott's complex attitude of attachment to both nations, Scotland and England, but ultimately in favour of union with the latter.

Keywords: Walter Scott, *Waverley*, 1745 Jacobite rebellion, Scottish identity, 2014 Scottish referendum

With *Waverley*, or *'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814) Walter Scott attempted to introduce Highland society to those who remained unfamiliar with it in other parts of Great Britain¹. Scott's use of the reminder «'Tis Sixty Years Since» to refer to the 1745 Jacobite rebellion (he had started composition in 1805) alerted his readers upon publication, that the novel was a semi-fictionalised reassessment of the crisis that had nearly changed the course of British history. Potentially, «the Forty-Five» (as the rebellion was known) attempted to sever Scotland from the rest of Great Britain, effectually repealing the Union, and to restore the Scottish parliament. Scotland would therefore have evolved differently had there been a successful Jacobite deposition of the Hanoverian king George II and reinstatement of the Stuart James VIII (as he would have been) on the British throne. *Waverley* follows the incursion of the protagonist, Edward Waverley, into Scotland, first as a soldier of the Hanoverian army, and then as an adopted member of the MacIvor clan, fighting for the Highlanders; in so doing, the novel conforms with the «philosophical romance» category, as it «highlights the ideological fissures of a nation defining itself on the brink of revolution»². As it happened, however, Scotland «defin[ed] itself» after her own revolution in terms of a resounding defeat: the battle of Culloden in 1746 put an end to the Jacobite dream. But as *Waverley* bears witness to the devastation of Culloden, he maintains his faith in the reconstruction of Scotland and her future prosperity only through reconciliation with England.

To say that historically Scotland has had a complicated relationship with England is a monument to understatement. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (dethronement of the Stuart monarch James II and accession of William III of Orange), the Act of Union of 1707 joined both parliaments and the two countries became politically closer; but it also implied that Scotland lost its independence never to recover it again, so far at least. The union backfired, as it ushered in the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745; in the latter, the supporters of the «Young Pretender» (or «Young Chevalier») Prince Charles Edward Stuart, known popularly as Bonnie Prince Charlie, rose in arms against the British government,

¹ Kathryn SUTHERLAND, «Introduction». In Walter SCOTT, *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* [1814], Claire Lamont (ed.), New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. vii-xxvi, p. xix.

² Robert MILES quoted in Anthony JARRELLS, *Britain's Bloodless Revolutions: 1688 and the Romantic Reform of Literature*, London, Palgrave, 2005, p. 170.

with the intention of restoring the Stuart dynasty on the British throne. However, «The Forty-Five» was a civil war, not an Anglo-Scottish conflict as such: the king's army and cause were Hanoverian, not inclusively English; and there were mixed Scottish and English fighters on both sides of the clash. Also, as opposed to the idealistic 1715 rising, the second Jacobite rebellion «was not the outburst of a vigorous Gaelic society but the last stand of traditional Highland culture against the forces causing its decline – commercialism, Anglicization, and governmental pressure from England and Lowland Scotland»³. The Jacobites' claim that the legitimate successor was the Pretender's father James Stuart (hypothetically, III of England and VIII of Scotland, a Stuart and therefore British), to the detriment of the reigning monarch George II Hanover (therefore German), was crushed by England's military and financial superiority: the Young Pretender and his supporters were finally defeated at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. As a result of this war, a great percentage of Scottish Jacobite supporters, especially Highlanders, either died on the battlefield or were executed or banished afterwards, which contributed to the disappearance of whole Highlander communities together with their unique way of life and customs.

Walter Scott used his fiction in general, and *Waverley* in particular, to suit his own approach to history, whereby historical events contributed to the shaping of Scottish national identity. In the words of critic Markus Bernauer, «by narrating the disappearance [of Highland society], the vanished tradition is brought back to life, not as an exotic phenomenon but as an experienced Romantic element told through the means of realism»⁴. For Scott, history was conceived as «the ceaseless pattern of conflict, reconciliation and loss by which we embrace change»⁵. In order, therefore, to embrace change – understood positively, as national progress – the process implies for Scotland a previous traumatic period of loss and defeat, deep transformations triggered by the Act of Union of 1707 and which continued throughout the 18th century. Hence Scott, although aware of the economic profitability resulting from the union with England, also considered those changes as potentially detrimental to Scotland; according to his descendant, Paul Henderson Scott, he was «throughout his life [...] deeply worried about the Union; he was afraid that it would gradually destroy all that was distinctive and valuable of the Scottish tradition»⁶.

In order to contribute to the preservation of that distinctiveness and tradition, Scott focuses on what constitutes an essential part of Scotland's national character, through pro-

³ Thomas William HEYCK, *A History of the Peoples of the British Isles*, London, Routledge, 2002, p. 110.

⁴ Markus BERNAUER, «Historical Novel and Historical Romance». In Gerard GILLESPIE, Bernard DIETERLE, and Manfred ENGEL (eds.), *Romantic Prose Fiction*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 2008, pp. 296-324, p. 307.

⁵ SUTHERLAND, «Introduction» to *Waverley*, p.xix.

⁶ Paul Henderson SCOTT, *Scotland: A Creative Past, an Independent Future*, Glasgow, Luath Press, 2014, p. 130.

tagonist Waverley's immersion in Highland culture. On the one hand Scott, like Waverley, is fascinated with Highland society, and by writing his novel, he engages in an antiquarian project towards their preservation in collective memory. Scott was actually an authorised voice to do so, given that he was «in constant and vivid contact with old warriors; [...] old Scots who fed his restless romantic imagination with copious anecdotes and reminiscence»⁷ of both Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745. On the other hand, he rejects the ideals of the Jacobite cause as he saw in Scotland's union with England a road to progress. In this ambivalence of Scott's, George Lukacs sees a search for «the "middle way" between the extremes», illustrative of «his often narrow conservatism»⁸. In *Waverley* the unsettling account of the Highlanders' rebellion against George II is understood as formative of Scottish national identity, even if in negative terms: as Engels affirmed, «with the suppression of the uprising of 1745 [...] the real downfall of gentile society in Scotland begins»⁹, words to which Scott would have subscribed.

Fast-forward two hundred years, from the publication of *Waverley* to the 2014 referendum which asked Scots «Should Scotland be an independent country?». The «YesScotland» party, following methods radically different from those of the Jacobites in Culloden, meant nevertheless to break away from England and the United Kingdom. In turn their opponents, the «Better Together» party, invoked Sir Walter Scott's ideas as a «unionist» argument, while *Waverley* was quoted as evidence of his pro-British and conservative position. It would be almost impossible to argue whether Scott – and *Waverley* – loomed large over the decision-making process of the electorate, but it might be reasonable to assume that such a central cultural and political figure as the «Wizard of the North» would not have been entirely ignored in the debate¹⁰. In Andrew Lincoln's view, with *Waverley* Scott aims to «establish in the realm of imagination and memory the continuity that history denies, and to transform a past conflict and displaced traditions into a usable heritage in the modern state»¹¹. The evident ideological potential of the novel, both upon publication in 1814 and two hundred years later, stressed the point that «the modern individual was to be connected to national history, and experience membership of the imagined community of the nation»¹². For the 2014 referen-

⁷ James REED, *Sir Walter Scott: Landscape and Locality*. London, Bloomsbury, 2013, p. 51.

⁸ George LUKACS, *The Historical Novel*, Hannah MITCHELL and Stanley MITCHELL (trans.), London, Merlin Press, 1962, p. 33. This emphasis on the «middle» is also expressed in Andrew Jarrells's view that «[Scott's] middle space is forged and finally occupied by none other than the state itself», manifested not only through the «English government», but even through «English common sense». JARRELLS, *Britain's Bloodless Revolutions*, p. 188.

⁹ Friedrich Engels quoted in LUKACS, *The Historical Novel*, p. 58.

¹⁰ Robert IRVINE, «Reading *Waverley* in 2014». *The Bottle Imp* 16: 1-5. Accessed May 22, 2018. <https://www.thebottleimp.org.uk/2014/11/reading-waverley-in-2014/>.

¹¹ Andrew LINCOLN, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007, p. 31.

¹² LINCOLN, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 61.

dum primarily required voters to consider what Scotland would be in the near and not so near future, not just to look back to the national past and collective character.

At stake was not merely the decision to let Scotland remain a constituent part of the United Kingdom; in effect it was also a consultation about their determination to maintain their intrinsic Scottishness, to continue to be defined in terms of their Scottish singularity. *Waverley* was invoked for what it meant for the Scots, since it extols a number of features that illustrate the Scottish national character, such as poetry, landscape, hospitality, or superstitions. For what it implied of Scottish pride in their national character, the 2014 referendum impelled numerous Scots to turn to the 1814 novel and the ideas conveyed in it by the author. Thus, the question «How would Scott vote?» was a weighty argument that potentially could swing the result to a «YES» ballot, that is, for independence from the UK. At any rate, the «NO» result won, and Scotland remained part of the United Kingdom¹³. Of ulterior, related events in 2016 and 2019 we shall speak below.

1. SCOTTISH CULTURAL IDENTITY: THE ROMANCE OF LANDSCAPE, POETRY AND FOLKLORE

Waverley is therefore representative of how «Scott's novels, in the way they treat the past, are about the immediate present and future of Scotland, of Britain, and the Christian West»¹⁴, an assessment that aligns the novel with the «NO» vote in the 2014 referendum. *Waverley* conveys Scott's views, at face value on the Scottish defeat in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, but ultimately and more relevantly, for union with the UK, despite his regret that this may imply the permanent loss of a great part of Scottish independence and character. Scott's troubled nationalistic and political stance, a mixture of adherence to the Scottish nation and faith in the continued union with England, is powerfully conveyed through protagonist *Waverley*'s epiphanic realisation of the futility of the Jacobite uprising. After the skirmish at Clifton Moor, he becomes detached from the rebels and, metaphorically speaking, from the Jacobite cause; aware of the consequences of the civil war, he vows that «the romance of his life was ended, and its real history had now commenced»¹⁵. In this

¹³ Many voted «NO» for its ulterior implication that Scotland would remain in the European Union, rather than any explicit pro-UK attachment; this dilemma is addressed at the end of the article.

¹⁴ Gary KELLY, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789-1830*, Harlow, Longman, 1989, p. 141. A similar view is conveyed by George Lukacs, for whom Walter Scott's «living connection with the past» is what lies at the root of his patriotism. LUKACS, *The Historical Novel*, p. 53.

¹⁵ Walter SCOTT, *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* [1814], Claire Lamont (ed.), New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, p 312.

dichotomy Gary Kelly sees a «“lesson” of the romance journey» which «is then inserted into the novel’s second, implicit plot, the plot of progress in history», based on a process of «dialectical resolution and progress»¹⁶. Scott’s ideals are reflected in *Waverley*’s epiphany, since the rebellion implied no future, a stagnation of Scotland in the imaginative but unproductive realm of romance, whereas union with England, or «real history», is what will lead Scotland to progress. In like manner, the result of the 2014 referendum would dictate what Scotland was to be in the 21st century and beyond: a member of a prosperous, powerful and dynamic United Kingdom, with potential for historical preeminence; or an independent state with plentiful challenges to meet, of uncertain result, evocative of the «reveries»¹⁷ of romance.

In the 2014 referendum, therefore, the Scots questioned themselves on the dichotomy between independence and unionism. Independence would define them as a country with their own national identity features, which had traditionally set them apart from the rest of the United Kingdom, in particular England. Apart from the referendum year, 2014 was the aptly named «Year of Homecoming» according to the official VisitScotland website:

an unforgettable year in which Scotland welcomed the world to take part in a unique celebration of all that the country has to offer. [...] 2014 showcased the very best of Scottish arts, culture, food & drink, nature, activities, history, ancestry and much more¹⁸.

Scott’s agenda is a remarkable compromise: he defends Scotland’s need to belong in the UK, but at the same time eulogizes a nation whose culture is proudly idiosyncratic: he invokes Scotland’s inherent exoticism to emphasise the cultural and anthropologic abyss that sets them apart from England, thus rendering them distinctive. Walter Scott is considered the father of the historical novel because he manages «to present an image of the historical uniqueness of a time as well as to develop characters as representatives of this uniqueness»¹⁹. We shall be looking at characters and events below in this article, but Scott also focuses on distinctive features of the Scottish nation, one of them being its magnificent landscape. To this defining aspect of Scotland’s individuality we turn in what follows.

In Scott’s novels, «the description of landscape is functionalised to conjure up a great past and to remind the compatriot of their innate relationship with their wild, pictur-

¹⁶ KELLY, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, pp. 143-144.

¹⁷ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 312.

¹⁸ VISITSCOTLAND, «Scotland’s Themed Years». Accessed 16 March 2020. <https://www.visitscotland.com/about/themed-years/>.

¹⁹ BERNAUER, «Historical Novel and Historical Romance», p. 298.

esque countryside»²⁰. Scott actually broke with the eighteenth-century convention according to which landscape is «a topographical vacuum» in novels, «little more than painted scenery, applied to the events from the outside and bearing no significant relationship to them»²¹. In *Waverley*, as in other Scott novels, the «precisely delineated localities» can potentially condition the development of the plot. This is well exemplified with the narrative of the Battle of Prestonpans, narrated in the chapter «The Conflict»²². Charles Edward Stuart trusts in the topographic knowledge of a Highlander who offers to guide the Jacobite warriors «by a practicable, though narrow and circuitous route, which, sweeping to our right, traverses the morass, and enables [them] to gain the firm and open plain, upon which the enemy are lying»²³. The association between Highlanders and nature is stressed by their adaptation to the environment; in spite of walking in the darkness through a difficult path described as «narrow, broken and marshy», Highlanders were so used to that kind of terrain that «they continued a steady and swift movement»²⁴. Other similar examples can be found in the novel, and they underline Scott's landscape as «a context, not a canvas [...] a world of action, not an object of contemplation [...] an environment with all the associations of history, heredity and legend»²⁵. The knowledge of the surrounding nature presents itself as an ally, facilitating an unexpected attack which leads to the victory of the Jacobites²⁶.

Scott is here showcasing his Scottish national pride, since on paper the British «Red-coats» were far superior and well-prepared for battle than the smaller, inadequate army that Charles Edward Stuart had gathered for the rising. The Pretender's forces were made up mostly by the assemblage of Highland clans, whose men were not sufficiently primed for armed action, and completed by peasantry that displayed «the livery of extreme penury, being indifferently accoutred, and worse armed, half naked, stunted in growth and miserable in aspect»²⁷. Taking into account the disparities between the two armies, there was no reason to be confident about the success of the Stuart cause. Nevertheless, the chivalry and courage of the Jacobites inspired Scott to pay tribute to those soldiers and their brave

²⁰ Wilhelm GRAEBER, «Nature and Landscape between Exoticism and National Areas of Imagination». In GILLESPIE, DIETERLE, and ENGEL, *Romantic Prose Fiction*, pp. 90-106, p. 101.

²¹ REED, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 6.

²² SCOTT, *Waverley*, pp. 247-251.

²³ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 247.

²⁴ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 248.

²⁵ REED, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 14.

²⁶ In order to counteract this landscape factor, the British army built a network of «military roads» which would allow the ever-increasing number of patrols to connect the most important outposts. HEYCK, *A History of the Peoples of the British Isles*, pp. 109, 113.

²⁷ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 237.

commitment at Prestonpans, whose ultimate outcome was the unforeseen defeat of the Hanoverian side:

The English infantry, trained in the wars in Flanders, stood their ground with great courage. But their extended files were pierced and broken in many places by the close masses of the clans; and in the personal struggle which ensued, the nature of the Highlanders' weapons, and their extraordinary fierceness and activity, gave them decided superiority over those who had been accustomed to trust much to their array and discipline, and felt that the one was broken and the other useless²⁸.

The quote illustrates, even at the lexical level, the different traditions valued by the clashing armies and their respective countries: England versed in the continental wars of the Austrian and Spanish Successions, and honed by martial order; Scotland on the other hand primitively trusting in localised, aggressive action. The reader is given the Scottish perspective: the sense of pride that the Highland clans were able to defeat one of the most efficient and well-prepared armies in the world.

Beyond the inaccessibility of the terrain, used to advantage by the Highlanders in the military process, the sublime singularity of its topography made Scotland a challenging and exotic destination, in particular in the 18th century, despite its proximity to England. Scotland's magnificent landscapes, in the view of critic Wilhelm Graeber, are «its own wild and appropriate accompaniments», unfamiliar elements that directly contribute to the Scots' sense of national pride: «in Scott's novels, nature and landscape obtain a new quality, no longer being the expression of individual sentiment, but necessarily contributing to collective identity»²⁹. The Highlands inhabitants feel a natural identification with their locale. Waverley accepts Evan Dhu's offer to guide him to the Highlands through the mountains, since the MacIvor clansman assures him that «you never saw such a place in your life, nor ever will, unless you go with me or the like of me»³⁰. Scott depicts the Highlands landscape with a uniqueness that makes it exclusively and proudly Scottish.

Such culturally apposite surroundings are also the setting where Flora MacIvor, ardent Jacobite and sister of the MacIvor clan leader, performs for Waverley the Gaelic song, which accordingly acquires nationalistic overtones: «To speak in the poetical language of my country, the seat of the Celtic muse is in the midst of the secret and solitary hill, and her voice in the murmur of the fountain stream»³¹. Flora's connection to this quintessential element of Highland culture is evident early on, from the chapter «The Chieftain's Sister»,

²⁸ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 250.

²⁹ GRAEBER, «Nature and Landscape», p. 100.

³⁰ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 83.

³¹ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 118.

devoted to her description: «when settled in the lonely regions of Glennaquoich [...] in order to fill up her vacant time, she bestowed a part of it upon the music and poetical traditions of the Highlanders»³². This implies a natural occupation for her since as Monica Spiridon maintains, «the prodigal production of verses is one of the preferred pastimes of the Northerners, by and large, one of the most significant facets of the alleged Scottish wilderness experienced by Waverley»³³. Scottish poetry acquired this radical Scottish character once again in 2014, when National Poetry Day³⁴, revolving around the topic «Remember», took place merely weeks after the referendum.

In *Waverley*, Walter Scott utilizes Gaelic poetry as a means to lionize the Scottish cultural tradition, as he turns his protagonist, however ironically, into «a worshiper of the Celtic muse, not the less so perhaps that he does not understand a word of her language»³⁵. Despite the language barrier, Scott helped popularise this central feature of Highland society amongst the rest of the United Kingdom. However, it is in translation that exoticism turns into political activism. The fact that Flora translates a Highland song for Waverley's benefit reinforces the idea that «poetry needs to be transferred into English for consumption of the modern audiences [...] in this form, it can be the object of sentimental retrospection, enjoyment and patriotic pride»³⁶. Ultimately, the Scots dialect conveys tradition and mystery, but the truly effectual means for the continuance of Highland poetry is the English language³⁷.

On the other hand, Scott downplays the implicit Jacobite – and so, seditious – impact of the verses to which Waverley is exposed first orally and then in writing. Whereas the Gaelic recitation during a Highland feast at Glennaquoich functions as an «awaken[ing]» to the «warriors, both young and old» and «an exhortation to them and to remember and emulate the actions of their forefathers»³⁸, the appeal is lost on Waverley. Flora indeed, seeing in him a worthy ally for Charles Edward Stuart, tries to persuade him to engage in the Jacobite cause through her rendition of the song. However, Waverley is not seduced by

³² SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 111.

³³ Monica SPIRIDON, «Torn Halves: Romantic Narrative Fiction between Homophony and Polyphony». In GILLESPIE, DIETERLE, and ENGEL, *Romantic Prose Fiction*, pp. 435-451, p. 441.

³⁴ SCOTTISH POETRY LIBRARY, «National Poetry Day 2014». Accessed 13 February 2020. <https://www.scottishpoetrylibrary.org.uk/learning/national-poetry-day/national-poetry-day-2014/>.

³⁵ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 113.

³⁶ Silke STROH, *Gaelic Scotland in the Colonial Imagination*. Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 2017, p. 122.

³⁷ This is precisely the problem addressed by Scottish historian Tom Devine, who has rescued for a contemporary readership the voices of those Highlanders sent into exile, often ignored in the past because their accounts, mainly told through song and poetry, were in Gaelic. BBCRADIO3, «2014 Edinburgh Festival: Culloden». Accessed 15 March 2020. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04h7n4s>.

³⁸ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 115.

the rebellious message conveyed in Flora's translation. As Andrew Lincoln affirms «Flora's poetic performances might easily have been interpreted as the catalyst that transforms the romance-reading Waverley into a committed Jacobite rebel», but actually the song proves to be «ineffectual as a call to arms», leaving Waverley «still reflect[ing] coolly on the reasonableness of the Hanoverian succession»³⁹. The fact that through Waverley's reaction Scott leaves aside the poetry's implicit Jacobite message is clear evidence that he values Gaelic poetry mostly for its cultural background rather than its potential nationalistic incentive.

Even those features of Highland culture, such as magic and superstitions, which stand out as completely alien to the English tradition, would have been perceived by Scott's readers as appealingly exotic, but not in tune with English pragmatism⁴⁰. In the unionist and progressive discourse of previous centuries «Gaelic otherness was seen as a threat to the homogeneity of the nation-state or to the emerging capitalist economy»⁴¹. Fergus MacIvor, the leader of the MacIvor clan, a man of knowledge, educated in France and with connections to the Stuart family, paradoxically proves to be one of the most superstitious characters. At the stag-hunt where Waverley is injured by a deer, an alleged surgeon helps the protagonist by applying an herbal remedy whilst magic spells are chanted in Gaelic. Waverley feels his pain abate almost instantly and attributes it to the herbs, whereas Highlanders ascribe it to the spells⁴². Later on, Fergus's belief in superstitions is heightened through reference to the spectre Bodach Glass, whose apparitions, according to the MacIvor clan, are interpreted as omens of an impending death⁴³. Walter Scott makes Waverley incredulous at the Highlanders' reaction: «even Fergus, notwithstanding his knowledge and education, seemed to fall in with the superstitious ideas of his countrymen»⁴⁴. Since Fergus unaccountably «returns to the fears of his forebears»⁴⁵, such backwardness is construed as an obstacle which prevents the progress of the nation.

³⁹ LINCOLN, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 58.

⁴⁰ Walter Scott strikes an unusually insensitive note when referring to the Highlanders' distinctive physical traits, emphasised throughout the novel, and contrasted with the supposedly more «polite» and Anglicised Lowlands inhabitants. In the episode «The March», which describes the advance towards Prestonpans of the army composed by Highlanders, the sight of these warriors «conveyed to the South country Lowlanders as much surprise as if an invasion of African negroes, or Esquimaux Indians, had issued forth from the northern mountains of their own native country». SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 237.

⁴¹ STROH, *Gaelic Scotland*, p. 121.

⁴² SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 130.

⁴³ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 304-305.

⁴⁴ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 131.

⁴⁵ REED, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 67.

2. VISIONS OF LOYALTY: HIGHLAND HONOUR VS. WAVERLEY'S RETRACTION

By way of compensation with these inherently Scottish features that Englishmen might perceive as alienating from the forward-looking Unionist project, Walter Scott emphasises certain aspects of mutually beneficial cooperation between both nations. For example, he capitalises on the contribution of Highland regiments to the English army «Redcoats» especially in the Peninsular War, so that their reception by the British public was favourable⁴⁶. Also, Scott highlights hospitality as a focal Highlander trait, as showcased in Waverley's reception at Glennaquoich; Evan Dhu's ingenuity in collecting information as well as his courtesy in offering Waverley his guidance to enter the Highlands⁴⁷; and more relevantly for the plot, during his recovery at an old man's house in Tomanrait, after being injured in a stag-hunt. This elderly Highlander, under the protection of the MacIvor clan, lives in humble conditions, and yet he proffers a disinterested hospitality which is admired by Scott: «this good old man, whose charity and hospitality were unbounded, would have received Waverley with kindness, had he been the meanest Saxon peasant, since his situation required assistance»⁴⁸. Scott portrays features of Highland society which «despite their savage provenance, could be turned to direct advantage for modern civilized British polity» and they «would provide useful moral glue to hold civil society together»⁴⁹. Through Waverley's perspective, the author conveys to the reader a deeper and better informed view of the Gaels, which transcends exotic assumptions, allowing us to understand Highland culture and to avoid shallow prejudices.

Living with the MacIvor clan at Glennaquoich, Waverley experiences firsthand the Highland landscape, society and tradition. This protracted section of the novel enables Scott to introduce another defining quality of the Highlanders: loyalty, in this case to the Jacobite cause. Fergus MacIvor «from his infancy upward, had devoted himself to the cause of the exiled [Stuart] family» and «laboured to reconcile the Highlanders among themselves [...] to be prepared for the first favourable opportunity of rising»⁵⁰. Perhaps the character from *Waverley* most constant to the Jacobite cause, Fergus MacIvor «remains irrationally loyal in his total devotion to the king»⁵¹ on the eve of his execution for high treason. Far from lamenting his own downfall, one of the first things he enquires of Waverley when he visits him at Carlisle Castle is whether the Pretender after Culloden had «escaped

⁴⁶ Actually during «The 45» there were more Scotsmen fighting for the Hanoverian than the Jacobite side. SUTHERLAND, «Introduction» to *Waverley*, p. xviii.

⁴⁷ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 82.

⁴⁸ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 132.

⁴⁹ STROH, *Gaelic Scotland*, p. 132.

⁵⁰ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 103.

⁵¹ REED, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 65.

the bloodhounds»⁵². Yet for all his loyalty to the Pretender, Fergus knows that others will suffer the worst consequences, after the failed revolt: he will be executed, but those of his clansmen who are pardoned their lives will be left financially dispossessed, as per the British government's systematic annihilation of the Highland clan society⁵³. In Lukacs's view «the courageous, devoted clan warriors» were «ruthlessly and extensively exploit[ed]» by the parties in the «civil war», for a political agenda totally alien to them⁵⁴. Anticipating these disastrous developments for his clansmen, Fergus openly asks Waverley for his financial support, by resorting precisely to clan loyalty:

You are rich, [...] Waverley, and you are generous. When you hear of these poor Mac-Ivors being distressed about their miserable possessions by some harsh overseer or agent of government, remember you have worn their tartan, and are an adopted son of their race⁵⁵.

This sense of unconditional, romantic loyalty that Scott stresses in *Waverley* is best exemplified through the Highlander Evan Dhu, Fergus MacIvor's right-hand man in the clan. His desperate offer of the lives of six clansmen in exchange for that of Fergus, at the trial where both were charged with high treason, meets with derision from the court judges. Yet instead of ridicule Walter Scott emphasises Evan Dhu's keen sense of duty and nobility of motif: «they ken neither the heart of a Hielandman, nor the honour of a gentleman»⁵⁶

Clan loyalty constitutes a major reason for pride amongst Highlanders, an eloquent example of which is Flora MacIvor, a Jacobite fanatic and thus «first and foremost a rebel, and an enthusiast for Highland culture»⁵⁷. She is not only extremely loyal to the Stuarts but also «her love of her clan, an attachment which was almost hereditary in her bosom, was, as her loyalty, a more pure passion than that of her brother» Fergus⁵⁸. So pure is Flora's passion and loyalty for the Jacobite cause that she leaves no space for romantic love in her life, and is therefore reluctant to accept Waverley's advances: «Have I not told you, that every keener sensation of my mind is bent exclusively towards an event, upon which in-

⁵² SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 358.

⁵³ HEYCK, *A History of the Peoples of the British Isles*, pp. 109, 112-115.

⁵⁴ LUKACS, *The Historical Novel*, p. 57-58.

⁵⁵ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 359. The point begs the interesting issue of England's financial help to Scotland in the context leading up to «The 45»: «Jacobite sentiment simply was not as strong in 1745 as it had been in 1715, because the economic benefits of the union had slowly begun to make themselves felt». A wider historical view complicates matters further, since after the defeat, numerous Scotsmen contributed to England's greatest financial enterprise: the Empire. HEYCK, *A History of the Peoples of the British Isles*, pp. 111-113.

⁵⁶ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 353-354.

⁵⁷ IRVINE, «Reading *Waverley* in 2014».

⁵⁸ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 112.

deed I have no power but those of my earnest prayers?»⁵⁹. Flora illustrates what Gary Kelly considers the irreconcilable nature of «the world of romance adventure and the world of domesticity» for women in the Waverley Novels, since «women who do venture into the realm of politics and the romance of history, such as Flora [...] suffer for it or cause suffering to others»⁶⁰.

Although her rebellious and impetuous nature captures Waverley's fancy at first, eventually Flora's obduracy leads her to complete isolation: not only does she reject romantic love as an obstacle to her political agenda, but actually, «after the defeat of the rebellion, Flora retreats to a French convent»⁶¹ towards the end of the novel. The harsh fate of both MacIvor siblings once more bespeaks Scott's adhesion to the Unionist cause: both Fergus's execution at Carlisle and Flora's exile to a convent are implied metaphors for Scott's political persuasion that there was no progress within a Jacobite cause destined to the destruction of personal lives, and of material and national patrimony: «Scott sees», according to Georg Lukacs, «the endless field of ruin, wrecked existences, wrecked or wasted heroic, human endeavour, broken social formations, etc. which were the necessary preconditions of the end-result»⁶². Not that the anti-independentists' referendum campaign in 2014 echoed this apocalyptic message, but Scott's preoccupation with Scotland's potential abandonment of the path of progress would have struck a chord.

As counterpoint to the radicalism of Flora MacIvor, whom Waverley meets in the Highlands, he also meets Rose Bradwardine in the Lowlands. Rose is the daughter of the Baron of Bradwardine, the owner of the Tully-Veolan estate, where Edward makes contact with the Scots for the first time. Despite the Baron's belief that his daughters were «above the cloud of passions», Rose «was gradually, and without her being conscious, assuming a shade of warmer affection»⁶³ towards Edward, an upshot of their mutual friendship. From the moment Edward leaves Tully-Veolan to explore the Highlands, he is increasingly exposed to dangers as he embraces the Jacobite cause. Rose is instrumental to Edward's survival since she is behind the plan to rescue him from being executed at Stirling for his implication in the

⁵⁹ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 150.

⁶⁰ KELLY, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, p. 145.

⁶¹ IRVINE, «Reading *Waverley* in 2014». The McIvors' French connections, like the Young Pretender's military support from France and various other continental powers, confirms the view that Jacobitism was a historically Europeanist project. As Christopher Scalia argues, the «damning» association with France would have been more keenly felt by Scott's readers in 1814, after the Napoleonic Wars. Christopher SCALIA, «*Waverley*, Scotland's Referendum, and Scottish Identity». *The 18th Century Common* 27 October 2014. Accessed July 4, 2020. <https://www.18thcenturycommon.org/waverley/>.

⁶² LUKACS, *The Historical Novel*, p. 54. See also Andrew HOOK, «Introduction». In Walter SCOTT, *Waverley* [1814], Andrew Hook (ed.), London, Penguin, 1972, pp. 9-27, pp. 13-14.

⁶³ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 73.

rebellion⁶⁴. This episode confirms that Rose's «appearance of domestic quietude» not only counterbalances Flora's aggressive nationalism, but it also «provides a cover for her private, behind-the-scenes plotting with the outlaw Donald Bean Lean to secure Waverley's safety»⁶⁵. Ironically, this domestic quietude is the flaw that, at first, prevents Waverley from developing sentimental affections for her during his stay at Tully-Veolan. However, after Flora MacIvor's repeated rejections of his advances, he ultimately resolves to marry Rose, a *volte-face* which, for *Waverley* editor Andrew Hook, constitutes one of the several «conventional and pedestrian romance elements» in the novel⁶⁶. Rose not only survives the defeat of the Jacobites, but eventually marries Waverley, and the couple end up living at Tully-Veolan. Rose's propitious fate is meant to symbolise continuance, as opposed to the dissolution of the MacIvor clan, a metonymic reminder of a generalised situation for the majority of Highland clans. Culloden actually spelled the death-knell of the clan system, a sad outcome which Lukacs perceives as inevitable: the clans are

of historical necessity, always the exploited, the cheated, the deceived. Their very heroic qualities which stem from the primitiveness of their social being, make them the toy of the humanly far inferior representatives of the ruling powers of the given stage of civilisation⁶⁷.

Edward Waverley evokes precisely Lukacs's diagnosis, devoid as he is of heroic qualities and actually proving inferior to the vanquished party. However, Scott devised Waverley in these unflattering terms – he even referred to him in private correspondence as «a sneaking piece of imbecility»⁶⁸ – with an ideological agenda in mind.

Walter Scott's reader is transported to 1745 Scotland through the perspective of protagonist Edward Waverley. Brought up by his uncle Sir Everard Waverley at his estate Waverley-Honour, from a very young age he received mixed political influences which placed him «between the wavering Whig allegiance of his place-seeking father, and the Tory, High Church prejudices of his uncle»⁶⁹. However, Edward never proved himself very politically engaged, not even when he was appointed Captain of a regiment of dragoons and had to depart for Scotland to serve his Hanoverian king. The romantic and idealistic impressions and experiences Edward received during his Scottish journey were heightened by the lasting effects of his earlier education. At Waverley-Honour, the chaplain in charge of his instruction, Mr. Pembroke, had given him plenty of educational and emotional liberty. Edward

⁶⁴ SCOTT, *Waverley*, pp. 335-337.

⁶⁵ LINCOLN, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 60.

⁶⁶ HOOK, «Introduction» to *Waverley*, p. 18.

⁶⁷ LUKACS, *The Historical Novel*, p. 57.

⁶⁸ Walter SCOTT quoted in HOOK, «Introduction» to *Waverley*, p. 20.

⁶⁹ REED, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 51.

found within the mansion's library a whole world of entertainment in which «his imagination, the predominant faculty of his mind, was frequently excited»⁷⁰. Moreover, the family stories of past heroic deeds told by his uncle and aunt contributed to reinforce Waverley's fanciful perspective of the world. Consequently, at the time of departing for Scotland, his imagination was filled with the romantic views and ideals he was about to encounter there. In choosing for Edward Waverley a geographic and historical setting fraught with political connotations, Scott characterised his protagonist in a manner that ran counter to convention:

By fixing, then, the date of my story Sixty Years before this present 1st November, 1805, I would have my readers understand, that they will meet in the following pages neither a romance of chivalry nor a tale of modern manners⁷¹.

In fact, the novel deals with a period which symbolises «the end of a world whose reality can only be mirrored in romances» and it is at this point that the protagonist transcends the category of a «middle hero» to become «a representative of the nation»⁷², Scotland in his case. I would add that this «middle hero» also stands for that nation's engagement in a historicising program for modernisation.

The journey of the hero (such as he was) into the Highlands, far from being a merely personal and military one, more relevantly recreates a romantic experience, for both protagonist and, vicariously, Scott's readers. From the very beginning, Scott heightens Edward's romantic imagination, in the process depoliticising his involvement in the Jacobite rebellion: «to be thus personally solicited for assistance by a prince, whose form and manners, as well as the spirits he displayed in this singular enterprise, answered [Waverley's] ideas of a hero of romance»⁷³. Thus Scott attributes to Waverley's decision to embrace the Jacobite cause to his romantic imagination and not to his political ideals.⁷⁴

Moreover, Waverley's lack of personal political commitment detaches him from the Jacobite rising towards the end of the novel, allowing him to obtain King George II's par-

⁷⁰ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 17.

⁷¹ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 4.

⁷² BERNAUER, «Historical Novel and Historical Romance», p. 308.

⁷³ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 214.

⁷⁴ Waverley is also an example of William Godwin's adherence to «individual history», or the «study of individual man», which allows authors «to add, to the knowledge of the past, a sagacity that can penetrate into the depths of futurity», in effect combining history with fiction, or romance. William GODWIN, «Essay of History and Romance» [1797]. In Mark PHILIP (ed.), *Political and Philosophical Writings of William Godwin*, London, Pickering & Chatto, Vol. 5, pp. 291-301, pp. 292-293. Walter Scott, a personal friend of Godwin's, perhaps adhered to this creed.

don. In consequence, although Waverley kneels before Bonnie Prince Charlie, his «commitment to the Stuart cause was a matter of circumstance rather than personal volition: he was not radicalized, after all, but merely tartanized»⁷⁵. This is an intermediate, non-committal position that does not compromise Scott's nationalistic duality. Waverley's loyalty to Charles Edward Stuart is limited and vanishes towards the end of the novel. Having acquired this superficial veneer of Jacobitism merely through impressionistic exposition to Highlands landscape, poetry and folklore, Waverley has not felt the need to delve into the historical causes of the political and dynastic attachment of his hosts, and therefore his limited allegiance wanes after the first setback.

3. IGNORING CULLODEN: RECONCILIATION AND A PROSPEROUS FUTURE

In addition to this non-committal characterisation of Waverley, Walter Scott used other narrative expedients to avoid his unequivocal identification with either the Jacobite or the Hanoverian cause. Most relevant of all, is Scott's treatment of the battle of Culloden, since placing it under a heavy narrative focus would have been counter-productive for his unionist purpose. If Prestonpans had been, as mentioned above, an uplifting success for the Highlanders, they also took it as an excuse for their brutality towards the Hanoverian infantry⁷⁶. Perhaps inevitably, the Duke of Cumberland's troops retaliated by exerting equal brutality at Culloden, the decisive battle that demolished the Jacobite dream⁷⁷. Wishing to avoid the danger, as defined by Lukacs, that the «struggle [of the respective sides] will become a merely external picture of mutual destruction incapable of arousing the human sympathies and enthusiasms of the reader»⁷⁸, Scott shifted the focus away from the battle as a sign that such confrontations would not take place in his contemporary Britain. For all Scott's identification with this remembered past, it «is simultaneously felt to have been outgrown»⁷⁹ so England's «victory at Culloden is thus absolutely crucial for establishing the distance necessary for making the Jacobite threat safe for cultural consumption»⁸⁰ Walter Scott's carefully designed strategy of narrative neglect regarding the battle demands that, contrary to expectations, Culloden is dealt

⁷⁵ SUTHERLAND, «Introduction» to *Waverley*, p. xiii.

⁷⁶ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 249-250.

⁷⁷ For interesting views on the battle, the BBCRADIO3 podcast «2014 Edinburgh Festival: Culloden» contains the debate between historian Tom Devine, *Outlander* author Diana Gabaldon and media expert John Cook on the 1964 film *Culloden*, on the occasion of its 50th anniversary.

⁷⁸ LUKACS, *The Historical Novel*, p. 36.

⁷⁹ LINCOLN, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 62.

⁸⁰ JARRELLS, *Britain's Bloodless Revolutions*, p. 179.

with cursorily, almost imperceptibly, as opposed to the spotlight shed on the victory at Prestonpans. Indeed, the only fleeting reference to this crushing defeat in the novel appears at the beginning of «Desolation» when Waverley returns to Scotland after the skirmish at Clifton Moor. Upon reaching the Scottish border, Waverley hears «the tidings of the decisive battle of Culloden»⁸¹; a decisiveness, however, frustratingly absent from the novel.

Scott's omission, far from haphazard, serves the author's special role as the agent of national reconciliation⁸²: averse to the vindictive «reasoning of those times, held even by brave and humane men towards a vanquished enemy», Scott pleads: «Let us devoutly hope that, in this respect at least, we shall never see the scenes, or hold the sentiments, that were general in Britain Sixty Years since»⁸³. Effectively, Scott's nationalist ideals are based on reconciliation and progress with England (more on these below) but without forgetting Scottish original traits and customs. As Kathryn Sutherland suggests «the Forty-Five» posed such a threat to British national unity that the government's measures to suppress it ultimately compromised the continuation of the Highland way of life⁸⁴.

Nations do not emerge as political constructs in the conditions of modernity, but evolve from ancient communities based on a shared ancestry⁸⁵; in this view, the reprisals suffered by Scotland potentially caused the loss of characteristic features that constitute essential elements for the Scottish national character. In *Waverley*, past customs, folk songs, humble habitations, the regional attire, even foodstuffs, all contribute to a historical valuation of how much the Scottish people have changed regarding their forebears and to remember them. Indeed the novel is conceived «as a means for reinventing an old tradition, a compensation for historical loss»⁸⁶. As symbolised by protagonist Waverley, Scotland must look ahead to the future and progress with England.

Scott formulates a precarious balance between progress in the course of History and the preservation of national identity. On the one hand, Scott attempted to contribute through his fiction to the revitalization of a declining memory of Scottish culture and tradition, since elder people «will recall scenes and characters familiar to their youth; and to the rising generation the tale may present some idea of the manners of their forefathers»⁸⁷.

⁸¹ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 323.

⁸² LINCOLN, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, pp. 31, 62.

⁸³ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 352. In Andrew Lincoln's view, Scott finds in history «the narrative desire for reconciliation with a brutal past, the desire to remember and forget, out of which all national narratives must be constructed». LINCOLN, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 63.

⁸⁴ SUTHERLAND, «Introduction» to *Waverley*, p. xviii.

⁸⁵ LINCOLN, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 30.

⁸⁶ BERNAUER, «Historical Novel and Historical Romance», p. 308.

⁸⁷ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 377.

As Scott himself acknowledges in the Postscript, there is no nation that has undergone so many changes in half a century as Scotland.⁸⁸ He regrets – however ambivalently – that such transformations could imply the loss of the intrinsic Highlands character: if the near «vanish[ing]» of this «race» entails the end of «much absurd political prejudice», this shift will in its turn imply the loss of «many living examples of singular and disinterested attachment to the principles of loyalty which they received from their fathers, and of old Scottish faith, hospitality, worth and honour»⁸⁹.

On the other hand, Scott was aware that the union with England meant a step forward in terms of Scotland's economy, progress and modernisation. Through *Waverley*, Scott tries to construct «in the medium of romantic fiction a means of interpreting the history of a people, of analysing human nature, and, through both of these, a process of self-discovery, self-knowledge»⁹⁰. Torn between his Jacobite sympathies and Hanoverian loyalties, Scott was at the same time an anglophile realist who acknowledges the advantage of Scotland's union with England, and a Scottish nationalist idealist who nervously bemoans the betrayal of his own background and society⁹¹.

By way of reconciliation, not only between Jacobite Highlanders and Hanoverians, but also between Scott's ambivalent loyalties, the author makes a clear stance through the novel's secondary title, *'Tis Sixty Years Since*. The ample timespan conveyed is meant to distance his readers from this momentous episode of Scotland's history, while simultaneously, as Marilyn Orr suggests, connecting them to «a past time that is at once accessible and remote, datable and indefinable»⁹². Sixty years is almost an entire life, writes Kathryn Sutherland, a timespan equivalent to that between us and our grandparents, which contributes to our experience of nostalgia⁹³. Scott's contemporaries, reading once the sixty years has lapsed, would ascertain, for example, how the Scottish property Tully-Veolan is made an example of remembrance, but also in particular, of looking ahead, as explained below.

⁸⁸ Writing only 30 years after the rebellion, Samuel Johnson had made a similar statement in *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775): «There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which was operated in the Highlands by the last conquest and subsequent laws. [...] Of what [the clans] had before the late conquest of their country there remains only their language and their poverty» (Johnson quoted in HEYCK, *A History of the Peoples of the British Isles*, pp. 114-115).

⁸⁹ SCOTT, *Waverley*, p. 376.

⁹⁰ REED, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 51.

⁹¹ REED, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 51. For a similar formulation, see also SCALIA, «Waverley, Scotland's Referendum, and Scottish Identity».

⁹² Marilyn ORR, «Real and Narrative Time: *Waverley* and the Education of Memory». In *Studies in English Literature* 31 (4), 1991, pp. 715-734, p. 728.

⁹³ SUTHERLAND, «Introduction» to *Waverley*, p. xviii.

Destroyed by the English troops as a means for retaliation and punishment for the revolt, the estate of Tully-Veolan is turned into a signifier of the beneficial mutual cooperation between England and Scotland, in the same way as the marriage between Rose Bradwardine and Edward Waverley. After Culloden and the brutal suppression of the revolt, Waverley decides to refurbish Tully-Veolan. This is of capital significance as «owned buildings could be recognised as representing the cultural memory of local communities and as forming part of the nation's history»⁹⁴. Metaphorically speaking, the union of the families who own Waverley-Honour and Tully-Veolan «is an obvious reference to the Act of 1707»⁹⁵; however, Scott also makes his readers look forward. That the restoration of Tully-Veolan is done by means of an Englishman's financial power is a clear reference to Scott's own contention that prosperity and «an enlightened history of progress», in Markus Bernauer's words, necessitates the cooperation between both nations.

After 1746, the «transitory situation» marks «the beginning of the modernisation of Scotland that ended her traditional society and culture»⁹⁶. In editor Andrew Hook's words, also, «the restored Tully-Veolan is a magical symbol of that achieved reconciliation and reunification» of all possible factions: «Jacobite and Hanoverian, Highlander and Lowlander, Scotsman and Englishman, Presbyterian and Anglican»⁹⁷. Employing a similar metaphor, Anthony Jarrells stresses the liminal historical placing of the rebellion, symbolised in the likewise liminal location of Tully-Veolan, which «sits on the border between the Highlands and lowland Scotland, between primitivism and modernity, and between Romanticism and Enlightenment»⁹⁸. A similar argument is expressed by Virgil Nemoianu, for whom Scott's use of the historical novel intends to reach permanence and durability through the dramatis[ation] of «the conflict between two great modes of life» or structures at the socioeconomic, behavioural and ontological levels⁹⁹.

⁹⁴ LINCOLN, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, p. 61. See also JARRELLS, *Britain's Bloodless Revolutions*, p. 176 and HEYCK, *A History of the Peoples of the British Isles*, p. 113.

⁹⁵ REED, *Sir Walter Scott*, p. 68.

⁹⁶ BERNAUER, «Historical Novel and Historical Romance», p. 307.

⁹⁷ HOOK, «Introduction» to *Waverley*, p. 26.

⁹⁸ JARRELLS, *Britain's Bloodless Revolutions*, p. 176. For critic Stuart Kelly, even *Waverley* itself is «a strangely liminal novel»: on the one hand «Scott's intent was avowedly Unionist», but on the other, «part of the success of *Waverley* was to stress Scottish difference» (2014). Kelly's blog entry was composed to mark the 200th anniversary of the publication of the novel. Stuart KELLY, «Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* at 200 Is Not Yet Old». *The Guardian* 7 July 2014. Accessed March 10, 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2014/jul/07/sir-walter-scott-fiction>.

⁹⁹ Virgil NEMOIANU, «From Historical Narrative to Fiction and Back: A Dialectical Game». In GILLESPIE, DIETERLE, and ENGEL, *Romantic Prose Fiction*, pp. 527-536, p. 530.

4. CONCLUSION: *WAVERLEY'S* LESSONS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

We wonder, over 200 years after the publication of *Waverley*, whether that dichotomic view of Scotland's future that was debated in the novel was – and continues to be – at stake in the 2014 referendum and its convoluted aftermath. When Scotland voted that year for remaining a part of the United Kingdom, she metaphorically followed in Waverley's footsteps, as he eventually made his homecoming to England. This move for George Lukacs spells out «a renunciation of Romanticism [...] a higher development of the realist literary traditions of the Enlightenment in keeping with the new times»¹⁰⁰. Scott's new times faced the challenge of a post-Napoleonic Europe, in the same way that 2014 and the subsequent years have brought us attempts at independence and segregation movements across the continent. As Scott himself maintains in his *Essay on Romance*, «the progress of romance [...] keeps pace with that of society»¹⁰¹, a view expressed in similar terms by Anthony Jarrells: «The picture [Scott's novels] complete shows English becoming British. The border remains to mark the difference»¹⁰². A parallel observation could be made about Scotland's «national narrative»: *Waverley* shows Scottish becoming British, too, at least in Walter Scott's outlook. Two hundred years later, the «NO» result in 2014 confirms that Scotland remains securely on that course. Scottish nationalism had traditionally been both Europeanist and separatist, yet the majority of the electorate (55,3 %) voted to remain within the United Kingdom¹⁰³.

What could *not* be known, neither by Walter Scott in 1814 nor by his fellow Scots in 2014, is that shortly after the first referendum, a new one would come to shatter their idealized adhesion to the UK and jeopardise their belonging to a larger «Union», the European one. When «BRITAIN'S EXIT» from the European Union was submitted to referendum in 2016, few indeed would have imagined that «Brexit» would win. To some, such result would be proof that History does find ways to repeat itself, first as drama, then as farce. The farcical indeed came about when the British government, led by then Prime Minister David Cameron, decided to ask Britons whether they wanted to remain or break with the European Union. Against all odds and by a very tiny margin Brexit won, a result which, however, was multiplied in the UK's General Election of 2019, with a massive Conservative (and therefore pro-leave) victory. With «Brexit», Britain's vote in 2016 to abandon the European Union, the ideal of Anglo-Scottish cooperation and a joint future has been shattered, not just by Britain leaving the EU (in itself a move of dubious felicity) but more importantly, by what it implies for Scotland.

¹⁰⁰ LUKACS, *The Historical Novel*, p. 33.

¹⁰¹ Walter SCOTT, *Essays of Chivalry, Romance, and the Drama*, Edinburgh, Robert Cadell, 1834, p. 134.

¹⁰² JARRELLS, *Britain's Bloodless Revolutions*, p. 195.

¹⁰³ Source: BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/events/scotland-decides/results>.

At the time of writing, Scotland had requested permission from Westminster to hold a second referendum of independence from the United Kingdom, given the success of the Tory party in the 2019 general election and the inevitable Brexit they had promised. It does not seem likely, however, that it will be granted¹⁰⁴, and Scotland faces departure from the European Union as a consequence of her loyalty to the British Union which Walter Scott so ardently espoused. Two hundred years after publication, *Waverley* was invoked for its Unionist spirit. Paradoxically, a majority of Scots now wish they had voted for Scottish independence from the UK when they had the chance in 2014. However, parting with Great Britain in order to remain a member of the European Union also seems today a risky move, from the point of view of that security, prosperity and stability which for Scott were the best recipe for Scotland. As the future of the EU itself is thrown into question in 2020¹⁰⁵ (in no small measure due to Brexit and its repercussions), we wonder what the lie of the land will be sixty years from now.

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Miguel López Moreno holds a degree in English Studies (GEAN) from the University of the Balearic Islands (2018). Subsequently, he obtained his Master's Degree in Teacher Training also from the UIB (2019). Attracted by the influence that the natural environment can exert on individuals, he has also attended different courses of permanent training related to the geography and culture of Mallorca and its possible didactic application in the classroom. In this same line, one of his greatest interests is to see how the geographical, social and cultural heritage of any place is intimately linked to the definition of its inhabitants and its history.

Address: CEPA (Centre d'Estudis per a Persones Adultes) Sud, Camí des Revellar, s/n.
Finca na Llarga (edificio IES Damià Huguet), Campos, CP 07630.
Tel.: +34 685029244 / E-mail: lopezno55@gmail.com

¹⁰⁴ The earliest date for a referendum seems likely to be 2021, coinciding with the Scottish general election. See Phillip SIM, «Scottish Independence: Could a New Referendum Still Be Held?» *BBC News* 31 January 2020. Accessed 11 May 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-50813510>.

¹⁰⁵ Numerous newspaper articles, particularly financial ones, discuss the state of disarray of the European Union, with administrative, membership and budgetary crises threatening its very continuation. See for example Hans VAN LEEUWEN, «The European Union is in Crisis Mode». *Financial Review* 3 November 2019. Accessed 4 July, 2020. <https://www.afr.com/world/europe/the-european-union-is-in-crisis-mode-20191102-p536rv>

Eva M. Pérez-Rodríguez is a Professor of English Literature at the University of the Balearic Islands. She holds an MPhil from the University of Bradford (1997) and a PhD in English Philology from the University of Oviedo (2001). After researching the radical works of William Godwin, in particular his *Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft*, she focused on contemporary British fiction from World War II. During that phase she published the volume *How the Second World War Is Depicted by British Novelists since 1990* with Edwin Mellen Press. She is currently participating as a researcher in a Project funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation, entitled “HER: History, Exoticism and Romance”, which analyzes the narrative of women located in the Mediterranean area during World War I and II.

Address: Depto. de Filología Española, Moderna y Clásica, Edif. Ramón Llull, Campus UIB. Cra. Valldemossa, km 7,5. Palma de Mallorca, CP 07122.

Tel.: +34 971173135 / E-mail: eva.perez@uib.es