

# Promoting Saint Ronan's Well: Scott's Fiction and Scottish Community in Transition

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'The Author of Waverley', with his various personas, is a highly sociable and communicative writer, as we observe in the frequent and lively exchanges between the author and his 'reader' or characters in the conclusions of *Old Mortality* (1816) and *Redgauntlet* (1824), or in the prefaces to *The Abbot* (1820) and *The Betrothed* (1825), to give only a few examples. Walter Scott himself, after giving up his anonymity, seems to enjoy an intimate author-reader relationship in his prefaces and notes to the Magnum Opus edition. Meanwhile, Scott often adapts and combines more than one historical event or actual person, his 'sources' or 'originals', in his attempt to recreate the life of a particular historical period and give historical sense to it, as books like W. S. Crockett's *The Scott Originals* (1912) eloquently testify, and with the Porteous Riot and Helen Walker in *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818) as one of the most obvious examples.

Both of these characteristics often tend to encourage an active interaction between the real and the imagined, or their confluence, within and outwith Scott's historical fiction, perhaps most clearly shown in the development of tourism in 19th century Scotland<sup>1)</sup>. In the case of *Saint Ronan's Well* (1824 [1823]), Scott's only novel set in the 19th century, its contemporaneity seems to have allowed that kind of interaction and confluence to take its own vigorous form, sometimes involving an actual community or other authors of contemporary Scotland. Thus, we would like to examine here the ways in which Scott adapts his 'sources' to explore his usual interest in historical change in this contemporary fiction and how it was received, particularly in terms of its effect on a local community in Scotland and in terms of its inspiration for his fellow authors, and thus reconsider the part played by Scott's fiction in imagining and promoting 'Scotland' in several ways, in present and past Scotland.

Following the novels set in the period after the Jacobite rising of 1745, *Waverley*

(1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815) and *The Antiquary* (1816), “a series of fictitious narratives, intended to illustrate the Scottish manners of three different periods”<sup>2)</sup>, (and immediately followed by *Redgauntlet*, which features a fictitious Jacobite rising in the late 18th century), *Saint Ronan’s Well* deals with the period of the Peninsular War in the early 19th century. The novel focuses its old and new contrast on two different establishments: the Cleikum Inn, St. Ronan’s, and the Fox Inn and Hotel, St. Ronan’s Well, both in the Scottish Borders. St Ronan’s, “the ancient and decayed village”<sup>3)</sup>, although situated in a picturesque area that even has a ruined castle, suffers depopulation and desolation caused by commercialization and industrialization. Only two houses, the Manse and the village inn, the Cleikum, still present something of a decent appearance. The Cleikum Inn, which was converted from the mansion of the Mawbrays, Lairds of Saint Ronan’s, is now kept by the indomitable and highly impressive Mrs Margaret Dods, who inherited the place with its surrounding area from her parents, the Laird’s former servants.

The Inn, partly because of its landlady’s stormy temper and manners, more or less shares in the decay of the whole village. But the situation is worsened when

a fanciful lady of rank in the neighbourhood chanced to recover of some imaginary complaint by the use of a mineral well about a mile and a half from the village; a fashionable doctor was found to write an analysis of the healing stream, with a list of sundry cures; a speculative builder took land in feu, and erected lodging-houses, shops, and even streets. At length, a tontine subscription was obtained to erect an inn, which, for the more grace was called a hotel; and so the desertion of Meg Dods became general. (8)

This “rising and rival village” (13) is called Saint Ronan’s Well, and its inn the Fox Hotel. The story of the novel, featuring the satiric description of the manners of the Wellers contrasted with those of the Auld town or Aulton, revolves around these two old and new places.

According to William Chambers and others<sup>4)</sup>, ‘the original’ of Mrs Dods is Marion Ritchie, the landlady of the Cleikum or Cross Keys Inn on Northgate in Peebles. The Cross Keys, whose original building was probably built in the 13th century and still

exists at the same place<sup>5)</sup>, was one of Scott's haunts. Miss Ritchie seems to have been the place's 'specialty' as well as the landlady, just like Meg Dods. For example, one local history describes her as follows: "Marion Ritchie's independence and eccentricity was of great repute. She wasn't impressed by what she saw as the pretentiousness of the Tontine Hotel, nor by some of her own customers—she was famous for telling customers to 'gang hame to your wife and bairns' if she thought they'd had too much to drink"<sup>6)</sup>. Moreover, the histories of the property and Marion herself more or less correspond to those of the Cleikum and Meg Dods in the novel.

Although both the Cross Keys and Marion Ritchie are frequently referred to as Scott's prototypes, that of the Fox Hotel is not usually explicitly stated in those history books. The Hotel, however, seems to have had its original as well, as the reference to the Tontine Hotel in the above passage may suggest. The Tontine Hotel, which still carries on business in the High Street in Peebles, was established in 1808 on the Tontine principle. The "principle in the agreement of the proprietors was 'any age to be entered, and the longest liver to have right to the whole", with the actual number of nominees 144<sup>7)</sup>, and "[t]he Tontine attracted a different type of customer from the Cross Keys Inn (Peebles' main hotel) on account of its fashionable ballroom"<sup>8)</sup>.

Thus the two different establishments, the local and traditional and the fashionably new, and their customers in *Saint Ronan's Well*, as in most of Scott's historical fiction, actually bore a striking resemblance to the real-life contrast in Peebles' two rival inns. This resemblance would have been easily identified by local people, though not by outsiders, and this may be part of the reason why this novel was better received at home than in England<sup>9)</sup>. It also may have made the search for the prototype of the mineral spring featured in the novel, Saint Ronan's Well, both plausible and convincing, or even imperative, a point to which we shall come back later.

In the novel, this contrast is further heightened by the two main characters who respectively stay at each establishment: Francis Tyrrel, who used to be engaged in trade and now paints and writes poems, at the Cleikum, and (Francis) Valentine Bulmer (Tyrrel), now the 6th Earl of Etherington, at the Fox. Francis was in fact the eldest son and heir of the 5th Earl of Etherington, born in a secret but valid marriage in France. Valentine, Francis' younger half-brother, was only seemingly legitimate, actually born of a bigamous relationship with Ann Bulmer back in England. The main

plot of the novel involves a tragic love affair between Francis and Clara Mowbray, the sister of John Mowbray, the present Laird of Saint Ronan's, and Valentine's persistent intrigues to marry Clara with a view to taking possession of a property which the marriage with her would bring him.

The main story seems to have been partly based on another source, an actual legal case concerning a bigamous marriage, similar to that of the 5th Earl of Etherington<sup>10</sup>. Sharing several features with another tragic story of Scott's, *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), the novel tragically ends with the death of Clara followed by that of Valentine, who was shot by John Mowbray. Fleeing from the country, John joins the Peninsular War, turning from a showy prodigal haunting the gaming table of the Fox Hotel into a rather mean figure who carefully manages his property to the maximum profit. As for Francis, although he is recognized as the heir of the 5th Earl and inherits his father's estate, he leaves it unattended and mysteriously disappears from the novel.

However, there is one exception to these rules of John's economy — he purchases back the land he feued out for the erection of the Fox Hotel and other facilities at Saint Ronan's Well; and then,

he sent positive orders for the demolition of the whole, nor would he permit the existence of any house of entertainment on his estate, except that in the Aulton, where Mrs Dods reigns with undisputed sway, her temper by no means improved either by time, or by the total absence of competition.

Why Mr Mowbray, with his acquired habits of frugality, thus destroyed a property which might have produced a considerable income, no one could pretend to affirm. Some said that he remembered his own early follies; and others, that he connected the buildings with the misfortunes of his sister. [...]

The little watering-place has returned to its primitive obscurity; and lions and lionesses, with their several jackals, blue surtouts, and bluer stockings, fiddlers and dancers, painters and amateurs, authors and critics, dispersed like pigeons by the demolition of a dove-cot, have sought other scenes of amusement and rehearsal, and have deserted SAINT RONAN'S WELL. (372)

The novel itself closes with these paragraphs.

In Scott's historical fiction, while local and traditional manners are dealt with as ethnographic 'illustrations' or historical records, the new mode of life, or 'progress', in conjunction with new political and economical patterns, tends to get the upper hand. In *Saint Ronan's Well*, in contrast, the fashionable manners of the customers of the Fox Hotel are depicted rather with satire and caricature, and in the end the Hotel itself is pulled down. In that respect, the Hotel serves as a temporary stage set up by the author to enact the "scenes of amusement and rehearsal" of a fashionable watering place, as the novel is full of theatrical references, including the episode of the *tableau-vivant* of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* performed by the Wellers<sup>11</sup>.

Also, it is worth noting that, the Fox Hotel being constructed by the tontine subscription on the site developed by "a speculative builder", the owner- or manager-figure of the Hotel does not appear at all in the novel. The contrast with the locally based Cleikum Inn and its formidable landlady also enhances the anonymous and speculative nature of the business. The projects of Saint Ronan's Well and the Fox Hotel do point to a new and modern way of business in parallel with the commercialization of the land in ventures like health resorts; but, rather than allowing them to pursue their futures, the novel recovers the former state of the land and patronizes the old Cleikum in its rather moralistic ending as part of the main story, following the tragic death of Clara.

Perhaps we should look at other places in thinking about the future of Saint Ronan's (Well), for instance, "the title and estates of Etherington" which "lie vacant for his [=Francis'] acceptance" (317). Although the novel mentions as village hearsay the possibility that Francis entered into a Moravian mission, his subsequent movements are actually uncertain. Arguing in the context of the transformation of the romance genre, Miranda Burgess describes Francis as a 'new' type of Scott's hero:

Having lost both his love and his desire for revenge, Francis is a man without ties: a free agent rather than a family man. When Valentine's death frees his title and the right to his lands, Francis occupies neither. Instead he goes into the world as an itinerant poet and painter, dependent for a living on cultural production. Few readers of *The Bride of Lammermoor* can be surprised by the collapse of primogeniture in this

conclusion, but the hero's artistic profession and his self-sufficient survival are new. They mark the beginning of an explicitly modern kind of romance, in which history is over, primogeniture irrelevant, and legitimacy relocated in aesthetic production and consumption<sup>12)</sup>.

While the estates which lie vacant keep the future of the land open, Francis' profession may signify a new possibility of an artistic or commercial relationship with the land, as in the cooperation of literature in land business, as Burgess suggests.

Moreover, a kind of transformation or "reformation" of Saint Ronan's itself seems to be already underway through the instrumentality of the "Cleikum Nabob", Peregrine S. Touchwood. Coming back from the East as a wealthy merchant, Touchwood stays at the Cleikum and his ever energetic nature makes him embark on putting the Manse in order and, accomplishing a wonderful reformation there, "aspires to universal dominion in the Aulton of Saint Ronan's" (255). His initiative and activity may remind us of those of Mrs Mason's in Elizabeth Hamilton's *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808), but while Mrs Mason proceeds by presenting good examples and school education based on Christian principles, we are told that the Cleikum Nabob's talisman "consisted partly in small presents, partly in constant attention" (255) and the "means by which such reformation was effected were [...] money and admonition" (256).

In other words, Touchwood is a person who both introduces and tries to diffuse new sets of values and relationships into the old community of Saint Ronan's, as well as "some new doctrine in culinary matters" (143) with recipes like curries and muligatawny. We may imagine the possibility that, inspired by that kind of leadership and innovation, the inhabitants of Saint Ronan's may tackle its desolation some day. In the meantime, this possibility should give us the opportunity to examine what happened to Innerleithen, one of the supposed models for Saint Ronan's Well, after the publication of the novel. Scott mentions the place in terms of the 'revival' of Saint Ronan's in a note to the Magnum Opus edition.

In addition to Scott's habitual practice of adopting various 'sources' in his fiction, the actual identification of the Cleikum Inn and the Fox Hotel with their prototypes, as we have seen, must have encouraged the search for that of Saint Ronan's Well. In

fact, several places, including Gilsland and Moffat, seemed to have been suggested<sup>13</sup>, but it was Innerleithen, a small village in the Borders, that officially claimed the title. We would like to examine here how Innerleithen developed its spa business based on Scott connections, and then established its own local identity, putting life into Scott's story. In a note to the last word of the Magnum Opus edition of *Saint Ronan's Well*, Scott tells us under the heading of 'Meg Dods' as follows:

*Non omnis moriar.* Saint Ronan's, since this veracious history was given to the public, has revived as a sort of *alias*, or second title, to the very pleasant village of Inverleithen [=Innerleithen] upon Tweed, where there is a medicinal spring much frequented by visitors. Prizes for some of the manly and athletic sports, common in the pastoral districts around, are competed for under the title of the Saint Ronan's Games. [...] <sup>14</sup>

On the history of this medicinal spring, an entry of the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845) rather elusively states:

The mineral spring at Innerleithen has become of late years greatly frequented. It was formerly called the Dow-well, from the circumstance, that long before the healing virtues of water were discovered, pigeons from the neighbouring country resorted to it. Had it been known in ancient times as a medicinal water, without doubt the Roman Catholic clergy would have taken advantage of the fact, and dedicated it to some saint. [...] Its celebrity, however, increased, and a few years ago, Lord Traquair, the proprietor of the village, erected a neat and commodious building at the mineral spring, with a verandah in front, from which the water is served out to the visitors.)  
[...] These waters, which have now rendered Innerleithen a place of fashionable resort, have long been celebrated for the cure of old wounds, diseases of the eyes, and for relieving stomach and bilious complaints; though these effects are no doubt partly attributable to the pure air and dry climate of the situation<sup>15</sup>.

The Dow-well, the former name of the spring, and the circumstance it derived from explained here, remind us of the last passage of the novel.

On the other hand, it is also noticeable that, although it refers to both the recently

increased celebrity of the spring and the building which Lord Traquair erected a few years before (actually in 1826), the entry, written by two local Presbyterian ministers, fails to mention Saint Ronan's Well, as the name of either Scott's fiction or the renamed spring. As to this, the following explanation by J. G. Lockhart, Scott's biographer, is perhaps a little more straightforward:

it [=Saint Ronan's Well] was rapturously hailed by the inhabitants of Innerleithen, who immediately identified the most striking of its localities with those of their own pretty village of picturesque neighbourhood, and foresaw in this celebration a chance of restoring the popularity of their long neglected *Well*; [...] The notables of the little town voted by acclamation that the old name of Innerleithen should be, as far as possible, dropped thenceforth, and that of St Ronan's adopted. Nor were they mistaken in their auguries. An unheard-of influx of water-bidders forthwith crowned their hopes; and spruce *hottles* and huge staring lodging-houses soon arose to disturb woefully every association that had induced Sir Walter to make Innerleithen the scene of a romance. Nor were they who profited by these invasions of the *genius loci* at all sparing in their demonstrations of gratitude. The traveler reads on the corner of every new erection there, *Abbotsford Place*, *Waverley Row*, *The Marmion Hotel*, or some inscription of the like coinage<sup>16)</sup>.

So the spring of Innerleithen, if not the whole village, was renamed as Saint Ronan's Well and started its new life. Lockhart then goes on to describe the Saint Ronan's Border Games, presided by James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, and later joined by Scott himself and other celebrities.

In relation to the thus renewed popularity of Saint Ronan's Well as a health resort, the *New Statistical Account* states that "the number of lodgers in the village for the benefit of the waters in the course of the summer 1832 was no less than 1438" when the number of persons residing in the village at the time of March 1834 was 447<sup>17)</sup>. More interestingly, the entry under the heading of "*Amusements of the People*" also reads as follows:

The gay loungers at the watering-place came habitually to take interest in the games;

and in 1827 forty-two noblemen, knights, and gentlemen joined in instituting an annual competition for prizes in all gymnastic exercises; an annual sum being subscribed for defraying the expenses. The records of the St Ronan's Club (as it is called) show that the young men of the village have carried off their share at least of the honours of awarded<sup>18)</sup>.

Examining the growth of Bridge of Allan in Central Scotland as a health resort in the 19th century, Alastair Durie points out as essential factors the "patronage of local landowners", "resort promotion by way of favourable newspaper and periodical articles", and "the essential provision of amenities, amusement and entertainment"<sup>19)</sup>. When we consider the case of Saint Ronan's Well in Innerleithen in terms of these factors, the patronage of the Earl of Traquair, who built a pumphouse at the Well in 1826, has already been mentioned, and the Saint Ronan's Border Games seem to have provided the place with part of entertainment for visitors along with beautiful walks, fishing in nearby rivers, and, later, golf courses<sup>20)</sup>. As for 'resort promotion', arguably Saint Ronan's Well in Innerleithen had Scott's novel as a kind of 'advertiser' in advance, and afterwards as well, in the form of the note to the Magnum Opus edition.

In thinking about the part played by Scott's novel as an 'advertiser', we would like to go back to the first edition of *Saint Ronan's Well*. In this 1823/24 edition, after the printer's imprint page following the last page of the novel, comes, instead of that note about Innerleithen, which obviously cannot possibly be there: "IN THE PRESS, / And speedily will be published, BY ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH, / AN ACCOUNT OF / THE SEIGE OF PROTEMAIS, [...] BY / THE REV. JOSIAH CARGILL, / Minister of the Gospel at St Ronan's." This 'announcement of a forthcoming book' is then immediately followed by the catalogue of actual "WORKS, / PUBLISHED / BY ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. / EDINBURGH"<sup>21)</sup>, which consists of novels by 'the Author of Waverley' and the poetical works of Sir Walter Scott.

Of course, Scott here enjoys his usual play with readers; but, not to mention the half-avowedly recognized relationship between 'the Author of Waverley' and Walter Scott, or even their identification, in the above list of publications, the mock 'advertisement' of the book written by Josiah Cargill, one of the main characters of *Saint*

*Ronan's Well*, placed just between the main text and the catalogue, seems to tell us much about the nature of Scott's works and Scott himself as author and publisher. One of them may be Scott's (much talked about) positive attitude towards and active involvement with the commercial potential of his fiction. It also should remind us of the strong influence of Scott's fiction as 'mass media', with a highly impressive 9,800 as the number of the initial printing of *Saint Ronan's Well*, while in the case of the Magnum Opus edition, sold in monthly installments with a much cheaper price of 5 shillings per volume, the figure was increased to 30,000 copies or more<sup>22)</sup>. In addition to book reviews in periodical magazines and popular chapbook or dramatized versions of Scott's works (Scott himself wrote an epilogue to the dramatized version of *Saint Ronan's Well*, which was performed in Edinburgh in 1824)<sup>23)</sup> must have served as a kind of advertisement of his fiction, and, in this case, of *Saint Ronan's Well* in Innerleithen as well.

Thus, an article reporting the opening ceremony of the renovated Saint Ronan's Wells in 1896 in a local newspaper called *St. Ronan's Standard* runs: "The Wells, [...] have been immortalised by Sir Walter Scott, and were famous in the earlier part of this century for their medicinal and curative properties, and were visited by people from all parts in search of health." The article also tells us that the renovation was made necessary because of a falling off in popularity of the original spa, caused by the mingling of ordinary surface water with the Wells water, and then describes the advantages of the Wells as "a first-rate health resort" with the details of the ceremony in which its attendants quoting Meg Dods' phrases more than once<sup>24)</sup>. This enterprise of the Wells was newly undertaken by a company called St. Ronan's Wells and Mineral Water Company, which purchased the property, and a bottling plant was also built to produce and sell bottled water of the Wells.

Although inaugurated rather splendidly, the company's enterprise does not seem to have prospered very long, perhaps partly owing to the general decline of the spa business in Scotland. *St. Ronan's Standard*, the local weekly newspaper which carried the above article, on the other hand, serves as another good example and witness of Scott's novel's reception in Innerleithen, apart from the Wells business, for the paper abounds with references to St. Ronan's as in St. Ronan's Brass Band, St. Ronan's Bowling Club, St. Ronan's Angling Club, or a whisky called St. Ronan's Blend, 'The

St. Ronan's Stationery Box' (a set of notepaper and envelopes with local views) or 'The St. Ronan's Packet of Collotype Views', not to mention the St. Ronan's Border Games and the title of the paper itself. In fact, 'Letters to the Editor' are sometimes signed as 'a St. Ronansite', and the inhabitants of Innerleithen are addressed as 'St. Ronansites' by the editor. Innerleithen may not have changed its name, but it seems that the town has adopted the name of Saint Ronan's as far as possible, just as Lockhart had written before. Moreover, it is perhaps not the name alone that the town has embraced, for Scott is obviously not the kind of author who picks up a name but leaves its origin or history untold. Innerleithen seems to have taken on the historical association of St. Ronan, a saint whose "veracious legend" was briefly mentioned in Scott's novel, and has vividly lived with it.

According to *Saint Ronan's Well*, Meg Dods' inn was "marked by a huge sign, representing on the one side Saint Ronan catching hold of the devil's game-leg with his Episcopal crook, as the story may be read in his veracious legend, and on the other the Mowbray arms" (5); hence the name of the Inn, the Cleikum, which means 'hook him'. Later, we learn in Meg Dods' words,

that there "could be nae ill in the water itsell, but maybe some gude—it was only the New Inn, and the daft havrels that they ca'd the Company, that she misliked. Folk had a jest that Saint Ronan dookit the Deevil in the waal, which gar'd it taste aye since of brimstone—but she dared say that was a' papist nonsense, for she was tell't by him that kenned weel, and that was the minister himsell, that Saint Ronan was nane of your idolatrous Roman saints, but a Chaldee, (meaning probably a Culdee,) whilk was doubtless a very different story". (141)

So goes the (combined) legend of Saint Ronan, a Celtic monk, who hooked the devil's leg with his crook and ducked him in the well to render its water sulphurous and medicinal.

In 1901, in Innerleithen at the turn of the last century, the already long established Saint Ronan's Border Games were joined by a performance called "the Cleikum Ceremonies", in which the above story of Saint Ronan dealing with the devil is enacted by schoolchildren of Innerleithen. More than a century later, an article in a local news-

paper reporting St Ronan's Border Games 2007 reads: "The newly spruced-up Wells takes its name from Patron Saint, St Ronan and many of Innerleithen's local ceremonies have been woven round the fabric of his life"<sup>25</sup>). Now one hundred and eighty years after the very first Games were held, there is no reference to Scott or his novel in this six page special of the Games; instead, it is packed with past festivals' memories told by participants. This fact demonstrates that Innerleithen has firmly built up its identity as St Ronan's town in its continued efforts and practices to keep up the tradition of the annually held Games, and has put life into its Patron Saint. Thus Scott's Saint Ronan (and his Well) has been made alive and real by those who involved in imagining and promoting Innerleithen, until it has been entirely integrated into local history and identity.

This may be part of the reason why F. Marian McNeill (1885-1973) assertively states that "St. Ronan's is in fact Innerleithen, in the county of Peebles", convincingly referring to the St. Ronan's Border Games and the Ceremonies in the footnotes to her *Scots Kitchen* (1929)<sup>26</sup>). Moreover, this book on Scottish cookery, beginning with the chapter of 'I. INTRODUCTORY: INSTITUTION OF THE CLEIKUM CLUB', is yet another example of an active and imaginative relationship between Scott's fiction and, this time, his fellow authors.

*Saint Ronan's Well*, featuring the contemporary manners of a fashionable watering place, led to two interesting publications at different times. An exploration of these will illustrate the way in which Scott's fiction worked as an inspiration for his contemporaries even in fields other than literature, and how it was 'reused' later to reexamine Scottish tradition and culture.

Scott's note to the last word of *Saint Ronan's Well* in Magnum Opus edition we quoted earlier does not actually end there, but continues as follows:

Nay, Meg Dods has produced herself of late from obscurity as authoress of a work on Cookery, of which, in justice to a lady who makes so distinguished a figure as this excellent dame, we insert the title-page:

"The Cook and Housewife's Manual: A Practical System of Modern Domestic

Cookery and Family Management.

[...]

By Mistress Margaret Dods, of the Cleikum Inn, St Ronan's."

Though it is rather unconnected with our immediate subject, we cannot help adding, that Mrs Dods has preserved the recipes of certain excellent old dishes which we would loath should fall into oblivion in our day; and in bearing this testimony, we protest that we are no way biased by the receipt of two bottles of excellent sauce for cold meat, which were sent to us by the said Mrs Dods, as a mark of her respect and regard, for which we return her our unfeigned thanks, having found them capital<sup>27)</sup>.

We may be tempted to think of this cookery book as another fictional one, like that of Josiah Cargill's, as Scott playfully mentions "two bottles of excellent sauce" given by Meg Dods. The book is in fact a real one, written by Christian Isobel Johnstone (1781-1857), employing Meg Dods as pseudonym, of which the fifth edition, in turn, inserts the extracts of the above note of Scott's as part of "Critical Notices of Former Edition of This Work"<sup>28)</sup>.

The first edition of *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*, which was published in 1826 and ran into more than fifteen editions during the 19th century, mainly consists of two Parts. In Part I we find sections called 'INTRODUCTORY HISTORY' and 'Culinary Lectures', together constituting a 'sequel' to *Saint Ronan's Well*, in which a club called the Cleikum Club is founded by Peregrine Touchwood "to teach his fair countrywomen the mystery of preparing culinary devils of all denomination; besides *soups*, *ragouts*, *sauces*, and the whole circle of the arts of domestic economy, — an entirely new system, in short, of rational, practical cookery"<sup>29)</sup>. Part I also includes sections titled 'Scotch National Dishes' and 'Miscellaneous National Dishes' and others. Part II contains various recipes and household hints studded with footnotes, in which Touchwood and other characters from *Saint Ronan's Well* comment on food and dishes, rather as in Scott's fiction. In the second edition, the book is divided into more Parts; and a "Final Sederunt of the Cleikum Club", in the form of a witty dramatic dialogue joined by 'a reviewer' from the South, is added as the last section of the book.

With Touchwood as a 'reformer' and his 'new doctrine in culinary matters' alone,

*Saint Ronan's Well* would have been an inevitable choice for Johnstone, who wishes “to promote the diffusion of rational knowledge” of culinary science<sup>30</sup>. Her choice of Scott's fiction and the above-mentioned insert of the extract from Scott's note may also suggest the overlapping of the readership of the Magnum Opus edition and Johnstone's *Manual*, of which the object is “to make this little volume comprehend every thing to which the mistress of any family, in the numerous gradations of middle life, needs to refer”<sup>31</sup>. Another interesting thing about this ‘sequel’ is, however, that the Club is joined by Dr Redgill, a character from Susan Ferrier (1782-1854)'s *Marriage* (1818), who is fleetingly mentioned as ‘a gastronome’ in *Saint Ronan's Well*. Johnstone thus follows the lead of Scott, who also refers in this contemporary novel to Dick Tinto, a painter who appears in the introductory chapter to *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and to Tobias Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* (1751), after which Touchwood tells us he was named, inviting other authors to join his play with imaginary characters.

Referring to Johnstone's use of characters from Scott's and Ferrier's fiction and Scott's influence on the sales of Johnstone's *Manual*, Pam Perkins writes, “Yet this commercialism in turn suggests the very real cultural impact of Scottish writing; as Scott accepts his role as advertiser, cheerfully endorsing the bottles of sauce supposedly made by his own fictional creation, he is also implicitly demonstrating that he and his contemporaries are not just imagining or even describing Scottish culture in their fiction: they are also helping to create it”<sup>32</sup>. While this comment may remind us of the relationship between Innerleithen and Saint Ronan's Well(s) as an example of another kind of ‘creation’, it also turns our attention to the collective cultural practice of Scottish authors of this period and the role played by Scott there. Works like Johnstone's and Ferrier's were engaged in describing various cultures within contemporary Britain and articulating Scottish cultural differences, comparing different national manners of the time. Scott's works, which were also deeply interested in Scottish traditions and cultural differences in Britain and, at the same time, ranged widely both in historical and geographical terms, in turn provided a larger context to put these works together. His enormous commercial success also seems to have helped ‘promote’ other authors' works and the Scotland represented there as well.

As far as *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* is concerned, however, a closer examination of its later editions reveals that it gets more general and comprehensive, or ‘in-

ternational', and perhaps becomes less 'Scottish'. For instance, the second edition incorporates 'Scotch National Dishes' into 'National Dishes, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, German, and Oriental', and the tenth edition in 1854 drops the expression '*Soupe à la Meg Merrilies*' as a subtitle to a poacher's soup. In fact, Johnstone herself in the largely revised and enlarged fourth edition recommends "those who use this book as a Manual of Cookery" to skip the "perusal of the prefatory remarks to the chapters"<sup>33)</sup> and of notes or references connected with the recipes. Interestingly, though, this tendency is reversed in the above-mentioned F. Marian McNeill's *Scots Kitchen*, published at the time of the Scottish Renaissance in the early 20th century, when interest in the history and traditions of Scotland deepened with Scottish national consciousness in a new phase.

*The Scots Kitchen* can be partly regarded as a sequel to Johnstone's project. It begins with an excellent summary of *The Cook and Housewife's Manual's* 'INTRODUCTORY' section, that story of the institution of the Cleikum Club, and acknowledges Johnstone's authorship in footnotes, which also faithfully take over the typography of the *Manual*. However, in the 'Preface' to *the Scots Kitchen*, McNeill states, rather differently from Johnstone, that the object of the book is

not to provide a complete compendium of Scottish Cookery, ancient or modern [...] but rather to preserve the recipes of our old national dishes, many of which, in this age of standardization, are in danger of falling into an undeserved oblivion. Recipes available in contemporary Scottish cookery books are as a rule omitted, unless hallowed by age or sentiment.

All parts of the country, from the Shetlands to the Borders, have been levied, and all types of kitchen, from Old Holyrood to island sheiling. A few of the simple folk recipes collected in Orkney and the Hebrides have, I believe, never before been published<sup>34)</sup>.

This remark echoes Scott's well-known comments in the 'Postscript, which should have been a Preface' in *Waverley*, in which he refers to Scotland undergoing an 'innovating' change during the last half century and states his purpose of "preserving some idea of the ancient manners" of which he had witnessed "the almost total extinction"<sup>35)</sup>. It also reminds us of his 'General Preface' to the *Waverley Novels*. He claims

there that he possesses an “intimate acquaintance with the subject”, as a person “having travelled through most parts of Scotland, both Highland and Lowland; having been familiar with the elder, as well as more modern race; and having had [...] free and unrestrained communication with all ranks” of his countrymen<sup>36)</sup>. About a century after the publication of *Waverley*, but with a similar ‘preservation’ objective in view in another age of ‘standardization’, the first part of *The Scots Kitchen* is entitled as ‘An Historical Sketch’, and following the summary of Johnstone’s Cleikum Club comes a sketch of the culinary history of Scotland. McNeill quotes lavishly from Scott’s fiction in this sketch, as examples of “an *al fresco* kitchen on the shores of Loch Tay” (42) in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1828), “an aristocratic menu of somewhat later period” (63) in *The Bride of Lammermoor*, descriptions of Scottish breakfasts from *Old Mortality* and *Waverley*, as well as one from Susan Ferrier’s *Marriage*. Meg Dods’ numerous recipes and episodes from *The Cook and Household’s Manual* form the greater part of the following ‘Recipes’ and ‘Miscellaneous’ parts, which also include a scene from *Guy Mannering* in which Meg Merrilies cooks a stew.

Thus if Johnstone’s book as product of the age of enlightenment and improvement responds more to ‘some new cookery doctrine’ of Touchwood, who upholds “an axiom that his [= man’s] progress in civilization has kept exact pace with the degree of refinement he may have attained in the science of gastronomy”<sup>37)</sup>, McNeill, as a folklorist at the time of the Scottish Renaissance, once again highlights the ethnographic aspect of the *Waverley* Novels, citing them in ‘Sources of Recipes’ section as the only fictional works among cookery books, along with Martin Martin’s *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703) and *New Statistical Account of Scotland*. Moreover, while the later editions of Johnstone’s *Manual* becomes less ‘Scottish’ and more practically comprehensive, McNeill’s cookery book gets more traditional and Scottish in the second edition, including “a good deal more about the history and traditions of the Scots kitchen”<sup>38)</sup>, and adding more extracts from Scottish fiction, written by Scott and others. Still later, we find the ‘Index to Recipes’ section of the book is followed by the publisher’s list of ‘Books of Scottish interest’, including Alasdair Gray’s *Lanark* (1981), in a paperback edition reprinted in 1989, at the time of another ‘Scottish Renaissance’ in literature of the 20th century. The publisher’s list is then followed by lists of Scottish guides and cookery handbooks.

Perhaps here again we witness another spin-off of Scott's *Saint Ronan's Well*, in imagining and promoting Scotland. While Scott 'immortalized' the Cleikum Inn and Marion Ritchie in *Saint Ronan's Well*, his only contemporary novel, Innerleithen, celebrating the 180th St Ronan's Border Games in 2007, has materialized the story and spirit of its patron saint and keeps them alive. On the other hand, Johnstone, one of Scott's contemporaries, adapted characters from the novel in her own attempt to gain the attention of "the lovers of what is called 'light reading'" to "that which they may consider a vulgar and unimportant art"<sup>39</sup>. McNeill's *Scots Kitchen*, which refashioned Johnstone's book to emphasize Scottish culinary tradition as a national inheritance and is still being reprinted as a classic of the genre, reintroduces Scott's and his fellow authors' novels to readers of the 21st century. In both cases, fact and fiction within and outwith *Saint Ronan's Well* infiltrate each other to have a lasting influence on aspects of Scottish culture today. To that extent, we can argue, Scott's fiction is still actively engaged, and engages us, in the interaction between the real and the imagined in the Scottish community.

## Notes

This is a revised and enlarged version of the paper given at the annual conference of Jane Austen Society of Japan, held on June 30, 2007 at Meiji Gakuin University, Tokyo.

1 ) For Scott and tourism, see John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995); John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720-1820* (London: Macmillan, 1997 ), Alastair J. Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: A History of Tourism in Scotland, 1780-1939* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914, Creating Caledonia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). As for an example of the interaction of Scott's fiction and Scottish cultural memory, see Ann Rigney, "Portable Monument: Literature, Cultural Memory, and the Case of Jeanie Deans", *Poetics Today*, 25:2 (Summer 2004), pp. 361-391.

2 ) Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p.3.

3 ) Walter Scott, *Saint Ronan's Well* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995; first

- published in 1823/24), p. 2. ; henceforth, SRW; EEWN. Hereafter, page references for this edition are shown in parentheses after each quotation.
- 4) William Chambers, *A History of Peeblesshire* (Edinburgh and London: William and Robert Chambers, 1864); James Walter Buchan, *A History of Peeblesshire*, vol. II (Glasgow: Jackson, Wyle and Co., 1925); W. S. Crockett, *Scott Originals: An Account of Notables & Worthies the Originals of Characters in the Waverley Novels* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific, 2003; originally published in 1912), especially Chapters XIX and XX.
  - 5) "The Cross Keys Hotel: 17th Century Coaching House of Sir Walter Scott", a flyer given at the hotel by the present owner.
  - 6) Rhona Wilson, *Old Peebles* (Catrine: Stenlake Publishing, 1998), p. 19. For a longer version of the description, see Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 286.
  - 7) Chambers, *op. cit.*, p.275.
  - 8) Wilson, *op. cit.*, p.17.
  - 9) Walter Scott, *Waverley Novels*, Vols. XXXIII, XXXIV (*St. Ronan's Well*; Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1833, Final Revised Edition), Vol. XXXIII, p. x; J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*, 10 vols (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1882), Vol. VII, pp. 206-208.
  - 10) Scott, SRW; EEWN, p. 444. As for the main story, see also John W. Cairns, "The Noose Hidden Under Flowers: Marriage and Law in *Saint Ronan's Well*", *Legal History*, 16.3, December 1995, pp. 234-255; Robert P. Irvine, Gender and the Place of Culture in Scott's *Saint Ronan's Well*", *Scottish Studies Review*, 2.1, Spring 2001, pp. 46-64; Tara Ghoshal Wallace, "Walter Scott and Feminine Discourse: The Case of *St. Ronan's Well*". *The Journal of Narrative Technique*, 19.2, Spring, 1989, pp. 233-247, and for the setting, David Chandler, "Scott's *Saint Ronan's Well* and Wordsworth's 'Hart-Leap Well' ". *Notes and Queries*, June 2004, pp. 152-157.
  - 11) According to Chambers, a group of prisoners of war stayed in the Tontine Hotel in 1810 and set up a private theatre, "in which they enlivened the town by performing gratuitously some of the plays of Corneille and Molière" (Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 277).
  - 12) Miranda Burgess, *British Fiction and the Production of Social Order, 1740-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 225.
  - 13) Scott, SRW; EEWN, p. 451.
  - 14) Scott, *Waverley Novels*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 358.
  - 15) *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. III, Roxburgh-Peebles-Selkirk (Edinburgh

- and London: William Blackwood, 1845) pp. 26-27.
- 16) Lockhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-210. For the change in Innerleithen in the wake of the publication of the novel and the early history of the Saint Ronan's Border Games, see also, Buchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-433; Thomas Dobson, *Reminiscences of Innerleithen and Traquair* (Innerleithen: R. Smail & Sons, 1896), Chap. X; Alex F. Young, *Old Innerleithen, Walkerburn and Traquair* (Catrine: Stenlake Publishing, 2004).
  - 17) *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. III, p.31.
  - 18) *Ibid.*
  - 19) Durie, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99. There is also a passing reference to St Ronan's Well and Scott (p. 89).
  - 20) As for the 'amenities and entertainment' in Saint Ronan's Well, see also "Opening of St. Ronan's Mineral Wells", *The St. Ronan's Standard and Effective Advertiser* (Innerleithen, 1893-1916), No. 176, September 16, 1896, pp. 3-4. I am indebted to the staff at Robert Smail's Printing Works, National Trust for Scotland, High Street, Innerleithen, for this information. According to the toasts given by attendants reported in this article, amenities and entertainment in Saint Ronan's Well more or less correspond to those of a fashionable spa of the period discussed in Durie, *op. cit.*
  - 21) Walter Scott, *Saint Ronan's Well*, Vol. III (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1824[23]), [p. 325], [pp. 326-328].
  - 22) William B. Todd and Ann Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History, 1796-1832* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), p. 591, p.886.
  - 23) See, for example, Philip Bolton, *Scott Dramatized* (Mansell: London and New York, 1992). As for Scott's epilogue to *Saint Ronan's Well*, see Barbara Bell and John Ramage, "Meg Dods: Before the Curtain", *International Journal of Scottish Theatre*, 1.2, 2000.
  - 24) *St. Ronan's Standard*, "Opening of St. Ronan's Mineral Wells", *op. cit.* "The Well" was renamed to "the Wells" by this time because they found more springs there. Letters from readers complaining of the closing of the Wells on Sundays in subsequent issues of the paper (No. 177, 178, 179, 181) seem to share in a general problem among Scottish spas of the time (See, Durie, *op. cit.*) For the St. Ronan's Wells and Mineral Water Company, see Buchan, *op. cit.*, p. 438, and "Report and balance-sheet of "St. Ronan's Wells" and Mineral Water Company (Limited), 1895-1904". As for *St. Ronan's Standard*, see also, Ian Boyer, *Robert Smail's Printing Works* (Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland, 1990).

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- 25) "180 years of wee toun's festival", St Ronan's Border Games 2007, *Peeblesshire News*, July 27, 2007, pp. 11-16 (p. 11). For "the Cleikum Ceremonies", see Ted McKie and Keith Belleville, *The Cleikum Ceremonies, 1901-2001* (Innerleithen: St. Ronan's Border Games Committee, 2001); Young, *op. cit.*
- 26) F. Marian McNeill, *The Scots Kitchen: Its Traditions and Lore with Old-time Recipes* (London and Glasgow: Blackie, 1929), p. 5, p. 7. Other works by McNeill include *The Scots Cellar* (1989) and *The Silver Bough*, 4 vols. (1957-68).
- 27) Scott, *Waverley Novels*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 358-359.
- 28) Christian Isobel Johnstone, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual: A Practical System of Modern Domestic Cookery and Family Management*, [...] *By Mrs Margaret Dods, of the Cleikum Inn, St Ronan's*, fifth edition (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1833), p. 474. As for Johnstone as novelist and journalist, see Carol Anderson and Aileen M. Riddell, "The Other Great Unknowns; Women Ficton Writers of the Early Nineteenth Century", in Douglas Gifford and Dorothy Mcmillan, eds., *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 179-195, and Ralph Jessop, "Viragos of the Periodical Press: Constance Gordon-Cumming, Charlotte Dempster, Margaret Oliphant, Christian Isobel Johnstone", in Gifford and McMillan eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 216-231.
- 29) *The Cook and Housewife's Manual; containing the most Approved Modern Receipts* [...] *By Mrs Margaret Dods, of the Cleikum Inn, St Ronan's* (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, and Oliver & Boyd, [...], 1826), p.14. The flyer given by the present owner of the Cross Keys Hotel in Peebles, "The Cross keys Hotel: 17th Century Coaching House of Sir Welter Scott", tells us that 'the Cleikum Club, a monthly meeting of gentry who enjoyed good food and wine was founded' at the time of Marion Ritchie's management.
- 30) Johnstone, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*, first edition, p.8.
- 31) *Ibid.*
- 32) Pam Perkins, "A Taste for Scottish Fiction: Christian Isobel Johnstone's *Cook and Housewife's Manual*", *European Romantic Review*, 11, 2000, pp. 248-58 (p. 249). See also, Andrew Monnickendam, "Eating Your Words: Plate and Nation in Meg Dods's *The Cook*

*and Housewife's Manual* (1826)", *Scottish Studies Review*, 6. 1, Spring 2005, pp. 33-42.

- 33) Johnstone, *The Cook and Household Manual*, fourth edition (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1829), p.iv.
- 34) McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. vii.
- 35) Walter Scott, *Waverley; or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 1986), p. 340.
- 36) *Ibid.*, p.353
- 37) Johnstone, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*, first edition, p.32.
- 38) F. Marian McNeill, *The Scots Kitchen*, second edition (London: Grafton Books, 1974; originally published in 1963), p. 7.
- 39) Johnstone, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual*, first edition, p. 7.