

The Posthumous British Editions of Sir Walter Scott's
Waverley Novels, 1832-1871,
And the Evolution of his Literary Legacy

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Contents:

Abstract	3
Chapter 1: Introduction. The Waverley Novels, the Magnum Opus, and the Canon	4
Chapter 2: The Fisher edition (1835-39)	30
Chapter 3: The Cabinet edition (1841-43) and the People's edition (1842-47)	48
Chapter 4: The Abbotsford edition (1842-47)	69
Chapter 5: 1847-68, the Transition, and the Early Years of A. & C. Black	100
Chapter 6: The Centenary edition (1870-71)	120
Appendix	138
Works Cited	139

Abstract:

This thesis argues for the importance of the posthumous editions of Sir Walter Scott's Waverley Novels in shaping his literary reputation between 1832 and 1871. In the series of editions published by Robert Cadell and later A. & C. Black between Scott's death and the centenary of his birth, changes were made to the paratextual presentation of the novels, particularly through illustrations and notes. By tracing these changes, I will show how Scott's literary legacy evolves over this crucial period. Furthermore, by demonstrating that these posthumous editions reached a far wider audience than ever before, I will suggest that these editions, rather than any published during Scott's lifetime, most powerfully shaped his status as a cultural icon in the nineteenth century. These editions are, thus, still important to the way that Sir Walter Scott's place in the literary canon is understood.

Chapter 1: Introduction. The Waverley Novels, the Magnum Opus, and the Canon

This chapter relates the history of the composition of the Waverley Novels and their landmark publication in the “Magnum Opus” (1829-33), making reference especially to Jane Millgate’s work on the history of this edition. After that review, the chapter will discuss the primary goals of the thesis, delimit its scope, and explain the theoretical positions that undergird it. Finally, the Magnum Opus edition of the Waverley Novels will be examined in detail, as it provides the template for the subsequent posthumous editions considered in the remaining chapters.

The Waverley Novels: a prehistory

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) presents an exceptional example of the influence of contemporary publishing practice on literary canonization in nineteenth-century Britain. After several years as a successful poet and editor, Scott published his first novel, *Waverley, or, 'tis sixty years since*, in 1814. Following its huge success, Scott spent the rest of his life writing a series of extremely popular novels that established him as the most successful novelist to date, and that were considered to represent the critical apex of all novel-writing thus far. In an era when no recognized canon of prose fiction existed, Scott’s novels legitimized the novel as a genre by providing exemplars that were morally sound, artistically worthy, and commercially successful. Boasting both critical acclaim and huge sales, Scott was a literary celebrity during his lifetime.

Scott’s first novel, *Waverley*, was published in three volumes and sold 11,500 copies over the course of eight editions between 1814 and 1822 (Garside, “*Waverley*” 226). Costing one guinea per copy, *Waverley* was part of a growing body of up-market

prose fiction that was considered morally respectable, and that cost considerably more than contemporary “low” fiction published by firms such as the Minerva Press. *Waverley* was priced to match other up-market novels of its type, such as Jane Austen’s *Emma* (1816) (Garside, “English Novel” 45). Later Scott novels achieved similarly high sales, even as the price of a Scott first edition slowly increased (Garside, “English Novel” 93): first print-runs of the later *Waverley* Novels could be as many as 10,000 to 12,000 copies, truly staggering numbers in the context of Romantic-era publishing (Millgate 1).

As Scott’s novels continued to sell, his publisher Archibald Constable undertook a policy that would have a great impact on the marketing of Scott’s novels for years to come. Realizing that the high price of respectable novels like Scott’s made them prohibitively expensive for many potential readers who could be roughly termed “middle class,” Constable saw the potential profit in making Scott’s works more affordable. Consequently, he undertook an “elaborate scheme of continual appeal to every purse,” producing collected editions of small groups of Scott’s novels and issuing them first in costly octavo (8vo) format on better paper at £7 4s per set, and then in cheaper duodecimo (12mo) format at £6, and finally in the cheapest eighteen-mo (18°) format at £4 4s (Todd and Bowden 729).¹ In *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (2004), William St Clair identifies this practice of incrementally moving a publication down the scale of quality and cost as “tranching down” (32). Beginning with *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley* (1819, 1821, 1823), and then *Historical Romances of the Author of Waverley* (1822, 1822, 1824), and *Novels and Romances of the Author of Waverley*

¹ A book’s “format” refers to the number of times each large sheet of paper of a standard size has been folded to produce the small booklet called a gathering. These gatherings were then sewn together to produce the book. The smaller the format, the more the folds, the less expensive a book would be. Most novels at this time were sold in 12mo, reflecting their low cultural status, and thus the appearance of collected Scott novels in 8vo reflected that these novels aspired to a higher ground.

(1823, 1824, 1825), Constable employed this system of tranching down in an effort to capture multiple different market niches for Scott's works. After Constable's death, Robert Cadell continued to publish these smaller collections of Scott novels in three formats, producing two sets of *Tales and Romances of the Author of Waverley* (1827, 1833).

In 1826, Constable, Scott, and Scott's printer James Ballantyne experienced a major financial reversal, the result of a downturn in the market exacerbated by the interdependence of their finances. Rather than declare bankruptcy, Scott famously chose to be held liable for the entire, staggering £126,000 debt. A deal was struck such that Scott set up a trust into which all of his future earnings from his novels would be paid. "By relentless application, sustained literary talent and, finally, the sale of copyrights Scott debts were completely cleared by 1847, some fifteen years after his death." (S. Eliot, "1825-6?" 93). After the crash, Scott worked with the publisher Robert Cadell (1788-1849), who had been Constable's junior partner, yet had emerged from the crisis financially solvent. Like Constable before him, Cadell sought to increase profits by selling Scott's novels at a price that would place them within reach of more than just the wealthiest readers. In an effort to extricate themselves from debt while solidifying Scott's enduring literary legacy, Cadell and Scott undertook a long-discussed project, the so-called "Magnum Opus" edition of the Waverley Novels. The Magnum Opus was a complete collection in forty-eight volumes of Scott's novels—revised, annotated, and newly introduced, which ultimately appeared, one volume each month, between 1829 and 1833, the last several volumes coming out just after Scott's death. At 10s per novel, the

Magnum Opus edition was the least expensive manifestation of any of Scott's novels to date.

Jane Millgate's landmark book *Scott's Last Edition* (1987) has done much to illuminate the story behind the production of the Magnum Opus edition and identify it as a turning point in the history of nineteenth-century publishing and book production. Millgate traces the production of the Magnum Opus edition from its conception in Constable's imagination years earlier to its ultimate realization by Cadell, Scott, and Ballantyne. She argues that the "massive apparatus" of the Magnum Opus edition accords to the novels of a living author a status usually reserved for the poetry and drama of long-dead masters, and emphasizes that this undertaking was a serious financial gamble (Millgate viii). The gamble paid off, particularly for Cadell, who by the end of 1832 estimated his assets at £73,000 (Millgate 49). When Scott died in 1832, still £30,000 in debt, Cadell advanced the balance of the debt in return for exclusive rights to the profits from Scott's literary output (Millgate 50). Furthermore, the inclusion of substantial new material in the publication of the Magnum Opus edition allowed for the renewal of the copyrights to the novels. This made meaningless the eventual expiration of the copyrights to the original novels, since no one was interested in reprinting anything other than the Magnum versions, and secured Cadell's exclusive control of the Waverley copyrights—and profits—for many years to come.

The Magnum as the Beginning, rather than the End

Scholars generally regard the publication of the Magnum Opus edition of Scott's Waverley Novels as the last, monumental effort to solidify his literary legacy, and credit

this edition with making literature affordable to a wider audience than ever before. Indeed the Magnum Opus does represent a truly incredible attempt by both Cadell and Scott himself to canonize Scott's novels for posterity while extricating themselves from debt.

Yet in 1833 many readers had not yet had the opportunity to read Scott's novels for themselves, since despite its inexpensiveness relative to previous editions, the Magnum Opus was still financially prohibitive for many potential readers. It was only the subsequent posthumous editions published in the following decades that made Scott's novels actually affordable for the majority of Britons. Furthermore, Scott remained immensely popular until the end of the nineteenth century, creating a huge demand for new editions of his novels throughout this period. Consequently, it is a mistake to identify the moment of Scott's death as the moment when his literary legacy stopped evolving.

Indeed, when one examines the post-Magnum Opus editions of the Waverley Novels produced by Cadell after Scott's death, it is clear that the active shaping of Scott's literary legacy hardly stopped when he did. These editions reveal that the canonization of Scott, rather than occurring at the discrete moment of the Magnum's publication, was an ongoing process mediated by a succession of different manifestations of the Waverley Novels.

In the years after Scott's death, using the Magnum Opus edition as a point of departure, Robert Cadell methodically brought out new editions of the Waverley Novels with paratextual features that make small but important changes from the Magnum Opus template, each targeting slightly different readerships. After Cadell's death in 1849, his heirs sold the rights to publish the Waverley Novels to Adam & Charles Black, who continued to bring out new, slightly altered editions for many years. While scholars

generally credit the Blacks with bringing Scott to a larger audience through the publication of cheap editions, this was actually a trend initiated by Constable years earlier and continued by Cadell. The small but telling changes to the editions of the Waverley Novels published between 1832 and 1871 reveal an evolution in Scott's literary legacy during the years when he was most popular. This thesis aims to provide a more nuanced understanding of how the process of literary canonization was continued over the course of the editions produced during these years.

Continuing the story where Millgate has ended it, I examine the way editions of Waverley Novels were changed after Scott's death, as his own attempt to control his literary legacy by producing a scholarly edition of his works was further altered, updated, and re-presented by the publishers, printers, and illustrators who survived him. The fact that the posthumous editions of the Waverley Novels have been so long overlooked by researchers reflects the limited view of literary history held by some scholars, who are so focused on the contributions of the author that they neglect to account for and investigate the important work done by the other parties involved in the production and dissemination of literary works. I will locate in their bibliographical history the important points in the evolution of Sir Walter Scott's literary legacy, and argue that the posthumous editions of the Waverley Novels were as important as the Magnum Opus in shaping the public understanding of who Scott was, both in the nineteenth century and still today.

The period between 1832 and 1871 was formative to the solidification of Scott's literary reputation—during these years just after his death, the institutions of the book trade and literary critical establishment redefined and re-presented Scott not as a

legendary yet still living author, but as a literary master who was now dead. If the *Magnum Opus* edition anticipated Scott's imminent death, presenting him as posthumous before he had actually died, the subsequent editions of the *Waverley Novels* take even farther the book trade's attempt to canonize Scott and reify his literary legacy. Cadell's and, later, the Blacks' control of the copyrights of the *Waverley Novels* meant that these were the only editions of the *Novels* published legally in Great Britain during the period 1832 to 1871. As such, they are the dominant literary spaces where Scott's legacy was forged.

The editions of the *Waverley Novels* produced in continental Europe, North America, and elsewhere outside Great Britain are outside the scope of this thesis. Intellectual property laws within Britain ensured long periods of copyright protection—in 1808 copyright was extended from fourteen to twenty-eight years from the date of publication, and in 1842 this was further extended to the author's lifetime plus seven years, or forty-two years from the date of publication, whichever was longer (St Clair 120-21). Despite these relatively restrictive domestic laws, British authors and publishers had no legal protection from piracy by offshore publishers until the British government began making reciprocal copyright treaties with European governments beginning in the 1840s (St Clair 55). The United States did not enter any such treaties until 1891, by which time it had become a net intellectual property exporter (St Clair 55).

Accordingly, during the early-to-mid nineteenth century, European and North American publishers were able to produce cheap, pirated editions of popular British works within months or even weeks of their original publication, leaving British writers and publishers with no claim to profits thus generated. The publishers Baudry and

Galighani in Paris and, later, Tauchnitz in Germany specialized in producing cheap English-language versions of British poetry and novels, some copies of which ultimately made their way back to readers in Great Britain. In order to make a tiny profit on copies produced and sold offshore, some British publishers entered informal agreements with their European and North American counterparts, sending them copy-texts of major works a few weeks prior to publication in exchange for a small fee and the promise to sell only on the continent or in North America. Scott's publishers entered into several such agreements with foreign publishers including Galighani and Thomas Wardle in Philadelphia, ensuring that Scott and his publishers made a miniscule profit from offshore sales, rather than none at all.

As a consequence of the fact that the era of Scott's greatest popularity was also a period in which few legal restrictions were placed on international copyright, there were a great number of editions of the Waverley Novels produced all over the world between 1832 and 1871. These editions have been excluded from analysis in an effort to focus specifically and in a concentrated manner on the editions published legally within Britain during this period, which, by and large, were the editions of Scott read by the British public. The extent to which foreign editions of the Waverley Novels were consumed within Britain in the nineteenth century or the effects of foreign editions on the formation of Scott's literary legacy in their publication countries would each provide a fruitful project for future research.

Only in one instance does this analysis include an edition that may have been designed to be sold on the European continent. This is the Fisher edition of the Waverley Novels, published 1835-1839, which has been included because significant evidence

suggests that despite the fact that its publication was the result of a deal between Cadell & Co. and Fisher, Son & Co. as an effort to undercut French piracy, the edition was both produced and sold in Great Britain, and was therefore significantly different from Cadell's usual arrangement with foreign publishers.

Similarly outside the scope of this thesis are the various other, incomplete manifestations of the Waverley Novels published in Great Britain during this period, including instances of the separate publication of individual novels, as well as selected, excerpted, abridged, and adapted versions of the novels. These exist in a host of forms, comprising a spectrum of different kinds of publications aimed at different readerships. These, too, would be an interesting topic for future research, as they prioritize particular aspects of Scott's novelist oeuvre, and therefore represent an interpretation of the process of canonization that is discrete from the tradition of mammoth completeness begun by the Magnum Opus edition. It would be interesting to analyze the principles behind the selection of novels or passages in these various other manifestations of the Waverley Novels, to investigate how these publications represent an alternative or complementary picture of Scott to that conjured by the complete editions of the Waverley Novels. Nevertheless, these publications have been excluded from this thesis in an effort to focus specifically on the tradition of completeness inaugurated by the Magnum Opus.

Finally, the posthumous publication of Scott's poetry and prose works lie outside of the scope of this thesis. After completing the Magnum Opus edition of The Waverley Novels, Robert Cadell published *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott* (1833-34), the *Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott* (1834-36), and finally J.G. Lockhart's *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* (1837-38), which together constituted a ninety-

six-volume uniform set of Scott's full oeuvre of life and works. The posthumous editions of the Waverley Novels analyzed in this thesis vary as to whether they were published alongside uniform versions of the poetry, prose, and *Life*, but the focus of this thesis will be solely on Scott's posthumous reputation as a novelist. An investigation of the role of the posthumous publication of Scott's poetry, prose, and *Life* in the evolution of his literary reputation would be a worthy subject for future research.

The rest of the thesis will proceed as follows. The remainder of Chapter 1 will discuss the theoretical positions that underpin this work, as well as considering in detail the Magnum Opus edition of the Waverley Novels, the template from which future editions were adapted. Chapter 2 will analyze the Fisher edition (1835-39 in numbers, 1836-39 in volumes), the first new edition of the Waverley Novels to appear after the Magnum Opus, and unique in that it was a co-publication of Robert Cadell and the firm Fisher, Son & Co. Chapter 3 will focus jointly on the Cabinet edition (1841-43) and the People's edition (1842-47), Cadell's two notable inexpensive editions of the Waverley Novels, published nearly simultaneously. Chapter 4 examines Cadell's luxury counterpart to these cheap editions, the Abbotsford edition (1842-47), which included over 2000 illustrations in a wide variety of artistic styles, and with differing relationships to the text. Chapter 5 will discuss Robert Cadell's last editions, the sale of the Waverley material to A. & C. Black, and the editions published during their early years of proprietorship, notably the Library edition (1852-53) and Sixpenny edition (1866-68). Chapter 6, the last chapter, will discuss the Centenary edition (1870-71), a proto-scholarly edition of the novels, published to mark the centenary of Scott's birth. Each chapter will draw conclusions about how these editions alter and re-shape Scott's literary legacy.

In Theory and History

The primary theoretical argument that underlies this thesis is that each new material manifestation of a text is a re-presentation and re-rendering of that text, regardless of whether it is consciously or intentionally different from previous versions, and regardless of whether it is consciously or intentionally aimed at a different readership. These re-presentations can and do have a profound impact on the way the text is perceived by those who experience it. In *Paratexts* (1997), Gerard Genette identifies the paratext as the “‘thresholds,’ the literary and printerly conventions that mediate between the world of publishing and the world of the text” (xvii). Genette further divides the paratext into the peritext and the epitext. He defines the peritext as those features physically connected to the book—such as bindings, covers, typesettings, titles, advertisements, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces and other essays, intertitles, and notes. The epitext constitutes those features that are separated from the physical object of the book, yet influence the way the text is read—such as publisher’s promotional material, critical articles, author’s commentaries, interviews, correspondence, and diaries. Genette provides a rough typology of a host of different features that are not, strictly speaking, part of the main text, but do present that text and mediate between it and the public.

The posthumous editions of the *Waverley Novels* made changes to some of these paratextual elements, which, I argue, influenced the way the novels themselves were read during the years following Scott’s death. Particularly important to this project are the peritextual elements—that is, the way the material object of the book renders the text. In the following chapters, I analyze the changes in illustration, advertisements, binding, and

type that characterize these editions. This project aims to show that these posthumous editions had a formative and lasting impact on the public understanding of Sir Walter Scott's place within the literary canon. I hope to demonstrate the importance of understanding book history to understanding literary history.

Another theoretical touchstone for this thesis will be Michel Foucault's famous essay "What is an Author?" (1969). In it, Foucault discusses the "general function within discourse" of the author's name in various fields, contrasting imaginative literature with the sciences in the way that these fields understand authorship (1622). In imaginative literature, the name of the author serves as a "means of classification" through which various works are linked (Foucault 1627). Consequently, "the fact that a number of texts were attached to a single name implies that relationships of homogeneity, filiation, reciprocal explanation, authentication, or of common utilization were established among them." (Foucault 1627). Foucault argues that the function of the author's name changes if new works by the author are discovered, or if works assumed to be by the author are proven to be by someone else. Foucault postulates that, for example, if we discovered that Shakespeare's sonnets were actually not written by him, or that Shakespeare had also written all the works previously ascribed to Bacon, our conception of Shakespeare as an author would change to accommodate the change in his known body of work.

Foucault's essay does not explore how an author's identity is constructed through material manifestations of the text. Yet one might extend Foucault's argument and assert that changes to the material manifestation of an author's oeuvre might also alter the way that the author's name functions in discourse, just as changes to the composition of that

oeuvre force a re-evaluation of the author. Furthermore, it could be argued that the paratext is the primary space in which the author's name is theorized. Sir Walter Scott's novelistic oeuvre has been neither augmented nor diminished by posthumous discoveries regarding the authorship of the Waverley Novels. Yet this unchanging body of novels has been materially manifested in numerous different versions, each of which re-presents "Sir Walter Scott"—or as he was originally known before publicly acknowledging authorship of the novels, "The Author of Waverley"—for a new readership. Cadell's and the Blacks' ownership of the copyright to Scott's work during the mid-nineteenth century meant that these editions were the primary space in which Sir Walter Scott's name was constituted.

In *The Western Canon* (1994), Harold Bloom's lengthy response to a variety of liberal critiques of the canon, Bloom argues that the Western Canon has been formed solely on the basis of aesthetic merit, the essence of which is "strangeness, a mode of originality that either cannot be assimilated, or that so assimilates us that we cease to see it as strange." (3). He rejects the argument that the canon is socially constructed by publishers, critics, or the literary establishment, and claims that a place in the canon is won by the author alone, whose text must forcefully confront the great texts of the past and make a space for itself among them. Bloom's book contains twenty-three chapters that focus on twenty-six authors who comprise the Western Canon—among nineteenth-century British writers, they include Wordsworth, Austen, Dickens, and George Eliot, but not Scott. In Appendix C, however, a longer list of the greatest works of what Bloom calls "The Democratic Age," four Scott novels appear (*Waverley*, *The Heart of Mid-*

lothian, Redgauntlet, and Old Mortality), showing that, for Bloom at least, Scott does possess some of the “strangeness” that makes a writer canonical (542).

Yet as John Guillory observes in his article “Canon” for *Critical Terms for Literary Study* (1995), the major flaw in both the various liberal critiques of the canon and conservative defenses of the canon, the latter of which Bloom exemplifies, is that they fail to imagine the process of literary canonization in any appropriate historical context. Guillory emphasizes the social function that the literary canon has played in history, particularly in schools, where canonical texts long served as teaching tools and examples of proper English grammar. In order to understand a literary work’s canonical status, Guillory argues, we must understand the historical context of its composition, production, and dissemination. While Guillory’s central criticism of both the liberal critique and conservative defenses of the canon is that they are ahistorical in that they fail to account for the role of schools and universities in literary canonization, I would stress that such arguments are also ahistorical in that they fail to account for the role of market forces and economics in literary canonization. This reluctance to talk about the effect of the literary market on literature itself reveals the literary critical establishment’s misguided belief that the world of literature is unsullied by the influence of money. On the contrary, in order to understand the literary canonization of Sir Walter Scott, it is crucial to understand the workings of the nineteenth-century book trade.

Scott’s death in 1832 occurred during a period of rapid change in the technologies of book production and the organization of the book trade that had profound effects on the dissemination of all writing published during this period, including the posthumous editions of the *Waverley Novels*. As to the status of book production at the beginning of

this period, St Clair states, “[t]he books of the romantic period were products of the pre-industrial age.” (178). Yet the early Victorian era saw fundamental changes to the book trade that are summarized in the *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume III: Ambition and Industry 1800-1880* (2007). During these years, book manufacturing became an increasingly specialized trade. Whereas most steps in the processes of book production and sale in the eighteenth century had been performed by a single bookseller, the nineteenth century saw a shift towards wholesaling and marketing, where each step in the process was performed by a different specialist. With this increased specialization came increased efficiency and technological innovations affecting various stages in the book-making process. New machines made paper production more efficient, faster, and, consequently cheaper. Typefaces were altered to make “the letters more legible, the page more attractive, and [improve] the wearing qualities of the type” (Morris 29). Publishers began to arrange for the binding of entire editions, while special re-bindings became rarer and were done at the expense of the customer. In response to the increasing speed of book production, binders developed cheap but sturdy technologies that could be produced quickly and efficiently. Stereotype plates for printing, invented in the mid-eighteenth century but not commonly used until the early-to-mid-nineteenth century (Howard-Hill 37), were used by Ballantyne in the production of the Magnum Opus edition. Stereotype plates made it possible to save the plates used for printing one impression of a particular edition, so as to avoid resetting the type every time more copies were required. Once a set of plates was made, it could last nearly indefinitely (although the Magnum Opus proved so popular that the plates wore out and had to be re-stereotyped by A. & C. Black). The increased efficiency in printing and reduction of printing costs that stereotype plates

allowed made it very lucrative to sell extremely popular works that would require many copies.

Many of these improvements were driven by the huge increase in the speed of printing as a result of the invention of various new printing machines. “So dramatic were the changes wrought. . .that by 1845 the firm of W. & R. Chambers was reputed to be printing as many sheets in a week as the whole of the Scottish press had produced in a month only a decade earlier.” (Bell, *EHOBS* 2). Thus, even though Ballantyne had always been on the cutting edge of printing technology during Scott’s life, the rapid development of technology in this area meant that in the years after Scott’s death printing was becoming ever more efficient and faster than before.

Meanwhile, just as the methods of producing literature were changing, so was the social landscape of potential readers. The nineteenth century is often identified as the era that saw the formation of a middle-class market for literature. In a chapter on social class for the book *Britain’s Century: A Political and Social History 1815-1905* (1998), W.D. Rubinstein discusses the status of the middle and lower-middle classes in Britain during this period. After agreeing with the general scholarly conclusion that the nineteenth century as a whole saw great political and economic advances for the middle classes, he writes:

It is, however, difficult to generalize about the middle classes: indeed, even defining them properly presents many problems. Presumably the middle classes include everyone in business or professional life below the millionaire class but above a lower income level which separates them from the working classes. (288)

Rubinstein goes on to describe the great diversity of occupations held by these people, and postulates that they made up 15-20% of the population. Of the lower middle classes,

who are even harder to define, Rubinstein argues, “[t]hey were distinguished from the working classes chiefly by status rather than by income, with little or nothing in the way of a safety net, often had large families and frequently held middle-class pretensions and aspirations.” (291). The lower middle classes, according to Rubinstein, comprised about 15% of the population.

Despite the technological advances and rapidly decreasing cost of book production described earlier, at the beginning of the period studied in this thesis, the cost of new novels put them well out of reach of these readers. It is well-documented that book prices in the first quarter of the nineteenth century were higher than ever before. St Clair writes, “[i]n the romantic period the new books of the time were expensive luxuries which could be bought, if at all, only by the richest groups in society.” (St Clair 196). In fact, “[t]he cost of new fiction soared [between 1800 and 1829], with the most frequently charged retail price for a three-volume novel tripling from 10s 6d in 1800 to 31s 6d in the later 1820s.” (Garside, “English Novel” 93). Simon Eliot has demonstrated that this final figure, which became the standard price for new fiction, was “more than the average weekly wage for most of the nineteenth century” (“From few” 291). The cost of Scott’s novels reflect this trend—where *Waverley* (1814) sold for 21s (one guinea), *Ivanhoe* (1819), printed in a grander format, sold for 30s and *Kenilworth* (1821) sold for 31s 6d (Altick 263). The changing value of money over these years, discussed in greater depth later in this thesis, obviously must affect the way these figures are interpreted, but for the moment, suffice it to say that the apparent increase in the cost of a *Waverley* Novel over the course of Scott’s lifetime also reflects a real increase in the price for the consumer.²

² Alexis Weedon has observed that discounting may have been a common practice during this period, particularly with reprints, and that it is therefore difficult to know the price actually paid by the consumer

In *The English Common Reader* (1957), ahead of its time for its consideration of the effect of economics on the book trade, Richard Altick identifies the Magnum Opus edition of the Waverley Novels as sparking a trend towards “cheap” literature in the years 1829 to 1832, yet quickly points out that despite being cheaper than before, these books were still a luxury for the middle classes, and completely out of reach of the lower-middle classes and working classes (276). It was not until mid-century, Altick argues, that a slow reduction in book prices, combined with a slow increase in wages, began to make books more affordable to significantly more people than before. The *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* agrees, citing the improvements in the book industry and the cheapening and consequent popularization of literature, particularly novels, as the basis for challenging the commonly held scholarly assumption that Scottish literature began to decline after the death of Scott in 1832 and the departure of Carlyle to London in 1834.

The fact that literature was more affordable by mid-century than it had been before resulted in an increase in the sales of all novels, and Scott’s novels in particular. In the years following his death, Scott was still incredibly popular—perhaps even more popular than he had been during his life. Sales figures of the posthumous editions of the Waverley Novels exceeded even those of the Magnum Opus (Cadell Account Books³ fols. 192-264). As more copies of Scott’s novels found their way into public hands, his popularity, literary reputation, and widespread cultural influence continued to grow. Furthermore, many people were consuming Scott’s novels without actually reading

(54). Nevertheless, throughout this thesis it has been assumed that the advertised retail price of a book reflects its actual price.

³ Abbreviated “Account” below.

them—by seeing plays, operas, and other adaptations of his works. Several manifestations of this will be discussed in the next section.

The technological and economic changes in the book trade, combined with the increased popularization of literature that occurred during the early-to-mid nineteenth century, sparked unprecedented innovation and creativity related to marketing and selling literary work. As the book trade became a highly organized and potentially highly lucrative industry, advertising and marketing became extremely important to shaping the public's reaction to a particular work of literature. As a result, the process of canonizing literature was fundamentally different during this era than ever before. Literary value could be instilled through commercial strategies. Just as twenty-first-century publishers use particular cues to signify particular genres—raised gold lettering and provocative cover illustrations for romance novels, or subdued cover illustration and a dignified font-face for serious fiction—so too did mid-nineteenth-century publishers use the book's paratext to denote its literary value.

Ultimately the issue of Scott's inherent aesthetic merit as Harold Bloom conceives it is far outside the scope of this thesis. But even if, as Bloom argues, all aesthetic merit, and therefore Scott's aesthetic merit, is objective and timeless, the evolution of the marketing and presentation of Scott's novels in the years after his death is still a worthy subject of study, if only to establish the limitations of the book trade in shaping the public's reaction to its product.

Inspiration for this work has come from studies that examine the way publishers and the literary critical establishment negotiate of a writer's corpus after his or her death, including Peter Widdowson's *Hardy in History* (1989), and Bill Bell's "Beyond the

Death of the Author: Matthew Arnold's Two Audiences, 1888-1930" (2000).

Widdowson's book argues that Hardy's individual novels have been accorded "major" and "minor" status within his oeuvre due not to their intrinsic literary merit, but to the literary-critical establishment's preconceptions of Hardy as a symbol of rural England. He exposes how the initial critical judgments of Hardy's works were perpetuated and have continued to shape their reception over many years. Bell's article examines the tension between the critical establishment's belief that Arnold's poetry appealed only to a select few and the reality that popular editions of the poetry sold extremely well after his death. Bell identifies two discrete posthumous audiences for Arnold, each focusing on a particular subset of his diverse body of works. Chronicling the way "*within* a single writer's oeuvre, certain texts (and even fragments of text) are over time given priority over others," Bell analyzes the way material manifestations of Arnold's works shape his cultural status (155). Unlike Widdowson's and Bell's work, this thesis will not examine the prioritization of individual works within Scott's oeuvre, but will use the same book-historical techniques to examine how posthumous editions anticipate different audiences for the Waverley Novels and work to crystallize Scott's literary legacy.

Scott Monuments: the novelist in public culture 1832-71

The general growth of Scott's reputation during this period is visible in ways other than sheer sales figures. The years 1832 to 1871 also witnessed the establishment of various institutions memorializing Scott and preserving his legacy. The Scott monument on Princes Street in Edinburgh was completed in 1844 and officially opened in 1846. According to the Network Rail website, Edinburgh's Waverley Station was created in

1854 when three separate but adjacent train stations were brought together in one facility. The Heart of Midlothian Football Club was not established until 1874, three years after the end of this thesis' focus, but it was named after a Dance Hall frequented by the founders called "The Heart of Mid-Lothian," which was itself named after the Scott novel, and which presumably existed in the years prior to the establishment of the Club. Regardless of when precisely the dance hall opened, the presence of a dance hall named after a Scott novel during roughly this period is a notable sign of Scott's wide-ranging cultural influence on various aspects of nineteenth-century life in Britain.

Scott's international reputation also was solidified through dramatic and operatic adaptation. In two books, *The Walter Scott Operas* (1977) and *More Scott Operas* (1996), Jerome Mitchell provides a comprehensive list of all the operas ever written that were based wholly or partly on Scott's works, both poetry and prose. He identifies more than eighty-five operas in total, excluding musical theatre, making Scott the second most popular writer of works used as source material for opera, after Shakespeare. It is notable that of the eighty-five operas identified by Mitchell as based on the Waverley Novels, no less than thirty-eight were written or first performed between 1832 and 1871.

Similarly, in *Scott Dramatized* (1992), H. Philip Bolton provides a lengthy bibliography of all dramatic adaptations of Scott poetry and novels—with 4,500 entries in all. Bolton's research reveals that Scott's works were constantly being adapted for the stage throughout the nineteenth century, starting as early as 1810 with the adaptation of one of Scott's longer poems. The first dramatic production of a Scott novel came in 1816 with the production of "Guy Mannering," just one year after the novel's original publication, adapted by Scott's friend, the actor Daniel Terry. Thereafter, each of Scott's

novels was adapted for the stage almost immediately after its publication, often simultaneously by several different troupes. These stage adaptations continued to be extremely popular until the end of Scott's life, and showed no signs of slowing directly after his death. Bolton writes, "[d]ramatic versions of Sir Walter Scott continued to be fairly common on the commercial stage until the first decades of the twentieth century; thereafter they became more rare." (vii). At a time when novels were prohibitively expensive for many, theatrical adaptations were often the way middle- and working-class Britons first experienced the Waverley Novels.

The years 1832 to 1871 represented the heyday of stage adaptations of Scott. For example, *Rob Roy* was the most popular source text for Scott dramatizations, spawning over 970 different productions to date, which comprised nearly 20% of all dramatic adaptations of Scott's works. Of these, over 500, more than half the total number, occurred in the years between 1832 and 1871 (Bolton 162-258). Chapbooks featuring songs inspired by or related to Scott's novels were also extremely popular during this period.

Indeed the apex of Scott's cultural prestige was probably near the end of the nineteenth century, after which his critical reputation sharply declined. Various theories as to the reasons for Scott's decline in popularity in the early twentieth century have been postulated. In *Kinds of Literature* (1982), Alastair Fowler argues that "changes in literary taste can often be referred to revaluation of genres that the canonical works represent." (214). According to this theory, Scott's reputation suffered because of a critical reappraisal of the historical novel, the genre he invented or at least popularized. In the introduction to *Talking About Scott*, Peter Garside identifies a variety of factors that

contributed to the downturn in Scott's reputation, including the arrival of Modernism. Too-often taught in primary and secondary schools early in the twentieth century, Scott's fiction was associated with drudgery and boredom for generations of children.⁴ Furthermore, the catastrophic effects of the First World War made Scott's themes of patriotism and chivalry seem old-fashioned and tragically misguided in many corners (Garside, *Talking* 17-18). But whatever the reasons for Scott's early twentieth-century popular decline, and despite renewed scholarly interest in Scott over the last twenty years, it remains clear that now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Scott has receded to a relatively minor place in the canon. Perhaps it is not in spite of but *because* of Scott's rapid decline in popularity at the beginning of the twentieth century that his nineteenth-century popularity is such an interesting and worthy topic of study.

The Magnum Opus Edition (1829-33) - the template

Understanding the basic features of the Magnum Opus edition of the Waverley Novels is crucial to understanding the way later editions depart from it. Published between 1829 and 1833, what Scott liked to call the "Magnum Opus" edition of the Waverley Novels was a massive undertaking, the history of which has been extensively elucidated by Jane Millgate in *Scott's Last Edition*. Comprised of forty-eight volumes, each novel normally constitutes two volumes, rather than three, as the novels originally appeared. The small collected sets of Scott novels published by Archibald Constable and later Robert Cadell beginning in 1819 and issued in three different formats successively,

⁴ This is certainly the case with the author's grandmother, who read *Ivanhoe* as a high-school student in north-west Indiana, USA in the late 1940s, and who still thinks it is the worst book ever written.

presented each novel in either one or two volumes, depending on the format.⁵ Scott had revised the novels and written a new introduction to each, which preceded any original introduction or other paratextual essay. Scott had also revised the text and written new historical notes for the edition, which appear throughout—at the bottom of the page when shorter, and on a separate page at the end of the chapter when longer. Frequently the beginning and end of each volume featured advertisements of other works published by Cadell; often these were entirely or mostly Scott-related.

At the front of each volume are a frontispiece and a vignette on an engraved title-page; in the forty-eight volumes there are a total of ninety-six illustrations, each crediting both an artist and an engraver, and many appearing with a caption quoting the novel. Of the ninety-six images, one, the frontispiece to Volume 33, is a portrait of Scott painted by John Watson Gordon and engraved by John Horsburgh, discussed below. The remaining ninety-five illustrations depict characters from the novels in action, usually at the point in the narrative designated by the caption. The images are neither exclusively landscape, nor exclusively portrait. Forty-five of the images depict an indoor scene, while fifty depict an outdoor scene, and some of these outdoor scenes prominently feature the landscape, countryside, or castles, although they are always in the background and only rarely compete with the characters for the focus of the viewer's attention. Stylistically, the illustrations are extremely detailed and one might call them realistic (see Figs. 1.1-1.5 in the appendix). The style of these illustrations will be discussed in more depth later in this

⁵ Each collection was issued first in octavo, then duodecimo, and finally 18mo. The octavo and 18mo issues generally contained the same number of volumes, and each novel appeared in either one or two volumes. The duodecimo issue (16mo in the final collection of *Tales and Romances*) was generally fewer volumes in which each novel was consistently two volumes (Todd & Bowden 729-884).

thesis when they are contrasted with the illustrations to later editions of the Waverley Novels.

Scott's level of personal involvement in the selection of images to accompany the Magnum Opus has been a matter of much scholarly discussion. In *Scott's Last Edition*, Millgate chronicles Scott's initial lack of interest in having images accompany the novels, and argues that it was only after his publisher Robert Cadell's insistence on their inclusion that Scott began to "play his part not only in choosing their subjects, but in ensuring their accuracy and appropriateness" (17). Furthermore, in his doctoral thesis, "The Illustration of the Waverley Novels in Scotland" (2005), Richard Hill argues that, rather than indifferent to illustration, Scott was heavily involved in the selection of images to accompany his novels and often very particular about them. Both Millgate and Hill agree as to the nature of Scott's interests: as with his prose, Scott was most concerned with authenticity as he understood it. Accordingly, he insisted on illustrations that were accurate as far as history, costume, topography, mannerisms, and architecture were concerned. "To this end, such illustrations become historical, diagrammatic records of antiquarian objects and costumes, as much as narrative augmentations to the texts." (22). Ultimately, regardless of who selected them, the images that accompany the Magnum Opus reflect a single, relatively unvarying illustrative style that emphasizes characters and identifiable scenes from the novels, presented in such a way as to appear historically accurate.

In later editions of the Waverley Novels, illustration became an important site of changes to the presentation of the novels. Where the main text of the novels remained,

predictably, unchanged in later posthumous editions, the illustrations made interesting departures from their presentation in the Magnum Opus.

On the whole, the posthumous editions see a rise and then fall in the inclusion of illustrations, sparked first by the separation of previously integrated, non-narrative visual elements and then the return to the depiction of identifiable scenes. At the same time, Scott's publishers priced their editions to bring the novels to a wider readership while also offering luxury counterparts for well-to-do readers, solidifying Scott's status as a popular but high-brow novelist. Finally, these editions also mark Scott's transformation from revered writer to subject of serious scholarly study. The following five chapters discuss the way changes to the Waverley Novels both reflect and engender these changes in Scott's literary legacy.

Chapter 2: The Fisher Edition (1835-1839)

Published between 1835 and 1839 in parts, and between 1836 and 1838 in volumes, the Fisher edition was the first new edition of the Waverley Novels sold in Britain since the Magnum Opus. This chapter traces the history of the Fisher edition and discusses its unique place among posthumous editions of the Waverley Novels. Then the edition's many and varied illustrations are analyzed and placed in the context of contemporary book illustration. I argue that these illustrations de-emphasize Scott's narratives and highlight his scenery, his characters—taken out of context and stylized—and, finally, Scott himself. At the end of the chapter, I consider the Fisher edition's re-engraving of Scott's Magnum Opus portrait, and conclude that the Fisher edition initiated a process of increased fictionalization of the legend of Scott, a trend developed further in later editions. In order to understand the way Scott's literary legacy evolved in the years after his death, we must recognize the important role the Fisher edition played in effecting major changes to the Magnum Opus template.

Cadell Makes a Deal

The first edition of the Waverley Novels published after the Magnum Opus was in many ways different from all later editions. The Fisher edition is remarkable in that it was published as a result of a deal between Robert Cadell, who held exclusive copyright to all of Scott's work at this time, and the publishing firm Fisher, Son & Co. On 23 January 1834, Cadell first mentioned in his notebook the idea of “a transaction with a number man for a large number of each volume of the Novels 1 to 48” (Notebook of Robert

Cadell⁶ fol. 47). By “a number man” Cadell meant a publisher who specialized in the publication of books in parts or by numbers. During this period, the practice of publishing in parts was a relatively specialized division of the book trade (Handrea), and one with which, at this point, Cadell had no previous experience. The next day Cadell wrote to the London firm Jones & Co. offering to collaborate on an edition of the novels in weekly parts. After Jones & Co. declined the offer in a letter dated 28 January, Cadell wrote to the firm Fisher, Son & Co. with a similar offer. There followed some negotiation over who would provide the paper. In the end, Fisher and Cadell reached an agreement (Cadell, Correspondence of Scott’s family fols. 19-20): Fisher would publish the Waverley Novels in weekly parts, two hundred forty in total, priced 1 shilling each. Beginning with Parts 113-114 and continuing through the rest of the edition, Fisher issued the parts two at a time, sewn together as one. The parts issued singly consisted of five or six gatherings, with no concern for natural breaks in the text, such that parts often began and ended mid-sentence or mid-word. The deal also allowed Fisher to bind the parts together and issue the edition in forty-eight monthly volumes, usually comprised of slightly less than five parts, and costing 5s each.

Todd and Bowden’s comprehensive bibliography of Scott includes a truncated entry for the Fisher edition of the Waverley Novels. Todd and Bowden end their analysis in August 1836, the publication date of the final volume of the *Miscellaneous Prose Works* uniform with the Waverley Novels—the final volume of the extended version of the Magnum Opus, excluding Lockhart’s *Life of Scott*. Consequently the Fisher edition entry ends before the edition finished publication. Todd and Bowden list only one surviving copy for the part issue, at the New York Public Library Arents Collection, and

⁶ Abbreviated below as “Notebook.”

two surviving copies in volumes, at the NYPL and the National Library of Scotland (Todd and Bowden 911-12). They have overlooked at least one copy in volumes, in the Edinburgh University Library, Corson Collection. Regardless, the Fisher edition has evidently survived in far fewer copies than the Magnum Opus, for which Todd and Bowden have located numerous copies.

It is obviously impossible to extrapolate the number of copies originally produced from the number of surviving copies, and Fisher, Son & Co.'s records have been lost. Yet it seems reasonable to conclude that the Fisher edition was produced in comparatively fewer copies than the Magnum Opus. The paucity of copies produced may also help explain the long scholarly neglect of this important edition.

The absence of Fisher's records and the brevity of Cadell's notes on the Fisher edition have also obscured the precise financial terms of Cadell and Fisher's agreement. Nevertheless, it is clear that Cadell periodically received a cut of the profits based on the number of copies sold. Cadell's account book reveals that he was making a significant profit from the Fisher edition. Between 1835 and 1839, Cadell & Co. was making an average of £3,783 per six-month period on Scott's works and *Life*. Of this amount, the Fisher profits averaged £445, or 12% of Cadell's total Scott-related earnings.

Todd and Bowden claim that the Fisher edition was sold primarily to an English-reading European clientele (912), and Fisher, Son & Co.'s imprint indicated that they had an office in Paris, on "quai des grands Augustin." The Fisher edition may indeed have been sold in Paris and elsewhere on the continent, but evidence of this is difficult to find. The Fisher edition can be found in neither the catalogue of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* nor the online *Catalogue Collectif de France*, a union catalogue of several major

French libraries. In any event, it is possible that Fisher's continental connection made him an appealing partner for Cadell.

Though it is thus possible that the Fisher edition was also sold in continental Europe, there is significant evidence that it was both produced and sold in Britain. The wrappers of the parts display excerpts from reviews in British periodicals such as the *Edinburgh Review*, *United Service Gazette*, *Bucks Herald*, *Literary Gazette*, *Spectator*, *Western Luminary*, *Edinburgh Observer*, and *Salisbury Journal*. Additionally, several of the illustrators are identifiably British, including the then up-and-coming J.M.W. Turner and George Cruikshank.

The fact that the Fisher edition was both produced and sold in Great Britain renders it significantly different from those pirated editions of the Waverley Novels produced by Galignani, Tauchnitz, and others on the European continent with Cadell's tacit approval. Cadell's authorization of and profit from the Fisher edition also suggests that the edition can be associated, at least peripherally, with Cadell's over-arching marketing scheme for the Waverley Novels, which continued to be manifest in the editions he published until the end of the 1840s.

Given Cadell's ownership of the Waverley copyrights, one might wonder why he did not simply publish the edition himself rather than involve Fisher. Unfortunately, Cadell's papers contain only brief notes on the Fisher deal, and his motivations remain unclear (Notebook fol. 48). Obviously, by working with a publisher with European connections, Cadell was able to undercut French pirated editions of the novels, since the Fisher edition could be sold both in Britain and abroad. Yet Fisher, Son & Co. may have been an attractive partner for other reasons. An examination of firm's publishing output

reveals that Fisher specialized not only in number publication, but in the publication of conduct literature, travel literature, and religious literature that was copiously illustrated, often by some of the same artists involved in the firm's edition of the Waverley Novels. Accordingly, it is possible that Cadell's decision to work with Fisher was influenced as much by the latter's familiarity with number publication and visual art connections as by his connection to continental Europe.

One term of Cadell and Fisher's agreement was that Cadell provide the stereotype plates from the Magnum Opus edition, so Fisher would not have to recompose the type. Thus, the layout and textual features of the Fisher edition are the same as the Magnum. The only difference in format: both the original 1829 Magnum Opus edition and the 1830 reprint begin in royal 18mo in sixes, and then switch to double foolscap in eights (16mo) beginning in Volume 14. The Fisher edition, however, is double foolscap in eights throughout, meaning that either Cadell or Fisher must have reimposed the Magnum stereotype plates for the first thirteen volumes, probably to fit Fisher's printing machine.

Fisher's Illustrations

While the texts of the Magnum Opus edition and the Fisher edition are identical, the two are notably different in their illustrations. Where the Magnum Opus edition had only two illustrations per volume (the frontispiece and vignette), the Fisher edition had considerably more, consistent with the general output of Fisher, Son & Co. The Fisher edition's new illustrations were advertised to the public as an important selling point. The front outer wrapper of the Part 1 prominently featured the names of no less than seventeen artists who supplied illustrations. In fact, the actual number of artists involved

was even higher, as several contributors are not included in the list, presumably because they were either not considered famous enough to attract readers, or because their services were commissioned sometime after the first part's publication.

Each illustration is a full page, is not paginated, and was sewn into the parts as a plate, at the break between gatherings. The placement of the illustrations within the parts is somewhat sporadic, with one illustration appearing roughly every two or three parts, although their frequency varies, particularly later in the edition. The illustrations often appear at the beginning of the part, regardless of whether this occurs at a natural break in the text. The advertisement for the edition on the back wrapper of Part 3 mentions that each volume of the volume issue “will be embellished with Two Engravings, illustrative of the Novel to which they are attached.” Fisher is true to his word—surviving copies of the Fisher edition in volumes generally contain at least two and usually more engravings per volume, with one as frontispiece, although their placement becomes more sporadic in the later volumes.

The illustrations themselves appear in three discrete styles. The first group is stylistically somewhat similar to the Magnum Opus illustrations, although the images themselves are different. They feature scenes from the novels rendered relatively realistically, but compared to the Magnum Opus illustrations, they place greater emphasis on landscape scenery and architecture than on characters. While about half the Magnum Opus illustrations depict indoor scenes and half outdoor scenes, the majority of Fisher illustrations in this style depict outdoor scenes, often with striking natural or architectural features. As in the Magnum Opus, both an artist and engraver are identified, and the illustration is accompanied by a caption. But where the Magnum Opus captions are

usually substantial textual quotes, the Fisher captions are usually simple place or character names.

The appendix includes several images that corroborate this observation. Figure 2.1, from *Guy Mannering*, depicts the scene in Chapter 52 when Meg Merrilies accosts Harry Bertram, Dandy Dinmont, Lucy Bertram, and Julia Mannering and bids the men to go with her. Notably, the three figures near the bottom right—Meg, Bertram, and Dinmont—and, especially, the two women retreating homeward on the left are smaller and less significant visually than either the stream and trees in the foreground, or Ellangowan estate and the mountain the background.

Furthermore, the caption reads “Carlaverock⁷ Castle. The Common of Ellangowan,” linking the fictional Ellangowan to the real Dumfriesshire castle considered its prototype. Despite Peter Garside’s contention that Caerlavrock bears little resemblance to the novel’s descriptions of Ellangowan, it was widely believed during Scott’s life that Ellangowan was based on Caerlavrock (Garside, “Historical Note” 501). The association of Ellangowan with Caerlavrock within the bibliographic record can be traced back to the 1821 publication of *Guy Mannering* within the duodecimo issue of the *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, which included, as a vignette on the title-page, a depiction of “Caerlavroc Castle.” The association was reinforced by Scott’s likening of Ellangowan to Caerlavrock in a note to the Magnum Opus. This note notwithstanding, the illustrations to the Magnum Opus *Guy Mannering* do not depict Ellangowan at all. In linking Ellangowan to Caerlavrock Castle, this Fisher edition illustration incorporates information from outside the text in ways that the Magnum Opus illustrations do not.

⁷ “Carlaverock” is spelled numerous different ways in literature on this subject.

Similarly, Fig. 2.2, from *The Bride of Lammermoor*, probably depicts the scene when Ravenswood and Bucklaw approach Wolf's Crag for the first time, in Chapter 7, and the appearance of the tower closely mirrors Scott's description at this point. As in the example from *Guy Mannering*, this image focuses visually on the tower, the crags and stormy sea, rather than on the two men. The scenery dominates over the narrative. While the image reflects the text insofar as it provides a visual counterpart to Scott's prose description of the tower, its depiction of static scenery rather than active characters weakens its link to any particular narrative moment. Thus, this illustration, while it might depict Ravenswood and Bucklaw's approach to the tower that occurs specifically in Chapter 7, could just as well depict the castle at any other moment. This weakened link between image and specific textual moment is a distinctive feature of the Fisher illustrations in this style.

The second stylistic group begins only in Part 9. Three parts earlier, on the back wrapper of Part 6, the reader learns:

The Subscribers to Fisher's Edition of the Waverley Novels are informed, that, grateful for the extensive patronage conferred on *their* work, they have made arrangements with Geo. Cruikshank, Esq. to furnish a series of Comic illustrations in his particular and Spirited style of Etching

The famous London artist of sketches and paintings, George Cruikshank had illustrated Scott's work in the past—his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830). Starting in 1837 Cruikshank also illustrated Dickens' *Oliver Twist* in the periodical *Bentley's Miscellany*. On the wrapper of Part 8 of the Waverley Novels, his name begins to be prominently featured in the list of artists, and in Part 9 the reader sees the first example of his work. Cruikshank's "comic" style is more cartoonish, sketchy, and clearly unrealistic

than any illustrations from the *Magnum Opus*. The characters' physical features are exaggerated and stylized, such that Cruikshank's "comic" drawings are indeed humorous.

The appendix provides two examples of Cruikshank's style, in Figs. 2.3 and 2.4. The difference between these illustrations and those from the *Magnum Opus* is immediately apparent. Fig. 2.3, from *Waverley*, depicts Ballie Macwheeble's ecstatic reaction to the news that Waverley intends to marry Rose Bradwardine in Chapter 66. The pile of papers on the table is somewhat indeterminate, and Cruikshank's pencil strokes are intentionally visible. Fig. 2.4, from *Guy Mannering*, depicts Dominie Sampson having fallen into the mud while playing with the young Harry Bertram, and the caption indicates that he is making his signature exclamation, "Prodigious!" The difference between Cruikshank's depiction of Dominie Sampson and the *Magnum Opus* depiction of him can be seen by comparing Figs. 2.4 and 1.2. Crazed and eccentric as Dominie Sampson looks in the *Magnum Opus* illustration, his appearance is still more comic in the Fisher, where his eyes are enlarged, his face elongated, and his entire physical appearance stylized. Similarly, the round faces and exaggerated feminine curves of the village matrons who help him out of his predicament also make the picture look cartoonish and unrealistic.

Later in the edition, a third style of illustration appears. These portraits of primarily female characters with indistinct backgrounds present a static image of the woman, rather than depict her at a particular narrative moment. As such, they are stylistically different than any *Magnum Opus* illustrations. The first example of this style does not appear until Parts 115-116 with the depiction of "Brenda," but immediately

thereafter the female portraits become common. In the appendix, examples of this style can be seen in Figs. 2.5-2.7.

In Context

Although female portraits like these had never been used to illustrate Cadell's or Constable's previous editions of the Waverley Novels, there was a long-established interest in depicting Scott's female characters. Published in 1834 by Charles Tilt and Chapman & Hall, *Portraits of the Principal Female Characters in the Waverley Novels* features stylistically similar female portraits with indistinct backgrounds, accompanied by quotations from the novels and short lines of original verse commemorating the virtues of the character. In fact, several of the images from the *Portraits* were taken directly and used in the Fisher edition of the novels, including portraits of Brenda (Fig. 2.5) and Minna from *The Pirate*, Margaret Ramsey from *The Fortunes of Nigel*, Isabelle de Croye from *Quentin Durward*, Alice Bridgnorth and Fenella from *Peperil of the Peak*, Phoebe Mayflower from *Woodstock*, the Fair Maid of Perth, Anne of Geierstein, and Lady Augusta from *Castle Dangerous* (Fig. 2.7). In the years after the publication of the Fisher edition, books of portraits of female Waverley characters continued to be popular. One example of this tradition is *The Waverley Gallery of Principal Female Characters*, published in 1841 under slightly different titles in London, Paris, and Brussels.

Both the *Portraits of the Principal Female Characters in the Waverley Novels* and the *Waverley Gallery of Principal Female Characters* fall into the larger literary genre of the gift book. In fact, the Fisher edition's female portraits generally resemble the female

portraits in certain contemporary literary annuals and gift books, such as *Heath's Book of Beauty*, edited by the Countess of Blessington.

As Ann R. Hawkins has observed, the gift book was “the most popular and lucrative literary medium in mid-nineteenth-century Britain—particularly from 1822 to 1860” (“Formed with Curious Skill”). Marketed to women, or to men to give as gifts to women, *Heath's Book of Beauty* featured portraits of beautiful women, accompanied by poetry and short prose fiction with themes designed to appeal to women readers. Rather than being selected to accompany pre-existing poems, the female portraits in literary annuals were often the primary feature of the books, and the poetry and engravings were often given separate reviews in periodicals. In fact, in some cases, the poems were written to accompany pre-selected images. In the introduction to the 1832 *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book*, another similar literary annual, the editor, L.E.L., complains that “[i]t is not an easy thing to write illustrations to prints, selected rather for their pictorial excellence than their poetic capabilities; and mere description is certainly not the most popular species of composition.” (Landon).

Like the Fisher edition portraits, the portraits in *Heath's Book of Beauty* have a strong visual focus on the women, with minimal, sometimes indistinct backgrounds. Even the typeface used for the names of the women in *Heath's Book of Beauty* is the same as that used in the Fisher edition, suggesting that Fisher deliberately invoked the gift book in his presentation of the Waverley Novels.

But perhaps the most obvious example of the influence of literary annual illustration on Fisher edition illustration is the adaptation of a painting of the Countess of Blessington herself as a Fisher edition illustration. The portrait of Eveline Berenger from

The Betrothed, Volume 37, was adapted from the famous portrait of Blessington by Thomas Lawrence, displayed in both 1822 and 1833 (Hawkins, “Marketing”). Both images have been provided in the appendix (Figs. 2.6 and 2.8). The Countess of Blessington, whose *Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington* (1834) catapulted her to literary fame, was a prolific novelist and poet, and the most financially successful woman writer of her generation, earning more than £2,000 per year on her writing alone (Hawkins, “Marketing”). Famed for her great beauty and skill as a conversationalist, Blessington hosted literary salons attended by the most famous male writers of the age. After the success of her 1835 gift book *Flowers of Loveliness*, Blessington was offered editorship of *Heath’s Book of Beauty*, and edited this, along with other annuals, *Gems of Beauty* (1836-40) and the *Keepsake* (1841-50).

By adapting the famous Thomas Lawrence portrait of Blessington into an illustration of Eveline Berenger, the artists and publishers of the Fisher edition were knowingly associating their new literary production with the commercially successful literary anthologies of which Blessington was a public symbol. One is not surprised to find copious evidence of influence of the Waverley Novels on Blessington’s literary anthologies.⁸ Yet the influence seems to have run both ways: the Fisher edition illustrations reveal the influence of the *Book of Beauty* on the presentation of the Waverley Novels.

Nor is the influence of literary annual illustration on the Fisher edition limited to these female portraits. The Fisher illustrations in the first style discussed, featuring landscape and architectural features, resemble some of the illustrations in another

⁸ The 1834 *Book of Beauty* includes a story about a medieval Jewish maiden named Rebecca who is betrayed by her Christian husband Reginald de Bracy, then falsely accused of his murder and burned at the stake. While the story departs from the plot of *Ivanhoe*, the characters and setting are unmistakably Scott’s.

publication of Fisher, Son & Co., *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book*. Also edited by a famous literary woman, L.E.L., the *Scrap-Book* featured poetry and prose accompanied by illustration, much like the *Book of Beauty*. But unlike the *Book* and other anthologies clearly marketed to women, it featured more varied themes and settings, suggesting that the *Scrap-Book* was marketed to appeal to both male and female readers, and was perhaps intended as a gift for an entire family. Among other illustrations, the *Scrap-Book* prominently features travel scenes. These depict both picturesque and sublime vistas of parts of Great Britain, Ireland, and locations further afield, such as India, Hawaii, and the Middle East. Like the first group of Fisher's Waverley Novels illustrations, these images focus on landscape and architectural features rather than people.

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book also contains some portraits, but unlike the *Book of Beauty*, they are equally split between men and women, the subjects having been chosen for their cultural, social, or political importance, rather than their physical beauty or womanly virtues. Thus, the combination of *Book of Beauty*-styled portraits and *Scrap-Book*-styled travel scenes suggests that Fisher, Son & Co. were actively trying to mimic the illustrative styles of different literary products, in order to attract multiple readerships for their edition of the Waverley Novels.

The Fisher edition's landscape and architectural illustrations also resemble the illustrations in publications marketed explicitly as travel literature—a more high-brow literary form than the annual gift book. Another of Fisher, Son & Co.'s 1836 productions, *Fisher's Views of Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c., Illustrated* is a good example. Its introduction clearly places it within the context of travel literature, presenting the Holy Land as an attractive destination for British tourists, or at least armchair tourists. The

seriousness of the work is further emphasized by the introduction's effort to place the Holy Land within the context of the nascent industrial revolution:

It is impossible to estimate too highly the great advantages which [the Holy Land] is about to derive from the Manufacturing, Commercial, and Trading resources, scientific discoveries, and rapid intercourse of the East: the march of intellect and the flight of steam are advancing hand in hand into the heart of Asia;--even while this volume has been in progress, new facilities have been opened in various directions.

The illustrations in *Fisher's Views of Syria* are exclusively large vistas of picturesque and sublime landscapes with interesting architectural and natural features, accompanied by prose descriptions. They sometimes include human figures but in little detail. Perhaps surprisingly, the illustrations focus not on costumes or daily life in the foreign locations, but instead only on their scenery. As such, the similarity between the illustrations in *Fisher's Views of Syria* and their edition of the Waverley Novels is unmistakable. Through illustrations, the publishers knowingly associated the Waverley Novels with a tradition of illustrated travel literature, popular at the time, and treated the novels' scenery as though they were real tourist destinations.

Consequently, is it not surprising that Fisher, Son & Co. published many of their Waverley Novels illustrations separately in *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels* (1836-38). Containing the landscape illustrations (the first style), and Cruikshank's illustrations (the second style), the images in *Landscape-Historical Illustrations* were accompanied by a volume of prose descriptions of the scenes written by the Rev. George Newenham Wright, interspersed with lengthy quotes from the Waverley Novels. On the whole, the work bears a great resemblance to *Fisher's Views of Syria* and other works of travel literature. Furthermore, it is notable that the title lists the illustrations as being first of Scotland, and then of the Waverley Novels, proving

that the work is at least as much about travel literature as it is about illustrating the novels.

By illustrating the Waverley Novels in ways reminiscent of both gift books, traditionally considered literary productions for women, and serious travel literature marketed to men, Fisher marketed the Waverley Novels for a wide variety of potential readers. On the whole, these changes in illustrative style significantly alter the reader's experience with the novels. The Waverley Novels of the Magnum Opus are not the same as the Waverley Novels of the Fisher edition. What unifies the much more varied body of Fisher illustrations is that, compared with the Magnum, the Fisher illustrations are more fixed and less narrative. By including portraits of idealized women taken completely out of narrative context, and emphasizing static landscape scenery, the illustrations as a body have moved slightly farther away from the text—they are now less about story and more about symbol. Rather than depict the narrative, they evoke its setting or, alternately, its characters, but never both at once.

Cruikshank's comic illustrations also suggest a move away from historical accuracy as Scott would have understood it. Their intentionally unrealistic style makes a point of its own exaggeration and fictionality. This style represents a notable departure from Scott's antiquarian concerns, so important in the selection of illustrations for the Magnum Opus. While no twenty-first-century scholar would argue that Magnum illustrations were actually historically accurate, their purported historical accuracy helped shape the public myth of Sir Walter Scott as novelist and antiquarian. Through illustrations that undermine this myth, the Fisher edition presents Scott's literary legacy in ways significantly different from the Magnum Opus.

Fisher's Face of Scott

As a final example of the meaningful differences between the Magnum Opus and Fisher editions, I turn to the portrait of Scott that appears in both in slightly different forms. In 1830, Cadell, disliking David Wilkie's recent effort, commissioned a portrait of Scott by John Watson Gordon, intending to include it in the Magnum Opus (Millgate 18). The resulting portrait depicts Scott seated, holding his cane, with his dog, Bran, seated at the lower right. Trees and mountains are visible in the background. An engraving by John Horsburgh appeared in the Magnum Opus as the frontispiece to Volume 33, *St Ronan's Well* (Fig. 2.9). Fisher, Son & Co. chose to use this same portrait in Part 3 and as the frontispiece to Volume 1. But for reasons that remain unknown, Fisher chose to have the portrait re-engraved by W. Holl, and this re-engraving appeared in their edition.⁹ Strangely, Fisher seems to have had the Watson Gordon portrait engraved twice, once by Holl and once by H. Robinson; the latter's engraving appears in Fisher's *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels* (Russell 40). Even during publication there was some confusion as to whose engraving would appear where, since the advertisement on back of Part 3 misidentifies the engraver:

In the first volumes, a Portrait of Sir Walter will be presented, (extra) without additional expense, engraved by H. Robinson, Esq., in his best style, from the original painting by J. W. Gordon, Esq., copied by the kind permission of the Executors, by whom it is considered beyond all question the most authentic and striking likeness.

⁹ The reappearance of the original Horsburgh engraving in editions published by A. & C. Black years later suggests that this engraving was not generally considered inadequate. It seems likely that for some reason Fisher was unable to secure the original engraving from Cadell, perhaps because he needed it at the same time.

The advertisement notwithstanding, it is Holl's engraving that appears in the novels (Fig. 2.10).

Holl's engraving for the Fisher edition and Horsburgh's engraving for the *Magnum Opus* are obviously nearly identical, but it is clear that Scott looks slightly younger in the Fisher engraving than in the *Magnum Opus*. The dark circles around Scott's eyes and the noticeable lines in his forehead visible in the *Magnum Opus* engraving are far less prominent in the Fisher. Thus, the image of Scott appears to look younger in 1836 than it did in 1832. The slightly more youthful Scott in the Fisher edition looks more robust and immortal than in the *Magnum Opus*, where the reader is acutely aware of his fragile mortality. Furthermore, the move from the relatively imbedded Volume 33 position to the prominent Volume 1 position represents a post-*Magnum* step towards increased fetishization of Scott. Similarly, the Fisher edition portrait features a fac-simile of Scott's signature, a relic intended to draw us closer to the man himself, not necessarily to his literary output. No longer is the image of Sir Walter at all hidden—*he* comes clearly to the foreground of the reader's experience with his novels.

In the Fisher edition, the novels are presented in a way that de-emphasizes the narrative and emphasizes Scott's scenery, his characters, taken out of narrative context, and finally, Scott himself. These seemingly small yet telling changes to the Fisher edition are indicative of larger trends in later editions of the *Waverley Novels*—toward more illustrations and towards illustrations with a greater variety of relationships to the text. In different ways, each subsequent posthumous edition reacted to the trends initiated by the Fisher. Cadell's legacy, in the years after Scott's death, was directly and indirectly to initiate these trends in the presentation of Scott's novelistic oeuvre. The subsequent

evolution of Scott's literary legacy as manifest in the editions published after his death was set into motion by the changes to the presentation of the Waverley Novels initiated by the Fisher edition.

Chapter 3: The Cabinet Edition (1841-43) and the People's Edition (1842-47)

This chapter traces the history and describes the features of the Cabinet and People's editions of the Waverley Novels, two inexpensive editions published nearly simultaneously, targeted at slightly different markets. After placing these editions in the context of contemporary book publication, and summarizing the relevant social and political circumstances surrounding their production, I demonstrate that they were both significantly cheaper than the Magnum and reached a much wider readership. Finally, I discuss the style of their illustrations. The Cabinet edition's vignettes are to a certain extent in the spirit of the Magnum, although they also further trends initiated by the Fisher edition. By contrast, the People's edition engraved title-page collages represent a new approach to illustrating Scott's novels, juxtaposing characters removed from their narrative and geographical contexts. I conclude that the publication of the Cabinet and People's editions represents a crucial moment in the evolution of Scott's posthumous literary legacy, demonstrating the commercial benefit of selling cheap editions and forming an important part of Cadell's over-arching scheme of marketing the Waverley Novels.

Planning and Publishing

Between 1832 and 1838, Cadell's primary project was the production of the Magnum extension—an additional fifty volumes uniform with the Magnum Opus edition of the novels, comprised of Scott's poetry, miscellaneous prose works, and John Gibson Lockhart's *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* (1837-38). With the mammoth ninety-eight-volume set finally complete and on the market, Cadell was free to consider how

best to capitalize on the success of the Waverley Novels in the future. Cadell first calculated the costs for a potential new edition as early as 1833, when he toyed with the idea of a thirty-volume set uniform with the London Trade Edition of the historical works of William Robertson and Edward Gibbon; Cadell's notebook entries between 1833 and 1839 reveal intermittent plans for other new editions, all ultimately aborted (Notebook fols. 46-54). From 1838 until his death, Cadell produced all the editions of the novels alone, without involving other publishers, as he had with the Fisher edition.

Cadell began planning new editions of the Waverley Novels in earnest in late 1839. On 24 September, he made an inventory of his current stock of the Magnum Opus edition, consisting at the time of 1,500 sets or 72,000 volumes, and discussed how to reduce this stock. Despite these still-unsold volumes of the Magnum Opus, Cadell concluded that “[i]t may be expedient to have a cheaper edition in the market say by 1 Oct 1841 and in double columns, the size or there[abouts] of Murray's edition of Byron” (Notebook fol. 67). Perhaps Cadell thought that producing a new edition would remind the public of the Waverley Novels, creating a demand for copies of both the new edition and the old. This decision, to make new, cheaper editions of the Waverley Novels, continued the practice of tranching down that Constable had first used with Scott's novels years before. Having saturated the market with the novels at one price, Cadell's next step was to lower it.

Over the following weeks in October 1839, Cadell calculated the costs of several potential editions of the novels, in slightly different sizes and formats, and with slightly different schedules for completion (Notebook fol. 68). By 6 November, he had settled on a plan for two different editions to be pursued nearly simultaneously:

I. Waverley in double Columns uniform with Byron neatly stitched and to sell for 4/[.] Waverley, Guy Mannering, Antiquary, Old Mortality, Rob Roy to form one thick vol of about 800 pages to sell with Boards for say one Pound or one Guinea—and to continue to the conclusion making in all 254/ parts of 5 Vols. w Boards (handsome) to sell for £5 or £5...5/ . . .

II. Waverley in One very Neat Vol. [double foolscap]. To come also on 1 Oct /41 to sell for 4/ or 4/6 in neat boards and to contain about 14 sheets on a clear type. . .and to continue Monthly to the close say in 25 Vols. and each for £5.15.6 . . .

NB. It may be worth consideration at the time whether the double column edition may not be sold in weekly parts at 1/ each. (Notebook fol. 69).

The former proposal, slightly altered, became the People's edition, and the latter the Cabinet. Taken together, they are complementary endeavors that shed light not only on Cadell's business practices, but on the shaping of Scott's literary legacy in the years after his death.

Throughout his notes, Cadell called the Cabinet edition the "25v foolscap octavo," referring to the size of the paper, and advertisements in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in 1842 call it simply the "4s edition." It appears the name "Cabinet edition" was never used during Cadell's lifetime. When the Waverley copyrights were purchased by A. & C. Black after Cadell's death, they adopted this name sometime during the 1850s or 1860s.¹⁰ There were few examples of "Cabinet" editions before mid-century; exceptions include *Jones's Cabinet edition of Select British Poets* (1825-27) and *Knight's Cabinet edition of the Works of William Shakespeare* (1843). Later in the century though, Cabinet editions became much more popular, with notable examples being the Cabinet edition of *The Life and Works of George Eliot*, published by W. Blackwood & Sons (1878-79), and the Cabinet edition of *The Works of Alfred Tennyson* published H.S. King (1874-77). The

¹⁰ The title Cabinet edition has been used throughout this thesis for ease of reference.

Blacks probably began applying this name both to give the edition a more memorable title and to identify it with a growing trend in the publication of collected works.

Cadell originally referred to the People's edition as "royal," again referring to the size of the paper, but adopted the name "People's edition" sometime prior to advertising the edition in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in 1842, in order to emphasize the edition's affordable price. In contrast to the "Cabinet" edition, the "People's" edition was a well-established publishing designation by the early 1840s, one whose popularity continued to grow in following decades. A series of People's editions published by the Edinburgh firm W. & R. Chambers in the late 1830s featured travel literature, theology, philosophy, and poetry for the respectable consumer of modest means, and a People's edition generally indicated a cheap edition of high-brow literature.

In addition to associating the People's edition with other similarly-named publications, Cadell designed the edition from the earliest planning stages to be "uniform with Murray's Byron" (Notebook fol. 68). John Samuel Murray (1778-1843) had published Lord Byron's works for a number of years. Beginning in the mid-1810s and continuing, especially, after Byron's death in 1824, Murray published collected editions of his works in multi-volume sets. In 1837, however, he published *The Works of Lord Byron: Complete in One Volume, with notes by Thomas Moore, Esq., Lord Jeffrey, Sir Walter Scott. . . &c.*, an inexpensive edition that proved an enormous success. At eight hundred twenty-seven hefty pages octavo and in double columns of very small print, the *Works of Lord Byron* condensed into a single volume what had previously appeared in many. Cadell's intention was to give the Waverley Novels the same treatment,

dramatically reducing the number of volumes and rendering Scott's works in a physical form that had already proven commercially successful.

Yet differences between the texts of Byron's works and the Waverley Novels made the two editions fundamentally different. Byron's poetry, unlike Scott's novels, has lines of variable length and natural stanza breaks. As a consequence, it fills the page less fully than does Scott's comparatively more crowded prose. Furthermore, Byron's poems vary in length, and many of them are not long enough to occupy an entire volume alone under any circumstances. As a result, these shorter works had long been reordered in collections of Byron's works in the past. By contrast, many Waverley novels are approximately the same length, and most had never before the People's edition appeared together in a single volume.

Features and Sales

But perhaps the most important difference between Murray's *Works of Lord Byron* and the People's edition of the Waverley Novels is that the Byron was never published in weekly parts. Appearing in two hundred sixty-seven parts, each sixteen pages royal octavo, in double columns of very small print, and costing two pence each, the People's edition took more than five years to appear. Printed by the Edinburgh Printing Company at 12 S. St David's Street, the first part appeared on Saturday, 1 January 1842, and a new part appeared each week thereafter until early 1847. Yet if the reader did not want to purchase parts weekly, the People's edition was also available in several other forms: there was a monthly stitched part, price nine pence; five large bound volumes of more than eight hundred pages each, price one pound; or individual novels.

Thus, the People's edition was available in many different manifestations, to please different readers' habits.

As a consequence of the edition's many forms, Cadell's sales records for the People's edition are a confusing network of figures. Nevertheless, they reveal that the edition was hugely successful. By end of 1846, Cadell had sold a total of 4,049 volumes, 28,105 individual novels, 604,982 monthly parts, and at least 1,557,244 weekly numbers (Account fols. 208-64). Peter Garside has calculated that by the time of his death in 1849, Cadell had sold the equivalent of 7,115,197 weekly numbers, a truly staggering figure for its time ("*Waverley*" 230).

Like the People's edition, the Cabinet edition made a significant departure from the physical characteristics of the Magnum Opus template. Each novel appears in a single volume, as the *Waverley Novels* would normally be consumed in the future. In foolscap octavo format, the type has been reset and is much smaller than previously. In both the Cabinet and People's edition, Cadell has not curtailed the elaborate textual apparatus of the Magnum, instead retaining all the introductions and notes—esoteric material for such inexpensive publications.

Cadell's decision to put each full-length novel into a single volume for the Cabinet edition resulted in some alterations to the Magnum Opus's order of the works, particularly among the shorter works. The People's edition replicates the Cabinet edition's new ordering of the works, as do several later editions. For example, as in all three formats of the collected *Novels and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, the Magnum Opus retains the order of the works as originally published in the first three series of *Tales of my Landlord* (1816, 1818, 1819). Namely, the Magnum Opus features the short

story “The Black Dwarf” in Volume 9, directly before *Old Mortality*, followed by *The Heart of Mid-lothian* in Volumes 11 and 12, *The Bride of Lammermoor* in 13 and 14, and *A Legend of Montrose* in 15. In the Cabinet edition, however, the order of the *Tales of My Landlord* has been disturbed. *Old Mortality* appears first, in Volume 5, followed by “The Black Dwarf” and *A Legend of Montrose* in Volume 6, *The Heart of Mid-lothian* in Volume 7, and finally *The Bride of Lammermoor* in Volume 8.

Similar reordering for the Cabinet edition also affected the placement of the *Tales of the Crusaders* (1825), *Chronicles of the Canongate* (1827, 1828), and the three works that originally appeared in the *Keepsake for 1828*. The original publication order of *Tales of the Crusaders* was replicated when the works appeared in three formats in the *Tales and Romances of the Author of Waverley* (1827), as well as in the Magnum Opus, when *The Betrothed* appeared in Volume 37 and *The Talisman* in Volume 38. Thus, these works had appeared in the same order each time they had been previously published.

By contrast, the *Chronicles of the Canongate* and the material from the *Keepsake for 1828* had often been re-shuffled before the Cabinet edition. After their original publication, these works appeared in the second set of *Tales and Romances of the Author of Waverley* (1833), but their original order was not retained, and was different in each of the different formats. The *Keepsake* material was kept together, but was shuffled in between different *Chronicles*—“The Highland Widow,” “The Two Drovers,” “The Surgeon’s Daughter,” and *The Fair Maid of Perth*—which themselves were split over several volumes. Like the earlier collection, the Magnum Opus divided the *Chronicles of the Canongate*, placing the very short works “The Highland Widow” and “The Two Drovers” in Volume 41 alongside the three *Keepsake* works, and following this with *The*

Fair Maid of Perth in Volumes 42 and 43. “The Surgeon’s Daughter,” a short story but longer than the others, occupies Volume 48, the very last place in the collection, along with the index and glossary.

The Cabinet edition further splits these collections, separating the *Tales of the Crusaders* and placing the four different *Chronicles* in four different volumes. “The Highland Widow” appears in Volume 19, immediately following *The Betrothed*, while “The Two Drovers” appears in Volume 20, after *The Talisman* and before the *Keepsake* works. *The Fair Maid of Perth* appears in Volume 22. As before, “The Surgeon’s Daughter” appears near the end of the collection, but this time precedes rather than follows *Castle Dangerous* in Volume 25, thus also disturbing the original order of the fourth series of *Tales of my Landlord*, in which *Castle Dangerous* directly followed *Count Robert of Paris*.

The Magnum Opus included a note at the beginning of “The Surgeon’s Daughter” explaining the appearance of this story at the end of the edition, “for reasons which printers and publishers will understand, and which would hardly interest the general reader.” Despite the Cabinet edition’s repositioning of “The Surgeon’s Daughter,” presumably for those same printerly considerations, Cadell retained the Magnum note. Here, he chose to replicate the Magnum material even when it was no longer relevant or correct.

In repositioning the individual works within the Cabinet edition, Cadell prioritized the full-blown novels, because of their uniform length, over collections of shorter tales of varying length. Cadell’s plan for a sleek, uniform set of volumes was best suited to Scott’s full-length works, and the works that did not conform were rearranged.

Here the physical considerations of book production influenced the hierarchy of the different works within Scott's oeuvre.

The Cabinet edition also provided a convenient advertising environment for other editions of the Waverley Novels and other works. The most consistent advertisement in the edition is one page sewn at the back of most volumes. The recto advertises the Magnum Opus extended version, reflecting that Cadell continued to sell this edition throughout the 1840s, as well as Scott's *History of Scotland*. The verso advertises other non-fiction published by Cadell, including *The Cook's Oracle*, *Dalgairns' Cookery*, *Tales About Wales*, *Outlines of Moral Philosophy* by Dugald Stewart, and the *Conspectus Medicinae Theoreticae*. In Volumes 2 and 3 there is a one-leaf advertisement at the front that features Scott's poetry and prose works uniform with the People's edition of the novels, as well as Captain Basil Hall's *Patchwork*.

Beginning in Volume 4 and updated in every volume thereafter, there is a four-leaf advertisement that usually appears at the beginning. The recto of the first page advertises the People's edition, although it is not yet named as such. The verso of the first page advertises the Cabinet edition itself, although again it is called simply "another edition." The recto of the second page advertises Scott's poetry and prose works, uniform with the People's edition of the novels. Pages three and four advertise the Magnum Opus extended version.

In subsequent volumes the first page of this advertisement is updated to reflect the progress of the ongoing Cabinet and People's editions, and the subsequent pages are altered slightly in presentation, although the works advertised stay the same. Eventually,

the later pages also include advertisements for popular Scott novels for individual sale, and a new edition of Lockhart's *Life*.

Beginning in Volume 9 there is a one-leaf advertisement for the People's edition that appears on colored paper—yellow in Volume 9, red in Volume 10, and beige in Volumes 11 through 16. It is notable that although the People's edition had been advertised since Volume 4 as a “new and cheaper edition,” it is first given the name “People's edition” in Volume 9. It appears Cadell adopted this name part-way through the process of publication, as a marketing tactic to differentiate it from the Cabinet edition, and to give it a memorable name that reflected the edition's affordability.

Finally in the front of Volume 24 a new advertisement appears, one that unlike the others had been glued into the book. The recto advertises the Prose works and *Life* uniform with the Cabinet edition. The verso advertises the People's edition, the Cabinet edition, popular Scott novels for individual sale, and also, notably, the Abbotsford edition, by then in the process of publication and discussed in the next chapter. Cadell had been planning the Abbotsford edition for several months previous, and thus the fact that the edition was given much less advertising space than the cheaper editions reflects their greater importance place in Cadell's overall marketing scheme. As the numerous advertisements in the Cabinet edition make clear, at the time of its publication, the Cabinet was only one of a number of different available manifestations of the Waverley Novels, each with slightly different physical features, aimed at capitalizing on different niches of readers with different needs.

Sales of the Cabinet edition were extremely strong. 26,517 volumes were sold between January and June 1841, and 37,987 volumes in the second half of that year.

Things tapered off swiftly from there, such that by January 1843, sales hovered between 5,500 and 8,500 per six-month period (Account fols. 208-264). In 1848, anticipating the sale of the Waverley copyrights, Cadell circulated a document entitled “Particulars of Scott Copyrights and Stock” among potential purchasers. A copy among the records of W. Blackwood and Sons estimates that almost 11,000 sets of the Cabinet edition had been sold, “and the demand is incessant.” (Blackwood fol. 127).¹¹ The fact that Cadell continued to reprint both the Cabinet and People’s editions throughout the 1840s indicates that he considered both to be successful.

“Cheapness” and its Contexts

As Cadell had planned, both the Cabinet and People’s editions were notably less expensive than previous manifestations of the novels. An advertisement in the Cabinet edition explains: “The call for cheaper Issues of these celebrated Novels, has induced the Proprietors to bring forward, on the present occasion, Reprints, cheaper than the cheapest books of the day, in place of more costly and highly embellished Editions.” Despite Cadell’s last claim, that he was publishing cheap reprints “in place of” more lavish editions, he was in fact nearly simultaneously publishing the Abbotsford edition, heavily illustrated and expensive, discussed in the next chapter. Both expensive and cheap editions of the novels were part of Cadell’s larger scheme to market the Waverley Novels to a wide range of consumers.

¹¹ The document is in Robert Blackwood’s hand, but the sales figures were likely Cadell’s estimates. It is not clear who described the demand for the Cabinet edition as “incessant.”

The People's edition in particular was designed to appeal to the working classes. An advertisement in the Cabinet edition boldly identified the intended audience for the forthcoming People's Edition:

On Saturday 1st January 1842, and to be continued each Saturday till the whole is completed, Number One, Price Twopence, containing one sheet royal octavo, double columns, of *Waverley*; or 'tis sixty years since. . . . To be immediately followed by. . . all the other Novels and Romances of Sir Walter Scott. The Proprietors are anxious to meet the wishes of many intelligent correspondents among the *Working Classes*, who represent that, notwithstanding the great circulation and unparalleled celebrity of The *Waverley Novels*, *thousands upon thousands of our industrious countrymen* have yet to form acquaintance with the Baron Bradwardine and . . . numberless other immortal creations of the Prince of Novelists. The Edition now announced will, it is hoped, be allowed to put these marvellous performances within the reach of the *masses*. (all italics mine)

Clearly Cadell is not shy about his intention to market this edition to the common people.

Cadell is true to his word: whereas buying the three-volume set of *Waverley* when it first appeared in 1814 cost 21s, and buying *Waverley* in two volumes when it appeared in the Magnum Opus in 1829 cost 10s, buying *Waverley* complete in one volume in the Cabinet edition in 1841 cost just 4s. The People's edition was cheaper still, with each weekly part costing 2d and a monthly stitched part costing 9d. In this edition, *Waverley*, comprising about twelve weekly parts, could therefore be had for just 24d, or 2s.

The changing value of money during these years obviously makes it difficult to directly compare these figures. But by taking into consideration the most recent estimates of the cost of living during these years, it is possible to get a more accurate picture of the changing cost of the *Waverley Novels*. In an appendix to "Pessimism Perpetuated: Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Britain during and after the Industrial Revolution" (1998), Charles Feinstein provides an index of the cost of living between 1770 and 1870,

using 1778-82 as a base and taking into account the basic goods purchased by a typical family in this period. This data can be used to compare the relative cost of editions of the Waverley Novels published in different years, by dividing the cost of each edition by the average cost of living index over the years the edition was sold. The appendix provides these calculations, as well as a graph comparing the relative cost of all the editions discussed in this thesis. The calculations confirm that, as the changes in their nominal price suggest, the Cabinet and People's editions were significantly less expensive than the Magnum Opus or Fisher editions, with the People's edition being the cheapest version of the Waverley Novels to date.

Moreover, the People's edition offered the consumer the option, for the first time, of purchasing the novels in weekly parts, a desirable system for those with little disposable income. Not only was the People's edition cheaper than any previous edition of the Waverley Novels, but it was designed to meet the needs of working class consumers, whose finances might change from week to week. The Magnum Opus edition is often credited with making Scott's novels affordable to a wider audience, but the Cabinet and People's editions obviously carried this trend much further. The publication of these cheaper editions also prompted Cadell to reduce the price of the Magnum Opus, so that it would not be significantly more expensive than other versions (Notebook fol. 67).

In addition to the prospect of exploiting a previously untapped market for the Waverley Novels, Cadell may also have been attracted to cheaper editions of the novels because they required little capital. He concludes: "Some weeks consideration has brought me to consider a cheap edition of the Novels as a safer or rather a sounder and

more profitable cash” (Notebook fol. 68). Thus the Cabinet and People’s editions were appealing both to Cadell and to readers.

In the larger context of the British economic situation at the time, Cadell’s decision to publish two different inexpensive editions of the Waverley Novels is even more striking. Major demographic changes caused by industrialization and the growth of towns and cities were dramatically altering the conditions of poverty. Crowded into unsanitary city dwellings or starving in the countryside, the working classes endured extremely hard living conditions. Crime, disease, and other problems exacerbated by demographic change became a source of discontent, and contemporary debates raged over what was called the “Condition of England Question.”

The 1832 Reform Act raised hopes in many corners that the new parliamentary system would result in “government by opinion,” better representing the needs of common people and allowing for more social reforms to address growing problems (Gash 161). Ultimately these hopes were disappointed: on the contrary, the Reform Act created a parliamentary system that required far greater party organization and discipline, often at the expense of dissent. Designed, in the words of Norman Gash, to “detach the middle classes from a dangerous alliance with the lower classes, founded on common dissatisfaction with the aristocratic system,” the Reform Act effectively dampened movements for social reform (147). The legislation ultimately passed by the Whig governments in the 1830s was largely disappointing to those who had campaigned for more sweeping reforms. For example, the Factory Act of 1833 limited children to work no more than twelve hours per day, but stopped short of limiting the number of hours for

adults (Behagg, Byrne, Cooper 51). The government's response to growing public health concerns was equally slow and disappointing.

To make matters worse, between 1837 and 1842 Great Britain experienced the worst economic depression of the century (Pugh 59). Extreme material hardship among the working classes gave rise to discontent, which manifested itself in the Chartist movement and in organizations like the Anti-Corn Law League. Furthermore, the New Poor Law that had been passed in the early 1830s was met with varying degrees of resistance all over the country. When enforced, the Poor Law eliminated the possibility of claiming "outdoor" relief, or direct handouts to the poor from local parishes. Instead, the law required that impoverished people enter abusive and humiliating workhouses in order to claim government relief. As a result of the infamous conditions of life in the workhouse, many chose to endure extreme poverty on their own rather than seek government assistance. With a precarious grip on financial stability, even the middle classes feared falling into destitution and being forced to enter the workhouse.

In the article "Pessimism Perpetuated" Feinstein re-examines the perennially controversial topic of the effect of the industrial revolution on working-class living standards. He convincingly casts doubt on earlier work by Lindert and Williamson that argued that standards of living among the British working class rapidly increased after 1820. Feinstein's new index of trends in real wages between 1770 and 1870 is based on new estimates of both nominal earnings and the cost of living. Feinstein's data roughly corresponds to Lindert and Williamson's for the years preceding the end of the Napoleonic Wars, but reveals a far less significant drop in the cost of living after this time, and therefore a much more modest increase in standards of living between about

1815 and 1850. Revising Lindert and Williamson's optimistic claim that significant increases in working-class living standards occurred after 1820, Feinstein argues that these changes did not occur until after 1850.

Working long hours and with little disposable income, the working classes were unlikely purchasers of imaginative literature, particularly new fiction, which "remained priced at 31.5 shillings until the end of the nineteenth century despite a drastic reduction in the manufacturing costs of books" (St Clair 202), achieved by the exploitation of new technologies and cheaper raw materials (Weedon 59-64). Notably, purchasing *Waverley* in the Cabinet edition at 4s cost about one-eighth the price of purchasing a new novel. By selling the Cabinet and People's editions of the *Waverley* Novels at prices significantly lower than previous editions, and dramatically lower than the cost of new novels, Cadell was making the *Waverley* Novels available to a new readership.

Illustrations

As the Cabinet and People's editions were inexpensive publications, their illustrations are minimal. Each volume of the Cabinet edition has a vignette, and Volume 25 also has a frontispiece. The style and content of these illustrations are similar to and yet different from the illustrations in the *Magnum Opus* and *Fisher* editions. Of the twenty-five vignettes, ten feature indoor scenes, while fifteen feature outdoor scenes; none is exclusively portrait, nor is any exclusively landscape. They depict characters from the novels at identifiable points in the narrative, and are accompanied by captions that often identify the characters, location, or the scene. Yet the detailed depiction of the central figures often fades towards the perimeter, which is more sketch-like and less

visually interesting. The engravings are detailed, but not as detailed as the illustrations in the Magnum Opus or Fisher editions. Furthermore, unlike the Fisher edition, they feature neither “Comic” illustrations like Cruikshank’s nor isolated portraits of female characters. Fig. 3.1 in the appendix provides an example of the style of the Cabinet edition vignettes. It depicts the scene from *Kenilworth* in which Tressilian first meets Wayland Smith. The relative detail used to depict the central figures quickly fades towards the perimeter.

Insofar as the Cabinet edition vignettes emphasize characters rather than architecture or scenery, they are more similar to the Magnum Opus illustrations than to the Fisher. But where the Magnum Opus edition illustrations take every opportunity to present characters against a backdrop of striking architecture or picturesque scenery, the Cabinet edition vignettes emphasize the characters alone, often leaving the background indistinct or undeveloped, as in Fig. 3.1.

Thus, the Cabinet edition illustrations further the trend initiated by the Fisher edition, towards the separation of characters from their natural, geographical, and architectural contexts. Where the images created under Scott’s auspices for the Magnum Opus integrated characters with purportedly realistic landscape and architectural scenes, the illustrations to the Cabinet edition are dominated by characters alone. The characters depicted are still at an identifiable narrative point, but now they dominate the scenery that surrounds them.

Another difference relates to the identification of the artists and engravers responsible for each illustration. Whereas the Magnum Opus and Fisher editions identify those contributors with conspicuous typeset attributions below each picture, the Cabinet

edition identifies artists far less prominently. The attributions either are engraved within the illustration itself or appear in very small type along the side of the image, and are often barely legible. Many vignettes identify the engraver alone, concealing the source of the image. The English wood-engraver, Robert Edward Branston (1803?-1877), who came from a family of engravers, is often responsible. It is clear that far fewer illustrators were involved in the preparation of the Cabinet edition than the Magnum Opus or Fisher editions, and that their illustrations were not vital to the edition's appeal.

Despite the relatively scarcity of Cabinet edition illustrations, the edition still depicts Scott. The frontispiece to Volume 25 (Fig. 3.2) is an engraving by "Geo. B. Shaw" of the marble statue of Scott sculpted by John Greenshields (1792-1838) between 1832 and 1835. Wearing "normal clothes," Scott is seated on a draped chair, with ankles crossed, and holds his cane (Russell 46). An inscription on the base of the statue reads "Sic Sedebat" (thus he sat). Purchased from the artist by Cadell, the statue was originally engraved for the second volume of Lockhart's *Life of Scott* (1837-38) (Russell 46), but its reappearance in the Cabinet edition was the first time that an edition of the novels included an engraving of a statue of Scott. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Magnum Opus and Fisher editions included engravings taken from the same John Watson Gordon portrait. More so than these previous depictions, the frontispiece to Volume 25 of the Cabinet edition is clearly a *representation of a representation* of Scott. Whereas the engravings of Scott taken from the John Watson Gordon portrait purport to depict Scott from life, this illustration is clearly taken from another work of art—it is a second-order depiction, separated from the living Scott by two degrees of separation. As such, the Cabinet edition does not purport to depict Scott as he actually looked, but rather copies an

image that is already clearly fictionalized and idealized. He recedes further away from the living Sir Walter Scott and towards a legendary “Sir Walter Scott.”

Another interesting feature of the Cabinet edition illustrations is the appearance of a facsimile of Scott’s handwriting at the end of Volume 5 (Fig. 3.3). This is a hand-written version of the Cleishbotham peroration that appears at the end of *Old Mortality*. A typeset version of the same text appears on the facing page. Where both the Magnum Opus and Fisher editions had reproduced Scott’s signature, this reproduction of the Cleishbotham peroration is the first relatively large sample of Scott’s handwriting within an edition of the novels, and the same facsimile also appears in the People’s edition. Furthermore, the neatness of the handwriting suggests that this facsimile is unlikely to be a faithful copy of the original document, and probably involved some level of deception similar to what Iain Gordon Brown has demonstrated was involved in the Abbotsford edition facsimile, discussed in Chapter 4. Where the reproduction of the Scott’s signature in earlier editions is a reproduction of a text ostensibly written by Scott, the reproduction of the Cleishbotham peroration is a reproduction of a text signed not by Scott, or even by the “Author of Waverley,” but by Jedediah Cleishbotham. Thus, the reproduction of this handwriting sample rather than any other is designed to expose Scott in the very act of writerly deception, eliding the history of Scott’s pseudonyms and providing the reader with tangible physical proof of Scott’s authorship of the Waverley Novels.

Illustration in the People’s edition is even more limited than in the Cabinet, consisting solely of five different engraved title-pages, each of which depicts a montage of images—characters, landscape scenery, architecture, important objects, animals, and, in Volume 1, a bust of Sir Walter. These composite images, created by juxtaposing

elements from different novels completely out of their narrative context, present the reader with an array of symbols that evoke general ideas and themes associated with Scott, rather than depict the narrative at particular moments. The characters themselves are not identified, and thus in order to attempt to identify who was who, the reader would need to be very familiar with the novels. The appendix includes two examples of these, in Figs. 3.4 and 3.5.

If the Fisher edition initiated the practice of separating characters from their narrative and geographic contexts, the People's edition took this significantly further. Even for a reader familiar enough with the novels to guess any of the characters' identities, they are almost never at an identifiable narrative moment. The only notable exception appears at the top of the title-page to Volume 2 (Fig. 3.5), which depicts two women in simple costumes embracing, looking very sad. It would be relatively clear to anyone familiar with *The Heart of Mid-lothian* that these were the Deans sisters, probably during their emotional meeting in prison, but the lack of any caption mediating between the story and the images renders such conclusions speculative. In this case, the scene is perhaps identifiable because of the lack of working-class heroines in the other novels in this volume, and of their meeting face-to-face only on a few occasions during the novel. The depiction of working-class heroines was perhaps especially appealing for this edition, marketed to working-class readers.

Furthermore, architectural and landscape features, on the rare occasions that they appear, are also separated not only from characters but from their narrative and geographical contexts. Where the Magnum Opus illustrations were quick to identify the fictional names of buildings and landscapes depicted, or to give tantalizing clues to their

real geographical models, the People's edition simply depicts a generic mountain or seascape that could be both geographically and narratively anywhere. The artists of these images are identified only by extremely small type at the bottom of the page, and the names are so abbreviated as to be nearly indecipherable.

The People's edition also includes two depictions of Scott. One is the frontispiece to Volume 1, an engraving of the 1808 Henry Raeburn portrait of a young-looking Sir Walter, seated under a half-ruined wall with his dog, hills visible in the distance. The other is a bust that appears on the engraved title-page to Volume 1, as mentioned above, among images of his characters.

Therefore the Cabinet and, especially, the People's edition carry further the changes to the illustrations to the Waverley Novels initiated by the Fisher edition by separating characters from geographical and narrative contexts, and by including depictions of Scott among his characters. Styled after other successful publications and anticipating nascent publishing trends, these editions update the presentation of the Waverley Novels for a new audience, and mark an important moment in the posthumous evolution of Scott's literary legacy. Significantly less expensive than previous editions at a time when the middle and working classes could not afford to pay more, the extraordinary sales of the Cabinet and People's editions proved the commercial benefit of selling cheap editions of high-brow literature. Taken in tandem with the Abbotsford edition, discussed in the next chapter, these editions are a major element of Cadell's effective marketing scheme for the Waverley Novels in the 1840s.

Chapter 4: The Abbotsford Edition (1842-47)

In producing the Abbotsford edition, Cadell deliberately undertook a project that contrasted with and complemented the editions of the Waverley Novels he had published since the *Magnum Opus*. Physically, the Abbotsford edition could not be more different from the Cabinet and People's editions—where they are spare and cheaply produced, the Abbotsford edition is a luxury product, marketed for a well-off consumer. Together, the Abbotsford edition and the cheaper Cabinet and People's editions manifest Cadell's overarching scheme of bringing the Waverley Novels to a wider readership without sacrificing their appeal to well-to-do readers or cultural prestige.

If earlier editions initiate a process of increasing fictionalization of the legend of Scott, the Abbotsford edition takes this to the extreme. Through its physical and paratextual features, particularly its copious illustrations, the Abbotsford edition incorporates a wide variety of information associated with Scott lore and legend—information widely discussed in print, but never previously part of the bibliographic record. Perhaps befitting an edition named after Scott's iconic home, the Abbotsford edition blurs the distinction between Scott's life and his work, presenting Abbotsford as the place inhabited both by Scott and his novels.

In contrast to the other editions discussed in this thesis, the Abbotsford edition is relatively well-known among scholars and librarians in the field. Yet relatively little has been written on its interesting history and striking physical features.¹² In this chapter, I trace the history and describe the features of the edition, including some minor changes to the *Magnum Opus* textual apparatus. This chapter also documents the Abbotsford

¹² One exception is an unpublished conference paper by Dr Anthony Inglis entitled "Real Localities, Real Portraits...Actually in the Contemplation of Memory of the Author when he Composed: The Abbotsford edition of the Waverley Novels 1842-47," although his conclusions are relatively preliminary.

edition's limited commercial success. Then, I focus in an extended manner on the edition's unique program of illustrations, designed to feature the historical and antiquarian objects in Scott's home. The chapter ends with a discussion of depictions of Scott, greatly stylized in this edition. I argue that the Abbotsford edition is a turning point in the posthumous marketing of Scott's fiction: it is both an outlier to a general trend and, despite its poor sales, an influential example for future editions of the Waverley Novels. The publication of this edition was a crucial episode in the history of Scott's literary reputation, and it exemplifies the benefit of examining the impact of posthumous editions on literary canonization.

Preparations and Features

Cadell's correspondence with Archibald Constable, his partner before the financial crash, indicates that Cadell had been thinking about a heavily-illustrated edition of the Waverley Novels for several years, perhaps even before the *Magnum Opus* was published (fols. 613-14). Years later, the edition ultimately known as the Abbotsford edition was produced relatively quickly, especially given its scope and sumptuousness.

On 16 July 1840, still several months before the appearance of the *Cabinet and People's* editions, Cadell calculated the total number of chapters in the Waverley Novels and used this figure to calculate the total number of illustrations, including head-pieces and tail-pieces, necessary to produce a highly illustrated edition. He concluded that "2,134 woodcuts, or roughly 92 per part" would be necessary, although this figure was ultimately rounded up to 100 per part, or a total of 2,500 for the whole edition (Notebook fol. 72). Perhaps because he was too busy with the *Cabinet and People's* editions to

undertake this daunting project, Cadell did no further written planning for the Abbotsford edition over the next year.

It appears Cadell's desire to maintain a firm hold on the market for the Waverley Novels ultimately induced him to proceed with the Abbotsford edition earlier than planned. At the time of the passage of the 1842 Copyright Act, the Waverley Novels had been scheduled to enter the public domain in just one week, but the extension of copyright arrived just in time to protect Cadell's literary property for many more years (St Clair 209). In July 1841, believing the novels would soon go out of copyright, Cadell wrote: "[i]t was my purpose to have put off the Edition which [I] shall call *The Abbotsford Edition* till say 1843," but he decided to proceed after "maturely considering the whole matter when in London in June and learning that if the Proprietors do not bring out an illustrated [edition of the novels] others will" (Notebook fol. 75). Hoping to avoid competition for his illustrated edition, he decided rapidly to publish it in the spring of 1842, plans he did not change when the Copyright Act passed later that year.

Having decided to proceed, Cadell's first concern was to engage several artists to provide illustrations. He immediately hired the English painter Clarkson Stanfield (1793-1867), known for his travel scenes to "come to Scotland this summer and make a series of views of leading subjects described in the Novels"; Cadell also engaged several "Scottish Artists of repute to give several leading subjects to each Novel." (Notebook fol. 75). Another early concern was determining which materials the engravers would use. In his notebook, Cadell discussed different options. Woodcuts, which were cheaper, would be used for the majority of the smaller illustrations. For the larger plates, Cadell ultimately decided on steel rather than less-durable copper (Weedon 80).

Planning continued over the following months, and the first part, comprising sixty-four pages, appeared on 30 April 1842. Continuing fortnightly for one hundred twenty parts, the edition concluded in early 1847 when the final part appeared. The choice to publish such a lavish edition in parts was telling. Part publication was always attractive to working-class readers, who could only afford books when purchased piecemeal, but it was also appealing to publishers such as Cadell, because it limited capital expenditure. Additionally, Cadell may have decided to publish the Abbotsford edition in parts because he was eager to get the first parts on the market as early as possible. A. & C. Black's *Encyclopedia Britannica* (seventh edition 1830-42, eighth edition 1851-60) was a contemporaneous example of another large production published in parts, reflecting that part publication was increasingly common for high-brow products (A. & C. Black 8, 21).

Furthermore, there is evidence that much of the planning and production of the Abbotsford edition took place in London. The Edinburgh-based Cadell went to London to recruit most of his artists, and the parts were printed in London by Richard Clay (1789-1877), located in Bread Street Hill (*British Book Trade Index*). By contrast, all of Cadell's previous editions of the Waverley Novels had been printed in Edinburgh.

The Abbotsford edition was available for purchase in a variety of forms. There was the fortnightly publication in parts costing a half-crown, or 2s 6d each. There were also double parts at 5s each. Volumes comprised of ten parts were also available, bound either in cloth or in morocco leather, although the former was much more popular. Half-volumes bound in cloth, containing a single novel could also be purchased, and Cadell apparently sold cases for the volumes, both in full-volume and half-volume sizes. Most

surviving copies of the edition exist in volumes, twelve in total. They are large and heavy in super-royal octavo size, and generally each volume contains two full-length novels, or more of Scott's shorter works.

Where Cadell was forced to alter the order of the works within the Cabinet edition so that the full-length novels could each appear in a single volume, the large volumes of the Abbotsford edition allowed Cadell to return the shorter works to their original contexts. The four *Chronicles of the Canongate* appear together in Volume 10, for the first time since their original 1827 publication. The two *Tales of the Crusaders* appear together in Volume 9, and the three works from the *Keepsake for 1828* appear together in Volume 12. The Abbotsford edition gathers together Scott's shorter works, long separated by the practicalities of previous collected editions, in a way that reflects their original publication.

Sales and Finances

Sales of the Abbotsford edition ultimately proved disappointing. Cadell began printing 12,000 copies, but reduced this to 9,000 and then further to 7,000, amounting to a total of at least 840,000 parts, or 84,000 volumes (Diary 213). Sales of parts began relatively strong in 1842, with 15,160 parts purchased between 30 April and 30 June of that year, and 35,971 purchased between July and December. From then, sales of parts gradually declined, such that by the second half of 1846, only 20,036 parts were sold. By the end of 1846, a total of 282,899 parts had been sold, including double-parts counted twice.

Sales of volumes steadily increased over the course of the edition, rising from 532 between July and December 1842 to 1,564 volumes and 467 half-volumes in the second half of 1846. Between 1842 and 1846, a total of 10,483.5 volumes were sold, including half-volumes. By the end of 1846, Cadell had sold, in a variety of different forms, the equivalent of about 367,734 individual parts, or around 3,000 full sets, less than half of his stock.

As early as December 1844, Cadell anticipated having a large stock of parts remaining. On the future of the Abbotsford edition he wrote,

No new issue is being contemplated with it but in 1846, or there[abouts, what] I have of the steel plates with descriptions might be sold so as to pay back part of the cost. If success does not attend this project the plates will [make] for set books—they are all printed to the extent of 3000 copies. (Notebook fol. 82).

Thus, Cadell planned to publish the Abbotsford illustrations separately, and mentions this plan a few times in his notebook before his death in 1849. *A Series of One Hundred and Twenty Engravings Illustrating the Abbotsford Edition of the Novels of Sir Walter Scott* did not appear until 1851, in a single huge volume with an elaborate gold-embossed binding. In this volume, the images are unaccompanied by prose commentary, and appear in the center of the book's very large pages, entirely divorced from their narrative context.

The poor initial sales of the Abbotsford edition were disappointing not only because of the money lost on this specific endeavor—Cadell's 1848 "Particulars" paper estimated that its production cost £20,000 (Blackwood fol. 127)—but also because of its implications for the future value of the Waverley copyrights. On 31 July 1846, Cadell concluded: "It is clear, therefore, that to manage the property judiciously is to go on

selling off stock[. T]he value of the copyrights depends on the small quantity of the stock on hand[;] it sold off[,] the copyrights acquire a high value.” (Notebook fol. 84).

Cadell’s efforts to sell off the remaining stock of the Abbotsford edition met with some limited success. After Cadell’s death in 1849, the Waverley copyrights, remaining books, wood and steel engravings, and stereotyped plates were purchased by A. & C. Black. Adam Black’s inventory of the remaining Abbotsford edition stock, held in two warehouses, in Edinburgh and London, revealed that at the time of Cadell’s death, he had a total of twenty-four complete twelve-volume sets, two hundred ninety-one individual volumes, two hundred eighty-nine half-volumes, and 37,241 individual parts unsold (A. & C. Black, Folder¹³). In these various forms, the unsold stock of the Abbotsford edition was equivalent to about 44,476 individual parts, just a small fraction of the original stock. It is important to note that at the time of his death Cadell also had 20,462 volumes of the *Magnum Opus* edition, 18,458 volumes of the *Cabinet* edition, and a large stock of the *People’s* editions consisting of 769 volumes, 10,397 separate novels, 9,644 parts, and 465,342 numbers or sheets (Folder). As these figures reflect, each of Cadell’s editions existed in many copies at the time of his death, and the Abbotsford edition is not necessarily unusual in this respect.

Advertisements for the Abbotsford edition appeared in several leading British periodicals in the weeks preceding its publication. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* frequently featured advertisements for editions of the Waverley Novels, and the first announcement of the publication of the Abbotsford edition appeared on Saturday, 26 March 1842. This huge advertisement, prominently placed in the front and center of the *Courant*, announces that the edition would be highly illustrated, with 2000 steel and

¹³ Abbreviated below as “Folder.”

wood engravings by eminent artists, that it would appear fortnightly on Saturdays, and that it would be complete in slightly more than one hundred parts, costing a half-crown (2s 6d) each. As such, the advertisement claims, “the Price... will very little, if at all, exceed that of the Edition of 1829-33, in 48 Vols., which had no more than 96 engravings.”

Given the edition’s palpable luxury, this final claim might seem dubious. At 5s per volume, the entire Magnum Opus edition of the Waverley Novels could be purchased for £12 in 1832. The Abbotsford edition, in one hundred twenty parts at 2s 6d each, cost £15 in its entirety in 1847. Again, the changing value of money makes it difficult to directly compare these figures. The appendix provides calculations that analyze the relative cost of these editions, using Feinstein’s cost of living index, as discussed in Chapter 3. The calculations suggest that the Abbotsford edition was slightly but not significantly more expensive than the Magnum Opus had been. Thus, Cadell’s claim is roughly true.

Significantly, therefore, in the years following Scott’s death, as Cadell attempted to market the Waverley Novels to a more diverse audience, he did not produce an edition any more expensive than those sold during Scott’s lifetime. Representing the upper limit of what could be charged for the most luxuriously produced novels in 1842, the Abbotsford edition is still no more expensive than the supposedly inexpensive Magnum had been in 1829. This reflects that the increased diversification in editions of high-brow literature during this period mainly consisted of the increased preponderance of cheap reprints, while what had once been a relatively inexpensive price became the upper limit. Thus, in order to expand the audience for the Waverley Novels, Cadell produced cheaper

editions, while, in the Abbotsford edition, he created a product appealing for those interested in a luxury product and willing to pay for it.

Paratexts

The Abbotsford edition reproduces the complete Magnum Opus textual apparatus of introductions and notes. Yet there are two occasions on which the material has been repositioned or new material added—in the introductory matter to *Guy Mannering* and *The Bride of Lammermoor*. The introduction to *Guy Mannering* written in January 1829 is similar to other Magnum Opus introductions in that it traces the fictional characters and plots back to their purported historical origins. It begins by relating a story told by the author's father's servant about a traveler who used astrology to predict the future of a child born at a house where he sought shelter, and cites this story as the inspiration for the beginning of *Guy*. It then discusses the history of belief in astrology, and finally identifies the real historical individuals behind the characters of Meg Merrilies and Dominie Sampson.

In the Magnum Opus, this introduction has been supplemented by an “Additional Note. Galwegian Localities and Personages which have been supposed to be alluded to in the novel,” placed at the end of Volume 4. Similar in style and tone to the Magnum introduction, the note identifies the historical figure behind the character of Dirk Hatteraick and relates some memorable incidents in the history of smuggling on the Galloway coast, all while suggesting that this identification of the prototypes for his fictional characters is a result of public pressure. Peter Garside has demonstrated that the information in the Additional Note was taken from a packet of manuscripts sent to Scott

by Joseph Train, with whom Scott had corresponded about *Guy* when it was first written (“Essay on the Text” 361-62). Train’s manuscripts were sent too late, however, to be included in actual the Magnum introduction, and so the Additional Note was placed at the end of the novel.

In the Abbotsford edition, this Additional Note has been repositioned to appear directly after the original Magnum introduction. The note is then followed by a new, shorter one entitled “Groundwork of Guy Mannering—1842,” which claims that shortly after the publication of *Waverley*, Train sent Scott some manuscripts containing a story similar to that told by Scott’s father’s servant. Furthermore, Train had discovered that a woman named Mrs. Young recited a ballad annually entitled “The Durham Garland” that also told a similar tale. Scott’s original introduction related that Jean Gordon, the prototype for Meg Merrilies, had married into a family called Young; Train’s Mrs. Young was thus perhaps a descendent of Meg’s. In the “Groundwork” note, “the editor of the Abbotsford edition” suggests that both Train’s manuscript and Mrs. Young’s ballad may have been taken from the same source—the life of James Annesley, a “claimant in 1743 of the Irish peerage of Anglesey; of which history Smollett gave a very striking sketch in his *Peregrine Pickle*.”

A transcription of the ballad then follows. “The Durham Garland” was part of Train’s “Brief Sketch of a Correspondence with Sir Walter Scott commencing in the year 1814,” sent to Lockhart shortly after Scott’s death, which was Lockhart’s main source concerning the composition of *Guy Mannering* for his *Life* (Garside, “Essay on the Text” 361-62). “The Durham Garland” appeared as an appendix to the *Life* in 1837, but it was the Abbotsford edition that first presented this ballad alongside *Guy Mannering* itself.

The “Garland” is followed by a short excerpt relating the story of James Annesley, originally published in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in 1840. Garside has cast doubt on all of these claims as to the source of *Guy*’s plot; he argues that Scott was more likely inspired by the story of the Ardwall McCullochs (“Essay on the Text” 360-64). Nevertheless, the new and repositioned paratextual material in the Abbotsford edition continues the same basic editorial function fulfilled by the original Magnum Opus introduction, by identifying and documenting Scott’s alleged source material. The Abbotsford edition thus incorporates information from discussions of Scott’s sources that had appeared in print, but never in an actual edition of the novels. Furthermore, by showing that Scott and Smollett used some of the same stories for their inspiration, the material further links Scott to a canon of past writers.

Similarly, the Magnum Opus introduction to *The Bride of Lammermoor* has been appended. The introduction begins:

The author, on a former occasion, declined giving the real source from which he drew the tragic subject of this history, because, though occurring at a distant period, it might possibly be displeasing to the feelings of the descendants of the parties. But as he finds an account of the circumstances given in the Notes to Law’s Memorials, by his ingenious friend Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., and also indicated in his reprint of the Rev. Mr. Symson’s Poems, appended to the Description of Galloway, as the original of the *Bride of Lammermoor*, the author feels himself now at liberty to tell the tale as he had it from connexions of his own, who lived very near the period, and were closely related to the family of the Bride.

In this way, Scott suggests that the public has been clamoring for the source of the story, and that only because they have learned it elsewhere will he now confirm it. He goes on to identify the legend that inspired the novel—of Janet Dalrymple, the real Lucy Ashton, whose secret engagement to Lord Rutherford, the real Ravenswood, is scorned by her family, particularly her mother. When forced to marry David Dunbar of Baldoon, the real

Bucklaw, she goes insane and stabs him. The introduction then discusses some variations in the legend, including the story that the stabbing had actually been perpetrated by Rutherford, and even the story that it was Dunbar who had stabbed his Janet, and not the other way around.

The Abbotsford edition includes a new appendix to this introduction consisting of a letter from Robert Dalrymple Horne Elphinstone to Sir James Stewart Denham, both descendants of Janet Dalrymple. Originally written September 5, 1823, the letter was published in the *Edinburgh Evening Post* on October 10, 1840. While Elphinstone takes issue with the characterization of his ancestor Lord Stair as Sir William Ashton, the letter largely confirms the legend related by Scott in the original introduction and fictionalized in the novel. Elphinstone emphasizes, however, that the family had widely believed that Lord Rutherford had secretly entered the bridal chamber and inflicted Dunbar's wounds, a suggestion not made seriously in the fictional version. The Abbotsford appendix, then, continues the editorial practices established in the Magnum Opus introductions—corroborating the legends already commonly believed to have been Scott's inspiration. Again, the new paratextual material had already appeared in print—in this case in the *Edinburgh Evening Post*—but had never before appeared in an edition of Scott's novels.

Illustration and Abbotsford

The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* advertisement that first announced the publication of the edition also reproduced a large section of the “Notice to the Abbotsford edition,” which also appears at the beginning of the Part 1, before the Magnum Opus

introductory material to *Waverley*. This document explains the decision to create a highly-illustrated edition of the Waverley Novels:

This is the age of graphically illustrated Books; and it remained to affix to these Works, so interwoven everywhere with details of historical and antiquarian interest, such Engraved Embellishments as, had the Author himself been now alive, his personal tastes and resources would most probably have induced him to place before students of antiquity and lovers of art.

Therefore, the inclusion of new illustrations was a way to update the Waverley Novels for a new age, invoking the spirit of Scott by speculating about what he “would most probably” have done, had he still been alive. Yet the Notice goes on to emphasize that these illustrations are not, strictly speaking, new:

It was a favourite pursuit of Sir Walter Scott, throughout his life, but especially in his most active period, to collect and arrange objects of art connected with the historical events and personages recorded and illustrated by his pen; and it cannot be doubted that a series of Engravings, representing the Pictorial and Antiquarian Museum at Abbotsford, would furnish the most instructive *graphic* commentary that the body of his Writings could receive from any one source whatever. This collection, therefore, valuable in itself, and doubly interesting as having been made by such a hand, has now been studied with care, and its various curiosities faithfully copied, for the exclusive purposes of an edition of the Waverley novels, which is to bear the title of THE ABBOTSFORD EDITION.

While the Abbotsford edition modernized the presentation of the Waverley Novels, the advertisement also emphasized its link to the past, presenting Scott as both a writer of historical novels, and a repository of historical images and objects. Abbotsford is no longer only the site of Scott’s life, but the museum that houses the inspirational relics behind his novelistic world—it is the legendary place that Scott and his fictional creations are both at home. By explicitly connecting Scott’s antiquarian collecting with his novel writing, the Notice makes a connection between Scott’s life and works not expressed in previous editions of the novels.

The notice continues by explaining why these images are particularly appropriate accompaniments to the novels:

Fancy and ingenuity have already been largely employed on subjects drawn from these Works. The aim on the present occasion is to give them whatever additional interest may be derived from the representations of *what was actually in the contemplation of memory of the Author when he composed them*. Accordingly, for this Edition, the *real localities* of his scenes have been explored; the *real portraits* of his personages have been copied, and his surviving friends and personal admirers, as well as many public bodies and institutions have liberally placed whatever their collections afforded at the disposal of the eminent Artists engaged by the Proprietors. (all italics mine)

Contrasting previous illustrations to the Waverley Novels, born from “fancy and ingenuity,” with new images “actually in the contemplation of memory of the Author when he composed them,” the Notice theorizes a new sort of authenticity for Waverley Novels illustration. Rather than depicting historically accurate fictional landscapes and characters, these illustrations seek to tether the novels to history and geography by depicting actual landscapes and portraits, and moreover, those actual landscapes and portraits that had been in Scott’s possession.

Considered the prototypical example of Victorian Scottish baronial architecture, Abbotsford was built on land bought by Scott in 1811 (Watson 93). Complete by 1824, Scott was somehow able to hold on to the property during the famous financial crash that nearly ruined him.¹⁴ First opened to the paying public in February 1833, just five months after Scott’s death, Abbotsford received 1500 visitors that year alone (Watson 100). Parts of the home were inhabited by Scott’s descendents (and were so continuing until 2004), but nineteenth-century visitors were shown around the entrance hall, study, library, drawing room, armory, anteroom, and dining room, in which Scott died, as well as the

¹⁴ The precise circumstances that allowed Scott to retain Abbotsford during the crash are complicated and lie outside the scope of this thesis.

extensive gardens and grounds. Scott's collection of "historic relics, weapons and armour, and over 9,000 rare books" was prominently featured (*Abbotsford, the Home of Sir Walter Scott*). Despite popularity as a tourist site in the years following Scott's death, Abbotsford always received mixed reviews from visitors, and was considered by some to be a monument to vanity (Watson 100-105).

In *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (2006), Nicola Watson describes Scott's home: "Abbotsford itself was essentially novelistic in conception, a meta-narrative derived from and referencing material things." (99). The Abbotsford edition of the Waverley Novels grafts this meta-narrative of Scott's home back onto the novels themselves. Where previous illustrations were inspired by the narratives, these illustrations purport to depict what inspired the narratives. No longer satisfied with fictional illustrations, the publishers have exhaustively traced Scott's landscapes, buildings, and characters back to their actual or, more often, apocryphal prototypes. The Abbotsford edition is to a certain extent a giant brochure for the growing tourist industry surrounding Scott and his works. Featuring special items from the Abbotsford collection and landscape scenery with literary associations, the illustrations invite readers to come and see these things for themselves.

The inside front cover of each part or volume meticulously records each image's artist and engraver, crediting some three hundred different people for the more than two thousand illustrations in the edition. In some cases, the list indicates that an image has been taken from a previously printed source, usually a work of travel literature. For example, Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1826) and Charles Cordiner's *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland* (1780) are each cited

as a source for several illustrations. The list also denotes those images taken from Scott's collection at Abbotsford. On the whole, the list of illustrations reveals a great diversity of their sources.

The three hundred individuals listed as contributors include a wide variety of artists. Many, including Sir William Allan (1782-1850), Sir David Wilkie (1785-1841), and James Skene (1775-1864), had been friends of Scott and had illustrated his works during the author's life. Several "Scottish artists of repute" also contributed, including John Burnet (1784-1868), David Octavius Hill (1802-70), and William Bell Scott (1811-90). Many famous contemporary English and Irish artists were also involved, including Clarkson Stanfield, Turner, and several members of the Landseer family, Thomas (1794-1880) Charles (1800-79), and Edwin (1802-73). Continental artists, such as the French engraver Tony Johannot (1803-52), also contributed. In addition to these prominent artists, there are contributions from several less prominent figures known primarily for their landscape, genre, historical, or scene painting, including Montague Stanley (1809-44), Horatio McCulloch (1805-67), and William James Blacklock (1816-58), as well as numerous artists whose identities cannot be definitively traced at all.

Many of the less-famous Abbotsford edition artists and engravers also contributed to periodicals like the *London Illustrated News* and *Punch*, reflecting that many of these artists were based in London (Engen). According to the *Dictionary of Victorian Wood Engravers*, the commission to work on the Abbotsford edition of the Waverley Novels was largely responsible for establishing the career of several of these engravers, notably William Dickes (1815-92), who is credited for a large number of the wood engravings, particularly toward the end of the edition (Engen 71).

Furthermore, historical portraits by several long-dead artists were adapted, including those by Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), Sir John Baptiste de Medina (1659-1710), and Gerard Vandergucht (1696-1776). Several sculptors' works were copied and engraved, including Antonio Canova (1757-1822) and Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey (1781-1841). Careful investigation reveals that several of the names credited on the list of contributors are not artists at all, but individuals and institutions who collected or provided the antiques depicted, including the antiquaries Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. (1781-1851) and Joseph Train (1779-1852), both friends of Scott. This list of artist contributors broadly includes individuals with varying functions related to the production of the illustrations, and elides the distinctions among their varied sources, concealing the diversity of both images and artists.

The image on the outer wrapper of each part is also used as the engraved title-page for each volume (Fig 4.1). Like the engraved title-pages in the People's edition, this engraving is a collage of different items associated with Scott. Among other things, it features a collection of weaponry and armor similar to that displayed in the entrance hall at Abbotsford, in addition to three dogs, a book, and a small harp. In the center is a group of buildings and a man standing by two horses. In contrast to the engraved title-pages in the People's edition, which depicts Scott's characters, even if they are hard to identify, this engraved title-page depicts almost exclusively inanimate objects. Rather than feature pictures of Scott's literary creations—characters or buildings—this image displays the collection of historical and antiquarian objects supposed to have inspired his novels.

The illustrations in the main body of the text vary widely. Some are full-page plates, engraved on steel, as in the Fisher edition (Figs. 4.2 and 4.8), but the majority are

smaller wood engravings that occupy only a portion of the page. Often these small wood engravings are artfully inserted in the middle or on the side of the page, such that the text wraps around them (Fig. 4.3). Despite the notice's claim that the illustrations would not be original scenes based on "fancy and ingenuity," many Abbotsford illustrations still feature specific scenes from the novels identified by a caption, as in previous editions. They are usually woodcuts, rather than steel plates, and are consequently less detailed than engravings of scenes in earlier editions. Despite the occasional inclusion of fictional scenes in the Abbotsford edition, there are numerous striking omissions—many famous scenes from Scott's novels that had long inspired artistic representations are not pictured here.

Moreover, like previous editions, the Abbotsford edition features some landscapes engraved on steel plates, both of natural features and of cities and towns. Some of the city scenes specify a particular year the image represents—sometimes at the time of the story and sometimes during Scott's life, as if to show what was in Scott's mind at the time that he wrote. Interestingly, some city-scapes even present the scene as it looked at the present day—1841. This seemingly odd decision to depict scenery as it looked in the present is consistent with the Abbotsford edition's project of modernizing the appearance of the novels, showing not only the city in Scott's mind when he wrote, but the city in the reader's mind several years later.

Similar to earlier editions of the novels, the Abbotsford edition contains a number of portraits, in a wide variety of styles. They range from highly detailed full-page steel engravings of full-length figures (Fig. 4.4), to large sketchy wood engravings, to tiny wood-engraved portraits of just the figure's head (Fig. 4.5). They depict both fictional

characters, like Edward Waverley from *Waverley*, and historical characters, like Queen Elizabeth from *Kenilworth*. Historical characters, usually royalty, are particularly popular subjects for portraits in the Abbotsford edition, perhaps because images of them already existed.

But beyond simply presenting portraits, the Abbotsford edition has used also reproduced the handwriting of historical figures. At this time, the production of a “fac-simile” of handwriting was usually accomplished by lithography. Lithography involved taking advantage of the fact that grease and water will not mix to make reproductions of anything that could be written on a wet stone (Banham 284-85). Thus, it was particularly useful for the reproduction of handwriting or non-Latin typefaces. Although first invented in 1798, lithography was not widely used in book production until the 1830s. Previous editions of the Waverley Novels had shown Scott’s handwriting, but the Abbotsford was the first time they featured the handwriting of Scott’s historical characters—like Bonnie Prince Charlie in *Waverley* (Part 5) and Queen Elizabeth in *Kenilworth* (Part 56). Sometimes, the signature had been copied from an historically important document, like Oliver Cromwell’s signature in *Woodstock*, taken from the warrant authorizing the execution of Charles I. On a few occasions, handwriting from otherwise unknown historical figures has been copied from a famous document, such as the reproduction of the signatories on the death warrant of Captain John Porteous (c.1695-1736), the unpopular army officer whose brutal repression of an unruly mob outside Edinburgh’s Tolbooth led to his public lynching just before the date set for his judicial execution; Scott dramatized the Porteous riots in the opening chapters of *The Heart of Mid-lothian*.

Similarly, in Part 6, *Waverley*, the edition reproduces a short note by Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (Fig. 4.6). The 1829 preface to *Waverley* explains that after the battle of Culloden, Colonel Whitefoord, the real Talbot, successfully petitioned the Duke of Cumberland to pardon Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, the real Edward Waverley. Cumberland's handwriting appears at the head of the chapter in which Waverley receives his pardon enclosed in a letter from Talbot. The note in Cumberland's hand reads, "Given at the Camp of Stirling, the fourth day of February 1745/6. William." Thus the facsimile suggests that this inscription has been taken from that historical pardon itself.

But the Abbotsford edition features the portraits and handwriting of more than Scott's historical characters. There are also portraits of historical figures who are not actual characters in the novels, but who somehow influence the story. For example, *The Bride of Lammermoor* features a portrait of Queen Anne, who ruled around the time of the novel. Anne never appears as a character, but the Ashtons' and Ravenswoods' conflicting feelings towards her reign frame the central conflict. Likewise, William the Conqueror is portrayed in *Ivanhoe*, even though he is not a character, because his conquest of England a century before had set the stage for the story (Fig 4.5). Likewise, occasional facsimiles of handwriting have been taken from these figures, including Philip II of Spain in *Kenilworth*, and Guy Fawkes from *The Fortunes of Nigel*. These portraits and signatures of contemporary historical figures place the novels in their historical context.

Another interesting set of portraits are those of various authors not associated with the plot of the novels. For example, the "Postscript, which should have been a Preface" of

Waverley ends with a dedication to Henry Mackenzie, accompanied in the Abbotsford edition by a small portrait of him. Born in Edinburgh in 1745, the year the novel takes place, Mackenzie is a fitting dedicatee both in view of Scott's admiration of him, and his contemporaneity with the action of the novel. Similarly, portraits of Adam Smith, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, and William Robertson, all Edinburgh intellectuals at the time of the plot of *Guy Mannering*, appear in its pages, in the chapter when Colonel Mannering dines and drinks among the Edinburgh intellectual elite.

In some cases the author depicted has an even less obvious connection to the action of the story. Although Wordsworth is a contemporary of the plot of *The Antiquary*, set in 1798, he is mentioned only in the Magnum Opus introduction to the novel. Nevertheless his bust in the study at Abbotsford appears as one of its illustrations. Similarly, the English poet and playwright John Dryden (1631-1700) is a contemporary of *The Pirate*, but he has no connection to the plot, set in Shetland; yet his portrait appears in its pages. Ben Jonson (1572-1637), who appears in *The Fortunes of Nigel*, has no connection to the plot besides having been alive in 1620, although his works are quoted as chapter epigraphs. Again, these portraits add historical context to each of the narratives, while at the same time reinforcing Scott's position among a canon of British writers.

Another common subject for illustration are items that belonged to Scott's historical characters—books, cups, jackets, gloves, and weapons once in the possession of prominent historical figures frequently appear. Items belonging to Queen Mary are especially common, as are the tombs and burying places of these historical figures. These woodcut images, like nearly all in the Abbotsford edition, usually appear without

captions, requiring the reader to flip back to the illustrations list in order to learn their significance. For example, an image of a nondescript stone that appears in *The Abbot* looks relatively insignificant until one reads in the illustration list that it is “Queen Mary’s altar-piece, and stone on which she kneeled at prayer” (Fig. 4.7). This image and others like it are significant not visually but historically. Indeed these images are often so visually uninteresting that only the most obsessive reader would even bother to flip back to the illustration list to figure out what they are.

A great number of other illustrations feature the weaponry, armor, and dress contemporary with the story. Occasionally these items will appear with an identified character from one of the novels, but more often the caption will simply read “Court Dress, temp. George II” or “A Gentleman, temp. of tale.” Here again the emphasis is not on depicting a particular character or scene, but on contextualizing the plot within the changing history of dress, weaponry, and armor.

As the advertisement promises, the illustrations not only depict the real settings and historical characters that appear in Scott’s novels, but also trace the purported sources of his fiction. Consequently, the illustrations frequently depict castles and other buildings considered the prototypes for Scott’s fictional settings. As in earlier editions, the *Abbotsford* depicts Carlaverock castle, the real Dumfriesshire castle mentioned in the *Magnum Opus* introduction as the inspiration for Ellangowan in *Guy Mannering*. Similarly, it features Chillingham Castle, the supposed Osbaldistone Hall in *Rob Roy*; Peffer Mill, the supposed residence of the Laird of Dumbiedikes in *The Heart of Midlothian* and several others. The edition appears to have had a particularly low threshold

for what warranted inclusion. For example, the Magnum Opus introduction to *The Bride of Lammermoor* explains:

The imaginary castle of Wolf's Crag has been identified by some lover of locality with that of Fast Castle. The author is not competent to judge of the resemblance betwixt the real and imaginary scene, having never seen Fast Castle except from the sea. But fortalices of this description are found occupying, like osprey's nests, projecting rocks, or promontories, in many parts of the eastern coast of Scotland, and the position of Fast Castle seems certainly to resemble that of Wolf's Crag as much as any other, while its vicinity to the mountain ridge of Lammermoor, renders the assimilation a probable one.

Despite Scott's non-committal statements about this association, the illustrations to the *Bride* contain numerous depictions of Fast Castle (Fig. 4.8). As such, the Abbotsford illustrations are the pictorial continuation of the Magnum Opus introductions—identifying possibly spurious source material for Scott's novels and using the reader's associations to link fictional characters and settings to real people and places.

In fact, the lack of a clear link between the Abbotsford illustrations and Scott's novels was presented as a selling point when the copyrights and remaining stock of various editions of the Waverley Novels were advertised for sale following Cadell's death. In a document published prior to the sale of the Waverley material, entitled "Particulars of the Works of Sir Walter Scott Bart.," the description of the Abbotsford edition makes the following point:

the Steel and Wood Engravings attached to it form of themselves a valuable Property, and will be found of great use to any Publisher. He could, by means of them, illustrate Works relating to Scotland—early English History, as well as the Crusades—the History of France—the Great Civil Wars—Antiquities—Biographies, and many other subjects treated of in the Waverley Novels, and this independent of its value when attached especially to Sir Walter Scott's Works. (Folder).

The illustrations from the Abbotsford edition are, thus, less a specific pictorial comment on Scott's novels, than they are a repository of a variety of images relevant to sundry topics.

Depictions of Scott

The Abbotsford edition contains many more depictions of Scott than previous editions of the Waverley Novels. All told, it features eleven depictions of Scott, most in the final seventeen parts. Four of these appear in a single steel engraving from Part 112, often the frontispiece to Volume 11 (Fig. 4.9). This engraving depicts a bookcase, to which four portraits have been affixed, with armor and two dogs seated below. The four images depict Scott at different times of life—at the top is the Bath miniature of Scott as a child, painted in 1776 or 1777 and ascribed to Abraham Daniels, one of two copies of which is at Abbotsford (Russell 36-37); on the lower left is a framed picture of the bust of Scott sculpted by Sir Francis Legatt Chantrey (1781-1841) in 1820, also at Abbotsford (Russell 33-34); on the lower right is the 1830 John Watson Gordon portrait of Scott, used as a frontispiece in the Magnum Opus and Fisher editions discussed above; and in the center is a full-length portrait of Scott standing, painted by Sir William Allan in 1831 and engraved by William Finden (1787-1852) for the Abbotsford edition (Russell 27). By juxtaposing images of Scott as a young boy, an adult, and a timeless monument, the edition presents the full spectrum of Scott's career.

Another particularly interesting image is the engraving of the Scott monument on Princes Street in Edinburgh in Part 120, with the statue of a seated Scott visible in the middle. A monument to commemorate Scott was proposed as early as 5 October 1832,

just fourteen days after his death (Holmes and Stubbs 3). Initially divided over the nature and design of the monument, the committee ultimately settled on a Gothic memorial designed by the relatively unknown Scottish architect George Meikle Kemp (1795-1844), to contain a statue of Scott designed by the famous Scottish sculptor, Sir John Robert Steell (1804-91). Despite Kemp's sudden death, the architectural portion of the monument, 200 feet 6 inches high, was complete by autumn 1844 (Holmes and Stubbs 12-13). There were delays completing the statue, mainly due to the difficulty of moving the thirty-ton block of Italian marble used to carve it. Nevertheless, Steell's statue was finally complete by 1846, and an inauguration ceremony was held in mid-August that year (Holmes and Stubbs 13-14). The monument was just half year old when an engraved image of it appeared in the final parts of the Abbotsford edition in early 1847.

In Part 120, at the beginning of the Index to the Notes, the reader is presented with a small wood engraving of Steell's statue only. In the style of an ancient sculpture, Scott's contemporary clothing is covered by a draped cloth. He holds a book and a dog sits at his feet. A few pages later the full-page engraving of the entire monument appears (Fig. 4.10). The statue seated within is small and indistinct—Scott's facial features are not defined, and the book and dog are not visible. Two tiny figures at the base of the monument, a man in a top hat and a woman in a bonnet, give the viewer an (accurate) sense of visual scale, conveying the monument's huge size. If earlier editions of the Waverley Novels present Scott in a gradually more stylized and less purportedly realistic style, this particular illustration in the Abbotsford edition takes this to the extreme. The tiny figure of Scott within the massive monument symbolizes how Scott's legacy has

engulfed the man himself. What is being depicted in this engraving is not only Scott, but also the memorialization of him.

But the illustrations are not limited to Scott himself. Scott's family, servants, and dogs also appear. Part 120 features a steel engraving by John Smith of the painting "The Abbotsford Family," by Sir David Wilkie in 1817, often the frontispiece to Volume 12 (Fig. 4.11). In Scott's own words, this engraving depicts his "family group in the garb of South country peasants supposed to be concerting a merry-making, for which some of the preparations are seen" (*Letters X*, 168). Scott is seated in a field, surrounded by two dogs, his wife, two daughters, two sons, his servant Tom Purdie, and his friend Sir Adam Ferguson (1771-1855, the philosopher's son). All wear rustic costumes, and the women carry buckets. Scott himself is "in the dress of a miller," while his daughters are "represented as ewe milkers, with their *leglins*, or milk pails" (*Letters X*, 168-69). Where other depictions of Scott are stylized, showing him in formal dress, this picture is supposed to be rustic, and yet was obviously elaborately staged. Where other images depict the author alone, this engraving emphasizes Scott's role within his family--one that includes both friends and servants. Purdie is depicted on two more occasions in Part 120—once talking to Scott, and once sitting alone, holding his rifle.

More than just depicting Scott and those close to him, the Abbotsford edition illustrations also depict various things and places associated with Scott's life—items he owned, clothes he wore, places he frequented, and rooms at Abbotsford. As such, Scott is presented just like his historical characters, relics of whose lives illustrate the novels. For example, the prefatory material in Part 1 alone features engravings of Scott's coat of arms; his chair (Fig. 4.12), along with overcoats, his walking stick, and a pair of shoes;

his desk, in which the missing manuscript of *Waverley* was allegedly found; his helmet as one of the Edinburgh volunteer cavalry; a set of horns that hung at Abbotsford; and Scott's father's home in George Square. Similarly, the last part also contains several depictions of portions of Abbotsford, namely a gateway, a flagtower, the dining room, the library, and the armory, as well as Dryburgh Abbey, Scott's burial place, and, on the final page, Scott's tombstone. Although these illustrations of Scott's life are particularly abundant in the first and last parts of the edition, they frequently appear throughout, randomly interspersed among the other illustrations.

The image of Scott's dining room, in which he died, is particularly notable. It features the dining room not adorned with a dining table and chairs, but with a bed and small recumbent figure, presumably the dying Scott. Here we see that the Scott-related images tell the story of Scott's life just as they tell the stories of the novels—through illustrations of buildings, portraits, and objects, along with an occasional specific scene.

But many of these illustrations blur the distinction between images included as relics of Scott's life and those included because they illustrate the story. For example, Part 3 features a fragment of a shell found near Carlisle in Scott's collection at Abbotsford. The shell is both an object that had been in Scott's possession, and, potentially an artifact of the real historical events fictionalized in *Waverley*. Similarly, Part 27, in *The Heart of Mid-lothian*, includes an engraving of a monument to Helen Walker, the prototype for Jeanie Deans, erected by Scott. Finally, Part 46 features a picture of "Turn-Again—a favourite resting-place of Sir Walter Scott, in the woods of Abbotsford, looking towards Melrose" (Fig. 4.14). An important place both in Scott's life and in *The Monastery*, this image places Scott and his characters in the same fictional

world, illustrating Scott's life as if it were a Waverley Novel and *The Monastery* as if it were Scott's life. Again, this image is visually insignificant if the reader does not know its associations with Scott. The illustration list not only reveals the image's connection to Scott, but also that it was designed by Clarkson Stanfield, the most famous artist directly involved in the Abbotsford edition, and whose work was generally confined to the more visually virtuosic steel engravings.

The Abbotsford edition also represents Scott in a non-pictorial way, through the reproduction of his handwriting. Most novel titles have been reproduced in Scott's hand, but the longest example is the facsimile of his dedication to George IV in Part 1. In the *Magnum Opus*, the dedication appears in a fancy calligraphed script. In the Fisher edition, the dedication is omitted altogether. In the *Cabinet and People's* editions, the dedication is set in type. Here, the original dedication has been reproduced by an engraving in Scott's own hand, and is listed at the beginning of the part among the other illustrations, where credit is given to the artists. Through this reproduction, the Abbotsford edition offers a purportedly authentic relic of Scott that previous editions do not—a sense of intimacy with Scott and a sense of having witnessed a great historical moment. The Cleishbotham peroration reproduced in the *Cabinet and People's* editions is an inconsequential excerpt when compared with the great cultural importance of the dedication. Scott is here presented like the Duke of Cumberland in Part 6, as described above.

Yet while the Abbotsford edition presents the dedication as an authentic relic of Scott that brings the reader closer to his genius, Iain Gordon Brown has exposed the fascinating history of deception behind it in "The Hand of the Master?: Scott fakes and

facsimiles as souvenirs or scams” (2004). A document intended as a faithful copy, this facsimile is in fact deceptive. Brown has located the original 1829 dedication in the interleaved manuscript of *Waverley* from which the facsimile was allegedly taken. He calls it “a sad and pathetic object. The evidence of Scott’s mental confusion and physical deterioration is apparent: there are messy alterations, excisions, slips of the pen, repetitions and ungrammatical constructions” (8). The contrast between the original dedication and the Abbotsford “reproduction” could not be more striking: “Altogether there is a host of differences between autograph and ‘reproduction’: some twenty-two words have been cut; twenty words have been supplied, either by copying from elsewhere other examples of Scott’s writing of these same words, or by skillful fabrication” (9). Thus, the facsimile involved deception on at least two levels. First, Cadell or someone else had to re-word Scott’s prose to make the dedication clear and concise, and second, someone had to put the resulting text into Scott’s handwriting. This second step could have been done either directly by the engraver, or by some intermediary person using, as an aid, other examples of the same words elsewhere in Scott’s manuscripts.

The scam behind this facsimile, of course, did not begin with the Abbotsford edition. As Brown has shown, the version of the dedication that appears in the Magnum Opus edition had been re-worded in order to be concise and clear before it was calligraphed into a fancy script. Yet this deception is taken significantly further in the Abbotsford edition, when the re-worded dedication was falsely put into Scott’s hand, making a new, false claim for authenticity. The interleaved set was in Cadell’s possession at the time he published the Abbotsford edition, suggesting that he deliberately chose to ignore the documentary evidence. Where the Magnum Opus version had already actively

manipulated Scott's literary image to hide evidence of his mental and physical decline at the time of its publication, the Abbotsford version took this much farther.

Conclusions

The Abbotsford edition is a unique and pivotal moment in the history of posthumous editions of the Waverley Novels. Marketed as a luxury product, the edition was both less expensive than it appeared and less successful than anticipated. Intended as an up-market counterpart to cheaper editions, the Abbotsford was Cadell's attempt to maintain Scott's cultural prestige among well-off consumers. Yet despite Scott's continued good sales, the Abbotsford edition fared relatively poorly, reflecting a change in the market for book sales towards smaller, cheaper products.

Yet despite the edition's relatively poor sales at the time, the Abbotsford edition was frequently invoked in discussions of how to market Scott's novels in the future. After Cadell's death, some of A. & C. Black's editions of the Waverley Novels deliberately allude to the Abbotsford edition, and were marketed as successors to it. Its images were recycled and reused numerous times by the Blacks over the following years, and they did ultimately reprint portions of the edition so as to have complete sets in stock.

Irrespective of its commercial fate, the Abbotsford edition remains a fascinating example of the re-framing of Scott's works for a new audience. The numerous and extremely diverse illustrations tell the stories of the Waverley Novels through a parade of isolated and stylized images, intended not to reflect the stories or comment upon them, but to conjure up their themes and prove their authenticity. The illustrations are both a pictorial continuation of the sometimes dubious documentary work done by the Magnum

Opus introductions, and a striking departure from the illustrations Scott actually authorized during his lifetime. Presenting Scott himself alongside and in the same way as his fictional and historical characters, the author and his works are brought together in a way never seen in the *Waverley Novels* before or since.

In the years since the *Abbotsford* edition, there has never been another similarly comprehensive effort to re-illustrate Scott's works, and the edition represents the apex in the practice of including illustrations in posthumous editions of the novels. A unique and strange manifestation, the *Abbotsford* edition is the most extreme example of a trend towards fictionalization of the legend of Scott initiated by the *Magnum Opus*. The work of Cadell and others on this edition demonstrates the hugely influential role in literary history and the history of reading played by publishers, printers, and illustrators. The *Abbotsford* edition of the *Waverley* novels is a powerful reminder of the value of studying the editions that appear after an author's death.

Chapter 5 : 1847-1868, the Transition and the early Years of A. & C. Black

This chapter discusses the major changes to the production and marketing of the Waverley Novels between 1847 and 1868. Cadell initiated this transition after the production of the Abbotsford edition, and the changes he made were carried further by the firm A. & C. Black, who purchased the Waverley copyrights in 1851, two years after Cadell's death. The early years of the Black propriety of the Waverley material saw a major increase in the number of different editions available, as the Blacks produced a succession of editions, of which the Library edition was the most bibliographically interesting, and the Sixpenny edition was notable as the cheapest edition to date. I conclude by arguing that the editions published by the Blacks over these years were heavily influenced by the tradition of posthumous editions of the Waverley Novels initiated by Cadell.

Cadell's Last Years

After the completion of the Abbotsford edition in early 1847 and before his death in January 1849, Cadell produced no new editions of the Waverley Novels, but rather reissued his earlier editions with slight variations. As early as December 1844, Cadell was planning what to do upon completion of the Abbotsford edition. At that time, he planned to reissue the Cabinet edition with uniform poetry, prose, and *Life*, commencing on 1 January 1848 at 2s 6d each or 3s bound. He also planned to reissue the People's edition with uniform poetry, prose, and *Life*, commencing in Spring 1849, but this time planned to sell it in twenty-five large parts at 1s 4d, each containing a novel, perhaps to avoid the logistical difficulty of selling individual sheets. Thus, he planned at this point to

reduce slightly the price of each edition on its reissue. Additionally, he planned to publish the Abbotsford edition illustrations separately, also in parts, costing 1s 6d or 2s each. Of these various post-Abbotsford-edition plans, Cadell wrote:

I think something like five full years will be needful for all these plans and if they are successful and the stock is not too large for the great experiment the whole of it should be sold off in October or November 1850 to the London Trade and in London. Say October 1850—and if the sale is successful and matters encouraging the entire Copyrights in May 1851 and thus close the concern. (Notebook fol. 82)

Hoping to sell the Waverley copyrights and then retire, Cadell planned to complete all his reissues by 1 February 1850, and afterwards, to make every effort to sell off as much stock as possible, in order to increase the value of the copyrights at the time of their sale.

Cadell continued to adjust these plans as time passed. By May 1847 he had undertaken to reissue the Magnum Opus, with the addition of a steel frontispiece and woodcut vignette from the Abbotsford. Perhaps because this project was so successful, he also planned to publish separate subsets of Abbotsford illustrations specially selected to accompany his other editions of the novels—the Magnum Opus, the Cabinet, and the People's editions.

Cadell's catalogues for 1847 and 1850 confirm that he indeed continued to sell reissues of these editions, although he did not reduce prices as originally planned. In each case, calculations in the appendix, designed to cancel out the effect of the changing value of money, reveal that these prices were roughly the same in real terms as well. Similarly, he sold the Magnum Opus, accompanied by additional steel and wood engravings from the Abbotsford, at the same nominal price as in 1829-33. Furthermore, with new illustrations, the Magnum reissue was a different and perhaps more desirable product.

Cadell had planned to sell his Waverley property in two batches, first the remaining stock of books and parts in 1850, and then the copyrights in 1851, before retiring. In January 1849, however, he died without having made either sale.

The Sale

On 14 April 1851, Cadell's heirs put up for sale the remaining stock of books and parts, the stereotype plates, the steel and wood engravings, and the copyrights to all of Scott's works at Hodgson's auction rooms in London (*Adam & Charles Black* 22). The family initially withdrew the lot when the bidding on the copyrights alone (exclusive of the stock, plates, and engravings) went no higher than £15,500. What happened next is described in the official history of the A. & C. Black firm:

But Adam Black had acquired, or knew he could secure, Scott's own interleaved set of the novels in which he had made innumerable alterations and annotations to every book. Knowing, therefore, that he could bring out substantially revised definitive editions of every novel, and enjoy the full term of copyright from the date of his publication of each, Adam Black negotiated with Cadell's trustees after the auction and purchased the copyrights and plant for £17,000 and the stock for £10,000, an investment which he and his successors could look back upon with some satisfaction in later years (22-23).

The history does not indicate how Adam Black learned about the interleaved set of Scott's manuscripts or knew of its potential value in preparing new editions of the novels. Nor does it suggest whether other publishers recognized the significance of this unique document as well. Sources are also unclear as to whether Black expected potentially "substantially revised definitive editions" actually to warrant a new copyright, or whether he simply hoped that by producing superior editions, he could monopolize the Waverley market.

The Edinburgh publisher and liberal politician Adam Black (1784-1874) had first opened a bookshop in 1807, and quickly gained respect as one of the city's foremost booksellers (*A. & C. Black* 1). After the demise of Constable & Co. in 1827, Adam Black purchased the copyrights to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and thus undertook a major publishing project that would occupy him and his successors for many years (*A. & C. Black* 6). When he went into partnership with his nephew Charles Black (1807?-54) in 1834, the firm became known as A. & C. Black, a name it retains to this day.

Scottish newspapers praised the Blacks and their partners in the Waverley purchase—James Richardson (d. 1868), Adam Black's son-in-law (Nicolson 236), and James's brother Robert—for keeping the Waverley copyrights in Scotland (*A. & C. Black, Criticisms*¹⁵ fols. 1-2). The newspapers also observed that A. & C. Black had purchased all the copyrights, stereotype plates, and steel and wood engravings for around £27,000, at least £10,000 less than Cadell had paid for the copyrights alone between 1828 and 1848 (*Criticisms* fol. 1).

The reason for the relatively low selling price of the property was that by 1851, the Waverley copyrights had a limited shelf-life. The copyright to the first edition of *Waverley* would expire in July 1856, just five years after the sale, and thereafter the first editions would continue to expire, with the first edition of *Count Robert of Paris*, Scott's last novel, expiring in November 1873 (Folder). As Scott and Cadell had always planned, the annotated versions of the novels first published in the *Magnum Opus* were under different copyrights, which would expire between July 1871 and February 1875 (Folder). It was not clear at the time of the purchase whether anyone would be interested in reprinting the original versions starting in 1856, or whether the proprietors could rely on

¹⁵ Abbreviated below as "Criticisms."

being the only publishers of Scott's works until the expiration of the Magnum copyrights some years later.

Despite these uncertainties, the Waverley material was nevertheless still an attractive literary property. In fact, notwithstanding the limited copyright window, Robert Blackwood of W. Blackwood & Sons had been considering purchasing the material in 1848, when Cadell's death was foreseeable. Blackwood described the situation as follows:

the harvest is not yet wholly gathered in; much yet remains to be done. The present proprietor is however too far advanced in years and his health too precarious to admit of his embarking in any new and great adventure; but he may point out to others what an experienced eye will at once confirm that there is in these Writings of Sir Walter Scott a broad foundation for extended and lucrative sales. (fol. 131)

Blackwood had even gone so far as to plan an edition similar to what ultimately became the Library edition, and estimated making a £30,000 to £40,000 profit thereby (fol. 132). When the Blacks purchased the Waverley copyrights, they had a limited window of opportunity in which they would be guaranteed to be the sole British publishers of Scott's works. They had to work quickly.

A. & C. Black: First Plans

On 10 October 1851, the Blacks held their first meeting as proprietors of Scott's works, in order to discuss future issues and editions (A. & C. Black, Minute Book¹⁶ fols. 1-6). They had two immediate concerns: determining what to do about the current stock of remaining books purchased from Cadell, and protecting the property from copyright infringement. Regarding the existing books, it was determined that to clear the way for

¹⁶ Abbreviated below as "Minute Book."

new editions of the novels, the remaining stock of the Abbotsford and other editions would need to be cleaned out, “either by sale or consignment to Houses in America, India, or Australia, and the field would then be left completely clean for the new Edition.” (Minute Book fol. 4).

In order to encourage sales, the Blacks planned to reduce the price of the remaining copies of Cadell’s various editions and issue them in succession (Minute Book fol. 5). They would begin with a fortnightly issue of the Magnum Opus at 1s 6d per volume with a paper cover, or 2s per volume bound in cloth. After this was complete, they would undertake a fortnightly issue of the Cabinet edition with new illustrations from the Abbotsford, to sell at the same price as the Magnum, 1s 6d or 2s. As each novel had appeared in only one volume in the Cabinet edition, rather than two in the Magnum, this issue was twice the value for money of the Magnum directly preceding. The Blacks would then undertake a fortnightly issue of the People’s edition in complete novels, with new illustrations from the Abbotsford edition, at 1s each. Thus, the plan was to incrementally reduce the price of the Waverley Novels in each successive reissue.

Later advertisements in other A. & C. Black publications indicate that these prices were altered slightly before the reissues were sold. In 1852-53, the Abbotsford edition was available at £10 for a complete set; the Magnum Opus with new Abbotsford illustrations at £7 4s, the Cabinet edition at £5, and the People’s edition at £2 10s. As the comparative cost calculations in the appendix reflect, these are significant reductions in price for the Magnum Opus and Abbotsford editions, but not for the Cabinet and People’s editions. The Blacks’ strategy appears to have been to reduce the cost of the more expensive editions while holding the price of the inexpensive editions relatively constant

at their already low mark. The scheme of drastically reducing the cost of Cadell's editions of the novels was attractive to the Blacks for two different reasons:

It is believed that the mere announcement of such a general reduction in price of the various Editions thus placing them within the reach of all classes, would not only be productive of great Sales, but would have the effect of preventing many parties from entering into competition when the first edition of Waverley expires (in 1856), who would otherwise most undoubtedly do so. (Minute Book fols. 5-6)

Throughout their meetings over the following years, the Blacks remained always aware of the inevitable expiration of the Waverley copyrights, and discussed on numerous occasions how both to stop illegal copyright infringement before this time, and to discourage competition when the copyrights did ultimately expire. In fact, several of their most important business decisions in the 1850s and 60s were made in an effort to undercut competitors and maintain a firm grip on the market for the Waverley Novels as the copyrights incrementally expired. In the interim, they issued numerous warnings to both booksellers and the public, reminding them not to produce or purchase pirated works. As years passed, and Scott's first editions came out of copyright protection, the Blacks reminded the public that the "ex-copyright" works did not include Scott's latest revisions and notes.

The Blacks also combated numerous instances of illegal copyright infringement. One particularly troubling case had to be dealt with immediately after their purchase of the Waverley material. In April 1851, the *Illustrated London News* printed an advertisement for an illustrated edition of "Boswell and Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides" that, the Blacks learned, contained woodcuts pirated from the Abbotsford edition of the Waverley Novels (Minute Book fol. 32). After sending a threatening letter, the Blacks sought legal assistance and ultimately compelled the *Illustrated London News* to pay

£100 in compensation (Minute Book fol. 19). In fact, persistent copyright violation was such a major concern for the Blacks that in many years, their yearly summary of business dealings included a special section devoted to discussing recent incidents of copyright violation and how they had been handled.

In addition to discussing the sale of the remaining stock of Cadell's editions and protecting the Waverley copyrights, the Blacks also discussed potential new editions at their first meeting in October 1851. The first proposal for a new edition was made in a letter from John Boyd of the publishing firm Oliver & Boyd, perhaps hoping for some sort of co-publication. He proposed a "Pictorial edition," uniform with *The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakspeare*, edited by Charles Knight (1791-1873) and published by Charles Knight & Co., originally in fifty-six parts or eight volumes, between 1838/9 and 1843. Boyd proposed that the Pictorial edition of the Waverley Novels be printed from the People's edition plates, but also include all the steel and wood engravings from the Abbotsford. It would be complete in twenty-five volumes at 4s each, or in fortnightly parts, three to a volume, at 1s each. This proposal was apparently "thought highly of," but it was agreed that another highly illustrated edition should be postponed until shortly before the expiration of the first copyright, the original version of *Waverley*, in 1856 (Minute Book fols. 1-2).

The Library Edition (1852-53)

As an alternative to the Pictorial edition proposed by Boyd, Henry Wright¹⁷ proposed a Library edition of the Waverley Novels, to be undertaken immediately. The

¹⁷ Wright was apparently a friend of Cadell's, but it has not been possible to determine his identity any further.

idea was based on a proposal outlined by Cadell in the “Particulars” paper he distributed before his death. The minutes of the Blacks’ first meeting discuss this plan:

It is quite clear however that the property cannot continue remunerative unless some impetus be given to it, and as the Abbotsford Edition of the Novels will be exhausted in one, or at most two sales, it is most important for the sake of the property, that some edition be brought out as a successor to it, similar to the one spoken of by Mr Cadell in his paper of ‘Particulars’ drawn up in 1848, viz. a Library Edition in 25 volumes demy 8vo to range with such books as Alison’s Europe, Macauley’s England &c. and to sell say at 10/6 a volume, commencing in April next, and terminating in May 1854, published in monthly volumes. Such an edition is incidentally much needed[?] and has been long spoken of by the Trade. (Minute Book fol. 3).

Thus, the edition was designed both to succeed the Abbotsford and to be uniform with the multi-volume historical works of fellow Scots Sir Archibald Alison (1792-1867) and Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-59).

The Blacks adopted this plan for the Library edition at their first meeting and continued over the coming weeks to discuss the details. It was decided on 18 November to use the twenty-five best engravings from the Abbotsford edition as frontispieces for the Library edition. It was, however, “agreed to have new vignettes entirely confined to figure subjects, drawn by different artists in England and Scotland.” (Minute Book fol. 7). Later the Blacks decided to commission new frontispieces for many of the volumes as well, but when artists occasionally submitted their work late, Abbotsford frontispieces were used after all.

The Library edition ultimately appeared as planned, in twenty-five monthly volumes, demy octavo, costing 9s each. The advertisement for the edition described the format as “in the octavo form, to range with the standard English Authors, combining the advantages of a large type and portable size.” Therefore, the Library edition explicitly

incorporates Scott's novels into a miniature canon of historical works, not fiction, by rendering them in the physical form that matches Macaulay's and Alison's writing. Furthermore, by combining "large type and portable size," the edition occupies a middle ground between the large and lavish but unwieldy volumes like the Abbotsford edition and the smaller, simpler, more modest and portable volumes like the Cabinet. Despite holding the middle ground with regard to physical features, the Library edition was the most expensive edition of the Waverley Novels to be published after the Black's purchase of the copyrights and before 1871. The type was reset to match the new size of paper, and all the Magnum notes and introductions were retained, as well as those notes to *Guy Mannering* and *The Bride of Lammermoor* added in the Abbotsford edition.

Although designed as a successor to the Abbotsford, the Library edition nevertheless shares many features of the Cabinet. Most obviously, both editions place each full-length novel alone in a single volume. In order to make this possible in the Library edition, the Blacks had to re-order the works within the collection, returning them to the order used by Cadell in the Cabinet edition for this same purpose. As such, the four *Chronicles of the Canongate*, two *Tales of the Crusaders*, the first three series of *Tales of my Landlord*, and the material from the *Keepsake for 1828* were again separated from each other and removed from their original contexts.

Various artists were approached about providing new frontispieces and vignettes, and the Blacks seemed particularly disappointed that both Turner and Landseer declined (Minute Book fol. 31). Several illustrations were provided by the brothers Thomas (1826-1900) and John Faed (1819-1902), genre painters who specialized in Scottish subjects, and for whom Scott's works had long been an inspiration. The history painter Noel Paton

(1821-1901), also Scottish, provided several illustrations, as did Birket Foster (1825-99) and William Powell Frith (1819-1909). Several engravers were employed, including Lumb Stocks (1812-92) and James Stephenson (1808-86), the latter of whom had engraved earlier Waverley illustrations. On the whole, the Library edition employed a greater proportion of Scottish artists than had the London-centered Abbotsford edition, reflecting that the planning and preparation of the Library edition took place in Edinburgh.

Stylistically, the illustrations to the Library edition are most similar to those from the Magnum Opus in that they usually depict specific characters during identifiable scenes from the novels, accompanied by a caption from the text. Figs. 5.1 and 5.2 in the appendix, the frontispiece and vignette from *The Bride of Lammermoor*, provide examples of this style. The entire edition contains only one or two landscape scenes. While there are several portraits of historical characters accompanied by their signatures, many originally from the Abbotsford edition, the historical and antiquarian objects that were so prominent among Abbotsford illustrations are entirely absent from the Library edition. On the whole, the Library edition illustrations represent a more conservative turn in the illustration of Scott's novels, away from the free-associative inclusivity of the Abbotsford illustrations, back towards depictions of scenes directly linked to specific textual moments.

A desire to return to the illustrative practice of depicting Scott's scenes may also explain why the Blacks, with nearly two thousand wood and steel engravings from the Abbotsford edition already in their possession, chose to commission new illustrations for the Library edition. In fact, their original discussions of the edition may have suggested

this when they “agreed to have new vignettes entirely confined to figure subjects” (Minute Book fol. 7). The implication here may have been that the Abbotsford illustrations were unsuitable for a new edition because they had departed so far from depicting the narratives.

Yet the Library edition may also have been issued with additional plate illustrations, or these plates may have been sold separately but designed to be incorporated into it. Some surviving copies of the Library edition also include additional steel engravings, taken from both the Magnum Opus and Abbotsford editions.¹⁸

The Library edition was widely advertised and reviewed in newspapers across Britain; the reviews were extremely positive. The *Glasgow Herald* placed the Library edition within the history of Waverley editions, and concisely summarized the social impact of these editions over the years:

We really cannot remember in how many separate suits of typographic clothing the ‘Waverley Novels’ have been presented since they first took the public by storm in the indifferent print and inferior paper in which they were originally issued from the Ballantyne press. These early editions, by the way, have now entirely disappeared from the public gaze; they have been thumbed to pieces in circulating libraries, or by successive relays of readers in the family circle, and accordingly a ‘Waverley’ in three vols., with the date 1814, is now, in the language of trade, fairly out of print, and is as much prized by book collectors, as the Kilmarnock edition of the works of our immortal Burns. The original typographic style of the Waverleys gave place to the beautiful little pocket edition of 1829, with its charming illustrations and above all those exquisite introductions and notes, which formed almost the last contribution to literature of the great magician, and which imparted the light of historic truth to these immortal fictions. Then we have had illustrated editions, ‘people’s editions’—the latter in compressed type and double column, which nevertheless was received as a great boon by the humbler classes, in so far as they are thereby enabled to possess in absolute property those fascinating literary treasures which formerly were only accessible in libraries, or found upon the shelves of the opulent. (Criticisms fol. 7)

¹⁸ The National Library of Scotland owns a copy of the Library edition originally owned by the Newbattle Abbey Library (shelfmark Newb. 3451-3476) that includes these additional illustrations.

The *Herald*, like many other reviews, goes on to praise the edition for its size, uniformity with the standard English authors, and suitability for the shelves of a gentleman's private library:

Messrs. Black of Edinburgh, the proprietors of the Waverley copy-rights, have discovered that there is still room for a new issue of these remarkable classics, and from the specimens we have seen, we have no doubt that the public will entirely share their sentiments. This as a dignified octavo edition, uniform with the standard English authors, illustrated with frontispiece and vignette, and possessing every typographic grace and elegance of which the art is capable—securing at the same time the important utilitarian advantages of large type and portable size. It has all those attributes, indeed, which will secure it a place in the library of *every man of taste*, and as the issue is monthly and the price exceedingly moderate, we have no doubt that the immediate circulation will be extensive, and the demand permanent. (Criticisms fol. 7) (italics mine)

In fact, the Blacks were very pleased with the sales of the Library edition. In the 1852-53 fiscal year, they sold an average of one thousand copies of each monthly volume, and ultimately accelerated the production of the novels, completing the edition six months ahead of schedule (Minute Book fol. 51).

Various Other Editions from the Blacks

In the following years, the Blacks published a wide variety of new editions of the Waverley Novels in numerous different forms. On the whole, these were slight variations of editions published by Cadell, usually printed from his stereotype plates. After completing the Library edition the preceding November, on 25 February 1854 the Blacks “resolved to publish an edition of the Novels similar in size and appearance to the eighteenpenny edition of *Pelham* and at [the] same price,” to commence 1 June 1855 (Minute Book fol. 63). They probably were referring to the best-selling novel *Pelham*,

or, *the Adventures of a Gentleman* (1828) by Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803-73), published cheaply in 1854 in a series called “the Railway Library.” In addition to the eighteenpenny edition, they began to issue the novels separately, printed from the People’s edition plates, beginning May 1855.

By July 1856, the eighteenpenny edition was in trouble. The A. & C. Black annual report for 1855-56 summarized the problem thus:

Only one volume of [the eighteenpenny edition] has been published during the past year as it was deemed expedient that there should be a longer interval between the appearance of the volumes, owing to the injury done to the sale of the separate Novels People’s Edition. However, the length of the period (10 months) between the issue of the 5th and 6th volumes not only damaged the sale of the latter volume materially, but also the back volumes. This is proved by the fact that the stock on hand last year was within £20 of what it is this year. On the other hand, the sale of the People’s issue in separate novels has risen from 12,207 (the sale *last year*) to 22,607 (ending 30th June), thus being increased nearly double (Minute Book fol. 93)

It seemed that two of the Blacks’ editions of the novels were competing against each other, and could not both be successful. The problem was that the eighteenpenny edition, in foolscap octavo, probably printed from the Cabinet edition plates, was altogether a more appealing product than the tall, narrow volumes of the People’s edition in individual novels. If they were priced the same, the eighteenpenny would sell far more copies, but if it were priced higher, it would be overtaken by the People’s edition.

The dramatically lower price of the eighteenpenny edition was observed in numerous periodicals. *The Scotsman* enthusiastically reported that “When the issue is complete the whole Waverley series will be obtainable for little more than the original price of a single novel!” (Criticisms fol. 22). At 18d per volume, the entire set would be 37s 6d, indeed not much more than 31s 6d, the cost of a Waverley novel in the 1820s.

Ultimately the Blacks resolved the problem of the competing editions by postponing the eighteenpenny edition, with the plan of reissuing the first several volumes later in order to stimulate sales (Minute Book fols. 93-4). They may have also lowered the price of the People's edition in order not to disappoint those who had been so excited by the cheapness of the eighteenpenny version.

Sometime in late 1856, the Blacks began a cheap Railway edition of the novels. Then in early 1858, they negotiated an agreement that allowed for the publication of five of Scott's novels in the *London Journal*, beginning with *Kenilworth*, the first part of which appeared on 12 April 1858. On 19 October 1858, the Blacks received some upsetting news:

The proprietors having being [sic] informed that a Mr Strahan of George Street, Edinburgh was about to publish a shilling edition of Waverley as the first volume of a shilling series of the novels, they determined after due consideration to meet him at the same price both to the public and the trade. Strahan's edition was being printed by Ballantyne from the first or excopyright edition and as it was thought advisable to take the field before the rival parties could get their edition ready, Proprietors ordered the Railway edition of Waverley to be reduced to a shilling to the public. . . . Such a reduction of course incurred a loss of a penny on every copy sold, but as the stock of this as well as Guy Mannering and the Antiquary is very large and more especially to keep the rival parties from persevering in their 1/ edition, Proprietors were prepared to stand the loss and even more if need be, rather than allow the Waverley market to be *usurped by an intruder*. (Minute Book fol. 140) (italics mine)

The Blacks were clearly extremely anxious to discourage competitors, and were even willing to sustain small losses in order to keep a tight hold on the market. This policy of aggressively undercutting competitors continued to influence their decisions in years to come. By 1862, the Blacks were publishing their shilling edition of the novels, printed from the plates of the Railway edition, and identical to it except for the binding. The shilling edition was sold with enameled covers and illustrated with a woodcut vignette

recycled from the Cabinet edition. The advertisement to the shilling edition somewhat disingenuously claimed that the dramatic reduction of price was due largely to the repeal of the paper duty 1861, and that “no one can now complain of pecuniary inability to possess a complete edition of Scott’s Novels.”

On 4 February 1859, the Blacks finally decided to pursue the long-discussed “Pictorial edition” of the Waverley Novels, sometimes also called the “New Illustrated edition,” to commence 2 May. This edition was designed to be “in every way similar to” the Magnum Opus and was originally going to be printed from the Magnum stereotype plates (Minute Book fol. 142). But when it was determined that the plates were worn out and could not be repaired, the Blacks decided to have them re-stereotyped, despite the additional cost. The advertisement to this edition suggests that “the Proprietors have endeavoured to supply a want which has been long felt by the many admirers of the Waverley Novels, for an edition combining the advantages of a portable size, good readable type, and pictorial illustration.” The frontispiece and vignette of this edition were the steel engravings originally used in the Magnum Opus. Re-stereotyping the Magnum plates also allowed the Blacks to incorporate most of the woodcuts from the Abbotsford edition in the text. Thus, in the inclusion of Abbotsford woodcuts within the main text, the New Pictorial edition was different from the Cadell’s reissue of the Magnum with Abbotsford illustration plates in the late 1840s. The Blacks’ annual summary for 1859-60 proudly reported that the New Illustrated edition was selling around 2,500 copies per volume (Minute Book fol. 153).

On 1 January 1865, the Blacks began a reissue of the New Illustrated edition of the novels, “printed from the plates on tinted paper, and bound in the Roxburghe style of

binding” (Minute Book fol. 185). A type of quarter binding, the Roxburghe style “has a gilt-lettered smooth leather spine, usually brown or green, and dark-red paper-board sides, with no leather corners.” (Carter 175). This style was originally designed for the publications of the Roxburghe Club, an extremely exclusive club of bibliophiles founded in 1812 after the auction of the extensive library of the late Duke of Roxburghe (*The Roxburghe Club*). Scott himself was a member between 1822 and his death. The club’s activities included the publication of facsimiles and reprints of interesting rare books and previously unpublished manuscripts and pamphlets, all bound in the club’s distinctive style. This style was much imitated by publishers in the later nineteenth century, physically presenting books in a way that mimicked the publications of the exclusive club. By choosing to bind the edition in this way, the Blacks were not only suggesting that it was a luxury product, but were placing it in the context of the club’s eminent historical publications. This reissue became known as the Roxburghe or Roxburgh edition.

On 9 August 1866, the Blacks again received word that a competitor planned to issue a cheaper edition of the Waverley Novels, this time at six pence per novel, and printed by Ballantyne & Co. of Edinburgh and Baines and Sons of Leeds, for publication by John Camden Hotten (1832-73) of London. After discussing the matter, the Blacks made a decision: “With the view of preserving the entirety of the property, It was resolved to issue as speedily as possible a small paper edition of the People’s edition of the Waverleys, to sell for sixpence per novel: even although a small loss might be sustained thereby.” (Minute Book fol. 188). Despite the extraordinarily low price

proposed by Hotten, the Blacks were yet again willing to meet it in order to discourage competition.

The sixpenny edition was printed from the plates of the People's edition, "altered to suit a double demy size" and covered in yellow paper covers. On the outside front, inside front, and outside back cover of the parts, warnings appeared: "Subscribers are reminded that A. & C. Black are the only publishers who can print the COPYRIGHT and COMPLETE editions of Sir Walter Scott's novels." The order of the works within the edition replicated the order used by Cadell in the Cabinet and People's editions, splitting several of the collections of shorter works in order to allow each full-length novel to appear in one part. The paper cover had a woodcut, colored with red, yellow, and blue ink. The cartoonish, stylized scenes suggest that the edition may have been designed for children. For example, Fig. 5.3 in the appendix is the paper cover of *Ivanhoe*, depicting "The Templar Seizing Rebecca" in a dramatic fashion. Furthermore, the edition includes vignettes, often less-detailed re-engravings of images from the Magnum, such as Fig. 5.4, a re-engraving of Fig. 1.1. Sales of the edition were on a scale inconceivable earlier in the century: between October 1866 and June 1868, the edition sold 2,098,600 volumes.

The sixpenny edition was also bound into four very large volumes of more than one thousand pages each. These volumes included frontispieces that were re-engravings of images from the Magnum Opus and Abbotsford editions of the novels. Each title-page reads "Copyright Edition Entire"—an ambiguous phrase probably intended to emphasize that this edition contained all the introductions and notes from the copyright edition, the Magnum Opus, not that it was itself the copyright edition, or had any special copyright

protection that other editions did not. Most library catalogues, however, have catalogued this as the “Copyright edition.”

The Sixpenny or “Copyright” edition was the least expensive edition of the Waverley Novels considered in this thesis. The entire twenty-five part edition could be purchased for 12s 6d, well less than half the cost of a Waverley novel in the 1820s. Calculations in the appendix, which take into consideration the changing cost of living over these years, confirm that the Sixpenny edition was dramatically cheaper than all other posthumous editions of the Waverley Novels published before 1871. Finally, Scott’s novels were affordable to all.

After the death of James Richardson in September 1868, his brother Robert Richardson retired, and the Scott business was transferred to become the sole property of the Blacks.

The editions of the Waverley Novels published between 1847 and 1868 largely continued the trends initiated by Cadell in the 1840s. First Cadell and then A. & C. Black mixed and matched the existing body of Abbotsford illustrations to reissues of the other editions. During the years of the Black propriety, they published both expensive and inexpensive editions, continuing, as Cadell had done, to market the Waverley Novels to all classes of readers. Next, the Blacks produced the Library edition, which combined elements of both the Abbotsford edition, in its luxury, and the Magnum Opus, in its illustrations. Meanwhile, in cheaper editions, the Blacks dramatically reduced the cost of the Waverley Novels in an effort to discourage competitors, finally reaching bottom in

the Sixpenny edition, a production that was as affordable in reality as earlier editions had only claimed to be.

Chapter 6: The Centenary Edition (1870-71)

The Centenary edition of the Waverley Novels, the final edition examined in this thesis, was A. & C. Black's last during the period they were the sole British publishers of Scott's works. After the expiration of the Magnum Opus copyrights in 1875, there was a huge explosion in other editions of the Waverley Novels by various publishers, and thus the Centenary edition marks the end of an era in the publication of Scott's works.

Furthermore, the Centenary edition features the bibliographic evidence of Scott's move from popular novelist to subject of serious scholarly study, at a time when English literature was becoming a recognized scholarly field. By rearranging the Magnum paratextual material to prioritize the main text, and including new notes by David Laing, the Centenary edition becomes both a scholarly and a popular edition—one that reflects the changing place of prose fiction in popular culture, and changing attitudes towards Walter Scott. This chapter examines these themes, and concludes with a summary discussion of the changes to the Scott's legacy embodied in all the editions examined above.

Timing: the Centenary and the Copyrights

The Centenary of Scott's birth on 15 August 1871 prompted a variety of celebrations in Britain and abroad. In Edinburgh, the Galleries of the Royal Scottish Academy and National Gallery hosted an exhibition, prepared by the Border Counties Association, that featured portraits and busts of Scott, his manuscripts, and early editions of his works, loaned from various owners. Costing one shilling for admission, the loan exhibition attracted some 12,000 visitors from 15 July to 19 August 1871 (Maxwell xi).

Catalogues were sold at six pence each, but so many mistakes were discovered in the course of the exhibition that the organizers decided to print a revised version including images. These large catalogues printed afterwards include facsimiles of the manuscripts, as well as many engravings, some colored, and photographs of the exhibition (Maxwell).

The main Edinburgh celebrations were scheduled for 9 August rather than Scott's actual birthday because of the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science already scheduled for that day. On 9 August, most businesses in Edinburgh closed and a festival was held on Princes Street. That evening, a banquet supper was held in the Corn Exchange, in the Grassmarket, presided over by the Earl of Dalkeith. The evening featured many toasts and lengthy speeches, several of which were fully transcribed in *The Scotsman* the next day. The speeches testify to the extremely high regard still held for Scott at this time: at least in the rhetoric of these speeches, Scott is considered second only to Shakespeare in his literary brilliance, and a guiding influence on all subsequent nineteenth-century literature.

In London, a Waverley Ball was held on 6 July 1871, in order to raise money to commission statuettes to adorn the thirty-two still-empty niches on the Scott monument. The ball was a huge society function that received detailed attention in newspapers (A. & C. Black, Cuttings Books relating to Centenary fols. 5-7). Several royal guests were present, including Prince Arthur, dressed as Bonnie Prince Charlie, and the Princess of Wales dressed as Mary, Queen of Scots. During the following month, London also saw numerous additional banquets and balls in celebration of Scott's birthday.

But these celebrations were by no means limited to Edinburgh and London. Following Edinburgh's lead in selecting 9 August rather than Scott's actual birthday,

various banquets and dinners were held all over Britain on that day, especially in countless small towns and cities in Scotland. Similar celebrations were held on the European continent and in various North American cities—New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Memphis, Chicago, Indianapolis, Washington D.C., Boston, Worcester (MA), and Toronto.

Beginning publication in January 1870, the Centenary edition was designed to capitalize on the inevitable excitement surrounding the centenary of an author still considered one of the greatest ever. Yet the timing of the edition was fortuitous for other reasons—the copyrights. The first edition of *Waverley* had expired in July 1856, and by November 1873 the entire set of first editions would have emerged from copyright protection. The copyright to the Magnum Opus version of *Waverley* would expire in July 1871, with the remaining Magnum copyrights all expiring by February 1875. Scott's centenary occurred right as the Blacks were due to lose exclusive control over the market for his novels. Although, unlike the Magnum, the Centenary edition would not be eligible for a new copyright, the Blacks no doubt hoped that by producing a superior and unique product, they could hold on to the *Waverley* market for as long as possible. Conceived as the bibliographic manifestation of a program of celebrations surrounding the centenary, the Centenary edition was also an astute, well-timed business move.

The Basics: the Bibliographical Features and Pricing

In twenty-five volumes octavo, the Centenary edition replicates the order of the works first used by Cadell in the Cabinet edition, now the standard ordering of the works for publication in twenty-five volumes. The maroon cloth binding is embossed with the

words “Centenary Edition” and a profile of Scott surrounded by a laurel on the front cover. The spine features gold lettering. The text is in a medium-sized print and the volumes are relatively lightweight and portable. Illustrations are limited to a frontispiece and vignette for each volume, as well as two modest woodcut head-pieces, one at the beginning of the introduction, and one on the first page of the main text.

At 3s 6d per volume, the Centenary edition was modestly priced—clearly more expensive than the Sixpenny edition, but much less expensive than the Library. A respectable but relatively inexpensive edition for its time, the Centenary edition in 1870 was in many ways reminiscent of the Magnum in 1829.

Paratexts: Introductions and Notes

A page near the beginning of the first volume dedicates the Centenary edition to Miss Mary Monica Hope-Scott (1847-1920), Sir Walter’s great-granddaughter, aged twenty-three in 1870. Upon the death of her father James Robert Hope-Scott in 1873, Mary Monica became Scott’s only living descendent and the heir to Abbotsford.

The Centenary edition retains all the paratextual material from the Magnum Opus but has rearranged it within the volume. The general tendency has been to place more of this material at the back of the volume than ever previously. While most of the Magnum and original introductions still appear at the front, many appendices and additional introductory notes have been moved to the back, especially where a lot of introductory material has accumulated. For example, in *Waverley*, the Note to the Preface of the Third edition, the three appendices to the General Preface of the Magnum Opus edition, the majority of the Magnum introduction to the novel, and Scott’s dedication to King George

IV have all been placed at the back of the volume. In *Guy Mannering*, the “Additional Note: Galwegian Localities and Personages,” which originally appeared in the Magnum Opus at the end of the novel, but which had since been moved to the front, has returned to the back. This reorganization effectively moves the beginning of the main text of each novel closer to the front of the volume. By relegating some of the ever-expanding paratextual apparatus to the back of each volume, the Centenary edition limits potential barriers between the reader and the narrative, prioritizing the main text as other editions did not.¹⁹

Furthermore, throughout the edition, the Magnum and original introductions, letters, and other paratextual essays have been placed in italics. This is especially true of essays that appear at the beginning of the volumes, but paratextual essays at the end also usually appear in italics. Thus, there is a typographical distinction between the main text and the paratexts—another effort to visually prioritize the main text from a potentially confusing array of paratextual material.

The Centenary edition also features the first new notes to accompany Scott’s novels since the Magnum Opus. The advertisement to the edition explains that they came from two different sources. First, there are notes taken from Scott’s “interleaved set.” In preparing the Magnum Opus edition years earlier, Cadell had altered an octavo copy of each of the collected sets of novels published by Constable in the 1820s (Brown, *Scott’s Interleaved Waverley Novels* ix). Extra blank leaves were sewn into each volume so that one appeared between each set of two pages. Scott used the interleaved set to make

¹⁹ The decision to relegate paratextual material to the back has become more common in scholarly editions of novels in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The Centenary edition’s policies prefigure those of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, now in the course of publication, which takes this impulse even further. The EEWN texts are based on the original, pre-Magnum versions of the novels, and they remove all Magnum Opus paratextual material to the back of each volume (Hewitt 2-4).

revisions and to add the new notes and introductions, writing not only on the blank leaves but also on the sizeable margins and separate pieces of paper folded and tucked into the book at relevant points. This set was part of the Scott-related material purchased from Cadell's heirs in 1851, and the A. & C. Black history claims that Adam Black's decision to purchase the Waverley property had been influenced by his idea to use additional material from the interleaved set to produce a new edition of the novels (*A. & C. Black* 22-23). Yet as J.H. Alexander has identified, there were only thirty-one additional notes in the interleaved set that did not appear in the *Magnum Opus* in one form or another (24). It is unclear whether Adam Black knew at the time of the purchase that the set contained only thirty-one omitted notes, or whether he expected or hoped for more.

Of the thirty-one unused notes from the interleaved set, twenty-four were included, wholly or in part, in the Centenary edition.²⁰ These new notes are, unsurprisingly, similar to Scott's original notes in style and function—they identify Scott's purported source material and elucidate points of historical and antiquarian interest. In the Centenary edition, the vast majority of Scott's *Magnum Opus* notes, both original and newly included, have been moved to the back of the volume. Only Scott's very short notes, usually serving a glossarial function, appear at the bottom of the page, and they are not grouped together at the end of chapters, as they had appeared in the *Magnum Opus*. Again, by relegating more notes to the back of each volume, the Centenary edition visually prioritizes the main text of the novels.

The advertisement also explains that there has been a second source of new notes. Described as “some minor notes explanatory of references now rendered perhaps

²⁰ The few remaining notes included in neither the *Magnum* nor the Centenary editions were included in the Dryburgh edition in 1892-94.

somewhat obscure by the lapse of time,” these notes appear in parentheses, either at the bottom of the page or at the back, and were written by the antiquary and librarian David Laing (1793-1878), a friend of Scott’s. In Laing’s notes, Scott’s novels are given scholarly annotation from someone other than their author for the first time. As the advertisement promises, Laing’s notes are few and short: the whole of *Waverley* has only seven notes, perhaps because with so much Magnum paratextual material already, it was growing too long. Most of the other novels have around ten notes, with the most, twenty, appearing in the final volume, containing *The Surgeon’s Daughter* and *Castle Dangerous*, perhaps because these works were both relatively short. Thus, where the Magnum Opus initiated the scholarly treatment of the Waverley Novels by including Scott’s own notes, the Centenary edition took this even further, including scholarly annotations by Laing. Appearing in parentheses, Laing’s annotations are visually distinct from Scott’s, reflecting that they were authored by a different person and serve a different function—annotating the original annotations as well as the main text.

Composed around the time that English literature was becoming a recognized scholarly discipline, Laing’s notes reflect the standard practices of literary criticism of his time. Many of Laing’s notes excerpt passages from biographical writings on Scott, usually Lockhart’s *Life*, but also other sources. These biographical notes usually bear some tenuous relationship to the novel, and linger between incidental anecdote and relevant scholarly material. Several such notes relate to the novel’s composition. For example, a new note to *The Bride of Lammermoor* includes a passage from Lockhart that explains how Scott dictated the novel when ill, using William Laidlaw and John Ballantyne as amanuenses, though he preferred the latter. In other cases, these

biographical notes provide further evidence of Scott's source material not included in the Magnum Opus introductions. In a note to *Count Robert of Paris*, for example, Laing excerpts a passage from Scott's diary that describes reading the "Chronicle of the Good Knight Messire Jacques de Lalain," and being inspired to adapt it into a novel. Laing then includes a footnote by Lockhart to this passage that confirms that Lalain's story figured in the composition of *Count Robert*.

In some of the biographical notes, the relationship to the text is more distant. In a note to *The Abbot*, Laing quotes a passage from the *Tracts* of the Blair-Adam Society (1834), a group founded by Scott and some friends. The passage relates that shortly after the publication of *The Abbot* in 1820, the Lord Chief-Commissioner Adam insinuated to Scott that he knew him to be the Author of *Waverley*, because the Kiery Craigs, located near Adam's home, and only familiar to Adam's family and friends, had appeared in *The Abbot*. In this case, Laing seems to have related the incident to show how Scott reacted to such accusations before publicly acknowledging authorship of the *Waverley Novels*. As such, the note is designed to reveal aspects of Scott's character rather than comment on *The Abbot*.

In addition to references to biographical writings on Scott, many of Laing's notes provide cross-references to other Scott poetry and prose, including volume and page numbers, that touch on themes and topics similar to the annotated passages. These include references to the full breadth of Scott's output, including the entry on "chivalry" he wrote for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Through cross-referencing works by and about Scott, Laing's notes tether the novels to the larger corpus of Scottiana.

A few of Laing's notes incorporate evidence from Scott's manuscripts, reflecting the important place they held within contemporary literary scholarship. A note to *Ivanhoe*, quoting Lockhart, tells the reader that the manuscript

appears not only as well and firmly executed as that of any of the Tales of my Landlord, but distinguished by having still fewer erasures and interlineations, and also by being in a smaller hand. The fragment is beautiful to look at—many pages together without one alteration. It is, I suppose, superfluous to add, that in no instance did Scott re-write his prose before sending it to the press. Whatever may have been the case with his poetry, the world uniformly received the prima cura of the novelist.

This note purportedly reveals Scott's state of mind during the process of composition of *Ivanhoe*. Still, the admiring tone suggests that the manuscript is valuable not only as it relates to the published novel, but also as a relic of Scott.

Other notes provide full citations for passages quoted either by Scott as epigraphs, or by his characters. When the passage is quoted in a foreign language, Laing gives an English translation, and when a quoted passage has been translated into English, Laing often provides the original, even quoting Greek on a few occasions. Laing frequently provides full citations, to particular volume and page numbers, to passages and works mentioned in the novels. Laing's notes reveal a thorough zeal for detail—giving full names and dates for each historical figure mentioned, and exact bibliographical information for each book. Where Scott's Magnum notes had initiated this practice of identification, Laing's contributions make explicit more of the connections between Scott's novels and other works.

Laing's notes have an ambiguous relationship to Scott's own proto-scholarly work on the Magnum Opus. Visually distinct because they are in parentheses, many of Laing's notes are nevertheless similar to Scott's, identifying source material and

explaining historical points. Several of Laing's contributions are actual continuations of Scott's Magnum notes, or annotations to his Magnum introductions—often the part of the novel Laing has most heavily annotated. For example, one of Laing's notes to *Guy Mannering* gives the full name of the prototype for Dominie Sampson, where the Magnum introduction had only alluded to it. Several notes provide fuller historical and bibliographical detail than even Scott saw fit to include. Yet some notes contradict Scott, pointing out his anachronisms and mis-statements. For example, a note to *The Monastery*, set in 1559, observes that two works described as contemporaneous with the tale, *Euphues; the Anatomy of Wit* and *Euphues and his England*, by John Lyly, were not published until 1581.

Laing's scholarly relationship to Scott's works is complicated. On the one hand, Laing's authority to make scholarly annotations to the Waverley Novels is based on his friendship with Scott, as emphasized by the advertisement to the Centenary edition. Yet for the most part Laing's notes are detached and dry. Only on a few occasions is Laing's voice heard. One rare example of the influence of Laing's personal connection to Scott appears in a note to the introductory epistle of *The Abbot*. In the epistle, Scott admits that "some parts of the story have been huddled up without the necessary details." Laing's corresponding note reads:

It would seem (says Mr. Laing) as if, from the exuberance of his imagination, the Author was led to wind up his stories and dismiss his characters rather hastily, that he might indulge in some new creations: in the words of Milton—'To-morrow to fresh fields and pastures new.' A remark made by Sir Walter to myself on this head may be worth recording. How the conversation originated I cannot say, but at the time (having good reason to be satisfied regarding the authorship of the Waverley Novels) I was much struck with his words, when he jocularly said, 'If ever I should write a novel, I would like well enough to write the

first two volumes, and leave any one who was pleased to finish the third'—D.L.

In this passage, Laing identifies himself twice, both in parentheses at the beginning, and in initials at the end. Other notes do not generally include any sign of Laing's identity, and their presence in this note suggests that Laing is stepping out of his detached scholarly role by making a personal contribution that requires him to sign his name. What is striking about this passage is perhaps how unusual it is in the context of Laing's other notes. Given Laing's advertised friendship with Scott, it is notable that only rarely does he provide the kind of insights this relationship would allow.

Despite their varied functions, Laing's notes also occasionally do what the advertisement claims they will—"[explain] references now rendered perhaps somewhat obscure by the lapse of time." While many of these notes would have been helpful to the reader in 1871, some seem unnecessary, such as in a note to "The Surgeon's Daughter" where Laing glosses "the forty-five" as "the rebellion of 1745." It is unlikely that Scott's readers would need this explanation, whether in 1829 or 1871. Again, this suggests that Laing may have been encouraged to write more notes for the shorter volumes, particularly Volume 25. The notes also take into consideration the passage of time in other ways, by providing information on the very recent history of the places and institutions mentioned in the novels. For example, a continuation by Laing of a Magnum Opus note to the *Chronicles of the Canongate* reports the dissolution of the Bannatyne Club in 1861. Furthermore, Laing's notes occasionally comment on the reception of the novel in recent years, such as a note to *The Abbot* that relates the effect of this novel on tourism at Lochleven Castle since Scott's death. Thus, Laing's notes modernize the Waverley Novels for a new audience.

In addition to the notes, the Centenary edition also features new reference sections in the back. In the novels that feature extended dialogue in Scottish vernacular speech, a “Glossary of Certain Scotch Terms and Phrases” appears. In addition, each work has an Index. The index alphabetically lists characters, including their major appearances throughout the story, places and buildings, as well as songs sung and themes discussed. The glossary and index allow the reader to use the Waverley Novels as they would a nonfiction reference work. Again, these reference sections take further the scholarly treatment of the Waverley Novels initiated by the Magnum Opus.

Illustration

The illustrations to each volume of the Centenary edition are comprised of a frontispiece, vignette, and two modest head-pieces, usually at the top of the introduction and the first page of the main text. Like the illustration to the Mangum Opus, the frontispieces depict scenes from the novels and are accompanied by captions fixing the scenes at a particular point in the story. Accordingly, they continue the general post-Abbotsford trend of returning to the practice of depicting identifiable narrative scenes, rather than static scenery, portraits, or historical artifacts. Stylistically, these woodcut frontispieces are not nearly as detailed as some of the illustrations to the Abbotsford edition or even in the Magnum Opus. The facial expressions and costumes are often plain, and the detailed depiction of the central figures often fades towards a sketchy or dark background. Fig. 6.1 in the appendix provides a good example of this style. A caption identifies the scene as the meeting of the Deans sisters in prison in *The Heart of*

Mid-lothian, and, while somewhat detailed, it is not nearly as detailed as the Magnum Opus illustrations.

The vignettes, however, usually depict a building or piece of scenery that is part of the setting of the novel, without linking it to a particular narrative moment. These are also woodcuts and may have been taken from earlier editions of the novels. Fig. 6.2, a vignette to *The Bride of Lammermoor* depicts the now-familiar image of Wolf's Crag or its prototype Fast Castle. The headers generally depict symbols from the novels—often coats of arms, weapons, or books—taken entirely out of narrative context. These headers were taken directly from the Abbotsford edition, proving that the Blacks continued to reuse visual material from this edition for many years, despite their general shift away from the Abbotsford's illustrative practices.

The artists of these images are usually identified by barely-legible initials and scrawled signatures only. Exceptions to this are the illustrations adapted from already-existing images, like Fig. 6.1, adapted from a painting by Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859). Without more information from the records of A. & C. Black, definitive identification of the artists directly involved is impossible. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Centenary edition's illustrations were produced by a relatively small group of individuals. The lack of identification of the artists also reflects that the illustrations were not conceived as a central selling point of this new edition. The limited inclusion of illustrations in this edition reflects its ambiguous position as both a popular and a scholarly manifestation of Scott's novels.

Like the other editions, the Centenary edition contains a portrait of Scott. This is the frontispiece to Volume 1, the John Watson Gordon portrait engraved by John

Horsburgh, which first appeared in the Magnum Opus. Unlike the Magnum Opus image, however, this frontispiece also includes a facsimile of Scott's handwriting, presumably taken from a letter, that reads "yours very truly, Walter Scott." Again, this relatively understated single depiction of Scott is part of a greater post-Abbotsford trend towards including fewer images of the author.

Reception

The Centenary edition of the Waverley Novels was advertised and reviewed in several contemporary periodicals, although the reviews are not nearly as prominent and lengthy as those of earlier editions of the novels. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* had printed centrally-placed advertisements for Cadell's editions in the 1840s, when it appeared three times per week. By 1871 the *Courant* was a longer, daily publication, which mentioned the Centenary edition only in a small advertisement toward the bottom of the now-separate "Books" section on 22 January 1870. The *Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* also printed small reviews near the bottom of their "Literature" sections.

Despite the reduction in critical attention to new editions of the Waverley Novels by the 1870s, the brief reviews of the Centenary were generally positive. On 4 January 1870, the *Glasgow Herald* wrote:

It appeals to those who are able to afford a very fine copy at a very moderate rate, and we are sure that amongst this class the Centenary will be widely patronised. The paper is excellent, the typography is very beautiful, and each Volume will be, like the present, substantially bound. Besides these advantages, the Centenary will be the most complete edition, for it will contain a few notes by the author not hitherto published. Each volume will contain a glossary of Scotch terms and phrases, besides an index, which is still more valuable, at least for Scotch readers. We have very much pleasure, indeed, in recommending this edition to the public.

Other reviews praised the same elements of the new edition—the typography, paper quality, introduction of new notes, the glossary, and the index. One mild criticism did appear in *The Scotsman* on 14 January; the writer observed the publishers had not used a new plate for the frontispiece portrait, which it described as “very old, worn, and scratchy.” Most other reviews did not mention the illustrations, reflecting that these were a less important element in this edition.

By the late 1870s, when all copyrights to both the original and Magnum Opus versions of Scott’s novels had expired, alternative editions began rapidly to appear. These included an edition published by William P. Nimmo (1876) and an illustrated version published by Marcus Ward & Co. (1877-79). The age of A. & C. Black’s exclusive propriety was over. During the years that the Waverley Novels had been published by a single British publisher, between Scott’s death and the centenary of his birth, they had undergone a series of interesting bibliographical and cultural transformations from their formative appearance in the Magnum Opus.

Cadell’s initial policy was to make the novels affordable to humbler consumers through the Cabinet and People’s editions while also publishing the luxury Abbotsford edition for well-to-do readers. This two-pronged strategy was also taken up by the Blacks, whose series of inexpensive editions, culminating in the Sixpenny edition dramatically reduced the price of the Waverley Novels, placing them finally within the reach of the working classes, while the Library edition provided an up-market counterpart. The Centenary edition was reminiscent of the Magnum: it was a respectable

yet relatively inexpensive edition for its time, reflecting Scott's status as both high-brow and popular.

At the same time, the illustrations provided a forum for commentary on Scott's novels and the representation of Scott as a cultural figure that revealed major changes to Scott's legacy. The Fisher edition initiated this reconsideration by beginning to separate the visual elements—characters, architecture, and scenery—that had been integrated in *Magnum Opus* illustrations. Cadell's *Abbotsford* edition took this trend to the extreme, following its own unique illustrative program. *Abbotsford* illustrations heavily featured objects from Scott's historical and antiquarian collection, completely divorced from narrative context. Subsequent editions saw a backlash against the *Abbotsford* program, and included far fewer illustrations and a return to the depiction of identifiable narrative scenes. Nevertheless, the *Abbotsford* edition's illustrations and legacy continued to influence editions of the *Waverley Novels* for many years. Similarly, depictions of Scott himself in these editions began as relatively realistic and understated, but gradually became more fictionalized and stylized, until in the *Abbotsford* edition, they depicted not Scott but his memorialization. Post-*Abbotsford* editions again reacted against this, eventually returning in the *Centenary* edition to the original John Watson Gordon portrait from the *Magnum Opus*.

Finally, the scholarly treatment of the *Waverley Novels* prefigured by the *Magnum* was picked up again by the *Centenary* edition several years later. The *Centenary* was both in the spirit of the *Magnum Opus* and a sign of the newly-emerging scholarly field of English literature. Scholarly yet popular, the *Centenary* edition was a sign both of the changing times and of Scott's enduring status as a first-class novelist.

By 1871, Scott's literary legacy had been shaped by all the editions that had appeared since his death, which had turned Scott from a larger-than-life literary celebrity into a legendary cultural figure whose significance was constantly being re-imagined. With the growth of the reading public, the diversification of editions of Scott's works, and their continued huge sales, the Waverley Novels were reaching more readers than ever before. It could even be argued that the true age of Scott did not begin until after his death. In 1871, when he was still considered by many the greatest novelist to date, Scott's one hundredth birthday was celebrated literally all over the world. Yet, as years passed and fewer people could remember the living Scott, the Waverley Novels became the primary vessel by which his legacy was carried forward to new generations. As the post-Abbotsford return to illustrations depicting narrative scenes suggests, readers ultimately became more interested in the Waverley Novels than in their author. Similarly, Laing's detached scholarly notes to the Centenary edition contain surprisingly few personal observations about Scott, especially given their friendship. Revered and beloved as his novels continued to be, Scott's persona did not inspire the same thirst for relics in 1871 as it had earlier in the century.

In the early twenty-first century, Scott's popularity continues to suffer despite recent critical reappraisal. Within Scotland and in Edinburgh especially, monuments and memorials like the Princes Street Monument and Waverley Station remind the perhaps otherwise uninformed public of Scott's legacy. But both in and outside of Scotland, people are more likely to be familiar with *Ivanhoe* or Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* than to know the first thing about the wizard of the North.

Scott's death and the publication of the *Magnum Opus*, then, rather than signaling the end of his literary career, ushered in a new era of the continual re-framing of Scott's cultural status through posthumous editions—a process that continues to this day. The changes to Scott's legacy wrought by the editions examined in this thesis are a reminder of the value of examining the formative influence of posthumous publication on the evolution of a writer's literary legacy.

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