Waverley Women

Scott, Women and the Romance of the Archive

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THESIS SUMMARY

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This thesis hinges on one main problem: Walter Scott was faced with a fundamental difficulty in writing historical fiction that plausibly portrayed women's experience of historical change, as the representation of women, especially women of the Middle Ages, is largely missing from written historical records. In choosing as part of the subtitle of the thesis 'the romance of the archive' I wish to point to Scott's main strategy in devising female characters that are shown to be affected by the sweeping historical changes that are central to all of his novels. Not only did Scott attempt to create female characters based on exemplary historical figures, but he also created female characters that reveal something about the time in which they are placed, and about what it was like to live as a woman in past times. This necessarily involved presenting history as something other than a narrative about political events that for the most part women were affected by but not involved in directly. Scott's innovation in the genre of historical fiction is to move 'his narrative out of known into relatively unknown and uninterpreted historical spaces'[1] and to explore what might be found in the 'interstices left by official history'[2] by 'uncovering the "singular" stories inevitably lost in the generalizing sweep of standard narrative history.'[3] It is this practice that I am calling Scott's romance of the archive. This thesis is interested in Scott's own 'romantic research,' as he called it, as technique, in following the traces of the archive in order to

[1] Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 201.
[2] Ferris, 204.
[3] Ferris, 205.

simulate fictional communities and peripheral figures – women and outlaws, for example – that are not represented in the archive.

This shift from 'stately' to 'idiomatic' historical discourse is crucial to the ways in which Scott is able to represent women in historical fiction. I hope to show that Scott attempted to represent a version of history that was inclusive of women's experiences of historical change, despite a general lack of interest from his contemporaries in women's roles and the circumstances unique to their gender that arise out of the traumatic events of history.

In examining the ways in which Scott wrote women out of historical obscurity and into the historical literary tradition, I will also be addressing his method. Scott attempted to represent his female characters as historically plausible, and when he was unable to do so for paucity of information, he constructed from various sources what might be termed an analogue or simulation of a historically authentic female character. As such, I have limited the study to the female characters which are the focus of a sharpening of anxiety on Scott's part in writing women into history. Also, I explore two pivotal novels – *Waverley* and *Ivanhoe* – in greater detail than the other novels, and present these sections as case studies that show the ways in which Scott was faced with the task of creating female historical characters out of inadequate archival material. It is the aim of this thesis, then, to show how Scott wrote women into a historical-literary tradition that would come to see them as agents and subjects of change alongside men.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Melinda Graefe, 4 November 2016

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Sections of this thesis have been presented at conferences: the chapter on Scott's *Bizarro* was developed out of a paper presented at the 'Taking Liberties' conference at Newcastle University, UK (15-16 June 2012), and my discussion of Rebecca's costume was developed out of a paper presented at the 'Women and Nineteenth-Century Literature Conference' at the University of Wellington, NZ (23 January 2015). I am especially grateful to Professor Andrew Lynch, Professor Louise D'Arcens, and Dr Helen Bell for providing me with the opportunity to publish 'Negotiations of Nostalgia: Strangeness and Xenodochy in Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*' in their special edition of *postmedieval*, entitled 'The Medievalism of Nostalgia' (2.2, Summer 2011): in writing this paper I was able to explore ideas about Scott's unique medievalist vision. I was only able to attend the international conferences and workshops that allowed me to present my work in progress with the support of Professor Richard Maltby, who funded travel costs for attendance and archival fieldwork.

I am grateful to the academic community at Flinders University, both staff and postgraduate students, for their ongoing support, and to my friends for their generous offerings of inspiration, humour, and good company over the years it has taken to complete the thesis. Thanks to Associate Professor Giselle Bastin and Molly Murn for offering to cast an eye over sections of the thesis.

A special mention must be made of my parents, Margaret and Robert, who (over many years) have supported me in the utterly mystifying process of completing a thesis.

Finally, I extend my love and thanks to my husband, Craig, who, through patience, understanding and love, has brought new and fresh perspectives. You encourage me always to see a way through.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

For Robyn, light heroine

(1966-1989)

INTRODUCTION

Scott, Women and the Romance of the Archive[1]

Figure 1 John Faed, *Catherine Seyton and Roland Graeme from Walter Scott's 'Abbot'*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 20 x 30cm. Wolverhampton Art Gallery.

[1] 'The Romance of the Archive' is a term used by Suzanne Keen to describe the trope of literary detection in contemporary fiction; *Romances of the Archive in Contemporary British Fiction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

I 'That Female Must Have Had a History Worth Knowing': History and the Limits of Knowing Women's Histories

'A history without the imagination is a mutilated, disembodied history'.[2]

In *The Abbot*, Roland Græme, the young hero of the novel, finds himself admitted to a ruined mansion in the company of his 'grandmother' Magdalen who has guided him there. They are introduced into the house 'through a narrow entrance' by 'a pale thin female' who initially seems to be a servant, but who welcomes the travellers in her role as 'the mistress of the mansion'.[3] The two women embrace and '[speak] together a few words in private, during which he ha[s] leisure to remark more particularly the appearance of his grandmother's friend':

> Her age might be betwixt fifty and sixty; her looks had a mixture of melancholy and unhappiness, that bordered on discontent, and obscured the remains of beauty which age had still left on her features. Her dress was of the plainest and most ordinary sort, of a dark colour, and, like Magdalen Græme's, something approaching to a religious habit. Strict neatness, and cleanliness of person, seemed to intimate, that if poor, she was not reduced to squalid or heart-broken distress, and that she was still sufficiently attached to life to retain a taste for its decencies, if not its elegancies. Her manner, as well as her features and appearance, argued an original condition and education far above the meanness of her present appearance.[4]

[2] Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 5.

[3] Walter Scott, *The Abbot*, edited by Christopher Johnson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 75.

[4] Scott, *The Abbot*, 76.

With a detective's (or lawyer's) eye for detail, Roland constructs a profile of the woman's background based on details of her physical appearance. The room in which they meet is gloomy, the apertures that would normally have let in light are boarded up, and Magdalen has already warned him to not 'see with the eyes of the body' and to leave God to make judgements.[5] Nevertheless, Roland ignores his grandmother, and attempts to decipher and evaluate her friend's appearance; 'In short, the whole figure was such as to excite the idea, "That female must have had a history worth knowing"'.[6]

The initial conversation comes to an end, and Roland and Magdalen are then led 'through several winding passages and waste apartments' to a low-ceilinged room, 'the first he had observed in the mansion which was furnished with moveable seats', a table, a carpet on the floor, and a fire-grate in the chimney; 'in brief, the apartment had the air of being habitable and inhabited'.[7] At the table sits a girl, dressed in 'foreign fashion,' 'busily employed in repairing the piece of tapestry' which 'exhibited several deplorable fissures, enough to demand the utmost skill of the most expert seamstress'.[8] The air of mystery that is heightened by the gothic atmosphere – the gloomy and uninhabited rooms, the labyrinthine corridors that wind through the ruined nunnery, and the associations of Catholicism with decay and austerity – are all quickly parodied in a conversation that ensues between the girl who sits at the table, mending the tapestry, and Roland, who has been trying to observe every detail of her appearance while she has been thus occupied. After some initial awkwardness, as they have been left alone by the two matrons without a proper introduction, Roland suggests that they resort to a sort of game in order to get to know one another; 'Suppose', said Roland Græme, 'we should begin as in a tale-book, by asking each other's names and histories'. The girl, whose name is revealed to be Catherine Seyton, is keen on the idea, inviting Roland to 'unfold then your name and history, my new

[5] Scott, *The Abbot*, 75.
[6] Scott, *The Abbot*, 76.
[7] Scott, *The Abbot*, 78.
[8] Scott, *The Abbot*, 79.

acquaintance'.[9] And so Scott's hero and heroine are thrown together in circumstances out of their control, the historical events of the Reformation and later of Queen Mary's escape from imprisonment, and against the tapestry of these great events, their own 'histories' unfold and eventually unravel. Yet at this initial meeting, they must get at 'the dark parts of the story', the 'deplorable fissures' in their own private histories that are intricately entwined in the secret histories of others that they can only attempt to reconstruct out of the language of romance.

It transpires that Roland's guesswork about Magdalene's friend is correct. He has not misread the woman's appearance, and Scott later reveals to his readers that Magdalene's friend, Mother Bridget, was the abbess of the nunnery devoted to the Dominican St Catherine of Siena, until the heretics (or Protestants) 'turned all adrift'.[10] Mother Bridget lives alone in the ruined mansion with her 'daughter', the novice Catherine, from whom Roland receives this sad tale of the destruction of the nunnery and the dispersal of the sisters with 'the last year's snow',[11] a window onto the greater historical scene of the dissolution of the Scottish monasteries in the wake of Henry VIII's 'rough wooing' of Scotland. It is in this story and in its telling by Catherine that two concepts of history converge; what Ina Ferris has identified as 'standard' and 'idiomatic' history[12] can be seen at work in the way in which Catherine weaves her own idiomatic history into the standard history of Reformation Scotland, while she expertly weaves over the 'deplorable fissures' in the ancient tapestry.

I am suggesting, then, that the tapestry with its gaping holes is a synecdoche for a deplorably fissured historical record. In the scenes outlined here, Scott plays with the idea that a historical record will always be incomplete and imperfect, and that romance as a discourse is ideal for getting to the 'dark parts of the story'. As is highlighted in these scenes, it is the histories of women that are the most difficult to uncover, unfold, or to reconstruct. The individual

[9] Scott, *The Abbot*, 81.
[10] Scott, *The Abbot*, 85.
[11] Scott, *The Abbot*, 85.
[12] Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 196.

histories that once animated the nunnery with life have, with the sisters, flown 'east, north, south, and west' with 'the last year's snow'. Yet some life remains in the nunnery, in Catherine's apartment where she mends her tapestry and tells imperfect stories about the past to Roland. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that these scenes parallel Scott's own method of mending the deplorable fissures in the historical record with the threads of romance. The effect is pastiche (and Scott is famous for his historical pastiches), yet I would also like to draw attention to the gendering of this scene. Roland (a name which for Scott would have recalled in particular Orlando, the mad, love-struck and questing knight of Ariosto and Boiardo, a popular Italian Romance figure who was based ultimately on Roland, the hero of the early-medieval French *Chanson de Roland*)[13] seeks to know the histories of the women in the nunnery and to understand his own history in the context of these researches. What he finds are further fabrications; the limits of what he might 'know' about Mother Bridget are not defined by the discourses of history but of romance. In leaving the histories of the women at St Catherine of Siena's nunnery open-ended and directionless (east, north, south, and west) Scott reveals his own method in attempting to write the idiomatic into the standard version of history.

This thesis hinges on one main problem: Walter Scott was faced with a fundamental difficulty in writing historical fiction that plausibly portrayed women's experience of historical change, given that the representation of women, especially women of the Middle Ages, is largely missing from written historical records. In choosing as part of the subtitle of the thesis 'the romance of the archive' I wish to point to Scott's main strategy in devising female characters that are shown to be affected by the sweeping historical changes that are central to all of his novels. Not only did Scott attempt to create female characters based on exemplary historical figures (such as Mary Stuart and Elizabeth I), but he also created female characters that reveal something about the time in which they are placed, and about what it was like to live as a woman

[13] While Ariosto and Boiardo were important to Scott in his formation as a novelist, he seems to be evoking the whole tradition that begins with Roland's earliest manifestation in the *Chanson de Roland*, before he emerges in Italian romances as the mad, questing knight.

in past times (such as the fictional Catherine Seyton). This necessarily involved presenting history as something other than a narrative about political events that, for the most part, women were affected by but in which they were not directly involved. In her classic study of Scott's 'literary authority' as an innovator of historical fiction, Ferris has explored the ways in which the Waverley novels helped to transform the early nineteenth-century conception of history and history writing from 'standard history' to 'idiomatic history'. In a discussion of reviews contemporary with the publication of the Waverley novels, Ferris notes:

> The critical reviews of the period illustrate that official or standard history remained primarily concerned with the political sphere. But they also suggest that history was beginning to include as properly historical those signs of idiomatic life formerly regarded as beneath the dignity of a discourse that the reviewers typically characterized as 'stately'.[14]

This nascent paradigm shift, which might also be regarded as one that shifts the focus of historical writing away from public, political events and towards the private realm, makes room for representations of daily life that would normally be left out of 'standard' historical accounts. This also has implications for the ways in which the 'peripheral' is represented in history writing. Scott's innovation in the genre of historical fiction is to move 'his narrative out of known [and] into relatively unknown and uninterpreted historical spaces',[15] and to explore what might be found in the 'interstices left by official history'[16] by 'uncovering the "singular" stories inevitably

[14] Ferris, *Achievement*, 196. Ferris cites a lead article by Francis Jeffrey in the first issue of the *Edinburgh Review* as demonstrating an interest in history as 'experience and process', but also notes that in focusing on these concepts, their importance is asserted and valourised as that 'which was excluded from action and that which lay outside crisis,' the two concepts that had dominated discussions of history in the past (196-7).

[15] Ferris, *Achievement*, 201.

[16] Ferris, *Achievement*, 204.

lost in the generalizing sweep of standard narrative history'.[17] It is this practice that I am calling Scott's romance of the archive (to borrow Suzanne Keen's useful phrase).[18] This thesis is interested in Scott's own 'romantic research', as he called it, as a technique in following the traces of the archive in order to fictionally simulate communities and peripheral figures — women and outlaws, for example — that are not represented in the archive.

This shift from 'stately' to 'idiomatic' historical discourse is crucial to the ways in which Scott is able to represent women in historical fiction. As already noted, the paucity of information about how women lived in the past presents a problem for a writer of historical fiction. A further problem is that women's activities were not considered to be the appropriate subject of 'standard' history. Regarding Renaissance historiography, Margo Hendricks notes that 'women as a group appeared to have only a tangential connection to the events and relations of power that produced "History", with a few notable exceptions like Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart'.[19] Likewise, of medieval women's absence from the archive Julia M.H. Smith writes that 'although most early medieval texts marginalize women, [the women] are nevertheless crucial to the reproduction of any community'.[20] She goes on to note:

> Their role is not only the biological reproduction of pregnancy and childbirth, but also the social reproduction of cultural assumptions, modes of behaviour, and mores from one generation to the next. ... Equally fundamentally, women contribute their labour to the task of sustaining a community, producing clothing, food, and much

[17] Ferris, *Achievement*, 205.

[18] It has been noted by Suzanne Keen that Scott 'rarely lingers on the archival frame he creates to surround his historical adventures', preferring to have his adventurer characters pause briefly 'to examine collections of papers only so long as more exciting and violent activities follow without delay' (29). But it is also the case that these characters are often seen as rash, and they are presented by Scott as being foolhardy for not having taken the collections of papers more seriously at crucial moments.

[19] Margo Hendricks, 'Feminist Historiography' in Anita Pacheco (ed), *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, (Oxford and Maldon: Blackwell, 2002), 361.

[20] Julia M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History, 500-1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 116.

> else. ... [W]omen's economic contribution complements their cultural and social role.[21]

I hope to show that Scott also thought this to be the case, and that he attempted to represent a version of history that was inclusive of the kinds of 'social reproduction of cultural assumptions' that Smith has outlined, despite a general lack of interest from his contemporaries in women's roles and the circumstances unique to their gender that arise out of the traumatic events of history.[22]

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At the time Scott was composing the Waverley novels the term romance carried several meanings and gendered connotations. Ian Duncan has noted that 'romance was aligned ... with a bewildering variety of interests and positions: with an original liberty of the subject, with an ancestral patriarchy, with foreign powers of oppression and violence, with a domestic idyll, with outlaw bands, with virgin solitude'.[23] Duncan also notes that romance was defined in the first half of the eighteenth century as 'any prose fiction in the vernacular tongue, particularly those associated with "the last age"', and in Samuel Johnson's terms 'a military fable of the middle ages; a tale of wild adventure in war and love', or, indeed, a lie or fiction.[24] Jacqueline Pearson has noted that the distinction between the romance and its 'younger Sister' the novel collapsed later

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[21] Smith, *Europe after Rome*, 116.

[22] For example, William Hazlitt's review of Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* is particularly hostile to the idea that a novel should treat, at length, the adverse circumstances that shape a woman's life. From the beginning of the novel it is evident that the protagonist's wanderings are directly set in motion by the events of the French Revolution, yet for Hazlitt, 'The difficulties in which [Burney] involves her heroines are indeed "Female Difficulties"; – they are difficulties created out of nothing' (*Edinburgh Review*, 24, February 1815, 337).

[23] Ian Duncan, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel: The Gothic, Scott, Dickens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 10.

[24] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 10.

in the eighteenth century 'under the weight of the Gothic novel'.[25] She notes that William Godwin in his unpublished essay 'Of History and Romance', for instance, 'uses the two terms [novel and romance] as if they were absolutely synonymous'.[26] The main differences between the novel and romance as outlined by both Duncan and Pearson are based on gender. The novel, like history, deals in authenticity and realism, while the romance deals in fantasy. These semiotic spaces were defined as male and female respectively. As revealed in his essay for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Scott held an antiquary's conception of romance as an offshoot of history.[27] In 'An Essay on Romance' Scott states that history and romance 'had the same common origin'.[28] For Scott, history is a foundation narrative that tells the origins of a nation, but most importantly it is an explanation as to why one society is formed out of an older due to an irreparable rupture; the narrative is founded on discord, and at its heart is the notion of historical change as dysfunctional. If, in Duncan's terms, 'History is the narrative of the loss of patriarchy, both in the objective sense of the passing of heroic, feudal or clan societies, and in the subjective sense ... of a personal recognition of impotence and mortality',[29] then romance for Scott explains the loss and dysfunction of history. Romance grows out of history in an organic way, through the functions of storytelling; the tale of the former patriarch is embellished by his children and his later descendants to suit their own ends. Kings and priests may cast a 'sacred gloom' 'over the early period in which their power arose' as it is in their interest to keep their subjects in the dark. In this sort of embellishment, romance 'professes to be a narrative of real facts',[30] and is 'fiction

[25] Jacqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 198.
[26] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750-1835*, 199.
[27] Mike Goode has shown that Scott did much to rescue the figure of the antiquary from the eighteenth-century conception of his being somewhat emasculated ('Dryasdust antiquarianism and soppy masculinity: The Waverley novels and the gender of history,' *Representations*, 82.1 (Spring 2003), 52-86); Scott promoted an idea of the antiquary as a masculine figure (especially in related images of Abbotsford as an antiquarian-heroic ideal), and Scott's figure has more in common with the later nineteenth-century antiquary as epitomised in Sir William Fettes Douglas (1822–1891), artist, connoisseur, and President of the Royal Scottish Academy.
[28] Walter Scott, 'An Essay on Romance', published in the supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1824), collected in *Essays on Chivalry, Romance, and the Drama* (Edinburgh: R. Cadell, 1834), 134.
[29] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 73.
[30] Scott, 'An Essay on Romance', 139.

mingled with truth'.[31] To illustrate his point that romance and history share a common origin, Scott uses a metaphor of a river fed by tributary streams. History is the 'pure font' out of which romance flows, and the river of romance is fed by 'tributes from the Imagination'.[32] In similar terms, for Jared Michael McGeough (writing on Godwin), the early nineteenth-century conception of romance can be couched in terms of an overflow that unearths layers of historical palimpsest:

> [Romance is] something that overflows and deregulates the faculties that can serve as a positive condition for experimentation. Romance ... unearths the imperceptible texture of individual events and circumstances that constitute history's becoming.[33]

Scott's tributaries might be seen as stories that join together to create the 'overflow' of history; the 'overflow' in turn 'unearths' the 'texture of individual events'. To be inundated by the overflow of romance is to exist historically: 'To seek a refuge from such floods', writes Richard Maxwell, regarding Scott's attitude to individuals experiencing historical change, 'is to be erased from popular historical memory'.[34]

While Scott was not alone in seeing the interconnections between history and romance in terms of imaginative overflow, he was certainly exceptional in his conception of the way in which romance emerges out of history – a conception that defines romance as a type of historiography. Maxwell has drawn attention to a group of novelists that influenced Scott, and who shared a deep interest in the complex ways in which history might be illuminated or even

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[31] Scott, 'An Essay on Romance', 134.

[32] Scott, 'An Essay on Romance', 154.

[33] Jared Michael McGeough, 'The Falsehood of History and Reality of Romance: William Godwin's "Of History and Romance"', *Clio*, 38.3 (Summer 2009), 292. While McGeough is describing Godwin's theory of history and romance, it may equally apply to Scott.

[34] Richard Maxwell, 'Inundations of Time: A Definition of Scott's Originality', *ELH*, 68.2 (Summer 2001), 454. For an overview of recent interest in the problem of disciplinarity in Scott, see Regina Hewitt's sub-chapter 'Scott and Landor in Disciplinary History', in *Symbolic Interactions: Social Problems and Literary Interventions in the Works of Baillie, Scott, and Landor* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 199-201.

eclipsed by fiction (but not necessarily romance) as a medium that tells stories about past times. William Godwin, John Galt, Charles Maturin and Maria Edgeworth all experimented with mingling history with other popular genres (such as the gothic and sentimental romance, and the national tale),[35] and such novels were condemned by the *Quarterly Review* for mixing 'real solemn history' with any other genre. John Wilson Croker (founding editor of the *Quarterly Review*) advocated a kind of quarantine for history, lest it be contaminated by 'invention'.[36] It has recently been noted, however, that this sort of policing encouraged novelists, especially Jane Austen, to tackle in their novels the debate that was forming around the question of history's ability to convey fact without admitting any fiction.[37] Scott agrees with his contemporaries that the imagination contributes to our understanding of history in new and arresting ways, however he goes much further in defining romance in terms of its function as a type of historiography, and as such his conception is perhaps more closely aligned with German Romantic aesthetics. In their introduction to *Romanticism, History, and the Possibilities of Genre*, Tilottama Rajan and Julia M. Wright note that the German Romantics (especially Schiller) 'radicalized' genre by changing 'the way we approach genre, as an expression of (cultural) consciousness rather than a purely formal category'.[38] For the German Romantics, 'mode and genre is fluid, particularly where the mode generates the genre as a transposition into literature of changes occurring at the level of social life'.[39] This perhaps better describes Scott's understanding of how and why romance emerges out of history; the conditions of social life form the conditions of genre, and as such romance (in the sentimental or elegiac mode) is able to express varied subjectivities and perspectives *as* history. When reading the Waverley novels in this context, it becomes immediately apparent that Scott's

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[35] Maxwell, 'Inundations of Time', 419-20.

[36] Mary Spongberg, 'History, Fiction, and Anachronism: *Northanger Abbey*, the Tudor 'Past' and the 'Gothic' Present', *Textual Practice*, 26.4 (2012), 638.

[37] Spongberg, 'History, Fiction, and Anachronism', 634-8; Terry F. Robinson, "'A mere skeleton of history:" Reading Relics in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*', *European Romantic Review*, 17.2 (April 2006), 225-6, n. 3.

[38] Tilottama Rajan and Julia M. Wright (eds), *Romanticism, History, and the Possibilities of Genre: Re-forming literature 1789-1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.

[39] Rajan and Wright (eds), *Romanticism, History, and the Possibilities of Genre*, 4.

sense of history is one that involves characters 'in process'; the 'self is self in time', and, as Susan Morgan has argued, this sense of history in the nineteenth-century novel 'celebrates qualities of connectedness' which had been labelled as feminine.[40] Morgan has also argued that in the nineteenth-century novel 'living in time, in history, is understood as a matter of becoming feminized'.[41] If history is process, and romance draws attention to the ways in which historical events unfold, both are discourses that speak of the process of becoming feminised.

In examining the ways in which Scott wrote women out of historical obscurity and into the historical literary tradition, I will also be addressing his experimental method. Fiona Robertson has recently drawn attention to Scott's openness to Romantic ('with a capital R'[42]) poetics as something which allowed him imaginative freedom (and she notes that this is something he shared with Blake), a 'freedom from established rule; a kind of informality or irregularity; the freedom to write associatively, or experimentally, or idiosyncratically'.[43] In the same volume, Caroline McCracken-Flesher draws attention to the way 'Scott sets the reductive determinations of history and romance against the associations accumulated by the experience of both':

> Eighteenth-century philosophers – Locke, Hume, Hartley, and Scott's own professor, Dugald Stewart – pointed to a self formed in the complexity of experience, through emotion and association ... We live – we are most alive – he knew, amid the challenge of unpredictable associations. Character is formed, and

[40] Susan Morgan, *Sisters in Time: Imagining Gender in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Cary, NC: Oxford University Press, 1989), 17.
[41] Morgan, *Sisters in Time*, 13.
[42] Fiona Robertson, 'Romancing and Romanticism', in Robertson (ed), *The Edinburgh Companion to Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 97.
[43] Robertson, 'Romancing and Romanticism', 97.

> strong character revealed, through the mind's inclusive capacity, and its ability still to function.[44]

It is through an associative and idiosyncratic approach that Scott attempted to represent his female characters as historically plausible, and when he was unable to do so for paucity of information, he constructed from various sources and associations what might be termed an analogue or simulation of a historically authentic female character. Scott's sense of romance, both in style and content, is primarily associative and idiosyncratic in its relationship with history. Ferris has described this process as a relationship between the historical record and imaginative supposition:

> ... the historical record provides a frame ... in which to conduct the supposition, and this kind of framing ... is essential to the history-likeness of Scott's novels. At the same time, the frame releases an activity of imagination that fills in the gaps and silences of the historical record, and this too is crucial to the history-effect. It signals, of course, a different kind of history, but it does not displace official history, for the meaning of the recovered stories and details depends on the *relationship* between them and official history.[45]

Scott's success, then, as a writer of historical romance depends upon his ability to bring the two paradigms together, to evoke a sense of authenticity with the vivid representation of antiquarian detail embedded in the context of equally vivid reconstructions of particular historical events. I would like to add to this, however, that Scott also mimicked the historical record in depicting his

[44] Caroline McCracken-Flesher, 'Scott's Jacobitical Plots', in Robertson (ed), *The Edinburgh Companion to Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 55.
[45] Ferris, *Achievement*, 207.

historical heroines as moving behind the scenes, allowing them to be revealed through methods alternative to the archival researches that the narrated events of 'stately' history are based upon.

In moving the focus of our evaluation of Scott's historical romances directly on to the female characters, it is the case that we also change the reference points in how we define historical fiction. For instance, James Kerr has described Scott as 'the romancer who forged illusions of the past from an admixture of literary form and historical record, and the historian who used the logics of literary form as instruments for understanding the past'.[46] Kerr further explains the second point he is making here, with reference to the early Scottish novels:

> In the early novels of rebellion, Scott takes a traumatic moment from the textual records of British history and attempts to assimilate it to a formal pattern that he has knowingly drawn, or, as Northrop Frye would say, 'kidnapped', from the literary world of romance. The effect of this transgression, a crime openly repeated across the Waverley endings, is to shift potentially threatening material from one generic realm, one mode of emplotment, to another.[47]

This may be the case for the plotlines involving the male characters; in the case of *Waverley*, accounts of the rising are tempered by the imposition of a narrative perspective often in tune with Edward Waverley's dream-like perceptions of the world, thus shifting or distancing the immediate threat of the rising. Yet what happens when we shift our focus to the female characters, to the historical 'realities' that they represent, and to the feminine 'psycho-geographies'[48] (to use Judith Wilt's term, as developed by Guy Debord) within the novel? The distinction between history and romance folds into ambiguity; there is no transgression or crime

[46] James Kerr, *Fiction Against History: Scott as Storyteller* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1.
[47] Kerr, *Fiction Against History*, 4.
[48] Judith Wilt, *Secret Leaves: The Novels of Walter Scott* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 8.

against 'reality' as historical 'reality' for women may never have been recorded in the first place. As Ian Duncan notes:

> Romance reproduces itself as the figure of mediation and synthesis by turning contradiction into ambiguity, which provides a vital margin of refuge between fatal historical fact and extravagant spiritual impossibility.[49]

While Duncan is referring to the sentimental, private individual – the man of feeling, or the female quixote – as an 'extravagant spiritual impossibility', I would suggest that this phrase is equally pertinent to the private histories of women that Scott's novels attempt to historicise. The extravagance lies in the problem that to narrate a woman's private history, by the standards of early nineteenth-century reviewing culture, is deemed to be utterly indulgent.

I also argue that the undertaking of writing about women in this way posed a further difficulty for Scott: while histories such as David Hume's incorporated within themselves the role of women in historical events, the emphasis was on how they acted as moral agents, and thus they are exemplary. While Scott was interested in the role in historical events of the exemplary woman, he was also interested in moving away from central figures to those at the 'periphery'. However, little is documented regarding, for example, peasant and labouring class women.[50] The women who make it into the archive tend to be marked as exemplary or 'worthy' (monarchs and warriors, saints and savants)[51] or as criminal, and while Scott was able to rely on 'living memory' as a source for the earlier Scottish novels, he faces a problem when moving back

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[49] Duncan, *Modern Romance,* 15.

[50] In using the term 'labouring class' rather than the more frequently used 'working class,' I am following John Rule's observation that '"Working class" is anachronistic in implying a stage in class formation and consciousness which had hardly been reached even by 1815' (*Albion's People: English Society 1714-1815* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 105).

[51] Arianne Chernock, 'Gender and the Politics of Exceptionalism in the Writing of British Women's History' in Pamela S. Nadell and Kate Haulman (eds), *Making Women's Histories: Beyond National Perspectives* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2013), 115.

into the early Renaissance and high Middle Ages, where there is a paucity of documented information about how non-exemplary women lived through the historical changes that are central to the novels.

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In a novel like *Waverley*, the women are few. They are isolated, they move behind the scenes, often out of sight or in the process of disappearing from view. In this, Scott's narrative accurately reflects the ways in which historical texts have marginalised women or exemplified a few 'extraordinary' women and obscured the non-exemplary. Yet Scott's women are more clearly delineated when both romance and historical modes come together in the novels. The women move through different psychogeographies to the men, and the realities of this are more akin to what we would consider the formulae of 'romance' tropes. The Waverley novels articulate a particular feminine perspective that cannot be generated from either standard or idiomatic historical discourses alone, and as such the novels make us uncomfortable about the limitations of historical representation. For Kerr, Scott 'uses romance plots as a way of reshaping the past, of mastering history'.[52] I would like to suggest that the only way Scott was able to represent women in historical context and within the limitations of the realist novel was to understand them through romance stories, stories that appear in the historical record because they fit with our ideas of the feminine heroic and because the tropes that shape the romance genre are considerably closer to the realities of women's lives than are the tropes that shape the traditional, masculine heroic and military-centred historical narrative.

Let us briefly consider the case of Flora MacDonald's entry into the narratives that recounted the events of the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite uprising. Flora was deeply involved in the fallout of the rising, and was a prominent figure in subsequent written and visual accounts of

[52] Kerr, *Fiction Against History*, 9.

the rising. What we know of Flora has been highly embellished, and the story of her role in effecting Charles Edward Stuart's escape after the rising is popular because of its romantic nature. Historical textual and visual records of Flora MacDonald exist because the facts of the escape are by their very nature romantic. This is the sort of irony that Scott plays on in *Waverley* when describing Flora Mac-Ivor's near miss with a bullet, and her high-spirited response to not harm the accidental gunman, 'but thank God with me that the accident happened to Flora Mac-Ivor; for had it befallen a whig they would have pretended that the shot was fired on purpose'.[53] This scene involving Scott's Jacobite heroine was developed from an incident involving a young woman identified as Mary Nairne of Edinburgh, who Scott sketchily describes as 'a lady of rank not long deceased'.[54] In his 'Postscript, which should have been a preface', Scott explains the process of attributing real incidents to his fictional historical characters:

> ... for the purpose of preserving some idea of the ancient manners of which I have witnessed the almost total extinction, I have embodied in imaginary scenes, and ascribed to fictitious characters, a part of the incident which I then received [during an adolescent visit in the Highlands] from those who were actors in them. Indeed, the most romantic parts of this narrative are precisely those which have a foundation in fact.[55]

For Scott, romance cannot be easily sorted from historical fact; in many ways, the tropes of history and romance appear to be one and the same. Caroline McCracken-Flesher has recently

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[53] Walter Scott, *Waverley*, edited by P.D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 256.

[54] Scott, *Waverley*, 364.

[55] Scott, *Waverley*, 363. Ann Rigney discusses this comment in the context of the aesthetic problem of representability in historical writing. Rigney argues that the idea that representation in historical writing might have a kind of charm or allure makes it as suspect as invention: 'The charms of "real events" would seem to be linked to the greater cognitive power they owe to their ontological status'. *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 7. In other words, we find defamiliarising the 'complexity and unpredictability of actuality' and so the *reality* of events narrated provides its own texture and aesthetic interest that an imagined narrative cannot conjure (7).

observed in Scott's novels 'the porousness of those apparently distinct terms, romance, business, and the serious stuff of history'.[56] The line that divides history and romance is further complicated when we notice that Scott's Jacobite heroine shares her Christian name with '*the* Jacobite heroine' (who had been immortalised by Allan Ramsay in an iconic portrait completed shortly after the rising).[57] While it is the case that Scott outlines 'romantic' events that involved both men and women, I hope to show that Scott relies on history's mimicry of romance, and its correspondences with romance, to represent women's participation in historical events. While my theoretical approach to Scott's incorporation of women into the historical novel is to address his sense of romance as historiography, I will also examine how Scott utilises romance tropes, especially the objects that are aligned with the marvellous and transformative, to reveal history as process.

When considering the female characters of Scott's historical romances, it is necessary for us to look beyond the kind of oppositional framework that, for Kerr, the discourses of history and romance (in the literary form of the novel) present. Kerr writes that the intersection of fiction and history 'is where the complexity of the Waverley novels is to be sought'.[58] However he qualifies this by presenting fiction as something that pacifies history:

> Despite any overt claims it makes to representing history, the novel is an evasion of history, an attempt to create a safe zone of language in which the focus of the real can be contained and managed.[59]

[56] McCracken-Flesher, 'Scott's Jacobitical Plots', 51.
[57] Melanie Bunton with Rhona Brown, 'Family Resemblance: A Dialogue between Father and Son' in Mungo Campbell (ed), *Allan Ramsay: Portraits of the Enlightenment* (Munich: Prestel, 2013), 60.
[58] Kerr, *Fiction Against History*, 1.
[59] Kerr, *Fiction Against History*, 2-3.

The evaluation of historical fiction on its ability to mimic historiography has also been central to Harry E. Shaw's conception of the form that the historical novel ought to adopt. He proposes three main ways that historical novels have employed history:

> First, history has provided an ideological screen onto which the preoccupations of the present can be projected for clarification and solution, or for disguised expression. I refer to this use as 'history as pastoral'. Second, history (here conceived of as inherently colorful and dramatic) has acted as a source of dramatic energy that vivified a fictional story. Such dramatic energy can produce effects that are melodramatic and insubstantial, but it can also produce catharsis. Finally, and obviously, history has acted as the subject of historical novels, in a variety of ways.[60]

Moreover, he proposes that there is a hierarchy by which we should evaluate each type of historical novel. 'History as pastoral' and 'history as drama' (the two forms of historical-fictional writing that are most likely to incorporate romance tropes and language) in this hierarchy do not fare well:

> Whatever their other merits, novels that use history as pastoral or as a source of drama will lack the potentiality to be as richly and integrally historical as novels that find their subject in history.[61]

While Shaw recognises that by importing present concerns into the past, a narrative might 'eke out gaps in the historical record',[62] his labelling of this sort of undertaking as 'pastoral' suggests

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[60] Harry E. Shaw, *The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 52.
[61] Shaw, *Forms of Historical Fiction*, 53.
[62] Shaw, *Forms of Historical Fiction*, 71.

that he sees the process as an uncritical attempt to simplify the complexities of the present through escape into a less complicated past. Fiction contaminates history. Furthermore, one gets the sense that fiction (which, according to Ian Duncan, in contrast to Shaw, has romance as its 'essential principle', romance making fiction different from everyday life)[63] represents the private lives of individuals and communities, and thus subjectivity sneaks in. The gaps in the historical record, for Shaw, are present because there have been no objective witnesses to private events. In Duncan's terms (as he writes in *Modern Romance*):

> ... criticism has continued to find an innate contradiction between the ambitions of an 'authentic' social representation and the elements of romance, those forms whose appearance measures the difference between novel and reality.[64]

Scott uses the 'transformative dynamics of romance'[65] to draw attention to gaps in the historical archive while imaginatively filling in those spaces. Duncan later wrote, in *Scott's Shadow*, that history and fiction '(given its historicist title "romance")' should be read as discursive categories:

> *Waverley* and its successors do not just fictionalize history – representing the events, figures, forms, and forces that constitute history in the medium of the novel. They historicize fiction as an institution, a set of material forms and social practices, which includes as its paradigmatic modern case the novel itself and our act of reading it. *Waverley* makes the gesture of foundation for the series: a referential and allusive cut to the past that exposes the embedded, sedimented archive of British fiction.[66]

[63] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 2.
[64] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 2-3.
[65] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 3.
[66] Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 136.

Of particular relevance to this thesis is Duncan's observation that fiction (or romance) and history are in dialogue. I would argue that rather than creating a safe zone of language, the historical romance aims to redress the absences and lacunae that are not always apparent in accounts of the past, lacunae that are somewhat obscured by the safe zone of language that history writing employs. By this, I mean that both the discourses of romance and history in Scott's novels act to reveal the omissions from accounts of the past, and this is an uncomfortable process as the 'forces of the real' are shown to be a matter of perspective, of subjectivity. Scott's narrators often declare the nature of romance to be illusory; however many characters use the language of romance in order to comprehend historical change, or at least to participate in the events that trigger change. In *Waverley*, for example, Scott makes the realities of the rebellion for women anything other than an 'evasion of history', or a 'safe zone of language'. Language is often their only means of responding to historical change and its contingent losses and gains.

A great deal of critical attention in recent decades has been given to the various approaches to history and history writing taken by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women authors, most notably in the innovative and groundbreaking studies such as Devoney Looser's *British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670-1820* (2000), Mary Spongberg's *Writing Women's History since the Renaissance* (2002), and Lisa Kasmer's *Novel Histories: British Women Writing History, 1760-1830* (2012). To discuss these studies in depth, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. A main focus of the thesis is to recognise that there was a paucity of information available to writers, both male and female, in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries regarding the social conditions and experiences of women who lived in the past. For the most part, authors of the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-centuries (for example, Catherine Macaulay) focused their narratives on royal and upperclass women, as details of their lives were available to them in legal documents or in legends that lauded their exemplary deeds. Other female writers of this period used the gothic mode in order to explore possible ways in which women might have lived in the past, and these narratives also tend to focus on women of upper-class

background. My main argument throughout this thesis is that Scott, while interested and involved in early history writing and research through his antiquarian pursuits, forged a path that incorporates but also swerves from this tradition: upper-class women appear throughout the Waverley novels, and they are often portrayed in gothic scenarios, however he also included the experiences of labouring-class women alongside the experiences of upper-class women (Jeanie Deans's audience with Queen Caroline is an example of this feature) and this approach required him to look at history from below. Scott's inclusion of both lower- and upper-class characters in his historical narratives partially differentiates him from his (mainly female) precursors. Scott wished to go further than imagining women's history as it might have taken place in a generalised past. His interest in representing women on the margins of society and outside the class system compelled him to adopt distinctively different approaches to writing historical fiction. While retaining a central role for upper-class women, Scott broadened the historical gaze to make visible those groups of women that had been left out of the records and thus remained invisible as historical figures to Scott's contemporaries (for example, the medieval Jewess, who is situated outside the Norman feudal class and whose history is not written into the standard medieval chronicles. Furthermore, in fictionalising the lives of real and highly memorable upper-class women, Scott is able to anchor within a stadial-historical framework the more ephemeral social-historical events that are situated outside of the archive. His distinctive achievement, I argue, was to embed women's experience in a socially aware historical context, and that this was a particularly difficult undertaking given that little information regarding details of the lived social conditions of, for example, a Scottish dairy-farmer's daughters (Jeanie and Effie Deans) or an English medieval Jewess (Rebecca), were available to him. In relation to the role of historical fiction in representing women's experiences of historical change, the most important of recent studies (for the purpose of this thesis) has been Diana Wallace's *The Woman's Historical Novel* (2005). Interestingly, Wallace's study emphasises the absence of women from the historical record and notes the opportunities for speculative writing this afforded women writers who were

interested in social history. Also, she explores rather than downplays the role of romance in the historical fiction of British women writers, noting that there has been a tendency 'to associate women's historical novels with romance and thus to stigmatise them as escapist'.[67] Wallace draws attention to the literary critical habit of associating romance with escapism, a tendency already noted in Kerr's assessment of Scott's 'evasion of history'. Wallace notes two twentieth-century responses from A.S. Byatt and Anya Seton as to their motives for writing historical fiction. Byatt observes, 'One very powerful impulse towards the writing of historical novels has been the political desire to write the histories of the marginalized, the forgotten, the unrecorded'.[68] This was the case for Seton when researching and writing *Katherine*:

> Of [Katherine] little was known, except when her life touched the Duke's [John of Gaunt's] and there are few details of that. The *Dictionary of National Biography* sketch is inadequate, the contemporary chroniclers were mostly hostile (except Froissart), and in the great historians Katherine apparently excited scant interest, perhaps because they gave little space to the women of the period anyway.
>
> And yet Katherine was important to English history.[69]

It is the aim of this thesis, then, to show how Scott wrote women into a historical-literary tradition that would come to see them as agents and subjects of change alongside men.

II Romantic Research and the Development of the Historical-Romance Heroine

'Waverley Women: Scott's Heroines and the Romance of the Archive' was initially envisaged as a broad overview of Scott's heroines that would address a need for an extensive study of the

[67] Diana Wallace, *The Woman's Historical Novel: British Women Writers, 1900-2000* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), ix.
[68] A.S. Byatt, *Histories and Stories: Selected Essays* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000), 12; quoted in Keen, *Romances of the Archive*, 211.
[69] Anya Seton, 'Author's Note' to *Katherine* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954), 7.

female characters. While there has been much recent critical interest in the female characters, to my knowledge there has been no full-length study. The problem with such an undertaking became immediately apparent: a study that would range across the entire oeuvre, discussing the major and some minor female characters, would be too superficial, and would not go much beyond a discussion of their symbolic functions within the novels. Instead, the approach I have taken is to discuss several ways in which Scott developed the concept of the heroine in history in his novels, keeping the discussion narrowly focused on a few novels that I see as pivotal to the development of the Waverley heroine, and delving deeply. This thesis sees both *Waverley* and *Ivanhoe* as critical novels that reveal an anxiety on Scott's part regarding the ways in which the feminine heroic might be developed. In the former novel, the figure of the female reader is developed away from the quixotic model, and in the latter novel, Scott set himself the difficult task of depicting women as they might have lived in the middle ages, in the case of Rebecca as a wanderer. In both instances he drew on romance tropes in order to render his female characters 'true-to-life'. The figures of the female reader and female wanderer that were initially developed in *Waverley* and *Ivanhoe* were further explored throughout the oeuvre, yet I do not wish to argue that this development was constant or even. It would be an impossible task to create an entirely new heroine for each novel, and I have thus focused the discussion around a few novels that demonstrate Scott's deeper interest in the complexities of writing women into history. The female characters are discussed in light of the ways in which Scott was attempting to write 'new' characters. I am as much interested in 'how' as 'why' Scott developed these new heroines.

The past few decades have seen increasing critical interest in the female characters that extends beyond Alexander Welsh's observation that Scott's heroines played a primarily functional role in the passive Waverley hero's journey from adolescence to manhood. While it is certainly the case that on one level the light and dark female characters often function as symbolic romantic choices for the Waverley hero, it is also the case that this model is not always used by Scott, and furthermore, there are additional complexities to the female characters for

which this model does not adequately account. As Shaw noted over a decade ago, there have been several excellent studies that have revealed 'fissures and complexities'[70] in the overarching critical narrative of how the female characters function in Scott's novels, most notably (for Shaw) Fiona Robertson's *Legitimate Histories: Scott, Gothic, and the Authorities of Fiction* (1994), and Ina Ferris' *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (1991). To this brief list of important revisionary work must be added Penny Fielding's *Writing and Orality: Nationality, Culture, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Fiction* (1996) in its linking of orality with women, Ian Duncan's *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel: The Gothic, Scott, and Dickens* (1992), which argues that Scott's female characters possess a type of transformative power acquired through romance, and Ann Rigney's work on historiography and cultural memory, in particular 'Portable Monuments: Literature, Cultural Memory, and the Case of Jeanie Deans' (2004). It is worth noting that the major studies that have been mentioned here have as their focus gender and genre, or gender and discourse, and when female characters are examined it is in the context of a much wider focus on genre, discourse, or the publishing industry and reviews culture of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, there have been many recent journal articles (notably Shaw's on 'Scott, Women, and History') and book chapters in wider studies on nineteenth-century novelists, such as Susan Morgan's chapter 'Old Heroes and a New Heroine in the Waverley Novels', from her book *Sisters in Time: Imagining Gender in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*, which situates Jeanie Deans in a lineage of strong nineteenth-century heroines that look back to but differ distinctly from their eighteenth-century counterparts. Morgan's chapter on Jeanie Deans complements the studies that are focused mostly on Scott, in showing (in Shaw's terms) how 'gender lies at the heart of Scott's vision as a novelist'.[71] This thesis, then, will build upon revisionary studies that reveal the 'fissures and complexities' referred to by Shaw.

[70] Harry E. Shaw, 'Scott, Women, and History', *European Romantic Review*, 13 (2002), 285.
[71] Shaw, 'Scott, Women, and History', 285.

Chapter One, 'Scott's "Romantic Research" and the Romance of the Archive' aims to establish Scott's conception of himself as a reader of romances, by looking at the ways in which he obsessively returns to reading, illness and self-education in the various autobiographical pieces he composed across the span of his career as novelist. In reading these pieces together as a largely coherent but often inconsistent or disjunctive narrative, a narrative thread that I will be referring to as his 'reading-*Bildungsroman*', we find emerging a narrative self, Scott's romance-reading self, that resides in the memories associated with his early reading practices which reflect and make sense of the adult reader and author of the Waverley novels. Scott weaves a cat's-cradle out of the threads of reading memories, to give shape and permanence to his fugitive imaginative inner world. The *Memoir*, the General Preface to the Magnum, and the Dedication to *Tales of a Grandfather* together form the written realisation of Scott's reading self; the public conjunction in written form of his private, immersive and disjunctive biblio-biographical remembrances. Furthermore, I argue that it is through personal history (of the type that Catherine Seyton and Roland Græme 'research'), which is often established or revealed in the novels through characters' reading practices, that Scott touches on standard history to make it personal and contemporary.

A discussion emerges around Scott's conception of the 'reading self', and leads to the contention that through reading and thus returning to memories of childhood reading, he is able to establish a continuous identity which merges with his childhood self, which is largely different to other Romantic poets' conceptions of memory and childhood.[72] I argue that the male reading hero, for Scott, is a generative rather than quixotic reader who creates multiple meanings and interpretations of both the text and the world, and thus liberates himself from the strictures of the literary tradition of the quixotic male and female reader. This chapter also takes as a focus the frontispiece and introduction to *Tales of a Grandfather* as exemplary of this ongoing process of

[72] Catherine Jones has argued that 'the Ashestiel "Memoirs" [sic] are without a Romantic sense of alienation or division; instead, the self is represented as growing at ease with its constituent environment and events' (*Literary Memory: Scott's Waverley Novels and the Psychology of Narrative* (Lewisburg: Bucknell, 2003), 34).

continuous literary memory as an embodied act. The figure of Hugh Littlejohn (Scott's name for his grandson, John Hugh Lockhart) as a kind of touchstone is important in establishing this point, as the traditional quixotic reader, moving from childhood to adulthood, must cast aside childhood (and childish) reading and fully embrace a responsible adulthood, a breaking with childhood that necessarily involves disillusionment and a kind of Wordsworthian alienation. Scott's novels never align with this more standard conception of self, but swerve from it, as his heroes and heroines retain a direct connection with childhood through immature reading. In looking at Scott's autobiographical writings and his very personal dedication, I wish to establish that reading is central to Scott's conception of self, and it is something that ties the social self to others. It is important to establish this point in the context of Scott's approach to writing historical fiction as it is through reading and literary association that his characters, especially the women, understand their place in historical events. The reading self is a strongly narrativised self; for many of Scott's women, the romance stories that they read and recall allow them to understand their positions in the world. This section also establishes the ways in which Scott tends to see his own reading in terms of the feminine.

Chapter Two, 'The *Magnum* and the Reinvention of the Childhood Self', subtitled 'A Boy's Own Adventure', seeks to explore the complexities of Scott's mythmaking in his account of the genesis of *Waverley*. I argue that Scott's account is necessarily skewed towards celebrating the male reader of romances, and this has perhaps made less obvious Scott's interest in the female reader and her connection to the genesis of the novel. Gender has been central to how recent critics of the novel have read the character of Scott's first hero, Edward Waverley. It has been widely noted that Waverley is best understood in terms of his resemblance to both Don Quixote (whom Scott directly refers to in *Waverley*) and Arabella, Charlotte Lennox's female Quixote. For example, Patricia Meyer Spacks describes Waverley as resembling an 'eighteenth-century heroine':

> His predilection for reading romances may remind one of Arabella, the female Quixote. If he does not, like Arabella, quite believe fiction truth, he yet absorbs many ideas and ideals from it, driving 'through the sea of books, like a vessel without a pilot or a rudder' and taking aboard a considerable cargo. Actuality, of course, educates him, as it educates Arabella ... [73]

Likewise, Ina Ferris has noted:

> As an undisciplined and inexperienced young reader, Edward Waverley himself is a type of female reader. The description of his reading early in the novel associates him from the outset with the standard trope. ... In many ways, he is best understood as a Gothic heroine in male form.[74]

Ian Duncan has explored Waverley's connection to both the male and female quixote, and also noted the ways he is more closely aligned with the female:

> Scott distinguishes his hero from the male quixotic type by describing the retirement of a vulnerable self from an alien society ... Like the female quixote's, Waverley's romance reading means a virginal suspension of the energies of selfhood in a narcissistic secrecy and solitude: desire sustains itself in the work of imagination, reflecting its energies back into itself. ... A parody of one type of hero, Waverley has by internalizing the romance quest blocked it from external realization. He looks

[73] Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Novel Beginnings: Experiments in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 283.
[74] Ferris, *Achievement*, 99-100.

> abroad for no authentic other, but the shadow of his own desire, a fetishistic completion of himself by himself, without expense of spirit in social traffic.[75]

Waverley, then, is a hybrid of the male and female quixote, yet I will argue that he significantly differs in the ways in which he is historicised in the process of the narrative. The reading hero becomes a historical hero through his romantic encounters with historical events, encounters that are 'read' through ideas about the world and self already prompted by romance reading. Reading is a context and catalyst for historical action, and so the reading self becomes a historicised self not only through generating historical associations (as Caroline McCracken-Flesher has shown) but more importantly (I think) through generating sympathetic responses that are based in romance reading practices. Most importantly for this thesis, the female reader is developed alongside this new type of reading hero, and while it appears that Scott is most interested in his earlier novels to develop the more sublime characters at the expense of the rather domesticated reading characters, it is the case that the practice of reading continues to pervade Scott's novels, and it is always linked to a character's historical awareness. Thus the historical hero and heroine are developed initially through a swerving from the quixotic tradition. This reading self can also be seen to exemplify a shift in the way novel readers ought to view themselves in light of how they read the Waverley novels. By the time Scott comes to writing the preface to the Magnum edition of the novels (over a decade after he had introduced a new type of character in his first hero, Edward Waverley, who is very aware of his own reading practices), his audience were not only accustomed to a new type of character who reads in a certain self-reflexive but disordered way but were also accustomed to reading these characters' eccentricities in a positive rather than morally critical way. One of Scott's contributions to the way in which we read fictional characters was to build upon the long-held British tradition of writing a variation of the quixotic reader, modifying him, initially in the form of Edward Waverley but also later into

[75] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 66-7.

the female reading characters that (I will argue) fit readily with Scott's sense of his reading self, and celebrating him as a generative reader. I hope to show that this new model of reading and the romance reader is presented in a positive way, representing in minute detail not only the generative reader but also the psychogeographies in which they read. It is no longer an immersive type of reading that is represented in the Waverley novels, but a reflective and sociable, and socially conscionable rather than socially illicit form of reading.

After this initial look at Scott's autobiographical writings which account for the genesis of both the Waverley novels and the Waverley hero, I present an alternative account of the genesis of the novels that focuses on the development of the Waverley heroine in order to suggest a way to read *Waverley* that very much goes against the accepted interpretation of the two heroines as representing a romantic choice for the hero. This has implications for the ways in which we read the novel in light of its engagement with quixotism, and the limits imposed by quixotism upon the reader's sympathetic engagement. This alternative account looks at Scott's involvement with the Edinburgh Theatre Royal in staging Joanna Baillie's *Family Legend* as a formative experience in shaping a nationalist historical narrative that has as its focus the female heroic. As such, this section of the discussion is largely focused on Scott's innovation as an author who was quite self-consciously attempting to create a new type of historical heroine.[76] I argue that Scott's close reading of Baillie's play and his close involvement in stage managing the play generate in his imagination a visual and visceral conception of woman's central importance to how Scottish history might be emotionally felt. Baillie's play visually demonstrates to Scott that an audience's patriotic feeling is aroused when emotionally involved in the plights of a woman caught up in historical change.

[76] Throughout the thesis I will be making a basic distinction between 'heroine' and 'female character,' however for the most part, the female characters that I will be discussing are types of heroine. I suggest, in line with Susan Morgan, that Scott's innovations broadened what we understand to be the literary heroine (Morgan, 'Old Heroes and a New Heroine', 576).

The next section of the thesis examines more closely Scott's development of the figure of the female reader, and establishes my earlier assertion that Scott was not initially interested in a female reading figure per se, but was developing a new type of sentimental male character that displays many of the reading traits that I have linked with the feminine. I take as a starting point Scott's conception of the literary heroine. While Scott appears to be intent on developing a new type of reading character that celebrates the complex sociability of reading practices in the early novels, I do not attempt to present an argument that Scott had a clear sense that he was developing a non-quixotic reader in a consistent way. *Waverley* (Chapter Three), *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (Chapter Four), *The Monastery* and *Kenilworth* (Chapter Five) are then discussed in the context of the development of a new type of reading heroine that is not strictly quixotic.

Chapter Three is divided into two parts: the first addresses Rose's development alongside Edward as a reader of romances and classical history, and argues that, rather than being a romantic 'choice' for the hero, Rose helps him to achieve a sort of progress of sentiment: the second addresses the Jacobite symbolism relating to Rose, and explores the ways in which she uses her education to move behind the scenes to influence events as they unfold. The importance of Rose's role as eyewitness of historical events is also established.

Chapter Four continues to discuss the reading heroine in her historical context. Scott's modification of the quixotic heroine is most apparent in what I am presenting as another pivotal novel in regards to the (haphazard) development of the reading heroine. Interestingly, she is split into two characters. In *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* we encounter Jeanie Deans, who reads only the Bible (and finds this book more valuable as a safe place to store her savings than as a means to save her soul), and Madge Wildfire, who has immersed herself in Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* and lives out this narrative in the role of Mercy to Jeanie's Christiana. *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* is also of interest as it is a vivid representation of peasant and labouring class reading practices, and is thus an instance of Scott's interest in historicising a peripheral female perspective. The chapter

also discusses the ways in which Scott historicises the domestic through the characters' transformative (romantic) use of objects, including books.

Part One of the thesis concludes with Chapter Five, a study of generative reading and historicised female community. The chapter begins with a visit to pre-Reformation Scotland, and a discussion of the way in which Scots women read and use the new vernacular translations of the Bible produced by the Reformation in radical and potentially dangerous ways. In *The Monastery*, reading the Bible is prohibited, yet Lady Avenal educates her daughter Mary (from beyond the grave) through the insertion of interleaves into the Bible that Mary is able to read and understand as an alternative truth to the (gothic) Catholic doctrine propounded by the Abbot at St Mary's, Kennaquhair. There is little correspondence between the female readers in *The Monastery* and the female quixotic reader that Charlotte Lennox developed. Female reading has been fully incorporated into the fabric of Scottish history in Scott's vision of the early Scottish Renaissance. Yet Scott is able to imbue the novel with a strong sense of depicting history from the periphery through his dramatic employment of the ephemeral interleaves.

Kenilworth, which is set in Elizabethan England, is an interesting instance of Scott's attempt to represent a female worthy or exemplary woman as an interpreter and patron of literary-historical tradition. Elizabeth's learned discussions of Shakespeare and her interactions with Sir Walter Raleigh are instances of encounters that leave material traces, traces that Elizabeth generates through reading and writing. In contrast, the tragic heroine, Amy Robsart, is not able to read the material traces that construct history – Dudley's insignia that display his potential power and danger – and so becomes the victim of court politics. This concludes the discussion of the reading heroine, as she was to be eclipsed by a newer kind of heroine that inhabits a world where reading is not practised by women.

Part Two of the thesis, 'The Female Wanderer and the Romance of History', takes a departure, then, from the figure of the reading heroine to look at what I would describe as a frontier heroine, who is a version of the wanderer. She is a cultured woman who finds herself

thrown into a violent and warring world. While Scott continued to show interest in the reading heroine, and developed her further in the middle novels into a Renaissance and Reformation context (as I note in the discussions of *The Monastery* and *Kenilworth*), he also became interested in a completely different sort of heroine, a variation of the wanderer figure. Rebecca (*Ivanhoe*) and Monica (*Bizarro*) are discussed as characteristic of Scott's later heroines, in that they are implicated in the darker vision of history that pervades the later novels.

Chapters Six to Nine comprise a series of interrelated but discrete discussions that explore various issues connected with Scott's unique Jewish heroine. With a radical departure into medieval England as the setting for *Ivanhoe*, Scott also made a radical move away from the domestic, and had to again rethink what a heroine did and what she might achieve in such a setting. These chapters, then, primarily explore how Scott went about creating Rebecca, a medieval Jewess living in England. I address the ways in which Scott composed Rebecca out of a variety of mainly contemporary sources, as he was not able to consult archival material relating to Jews in medieval England, as those documents had not yet been unearthed. Rebecca's unique perspective on English politics is then discussed, particularly in terms of her patriotic outlook and actions. I also discuss Rebecca's place in the development of a particular tradition of history painting that Roy Strong has termed the 'Intimate Romantic' phase: this is important to the thesis as it is a discussion of the ways in which Rebecca's perspective on the tumult of history has been visualised, and hence women's experience of historical change is externalised, and made visible.

A discussion of *Bizarro* will form the final section of Part Two, in a chapter which focuses on the darker vision that arises from placing women in the midst of historical events, and how this vision leads Scott into new generic territory. Monica, Scott's final heroine, is the victim of several violent crimes committed by a Calabrian bandit, including kidnapping. A lieutenant of the police is investigating the bandit's and Monica's disappearance, and through his investigations we find out more about the crimes in a form of narrative that might be considered

a proto-detective novel. *Ivanhoe* and *Bizarro* are discussed, then, as later, much darker works that demand a different sort of heroine from the earlier novels.

In tracing the shifts in Scott's approach to delineating women in history it will become clear that Scott held no single idea about how women might respond to historical events or how his heroines might be developed into historically plausible characters. Throughout these chapters I will be returning to images that Scott constructed of women as readers and wanderers to explore the ways in which these images promote a very feminine sense of history, a sense of history, I will argue, that Scott initiated by embedding within the very masculine genre of historical fiction the woman's perspective.

III A Note on Methodology and Structure

The structure of this thesis is unconventional in the sense that I have chosen to narrowly focus on the novels that contain the less generically conventional heroines or those novels that depict heroines in historical circumstances. A broad and balanced overview of the heroines would have necessitated that I incorporate heroines whose functions are more strictly gothic-romantic than historical. I am making a distinction here between a historical novel and a novel set in the past. For example, I would consider Sophia Lee's *The Recess* to be a novel that is set in the past, rather than being strictly a historical novel, as there is little attention to historical events or the ways in which we understand history and historiography.[77] Likewise, some of the novels are not particularly concerned with women's history, although they do contain moments of interest in

[77] Diana Wallace has noted that *The Recess* can be read as a criticism of history by introducing gothic and romance elements in order to make the narrative of interest to women, and she also quotes Jane Spencer's argument that Lee's novel 'transforms history into romance in order to reinstate women and the area of private emotion' (*Woman's Historical Novel*, 17). Fiona Robertson has noted Scott's indebtedness to Lee's *The Recess* when writing *Kenilworth*, however she describes Scott's novel as 'much more securely "historical" than Lee's'. For instance, '[a]s a historical figure Amy Robsart is externally verifiable, which cannot be said for Lee's notorious invention of twin daughters for Mary, Queen of Scots' (*Legitimate Histories*, 7). While many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors were interested in the intersections of history and romance writing (which I will discuss below), I wish to offer another way of looking at Scott's approach to writing history as functional rather than conventional or generic – history and romance are defined by their uses and not necessarily their conventions (a point I will also return presently).

women's histories. An example of this is *The Fair Maid of Perth*, which depicts in a minor plotline the plight of Louise the Glee Maiden, and also addresses the ways in which she has chosen to articulate her grief through song. Perhaps the most interesting novel in relation to Scott's understanding of historiography is *Redgauntlet*, but again he is most interested in the ways in which Darsie Latimer's character is shaped by historical forces, and while Lilias Redgauntlet is an interesting and glamorous heroine, her brushes with history are perhaps more gothic in tone. Likewise, I would argue that the very interesting Diana Vernon of *Rob Roy* is more gothic than historicised. I do not wish to suggest that there is no overlap between historical fiction and the gothic romance; on the contrary, as Fiona Robertson has shown, the gothic imbues Scott's historical narratives at every level, but especially influences the style and structure of the Waverley novels.[78] For the purposes of this thesis, however, I am focusing less on history as genre and viewing it as a conceptual structure that Scott uses in order to make sense of the past, and to make a space for understanding how women lived in those particular pasts. *Waverley* and *Ivanhoe* are the novels that are most interesting in this respect, and so I have discussed them at length; indeed, the discussion of the development of Rebecca as a new type of medieval heroine takes up the final third of the thesis. *The Heart of Midlothian*, *The Monastery*, *Kenilworth*, and *Bizarro* are also discussed in relation to Scott's historiography as each of these novels has something quite unique to say about women in history. I spend considerably less time on these novels, however, as all of the heroines in these novels have literary antecedents or strong connections to literary associations that Scott makes apparent through either his apparatus or through epigraph, quotation and allusion to other texts. As such, when discussing these heroines I do not need to elaborate on the problem of how an author creates a historical heroine out of nothing.

I also wish to make a final observation about my choice in limiting the scope to a small sample of the female characters. Shaw has alluded to the difficulties in reading Scott's women in relation to history:

[78] Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, 3.

> Despite strenuous efforts, I find myself unable to shake the settled conviction, held through twenty years and two books, that the heart of Scott's matter involves history and the birth of a certain kind of novelistic realism. What I wish to argue, then, is that, if we attend to them, the women in Scott can expand our notion of the underlying protest that so many commentators have recognized energizes his vision and works.[79]

To comprehend Shaw's argument, one needs to agree with him regarding Scott's conception of history. While I have addressed various concepts of history in the introduction, I have not attempted to limit the discussion of Scott's various understandings of historiography by attributing to him a particular conception of history. I have found a looser definition of 'history' useful when discussing Scott's women, and have considered conceptions of history that privilege memory, for example, an approach which allows that historical events can be seen and interpreted through subjective eyewitness. As I have discussed, Shaw privileges a reading of Scott's novels as standard- and stadial-historical, and thus promotes a view of history as objective. There is little doubt that Scott held this conception of history, although what I have been arguing (following Ina Ferris) is that he was also interested in the parameters of historiography and was happy to include in his narratives a conception of idiomatic history that worked in tension with the stadial. Shaw's argument is convincing, then, in its discussion of the characters on which he focuses. In exploring the claim that 'male awe at a certain kind of female power is at the heart of Scott's imaginative life',[80] Shaw outlines an 'imagined genealogy' of female figures that begins with Meg Merrilies and ends with Saladin (arguably Scott's most feminine hero). The figure of 'a large and powerful woman is the source from which all the other

[79] Shaw, 'Scott, Women, and History', 285.
[80] Shaw, 285.

politically resonant female figures in Scott's novels are derived', yet their power is limited to 'potency-as-a-symbol'.[81] Any power, political or sexual, is attributed to the women by men who are in awe. I do not wish to argue against Shaw's claim, as I believe that the female characters' symbolic power, the power to awe, is at the heart of their glamour and is what makes characters like Meg Merrilies and Norna of the Fitful-Head distinctive. This thesis shares the logic of Shaw's argument, and that is the reason why I have limited the field to eleven female characters (I have deliberately chosen to not include the feminine heroes) that exemplify Scott's interest in women's history, and that do not exemplify his interest in them as objects of awe. The characters I will be discussing certainly possess symbolic power; however their relevance and function goes beyond symbolism, and they are seen to act in the course of history, and to have a perspective of their own on historical events. Ultimately, I have limited the study to those characters who display the feminine heroic, in other words, the heroines who take the place of the hero, as the characters who most articulate the values of heroic life as it is lived through historical events (if only briefly): as Morgan writes, '[w]hen the heroine becomes the hero, the novel offers a new definition of what heroism can mean'.[82] 'Waverley Women' is an attempt to establish the extent of Scott's achievement in introducing such a female figure to the realist novel.

[81] Shaw, 287.

[82] Morgan, 'Old Heroes and a New Heroine', 583.

PART ONE

The Female Reader and Scott's Romantic Researches

CHAPTER ONE

Scott's 'Romantic Research' and the Romance of the Archive

'The Chaos of a circulating Library'.[1]

Figure 2 William Borthwick Johnstone, *Burns in James Sibbald's Circulating Library*, 1856. Oil on canvas. Edinburgh, The Writers' Museum.

[1] Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance* in Stephen Regan (ed), *The Nineteenth-Century Novel: A Critical Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001), 17.

I The 'Kingdom of Fiction' and the Generative Male Reader

–And must I ravel out

My weaved-up follies?[2]

Let us consider an image of a juvenile Walter Scott. William Borthwick Johnstone's painting *Burns in James Sibbald's Circulating Library* (1856) is a dramatic depiction of a formative moment in Scott's childhood. In the private recesses of Sibbald's library we find the young Walter Scott (bottom right), sitting half in sunlight and half in shadow. He balances haphazardly on a foot-stool of a kind probably used by a bookseller to retrieve volumes for customers from the higher bookshelves. Around his feet piles of books lie scattered, as if the young Walter has chosen a book from the shelf only to quickly discard it in search of another, and then another. A small dog slumbers at his feet. The dog, the discarded books, and the dishevelled shelves that form Scott's backdrop signify the unruly, disordered and chaotic, but generative state of his mind and his reading. What little concentration he can muster has just this instant been utterly disrupted with the entrance into Sibbald's library of Robert Burns (third figure from the left). Scott gapes in reverential awe as two formative literary incidents – a near-meeting with Burns, and the raiding of Sibbald's shelves – are fused in Johnstone's nostalgic re-visioning of an anecdote related by Scott in his autobiographical writings.

The version of the twice-told anecdote that most likely furnished Johnstone with his subject appeared in Scott's *Memoir*:

[2] Scott's epigraph to the 'General Preface' of the Magnum edition, quoting Shakespeare's *Richard II*; in *The Prefaces to the Waverley Novels*, edited by Mark A. Weinstein (Lincoln and Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 86. The idea that weaving is a metaphor for telling stories, and that a story as text is 'like a fabric – spun, woven, knitted, sewn, or pieced together', is explored by Kathryn Sullivan Kruger in *Weaving the Word: The Metaphorics of Weaving and Female Textual Production* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2002), 30. It seems that this is a particularly potent image for Scott, given that he heads his 'General Preface' with these lines from Shakespeare, weaving his reading of Shakespeare into the story of his formation as a novelist whose life-story is understood in terms of the practices of weaving stories. Through the metaphor of weaving, literary Scott materialises.

> This collection, now dismantled and dispersed, contained at that time many rare and curious works, seldom found in such a collection. Mr Sibbald himself, a man of rough manners but of some taste and judgment, cultivated music and poetry, and in his shop I had a distant view of some literary characters, besides the privilege of ransacking the stores of old French and Italian books, which were in little demand among the bulk of his subscribers. Here ... I saw at a distance the boast of Scotland, Robert Burns.[3]

As a mature writer looking back on the youthful reading practices that the 'Sibbald's' anecdote exemplifies, Scott laments that his learning had been 'flimsy and inaccurate'.[4] He writes in his *Memoir* 'that it is with the deepest regret that I recollect in my manhood the opportunities of learning which I neglected in my youth'.[5]

This chapter takes as its focus the image of Walter Scott as a particular type of reader. In Johnstone's painting he is the figure of what I will be referring to as the 'generative' reader, a reader whose reading generates further meanings. As we have seen, Scott's reading in this painting is marked by an immersive, introspective attitude that may easily be disrupted, shows lack of commitment to finishing one book before commencing another, and displays the physical signs of an intellectual lack of commitment to ordered reading. Yet, while these qualities show the marks of what in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was considered 'dangerous' or 'desultory' reading, it is evident that Johnstone's painting presents to its Victorian viewers a celebratory and social vision of a type of reading that was so heavily discouraged in Scott's lifetime. Quixotic reading, the most widely-known literary manifestation of dangerous reading in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was closely tied to madness or dissipation in both

[3] David Hewitt, *Scott on Himself: A Selection of the Autobiographical Writings of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1981), 33-4.
[4] Hewitt, *Scott on Himself*, 31.
[5] Hewitt, *Scott on Himself*, 31.

men and women (but especially women). In commencing this chapter with a description of Johnstone's painting I have taken this composition as a confident celebration of the figure of the generative reader as an alternative to the quixotic reader. Scott's reading connects him to the social milieu he wishes to belong to, and so despite the desultoriness of his reading, it is this practice that finds him in an imaginative, associative relationship with the other figures that visit Sibbald's. Young Walter's capacity to combine literary with lived experience obscures any negative connotations of reading with immersive, anti-social behaviour. As I hope to show in a discussion of several of the Waverley novels, this has implications for the representation and symbolic resonances of both the male and female reading characters of the novels. Returning to a further discussion of Johnstone's representation of Scott as a generative reader I will trace a series of literary 'circumstances' (as Scott calls the incidents related to his formation as a poet and novelist) that shape a loose narrative surrounding Scott as a reader. The trajectory I am tracing is by no means the only one relevant to Scott and reading,[6] but it is one that I hope will enrich our understanding of, firstly, how Scott articulated anxieties about his own childhood reading practices; secondly, the legacy of those practices for a novelist who wrote with complexity about reading practices; and thirdly, how these articulations of reading practices generate a new framework for the novel wherein figures that are marginal to history – women, children – might be given a place in the narrative that is 'properly' historical.

I have chosen the following compositions for their articulation of the complex relationship of autobiography with romance. I will turn initially to two compositions; the posthumously-published *Memoir* he first drafted around the time of commencing his first novel *Waverley* (roughly 1808) and the 'Dedication' to the first series of *Tales of a Grandfather* (1827). This discussion will focus on childhood reading, disorder, and literary inheritance, and will introduce the idea of reading as a rite of passage for children. Finally, I will show how the

[6] For example, a fruitful study of Scott's reading might be to show how Scott projects his own reading onto his novels through extensive quoting and allusion, and how he shapes his readers' reading practices. This approach remains outside the bounds of this thesis.

positive image of the chaotic reader was influenced by Scott's explorations of reading, disorder and literary inheritance as presented through his two accounts of visiting Sibbald's. While versions of the accounts of the illnesses Scott mentions in the *Memoir* are numerous and variable,[7] I will take the Sibbald's episode as exemplary of how Scott links recuperation (as a kind of pastoral retreat) to generative reading.

My approach intentionally mirrors Scott's own technique in returning to 'spots of time'; I do this in order to illuminate Scott's technique as an attempt to establish a literary selfhood based in memories and inheritances of reading. For the purposes of this chapter I will focus on the fragments of autobiography that represent Scott's reading practices, and as such I will be skipping over the passages that represent Scott's ballad collecting and interest in oral tradition (unless they are directly relevant to a discussion of his reading), and his early career in law. Also, it is not my intention in this chapter to verify or query the accuracy of Scott's recordings of autobiographical details, or indeed whether his collective autobiographies are kinds of self-hagiography. I am interested in charting the thematic associations of disorder, generative reading and rites of passage. Because the 'Sibbald's' anecdote is recounted twice by Scott with varying detail and with some confusion and vagueness regarding the chronology, and the scenes and the causes of illness,[8] I will not attempt to establish the chronology of the episodes of illness. I will focus instead on the potency of images surrounding disorder and reading that are represented in Scott's autobiographical writings.

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[7] See of course the *Memoir* for Scott's fuller account, but also John Sutherland's summary in his biography of Scott (*The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 37.

[8] *Memoir*, 33, and the 'General Preface to the Waverley Novels,' 245-6; in David Hewitt (ed), *Scott on Himself: A Selection of the Autobiographical Writings of Sir Walter Scott*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1981. Both David Hewitt (295, n. 3) and Arthur Melville Clark (in *Sir Walter Scott: the formative years*, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1969, 136-7) point to a confounding of dates in the *Memoir* and the 'General Preface'. Scott writes: 'I am inadvertently led to confound dates while I talk of this remote period for as I have no notes it is impossible for me to remember with accuracy the progress of studies, if they deserve the name, so irregular and miscellaneous (*Memoir*, 34). Sutherland provides a 'list of serious ailments [Scott] suffered in childhood' and the approximate dates of each bout of illness (*Life of Walter Scott*, 37).

For the purpose of clarity, it is worth outlining the autobiographical material as signifying stages along a shambolic but essentially ascending trajectory from childhood to adult reading. The first stage, at which the foundation of reading habits based on self-directed reading is formed, occurs when Scott is immobilised by illness. This stage is characterised by the immature, insatiable, and omnivorous consumption of romances. The second stage shows the youthful reader pursuing his obsession with reading, yet beginning to discriminate due to a combination of over-familiarity with romance and a curiosity in seeking out new types of reading. While the youthful reader's imagination is, perilously, still at large in the circulating library, his reading is showing signs of maturing. The third stage shows the youthful reader ensconced in his uncle's private library. While this type of reading is still enthusiastic, it is retired, 'old-fashioned', and while still described by Scott as 'vague and wild' we get the sense that this final stage of youthful reading lays the foundation for the sort of retirement required by the later 'severe studies necessary to render [him] fit for [his] profession' of law. This type of youthful and indiscriminate male reader may be found repeatedly throughout the Waverley novels, and even if Scott did not point to the connection, Scott's readers would instantly recognise Waverley's reading-*Bildungsroman* in Scott's. Scott deftly weaves biography and fiction in this account of his youthful reading. And in so doing he creates a link between his youthful, disordered self and his mature, authoritative self through generative reading that leads him towards society. As Catherine Jones has explained, the autobiographical writings constitute not just a narrative of the self, but a narrative of the *development* of the self: 'Scott views the self in the "Memoirs" [sic] as the product of memory and imagination, the ideas of which form the reality of the world that he understood'.[9] The following discussion aims to lay in place the groundwork for addressing Scott's deep interest in gendered reading and the importance of reading for both men and women as a medium for articulating a sense of selfhood in time (which is essential for understanding the self in history).

[9] Jones, *Literary Memory*, 34-5.

II A 'Single Indulged Brat': Scott's Childhood and the *Memoir*

In April 1808 Scott (the accomplished poet and antiquary) revisited his childhood with the purpose of recording formative moments for posterity. The purpose of the *Memoir*, as Scott states, is to provide a record of 'a few leading circumstances (they do not merit the name of events) of a very quiet and uniform life that should my literary reputation survive my temporal existence the public may know from good authority all that they are entitled to know of an individual who has contributed to their amusement'.[10] The *Memoir*, however, does not comprise a 'very quiet and uniform' life-story. Two main themes emerge early from the *Memoir*, themes which are also revisited in the 'General Preface' although in a revised and condensed version; Scott found a series of severe illnesses disruptive to his formal education, and his reading practices were shaped by the disruptions caused by illness and by the recuperative environments imposed by his anxious parents.

Scott wrote of his early reading development – his forays into the 'kingdom of fiction'[11] – as a process which unfolded haphazardly during intermittent bouts of illness that plagued him during a large portion of his childhood. According to the *Memoir* these bouts of illness saw him shifted around the country in the hope that fresh air, exercise and removal from the more formal atmosphere of Edinburgh would improve his health. Over the course of his childhood and early adolescence Scott was sent to stay with relatives at various locations around Britain, including the popular resort at Bath and the less glamorous Scottish seaside town of Prestonpans, his Grandfather's Sandy Knowe farm at Smailholm (northern Roxburghshire), and, finally, with his aunt Janet (Jennie) Scott at his father's (and later uncle's) property in Kelso (also northern Roxburghshire). These locations afforded Scott a great deal of freedom; they were retreats where he was encouraged to range freely in both body and mind and he was not often required to

[10] Scott, *Memoir*, 1.

[11] Scott, 'General Preface', 245.

attend to his schooling. This freedom extended to his reading, and it is as a young child recovering in these retreats that he developed his voracious reading habits.

Scott's account of childhood begins with a family legend; he relates rather than recalls that in his infancy he contracted a 'fever' which led to temporary paralysis. 'I showed every sign of health and strength', Scott writes, 'untill I was about eighteen months old'.[12] We know now that the infant Scott contracted a form of poliomyelitis, which rendered him permanently lame in the right leg. Upon the advice of his grandfather, Dr. Rutherford, Scott was 'sent to reside in the country to give the chance of natural exertion, excited by free air and liberty'.[13] From 1773 until 1778 Scott became 'an inmate in the farm-house of Sandyknow'.[14] It is at this point in the narrative that Scott begins to weave his story out of his own memories and rely less on the recollections of others, and his earliest memories are marked by the demands of an uncontrollable, animalised body:

> It is here, in the residence of my paternal grandfather already mentioned, that I have the first consciousness of existence and I recollect distinctly that my situation and appearance were a little whimsical. Among the odd remedies recurred to, to aid my lameness, some one had recommended that so often as a sheep was killed for the use of the family I should be stripped and swathed up in the skin, warm as it was flayed from the carcase of the animal. In this tartar-like habiliment I well remember lying upon the floor of the little parlour in the farm house, while my grandfather a venerable old man with white hair, used every excitement to make me try to crawl.[15]

[12] Scott, *Memoir*, 11.
[13] Scott, *Memoir*, 11.
[14] Scott, *Memoir*, 11.
[15] Scott, *Memoir*, 12.

Scott also recalls himself as a wild infant, on one of these occasions, regaled by a relation 'kneeling on the ground before [him] and dragging his watch along the carpet to induce [him] to follow it'. Scott further laconically observes that the 'benevolent old soldier and the infant wrapped in his sheepskin would have afforded an odd group to uninterested spectators'.[16] This 'odd' and comic 'group' functions in the narrative in terms of what Mikhail Bakhtin refers to as the grotesque, as figured in the lame child-animal's stunted body. The grotesque body, for Bakhtin, 'is a body in the act of becoming'; it is 'never finished, never completed; it is continually built, created, and builds and creates another body'.[17] Scott's infant body is in grotesque animal disguise (his first disguise, making possible 'expression through concealment', in Judith Wilt's terms)[18] and not grotesque of itself, but this episode in which the infant body is animalised – literally carnivalised, enwrapped in the not-yet-cold skin of the animal destined for the Sandy Knowe table – commences a series of recollections where the body ('never finished, never completed') intrudes on and often shapes the narrative of Scott's intellectual development.

His recollections move rapidly from parlour floor to window seat (via the fireside tales and ballads of his grandmother) where a small collection of books are kept, and from which his Aunt Jennie reads to him. This is an ascent of sorts, a narrative gesture away from the carnival towards a more restrained pastoral mode, a gesture that Scott will again make use of when addressing his grandson as an aspiring reader of history in his preface to *Tales of a Grandfather* (which I will discuss below). Scott makes the point that this is the reading of a 'retired country family'; Scott perceives his childhood self to be a 'single indulged brat'[19] whose literary experiences were fostered, but not necessarily cultivated, by a concerned, tolerant and well-

[16] Scott, *Memoir*, 12.
[17] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, translated by Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 317.
[18] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 5.
[19] Scott, *Memoir*, 19.

meaning community of elderly relatives.[20] Scott returns to the theme of retired country reading at various points in the *Memoir*.[21]

With no story of consistent schooling to relate, the childhood segment of Scott's *Memoir* roughly follows a pattern dictated by the necessities of a growing body rather than the necessities of institutional learning. He weaves together memories of reading, retirement and illness to build an imagistic account of a slapdash education and an even more slapdash alternative self-education of undisciplined reading. It appears that in narrating the foundations of his biographical-literary afterlife as a poet Scott draws out a tension between oral tradition, which redeems him somewhat from his animal-infancy, and reading practice, but also reinforces his carnival being. Sutherland has perceptively pointed to the differing dynamics of orality and reading that appear to have shaped Scott's later character:

> At Sandy Knowe, ballads and tales had been common property, public things to be openly enjoyed and transmitted by the traditional machinery of oral recitation. They were shared by master, mistress, milkmaid and farmhand.[22]

Scott presents a pastoral idyll formed out of a common and predominantly oral culture; the milkmaids sing to one another, the more lettered of the household read ballads to those who are less educated.[23] This is the world of the apprentice poet and antiquary: 'The local information which I conceived had some share in forming my future taste and pursuits', Scott writes, 'I derived from the old songs and tales which then formed the amusement of a retired country

[20] Scott, *Memoir*, 13. Scott is keen, as a poet, to mention here that the family's interest in local tales and old songs had 'some share in forming my future taste and pursuits' (13). His series of illnesses of course relate in the same way to his acquisition of oral traditions and knowledge, but an account of this is beyond the concerns of the present study.
[21] Scott, *Memoir*; after a spell in Edinburgh Scott retired to Kelso to stay with his aunt in June 1783 (24), and again in 1784 (26). He has access to a 'respectable circulating library', and continues 'a long time reading what and how I pleased and of course reading nothing but what afforded me immediate entertainment'. It appears Scott was escaping from what he considered to be the 'confinement' of Edinburgh and High School education.
[22] Sutherland, *Life of Walter Scott*, 19.
[23] Sutherland, *Life of Walter Scott*, 19.

family'.[24] Retirement, locality, tradition and community are positive values that forge Scott's poet-identity; as John Sutherland puts it, 'Walter would bawl out his "Hardyknute" for the delectation of assembled company and hang on his grandparents' much-told stories in the evening parlour'.[25] The romance-reader and -writer, however, is more ambivalent about his precociousness, and the reason for this can be found, according to Sutherland, in the attitudes to reading and reading practices encountered during a later residence in his father's house in Edinburgh where Scott's unruly rural reading practices are firmly discouraged. It is apparent, then, that while the mature poet connects orality with the communal aspects of his early carnivalesque-bucolic existence, he also connects reading, especially his later romance reading, with eccentricity, which more often than not results in disorder. It is perhaps for this reason that the self-conscious physicality of reading is highlighted in his novels at the expense of a more immersive representation (a point to which I will return later). In his *Memoir*, however, his 'lameness and ... solitary habits' had made him 'a tolerable reader', and upon his return to Edinburgh his 'hours of leisure were usually spent in reading aloud' to his mother from Alexander Pope's translation of Homer.[26]

As Scott grew older his life became strictly regulated with a more-or-less permanent return to the family home in George Square, Edinburgh where physical movement and reading were severely restricted and monitored.[27] Aside from a brief residence at Kelso with his aunt (his 'health had become rather delicate from rapid growth'[28] — Sutherland has suggested a 'breakdown' partially caused by accelerated but still haphazard schooling[29]), Scott's reading was now shaped by the strict George Square routines implemented by a loving yet severe and distant father. Scott's account of his final childhood sickbed, examined in more detail in the next

[24] Scott, *Memoir*, 13.
[25] Sutherland, *Life of Walter Scott*, 19.
[26] Scott, *Memoir*, 19.
[27] See Sutherland, 'Confinement,' *The Life of Walter Scott*, 18-25.
[28] Scott, *Memoir*, 24.
[29] Sutherland, *Life of Walter Scott*, 24.

section, relates a very different situation to his earlier country retreats. He is not initially sent away from Edinburgh, and he undergoes what was for the adolescent Scott a type of torture – 'confinement'. In contrast to his earlier periods of recovery, the recuperation at Edinburgh when a youth of fifteen years bears the marks of a very restricted convalescence, yet while he is physically constrained he is still allowed to indulge his reading habits. Indeed, Scott recalls that during this strictly-managed convalescence his reading was his 'almost sole amusement'. Oddly, however, in the *Memoir* and then again in the 'Preface' to the Magnum, Scott, as we shall see, links his most life-threatening of illnesses, the illness at fifteen that sees him severely restricted in movement, diet and sociability, with his raids on James Sibbald's circulating library. In this Wordsworthian 'spot of time' Scott's unrestrained enjoyment of the library seems to prefigure his most dramatic and debilitating illness.

III Scott's 'Romantic Research' as a Rite of Passage

I now turn more specifically to the original representation of the youthful chaotic male reader that inspired Johnstone's painting. In his account of his raids on Sibbald's library Scott presents his haphazard plunderings in the context of the illness resulting from 'a near-fatal haemorrhage' in his lower bowels.[30] In the *Memoir* Scott relays the Sibbald's anecdote (already quoted at the beginning of this chapter) and then subsequently introduces the recollection that his health which 'had been hitherto rather uncertain and delicate was affected by the breaking of a bloodvessel [sic]':

> The regimen I had to undergo on this occasion was far from agreeable. It was spring, and the weather raw and cold yet I was confined to bed with a single blanket and bled and blistered till I scarcely had a pulse left. I had all the appetite of a growing boy, but was prohibited any sustenance beyond what was absolutely

[30] Sutherland, *Life of Walter Scott*, 37.

> necessary for the support of nature and that in vegetables alone … My only refuge was reading and playing at chess.[31]

This interesting stage of Scott's reading-*Bildungsroman* – his extension of knowledge of French and Italian authors of the Renaissance period which is contemporaneous with his last and most serious childhood illness – is what he refers to as his 'romantic research'.[32] Private lessons in Italian led to an 'intimacy with the works of Dante, Boiardo, Pulci',[33] adding to his previous knowledge of French romance authors. It is at Sibbald's that Scott finds his richest source of old romances, upon which, 'like a tiger',[34] he fastened. From the recollection of the library Scott's memory rapidly revisits the sickbed to recount the details of his bizarre convalescence, only to return to reading as his redemption: to 'the romances and poetry, which I chiefly delighted in, I had always added the study of history especially as connected with military events'.[35] After one or two relapses, Scott's physique 'gradually became hardened' and 'being both tall and muscular' he 'was rather disfigured than disabled' by lameness. Following the trajectory of ascent, the animal-child has been left behind, outgrown, and with him the disordered reading practices that were linked in Scott's recollections with convalescence. Books which hover between history and romance had been Scott's favourites. However, the society he was keeping in his late teens demanded of him that he 'correct' the 'former useless course of reading' in order to 'maintain' his 'rank in conversation'.[36] Scott's reading-*Bildungsroman* comes to a natural end through a desire to converse freely with friends whose educations were more conventional, and whose conversation revolved around the study of metaphysics. Sutherland marks this coming of age,

[31] Scott, *Memoir*, 34.
[32] Scott, *Memoir*, 33.
[33] Scott, *Memoir*, 33.
[34] Scott, *Memoir*, 33.
[35] Scott, *Memoir*, 34.
[36] Scott, *Memoir*, 40.

around the years 1788-92, as being 'a phase of major intellectual and character growth for Scott', a period when he also finds his professional vocation.[37]

The 'Sibbald's' anecdote is one of many scattered throughout the *Memoir* that portray the episodic and almost random scenes and contexts of Scott's childhood reading. In some ways, this anecdote is exemplary of the others; most of the reading anecdotes follow a structure of illness, retreat, and reading (not necessarily in that order). This particular anecdote, though, provides the most comprehensive account of this process. The relocation back to his family home in Edinburgh after recuperation was disruptive and Scott's narrative account of childhood mirrors the fragmented existence of a young life that was made coherent largely by reading romances and absorbing ballads; his narrative, like his peripatetic childhood, is shambolic. Memory breaks down; scenes of illness seemingly merge with reading practices and events cannot be relayed in order with any certainty. The jumble of references to disorder and reading that are conveyed throughout the *Memoir* show how deeply anxious Scott was about his educational development. It is apparent that Scott was attempting to shape a narrative trajectory of ascent out of circumstances that resist and disrupt any sense of coherence (and self-containment) which might be expected in a standard *Bildungsroman*.

The figure of the reading juvenile was further explored by Scott in relation to his grandson, to whom Scott dedicated a much later work, *Tales of a Grandfather*. This is a work which affords Scott the opportunity to revisit his childhood by sharing his advice about educational reading practices with his grandson. While the *Memoir* establishes a sense of self through memories of reading, the dedication to the *Tales* establishes a sense of self through establishing a transgenerational literary tradition. Both pieces reject the idea of childhood learning as an imitative exercise and present the child reader as the younger version of an eventual cultivated 'self', one that does not necessarily have to reject an immersive, chaotic and sometimes uncontrollable passion for reading.

[37] Scott, *Memoir*, 44.

Figure 3 Frontispiece to the 1829 edition of *Tales of a Grandfather*, drawn by William Allan.

IV *Tales of a Grandfather* and Children's Romantic Research

'When taken to bed last night, [Scott] told his aunt he liked that lady. "What lady"? says she. "Why, Mrs Coburn; for I think she is a virtuoso like myself". "Dear Walter", says aunt Jenny, "what is a virtuoso"? "Don't ye know? Why, it's one who wishes and will know everything"'.[38]

Scott wrote his Scottish historical *Tales of a Grandfather* for his invalided grandson, John Hugh Lockhart, a few years before commencing work on the Magnum Opus in earnest. The dedicatee 'Hugh Littlejohn, Esq.' – 'a person of quick study, and great penetration'[39] – is established in the context of the dedication as the ideal child-reader of *Tales of a Grandfather*. The *Tales* were conceived out of a concern that children's authors condescended to their audience. Scott wrote earlier in his *Memoir*:

> I rather suspect that children derive impulses of a powerful and important kind in hearing things which they cannot entirely comprehend; and therefore, that to write *down* to children's understanding is a mistake: set them on the scent, and let them puzzle it out.[40]

Scott conveys this opinion in similar terms to his general reader in the 'Preface' to *Tales*; 'There is no harm, but on the contrary there is benefit, in presenting a child with ideas somewhat beyond

[38] J.G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1837), Vol. 1, 87.
[39] Walter Scott, 'Dedication', *Tales of a Grandfather*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1828), 4.
[40] Scott, *Memoir*, 18.

his easy and immediate comprehension'.[41] It is interesting to note where Scott sits within the general Romantic interest in childhood and the education of children. Linda M. Austin has argued that 'the preoccupation with childhood' at the end of the eighteenth century was a sign 'of a growing attention to memory and its limits': 'In the nineteenth century, 'childhood', especially when used regarding one's own life story, usually referred to a retrospective condition rather than to duration'.[42] Furthermore, Carolyn Steedman has noted that '[c]hildhood was a category of dependence, a term that defined certain relationships of powerlessness, submission and bodily inferiority or weakness'.[43] It is evident that Scott did not agree with this conception of childhood, and in this he is closely aligned with female writers on the education of children. Judith Plotz has noted that male authors such as Charles Lamb, S.T. Coleridge and Thomas De Quincey were hostile toward female educators such as Anna Letitia Barbauld, Maria Edgeworth and Mary Wollstonecraft, 'who see childhood as continuous with rather than distinct from adulthood':[44]

> Largely uninterested in staging 'The Child' in a decontextualized state of being, these women writers – unlike the ... male Romantics who reify the Child – focus on multiple states of social and ethical becoming rather than on unitary states of being. Their stories stage interactions among members of a family or other small communities in which children learn the life lessons that help them to function as self-regulated adults.[45]

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[41] Scott, 'Preface' to *Tales of a Grandfather*, 4.

[42] Linda M. Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition, 1780 – 1917* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 88.

[43] Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780 – 1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 7; quoted in Austin, 89.

[44] Judith Plotz, *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), xv.

[45] Plotz, *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood*, xv.

As Alan Richardson has described, the Romantic child for poets such as Wordsworth and Coleridge appears 'Edenic, natural and asocial'.[46] In contrast, Scott's child is profoundly social, and due to that sociability a 'taste' for history might be acquired through inquisitiveness. In advice given to Lord Montagu, Scott writes in a letter dated 5 October 1823 (five years before Scott published the initial volumes of *Tales of a Grandfather*):

> I have been thinking a great deal about the plan of reading history in the most useful manner. The great preliminary matter is if possible to create a taste for the study which cannot be done by imposing a course of reading as mere task work. ... Pictures and prints I have found in my family lectures a very good mode of fixing attention ... it is not to children alone that such illustrations are useful. ... I would be much more anxious to create the taste for the science of history in the outset than that my pupil should go through many books ... Let a youth get the leading and interesting facts fixd in his mind and the philosophy will come afterwards both with ease and pleasure. ... The taste for history being once formed the course of reading becomes a subsequent and easier subject of consideration. ... I would take the outline from one historian of more modern date and resort to old chronicles for illustrations of such facts as are told with more naiveté or piquancy of detail by co[n]temporaries.[47]

An ascent of learning is established through moving from pictures to text, always keeping in mind the purpose of 'fixing' the child's attention and ensuring their active participation in learning. It is telling that Scott recommends this technique for learning history for both children

[46] Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice 1780-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 14.

[47] Walter Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, edited by H.J.C. Grierson, Vol. VIII (London: Constable & Co, 1935), 102-5. Quoted in Rosemary Mitchell, *English History in Text and Image 1830 to 1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 1.

and adults. In the process of writing the *Tales*, Scott also broadened their appeal to include 'the Public'; in other words, a general readership also consisting of adults. It is the case, then, that Scott presents to his readers a collection of historical tales that are aimed at a transgenerational readership. Both the 'Preface' and the 'Dedication' in referencing Scott's relationship with his grandchild embed the *Tales* within the family reading circle. The 'Preface' also acts to extend this personal relationship out to an imagined community of general readers who may replicate the domestic reading relationship in their own homes. The general reader, who may find the *Tales* to be a 'source of instruction', is invited to share the private and inner life of the ideal reader, 'the young Person for whom the compilation was made'. This particular child's life is lived within an adult context, which is especially reinforced by the frontispiece portrait of Johnnie with one of Scott's staghounds at Abbotsford, titled 'Hugh Littlejohn at his Grandfather's Gate' (Figure 3).

The child reader is welcomed into the world of adult reading, and through shared reading, the child and the adult are on common ground. Also, Scott further establishes a literary inheritance across generations within the domestic reading circle of families by referring to the relationship of Johnnie to his father, Scott's son-in-law, editor and biographer, John Gibson Lockhart. Scott urges his grandson to be directed by his father's reading:

> When ... you find anything a little too hard for you to understand at this moment, you must consider that you will be better able to make out the sense a year or two afterwards; or perhaps you may make a great exertion, and get at the meaning, just as you might contrive to reach something placed upon a high shelf, by standing on your tiptoes, instead of waiting till you grow taller. Or who knows but papa will give you some assistance, and that will be the same as if he set you upon a stool that you might reach down what you wanted.[48]

[48] Scott, 'Dedication' to *Tales of a Grandfather*, 5

The metaphors come directly from the embodied experience of accessing a library. To be tall enough to reach the high shelves with ease is a rite of passage. Likewise, gaining reading assistance from one's parent is a kind of striving; it allows access to mature reading practices beyond the immediate scope and comprehension of the child, leaving open a place for wonder in which a virtuoso child might thrive. 'Reportedly', writes John Sutherland, 'Johnnie Lockhart was entranced by the work'.[49] *Tales* might also read as a 'mea culpa'.[50] Scott is perhaps redressing his own disordered reading by ensuring his grandson's is sufficiently supported so that he does not fall into the habit of similar disordered reading practices.

For Scott, common ground between the young and old is found through acts of remembrance and imagination and in the case of *Tales of a Grandfather* the connection is through the writing and reading of history. A less obvious impetus for writing the 'Dedication' to *Tales* is part of the process of negotiating reading oneself out of illness, and reinforces the idea of reading being a rite of passage, not just an escape, for children overcoming setbacks. The 'Dedication' shows that the reading rite of passage rather than disconnecting the child from the adult reconnects the child with the adult in an act of Romantic memory. More so, the frontispiece comprises Scott's personal act of Romantic memory, and informs his figure of the mature, generative male reader who retains ties with the child. The adult reader is generative, here, in two senses; the reader is able to create multiple readings of history by interpreting for the child, and reading itself becomes intergenerational, creating further meanings of connection through literary inheritance within community.

The frontispiece is one of many portraits that associate Scott's dogs with Abbotsford. Johnnie rests on a step at the entrance of his grandfather's house between bouts of play with clacken and ball, while the giant hound (either Bran or Nimrod) sits attendant on his playmate.

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[49] Sutherland, *Life of Walter Scott*, 318.

[50] In his *Memoir*, Scott writes that as a child he was a 'single indulged brat' in his reading, and that he had 'guarded against nothing more in the education of my own family than against their acquiring habits of self-willed caprice and domination' (*Scott on Himself*, 19).

Traditionally, dogs, especially hunting dogs like the staghound, would symbolise 'freedom and, through their associations with hunting, virility'.[51] In the case of the frontispiece, however, it is more likely that the alert yet relaxed dog signifies loyalty and nobility (two virtues that are typically represented in historical tales, especially those that feature chivalric feats), and is included as a loved pet in a further intimate connection with Scott's private life. Also, Scott uses a hunting metaphor when he suggests that children ought not to be written down to; 'set them on the scent'. As I will discuss in the chapter on Monica and *Bizarro*, Scott relished the hunting metaphor as a description of the powerful human impulse to gain knowledge. In the first volume of *Tales of a Grandfather* he notes the origins of the word in relation to bloodhounds, or 'sleuth-hounds', dogs known for taking up the *sleut* or scent,[52] and this sensory image which for Scott corresponds with the other sensory image of possessing a 'taste' for history is aptly illustrated in the frontispiece portrait through depicting the child and hound as natural companions. There is a further signification indicated by the placement of the hound next to Johnnie. In the background to the right of the dog stands a monument to Maida the greyhound, a favourite pet of Scott's that had died in 1824. The monument of a recumbent hound was erected on a block which is said 'to have begun life as a louping-on-stane which Scott, because of his lameness, used in mounting his horse'.[53] The statue of Maida is a further reminder of Scott's love of the outdoors, the link of dogs with hunting, horse riding, and the physical freedom these activities bring, but also the necessary aid Scott required in order for him to participate in these activities. There is a sense of physical as well as intellectual striving that the portrait alludes to in its complex handling of canine images. The reutilised mounting block is mirrored in the front step, which appears more pronounced in this portrait than in a similar illustration from 1832 of the facade of Abbotsford by William Allan. Through the positioning of the two dogs and the two stones, the

[51] Jeanne Cannizzo, '"He was a gentleman, even to his dogs": Portraits of Scott and his Canine Companions,' in Iain Gordon Brown (ed), *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 126.

[52] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, Vol. 1, 127.

[53] Cannizzo, '"He was a gentleman, even to his dogs"', 132.

frontispiece cleverly expresses Scott's desire to nurture Johnnie's education by encouraging him to strive for knowledge in a tangibly physical way that overcomes the conventional boundaries that hold children back. In following the trajectory of ascent I have already mentioned, there is a further doubling as Scott's own infant-animal self bifurcates into child and dog. In the juxtaposition of past and current pets, the frontispiece references a continuity of generations in a domestic context, while prefacing for children and the general reader the connections of history with Scott's feudal, noble and handsome dogs. Maxwell, in writing about the 'dream of antiquarian recovery' that Abbotsford represents for Scott, notes how the house is 'domestic and museum-like both', and as a building 'creates a mood of reverence associated with social, cultural, and ultimately national oneness'.[54] Fiona Robertson, in discussing the apparatus for the Magnum edition, has noted Scott's tendency for 'transforming his life, reading, opinions, and antiquarian possessions into a supportive structure for his fiction'.[55] This point can also be made for Scott's historical *Tales*, considering his inclusion of William Allan's illustration of his grandson at Abbotsford. In placing Johnnie in the centre of the illustration, Allan draws attention to the *Tales*' function as intergenerational reading as nation-building. Abbotsford is a site of lived and living history as embodied in a child who is surrounded by traces of the past, traces that are to be read communally.

Tales is a particularly poignant work, not only for its style (Sutherland comments that it is 'the most tender of Scott's productions'[56]) but also for its context; it is a work written by a grandfather for an invalided grandson who did not outlive childhood. Yet the publication of the *Tales* acts as a means for communal remembering. By anchoring the child reader at Abbotsford, the pictorial dedication (by Allan, which complements Scott's dedication as Grandfather at Abbotsford) has disrupted the relationships of submission and substituted a narrative of the child based on duration and shared identities of child, parent and grandparent through reading

[54] Maxwell, 'Inundations of Time', 424.
[55] Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, 150.
[56] Sutherland, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 318.

history. The adult can identify with the child, a reflection which (in Austin's terms) 'requires negotiations between the consciousness of a present self and its cognitions of the past'.[57] The 'Dedication' reinforces the idea that the self (for Scott) can be articulated through reading practices and literary inheritances by merging the representation of child, father and grandfather (and grandfather's dogs) into one text. Scott wrote in his *Memoir*:

> My own enthusiasm [as a young reader] ... was chiefly awakened by the wonderful and the terrible, the common taste of children, but in which I have remained a child even unto this day.[58]

Figure 4 Detail from William Borthwick Johnstone, *Burns in James Sibbald's Circulating Library*, 1856. Oil on canvas. Edinburgh, The Writers' Museum.

The virtuoso grandfather wishes nothing else for his grandson than to experience the wonders of reading, then to undertake the difficult ascent towards adulthood that is required of a child who wants to 'know everything'. It is the process of ascent and its meanings for selfhood and memory, rather than the arrival at adulthood, which seem to most interest Scott. And we may see traces of this kind of embodied selfhood, reading as child's play, in the figure of Johnstone's young Walter Scott, seated next to his loyal dog, in pursuit of his 'Romantic researches' at Sibbald's, in ascent towards adulthood in the presence of Robert Burns and the most brilliant of that generation of Edinburgh literati.

Many have noted the importance of selfhood and memory to Scott, and have also noted Scott's understanding of these concepts as transformative for both an understanding of how the

[57] Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition*, 93.
[58] Scott, *Memoir*, 19.

self articulates from childhood to adulthood as a coherent, embodied process. The Romantic adult maintains a strong connection with the Romantic child, and it is through shared reading, I have argued, that this connection is most potently felt. Revisiting the latter-end of Scott's career I will now turn to the 'General Preface' of the Magnum Opus edition in order to further explore the idea of the generative reader in relation to Scott's mythmaking in relation to the genesis of *Waverley*. In repossessing and rearticulating his *oeuvre* through the Magnum edition, the 'Author of Waverley' offers a series of autobiographical revisitations in which he dramatises his own youthful reading practices in the context of his later career as a poet, novelist and antiquary. The impact of this was to encourage in the imaginations of his readers a new idea of the unruly reader as chaotic but not quixotically deranged, a figure that could be celebrated for his eccentricity and not derided for his insanity. The following chapter will build on this idea, and in returning to the ways in which Scott reinscribes his childhood self for the 'General Preface' to the Magnum edition, I wish to draw out further articulations of selfhood and memory that became central to the mythology behind the genesis of *Waverley*. In using the term 'mythology' I do not wish to suggest that what Scott writes about the circumstances leading up to his composing his first novel is untrue. If Scott, as Robertson suggests, transforms his life into a 'supportive structure' for his fiction, it is then the case that there is an element of mythologising, in that Scott's is a story about how the Waverley novels evolved. The most striking part of the story is Scott's passion for reading which he shares with his first hero, Edward Waverley. As I hope to show, many of the changes made to the later account of his childhood reading in the 'General Preface' render it less idiosyncratic and quixotic than that in the *Memoir*. This is Scott romanticising his own history, and I wish to point to other events that took place around the time that he was composing *Waverley* that reveal an interest in how he might also develop female characters that are passionate in the same way as Waverley for romance reading, but are not quixotic. In developing such a heroine, Scott was able to explore what he had learned through his

involvement with theatre; that the female heroic might elicit a potent feeling in an audience for nationalist sentiment.

CHAPTER TWO

Scott's Self-Fashioning and the Genesis of *Waverley*

I The *Magnum* and the Reinvention of the Childhood Self: A Boy's Own Adventure

In writing repeatedly yet contradictorily as an adult about his childhood reading practices, Scott celebrates, castigates, boasts of and denounces his voracious yet untutored reading. With his final edition of the novels Scott returns yet again to the early scenes of his disordered reading in order to unite the kind of reading practices depicted in the Waverley novels with his own reading practices. I will argue in this section, then, that Scott's revisiting of what I have been calling his 'reading-*Bildungsroman*' in his novels and in his final edition of his novels provided a new figure of the reader — an undisciplined, untutored, self-directed or striving reader who, rather than displaying the 'quixotic' tendencies of the disordered reader who also displays signs of madness, displays a healthy eccentricity, an originality, and youthfulness, and a sense of wonder.

The Magnum Opus edition, published in instalments from 1829, has been described by Jane Millgate in her study *Scott's Last Edition* as 'a separate version of Scott's entire fictional canon, one in which the novels cohere together as part of a corporate entity, and in which individual novels are encompassed by the new editorial framework and include textual revisions that are a product of that final editorial enterprise'.[1] Millgate, Judith Wilt, and Fiona Robertson have considered the function of the 'new editorial framework'; Wilt and Millgate assert that Scott's Magnum edition of the novels was an act of repossession after a long period of publishing anonymously; Robertson, while acknowledging that it stands as an act of repossession, also points to how the 'explanatory and introductory material' ought to be considered in 'terms of its literary impact, its persuasiveness in supporting particular

[1] Jane Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1987), 116. This is the definitive history of the genesis and publication of the final edition of the novels during Scott's lifetime.

interpretations of individual novels, and in creating a main direction for Scott's work as a whole'.[2] In other words, the function of embedding new editorial 'apparatus' amongst the novels was to direct his readers' literary interpretations: 'No series of works before the Waverley Novels had been reissued by their author with a User's Guide',[3] as Robertson remarks. While drawing on these discussions of the functions of repossession and authority of the prefaces and explanatory notes, I wish to focus more specifically on how autobiography functions in the first of the prefaces, the 'General Preface', the preface that sees the reading practices of the author and of his first fictional creation, Edward Waverley, fused through the prism of autobiography in an account of the impact of Scott's education on his career as a novelist. In focusing on two passages from the 'General Preface' we can see Scott's technique at work.

In the late 1820s, after enjoying over a decade of anonymity as a novelist, Scott was coming to terms with the recent public revelation of his authorship of the Waverley novels. Part of this process was to revisit his novels and to resume 'a sort of parental control'[4] over them, over his unruly readers, but also, less obviously, to gain parental control over his own unruly youthful reading-self. In the 'General Preface' Scott returns not only to the history of the composition of *Waverley* but to the unpublished, fragmentary *Memoir* that he had been writing around the same time. While reasserting parental control over Edward Waverley, Scott seems to conflate all the elements of his entire reading history that he so painstakingly set out in their various stages in his *Memoir*. As such, the 'General Preface' is a kind of revision of the *Memoir*. We have already noted the 'Sibbald's' anecdote as related in the *Memoir*; here is the revision:

> There was … a circulating library in Edinburgh, founded, I believe, by the celebrated Allan Ramsay, which, besides containing a most respectable collection of books of every description, was, as might have been expected, peculiarly rich in works of

[2] Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, 149.
[3] Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, 144.
[4] Walter Scott, 'Advertisement' to the Magnum Opus, quoted in Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, 143.

> fiction. It exhibited specimens of every kind, from the romances of chivalry, and the ponderous folios of Cyrus and Cassandra, down to the most approved works of later times. I was plunged into this great ocean of reading without compass or pilot; and unless when some one had the charity to play at chess with me, I was allowed to do nothing save read, from morning to night … As my taste and appetite were gratified in nothing else, I indemnified myself by becoming a glutton of books. Accordingly, I believe I read almost all the romances, old plays, and epic poetry, in that formidable collection, and no doubt was unconsciously amassing materials for the task in which it has been my lot [to] be so much employed.[5]

Reading is here contextualised as child's play, but it is also something that is seen as a serious attempt by a youth to engage imaginatively with the outside world – to circulate throughout James Sibbald's 'kingdom of books' as a short respite from the sick-bed. The corresponding memories of illness and reading signify a strong recurring theme of disorder in the *Memoir* and the 'General Preface'.

In the 'General Preface' Scott relates his illness as a prelude to the Sibbald's anecdote. In this revised account Scott is perhaps more 'literary' about his illness:

> When boyhood advancing into youth required more serious studies and graver cares, a long illness threw me back on the kingdom of fiction, as if it were by a species of fatality. My indisposition arose, in part at least, from my having broken a blood-vessel; and motion and speech were for a long time pronounced positively dangerous. For several weeks I was confined strictly to my bed, during which time I

[5] Scott, 'General Preface', 246.

> was not allowed to speak above a whisper, to eat more than a spoonful or two of boiled rice, or to have more covering than one thin counterpane.[6]

He was an insatiable reader, 'a growing youth, with the spirits, appetite, and impatience of fifteen ... abandoned to [his] own discretion', who 'abused the indulgence which left [his] time so much at [his] own disposal'. Scott then fondly recalls the circulating library, 'peculiarly rich in works of fiction', which he plundered 'at [his] own pleasure'. It is among the books from this library that Scott imagines himself as an undirected and insatiable reader, recovering from a debilitating illness, reading himself out of the confines of the sick-room. As he works his way through the shelves at his own discretion he gradually becomes sated with the specious 'romances of chivalry' and in turn seeks 'histories, memoirs, voyages and travels, and the like, events nearly as wonderful as those which were the work of imagination, with the additional advantage that they were at least in a great measure true'. A 'lapse of nearly two years' of illness and recovery were followed by a 'temporary residence' with his uncle 'in the country, where [he] was again very lonely but for the amusement which [he] derived from a good though old-fashioned library'.[7]

In contrast to the *Memoir*, this anecdote constitutes the one rendering of his childhood reading in the 'General Preface'. The many instances of childhood reading are telescoped into the one significant 'Sibbald's' scene, and the effect of this concentration is to efface the episodic and one might say picaresque nature of his early reading. The sheepskin has been shed, and a more conventional, however still undirected and enthusiastic, boyhood education is presented. This is the image Johnstone was to later work with, allowing only a glancing reference to Scott's lameness with the subtle incorporation of a walking stick lying next to him on the floor. (This detail is not easily discernible in any of the reproductions of Johnson's painting, and can only be noticed on very close inspection of the painting as it hangs in the Burns room at the Edinburgh

[6] Scott, 'General Preface', 245.
[7] Scott, 'General Preface', 246.

Writers Museum). The connection of reading and recovery transfers over to the Waverley novels as, in Maxwell's terms, an 'aestheticized restfulness', an imaginative retreat that defines the generative reader as Scott articulates him. 'Scott is the classic entertainment of the convalescent', Maxwell writes, 'the slowly recovering patient separated from the grind of the outside world but struggling to recover contact with it'.[8] It is a struggle to recover contact with the outside world, through understanding the world through romance reading.

II Scott's Autobiography and Edward Waverley: The Reading-*Bildungsroman* as a Rite of Passage

Peter Garside has shown that Scott developed the figure of the youthful male reader in *Waverley* while composing his memoirs[9] and how Scott returned to his childhood reading and explicitly linked it with Waverley's. Part of this reprojection is Scott directing his readership to interpret the youthful male reader of the Waverley novels in the context of his own reading-*Bildungsroman*. What I would like to argue additionally in the following chapters is that the reprojection also allows for a reinterpretation of the female reader that sees her alongside the male reader in a struggle towards the world, and towards history. Both hero and heroine, through Scott's autobiographical renderings of generative reading, are developed away from the quixotic tradition, and their romance reading is in many senses what anchors them to the realities of historical circumstances.

As already noted, with the publication of the Magnum edition Scott set out to write his juvenile reading history into the history of the genesis of the novels. As Fiona Robertson writes:

[8] Maxwell, 'Inundations of Time', 421.

[9] P.D. Garside, 'Essay on the Text,' *Waverley*, edited by Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 374-5; 'An affinity between the account [in the *Memoir*] of his own uneven education and that of the young Edward Waverley (most obviously in Chapter 3) has been noted by a number of commentators … [It] seems not unreasonable to surmise that significant parts of the two exercises may well have been written in tandem'.

> In the context of the Magnum Opus, Scott's descriptions of himself as a boy, wrapped up in his own imaginative world and avidly reading Spenser, Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Froissart, and histories of Scotland, are functional rather than incidental. They also have a way of making fiction and fact interdependent, for Scott anchors the description of his boyhood reading by likening himself to his own fictional creation, Edward Waverley. When appended to a collection of novels, such descriptions are more than merely an exercise in personal taste. The personality of the author is set up as a unifying device as thoroughly as had been the evasion of personality between 1814 and 1826 [when Scott confessed to being the Great Unknown at a public event].[10]

Scott plays with fiction and autobiography to reinforce but also reinvent his sense of self, as a boyish adventurer at large upon a sea of books. This is prescient of the boy's own adventure motif that was developed later in the nineteenth century by authors such as H. Rider Haggard, Rudyard Kipling and Robert Louis Stevenson, elements of which can be seen in novels such as *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*, where adventure is seen as something that forms masculinity. A large part of his identity, that which links his older and younger 'selves' through acts of memory, is the kingdom of fiction and its metonymic correspondent, the reader. In revisiting his youthful self, the mature artist interweaves his own youthful reading with that of his first major character.

Beginning with *Waverley*, the figure of the generative reader regularly appears in Scott's novels, a recurrence which might hint at a more general anxiety regarding the function of reading in early nineteenth-century Britain. At the time of writing both the *Memoir* and the 'General Preface' there was a great deal of unease surrounding the content and practice of reading. According to Jacqueline Pearson, perilous, immersive reading practices were quite literally linked to a range of afflictions including illness, 'corrupt sexuality', 'family and marital breakdown,

[10] Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, 152.

incest, seduction and rape'.[11] It was an anxiety which Scott evidently shared with his nineteenth-century readership, but did not necessarily adhere to when developing his male and female reading characters.

In terms of the scope of this thesis, Scott's strong identification with Waverley's reading has had a very particular impact on the ways in which we read his novels. While I have been arguing that Scott's articulations of reading, illness, and intergeneration are liberating in the sense that reading acquires positive, generative connotations, it is also the case that the mythologies that are produced out of linking author and creation in a gendered act of reading have sidelined any evaluation of the female characters of *Waverley* as female generative readers. In merging his youthful reading history with Waverley's in the 'General Preface', Scott laid the foundations for a tradition of masculine reading relating to the Waverley novels that has encouraged particular interpretations of Scott's works (especially *Waverley*) that inadvertently play down the significance of the female reader. While there is no doubt, as Peter Garside and others have shown, that there is a strong connection between the development of Scott's first hero and the writing of the *Memoir* it is also the case that Scott was involved in other activities that feed into *Waverley* and influence the ways in which he developed his female characters. In the following section of this chapter, I will attempt to outline an alternative genesis to *Waverley* that focuses more on the development of patriotic female characters, to be read in conjunction with the 'authorised' version of the genesis we have received from Scott.

[11] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain*, 105; 121.

III Joanna Baillie's *The Family Legend* and Scott's Involvement in Scottish National Theatre: An Alternative Account of the Genesis of *Waverley*

Most accounts[12] of the genesis of *Waverley* have relied – while expressing a healthy dose of scepticism – upon Scott's own account of the haphazard beginnings of his first novel: a manuscript commenced, then abandoned and stowed away; a move from Ashestiel to Abbotsford; a hunt for fishing tackle in the Abbotsford lumber garret leading to the rediscovery of the manuscript in the drawer of an old writing desk; the recommencement of the manuscript spurred on by the recent successes of Maria Edgeworth, Jane Porter and Sydney Owenson; and, the importance to the initial chapters of the alignment of the hero's education and development from adolescence to adulthood with Scott's own development as set out in his *Memoir* and the later general introduction to the Magnum edition. Close studies of *Waverley* that compare it with the autobiographical material have shown there to be a substantial element of truth to this account, an account that has been largely generated by Scott, but also (and perhaps more importantly) these studies have pointed to the mythmaking that is present in Scott's story of the genesis of *Waverley*, especially that which concerns his haphazard education and how this was then lent to Edward Waverley. I wish to offer a different account of the genesis of *Waverley* which complements the basics of the received and dominant account. The one I propose is focused on the Edinburgh theatre scene as an intermediate point in Scott's transition from poet to novelist. As Garside notes in his 'Essay on the Text', the dominant story of the genesis of the novel, especially in its key detail of searching out fishing tackle for a guest, evokes 'a casual gentlemanly creativity' which has been (perhaps) superimposed at a distance of at least two decades and 'with new priorities in mind', namely writing key events of his life onto an account of the genesis of the Waverley novels in general,[13] for the Magnum edition. In drawing attention

[12] For a summary of recent researches into the genesis of *Waverley*, see P.D. Garside's 'Essay on the Text' in his edition of the novel (especially 'The Genesis of *Waverley*, 367-83). I will be referring to Garside's 'Essay' as the most recent, extensive and definitive account of the genesis of *Waverley*.

[13] Garside in Scott, *Waverley*, 368.

away from Scott's account to focus on his work in the theatre during 1809 and 1810, and a visit to the theatre in 1813 (which has been noted by Garside, but not explored further than its relevance to dating the composition of *Waverley*) an entirely different story emerges of the renewed interest and dedication to finishing the novel, which suggests that the 'casual gentlemanly creativity' that had been triggered by the serendipitous discovery of his sporting equipment, leading him to the casually cast-aside manuscript was paralleled by a creative urge inspired by his spirited involvement with a female-centred theatre scene. Furthermore, the Edinburgh theatre-centred account borrows some attention from Edward Waverley and puts the focus onto Rose Bradwardine and Flora Mac-Ivor, to suggest Scott's awareness of the importance of women's place in the promotion of national literature and the arts, and also this understanding of the centrality of women to exploring the complexities of economic and political union on stage and in the novel.

Writing to Mrs Marianne Maclean Clephane in 1809, Scott describes a manuscript 'play of Miss [Joanna] Baillie on the tale of Lady's Rock'[14] that he wishes to show her. He tells her, 'I have promised to do my possible to bring it out at Edinburgh, and have no doubt of its success'.[15] Lady Louisa Stuart's opinion about the play had also been sought in 1809 when developing it for the stage. These initial actions on behalf of Baillie, who was at the time in London, were part of a deep involvement in politicking for the establishment of the actor Henry Siddons and his wife, the Scottish-born actress Harriet, as managers of the Edinburgh Theatre Royal in 1809.[16] Once the patent of the Theatre Royal was secured, Baillie, Scott and Henry Mackenzie were able to promote with Henry and Harriet Siddons and her actor brother William Henry Murray, a theatre dedicated to national concerns in the tradition of Baillie's earlier plays on the passions. The new Theatre Royal's first major production was to be Baillie's *The Family*

[14] N.d. Scott, *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, Volume II (London: Constable & Co, 1932), 191.
[15] Scott, *Letters*, Volume II, 192.
[16] For a full account of Scott's involvement in 'reforming' the Edinburgh theatre by helping secure the patent for Henry Siddons, see Christopher Worth, '"A very nice Theatre at Edinr.": Sir Walter Scott and Control of the Theatre Royal', *Theatre Research International*, 17.2 (1992), 86-95.

Legend, a historical play based on events in Scotland in the fourteenth century, with its focus on the tale of Lady's Rock as a symbol for Scotland's position within the Union. As we shall see, the account that Scott gives Baillie of the first performance of *The Family Legend* reveals a dramaturgical approach to the play that relies on the powerful visual rhetoric of a central scene which takes place on Lady's Rock, a scene which is driven by the emotive and passionate acting style of Harriet Siddons.

An account of the story on which *The Family Legend* was based had been handed to Baillie 'by the Hon. Mrs Damer', a Campbell descendant,[17] 'as a legend long preserved in the family of her maternal ancestors, which appeared to her well fitted to produce a strong effect on the stage'.[18] In the fifteenth century, a feud had long subsisted between the Lord of Argyll and the Chieftain of Maclean, who, in the action of the play, have come to an agreement to keep peace through the marriage of Argyll's beautiful daughter, Helen, to Maclean. At the opening of the play, the birth of Helen's son to Maclean sparks the resentment of the clan, who persuade their chief to end her life. He agrees, but only on the terms that there is not bloodshed. One dark night, Maclean has her abandoned on a rock midway between the coasts of Mull and Argyll. A central scene, one that Baillie wished to highlight in the performance, and was showcased by the Siddons's production, shows Helen firmly awaiting her death when the rock on which she is stranded is submerged at high tide. The water is 'as high as her breast' when she is spotted by boatmen, who 'mistake her for a large bird',[19] but is rescued and returned to her father. The

[17] The sculptor Anne Seymour Damer executed busts of Sarah Siddons and enjoyed a close friendship with the actress, encouraging her to develop her skills as a visual artist. Alison Yarrington, in her entry on Damer in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, has noted her long-term involvement in literature and theatre, and her support of Baillie: 'Damer's literary endeavours included a romantic picaresque novel, *Belmour* (1801; translated into French 1804), and she frequented theatrical and literary circles. Among her friends were Princess Daschow and Joanna Baillie, whose epilogue to Mary Berry's play *Fashionable Friends* she recited in her Strawberry Hill production of 1800' ('Damer, Anne Seymour (1749–1828)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7084, accessed 16 Aug 2016]).

[18] Joanna Baillie, 'To the Reader,' *The Family Legend: A Tragedy*, Second Edition (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co., 1810), v.

[19] Baillie, *Family Legend*, vi-vii.

symbolism of this scene, which is emotively dramatised through Helen's stoic expressions in the face of death, seems to have had a strong impact on Scott's imagination.

Several elements came together to make the staging of *The Family Legend* an exciting and memorable event in the history of the Edinburgh theatre. None of Baillie's plays had previously been performed in Scotland, despite the fact that she was celebrated as one of the brightest playwrights of both performed and closet plays in Britain at the time. As Penelope Cole has noted, 'this new play, set in Scotland and based on an ancient legend featuring a clash between two prominent Highland clans, stirred the imagination and national sentiments of the Edinburgh audience'.[20] Furthermore, Scott was to oversee the Highland costumes, which he researched in tandem with writing *The Lady of the Lake* during the winter of 1809-10, and, it would appear, the early sections of the Highland scenes of *Waverley*.[21] While the shared geography of *The Lady of the Lake* and *Waverley* has been noted, the shared geography of Baillie's play with both poem and novel has been noted only by Regina Hewitt[22] as relevant to the story of the genesis of the novel. Nor has Scott's role as the researcher of Highland costume been properly explored in relation to the early Highland scenes in the novel. It is quite possible that assistance in staging Baillie's play in the winter of 1810 is almost as important as his success with *The Lady of the Lake*, and it is certainly the case that the success of the poem led to its staging at the Edinburgh Theatre Royal with Harriet Siddons in the leading role.

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[20] Penelope Cole, 'The "Ethno-Symbolic Reconstruction" of Scotland: Joana Baillie's *The Family Legend* in Performance', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, 1.2 (March 2008), 95.

[21] Claire Lamont, in her edition of *Waverley*, notes that the novel was advertised 'to be published "in the course of the present season", bound at the end of the British Library copy of the fifth edition of *The Lady of the Lake*, 1810' (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), xxiv, n. 65. Lamont also speculates that the early Highland scenes were written in conjunction with the composition of *The Lady of the Lake* (xxv).

[22] Regina Hewitt, *Symbolic Interactions: Social Problems and Literary Interventions in the Works of Baillie, Scott, and Landor* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 193-6.

IV Scott's Pilgrimage to Lady's Rock and the Beginnings of *Waverley*

Another element in the narrative of the genesis of *Waverley* which has been seen as significant in connecting the poem with the novel is Scott's 'refresher' trip to the Highlands. August and September of 1809 found Scott, Mrs. Scott and Sophia travelling 'in the skirts of our Highlands'[23] and in a letter to Lady Abercorn, written in the middle of September, Scott clearly describes the connection of his Highland visit with the beginnings of composing *The Lady of the Lake*; 'The sight of our beautiful Mountains and lakes (though not new to me), and your Ladyship's kind exhortations have sett [sic] me to threading verses together with what success I am yet uncertain'.[24] Another trip to the Highlands in July had Scott's imagination fired again, and in a letter to Baillie he recounts a significant outing, a passage that I here quote at length:

> I cannot, my dear Miss Baillie resist the temptation of writing to you from scenes which you have rendered classical as well as immortal. We—which in the present case means my wife, my eldest girl, and myself—are thus far in fortunate accomplishment of a pilgrimage to the Hebrides. The day before yesterday we passed the Lady's Rock in the Sound of Mull so near that I could have almost touched it. This is, you know, *the rock* of your Family Legend. The boat by my desire went as near as prudence permitted and I wished to have picked a relique from it were it but a cockle shell or a muscel [sic] to have sent to you but a spring-tide was running with such force and velocity as to make the thing impossible. … Yesterday we visited Staffa and Iona. The former is one of the most extraordinary places I ever beheld. It exceeded in my mind every description I had heard of it or rather, the appearance of the cavern composed entirely of basaltic pillars as high as the roof of the cathedral and running deep into the rock, eternally swept by a deep and swelling

[23] Scott, *Letters*, Volume II, 237.
[24] Scott, *Letters*, Volume II, 239.

> sea, and paved as it were with ruddy marble baffles all description. You can walk along the broken pillars, with some difficulty and in one place with a little danger as far as the furthest extremity. Boats also can come in below when the sea is placid which is seldom the case. I had become a sort of favourite with the Hebridean boatmen I suppose from my anxiety about their old customs and they were much pleased to see me get over the obstacles which stop'd some of the party. So they took the whim of solemnly christening a great stone seat at the mouth of the cavern *Clachan-an-Bairdh* or the poet's stone. It was consecrated with a pibroch which the echoes rendered tremendous and a glass of whiskey not pourd [sic] forth in the ancient mode of libation but turned over the throats of the Assistants. The Head boatman whose father had been himself a bard made me a speech on the occasion but as it was in Gaelic I could only receive it as a silly beauty does a fine-spun compliment—bow and say nothing.[25]

We can see the germination of several visual and narrative scenes that appear a few years later in *Waverley*. The precarious walkway along the broken pillars shares the element of danger with Flora's passage to her 'sylvan amphitheatre':

> The rocks assumed a thousand peculiar and varied forms. In one place, a crag of huge size presented its gigantic bulk, as if to forbid the passenger's farther progress ... In another spot, the projecting rocks from the opposite sides of the chasm had approached so near to each other, that two pine-trees laid across, and covered with turf, formed a rustic bridge at the height of at least one hundred and fifty feet. It had no ledges, and was barely three feet in breadth …

[25] Scott, *Letters*, Volume II, 358; 360.

> … it was with a sensation of horror that Waverley beheld Flora and her attendant appear, like inhabitants of another region, propped, as it were, in mid air, upon this trembling structure.[26]

Via a safer path, Waverley arrives at the 'romantic waterfall' that Scott later claimed in his note to the Magnum edition was 'taken from that of Ledeard, at the farm so called on the Northern side of Lochard'.[27] The passage from Scott's letter to Baillie is interesting for its description of the difficulties and dangers of crossing such a precarious and spectacular rock formation, but it is also interesting for its description of the head boatman's Gaelic speech which Scott (like Waverley) does not understand. These details suggest that Scott was not only envisaging some of the early passages of *Waverley* that take place in the Highlands, but also that he possessed a keen interest in the 'psychogeographies' of the places he was visiting — the potential danger of crossing the pillars (which, like Flora, Scott seems to take in his stride) and the visit to the cave, the pibroch, and the Gaelic speech which needed to be translated if it were to be understood by Scott. The physical and cultural difficulties Scott encountered appear in the novel as experienced by Waverley, but are to be overcome by Flora, who makes both the environment and the language comprehensible through 'rude English translation' to the 'English stranger'.[28]

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[26] Scott, *Waverley*, 112-13. In his notes to this passage in *Waverley*, Garside suggests a possible origin for this bridge, but concludes that the height of the bridge is around fifty feet (560, n. 113.3).

[27] Garside in Scott, *Waverley*, 560, n. 113.31-35.

[28] *Waverley*, 112; 110. It would seem that neither Mrs Scott, who 'lost her shoes,' nor Scott's daughter, 'little Sophia,' who lost 'her whole collection of pebbles' (Volume II, 359) were prototypes for the daring Flora.

V A Theatre 'Entirely of Scotch Manufacture': Helen's Distresses and the Response of the Scottish Audience

The Highland trip and its report to Joanna Baillie followed an intense period of researching costume details and advising on the staging of her play for its Edinburgh season. As early as June 1809, Scott had received from Mrs Clephane 'a drawing of the ancient dress of an Highland lady—also the colours of the tartans worn by the Macleans and Campbells which contrast strongly and mark the different parties on stage'.[29] In August 1809, Scott was writing to Baillie about the theatrical effect of the tartan on stage; 'There is a circumstance rather favourable to the effect upon the stage arising from the contrast between the tartan worn by the Macleans which has a red glaring effect and that of the Campbells which is dark green. Thus the followers of the Chieftains will be at once distinguished from each other'.[30] Despite the fact that these letters show Scott as assured in his undertakings as antiquarian consultant, he also reveals in another letter to Baillie the costume's effect on a prospective audience:

> With regard to the equipment of the Family Legend I have been much diverted with a discovery which I have made. I had occasion to visit our Lord Provost (by profession a stocking weaver) and was surprized to find the worthy Magistrate filld with a new-born zeal for the drama—he spoke of Mr. Siddons merits with enthusiasm and of a curious investigator of cause and effect I never rested until I found out that this theatric rage which had seized his Lordship of a sudden was owing to a large order for hose, pantaloons and plaids for equipping the rival clans of Campbell and Maclean, and which Siddons was sensible enough to send to the warehouse of our excellent provost.[31]

[29] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 196-7.
[30] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 218-9.
[31] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 258.

Spurred on by the excitement of the production, Scott penned the prologue to the play, which he sent to Lady Abercorn in late January 1810:

> They are written within this hour and are to be spoken to a beautiful tragedy of Joanna Baillie (authoress of the plays on the passions) founded upon a Highland story of the Old time. I am much interested in its success, as she entrusted the MS. with me. The principal female part is very prettily rehearsed by Mrs. Henry Siddons our Manager's better half. Harry Mackenzie author of *The Man of Feeling* writes an epilogue so the piece being entirely of Scotch manufacture has, independent of its own merit every chance of succeeding before a national audience.[32]

The production 'entirely of Scotch manufacture' was to receive a further boost by stacking the audience. Scott wrote to Baillie on 22nd of January 1810 regarding the postponement of the opening night due to Harriet Siddons suffering a sudden 'inflammation and swelling in the eyes' ('she has increased her op[h]thalmia by crying for the disappointment').[33] This delay appears to have increased the level of anticipation in Edinburgh, yet Scott had taken no risks and had invited those who would have an interest in the 'national cast' of action of the play:

> All the boxes were taken twice over and the public expectation was greatly excited so far as we can judge every person will come disposed to be pleased so all manœuvre will be perfectly unnecessary. In case of any blunder in the performance however we have taken care to have an hundred of your admirers (for their name here is Legion) in the way of highland friends … [34]

[32] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 285-6.
[33] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 287; 288.
[34] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 287-8.

The play opened a week later on the 29th of January, and was an instant hit. 'My Dear Miss Baillie', Scott wrote the following day,

> You have only to imagine all that you could wish to give complete success to a play and your conception will still fall short of the complete and decided triumph of the Family Legend. The house was crowded to a most exceeding degree, many people had come from your native capital of the West. … The scene on the rock struck the utmost possible effect into the audience and you heard nothing but sobs on all sides. … Siddons announced the play *for the rest of the week* which was received not only with a thunder of applause but with cheering and throwing up hats and handkerchiefs. Mrs. Siddons supported her part incomparably although just recovered from the indisposition mentiond in my last. … The scenery was very good and the rock without appearance of pantomime was so contrived as to place Mrs. Siddons in a very precarious situation to all appearance.[35]

Leaving nothing to chance, Scott bolstered the numbers of actors on stage, arranging his 'brother's highland recruiting party to reinforce the garrison of Inverary and as they appeard beneath the porch of the castle and seemd to fill the courtyard behind the combat scene had really an appearance of reality'.[36] Writing to Baillie again the following night (Scott was so anxious about the play's reception at the premiere that he decided to attend the second performance in a more leisurely frame of mind 'to attend to the feelings arising from the representation itself'[37]), Scott provided some comments about the interpretation of the play, especially noting that 'David Hume (nephew of the historian) and a great admirer of the Drama says Helen is the finest model of female virtue firmness and feeling which any stage has

[35] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 290-2.
[36] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 292.
[37] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 292.

exhibited'.[38] Later in the week, Scott returned to the theatre with 'all my little folks who were delighted, and cried like little pigs over Helens distresses'.[39] Scott urged Baillie to allow him to arrange the publication of the play ('People are dying to read it. If you think of suffering a single edition to be publishd to gratify their curiosity I will take care of it'; 'I begin heartily to wish that the play was printed unless you think of bringing it out in London and printed as you wrote it'[40]), and so this occurred in the following months while he was finishing *The Lady of the Lake* and perhaps writing the initial chapters, including the early highland scenes, of *Waverley*. Scott's enthusiasm for staging Baillie's play cannot be understated, and seems to be a foretaste of the excitement surrounding both the staging of *The Lady of the Lake* in December 1810, and the arrival of *Waverley* at the booksellers in 1814. Scott was even able to report to Baillie from the highlands during his summer tour of that year 'that all through these islands I have found every person familiarly acquainted with the Family Legend, and great admirers'.[41]

Regina Hewitt has noted that *The Family Legend* promotes an idea of women acting out a 'social claim' that sees them active in reconciling rival groups, and moving beyond the claims of family to participate fully in the world.[42] The play's performance, as arranged by Scott, highlights these aspects of Baillie's script in visually embodying Helen's non-participation in clan politics through denouncing revenge. Her isolation and abandonment, with which the audience sympathises, is essential. To participate fully in the world is to be abandoned on a rock in the middle of the sea, left alone to be taken under by the rapidly rising tide. The romance of the Damers' family legend, based in fact but embellished in its promotion of Helen's heightened stoicism for sentimental affect, 'unearths the imperceptible texture of individual events and circumstances that constitute history's becoming'.[43] Scott would replicate this dynamic in his first

[38] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 293.
[39] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 295.
[40] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 292 and 295.
[41] Scott, *Letters*, Vol. II, 362.
[42] Hewitt, *Symbolic Interactions*, 195.
[43] McGeough, 'The Falsehood of History and Reality of Romance', 292.

novel through experimenting with the ways in which women might be represented on the periphery of society, and from there, seeking to fully participate in the world.

CHAPTER THREE

I Waverley's Choice: Rose Bradwardine or Flora MacIvor?

> 'There was a time when we thought we knew what Scott's women were about — who they were, what they did. There were light heroines and dark heroines; they had their places and their functions'.[1]

> 'History is a creative fiction, and romance may prove to be real history. Is choice, then, necessary'?[2]

Since the publication over half a century ago of Alexander Welsh's *The Hero of the Waverley Novels,* we have readily come to think of Rose and Flora, and the heroines that came after, as providing a choice for the passive hero of the Waverley novels. For Welsh, this choice corresponds with the heroine's complexion; the ultimate choice for the Waverley hero is one that he must make based on the distinction between the light (prudent) and the dark (romantic) heroine, which ultimately leads to a choice, which these two types of heroine symbolise, about which king he ought to live under (or, as Henry Crabb Robinson put it, Waverley's 'hesitating between two kings and two mistresses').[3] According to Welsh,

> The denouement of the romance conveys the final and inexorable difference of dark and light-haired heroines. Brenda, Rowena, Alice, Jeanie, Margaret, and Rose inherit

[1] Shaw, 'Scott, Women and History', 285.
[2] McCracken-Flesher, 'Scott's Jacobitical Plots', 51.
[3] From a diary entry by Robinson, 5 March 1815, *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and their Writers*, ed. by Edith J. Morley, 3 vols (London: Dent, 1938), Vol. I, 163–4, in P.D. Garside, J.E. Belanger, and S.A. Ragaz, *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception*, http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk [accessed 25 January 2016]. Robinson goes on to write, 'I know not that he meant to symbolize the two princes and the two ladies'. As the influence of Welsh's study shows, the symbolism is certainly in place, whether or not it was intended by Scott.

> property, marry passive heroes, and live happily ever after. The passionate careers of Minna, Rebecca, Fenella, Effie, Hermione, and Flora burn out – in exile or the cloister, or upon the sands of Zetland.[4]

This dualism in appearance works itself out at a symbolic and structural level: 'the features of heroes and heroines physically represent the dualism of law and nature, reason and passion, sobriety and romance'.[5] As a representative of all that is fair, law-abiding, reasonable and sober, Rose is Edward Waverley's choice of wife, although he spends the better part of the novel declaring his preference of future wife to be the natural, passionate and romantic Flora. However, for Welsh, the Waverley hero 'always knows his mind by the end' and 'as the hero of civil society he chooses the blonde heroine of society'.[6]

It is my intention in this chapter to challenge the neatness of these dualisms,[7] and see beyond the light and dark taxonomies of the heroines of *Waverley* to suggest that there are complexities to these characters and the ways in which they function within the novel that cannot be got at by attending only to the taxonomies as Welsh has outlined them. This is a point that perhaps is against our intuitions of how the Waverley romances ought to work themselves out to a socially and morally satisfactory resolution. As Welsh notes, the passive hero almost always marries the blonde, 'since the blonde stands for the real, the possible, the morally tenable relationship with women'.[8] It is right for the bookish Edward Waverley to marry sensible and prosperous Rose, and for them to live happily ever after. Flora thinks this is right, and spends a good deal of time attempting to bring the passive hero and light heroine together. It has recently been questioned by Caroline McCracken-Flesher, however, whether Edward makes a choice at

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[4] Alexander Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 76.
[5] Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels*, 82.
[6] Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels*, 82.
[7] Welsh himself notes where these dualisms come apart; 'In *Rob Roy* Die Vernon usurps the role of solo heroine, which is customarily reserved for a blonde. Hair coloring is a convenient though not absolute measure for such heroines' (72).
[8] Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels*, 81.

all, and the following will be a discussion of why I strongly agree with her conclusion, in the context of both Edward's and Rose's reading material and practices. The discussion moves away from their appearances, or more accurately their physiognomies, to focus on the ways in which they are 'subjectivised' in the novel, and how this in turn sympathetically or sentimentally historicises the characters. In moving the focus away from the 'objective' facts of their appearances, I mean to show that Rose, with Edward alongside, moves through the course of the novel in what Annette C. Baier, in reference to David Hume's philosophy, has called 'a progress of sentiments', and align this progress with the ways in which the light heroine (and the very feminine hero) read and view society, and how they are viewed from within the novel by other characters. While McCracken-Flesher has seen the structure of Waverley's progress in terms of his adoption of 'layers of association one on another, and in so doing, [moving] from ignorance to clarity into the uncertainty that is complexity',[9] I argue that Waverley's progress is often stalled in his making an association that is wrong for him, and that his connection to Rose through reading practices establishes a more complex progress from ignorance to clarity through sympathy. I am here making a distinction between sympathy and the associations on which they are based; as Charlotte R. Brown has explained, 'Sympathy explains how you move from merely having an idea of what someone is feeling to your actually feeling what the other person is feeling'; 'You arrive at an idea of what another person is feeling and, at the same time, you are related to that person by some sort of resemblance'.[10] I am suggesting here that in the context of Scott's vision of the ways in which people are motivated to commit to causes (whether private or public) they are more often moved through sympathetic engagement with another, rather than by associative ideas that are the product of reason. This is central to the ways in which idiomatic historical events are presented in the novels; for Scott it was perhaps equally important to know how history 'felt' as well as knowing the minute details of what actually happened. Through

[9] McCracken-Flesher, 'Scott's Jacobitical Plots', 55.

[10] Charlotte R. Brown, 'Moral Rationalism, Sentimentalism, and Sympathy', in Elizabeth S. Radcliffe (ed), *A Companion to Hume* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2008), 233.

shared reading with Rose, Edward (in engaging sympathetically with Rose) moves from quixotic to generative reading, establishing a historical self through reading memories.

Interestingly, Ian Duncan sees Hume as having 'supplied mid-eighteenth-century British fiction with an influential discourse of sympathy', but he also notes that it was Adam Smith who developed, through his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, the 'most sophisticated analysis of literary techniques of sympathetic interpelation' by prescribing a 'set of tropes for the writing of history – particularity, mixed character, "indirect" representation – which codify a technical repertoire for the novel'.[11] This is highly relevant to this discussion as Scott has his characters engage sympathetically while immersed in the 'particularity' of historical detail. Details and particulars, the stuff of history writing, distract Edward from understanding historical processes. The detail often takes the place in Waverley's perhaps overly-sympathetic imagination of what that detail represents, and so we find that sympathy is often something that misguides the hero into erroneous beliefs about the world. One of the problems of the novel is Edward's outlook does not neatly align with a more objective understanding of what standard history tells us about the Jacobite Rising. I suggest this uneasiness is due to Scott's awareness of the limits of sympathy and the limits of the method of historical discourse, and I hope to account for some of this uneasiness by exploring Edward Waverley's progress of sentiment towards Rose Bradwardine.

I.i Edward Waverley's Romantic Research and the Reading-*Bildungsroman*

In '*Waverley*'s Pictures of the Past', Peter Garside presents an argument against the centrality to the novel of Edward's reading, noting that Scott downplays Edward's education as 'circumstances', and then rapidly moves the focus of the narrative away from his 'psychological history'[12] to the subject of Jacobitism, which Garside sees as central to *Waverley*. So, what appears initially to be a 'moral education' novel is in fact a novel whose 'real subject is Jacobitism, and

[11] Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 125-6.
[12] P.D. Garside, '*Waverley*'s Pictures of the Past', *EHL*, 44.4 (Winter 1977), 665.

not just literally in the sense of impending rebellion'.[13] For Garside, once we focus on the myth-making elements – Sir Everard's genealogy and Aunt Rachael's family legends, which supplement Edward's romance reading to furnish his imagination – and, more importantly how these elements are presented by Scott through the techniques of reportage, legend and portraiture, the novel's intentions become clear. What is established through these techniques is a sense of how Jacobitism was morphing from a deadly political intrigue into a nostalgic history of the cause as 'an exiled force and sentiment' with an attendant nostalgia for a disappearing Highland clanship.[14] In Garside's reading of the novel,

> … *Waverley* is not simply 'about' Scott's ambivalent feelings towards his own society, any more than it is exclusively 'about' the clash of old and new, or Waverley's 'education'. The early pages are wooden, the last can be unconvincing, but the central part is triumphant – and it is there that Scott deals most brilliantly with 'history' and its multiple ramifications.[15]

Certainly, it is difficult to know what to make of Edward Waverley's education, given that the narrator's attitude is largely negative and in places condemnatory of both the 'education' and Edward's educators. Yet, no matter how dismissive the narrator is of the hero's reading and habits of reading, it is still the case that Scott saw an account of Edward's slapdash education based on romance reading as important to understanding his involvement in the Jacobite intrigues that make up the middle part of the novel. Jane Millgate has pointed to the complexities of Scott's attitude to romance reading and its effects on the transition to adulthood: in 1814, Scott was 'ready to confront the problem of ... maturation as involving not rejection of romance but, on the contrary, a deeper immersion in the dangers, strangenesses, and shifts of identity that

[13] Garside, '*Waverley*'s Pictures of the Past', 665.
[14] Garside, '*Waverley*'s Pictures of the Past', 670.
[15] Garside, '*Waverley*'s Pictures of the Past', 678.

are fundamental characteristics of the romance experience'.[16] Of equal importance to reading romances is viewing images, the 'splendid yet useless imagery and emblems with which his imagination was stored, visions as brilliant and as fading as those of an evening sky'[17] – both books and emblems produce 'visions' in Edward's mind. In a direct address to the reader, the narrator rationalises spending so much time outlining Edward's 'circumstances':

> My intention is not to follow the steps of that inimitable author [Cervantes] in describing such total perversion of intellect as misconstrues the objects actually presented to the senses, but that more common aberration from sound judgement which apprehends occurrences indeed in their reality, but communicates to them a tincture of its own romantic tone and colouring.[18]

Edward's approach to the world around him is Humean, in that he projects his sentiments onto the world. For Hume, to arrive at an understanding of the moral world, one must move beyond understanding to exercise the imagination, 'a productive faculty, … gilding or staining all natural objects with the colours, borrowed from internal sentiment, [which] raises, in a manner, a new creation'.[19] Barry Stroud writes of this passage:

> The 'new creation' is eventually a conception of a world containing good and evil actions, admirable and contemptible characters, and beautiful and ugly objects. It is only because we naturally get certain feelings or impressions, and, even more importantly, only because of the mind's 'productive faculty' in 'gilding or staining'

[16] Jane Millgate, 'Scott and the Dreaming Boy: A Context for *Waverley*,' *Review of English Studies*, New Series, 32.127 (1981), 291.
[17] Scott, *Waverley*, 19.
[18] Scott, *Waverley*, 20.
[19] David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principals of Morals*, edited by Tom L. Beauchamp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), App. 1.21, 89.

> the world with what those feelings give us, that we ever come to think in those ways at all.[20]

In other words,

> We put onto objects in our thoughts about them certain features that they do not really possess. We take something mental and see it as external.[21]

It is in these very Humean terms that the narrator outlines Edward's way of experiencing the world, by describing his especially visual imagination as communicating a 'tincture or its own romantic tone and colouring', that provides a clue as to how much attention we ought to give to his education. I see these descriptions as fundamentally Humean as there is no other Enlightenment philosopher who speaks of individuals giving value to objects by using the imagination *and* who uses painterly imagery (which Scott here adopts and paraphrases). In many ways, all of the major characters in Waverley gild and stain the world with their sentiments and prejudices, but it is Edward Waverley's adventure into the Scottish Highlands that the novel follows in a romantic reading-*Bildungsroman* that vitally links his sentimental journey with the equally romantic Jacobite cause, a cause that Scott's readers are asked to understand in the context of Edward's favourite reading, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

As a child, Edward is permitted to 'learn as he pleased, what he pleased, and when he pleased', and due to his 'brilliancy of fancy and vivacity of talent' he is able to retain much of what he reads and to create a rich inner life, furnishing his imagination with tales of chivalry. There is no mention of Edward pillaging a local circulating library. His reading is sequestered; he reads in the library at Waverley Hall (the archetypal Gothic library), and out on 'Mirkwood-

[20] Barry Stroud, 'Gilding and Staining the World with "Sentiments" and "Phantasms"', *Hume Studies*, 19.2 (1993), 259.
[21] Stroud, 'Gilding and Staining', 260.

mere's Romantic dell', and later, on his excursion into Scotland, in Rose's *sanctum santorum*, a feminised space with few books and an abundance of flowers. 'Edward was a little bookish',[22] his uncle Sir Everard is willing to concede. 'Edward', the narrator informs the reader, 'was warm in his feelings, wild and romantic in his ideas and in his taste of reading, with a strong disposition towards poetry'.[23] Rose's father, Cosmo Comyne Bradwardine of Bradwardine, is presented in stark contrast to Edward in his reading only of what he views as classical (including Scottish) authors. Edward and Bradwardine find common ground in the area of history[24] (which somewhat mirrors Scott's intermediate reading stage).

Another indication of the importance of reading to how we read *Waverley* is that we get to know characters in the early stages of the novel through their reading practices (for example, Sir Everard reads only heraldry), and the male characters tend to display rather extreme reading practices; narrow (in the case of Bradwardine), disordered (in the case of Edward), or too limited (in the case of Sir Everard). In the two reading role-models of Sir Everard and Bradwardine, Edward is presented with ineffectual, 'splendid yet useless' reading (in the first case) and reading that is too remote from his sensibilities to awaken his imagination (in the second case), perhaps useful yet less-than-splendid reading of the kind Scott was required to undertake at university.

Once Edward Waverley's childhood history and reading-*Bildungsroman* are minutely outlined, once the reader is quite familiar with the literary terrain Edward traverses, the narrator pauses prior to relating the next stage of Edward's history so as to explain to his readers exactly which type of narrative they are *not* reading. The narrator distances his own narrative from 'the romance of Cervantes' or its imitations, claiming a distinction between the figure of the quixotic reader and his own hero. A quixotic reader displays 'total perversion of intellect' and will misconstrue 'objects actually presented to the senses'. Edward's intellect, however, is of the type

[22] Scott, *Waverley*, 21.
[23] Scott, *Waverley*, 61.
[24] Scott, *Waverley*, 61.

that 'apprehends indeed occurrences in their reality, but', as we have already noted, 'communicates to them a tincture of its own romantic tone and colouring':

> So far was Edward Waverley from expecting general sympathy with his own feeling, or concluding that the present state of things was calculated to exhibit the reality of those visions in which he loved to indulge, that he dreaded nothing more than the detection of such sentiments as were dictated by his musing.[25]

The youthful Edward is too self-aware to tilt at windmills. He does however imbue objects of interest with his own romantic notions (in a decidedly Humean manner). Both Ian Duncan and Susan Manning have argued for the importance of Hume's philosophy of the imagination to the development of the novel in Britain. Duncan outlines how Hume's empiricism generates the conditions for realism in the novel:

> In affirming the epistemological primacy of the imagination, endowing it with a socially productive and normative function, Hume establishes the philosophical matrix for the ascendency of fictional realism in modern British literature.[26]

He goes on to note:

> Hume's philosophical legitimation of the fictive as an 'authentic' representation of common life, since common life is a consensually reproduced fiction, coincides

[25] Scott, *Waverley*, 20.
[26] Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 124.

> chronologically with the affirmation of fictionality in a cluster of major English novels, from *Tom Jones* to *Tristram Shandy*.[27]

Likewise, Susan Manning sees Hume as providing a 'grammar' of the imagination that articulates an account of the transactions of society as we understand them through the memory, senses and understanding. Furthermore, these discrete fragments of perception of various phenomena are woven together by the imagination, creating a union, which in turn provides a metonym for the British novel as comprising a 'grammar' of union. While both Duncan's and Manning's approaches are illuminating for their engagement with Hume's intersubjectivity, their studies are concerned with the progress of Enlightenment and nation, while my current discussion of Hume in relation to Edward Waverley is concerned with the progress of individual sentiment and psychology. In Hume, these two lines of progress are connected, but distinct from one another, as is necessitated by any philosophy that approaches normativity from a subjective position. My focus in this chapter is the link between material culture and psychology rather than style, grammar and nation. As we shall see, Edward is 'value adding' to the objects of romance and Jacobite material culture, and I pursue this line rather than discussing in more general ways how sympathy informs narrative in terms of creating unity (and union) out of the fragmentary. A large part of the novel sees the hero project his chivalric fantasies onto events and people, a propensity which leads him (famously) into a series of misrecognitions and misadventures, more because of the lack of guidance evident in his early chaotic reading than from any genuine conflation of the romance plots of his reading with the political events in which he becomes embroiled. Edward's is a story of a progress of sentiment, which leads him haphazardly towards Enlightenment and rational principles that he can only pursue in a limited fashion.

Peter Garside, in his 'Essay on the Text' of *Waverley*, refers to criticism from Scott's publisher James Ballantyne regarding the chapters that outline Edward's reading-*Bildungsroman*:

> [Ballantyne's] specific criticisms directed at Waverley's 'studies', which he finds 'unnecessarily minute', and lacking 'the connection betwixt the studies of Don Quixote and the Female Quixote, and the events of their lives', could well have

[27] Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 124-5.

> helped trigger Scott's opening remarks in Chapter 5, where the reader is advised not to look for 'an imitation of the romance of Cervantes'.[28]

The reader of *Waverley* is firmly led to understand that they are not reading an imitation of *Don Quixote*, and that the hero's reading is not that of the delusional hidalgo. While Edward's reading has evidently turned him into a dreamer, it is not necessarily the content of what he has read, but the manner in which he has read that has brought about this situation. As Ballantyne pointed out, Scott provided his readers with an extensive list of Edward's reading; Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, Drayton, Italian romances, French memoirs, Froissart, Brantome, De la Noue — literature with 'themes the most fascinating to a youthful imagination'[29] but hardly damaging to a young man's development. This last point seems to be the heart of Ballantyne's criticism; how does a young man lose his way in the manner of Don Quixote through this sort of reading? Scott ultimately portrays Edward's romance reading, and his reading of the world in romantic terms, as eccentric but not delusional. Edward's 'studies' have given him the ability to delight others in conversation and to circulate in all areas of society despite his isolated and casual upbringing. Through reading Edward is united with Rose, whose pragmatism and selective education is complementary to his vivid imagination and insatiable appetite for reading. And by extension through learning to read people from reading romances, Edward's passion for Flora, whose enthusiastic imagination is a little too wild for anything other than a life of wandering and exile, abates. As I hope to show in the following discussion, romance reading provides a salvation for Edward and Rose. With Edward's abduction, Rose becomes implicated in the sort of romance plot that Edward has encouraged her to read, and this is an improvement on her previously sequestered existence, cut off as she was from the social world that she knows only intermittently through her friendship with Flora. Flora, on the other hand, becomes trapped in a perpetual

[28] P.D. Garside, 'Essay on the Text', in Scott, *Waverley*, 377.
[29] Scott, *Waverley*, 15.

series of images, a symbol of the Jacobite cause, replicating further symbols, a practice that Rose is initially involved in (through making cockades) but parts with through her sentimental siding with the romantic and regenerative energies that contrast with the gothic Jacobite traditions that ultimately engulf Flora and her brother Fergus.

I.ii The Cultivation of Edward and Rose

With Edward's arrival at Tully-Veolan we move 'from the somnambulant English country-house situation of Waverley-Honour, to a more threadbare Scottish counter-version in Tully-Veolan, at the outer fringes of the Lowland society'.[30] A comparison of the two libraries shows this. The library at Waverley Hall is marked by two characteristics. Like everything else in Sir Everard's life, the library must be seen through the gild and stain of ancestry:

> [The] large Gothic room, with double arches and a gallery, contained that miscellaneous and extensive collection of volumes usually assembled together, during the course of two hundred years, by a family which have been always wealthy, and inclined of course, as a mark of splendour, to furnish their shelves with the current literature of the day, without much scrutiny or nicety of discrimination.[31]

In the space of the library Edward drifted 'like a vessel without a pilot or a rudder'.[32] The vast space of the library contains a 'sea of books' in which Edward is figuratively overwhelmed. The library is not just a sea of books, however; it is a sea of images, of cultural memories, a panorama of ancestral feats that play across Edward's inner eye:

[30] Garside in Scott, *Waverley*, 509.
[31] Scott, *Waverley*, 14.
[32] Scott, *Waverley*, 14.

> In the corner of the large and sombre library, with no other light than was afforded by the decaying brands on its ponderous and ample hearth, he would exercise for hours that internal sorcery by which past or imaginary events are presented in action, as it were, to the eye of the muser.[33]

The library looms large as a collection of books and as a space in which Edward willingly immerses himself. He is 'like a child among his toys, culled and arranged, from the splendid yet useless imagery and emblems with which his imagination was stored, visions as brilliant and as fading as those of an evening sky'.[34]

In contrast, Rose's *sanctum sanctorum* is a cultivated space within the threadbare manor. Her apartment is accessed through a maze of 'awkward passages' via 'a very steep, narrow, and winding stair', a 'cork-screw' that makes Edward's brain 'almost giddy'.[35] Her parlour is a 'small, pleasant apartment', equipped with a 'bartizan, or projecting gallery, before the windows of her parlour', which is 'crowded with flowers of different kinds'.[36] Her apartment seems to be located at the heart of the old manor, and her window is south-facing, towards England and therefore away from the Jacobite activity that is taking place in the highlands. This aligns with the feminine/masculine psychogeography of the novel that sees Britain carved up into the masculine Highlands and feminine Lowlands and England, and this psychogeography influences the journeys of the characters throughout the novel: for example, Waverley becomes more manly as he travels away from England, and Fergus becomes less physically substantial (manly) as he travels away from Scotland.

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[33] Scott, *Waverley*, 18.

[34] Scott, *Waverley*, 19.

[35] Scott, *Waverley*, 62. Rose's feminine apartment prefigures but contrasts with Jonathan Oldbuck's very masculine, antiquary's library in its labyrinthine and gothic excesses from which 'womankind' is excluded, and is very similar to Catherine Seyton's apartment (as described in my introduction).

[36] Scott, *Waverley*, 63.

Rather than being gothic spaces, the libraries in *Waverley* are domestic spaces that are the scenes of child's play, nurseries where the characters of Edward and Rose are allowed to develop emotionally and intellectually. They both must move beyond the library before they can grow into adulthood, but they are never required to forget their childhood reading as quixotic readers are required to do. The library, then, functions as a pastoral space where the two characters lead sequestered existences, and the books they read, and how they read them, are reflections of their immaturity and limitation. Like the characters in a romance, they must face an ordeal, which brings them from childhood into adulthood. Rose and Edward are seen to replicate their romance reading in real life, and while this creates some setbacks, the overall impression is that their reading is relatively harmless.

The narrator provides us with his opinions on childhood education when relating Edward's reading history. After outlining the 'education of our hero'[37] the narrator laments the effects of such an education:

> Alas! while he was thus permitted to read only for the gratification of his own amusement, he foresaw not that he was losing for ever the opportunity of acquiring habits of firm and incumbent application, of gaining the art of controuling, directing, and concentrating the powers of his own mind for earnest investigation,—an art far more essential than even that learning which is the primary object of study.[38]

The narrator then outlines the problems with combining child's play with education:

> I am aware I may be here reminded [by the reader] of the necessity of rendering the instruction agreeable to youth, and of Tasso's infusion of honey into the medicine

[37] Scott, *Waverley*, 12.
[38] Scott, *Waverley*, 13.

> prepared for a child; but an age in which children are taught the driest doctrines by the insinuating method of instructive games, has little reason to dread the consequences of study being rendered too serious or severe. The history of England is now reduced to a game at cards, the problems of mathematics to puzzles and riddles, and the doctrines of arithmetic may, we are assured, be sufficiently acquired by spending a few hours a-week at a new and complicated edition of the Royal Game of the Goose.[39]

Thus, the 'well-governed childhood of this realm' grows into adulthood with a thirst for enjoyment rather than a thirst for knowledge; 'those who learn history by the cards, may … prefer the means to the end'.[40] For Edward, then, the logical conclusion to his haphazard education is nothing other than to establish his own library, a point to which I will return in a moment. Before he can establish his own library he must first seek his place in the world.

Edward applies his method of learning to life, seeking romantic adventures while ignoring the dangerous realities of his situation. The final stage of his 'education' ought to have been the Continental grand tour that Aunt Rachael proposes, yet this is thwarted due to the unfolding political situation, and so Edward undertakes his tour domestically. Initially Edward has a legitimate reason to go into the north of Britain as an officer with a Hanoverian regiment quartered in Angusshire, but his incapacity for military work, combined with his distaste for the tedious realities of training and discipline, see him independently on the move into the highlands of Perthshire, on leave of absence. Perhaps one irony here is that the Continental grand tour – which was undertaken as a final stage of a young gentleman's education, and was seen as an opportunity to attain refinement through a cultivated understanding of the living history of Continental architecture, arts and manners – would have suited Edward's temperament and may

[39] Scott, *Waverley*, 13.
[40] Scott, *Waverley*, 14.

have kept him out of trouble. His more-or-less self-directed journey away from Waverley-Honour to the Scottish borderlands and 'threadbare' Tully-Veolan is presented as an unconventional grand tour for 1745, and Edward's initial view on his arrival at the hamlet of Tully-Veolan is of a dirty and 'primitive' part of the world where there appears to be no evidence of either civilising influence, or soap.[41] The turning north and then west into unfamiliar terrain unsettles but ultimately domesticates Edward further, a point which I wish to explore in detail below.

It is at the initial point of his domestic grand tour that Edward meets Rose. Like Edward, Rose has received a very limited and haphazard education. Unlike Edward, who was more or less left to the perils of self-education by his ineffectual tutor, Rose has been taught by her father, whose own interests and limitations have dictated the limits of her studies. Rose's activities and the furnishings in her apartment reveal 'a natural taste, which required only cultivation':[42]

> Her father had taught her French and Italian, and a few of the ordinary authors in those languages ornamented her shelves. He had endeavoured also to be her preceptor in music; but as he began with the more abstruse doctrines of the science, and was not perhaps master of them himself, she had made no proficiency further than to be able to accompany her voice with the harpsichord: but even this was not very common in Scotland at that period.[43]

Rose's education is unconventional, her accomplishments (it is implied) less than those of her English counterparts but more advanced than many other young women throughout Scotland. Her 'ordinary' reading, while unspecified by the narrator, is apparently not the kind of reading in which Edward indulges. She has been prescribed history reading by her father, and one might

[41] Scott, *Waverley*, 34-5.
[42] Scott, *Waverley*, 63.
[43] Scott, *Waverley*, 63.

assume that the selection of reading would be based on his own classical tastes. Scott does not specify which particular volumes ornament Rose's shelves. We get a sense here that the narrator does not think that they are worth relating to the reader, but the fact that they are there ought not to be overlooked as unimportant. It is also possible that the narrator, with an antiquarian bias, is hinting that the French and Italian volumes are nothing but decorative trifles, compared with Bradwardine's favourite history reading. In this we can see a radical departure from the female quixote figure; while Edward can initially be read in terms of the female quixote, Rose's reading is something that aligns her with history. Her reading is represented as historically accurate rather than quixotic. While she is enchanted with Edward's romances, and experiences romance's transformative effects, it is her history reading that is the basis for the patriotism that she displays later in the novel.

Jacqueline Pearson has noted the reasons why women and girls during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were encouraged to read history: 'British history [was recommended] to encourage patriotism, and classical history, to allow access to the foundations of Western culture'.[44] 'Moreover', Pearson writes, 'because it offered "the direct path of truth", history was suitable for all classes as well as both sexes'; 'the aristocratic Caroline Lennox' 'read and reread Clarendon', for instance.[45] While history reading for women was common, it is ultimately problematic in the sense that such reading might be seen to little purpose if there are few suitable female role models to read about. In this sense, romance is more appropriate reading for women, as the plot is often about women. It is interesting to note a correspondence here with Jane Austen's Catherine Morland and Eleanor Tilney. While Edward's reading firmly aligns him with Catherine in her preference for romances, Rose is similar to Eleanor in her pragmatic approach to reading history for its own sake, yet seeing its romantic potential. Austen uses gothic techniques to 'critique masculinist history' and to establish an 'alternate feminine lens through

[44] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain,* 49-50.
[45] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain,* 52.

which to view the past'.[46] This seems to be similar to Scott's own method of complicating standard history with his focus on idiomatic histories, and Catherine very openly raises the issue that our very concept of history denies women entry, as history is the realm from which women are all but excluded (as defined by a writer such as Croker); 'The quarrels of popes and kings, with wars or pestilences, in every page; the men all so good for nothing, and hardly any women at all–it is very tiresome'.[47] While Eleanor's response to Catherine posits the view that history ought to be read for the speeches of great men, and she is happy, as Devoney Looser has noted, to read histories 'as if they were novels',[48] the fact that there are hardly any women represented in history remains a problem within the novel, symbolised by the mystery surrounding Henry Tilney's mother. Mary Spongberg quotes Terry F. Robinson, suggesting that Austen uses the gothic to bring our attention to Catherine's 'awareness of disturbing present realities, in particular, the violent erasure of women in history'.[49] For Spongberg, Mrs Tilney becomes a symbol of women's absence in the historical record, and, as Looser has argued, 'novels teach what history cannot – how to function in the present'.[50] Catherine's attachment to the present, and her reading of gothic romances in order to make sense of the past so she may be validated in the present means, that in the world of *Northanger Abbey*, we can only accept that women in the past will remain invisible to women in the present. This is a failure of history, and a triumph of the gothic, which allows through imaginative association a brief dialogue with the past.

Pearson also notes that it was understood that 'All good girls read history',[51] although it is not the case that Rose's history reading has that effect, as I hope to show below. Reading is also

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[46] Mary Spongberg, 'History, Fiction, and Anachronism: *Northanger Abbey*, the Tudor "Past" and the Gothic "Present"', *Textual Practice*, 26.4 (August 2012), 634.

[47] Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, edited by Barbara M. Benedict and Deidre Le Faye, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 110.

[48] Devoney Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670-1820* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 196.

[49] Robinson, 'A Mere Skeleton of History: Reading Relics in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*', *European Romantic Review*, 17.2 (April 2006) 215; quoted in Spongberg, 'History, Fiction, and Anachronism', 643.

[50] Looser, *British Women Writers*, 202.

[51] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain,* 51.

something that enables Rose an entry into society, albeit in a restricted way, as she is able to employ her knowledge pragmatically to help Edward. Rose's cultivation, a theme which Scott embellishes further with imagery that resonates with her name, has been hindered by the limitations of her social sphere. She is somewhat of a recluse, and she happily attaches herself to 'the opportunities of increasing her store of literature which Edward's visit afforded her'.[52] Edward throws himself into the task with enthusiasm:

> He sent for some of his books from his quarters, and they opened to her sources of delight of which she had hitherto had no idea. The best English poets, of every description, and other works on belles letters, made a part of this precious cargo.[53]

Edward takes on the role of mentor to Rose without having undertaken the final stages of his own education, a situation which works to quell any romantic feelings Edward may initially have for Rose, while enflaming Rose's for Edward:

> These new pleasures became gradually enhanced by sharing them with one of a kindred taste. Edward's readiness to comment, to recite, to explain difficult passages, rendered his assistance invaluable; and the wild romance of his spirit delighted a character too young and inexperienced to observe its deficiencies … Rose Bradwardine, beautiful and amiable as we have described her, had not precisely the sort of beauty or merit which captivates a romantic imagination in early youth. She was too frank, too confiding, too kind; amiable qualities undoubtedly, but destructive of the marvellous with which a youth of imagination delights to dress the empress of his affections. Was it possible to bow, to tremble, to adore before the

[52] Scott, *Waverley*, 70.
[53] Scott, *Waverley*, 70.

> timid, yet playful little girl, who now asked Edward to mend her pen, now to construe a stanza in Tasso, and how to spell a very – very long word in her version of it?[54]

The books bring Edward and Rose together as they share their enthusiasm for reading and translating. The process by which they read and translate, with Edward mentoring Rose, is reminiscent again of child's play. Rose is 'a playful little girl' in Edward's eyes, while Edward seems to rouse nothing more than a school-girl crush.

Flora, raised and educated in a convent and later in the French-Scottish court-in-exile, is worldly beyond the understanding of either Edward or Rose, and provides some keen observations on Waverley's character. She also pin-points the limitations of Edward's nature and character, concurring with the narrator's observations offered near the beginning of the novel:

> My dear Rose, if [Edward] were the hero you suppose him, he would interest himself in these matters ['the discussion of contending claims, rights, and interests' amongst clans], not indeed as important in themselves, but for the purpose of mediating between the ardent spirits who actually do make them the subject of discord.[55]

While Rose continues to admire Edward's 'genius and elegant taste', Flora laments his lack of engagement with a cause he has quite readily signed up for *because of* his learning, talents and abilities. Edward's education, in Flora's view, ought to have supplied him with the ability to read volatile situations and use his eloquence and ability to reason to act as intermediary. Instead, Edward walks through the world as if in a dream ('of tented fields and military honour'[56]), engrossed in his own thoughts, unable to recognise let alone take part in 'the busy scenes which

[54] Scott, *Waverley*, 70-1.
[55] Scott, *Waverley*, 265.
[56] Scott, *Waverley*, 264.

were constantly passing around him'.[57] Edward is fit only for a pastoral existence, the 'somnambulant rural Augustan culture'[58] of Waverley-Honour. As Flora says, 'he can admire the moon, and quote a stanza from Tasso'[59] and in so saying reminds us of Tasso's 'infusion of honey'. Edward has never left behind childhood. He lives in the library of his imagination, and while learning to read as a child, he never learnt to apply the skills of life which are gained with learning to apply oneself. Flora is of course playing devil's advocate here, attempting to incite in her dear friend some passion for Edward. The passage is also ironic, as Flora seems unable to see the limitations of her own fanciful and zealous, almost quixotic, commitment to a lost cause.

Only later, when the cause is certainly lost and he has been absolved of the accusations of treason that have been plaguing him, is Edward able to take his rite of passage, which involves his facing and properly seeing, without the gilding and staining, a destroyed and unromantic vision. Scott presents this rite of passage as lacking in a consistent ascent to self-knowledge, and Waverley's arrival at responsible adulthood is not always presented as a certain outcome. He finds a once picturesquely gothic Tully-Veolan 'wasted and defaced'.[60] Rose's 'stage-flowers and shrubs … had been hurled from the bartizan—several of her books lay mingled with broken flower-pots and other remnants':[61] 'Amongst these Waverley distinguished one of his own, a small copy of Ariosto, and gathered it as a treasure, though wasted by the wind and rain'. The wreck 'of a mansion so respected'[62] is the result of the thuggish reprisals of the King's troops on the Baron of Bradwardine's estate, in part to intimidate Rose, but also to act as a public display of the Baron's attainder, 'for clemency was not the order of the day'.[63] The Baron is found to be out of personal danger and asserting his and Sir Everard's dedication to honour and birth, and

[57] Scott, *Waverley*, 264.
[58] Peter Garside, 'The Baron's Books: *Waverley* as Bibliomaniacal Romance', *Romanticism*, 14.3 (2008), 252.
[59] Scott, *Waverley*, 265.
[60] Scott, *Waverley*, 316.
[61] Scott, *Waverley*, 317.
[62] Scott, *Waverley*, 316.
[63] Scott, *Waverley*, 319.

their despising the '*Diva Pecunia*', the Goddess Money.[64] The dark elements that surrounded the uprising, and the very masculine highland clan psychology as presented in the figure of Fergus, are to some degree allayed by the financial restitutions at the end of the novel. Domesticity is restored to its prominent position with the focus on the courtship and marriage plans of Edward and Rose. It is through the establishment of a future with Rose that Edward turns his back on the violence of the uprising in the north of Britain, and looks south towards prosperity.

The stuff of Rose's childhood, however, is destroyed, and her possessions reduced to remnants. The wanton destruction heralds Edward's and Rose's return to the pastoral world of their childhood, but as experienced adults. The copy of Ariosto is precious cargo to Edward for its association with Rose. It is a treasure, and has value not as an entry-point into the world of the imagination but as a vestige of experience. We now know that Edward will fulfil Flora's prophecy for him:

> I tell you where he will be at home, my dear, and in his place,— in the quiet circle of domestic happiness, lettered indolence, and elegant enjoyment of Waverley-Honour. And he will refit the old library in the most exquisite Gothic taste, and garnish its shelves with the rarest and most valuable volumes;— and he will draw plans and landscapes, and write verses, and rear temples, and dig grottoes;— and he will stand in a clear summer night in the colonnade before his Hall, and gaze on the deer as they stray in the moonlight, or lie shadowed by the boughs of the huge old fantastic oaks, and he will repeat verses to his beautiful wife, who shall hang upon his arm;— and he will be a happy man.[65]

[64] Scott, *Waverley*, 337.
[65] Scott, *Waverley*, 265-6.

While this is not made explicit by Scott, Waverley's only other option was hanging from the gallows with Flora's brother, or at best, going into exile with Flora. He celebrates his narrow escape with the commissioning of a painting that is destined to hang on the wall of a reinstated and restored Tully-Veolan, that depicts him marching through a highland pass alongside Fergus and ahead of Fergus's clan – a much-discussed scene by Scott scholars who have attempted to gauge both Waverley's and Scott's attitude to the effects of war.

Waverley's rite of passage perhaps seems uncertain as Scott saves him from having to make serious choices. As Henry Crabbe Robinson noted in his diary:

> Flora, whom Waverley at last leaves, certainly bears with her more of our reverence and admiration than Rose. But we are persuaded she will make her husband happier than he could be with so sublime a personage as her romantic rival. ... Flora McIvor and Rose Bradwardine are contrasted like Antigone and Ismene ... Waverley is nobody. He is a Waverley – a mere puppet blown about in every direction.[66]

Robinson's judgement about Waverley's character is harsh, but also interesting in its observation that Scott's reader is gently persuaded in favour of Rose, while Waverley is blown about, incapable of making decisions. While this is the case for most of the novel, there is a point at which Edward's feelings come to align with his experience, a moment which is captured in the description of the battered, weather-beaten copy of Ariosto. It is with the gathering of this treasure that Edward Waverley (quite inadvertently) experiences romance as historical process. Books no longer have the numinous quality they once held for Edward; the book's association with its missing and imperilled custodian, its tangible signs of physical decay, and its further

[66] Robinson, 5 March 1815, and 2 Dec 1821, *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and their Writers*, ed. by Edith J. Morley, 3 vols (London: Dent, 1938), Vol. I, 163–4 and 277, in P.D. Garside, J.E. Belanger, and S.A. Ragaz, *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation and Reception*, http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk [accessed 25 January 2016].

connections with the violence of the failed rising, might be thought of as gothic tropes, yet the gathering of the book furthers Edward's movement towards an awareness of what he has lost in his flirtation with the Stuart rebellion.

II Under the White Rose: Rose's Patriotism and Sympathetic Reading

'Cockades and banners are not trifles, Sir, when they become the badge of peculiar opinions'.[67]

II.i The Rose of Tully-Veolan

As the initial romantic researches of the young hero and heroine play out, traces of the Jacobite intrigue that Garside has claimed is central to the novel emerge, and the domestic space of the library, the playfully childlike space, is gradually replaced by the darker psychogeography of the Highlands. In focusing discussion on Edward's and Rose's reading I have drawn attention to the importance of their particular methods of reading, and have argued that we need to understand rather than dismiss these scenes (which might otherwise be considered conventionally quixotic) in order to notice the ways in which Scott is historicising his characters. Initially, through various misreadings of Jacobite symbolism, Edward Waverley finds himself further implicated in the Pretender's romantic plots. Furthermore, it is the case that the symbols associated with the Jacobite cause which pervade the novel are most readily displayed in the scenes involving Rose and Flora. It is this iconography that Edward must learn to read throughout his journey to and from the highlands, and it is characteristic of him to comprehend the cause (and its dashing leader Charles Edward) through his early romantic reading. The rest of this chapter will outline some of the subtle but significant imagery that shows Edward and Rose in a progress of sentiment that their dark counterparts do not undertake, and that this is an important factor in their establishing a sense of themselves as living with rather than against history, and not suffering the 'burn out' of the darker characters. As I hope to show, reading is tied intimately to this process.

Rose is the most obvious manifestation of the most readily identifiable of Jacobite symbols that pervade the novel. With 'skin like the snow of her own mountains in whiteness,' it

[67] Letter to Editor of the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, quoted by Graham McMaster in *Scott and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 231, and by Robertson in *Legitimate Histories*, 205.

seems that Rose has been aptly named by her father after the white rose of the House of Stuart. Her physical appearance is linked to the landscape in its likeness to the snow 'of her own mountains', and her 'Scotch cast of beauty' is celebrated by 'the Laird of Bumperquaigh, permanent toastmaster and croupier of the Bauther-whillery Club', where she is toasted as 'the Rose of Tully-Veolan'.[68]

The symbolic meanings of the white rose for the Jacobites were complex. Murray G.H. Pittock, in his *Material Culture and Sedition*, has explored how 'the laws on treason and sedition ensured that the objects of Jacobitism and their constituent codes could not be a transparent materialization of underlying [Jacobite] politics':

> The accumulated fund of significant symbols through which Jacobite material culture expressed, even when furnished with canting or allusive language, its necessary commitment to speechlessness, obliquity and silence had to take account of these laws, and to create the conditions through which its aide-memoires could express the cause threatened by them by communicating memory without making it public. Treason and sedition legislation outlawed the quotidian exchange of discourse, free association and conversational objects or objects for show in Jacobite culture, and it made it seek the safety of silence, even in its use of words, a process which invariably rendered the use of language either allusive or oblique.[69]

Furthermore:

> By the later 1690s and early 1700s, action against Jacobite-leaning controversy had intensified, and subsequently many printers and publishers sympathetic to Jacobitism

[68] Scott, *Waverley*, 43.

[69] Murray G.H. Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013), 59.

> ... even when expressing themselves obliquely, were in trouble with the law, had to flee the country or were hanged. ... Jacobite association was thus a perilous activity, one best carried out *sub rosa*, under the rose, in secrecy.[70]

Thus, the white rose comes to signify both associations with the Stuarts and with silence, which would account for its popularity as a secret symbol that synthesises the promotion of loyalty to the Stuarts and the dedication to secrecy that the loyalty entailed.

The white rose makes its silent entry into the world of the novel as a Jacobite password or canting phrase for secrecy. Interestingly, given the symbol's potency, the white rose is introduced into the novel from the safe distance of the narrative flashback. At an unspecified earlier period before the novel's setting, Mr Pembroke, the non-juring clergyman who acts as Edward's tutor at Waverley-Honour, approaches a Little Britain bookseller with two political tracts that he is keen to have published, 'two immense folded packets, which', the narrator informs us, 'appeared to contain a whole ream of closely-written manuscript'.[71] The bookseller, to whom Pembroke was 'instructed to address himself in a particular phrase, and with a certain sign, which, it seems, passed at that time current among the initiated Jacobites',[72] decides against publishing the tracts on the advice of his solicitor Tom Alibi, and Mr Pembroke returns to Waverley-Honour with 'his treatises in vindication of the real fundamental principles of church and state safely packed in his saddle-bags'.[73] A real danger has been averted due to 'the selfish

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[70] Pittock, *Material Culture*, 60. P.D. Garside also notes that the phrase 'all under the rose' means 'in confidence', and draws attention to Claire Lamont's observation that there is present in Tom Alibi's use of the phrase the 'additional nuance as a result of the Jacobite use of the white rose as an emblem' (*Waverley*, ed. Garside, 535, n. 30.36).

[71] Scott, *Waverley*, 30.

[72] Scott, *Waverley*, 30. It is possible that this 'certain sign' might have been chosen by Scott from a range of secret Jacobite symbols associated in Hanoverian England with sedition and treason, including the oak leaf and acorn motif (associated with the English civil war and the oak tree in which Charles II hid when, as prince, he evaded Cromwell's army), the star (which is said to have appeared in the sky at Charles Edward Stuart's birth), or the thistle (the national flower of Scotland). However, as Neil Guthrie has noted in his study of Jacobite material culture, the white rose was the emblem most closely identified with the Stuart Cause. See Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 41-2.

[73] Scott, *Waverley*, 31.

cowardice of the [publishing] trade' that in reality would never have taken the risk of publishing Pembroke's tracts, but which nevertheless was engaged in the dangerous trans-Continental information network of the Jacobites, a network that Walpole had been so zealous to infiltrate in order to gather evidence against the most active supporters of the restoration of the Stuarts to the British throne.[74] While these dangerous Jacobite activities are presented by Scott's narrator as being something that is in the past, and safely distanced from Edward's current situation, there is still a latent danger attached to the tracts. It is not necessarily the tracts themselves or even their content that is dangerous: 'They had been the labour of the worthy man's whole life; and never were labour and zeal more absurdly wasted';[75] Edward has no interest in reading them, and 'appalled by the bulk and compact lines of the manuscript' he 'quietly consigned them to a corner of his travelling trunk'.[76] It is only in their circulation, and in their association with letters containing imprudently expressed Jacobite sentiments addressed to Edward by his father, uncle and aunt, that the tracts become dangerous materials.

In this manner, this outlawed symbol ghosts Edward, like a gothic apparition, without his ever really comprehending its potency. As symbols, the white rose and its counterpart, the white cockade, are to a certain degree indecipherable to the young Englishman. The next moment we encounter another Jacobite symbol it is in Scottish Highlands, at the heart, rather than on the periphery, of Jacobite intrigue. While the lairds gather illicitly on the pretence of attending a hunt, the women are engaged in making white cockades in preparation for the rising. Having recently read innuendo directed at his father's and his own '*Wavering Honour*' in a newspaper proffered by Fergus, and feeling the full insult of this innuendo without entirely reflecting on its

[74] See Paul S. Fritz on the lengths to which Walpole worked to prevent a feared Stuart restoration ('The Anti-Jacobite Intelligence System of the English Ministers, 1715-1745', *The Historical Journal*, 16.2 (June 1973), 265), and Jonathan Oates on Walpole's continuing commitment to containing the Jacobite threat after he had ceased to be chief minister in 1742 ('Sir Robert Walpole after his Fall from Power, 1742-1745', *History*, 91 (2006), 218 and 225-6).
[75] Scott, *Waverley*, 30.
[76] Scott, *Waverley*, 32.

import, Edward gives into 'his bitter emotions' and throws himself 'into Mac-Ivor's arms'.[77] In one of the many occasions throughout the novel where the politician Fergus subtly manipulates the over-emotional Edward by directing his attention to Flora's beauty and marriageability, Edward is led by Fergus 'in quest of Miss Mac-Ivor, not without the hope that the present agitation of his guest's spirits might give him courage to cut short what Fergus termed the romance of a courtship':

> They found Flora, with her faithful attendants, Una and Cathleen, busied in preparing what appeared to Waverley to be white bridal favours. Disguising as well as he could the agitation of his mind, Waverley asked for what joyful occasion Miss Mac-Ivor made such ample preparation.
>
> 'It is for Fergus's bridal', she said, smiling.[78]

Edward's mistake is made on the basis that his mind is full of marriage and not of war. The 'ample preparation' suggests a discrepancy between the imagined occasion and the amount of 'favours' required; the irony lies in the unstated reality that the ample cockades that are being prepared for Fergus's clan will shortly be useless and redundant with the slaughter that occurs weeks later during the failed uprising. The discrepancy between the abundance of cockades worn later at the Jacobite gathering in Edinburgh and the obliteration of many of the men who participated in the uprising can only be noted by Scott's readers, and not by the characters that are taken up in the enthusiasm of patriotism. The sign has become more prominent than the fighting. Flora exploits Edward's confusion to her own advantage, and continues in her riddles describing Fergus's sacred dedication to the cause as a marriage to 'Honour'. With a gradual understanding of Flora's meanings, Edward becomes chagrined at the distance at which she

[77] Scott, *Waverley*, 134.
[78] Scott, *Waverley*, 136.

keeps him, from herself and from the Jacobite cause (and, it would seem, Honour). Edward still wears the black cockade of the Hanoverian army, which Fergus describes as a 'sable and ill-omened emblem' which conjures associations with 'slavery' and usurpers. Fergus urges Flora, in one of his consummate acts of political manipulation, to 'replace his cockade with one of a more lively colour', a request that Flora rebuffs a little too forcefully for Edward's liking:

> Waverley felt half-alarmed at the thought of adopting the badge of what was esteemed rebellion by the majority of the kingdom, yet he could not disguise his chagrin at the coldness with which Flora parried her brother's hint.[79]

It is with this introduction to the white cockade that Edward begins his gradual (but not permanent) shift in allegiances from the Hanoverians to the Stuarts, thus on many levels making true the (until then) false innuendo from London that he had only been informed of in the Scottish highlands that very morning.

After the success of the battle at Prestonpans, 'a victory, unparalleled in history',[80] as Fergus calls it, Edward is oblivious to the fact that 'all our beauties of the white rose are pulling caps'[81] at him, in competition for his attention. Colonel Talbot, one of Edward's substitute father-figures that step in for his distanced and later deceased natural father, later expresses a dislike for both Flora Mac-Ivor and Rose Bradwardine based on his own pro-English, anti-Scottish prejudices:

> … the white cockade on the breast, the white rose in the hair, and the *Mac* at the beginning of the name, would have made a devil out of an angel; and indeed he

[79] Scott, *Waverley*, 137.
[80] Scott, *Waverley*, 252.
[81] Scott, *Waverley*, 252.

> himself jocularly allowed, that he could not have endured Venus herself, if she had been announced in a drawing-room by the name of Miss Mac-Jupiter.[82]

It is at this point that Edward is finally becoming consciously aware of his appreciation of Rose Bradwardine, and even becoming aware that he prefers her to Flora. And although Colonel Talbot later qualifies that Rose may not be as bad as he has claimed her to be, she still remains in his opinion 'a Scotch rose-bud'.[83]

It is not until the march southward into England that the symbol of the white rose begins to lose its potency as a Stuart emblem, and Edward transfers his loyalty and affections from Fergus, Flora and the cause to the 'real' rose, the young Miss Bradwardine who is more frequently in his thoughts, especially as Fergus expresses a continuing interest in her as a potential future source of income and property. Fergus's attention is engaged with the picturesque landscape and with thoughts of securing property and power, and seems not to take much notice that the gentry of northern England are also concerned with keeping theirs:

> The Jacobites had been taught to believe that the north-western counties abounded with wealthy squires and hardy yeomen, devoted to the cause of the White Rose. But of the wealthier tories they saw little. Some fled from their houses, some feigned themselves sick, some surrendered themselves to the government as suspected persons.[84]

In England, the 'hazard' and 'risk' of the uprising cannot be obscured by the symbol of the white rose or by Charles Edward's charisma. The northern English gentry are Tories who identify as Jacobites only in the sense that this had come to be an expression of anti-Whig sentiment. On

[82] Scott, *Waverley*, 262-3.
[83] Scott, *Waverley*, 310.
[84] Scott, *Waverley*, 281.

the march south, Catholicism, Highland clanship and gothic tyranny merge in the figure of Fergus, and this is directly linked to his attitude to women as property, which is explained as a French influence. The more enlightened but less enthusiastic Edward, however, follows his uncle Everard in respecting the wishes of a woman who does not want him, and despite all of Fergus's cajoling, Waverley accepts Flora's rejection (although on slightly self-deceived terms which frame this acceptance of rejection as an active choice).

While the white rose has lost its power as something that unites and motivates through sentimental association, it still functions in the latter parts of the novel as a hollow symbol behind which to hide one's allegiances, or as an ironic revelation of cowardice. Donald Bean Lean, keen to avoid any real participation in military engagement (another irony given that out of the 'ample' cockades that had been distributed amongst Fergus's clan, Donald does not yet have one) but also wary of angering Fergus, takes on 'a sort of "roving commission"'[85] upon receiving orders from Fergus to protect Rose from Hanoverian troops at Tully-Veolan. Donald 'mounted the white cockade, and waited upon Rose with a pretext of great devotion for the service in which her father was engaged'.[86] It is from Donald that Rose 'hears' that Waverley had killed the smith at Cairnvrecken, and she proposes to him that he 'rescue' Edward. Donald's mercenary nature reveals itself as he holds out offering help until he has secured a payment, in the form of 'some valuable jewels which had been her mother's'.[87] The way in which Rose uses her jewels, for bribery, echoes the practice of women sacrificing their jewels, not as bribes but as donations to the state in war, which has its place in classical Roman culture, as noted by Addison in *The Spectator*.[88] This ancient practice was imitated during the time of the French Revolution, in Paris, as a kind of ceremony by a group of *citoyennes*, artists' wives (including Jacque-Louis David's) dressed in flowing white dresses, donating their jewels to the National Convention. While Rose

[85] Scott, *Waverley*, 326.
[86] Scott, *Waverley*, 326.
[87] Scott, *Waverley*, 326.
[88] Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 81, edited with an introduction and notes by Donald F. Bond (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965), Vol. 1, 349.

is 'bribing' Donald to kidnap Edward, a purely personal act of criminality, it is sanctioned on the whole by the logic of the novel, an exchange of gifts, Rose's jewels for Waverley's life, that counters the less effective gesture of making cockades. Rose is perfectly aware of the danger in which she has put herself, in swearing Donald to silence on her part in Edward's 'liberation'. Rose's actions align her with a long-established tradition, in both literature and painting, which prominently places women in a patriotic act 'specific to gendered morality'.[89]

But we learn of Rose's actions after the fact from old Janet, Bradwardine's servant, who tells Edward about Rose's involvement. Edward has already met with the 'Desolation' of Tully-Veolan at the hands of Hanoverian soldiers after the 'decisive battle of Culloden'.[90] He has already ventured into Edinburgh, still under suspicion of high treason but carrying the passport of Colonel Talbot's nephew Frank Stanley whose identity he has assumed, and has stumbled upon Fergus's landlady, Mrs Flockhart, who offers him accommodation due to his attachment to Fergus:

> Waverley accepted her invitation, and engaged the lodging for a night or two, satisfied he would be safer in the house of this simple creature than any where else. When he entered the parlour, his heart swelled to see Fergus's bonnet, with the white cockade, hanging beside the little mirror.[91]

With the fugitive Chevalier, the 'noble-minded Adventurer', in his thoughts, Edward is haunted by the image of the white cockade in a vignette that prefigures Fergus's decapitation. The neighbours call Mrs Flockhart a Jacobite because of her attachment to the bonnet – she will only

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[89] Patricia Anne Simpson, 'Visions of the Nation: Goethe, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, and Ernst Moritz Arndt,' in Evelyn K. Moore and Patricia Anne Simpson (eds), *The Enlightened Eye: Goethe and Visual Culture* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 136. See also Annie K. Smart, *Citoyennes: Women and the Ideal of Citizenship in Eighteenth-Century France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001), 179-80. Joseph Addison also praised the practice in *The Spectator*, No. 81, 349.

[90] Scott, *Waverley*, 312.

[91] Scott, *Waverley*, 313.

take it down to brush it, expecting Fergus to call for it at any moment – yet it still has not dawned on Edward Waverley the reason why the bonnet is not in Fergus's possession. He learns from Mrs Flockhart that Fergus has been imprisoned at Carlisle and is to be executed. Edward's thoughts run directly to Fergus's sister ('she's away up to Carlisle to him, and lives wi' some grand papist lady thereabouts to be near him').[92] And the other young lady? What does it matter where the ladies are?, Mrs Flockhart asks, 'puir things, they're sair ta'en down for their white cockades and their white roses', but with the removal of the troops from Tully-Veolan back to Edinburgh Rose has managed to make her way from Edinburgh to Perthshire in safety. What has been presented as a kind of innocent activity – the making and wearing of the white cockade and rose, as if it were a choice of fashionable adornment – is now presented as a real threat to the government. Flora's futile activities of making 'ample' cockades for the clan and for her brother, the women's work of making 'bridal favours', is given further ironic treatment upon Edward's final meeting with Flora, preceding the execution of her brother and her subsequent exile. Rose's more pragmatic form of loyalty, sacrificing her movable wealth to save someone she loves, entering herself further into the criminal peripheries of the world of the novel, is contrasted with Flora's more public but essentially insubstantial contribution to the cause, perpetuating a symbol in material form that a mercenary such as Donald Bean Lean is able to appropriate with ease. Donald gets his come-uppance, and Rose receives jewels in abundance in acknowledgement of her sacrifice (if not of her bravery). While Rose gives up her (inherited) jewels to effect Edward's escape, those jewels are returned to her in the form of Flora's gift of the diamonds that she once used to decorate her hair,[93] and another gift, or reimbursement in this case, 'not without a delicate and affectionate allusion to the circumstances which had transferred Rose's maternal diamonds to the hands of Donald Bean Lean' of jewels from Aunt

[92] Scott, *Waverley*, 314.
[93] Scott, *Waverley*, 345.

Rachael, who 'stocked her casket with a set of jewels that a duchess might have envied'.[94] This is in keeping with the general theme of the conclusion where those who have learned prudence have property and moderate wealth bestowed upon them. Flora's gift of jewels is a gesture of renunciation, giving up her connection to the world with the intention of retreating into a convent, while Rose's act ties her to the homebound journeys which the pardoned and unattainted protagonists take in the final chapters of the novel, in which the foundations of property and inheritance are re-established.

Rose's history reading, 'several heavy folios' 'prescribed by her father',[95] has not dulled her feeling for romance, and, considering her previously sequestered existence, her early reading is most likely that which prepares her to sacrifice her jewels in a bold, brave and loyal act. Rose displays her advanced social sense through a private act – moving behind the scenes, and beyond Edward's (and standard history's) view – that nevertheless enters her as a participant in the events of the rising. Unlike her father, who 'cumbered his memory with matters of fact; the cold, dry, hard outlines which history delineates',[96] and who becomes a victim of the rising, Rose is able to shape the course of history in following exemplary women, showing history to be malleable and in all respects as fantastic as romance in its foundation in extraordinary and unlikely events.

II.ii Making Waverley Happy

The appraisal of the four main 'romantic' characters by a writer whose work influenced *Waverley* reveals that at least one early reader, Maria Edgeworth, an accomplished reader and writer of the romance novel, addressed the issue of Scott's characterisations. In a letter addressed '*To the* AUTHOR OF 'WAVERLEY' (dated 23rd of October, 1814), Edgeworth outlined her assessment of *Waverley*'s successes and minor failures. The characters left a deep impression, and she relates to

[94] Scott, *Waverley*, 353-4.
[95] Scott, *Waverley*, 68.
[96] Scott, *Waverley*, 61.

Scott that the Edgeworth family were 'possessed with the belief that the whole story and every character in it was real'[97] and agreed that the 'characters are not only finely drawn as separate figures, but they are grouped with great skill, and contrasted so artfully, and yet so naturally as to produce the happiest dramatic effect, and at the same time to relieve the feelings and attention in the most agreeable manner'.[98] While it was a convention to describe literary characters in terms of the visual and dramatic arts, it is still interesting that Edgeworth uses this language to draw attention to the ways Scott has subverted reader expectations:

> Flora – she is a true heroine. Her first appearance seized upon the mind and enchanted us so completely, that we were certain she was to be your heroine, and the wife of your hero.[99]

Edgeworth's next comment relating to Flora is particularly revealing in relation to what I am attempting to argue, that Edward does not make a choice:

> … but with what inimitable art, you gradually convince the reader that she was not, as she said of herself, *capable of making Waverley happy*. Leaving her in full possession of our admiration, you first make us pity, then love, and at last give our undivided affection to Rose Bradwardine – sweet Scotch Rose! The last scene between Flora and Waverley is highly pathetic – my brother wishes that *bridal garment* were *shroud*: because when the heart is touched we seldom use metaphor … [original italics][100]

[97] Maria Edgeworth, *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, edited by Augustus J.C. Hare, Vol. I (London: Edward Arnold, 1894), 226.
[98] Edgeworth, *Life and Letters*, 227.
[99] Edgeworth, *Life and Letters*, 229.
[100] Edgeworth, *Life and Letters*, 229-30.

What interests me in the above excerpt from Edgeworth's letter is her emphasis on the gradual process by which the highly structured (artful, but natural) groupings of characters are brought together and separated. And so it is that Scott artfully influences his reader to move through a series of emotions that culminate in their full dedication to 'sweet Scotch Rose'. Pity is shifted away from Rose to Flora, and we experience the pathos of the dark heroine that Welsh notes is part of our enjoyment: 'To the happiness of living ever after is superadded the pathos of the brunette'.[101] Edgeworth's brother denies the fitness of Flora's use of 'bridal garment' to describe the shroud she is sewing for her brother, as, for him, metaphor does not calibrate with the 'highly pathetic'. But this is an example of how Scott's narrative works against our feelings. As noted, there is a sustained imagery through the novel of bridal garments that is associated in Edward's mind with Flora; Edward's imagination, his mind, has been working against his heart and emotions for the large part of the novel, and in one of the final scenes, in associating bridal garments with Flora, it is apparent that rational choice is not possible or appropriate to a hero of 'feeling'.

After his interview with Mrs Flockhart, Edward journeys to Perth in search of Rose, 'resolving to make the rest of his journey on foot',[102] with the attendant slowness that is imposed on a pedestrian, which is, as we already know from his initial journey north, a mode of travel to which he is partial. The return to Tully Veolan on foot allows him a safer passage, avoiding soldiers, but it also affords him a close view of the 'traces of war':

> As he advanced northward, the traces of war became visible. Broken carriages, dead horses, unroofed cottages, woods felled for palisades, and bridges destroyed, or only partially repaired—all indicated the movements of hostile armies.[103]

[101] Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels*, 81.
[102] Scott, *Waverley*, 315.
[103] Scott, *Waverley*, 315.

Edward laments the loss of 'the gay dreams which in his case experience had so rapidly dissolved'[104] and it is in this frame of mind that he finds his Ariosto, a 'remnant' 'hurled from the bartizan' of Rose's apartment, which we must remember has a south-facing aspect. We are also informed by the narrator that Waverley's 'campaign had considerably strengthened his constitution, and improved his habits of enduring fatigue'.[105] Fergus, however, has become diminished. With the failure of the rising, and the retreat north, Fergus seems to have become a ghost of his former self:

> His eye had lost much of its fire; his cheek was hollow, his voice was languid, even his gait seemed less firm and elastic than it was wont; and his dress, to which he used to be particularly attentive, was now carelessly flung about him.[106]

Fergus has seen the Bodach glas, the ancestral spirit that predicts his death, and he has given up both the cause and any chance of surviving the reprisals. In obscurity, under a full moon that gleams forth a 'dubious light',[107] Fergus is taken prisoner.

In heavy shackles, a severe precaution taken due to an attempt to escape which almost succeeded, Fergus laughs at the 'mummery' of 'exposing the senseless head' on a gate in the town wall of Carlisle. Fergus wishes his head to be set on the Scotch gate, 'that I may look, even after death, to the blue hills of my own country, that I love so well'.[108] After the execution, Waverley leaves Carlisle, hardly daring to 'look back towards the Gothic battlements of the fortified gate under which he passed'.[109] But his companion Alick Polwarth informs him 'The

[104] Scott, *Waverley*, 315.
[105] Scott, *Waverley*, 315.
[106] Scott, *Waverley*, 292.
[107] Scott, *Waverley*, 296.
[108] Scott, *Waverley*, 348-9.
[109] Scott, *Waverley*, 351.

heads are ower the Scotch yate',[110] and it is with this image of a dismembered Fergus facing north that Waverley reaches his 'native county', 'embrowned by exercise, and dignified by the habits of military discipline', having acquired 'an athletic and hardy character' through his romantic adventures with the Knight Errant Charles Edward.[111] It is thus that Edward is incorporated into one of the novel's competing discourses of history, the highland group portrait hanging on his wall, next to 'the arms which Waverley had borne in the unfortunate civil war'.[112] 'The cause of the White Rose'[113] has been lost, but he has gained Rose Bradwardine in marriage, uniting the 'Houses of Waverley-Honour and Bradwardine'.[114]

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Throughout the novel, Rose is rarely present. Typically, her actions and words are described in conversation, and she is virtually absent from the denouement, despite the fact that she makes up the Scottish half of the merger of the Houses. In a letter to Maria Edgeworth from James Ballantyne (though presumably in Scott's words), an explanation for Rose's lack of interest as a character is offered; 'The character of Rose is less finished than the author had at one period intended; but I believe the characters of humour grew upon his liking, to the prejudice, in some degree, of those of a more elevated and sentimental kind'.[115] As a heroine, Rose is less sublime than Flora; however she is in many ways more representative of romance as historical process. While Flora is *the* romantic heroine of the novel, it is Rose who is the historical heroine. As a patriotic figure, Flora shows a pure passion in her love of the clan.[116] Rose, by contrast, is

[110] Scott, *Waverley*, 351.
[111] Ian Duncan describes Charles Edward in this role as the 'archetype of deviation from epic and historic destiny for a delusive private quest' (Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 76.)
[112] Scott, *Waverley*, 361.
[113] Scott, *Waverley*, 281.
[114] Scott, *Waverley*, 362.
[115] Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, Vol. III, 517-8.
[116] Scott, *Waverley*, 108.

'destitute of the devoted enthusiasm'[117] that Flora exhibits. She may not be a fully-realised, fully-present character, yet she possesses a particular vision, as witness rather than mythmaker. In an early scene, Rose informs Edward of the blackmail raid that has occurred at Tully-Veolan over night, and informs him of the history of the quarrel with clan Mac-Ivor:

> ... Tully-Veolan has never been a safe or quiet residence when we have been at feud with the Highlands. When I was a girl about ten, there was a skirmish fought between a part of twenty of them, and my father and his servants, behind the Mains; and the bullets broke several panes in the north windows, they were so near. Three of the Highlanders were killed, and they brought them in, wrapped in their plaids, and laid them on the stone floor of the hall; and next morning their wives and daughters came, clapping their hands, and crying the coronach and shrieking, and carried away the dead bodies, with the pipes playing before them. I could not sleep for six weeks without starting, and thinking I heard these terrible cries, and saw the bodies lying on the steps, all stiff and swathed up in their bloody tartans. But since that time there came a party from the garrison at Stirling, with a warrant from the Lord Justice Clerk, or some such great man, and took away all our arms; and now, how are we to protect ourselves if they come down in any strength?[118]

This relatively short speech encapsulates the complex divisions within Scotland at the time of the insurrection, divisions which were in large part exacerbated by the Disarming Act of 1716 (in response to the first rising). Rose's eyewitness account of 'deeds of violence' is viewed by Edward as remarkable for its 'falling within the common order of things, and happening daily in

[117] Scott, *Waverley*, 301.
[118] Scott, *Waverley*, 77.

the immediate neighbourhood',[119] and although he misreads her account as romantic, the reader is aware of his naivety and Rose's ability to comprehend these events, despite her sheltered existence, is all the more remarkable. It is through this scene that Scott represents romance emerging out of 'the pure font' of history; Rose's eyewitness account is imaginatively interpreted and adapted by Edward, and it this romanticised interpretation of blackmail that spurs him on towards the misadventures that lead him to a sense of his own participation in historical events.

Edward spends a considerable proportion of his journeys north and south in tracing and retracing his steps, attempting to align his view of himself and the world as romantic to a much harsher vision made even harsher by historical vagaries; where do the dreams of chivalric feats end and where does history begin? As McCracken-Flesher has noted, this is never resolved in the course of the novel,[120] and *Waverley* ends with descriptions of the material traces of life lived towards a future (in marriage), descriptions that replace the earlier descriptions of ruin and 'spoliation'. The traces of historical change, the material markings of the traumas (past and future) caused by the uprising, have taken shape as the most recent layer of the palimpsest. The possibility remains that the evidence of women's involvement in the stories that make up the historical background of *Waverley* will be buried in the process of improvement. The structural theme of prosperous but not too progressive settlement, as signified by the restored Tully-Veolan, becomes the dominant narrative architecture and the door to the manor is virtually shut on the reader as Rose prepares for marriage within, or in McCracken-Flesher's terms, 'offstage'.[121] Ian Duncan sees Rose's role here as reflective – an echo confirming a narcissistic (female-quixotic) Edward; 'The wife's function ... is to reflect back ... the completion of a male

[119] Scott, *Waverley*, 78.

[120] McCracken-Flesher, 'Scott's Jacobitical Plots', 52-3.

[121] McCracken-Flesher is here making reference to Diana Vernon's marriage to Frank Osbaldistone, yet the comment is equally pertinent to Rose's marriage to Edward Waverley (56).

self'.[122] For Duncan, Scott's normative solution [to the destabilisation and diminution of the female-quixotic male is] the *restoration* of romance power from women to men':

> In exorcism of the spectre of castration, women pour forth their natural-magical energies of healing upon the hero, disoriented and disabled at the labyrinthine centre of his adventure. The complicity of women is the source of energy – the private current of romance – that flows behind the scenes of male history. Its familiar end is in self-cancellation, a consenting exclusion from those scenes, absorption into the male as its shadow.[123]

However, it is worth applying what James Chandler has noted about Scott's understanding of romance: Scott 'links romance not with a state of mind but with a state of society: the one made intelligible by virtue of the chivalric code'.[124] Scott's heroines enact romance – they enter into history and move through society by enacting the romance code – and as such they are tied to the state of society, one that is in the process of transforming, rather than the state of mind that moves the plot towards a conclusive settlement. As Maxwell notes in reference to Lukács' study of Scott, 'the novelist himself seems to create [his characters] out of the burgeoning events, the material environment, in which they found themselves and which he has attempted to evoke for his audience'.[125] If the material environment is then transformed in the name of improvement to leave little trace of the events of the past, the threat remains that personal histories will be forgotten. But this does not necessarily mean that the characters' 'reduction' to decor and domesticity is a cancellation. Scott essentially avoids detailing the domestic at the end of *Waverley*, but apparently found this 'normative solution' unsatisfactory; in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* he

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[122] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 70.
[123] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 72.
[124] James Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 143.
[125] Maxwell, 'Inundations of Time', 426.

lingers at the very stage at which he concludes *Waverley*, at the stage of settlement, and explores the ways in which material traces, the evidence of the state of society, survive to articulate women's involvement in historical processes.

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I have been arguing that Rose's reading – both romantic and historical – prepares her for a fully historicised life in which she is able to make her social claim, yet Scott represents this journey from adolescence to adulthood as something that is taking place behind the scenes, as witness and abductor: thus he mimics the historical archive which typically excludes representation of the activities of women. The following chapters expand further on these points, to look at how Scott's interest in depicting women as participants in historical change deepens, and to suggest that this interest in turn influences his experimentation with genre. Scott further develops the figure of the female reader away from her quixotic ancestors, and reading becomes a catalyst for the heroines' ingenuity and action.

CHAPTER FOUR

Generative Reading and the Historicised Female Community in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*

I Generative Labouring-Class Reading in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*

'The history of the archive is a history of loss'.[1]

> 'He who buries a treasure buries himself with it. A secret is a grave, and it is not for nothing that a man who can be trusted with a secret boasts that he is "like the grave"'.[2]

In this section I want to consider the ways in which Scott presents peasant and labouring class women, and women at the peripheries of the criminal world. I have argued that the psychogeography of *Waverley* is masculine, and the women enter into it in largely 'romantic' ways. It is important to note, also, that the female communities and the relationships between women that make up these communities in *Waverley* are presented by Scott as fragile and tenuous, and while the women are striking characters, they are few. They are seen to respond to historical contingencies, they bring about situations that have a bearing on historical events, but they reflect the idiomatic rather than the dominant 'stately' account of the events of the '45, and are therefore on the peripheries of the narrative. While this might be viewed as Scott marginalising women, I suggest rather that in mimicking the archive Scott draws attention to the ways in which

[1] Antoinette Burton, 'Thinking Beyond the Boundaries: Empire, Feminism and the Domains of History', *Social History*, 26.1 (2001), 66.
[2] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 88.

women have been left out of historical accounts. In *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, the idiomatic is made central by Scott, and while the 'stately' is shown to be ever-present in the monolithic Old Tolbooth prison (known as the 'Heart of Midlothian', the site at which the events of the Porteous Riots of 1736 took place), it has been widely acknowledged that the 'heart' of the title refers less obviously to the intimate, sentimental ties between characters, than to the metaphoric structure which sees women at the 'heart' of the novel. The journeys of three female characters, two heroines and an anti-heroine, set the pattern for the novel's redemptive narrative that resists a counter-narrative of a Scottish society in the process of collapsing under the strain of political union with England. Through metaphors of circulation, reproduction, and regeneration, the novel draws attention to 'what lies at the heart of social life' and to 'the heart, the inner core, of individual people'.[3] Taking these metaphors as a starting point, I suggest that the interiority of the female characters is revealed through their reading and is made social, and it is thus through the generative female reader that Scott is able to represent an idiomatic history of mid-eighteenth-century Scottish peasant and labouring society. This discussion will commence with the anti-heroine, mad Madge Wildfire, charting her journey with Jeanie into the peripheral criminal world. Jeanie's aberrant journeying brings her into contact with a criminal force that hinders the progress of sentiment, the alignment of private with social self, and threatens to prevent Effie's true history from emerging out of the clandestine heart of the cold Edinburgh prison. In dramatising the hiatus of Jeanie's journey, Scott explores the ways in which evidence of the events that make up history might be lost when individuals stray into the peripheries of society. In following Madge's and Jeanie's journey together, I am also taking a parallel course to that taken by Catherine Jones in her *Literary Memory*; both discussions dwell on the same

[3] Andrea K. Henderson, *Romantic Identities: Varieties of Subjectivity, 1774-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 130. Henderson argues that the main structure of the novel is circulation based on commodity culture; Douglas Gifford has argued that the novel is about the mythic regeneration of a nation; and Peter Murphy has argued that women are central to the structure of the novel, and that Scott uses the symbol of the womb to represent his own practices as a novelist. Much has been written about Jeanie's journey south, most notably by Ann Rigney in her account of the way Scott transformed the story of Helen Walker into that of Jeanie Deans, and what this transformation tells us about the ways in which cultural memory works.

narrative points. While Jones is interested in establishing the ways in which associative memory works in the novel through 'intertextual memory', which she defines 'as the traces in the text of previous writing and the effect in the text of previous writing', in the use of quotation, allusion and epigraph, the present discussion differs significantly in approaching the characters' representations in terms of the embodiment of reading practices as ephemeral (in the case of Madge) or material (in the case of Jeanie). In further exploring the end point of Jeanie's journey – culminating in her domestication in the Scottish highlands under the patronage of the Duke of Argyle – I also wish to call into question assertions that the romance tropes that inform Jeanie's character dehistoricise her. Focusing on two numinous objects – Jeanie's Bible and the trunk that is sent to Jeanie by the Duke of Argyle's wife and daughters – I will argue that these romance artefacts are required to redirect the narrative away from Jeanie's brief brush with standard history to an idiomatic history that is able to illuminate a psychology rendered otherwise untraceable.

II 'She Was No Heroine of Romance': Madge's Madness, Jeanie's Materialism

It is perhaps most useful to read Madge Wildfire as an extreme version of the female quixote. She shares with Lennox's Arabella and other eighteenth-century romance heroines the compulsion to read the world in light of her reading. As Amy Pawl has remarked, a mark of female quixotism is 'the ingenuity with which the protagonists sift and twist their literary sources in order to come up with an explanation that accommodates their romantic vision and prevents reality from obtruding itself upon their notice'.[4] Madge departs from her quixotic counterparts, however, in her choice of reading. The quixotic heroine is a reader of romance, while Madge is a reader of Christian allegory and of broadside ballads. In her reading and reciting of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (especially the second part in which Christiana takes her pilgrimage with her

[4] Amy Pawl, 'Feminine Transformation of the *Quixote* in Eighteenth-Century England: Lennox's *Female Quixote* and Her Sisters,' in Barbara Simerka and Christopher B. Weimer (eds), *Echoes and Inscriptions: Comparative Approaches to Early Modern Spanish Literatures* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2000), 143-4.

neighbour, Mercy), Scott realistically depicts eighteenth-century peasant and labouring class reading, yet, as Jones has noted, he also uses the allegory as a structuring device for Madge's and Jeanie's escape from the criminals' hovel to 'the Interpreter's House', the church.[5]

Another difference between Madge and the classic female quixote is the nature of her madness; it is not temporary, it stems out of grief for her murdered child,[6] and it is not something that the novel presents as deriving from an extreme narcissism. In her madness she is closer to Shakespeare's Ophelia (although Madge never attempts to drown herself). Jon Thompson (following Herbert J.C. Grierson) has suggested that 'Scott presents [Madge] as a witless, demented fool, the very type of the hysterical woman'.[7] The narrator certainly points to Madge's 'giddiness and vanity' as aspects of her character that facilitate 'the total derangement' of her mind.[8] Yet I would argue that Madge's view of the world is to be trusted. She sees the world through her reading of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and is able to use the book as a compass, inadvertently guiding Jeanie (plain Chistiana to vain Madge's Mercy – 'for ye ken Mercy was of the fairer countenance, and the more alluring than her companion'[9]) out of the criminal underworld to the church, leading Jeanie to safety but also closer to the truth of Effie's plight in bringing her into contact with Mr Staunton, the father of Effie's seducer, and to Staunton himself. Unlike the narrator, Jeanie sees Madge as possessing 'a doubtful, uncertain, and twilight sort of rationality, varying, probably, from the influence of the most trivial causes',[10] and she places her trust (if only momentarily) in Madge. While Jeanie has never read *The Pilgrim's Progress* ('Bunyan was, indeed, a rigid Calvinist, but then he was also a member of a Baptist congregation,

[5] Jones, *Literary Memory*, 72.
[6] Walter Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, edited by David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 276.
[7] Jon Thompson, 'Sir Walter Scott and Madge Wildfire: Strategies of Containment in *The Heart of Midlothian*', *Literature and History*, 13.2 (Autumn 1997), 188.
[8] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 277.
[9] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 274.
[10] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 271.

so that his works had no place on David Deans's shelf of divinity'[11]), she indulges Madge in her fancy, and attempts to make sense of the random quotations that punctuate the journey. Through Madge's generative reading, Jeanie is made to begin to interpret the criminal landscape which her Bible reading has not prepared her to do. It is through listening to Madge's fragmented utterances, the quotations from and misreadings of Bunyan, that Jeanie is able to piece together Madge's history, and to further comprehend that Madge's own misfortunes are connected to Effie's.

Emerging from the hovel, following Madge 'into the free air',[12] Jeanie sees a wasteland, 'partly cultivated, and partly left in its natural state', and 'in some places covered with dwarf trees and bushes',[13] a stunted landscape. Wishing to get away from Madge, and to continue on her journey to London, Jeanie's thoughts are preoccupied with finding the public road, yet Madge, apparently on a whim, leads her into the 'deepest part of a patch of woodland'.[14] At the foot of 'a beautiful poplar' is 'a hillock of moss, such as the poet of Grasmere has described'. The reference to Wordsworth's 'The Thorn' alerts readers to what lies beneath the hillock, a child's grave.[15] With 'a loud scream that resembled laughter',[16] Madge flings herself onto the hillock, and remains motionless.

In this peripheral, criminal psychogeography, the canny is overwhelmed by the uncanny: Madge moves across the stunted landscape, Jeanie strays momentarily out of circulation, fragments of quotation punctuate Madge's conversation, and the retreat into the heart of the woodland culminates in Madge's motionlessness and silence as she lies upon the grave of her

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[11] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 279. David Deans quotes *The Pilgrim's Progress* in a letter to Jeanie, charging her 'to withdraw [her] feet from the delusions of that Vanity-fair in whilk ye are a sojourner' (356). Despite this inconsistency, it is nevertheless appropriate and consistent for David Deans to see his daughter's journey to London in terms of the material temptations of the fair, as she has in many ways come into contact with its 'Merchandize' of 'Lives, Blood, Bodies, Souls, Silver, Gold, Pearls, Precious Stones, and what not' (*The Pilgrim's Progress*, Part I, quoted in note 365.22 in Hewitt and Lumsden (eds), *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (700).

[12] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 271.

[13] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 271.

[14] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 272.

[15] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 273. The editors note the source, line 36 (685).

[16] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 273.

murdered child. The movement is towards death, stillness and forgetfulness. When Jeanie attempts to console Madge, the latter, 'deadly pale', her face 'bathed in tears', histrionically screams 'Let me alane! – let me alane!'[17] Madge 'canna shed tears, but maybe anes or twice a-year'.[18] With the emotional release of this outburst, Madge quickly changes her mind, recovers her memory, and recounts a previous encounter between her and Jeanie: 'I mind aye the drink o' milk ye gae me yon day, when I had been on Arthur's Seat four-and-twenty hours, looking for the ship that somebody was sailing in'.[19] Madge's vigil echoes the damsel's in John Gay's ballad 'Twas when the seas were roaring' (from *The What D'ye Call It*), the song that is sung in fragments by Henry Mackenzie's young lady of Bedlam, who also is unable to shed tears.[20] The literary echoes firmly place Madge within the sentimental ballad tradition. I am not suggesting that Madge references Gay and (anachronistically) Mackenzie in the way she recalls Bunyan, although if we view these literary echoes in terms of associative and 'intertextual' memory, Madge's fractured train of thought might be seen in terms of what Jones refers to as 'genre memory', 'the active or passive recall of a recurring type or category of text ... linked by structural and thematic association'.[21] The reader who has already recalled Wordsworth's 'The Thorn' would already be reminded of the sentimental ballad tradition. In this context, Madge is associated with sentiment, orality and the ephemeral. She inadvertently generates new articulations of her own grief in the repetition of sentiment. Recollection of Gay's ballad also brings to the reader's mind the sentimental broadsheet, prefiguring the broadsheet Jeanie later reads which narrates the morality tale of Madge's death, a point to which I will return below. The

[17] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 273.
[18] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 273.
[19] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 273.
[20] Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, edited by Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 25-7. Alastair R. Thompson has noted the important place given to both *The Vicar of Wakefield* and *The Man of Feeling* in one late eighteenth-century working-class subscription library; these sentimental tales were the only novels included, among biography, travel, and theology. Obviously, the characters in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* could not have read these tales, as they were published several decades after the action of the novel. Gay's mock-heroic play of 1715 would not have been seen by the Deanses; however it presents several pastoral characters, such as Kitty Carrot, who express sentiment in similar ways to Madge Wildfire.
[21] Jones, *Literary Memory*, 69.

sentimental memories that animate Madge back to life, towards 'the narrow way, the strait path' which Jeanie offers, away from the 'weary wilderness of Sinai',[22] will eventually emplot her; as her history becomes ephemeral Madge fades away into death. This is one of the darker visions Scott presents of the traces of women's histories in the Waverley novels.

It is not until reading the broadside which outlines Meg Murdockson's last speech before execution and her daughter's death that Jeanie is fully apprised of Madge's involvement in the disappearance of her sister's infant. Meg conveys the information that Madge 'carried off' Effie's infant 'taking it for her own, of the reality of whose death she at times could not be persuaded'.[23] Again, the history is lacking. Jeanie is only ever given 'a dark insight into Madge's history' before her narrative is briefly set down as the ephemera of the broadsheet that comes to Jeanie wrapped around 'the muckle cheese which came from [Dolly, at] Inverara'.[24] The mundane foodstuff belies the import of the sad, but significant, news of Madge's death. The comic-sentimental would sit uncomfortably here if it were not for Dolly's and Jeanie's material connection to domesticity and productive labour. The prudence and frugality, the canniness, which Dolly expresses in keeping the broadsides to wrap her cheeses lightens the uncanny, the grief that threatens to obscure the histories of Madge's and Effie's infants, one in the grave and one stolen, a life for a death. The canny and uncanny remain connected through journeying, a journeying that is understood in terms of Bunyan's allegory, in which the 'canny' is celebrated in a pageant of virtues overcoming 'uncanny' vice.

III 'An Accurate Inventory': Jeanie's Moveable Property, Prosperity and Posterity

Scott depicts Jeanie as a skim-reader rather than an immersive reader. She reads and writes only when a social or family situation forces her into these activities. Jeanie is a passive sort of reader (the Bible is here an exception), receiving information through broadsheets and letters. It is

[22] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 273-4.
[23] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 432.
[24] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 431.

perhaps easier to understand Jeanie through the ways in which she interacts with books as physical objects and the libraries that house them, several of which she visits on her journey south. I have suggested that central to the novel are the three journeys of Jeanie, Effie and Madge, and it is through those journeys that we understand the characters to be part of the greater historical events of the Union that affect their lives at all levels. The journeys connect the women, especially Jeanie and Madge, through circulation, the movement of which is initially established by Madge's quoting her favourite reading. Despite Jeanie's resistance to reading, she is drawn into a world of readers, and this in part brings her in touch with historical forces. Yet Jeanie is happier in her domestic duties, which ties her strongly to the material world. Peter Murphy has noted:

> The novel produces disparate worlds that Jeanie must tie together with her long walk, and with her personal integrity as well. This mediation works on still more sophisticated levels where personal identity links up with historical forces, where passion and lawlessness connect with legality and peaceful pleasures.[25]

Jeanie most closely resembles the canny Scot in her prudence and frugality, and in her strong identification with home, which for her is the 'uninclosed [*sic*] common of Dumbiedikes',[26] and later the Duke of Argyle's 'Roseneath'. She possesses a 'natural and homely good sense', she enters into a prudent marriage based on a constant love, and 'no minister of the presbytery had his humble dinner so well arranged, his clothes and linen in equal good order, his fire-side so neatly swept, his parlour so clean, and his books so well dusted'.[27] While Jeanie can read, she is

[25] Peter Murphy, 'Scott's Disappointments: Reading *The Heart of Midlothian*', *Modern Philology*, 92.2 (November 1994), 187.
[26] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 73.
[27] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 412.

not widely read, and to write letters is a labour of 'unwonted kind'.[28] Although '[t]here was something of romance in Jeanie's venturous resolution' to walk to London, as Scott's fictional antiquarian editor-narrator Jedidiah Cleishbotham tells his readers,[29] she is ultimately homely.

While Jeanie is not a typical romance heroine, nor is she a quixotic reader, she is still represented in the novel as a generative reader, especially of the Bible. She uses the Bible to affect changes in her circumstances, rather than reading it in a more conventional way. For Jeanie, the Bible is as much a material object as it is the gospel. Reading is something that binds her to community, even the reading of the broadside which brings the news of Madge's death, although Jeanie expresses her doubts about the importance of the written word. When explaining to Reuben that she must go to London in person, that a letter would be a poor substitute, she gives as her justification:

> ... writing winna do it – a letter canna look, and pray, and beg, and beseech, as the human voice can do to the human heart. A letter's like the music that the leddies have for their spinets – naething but black scores, compared to the same tune played or sung. It's word of mouth maun do't, or naething, Reuben.[30]

Again, her resistance to reading differentiates her from the classic quixotic heroine, who would devour romance after romance, and it is this very quality – her scepticism about the power of the written word to move people – that spurs her on in her quest to plead with the queen in person. With Jeanie, Scott has redefined the historical romance heroine; as Susan Morgan has argued, Jeanie's walk 'asserts choice, responsibility, hope, commitment to forgiveness – qualities that in the Scottish novels repeatedly connect the leads to the dark heroes and define true heroic

[28] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 352.
[29] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 247.
[30] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 246.

action'.[31] In other words, it is the heroine of the novel who defines heroic action. Yet, her brush with 'standard' history, her interview with Queen Caroline, is brief, and she returns to Scotland largely unchanged by the experience. The fact remains, and this has been problematic for readers of the fourth volume of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, that Scott spends more time exploring Jeanie's connection to material comforts than to heroic deeds. If any change is apparent on Jeanie's return to Scotland, it is external rather than internal; Jeanie is more prosperous, and it is that prosperity, the 'peaceful pleasures' rather than the upheavals of passion and lawlessness that Madge is ultimately subject to, that leaves its traces of historicity in the latter section of the novel. As already mentioned, the idiomatic is central to this novel.

Jeanie's journey to London is charted with references to books as treasure, and these treasures are of course stored in libraries, a space and concept entirely foreign to Jeanie. The libraries at Willingham and in London overwhelm Jeanie in their unfamiliarity; they are as alienating as the wasteland near the hovel, and she finds herself and her thoughts displaced:

> While these things passed through her mind, much faster than our pen and ink can record, or even the reader's eye collect the meaning of its traces, Jeanie found herself in a handsome library, and in the presence of the Rector of Willingham. The well-furnished presses and shelves which surrounded the large and handsome apartment, contained more books than Jeanie imagined existed in the world, being accustomed to consider as an extensive collection two fir shelves, each about three feet long, which contained her father's treasured volumes, the whole pith and marrow, as he used sometimes to boast, of modern divinity. An orrery, globes, a telescope, and some other scientific implements, conveyed to Jeanie an impression of admiration and wonder not unmixed with fear, for, in her ignorant apprehension, they seemed rather adapted for magical purposes than any other; and a few stuffed animals (as the

[31] Morgan, *Sisters in Time*, 78.

> Rector was fond of natural history,) added to the impressive characters of the apartment.[32]

The Rector's library is uncanny to Jeanie, and she does not comprehend the meaning or imperative behind the collection. Jeanie has entered into the gentleman-antiquary's world, where books are treasured for themselves as objects as well as being read for their contents (which is in contrast to her father's books that are treasured for their contents and connection to the Covenanters), and we are given an indication by the narrator as she enters the library of the extent to which reading and writing are peripheral to Jeanie's thoughts. Things that pass through Jeanie's mind as she enters the library are too fleeting to be recorded or traced by her historian. Again, in the Duke of Argyle's library, Jeanie's appearance is 'simple' and 'natural' amongst the 'splendid' surroundings, and in this sumptuous setting we are reminded that Jeanie's 'scrupulous attention to neatness and cleanliness' is a 'natural emblem' for 'purity of mind'. Jeanie's psychology cannot be traced in writing, yet it may be read in physical appearance, which she has carefully 'arranged'.[33] The libraries are also contrasted with David Deans's small selection of books that are treasured for their 'pith and marrow ... of modern divinity'. The Deanses' reading, Douce Davie's selection (rather than collection), is described here in visceral terms. As a generative reader, Jeanie approaches books as material objects for practical use.

For Duncan, books function to keep Jeanie 'outside a historical economy'.[34] On her return to Scotland, 'attended by the fairy godfathership of the Duke of Argyle' (as Wilt has noted),[35] Jeanie involves herself (as Duncan describes it) in a 'fable of property accumulation and class ascent'.[36] Her Bible becomes a numinous symbol of this ascent. Treasured for its association with her father, it is also a connection to her Covenanting ancestry, while being the

[32] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 291.
[33] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 319.
[34] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 170.
[35] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 140.
[36] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 167.

container of more material treasure. As Wilt has noted, Effie pays Jeanie 'hush money',[37] which she hides away in her father's 'old clasped Bible' that he had given to his eldest daughter before his death, when his eyesight was failing. The Bible, the narrator recalls, is the very one that was bequeathed to David Deans by a condemned Covenanter.[38] As Reuben asks his wife when she unclasps the Bible and proffers the hoarded notes, 'who on earth ever pitched on such a hiding-place for temporal treasures?'[39] The book contains treasures both heavenly and earthly, and as such it facilitates the self-fashioning that Wilt and Duncan have respectively noted that characterises the final volume of the novel: the 'full domestication, more, the bourgeoisification, of Jeanie Deans Butler';[40] and 'the progress of a family of the elect from tenantry to freehold, under benign ducal patronage'.[41] As such, the Bible is a transformative object, numinous in its generative associations and powers to bring about regeneration. Duncan and Jones have read this transformation as a move away from historical consciousness.[42] This is a point I would like to challenge in my reading of the fourth volume as a discrete narrative that partly represents women's history and as such turns our attention towards the occlusions of the historical record as the narrative pace slows to its pastoral rhythms.

If we think in terms of the Waverley novels as representing history in the making – depicting historical events as they unfold in the present – then the final volume of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* is resolutely ahistorical. For Duncan, the romance rhetoric that Jeanie speaks 'marks a generic evasion: that of a 'new' kind of mimesis of real history, the bourgeois-household comedy of manners'.[43] In their adoption and acquisition of land, the Butlers participate in a 'fable

[37] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 141.
[38] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 101 and 428.
[39] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 429.
[40] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 141.
[41] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 167.
[42] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 165; Jones, *Literary Memory*, 69. Jones discusses Duncan's reference to this move in *Literary Memory* (72).
[43] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 170.

of property accumulation and class ascent',[44] which refuses 'a feminine bourgeois-domestic realism.'[45] The Butlers have no connection to the events of the '45, and remain largely unaware of the aftermath except in their concern that cattle lifting is on the rise, and as Duncan has argued:

> Scott's historical placement of the romance idyll on the edge of the collapse of the Highland economy and culture does not address it to a present reality so much as make absolute its separation from it.[46]

For Jones, the literary memory that functions to structure the earlier volumes now undermines the 'utopian logic' of the final volume, and as Scott's 'view closes on the Roseneath idyll', 'the narrative register progressively shifts out of, or beyond, history'.[47] I have been arguing that the psychogeography of the events of the '45 is masculine in *Waverley*, and this is replicated in the fourth volume of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*. Duncan has convincingly argued that the representation of Argyle's 'Duchy' is a patriarchal domestic 'frontier of colonization' in the context of the 'final pacification of the natives after the '45'.[48] Again, I would like to return to the idea that within such a context it is a complex process to represent women's histories in realist terms. As already noted, Scott depicts Jeanie as a character whose inner thoughts are utterly disconnected from reading and writing, or even understanding that others should lead a particular life (a life in politics, for example) that is understood through creating, leaving and reading written traces, the traces that for Scott make up an archive.

To conclude this chapter, I will explore the significance of the Duchess of Argyle's trunk, an object gifted by females to another female, which can be viewed as a transformative feminine

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[44] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 167.
[45] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 171.
[46] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 168-9.
[47] Jones, *Literary Memory*, 74.
[48] Duncan, *Modern Romance*, 168.

incursion into a masculine psychogeography in the turn away from 'standard' to 'idiomatic' history, with the author's acknowledgement that romance tropes are a powerful means of historicising women's experience. I also discuss this gift as one of the most important stages in Jeanie's final domestication at Roseneath.

As Gaston Bachelard writes,

> Chests, especially small caskets, over which we have more complete mastery, are objects *that may be opened*. When a casket is closed, it is returned to the general community of objects; it takes its place in exterior space. But it opens! … The outside is effaced with one stroke, an atmosphere of novelty and surprise reigns. The outside has no more meaning. And quite paradoxically, even cubic dimensions have no more meaning, for the reason that a new dimension – the dimension of intimacy – has just opened up.[49]

Upon entering her bedroom at the cottage she is to inhabit under the Duke's patronage, Jeanie unexpectedly finds a 'neat trunk' awaiting her inspection. A label on an accompanying key identifies that the trunk is a gift 'from her friends the Duchess of Argyle and the young ladies' as a token of remembrance:

> The trunk, hastily opened as the reader will not doubt, was found to be full of wearing apparel of the best quality, suited to Jeanie's rank in life; and to most of the articles the names of the particular donors were attached, as if to make Jeannie sensible not only of the general, but the individual interest she had excited in the noble family.

[49] Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 85.

In opening the trunk and exploring its contents, not only does Jeanie open up a new dimension of intimacy with the duchess and her daughter, but Scott opens up a space in the novel where female social history is carefully documented and valued apart from the very masculine world that Jeanie otherwise inhabits. Each female is named, yet 'to name the various articles by their appropriate names'[50] would lead to a revolution in genre; the romance historical narrative cannot accommodate the material facts of the trunk and its contents. In another instance of 'genre memory', this time for the purposes of parodic playfulness, Scott alludes to Milton in suggesting that to list the articles would be 'to attempt things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme'.[51] A further problem is identified as the voice of Jedidiah Cleishbotham intrudes upon the scene: 'the old-fashioned terms of manteaus, sacks, kissing-strings, and so forth, would convey but little information even to the milliners of the present day'.[52] Cleishbotham's redress for this omission is to deposit

> an accurate inventory of the contents of the trunk with my kind friend, Miss Martha Buskbody [Cleishbotham's Mantua-making neighbour who features in the conclusion to *Old Mortality* as an avid reader of romances], who has promised, should the public curiosity seem interested on the subject, to supply me with a professional glossary and commentary.[53]

In having Cleishbotham omit the list of garments that are contained within the trunk Scott draws attention to the female networks that govern idiomatic history in the novel. In their paper "'Particular Thanks and Obligations": The communications made by women to the Society of Antiquaries between 1776 and 1837, and their significance', Anna Catalani and Susan Pearce

[50] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 401.
[51] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 401.
[52] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 401.
[53] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 401.

have identified differences in the ways men and women of that period collect objects, in particular antiquities. They write:

> ... women tend to consume objects by attaching them to past events and personal encounters, and then using them to construct memory systems in which the owner's identity is projected through such reified links. This memory system can be inhabited in the most literal sense, for the objects are usually arranged in the house – especially the living room ... Men, in contrast, are more interested in producing relationships seen as intrinsic to the object itself, by linking it with other material in typologies or chronological sequences and by associated documentation, so that information supposedly freed from personalities can be generated.[54]

We see these two gendered approaches to collecting present in the Willingham library (male, typological) and in Martha Buskbody's list, wherein the owner's (Jeanie's) identity is reified through a literary memory system (female, consumer- and relationship-focused).

Once Cleishbotham has accounted for his omission, he returns to the trunk's contents to re-establish a connection with the patriarchal world over which Jeanie's fairy godfather presides:

> … at the bottom of all, was found a dress of white silk, very plainly made, but still of white silk, and French silk to boot, with a paper pinned to it, bearing, that it was a present from the Duke of Argyle to his travelling companion, to be worn on the day when she should change her name [from Deans to Butler].[55]

[54] Anna Catalani and Susan Pearce, '"Particular Thanks and Obligations": The communications made by women to the Society of Antiquaries between 1776 and 1837, and their significance', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 86 (2006), 270-1.
[55] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 402.

While this is a return to the 'stately' historical world of patronage, we are still aware of the inversion wherein the Duke's gift is buried at the bottom of the trunk, the last item to be displayed and acknowledged by Jeanie, and described by the antiquary-narrator. The brief glimpse of the idiomatic-historical world that is opened up to the reader with the opening of the trunk recalls the scene in which Jeanie visits the Campbells, and is regaled by the daughters, who are told by their father to 'go dress your babies'.[56] It was through playing with dolls that girls received the sort of education that aligns them with material culture, and in dressing dolls and choosing outfits for them they were being educated about French fashions that were considered to be ahead of the English (a detail that is made obvious in referring to Jeanie's French silk wedding dress). Leslie Reinhardt has explained the associations that dolls carried in the eighteenth century:

> ... the dolls that appear in portraits were expensive items, an indicator of class. Those purchased already dressed ... cost significantly more than undressed ones ... Dolls that came already dressed arrived with not just the outer shell of fashion but every detail of garments of the period – petticoats (when appropriate), shifts, stays, pockets, garters, stockings, and shoes ... Dolls in this period also carried associations with the fashion trade. For a long time dolls had been used to transmit new fashions long distance ... Girls could see in these dolls, which were dressed in adult styles, pictures of womanhood and imagine the women they would become.[57]

The process of choosing appropriate clothing for Jeanie is not child's play, but a stage in their education, and in articulating this practice into the fairy tale romance that makes up the fourth volume, Scott, I suggest, was allowing romance to do the work for idiomatic history. The listing

[56] Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 358.

[57] Leslie Reinhardt, 'Serious Daughter: Dolls, Dress, and Female Virtue in the Eighteenth Century', *American Art*, 20.2 (Summer 2006), 38-9.

and naming of the items that does not occur draws our attention to the ways in which the traces of social, idiomatic and women's histories might be lost or overlooked. Yet in having his narrator sideline accounts of material histories relating to women, Scott draws our attention to them. The forgettable is rendered unforgettable. As Bachelard has noted:

> The casket contains the things that are unforgettable, unforgettable for us, but also unforgettable for those to whom we are going to give our treasures. Here the past, the present and a future are condensed. Thus the casket is memory of what is immemorial.[58]

In depicting women's networks through 'movable goods', Scott gives us an alternative historical account of Jeanie's marriage and settlement at Roseneath. In hoarding her sister's notes in her Bible and in opening the trunk, Jeanie enacts her domestic idyll through a series of containments and openings that in fact lead towards transformation on an idiomatic scale, traces of which may be found if you know where to look. The grave, the book and the trunk all act as sites for retaining memory but not necessarily revealing the information that the memory has retained, as repositories for the secrets and submerged memories that are at the heart of the novel.

In 'Portable Monuments', Ann Rigney has argued that 'the novel offered Scott an experimental space for including cases which might otherwise have been forgotten'.[59] She also argues that in the particular historical case of Helen Walker, whose walk to London from Scotland is fictionalised by Scott in Jeanie's journey, is eclipsed by the literary: 'she gains a place in public memory, but at the cost of losing her identity'.[60] This is problematic for historical fiction that claims to bring to public attention those lives that might otherwise be forgotten. This

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[58] Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 84.
[59] Ann Rigney, 'Portable Monuments: Literature, Cultural Memory, and the Case of Jeanie Deans', *Poetics Today*, 25.2 (2004), 375.
[60] Rigney, 'Portable Monuments', 376.

is a further problem in that the fourth volume moves the narrative even further away from Helen Walker's story. As Wilt has noted, and Rigney has discussed at length:

> Helen Walker, the original pilgrim, returned from London on foot, without further patronage from the Duke, lived and died a rough life, unmarried and poor.[61]

The part of the novel that dwells on the moment that is offstage at the end of *Waverley*, the marriage and settlement, is that which least resembles the brief biography of Helen Walker. In its depiction of female inheritances and networks the novel is able to conjure a picture of the ways in which women lived; the difficulty with writing women into the historical framework still remained a problem for Scott. Helen Walker's historical reality remains closer to Madge's 'rough life' than to Jeanie's tale of prosperity, and as such Scott seems to remain somewhat ambivalent about his narrative's power to evoke the details of a particular woman's life, especially a woman of the peasantry or criminal class. Scott's turn to exemplary, aristocratic and royal women a few years later reveals a less ambivalent attitude to historicising women, to the extent that he sees the matriarch as a figure who shapes history and historical events and leaves records and physical traces of her activities for posterity. As mentioned in the introduction, the exemplary woman often showed up in histories that were largely about men. What is interesting about Scott's depiction of the exemplary woman, as I will argue in the following chapter, is that he reveals how their private passions shape history in positive ways, and in some senses feminise history.

[61] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 140.

CHAPTER FIVE

'Painting the Past Times': Picturing History through Exemplary Women in *The Monastery* and *Kenilworth*

In the earlier Scottish novels, Scott had been able to rely on anecdotal stories passed down to him by figures from his own childhood and youth, and he then embedded these anecdotes within a series of events gleaned from standard histories. I have argued that the difficulties Scott faced in using this method when developing female characters as 'historical', given the paucity of information about women, both in anecdotes about war and in standard histories that provide a broader (yet still limited with regards to women) understanding of social history, were partially alleviated by his use of these stories from oral tradition. This chapter takes as its starting point a further problem Scott faced in portraying plausible 'historical' female characters in settings that are not within the living memories of older readers; in these cases he did not have access to anecdotal sources and could only look to published sources in order to flesh out his female characters. Scott continues to draw on the figure of the female reader in these novels, yet reading and writing have become political acts that generate the change that denotes the religious and political history of the sixteenth century, rather than being acts that might move a female character towards embroilment in politics. In the earlier Scottish novels, reading is seen as something that enables women to participate in events (in a very limited way); in the Reformation and Renaissance novels, reading is seen as precipitating historical change, and this reading is largely undertaken by women. I wish to argue that in *The Monastery* the long Reformation is also characterised by a particular understanding of history in which women are

essential to historical change, and it is through female reading and writing that this sense of historical change is articulated. I also wish to argue that this is present in *Kenilworth*, a very different novel to *The Monastery* in its English, courtly setting. However both novels have at their centre a matriarch who is able to act as an exemplary patroness to a younger generation through reading practices.

The three Renaissance novels that were composed between 1819 and 1820[1] – *The Monastery*, *The Abbot*, and *Kenilworth* – all have at their centre a matriarch who acts as patroness to a younger generation in their transition from youth to adulthood. Unlike the later novels of the 1820s set in the Renaissance, such as *The Fortunes of Nigel* (set in early seventeenth-century London), *A Legend of Montrose* (set in the 1640s in Scotland), and *Woodstock* (set in 1651 at Woodstock in England) these are marked by a particular understanding of history in which women are essential to historical change, and it is through female reading and writing that this sense of historical change is articulated. The other novels mentioned closely follow the adventures of the young hero, and even in *Woodstock*, where books and reading are celebrated, the reading is not directed by the heroine, Alice Lee.

Scott was explicit in the Ashestiel *Memoir* regarding the role of generous female relatives in his education. His aunt, Janet Scott, read to him 'with admirable patience' while at Sandy Knowe.[2] Of more significance, however, was his mother's influence over his reading when he returned to Edinburgh and found the atmosphere of his father's George Square residence to be overly restrictive, both physically and imaginatively. Not only was her presence a consolation, but she guided the young Walter in what he has described as his 'romantic research':

[1] Scott probably commenced *Ivanhoe* in early July of 1819; *The Monastery* (probably) in August 1819 and he had probably commenced working on *The Abbot* while writing *The Monastery*; he did not complete *The Abbot* until August 1820, and commenced working on *Kenilworth* a few weeks later (after a short break), which he finished writing in late December 1820 (Fielding, 'Essay on the Text,' 363.

[2] Scott, *Memoir*, in Hewitt (ed), *Scott on Himself*, 13.

> I found much consolation during this period of mortification in the partiality of my mother. She joined to a light and happy temper of mind a strong turn to study poetry and works of the imagination ... My lameness and my solitary habits had made me a tolerable reader and my hours of leisure were usually spent in reading aloud to my mother Pope's translation of Homer, which except a few traditionary ballads and the songs in Allan Ramsay's Evergreen was the first poetry which I perused. My mother had good natural taste and great feeling: she used to make me pause upon those passages which expressed generous and worthy sentiments and if she could not divert me from those which were descriptive of battle and tumult, she contrived at least to divide my attention between them.[3]

Later, during an illness that kept him from his high school studies, Scott again found in his mother a source of escape from the restrictions of an unsympathetic tutor:

> My tutor thought it almost a sin to open a profane play or poem and my mother besides that she might be in some degree trammelled by the religious scruples which he suggested had no longer the opportunity to hear me read poetry as formerly. I found, however, in her dressing-room (where I slept at one time) some odd volumes of Shakespeare nor can I easily forget the rapture with which I sate up in my shirt reading them by the light of a fire in her apartment untill the bustle of the family rising from supper warned me it was time to creep back to my bed where I was supposed to have been safely deposited since nine o'clock.[4]

[3] Scott, *Memoir*, in Hewitt (ed), *Scott on Himself*, 19.
[4] Scott, *Memoir*, in Hewitt (ed), *Scott on Himself*, 26.

In this haven, created by if not shared with his mother, Scott was able to pursue the reading that perhaps was most influential in the overall composition of the Waverley novels, but specifically in painting a vivid and exuberant picture of the Renaissance through remembering his secret adolescent reading of Shakespeare in his mother's apartment. What follows is a discussion of how Scott evoked the Renaissance through exemplary women who engage with reading and writing in *The Monastery* (set in Scotland during the dissolution of the monasteries) and *Kenilworth* (set in England during the reign of Elizabeth I). I also suggest that Scott's mother's practice of reading and being read to was a formative influence on Scott, and when it came to representing the Renaissance matriarchs he was able to draw on personal memories of shared reading with his mother.

I Mary Avenel and the Black Book

In a letter to Lady Louisa Stuart, which was composed just after the publication of *Ivanhoe*, Scott writes of the death of his mother, Anne Rutherford. Comforted by the fact that Lady Louisa had met his mother, and knew of her abilities, Scott writes:

> She had a mind peculiarly well stored with much acquired information and natural talent, and as she was very old, and had an excellent memory, she could draw without the least exaggeration or affectation the most striking pictures of the past age. If I have been able to do any thing in the way of painting the past times, it is very much from the studies with which she presented me. She connected a long period of time with the present generation, for she remembered, and had often spoken with, a person who perfectly recollected the battle of Dunbar, and Oliver Cromwell's subsequent entry into Edinburgh.[5]

[5] Quoted in Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Vol. 4 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1837), 338.

Penny Fielding has described this sort of recollection as a cumulative, palimpsestic type of remembering, which is closely linked to oral tradition.[6] Through memory, Scott's mother had been a living connection to a past generation, and thus her own memory, the 'mind peculiarly well stored', is a form of social memory, in Catherine Jones's formulation of a type of memory that is 'the textual embodiment of a community's collective consciousness of the past'.[7] Fielding has emphasised, however, that orality, for Scott, is an unreliable mode of conveying history, as 'the concept of performance threatens the imagined integrity of the impossible stasis of the non-historical realm in which the oral is confined'.[8] This process becomes particularly complex for Scott when he presents social memory as articulated in the figure of the mother or matriarch. While there still remains an underlying assumption that print culture is a more effective means of recalling the past, the one thing a book cannot do is bring history to life – the connection between past and present generations is established in the person of Anne Rutherford. Scott's mother is able to paint historical events in striking pictures, a borrowing from visual art. Scott has also praised orality for being like or as good as a book in conveying information about the past. 'Luckie' Elspeth Mucklebackit, the matriarch at the fisher-folk's cottage in *The Antiquary*, is said to speak like 'a prent book' when set on her 'auld tales'.[9] Elspeth, then, is a hybrid of oral and literary memory. She is also a living remnant of the past; in Jennie Rintherout's opinion, hearing Elspeth is like hearing 'the dead speaking to the living'.[10] It is this embodiment of oral and literary memory in the figure of the mother, and of her capacity to speak (as if) from beyond the grave, that I wish to explore here in *The Monastery*, and to discuss how Scott figures the absent mother, and historicises that absence through the material traces of handwriting.

Near the beginning of *The Monastery*, Lady Avenel dies before her daughter Mary is old enough to be educated. Mary is then reliant upon her 'adoptive' family, the Glendinnings, for her

[6] Fielding, *Writing and Orality*, 56.
[7] Jones, *Literary Memory*, 79.
[8] Fielding, *Writing and Orality*, 55.
[9] Walter Scott, *The Antiquary*, edited by David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 214.
[10] Scott, *The Antiquary*, 214.

education. The substitute mother figure, the widow Elspet Glendinning, is illiterate; however Elspet's youngest son, Edward, has been educated by Father Eustace with the purpose of entering him into the nearby monastery of St. Mary's. While teaching Edward, Father Eustace also oversees the tutelage of the young Mary, but leaves much of the guidance to Edward. The figure of the absent mother haunts the narrative, while the figure of the male mentor gives shape to Mary's life in taking charge of the young orphaned female's scholastic and often moral education. This trope is figured in *The Monastery* through Edward's guidance of Mary's studies. Jacqueline Pearson reads the connected tropes of education and mentorship that are prevalent in the eighteenth- and nineneeth-century novel in Lacanian terms:

> The Lacanian trope, in which the girl-child enters the symbolic order and arrives at language (and, in this case, literacy) only from the absence or death of the mother, is recurrent ... In the disquieting Lacanian landscape in which 'reading ... begins with loss', literacy depends on the erasure of the mother. The girl must leave her mother to enter a male-defined cultural order ...[11]

Pearson particularly links this trope with the Enlightenment, while also identifying a subversive 'counter-trope' familiar in novels by both male and female authors:

> At the same time, the girl's identification with the absent mother might create a more optimistic, even subversive, resistance to the Word of the Father. In this counter-trope literacy figures as a feminised realm, with books and reading forming

[11] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain*, 114. Pearson is quoting from Margaret Homans, *Bearing the Word: Language and Female Experience in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 75.

> links with her lost mother which are crucial to the socialisation and maturing of the daughter.[12]

The Monastery presents trope and counter-trope in dramatic tension, as Mary of Avenel embarks on her rite of passage from girlhood to womanhood, and from innocence to literacy. Initially, the novel follows Mary's progress into the 'male-defined cultural order', as the death of her mother leaves her dependent on Edward for her education. This is also complicated by inequality in class, as the Glendinnings are tenants of their land and only able to claim distant relation to a noble branch of the family, while Mary's mother and father are landed gentry. As Penny Fielding has pointed out, it is appropriate to Mary's station in life that she is able to read.[13] Scott makes the point that within the world of *The Monastery* reading is an elite practice, and knowledge is used, especially by the monks at St. Mary's, to maintain power over the illiterate (Catholic) community at Kennaquhair. As Fielding notes, '*The Monastery* deals with the physicality of the written word, and the various means whereby it can acquire authority'.[14] In this, the novel is structured as romance in Scott's terms. We will recall that his definition accounts for a priest's motives for 'casting a holy and sacred gloom and mystery over the early period in which [his] power arose', and in *The Monastery* the monks act to delay young Mary in inheriting her Bible by taking it from the community at Glendearg. The physicality of the written word becomes all important in this novel; possession of the Bible makes the word of God directly accessible to Mary through handling the book and reading its words in private, while the monks wish to maintain their power through making reading material inaccessible to those outside the monastery, and through casting a sacred gloom and mystery to keep the laypeople enthralled.

Out of the logic of the Lacanian trope emerges the counter-trope. The death of Lady Avenel also marks for Mary a break with incipient Protestantism, although tenuously, as Mary

[12] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain*, 114.
[13] Fielding, *Writing and Orality*, 71.
[14] Fielding, *Writing and Orality*, 58.

was never exposed to the teachings of either Catholic or Protestant churches even if she has heard her mother read from a vernacular translation of the Bible. Lady Avenal, anticipating John Locke, deems religious instruction inappropriate for young children.[15] She did, however, read to the community at Glendearg out of her Black Book; a transgressive and dangerous practice in the world of the *The Monastery*. Fielding, in her historical note to the Edinburgh edition of *The Monastery*, outlines the 'historical conditions'[16] concerning reading English translations of the New Testament in Scotland around the 1520s to 1580s. While she notes that Scott relied on sources that somewhat exaggerate the heretic status of reading the Bible in English translation, Fielding also draws attention to 'an Act of 1541 which forbade meetings in private houses to discuss the scripture without the presence of a University-educated theologian, which may account for the Lady of Avenel's nervousness in reading the scriptures to her assembled household'.[17] Lady Avenel's words are not entirely comprehended by the illiterate inhabitants of Glendearg (Fielding draws attention to 'their superstitious reverence'),[18] but the importance of the book was impressed upon them nevertheless. Thus far, little Mary remains innocent of religious instruction, and with the diminishing of Lady Avenel's influence over the household through her ailment comes an assertion of power by the monks. The monks appropriate the Black Book, taking it away from Glendearg and thus depriving Mary of her matrilineal inheritance. While the White Lady of Avenel is active in returning the Black Book to Mary, it is only through a series of trials on the part of the eldest Glendinning son, Halbert, that the adult (and confidently literate) Mary is finally able to read her Bible in English translation. The counter-trope emerges here, with the return of a feminised practice of private devotion with reading forming a link with the lost mother. The White Lady of Avenel, the supernatural

[15] Walter Scott, *The Monastery*, edited by Penny Fielding (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 280.
[16] Fielding, 'Historical Note', in Scott, *The Monastery*, 434.
[17] Fielding, 'Historical Note', in Scott, *The Monastery*, 436.
[18] Fielding, *Writing and Orality*, 65.

guardian spirit of the Avenel family, reveals to Mary the hiding place in which the monks had placed her bible:

> On examining the spot which the phantom had indicated by her gestures, it was not difficult to discover that a board had been loosened, which might be raised at pleasure. On removing the piece of plank, Mary Avenel was astonished to find the Black Book, well remembered by her as her mother's favourite study, of which she immediately took possession, with as much joy as her present situation rendered her capable of feeling.[19]

The hiding place beneath the floorboards is similar to Jeanie's trunk in its function as a container whose opening leads to intimacy. Mary takes up the Black Book and begins to read, '[i]gnorant in great measure of its contents', but as she 'had been taught from her infancy to hold this volume in sacred veneration' she perseveres and finds that 'the affectionate mother had made preparations for the earthly work which she had most at heart'.[20] Lady Avenal has prepared what might be viewed as a sort of commonplace book, by placing within the pages of the Bible slips of paper with passages written in her own hand, 'affecting texts' which reveal to her daughter the 'spirit' of 'christian charity'; 'the simple effusions of a devout mind communing with itself'.[21]

> In Mary Avenel's state of mind, these attracted her above all the other lessons, which, coming from a hand so dear, had reached her at a time so critical, and in a manner so touching. She read the affecting promise, 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee', and the consoling exhortation, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble,

[19] Scott, *The Monastery*, 280.
[20] Scott, *The Monastery*, 280.
[21] Scott, *The Monastery*, 280.

> and I will deliver thee'. She read them, and her heart acquiesced in the conclusion, Surely this is the word of God.[22]

This is atypical of the standard mother-daughter relationship in the Waverley novels.[23] After describing the content of Mary's reading, Scott proceeds to describe the quality of Mary's reading, framed by the moment of her conversion. While Edward and others are attempting to break out of the tower of Glendearg (after Mysie's and Sir Piercie's escape), Mary engages in an immersive practice of reading wherein she blocks out the 'jarring symphony' that denotes the historical action of the reverse siege:

> She was insensible to the discordant noise which rang below, the clang of the bars and the jarring symphony of the levers which they used to force them, the measured shout of the labouring inmates as they combined their strength for each heave, and gave time with their voices to the exertion of their arms, and their deeply muttered vows of revenge on the fugitives who had bequeathed them at their departure a task so toilsome and difficult. Not all this din, combined in hideous concert, and expressive of aught but peace, love, and forgiveness, could divert Mary Avenel from the new course of study on which she had so singularly entered. 'The serenity of heaven', she said, 'is above me; the sounds which are beneath are but those of earth and earthly passion'.[24]

[22] Scott, *The Monastery*, 280-1.
[23] For example, Julia Mannering is encouraged by her romance-reading mother to misread her father's sternness as gothic tyranny (Walter Scott, *Guy Mannering*, edited by P.D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 95), and Lucy Ashton's romance reading might be seen as antithetical to her mother's ambitions for her.
[24] Scott, *The Monastery*, 281.

For Mary, as Pearson notes, 'Literacy ... embodies not the Law of the Father but the word of the Mother'.[25] Mary Avenel's true, matrilineal education, the one she receives from beyond the grave, is prefigured in the Catholic education she has received alongside Edward, yet it supersedes that previous education. Mary's spectacular conversion, and the regaining of her inheritance, is more than religious conversion. The Black Book is dangerous as a symbol of heresy, but it also leads Mary into the world of the dead and half-living, and away from the inundations of historical change taking place below.

Bible reading as a reading practice in itself was not always considered safe for female readers in Scott's time. Pearson has surveyed the attitudes to girls reading the Bible as part of their education:

> [A]lthough religious reading was widely recommended, radicals and conservatives alike believed that tact had to be exercised in using it in the education of girls ... [C]ontroversy [might] 'entangle' women readers in an 'endless maze of opinions', and the literature of proselytising sects like Methodists was thought especially dangerous ... Another danger was 'Books of flaming devotion' which 'kindle the heart' but 'confuse the head': even religious reading might lead to 'corruption' if it allows 'the softer passions to mix too strongly with ... zeal for religion'.[26]

In focusing on Bible reading as a feminine, immersive practice, Scott was drawing on an already controversial topic that affected women across all classes in nineteenth-century Britain. As we can see from Pearson's survey, between the mid-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the issue of 'how women read is more important than what they read'.[27] For Mary Avenel, both concerns are pertinent, and Scott's Reformation setting allows the author to explore female

[25] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain*, 115.
[26] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain*, 44-5.
[27] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain*, 44.

reading as a powerful act of self-affirmation. In setting *The Monastery* amid the religious turmoil of mid-sixteenth century Scotland, Scott makes 'dark allusions'[28] to the dangers of reading the Bible in English translation at that time. This in turn diffuses the other dangers of reading for Mary Avenel. Her reading is dangerous, not because of the effect it may have on her mind, heart or faith, but because the act of reading is unsanctioned in the historical-romance world of *The Monastery*. Mary's reading is on a heroic, if private, scale. She breaks 'the Law of the Father', albeit unwittingly, in an act of prohibited reading that leads directly to the reconnection with her mother and, for Mary, a spiritual awakening crucial to her sexual and social maturity (in aligning her with the self-fashioned Protestant Halbert). Lady Avenal educates her daughter Mary from beyond the grave through ephemeral notes that Mary is able to read and understand as an alternative truth to the (gothic) Catholic doctrine propounded by the Abbot of St Mary's, Kennaquhair.

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'There is in the library at Abbotsford', wrote Lockhart in his *Life*, 'a fine copy of Baskerville's folio Bible, two vols., printed at Cambridge in 1763':

> ... there appears of the blank leaf, in the trembling handwriting of Scott's mother, this inscription— '*To my dear son, Walter Scott, from his affectionate Mother, Anne Rutherford, January* 1*st,* 1819'. Under these words her son has written as follows:— 'This Bible was the gift of my grandfather Dr John Rutherford to my mother, and presented by her to me; being, alas! the last gift which I was to receive from that excellent parent, and, as I verily believe, the thing which she most loved in the world,—not only in humble veneration of the sacred contents, but as the dearest

[28] Fielding, 'Historical Note', in Scott, *The Monastery*, 436.

> pledge of her father's affection to her. As such she gave it to me; and as such I bequeath it to those who may represent me—charging them carefully to preserve the same, in memory of those to whom it has belonged. 1820'.[29]

In reading this inscription alongside Mary Avenal's reading of her mother's handwritten notes, we gain a strong sense of the way in which the mother's handwriting figures as a ghostly trace of intertextual memory; as types of palimpsest the inscription and the leaves inserted into the Bible act as more than just words to be read. They inscribe memory and historicise in their materiality the absent mother.

II 'Obvious to the Queen's Eye': The 'Foot Cloath', the 'Plashy Place' and the 'Glasse Window' as Traces of Literary History in *Kenilworth*

Kenilworth, A Romance is the fourth of Scott's novels to immerse readers in historical events that might only be known through written accounts, historical or anecdotal. After the success of portraying Mary Stuart in *The Abbot*, Scott committed to writing about Elizabeth I,[30] and in making her a central figure in the novel, chose to focus on the more romantic aspects of her rule; the pageantry of her progresses throughout England and the complex relationships with her courtiers are the subjects of Scott's romance, perhaps at the expense of the more controversial matters of broader politics that dogged her reign, including her role in her Scottish cousin's execution. *Kenilworth* brims with local colour, with sumptuous costume, and the narrative involving Elizabeth proceeds with the picaresque logic of the pageant that is central to the plot. The novel quite self-consciously functions as nostalgic in its bold anachronisms in bringing together Elizabeth and two of the great literary figures of the Renaissance, William Shakespeare and Sir Walter Raleigh, as young adults of roughly the same age, in a celebration of Renaissance

[29] Lockhart, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Vol. 4, 339-40. Scott's mother died on 24 December 1819.
[30] J.H. Alexander, 'Essay on the Text', in Walter Scott, *Kenilworth*, edited by J.H. Alexander (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 395.

'worthies'. It might be argued, then, that *Kenilworth*, as a romance novel, is less interested in history as information or fact. I would like to argue, however, that the novel still engages with historicity, and rather promotes the idea of history as a reflective process, as literary memory and memorial. The sumptuousness of the novel – the fine details of clothing, costume, and the elaborate theatrical backdrops of the Kenilworth revels – provides a texture and materiality to the romance (a lavish materiality that it shares with *Ivanhoe*), and furthermore a context for the ways in which Elizabeth evokes a feeling for history in her personal responses to court politics.

Carolyn Steedman, in writing about history as a 'technology of remembering', delineates the border between history as '*stuff* (content, historical description, historical information)' and '*process* (of ideation, of imagining, or remembering).[31] In *Kenilworth*, Scott's antiquarian longing to know the past through objects, through *stuff*, takes the narrative form of imagining rather than reconstructing the social order of Elizabeth's court. Elizabethan England is presented as a 'social' England, a network that is established with Elizabeth's progress throughout the country, a progress that is dramatised by literary anecdotes taken from antiquarian sources, notably Robert Laneham or Langham's *Letter* and Thomas Fuller's *English Worthies*. Scott's emphasis on Elizabeth as a patron of literature allows him, through constructing a romance out of literary anecdotes, to depict a series of literary gestures that for him form a connection to that particular idea of past, now known as 'Olden Time'. For Peter Mandler, 'Olden Time' is marked by four themes, 'Merry England, social connection, domesticity and vernacular literature',[32] and the four themes merge into a leisured literary time, in which the word, once metaphysical, becomes material as the shared property of a mass print culture:

[31] Carolyn Steedman, 'The Space of Memory: In an Archive', *History of the Human Sciences*, 11.4 (1998), 66.
[32] Peter Mandler, '"In the Olden Time": Romantic history and English national identity, 1820-50', in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c. 1750-c. 1850* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 88.

> Shakespeare was the greatest glory of the Olden Time because his words were written for and became the common property of all Englishmen, enjoyed by all classes in performance and later in print. ... While spurned in their own lifetime as 'humble servants', these literary heroes would – unlike their haughty patrons – achieve immortality by enlivening the leisure hours of the modern working man. It was for its literary accomplishments ... that the Elizabethan era deserved to be regarded as the most important in English history ... [33]

Scott dramatises this point in the meeting of William Shakespeare and Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester. Leicester hails Shakespeare: 'Ha, Will Shakespeare – wild Will! – thou hast given my nephew, Philip Sidney, love-powder – he cannot sleep without thy Venus and Adonis under his pillow!'[34] The humble actor bows to the earl, accepting his words of praise and raillery, and Scott directly addresses the reader to note the differences between the present age and Elizabeth's:

> The Player bowed, and the Earl nodded and passed on – so that age would have told the tale – in ours, perhaps, we might say the immortal had done homage to the mortal.[35]

While Leicester the mortal passes over Shakespeare the immortal, it is not so for Elizabeth, who, as Helen Hackett has noted, 'has some sense, if a limited one, of Shakespeare's significance to posterity'.[36] In the debate about plays and playing that takes place on Elizabeth's barge, she

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[33] Mandler, '"In the Olden Time"', 87.

[34] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 168. Hackett notes how 'Scott blithely abandons historical sequence: it is supposed to be 1575, but Leicester refers to *Venus and Adonis*, which was not published until 1593, some years after his own death in 1588 and that of Sidney in 1586 … Leicester's jocularity is carefully pitched by Scott in order to combine a sense of Shakespeare's unmistakable genius with a sense of historical distance' (*Shakespeare and Elizabeth: The Meeting of Two Myths* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 57).

[35] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 168.

[36] Hackett, *Shakespeare and Elizabeth*, 57.

defends Shakespeare's work as instructive in retelling old chronicles, especially as they mingle instruction with 'honest mirth'.[37] For the purposes of this discussion, however, it is significant that Elizabeth establishes herself as a figure of taste who actively responds to Sir Walter Raleigh's recital of 'the celebrated vision of Oberon':

> … Elizabeth kept time to every cadence, with look and with finger. When the speaker had ceased, she murmured over the last lines as if scarce conscious that she was overheard, and as she uttered the words,
>
> 'In maiden meditation, fancy-free',
>
> she dropped into the Thames the supplication of Orson Pinnit, keeper of the royal bears [who petitions to limit the operation of the playhouses, as they have become more popular, due to William Shakespeare's plays, than bear-baiting.]

Scott provides us with a sense in this passage of how Elizabeth influences the terms of a future, modern literary history through engaging with the poetry of Shakespeare and coming to embody its mythology as the fancy-free maiden. In *Kenilworth*, quoting and inscription provide dramatic interest, but they also provide a tangible connection to a time that is intimately connected to Elizabeth's mythmaking. She has a natural taste for Shakespeare's words and Raleigh's performance of those words, and through appreciating and not simply playing patron to the young authors, she puts in place an enduring standard of taste. The 'Olden time' can be understood in terms of literary inheritances across centuries. The traces of literary imagination are made into *stuff*; Elizabeth, for Scott, was an icon of Spenserian romance, and her milieu was familiar to a nineteenth-century reader through the works of Shakespeare. Through her

[37] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 175.

presentation as a 'worthy', exemplary as a lover rather than simply a patron of literature, she takes the role of facilitating the historical process and actively shapes a concept of history as pageant.

Scott's declaration that *Kenilworth* is a romance is somewhat deceptive. The pageantry (among other romance tropes) does more than simply form a backdrop for the primary romantic plot of the novel; the progress of the pageant, the pausing and encountering, creates a sense of Elizabeth moving amongst the people of England, and in this sense Elizabeth's pageantry is vital to conveying a sense of a historicised movement towards an inevitable, tragic conclusion. In offering a picaresque narrative, Elizabeth's progress works against the self-contained and relentlessly gothic narrative involving Amy Robsart and Leicester, who are at various moments directed by the shady figures that ultimately bring about Amy's death in order to avert from Elizabeth's view the scandal of Leicester's unsanctioned marriage to Amy.[38] In Scott's hands, the secret history, the genre out of which Elizabeth I had emerged from the eighteenth-century novel as a sentimental heroine, victim 'of the secret and agonizing strife between her passions and her position',[39] becomes bifurcated into both secret and social histories, two versions of history that clash in the representation of court politics. No longer is Elizabeth a divided figure; Scott depicts her as a ruler who 'with the occasional caprice of her sex' unites 'that sense and sound policy, in which neither man nor woman ever excelled her'.[40] For Elizabeth, passion is politics. Through Scott's figuration of her as Shakespeare's fancy-free maiden, Elizabeth, in her

[38] In his 'Historical Note,' J.H. Alexander outlines Scott's anachronisms, noting that while the action of *Kenilworth* is set in 1575, it is the case that 'Scott violates chronology freely, and often obviously, to bring historical characters and events within range of this date' (476). Michael Dobson and Nicola J. Watson see Scott's anachronism as 'fundamental to the fiction, since it enables Scott to bring Elizabeth out of the claustrophobic court and those genres associated with it (most especially the secret memoir and the gothic), out into the fertile English countryside, pausing on progress through her nation' (112). Dobson and Watson outline in detail Scott's anachronisms (113). Michael Dobson and Nicola J. Watson, *England's Elizabeth: An Afterlife in Fame and Fantasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[39] Dobson and Watson note the tradition of Elizabeth's appearance in the secret histories as the 'princess in captivity', the grief-stricken heroine and future Protestant saint imprisoned at Woodstock (83-8).

[40] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 166.

caprice, can also show good sense through her taste in poetry, and maintain the social connections that are part of her courtly progresses.

As the gothic heroine of the novel, Amy is ignorant of the language of the court which Elizabeth's courtiers have established as a system by which they may politic in secrecy. The language of the court is made material in the figure of Leicester, who is described as 'alike remarkable for elegance of manners, and for beauty of person'.[41] In the early scene that portrays a visit by Leicester to Amy at Cumnor Hall, his elegance of manners is contrasted with Amy's simplicity as we are informed that he wore a 'russet brown cloak' when courting her 'in the woods of Devon'.[42] Now, at Amy's request, he visits wearing the insignia of the Order of the Garter, 'the jewels, and feathers, and silk', the 'outward ornament' and 'glorious garb' of Elizabeth's court.[43] Amy sits at Leicester's feet so that she may 'spell over' his splendour, 'and learn, for the first time, how princes are attired':[44]

> And with a childish wonder, which her youth and rustic education rendered not only excusable but becoming, mixed as it was with a delicate shew of the most tender conjugal affection, she examined and admired from head to foot the noble form and princely attire of him, who formed the proudest ornament of the court of England's Maiden Queen, renowned as it was for splendid courtiers, as well as for wise counsellors.[45]

Amy's attempts to decipher her husband's insignia are comic, describing the decoration, and seeing its richness without understanding its symbolism or knowing the language with which to describe it. Amy falls back on her 'rustic education', inquiring about his collar, 'so richly wrought,

[41] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 149.
[42] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 56.
[43] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 57.
[44] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 57.
[45] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 57.

with some jewel like a sheep hung by the middle attached to it'.[46] Leicester corrects Amy's 'spelling', explaining technical terms, the symbolism of the 'sheep', the symbol's provenance and its significance in court politics:

> 'This collar', said the Earl, 'with its double fusilles interchanged with these knobs, which are supposed to present flint-stones, sparkling with fire, and sustaining the jewel you inquire after, is the badge of the noble Order of the Golden Fleece, once appertaining to the House of Burgundy. It hath high privileges, my Amy, belonging to it, this most noble Order; for even the King of Spain himself, who hath now succeeded to the honours and demesnes of Burgundy, may not sit in judgement upon a knight of the Golden Fleece, unless by assistance and consent of the Great Chapter of the Order.'[47]

Amy immediately seizes on the Spanish connection, lamenting the emblem's associations with 'Romish' tyranny, and so misses the point about the amount of power Leicester actually wields. As soon as his emblems have been deciphered, Amy wishes him again in 'sober russet' and is not disturbed by the ease with which her husband is 'sailing under colours' he professes to dislike, but wears 'for policy'.[48]

This scene of reading and misreading makes material the political nuances of the age of Elizabeth, and through this scene we are introduced to the characteristically Elizabethan concept of rich allegorical display as politics. This type of reading as it occurs at Cumnor Hall, however, is very much presented in gothic terms. The themes of reading and national literary inheritance are further explored by Scott in relation to the public display promoted by Elizabeth at court (rather than the secret dissimulations at Cumnor Hall) with the introduction of Raleigh and

[46] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 58.
[47] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 58.
[48] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 58.

Shakespeare. Raleigh appears in the full, fashionable spirit of court; he is 'clad in the gayest habit used by persons of quality at the period, wearing a crimson velvet cloak richly ornamented with lace and embroidery, with a bonnet of the same, encircled with a gold chain turned three times round it, and secured by a medal'. This sumptuous dress is completed with a 'pair of silver ear-rings, having each a pearl of considerable size'.[49] The fine detail with which Scott describes Raleigh's finery is important, as it sets the scene for the first of the literary anecdotes taken from Fuller's *England's Worthies*. Scott takes a straightforward anecdote about gallantry and develops it into a lesson in the successful reading of symbols that is essential to survival at court. It is also an opportunity to present a familiar historical figure as quintessentially unaffected and natural in his abilities as a courtier. In Fuller's account, Raleigh,

> ... in good habit (his cloaths being then a considerable part of his estate) found the Queen walking, till, meeting with a *plashy place*, she seemed to scruple thereon. Presently Raleigh cast and spred his new plush cloak on the ground; whereon the Queen trod gently, rewarding him afterwards with many *suits*, for his so free and seasonable tender of so fair a *foot cloath*.[50]

The thrust of this anecdote is the gamble Raleigh takes in ruining his only possession of any worth, yet in return for this sacrifice he is rewarded with 'many *suits*', a new wardrobe and the opportunity to have the queen's ear. In Scott's hands, the *plashy place* is a more prosaic 'small quantity of mud' which momentarily halts the queen's progress of a 'pleasure expedition' on the Thames.[51] It is described as a trifling accident, but one that Raleigh is able to use to his advantage, 'throwing the cloak from his shoulders ... so as to ensure her stepping over it dry-

[49] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 133.
[50] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, ed. John Nichols, 2 vols (London, 1811), I, 287.
[51] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 178.

shod'.[52] The queen eventually rewards Raleigh with 'a jewel of gold, in the form of a chess-man',[53] in acknowledgement of his wit:

> Raleigh, to whom nature had taught intuitively, as it were, those courtly arts which many scarce acquire from long experience, knelt, and, as he took from her hand the jewel, kissed the fingers which gave it. He knew, perhaps, better than almost any of the courtiers who surrounded her, to mingle the devotion claimed by the Queen, with the gallantry due to the personal beauty—and in this, his first attempt to unite them, he succeeded so well, as at once to gratify Elizabeth's personal vanity, and her love of power.[54]

Amy and Raleigh are contrasted in their abilities to interpret symbols; she is rustic and naive, he is courtly (though only through a natural propensity), spontaneous and intuitive.

The second anecdote taken from Fuller's *English Worthies* relates another courtly gesture involving the queen and Raleigh. In Scott's rendering of the anecdote, at the end of her 'pleasure voyage', which passes in 'gay discourse, varied by remarks upon ancient classics and modern authors [including Shakespeare], and enriched by maxims of deep policy and sound morality, by the statesmen and sages who sate around, and mixed wisdom with the lighter talk of a female court',[55] Elizabeth wonders 'what had become of the young Squire Lack-Cloak'.[56] Lady Paget has seen him 'standing at the window of a pavilion ... and writing on the glass with a diamond ring'.[57] Elizabeth immediately identifies the ring as the reward she had bestowed on him for ruining his cloak, and wishes to see what he has written, asserting to Lady Paget, 'I can see through him

[52] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 142.
[53] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 147.
[54] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 147.
[55] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 177.
[56] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 178.
[57] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 178.

already'.[58] She delights in the game (of chess) that Raleigh initiates ('He is a marvellously sharp-witted spirit'):

> They went to the spot, within sight of which, but at some distance, the young cavalier still lingered, as the fowler watches the net which he has set. The Queen approached the window, on which Raleigh had used her gift, to inscribe the following line:—
>
> Fain would I climb, but that I fear to fall.[59]

Elizabeth outwits Raleigh, as she does in Fuller's anecdote, by completing the couplet; 'If thy mind fail thee, do not climb at all'. Amusingly, Scott's rendering of this couplet differs in metre from Fuller's version, and is a marked improvement, as Elizabeth has paid greater attention to the cadence, for which (we have already seen earlier in the chapter) she has a natural appreciation. The scene is presented as Elizabeth 'assisting the young poet', and in this Scott follows a tradition of representing her as a patroness of literature. As Dobson and Watson have noted, '[throughout the eighteenth century] her reign ... becomes a golden age when royal power and literary excellence were one, when this Britannia ruled not just the waves but the poetic lines'.[60] Yet she is presented as more than a patron here; she is an accomplished poet in her own right, and her line trumps Raleigh's in both sense and balance, and is emblematic of the elegance and wit of her court. In Fuller's account, Raleigh writes his line on a glass window, 'obvious to the Queen's eye'; she responds, and that is that. Scott develops the queen's ability to see through Raleigh's gambit, and to be seen favouring a courtier other than Leicester.

Scott's rendering of this anecdote brings together many elements of Elizabeth's court and gives them a visual materiality which evokes a sense of history as literary gesture; Elizabeth

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[58] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 178.
[59] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 178.
[60] Dobson and Watson, *England's Elizabeth*, 123.

marking time with her finger, the written traces of verse on the transparent glass, Scott's improvement on the lines attributed to Raleigh and Elizabeth, the clever device of Raleigh using the 'chess-man' ring to inscribe a line on the window, for it to then be 'perfected without his interference' by Elizabeth, then this scene transmitted 'without delay' by Lady Paget to Leicester as an anecdote 'so little calculated to give him pleasure'.[61] And so the (fictional) incident translates into history via anecdotal gossip in the way that Scott describes history's merging into romance in his 'Essay on Romance'. Suggesting that history and romance share a common origin (we recall), Scott describes the nation-founding story of a patriarch, which is largely faithful to the events that it is narrating, which is then taken by future generations and augmented depending on their 'different motives'.[62] The founding story is historical, and Scott's later augmentations are romantic, but both streams of story stem from a significant moment in the development of the English (and later British) nation, the reign of Elizabeth I.

If the narrative is based on this important historical moment, then why might Scott have subtitled the novel, a 'romance?' Scott perhaps chose the description of romance for this novel because of his augmentations, despite the fact that one of its main characters is based on a queen whose reign is well documented. It is also possible that he wished to indicate that his interest in Elizabeth was as a ruler of 'sense and sound policy', who occasionally let the 'caprice of her sex' get in the way. As Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene, and Shakespeare's fancy-free maiden, Elizabeth is mythologised as a capricious romance figure, and yet, as we have seen, she is able to adopt this figure in order to regulate her courtiers. Scott paints a vivid picture of Elizabeth by presenting her in the romance mode, as a capricious fairy queen engaging with her poets and courtiers on her progress throughout England, rather than depicting her in the context of the Spanish Armada, which he was initially asked to do. The armada would likely have been closely linked in the minds of his readers with Sir Francis Drake, and while Elizabeth played a significant

[61] Scott, *Kenilworth*, 179.
[62] Walter Scott, *The Miscellaneous Prose Works*, Vol. vi (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1934), 134-5.

role in inspiring her navy, it is the case that the particularly literary nuances of the court that fascinate Scott would not have been at his disposal had he relied on the more standard histories, rather than on William Julius Mickle's ballad for Amy's tragedy and Fuller's anecdotes for Elizabeth's interactions with Raleigh. In focusing on Elizabeth's role in the shaping of literary history rather than standard history, Scott established a sense of her reign as being the foundation for arts and for modernity. Olden Time, the time of Elizabeth's reign, celebrates history as something that is understood through a literary and material culture that all can share. Through his representation of Elizabeth, Scott historicised the elegant pursuit of leisure as pageant, and largely presented late Renaissance in England as distinctly feminine.

While Scott's interest in the female reader and her place in the historical narrative continued beyond the middle-period novels, he also during this time began to develop a female wanderer figure of which we have seen glimpses in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*; both Jeanie and Madge wander, but their wandering is very much contained. With *Ivanhoe*'s Rebecca, we are presented with a very different type of heroine whose perspective on historical events is aligned with her tendencies to wander, and her wandering is presented as a world-historical condition. A discussion of Rebecca comprises a large proportion of the second part of the thesis. My reason for giving so much attention to Rebecca is the problem that no records, written or oral, were available to Scott to work with in developing his medieval Jewish heroine. The four chapters on Rebecca, then, work as a case study of how Scott went about writing women into the historical narrative of the Middle Ages when there were no records to consult. The following chapters on *Ivanhoe* comprise an interconnected reading which aims to explore from a number of different angles a problem which Scott did not have complete mastery over: namely, that there was no information available to him about how Jewish women living in medieval England experienced social and political disruption. We must bear in mind that *Ivanhoe* was a radical departure for Scott away from the recent Scottish history of the early novels. In travelling back into the middle ages, Scott had to experiment with new ways, both in methods of research and writing, to

deal with the various problems associated with representing women's experience of historical change. Thus, I have pursued various lines of inquiry in order to flesh out the problems that he faced as a writer of historical fiction that presents a narrative of a Jewish woman in the middle ages. This has necessitated a far-ranging approach that differs from the earlier sections of the thesis. Here, I allocate space to explore the traces of Scott's literary memory techniques through a variety of sources and analogues, in order to examine how exactly he was able to go about writing medieval women into a social historical framework.

PART TWO

The Female Wanderer and the Romance of History

CHAPTER SIX

Re-Reading Rebecca:

Scott's Medieval Jewess and the 'Embodied Narrative Eye'[1]

Figure 5 Elizabeth Taylor in Richard Thorpe's MGM-produced screen adaptation of *Ivanhoe* (1952). Source: *The Guardian*, 24 March 2011.

[1] The phrase 'embodied narrative eye' is borrowed from Devoney Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670 – 1820* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 86.

I Fashioning Rebecca: Inestimable Diamond or Bristol Stone?

> If, therefore, my dear friend, you have generosity enough to pardon the presumptuous attempt, to frame for myself a minstrel coronet, partly out of the pearls of pure antiquity, and partly from the Bristol stones and paste, with which I have endeavoured to imitate them, I am convinced your opinion of the difficulty of the task will reconcile you to the imperfect manner of its execution.[2]

> It is true, that of the golden and pearl-studded clasps, which closed her vest from the throat to the waist, the three uppermost were left unfastened on account of the heat, which something enlarged the prospect to which we allude. A diamond necklace, with pendants of inestimable value, were by this means also made more conspicuous.[3]

From the time of its initial reception readers of *Ivanhoe* have marvelled at Scott's powerful depiction of the novel's Jewish heroine Rebecca. In part, this was due to the unconventional ending of the novel, which sees the beautiful Jewish daughter refuse entreaties by a Christian to convert to Christianity. In challenging the dominant literary expectation that the beautiful young Jewess convert in order to marry a Christian, Scott challenged his readers' expectations. Criticisms from those who wished Rebecca to marry the novel's hero led Scott to defend his decision to rewrite the dominant conversion narrative by arguing for historical accuracy; as Jews refused to convert at this time, it would mean that a marriage between Jew and Gentile would be unlikely to have occurred. Recent studies of *Ivanhoe* continue to focus on the 'Jewishness' of the Jewish characters, the authenticity with which Scott portrayed Jews, and the novel's relationship to William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* as formative English depictions of Jewishness. These studies examine how Scott refers to these two influential Renaissance plays that stage both anti-Semitism and the connected conversion narrative that sees a beautiful Jewish daughter willingly convert to Christianity to escape a

[2] Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, edited by Graham Tulloch (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 12.
[3] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 72.

tyrannical Jewish father. Two studies in particular see Rebecca's resistance to conversion as a powerful critique of nationalism. Nadia Valman reads Scott's approach to the Jewish characters as ambivalent; while Isaac shares Shylock's avarice, his daughter offers 'a new view of Jews that accords them a place in a tolerant nation'.[4] Michael Ragussis has explored what he sees as a central conversion trope of the novel in relation to the three female characters, and also argues that Scott uses the conversion story (found in both *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Jew of Malta*) to 'critique the writing of English nationalist history'.[5] Rebecca has also been discussed in terms of Scott's representation of her character as a 'true-to-life', accurate depiction of a medieval Jewish woman. Both John Docker and Judith Lewin have argued that Rebecca's appeal lies in her authentic representation of Jewish culture, despite the fact that there was no knowledge of medieval Jewish culture in nineteenth-century Britain.[6] While these studies have pointed to complexities that have gone unrecognised by Western European-centred critiques of the novel, there is a problem in taking 'Jewishness' and the authenticity of Scott's depiction of medieval Jewish life as the focus for studies of *Ivanhoe*. Lionel Trilling has pointed to the problem with this sort of approach. Writers on the subject of the Jew in fiction

> ... seem to suppose that it was the intention of those who wrote about the Jew to treat the Jew realistically, either as an individual or as a race, and that this attempt had failed because of ignorance and hatred. But it is very doubtful if, apart from such small touches of realism as were absolutely necessary for verisimilitude, there was any attempt made at 'truth.' ... the Jew in English fiction is a myth. ... When this

[4] Nadia Valman, *The Jewess in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 33.

[5] Michael Ragussis, 'Writing Nationalist History: England, the Conversion of the Jews, and *Ivanhoe*', *English Literary History*, 60.1 (Spring, 1993), 185 and 193; Michael Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion: 'The Jewish Question' and English National Identity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 110.

[6] John Docker, *1492: The Poetics of Diaspora* (London and New York: Continuum, 2001); Judith Lewin, 'Legends of Rebecca: *Ivanhoe*, Dynamic Identification, and the Portraits of Rebecca Gratz,' *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues*, 10 (Fall 2005), 178+; Judith Lewin, 'The "Distinction of the Beautiful Jewess": Rebecca of *Ivanhoe* and Walter Scott's Marking of the Jewish Woman', *Jewish Culture and History*, 8.1 (Summer 2006), 29-48.

> is realized it becomes relatively unimportant to discuss the truth or untruth of the portraits of Jews in literature. As well discuss what particular breed of goat was used to carry the wool fillets into the wilderness.[7]

This chapter builds on recent attempts to explore the complexities of Rebecca's character, but does so in relation to the ways in which Scott creates a character who, rather than being an authentic representation of Jewishness, presents us with an outsider's perspective on British nationalism, patriotism and belonging. In moving the discussion away from the issue of Rebecca's authenticity and towards her unique perspective as a wanderer, distinct in her difference, identifying as both Jewish and English, I will be situating her in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century discussions of patriotism and cosmopolitanism, and discussing her in the context of several texts that Scott referred to in reflective interpolations of associative literary memory of the kind that Catherine Jones has explored. (We recall that Jones defines this kind of memory as referring 'to the trains of thought connected to an object or idea that informed authorial consciousness in the process of composition'[8]). The sources I will discuss in relation to Rebecca are the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Anna Letitia Barbauld's *Nineteen Hundred and Eleven*, and Friedrich Schiller's *Maid of Orleans*. While it is apparent that in representing Rebecca as a wanderer Scott is referring to the legend of the Wandering Jew (or Jewess), I argue that Rebecca cannot be completely identified with this mythical figure.[9] In discussing Rebecca as a wanderer I will be contextualising her as a variation of the 'remnant' figure that Ina Ferris has identified as existing in 'out-of-placeness'.[10] Ferris sees the remnant as 'functionless' in a particular society: 'deprived of glamour or resonance' the remnant is significant in his or her

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[7] Lionel Trilling, 'The Changing Myth of the Jew', *Commentary*, 66 (August 1978), 24-5.

[8] Jones, *Literary Memory*, 53.

[9] I take Trilling's point here, and understand the legend of the Wandering Jew to be one of the variations of the myth of the Jew as Trilling has outlined.

[10] Ina Ferris, '"On the Borders of Oblivion": Scott's Historical Novel and the Modern Time of the Remnant', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 70.4 (December 2009), 489.

'everydayness'.[11] Rebecca obviously does not fit this category as (to use Ferris' phrase) she 'remain[s] connected to the energy of historical process'[12] of the novel on the whole. Rebecca is one of Scott's most glamorous characters, a character that most certainly remains connected to the energy of historical process. Yet it is through borrowing from the remnant that Rebecca is able to criticise the social world of late twelfth-century England, in the 'language of things left behind'.[13] 'What remains?'—This is a question that reverberates throughout *Ivanhoe*, across the chasm between past and present, Middle Ages and nineteenth century. Uttered first by Rebecca, echoed by Ivanhoe, left unanswered and eternally circulating in the nostalgic space between the medieval world Scott creates and the contemporary world of his readership, the question serves as a frustrated acknowledgement that time ravages and that things that should be of value are merely 'brilliant, but useless' in their romantic antiquarian obsolescence.[14] Rebecca also articulates a 'vocabulary of dispersion' as a wanderer; her race is 'scattered', her language misunderstood, and her wandering projects her into self-exile four hundred years into the future. She is 'out of date' and out-dated; she belongs neither to 'the historical past nor to the historical present'.[15] Her lack of meaning and function in the medieval social world instils her character, then, with abundant meaning to nineteenth-century readers. Perhaps Scott's greatest innovation in depicting Rebecca is her alignment with modernity, which goes against one of the prevalent nineteenth-century attitudes towards Jews that was articulated by Charles Lamb's Elia; the Jew is 'a piece of stubborn antiquity', he writes, 'compared with which Stonehenge is in its nonage'. The Jew dates from 'beyond the pyramids'.[16] Ironically, the features that Rebecca borrows from the Wandering Jew align her with cosmopolitanism and modernity.[17] Her vital connection to the

[11] Ferris, "'On the Borders of Oblivion'", 476.
[12] Ferris, "'On the Borders of Oblivion'", 476.
[13] Katherine Ibbett's phrase, quoted by Ferris, "'On the Borders of Oblivion'", 478.
[14] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 365. This phrase is of course used to describe King Richard's knight errancy.
[15] Ferris, "'On the Borders of Oblivion'", 489.
[16] Charles Lamb, 'Imperfect Sympathies', in *Prose Works*, Volume II (London: Edward Moxon, 1836), 139.
[17] For a full account of the Wandering Jew as a 'famous voyager' figure throughout the eighteenth century, see George K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1965), 128-60. It is this

historical process in *Ivanhoe* was very quickly taken up by artists eager to represent her outlandishness or 'out-of-placeness' and her 'embodied narrative eye' (to use Devoney Looser's phrase in describing Lady Mary Wortley Montagu as a cosmopolitan observer of Turkish culture, a point to which I will return) as an active critic of Christian bloodshed and violence. In exploring some of these images, I hope to establish that the figure of Rebecca was central to what Roy Strong has termed the 'Intimate Romantic' phase of history painting. By the time painters such as Léon Cogniet (1794-1880) and Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) were drawing on Scott's novels for inspiration, the idea that women might passively be involved in the action of historical events – in acts of sacrifice, victimhood or as inspiration – was not new, especially given the participation of women in support of the politics of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. The idea that a woman might be depicted as possessing an active point of view on war, however, was not an established feature of genre painting. I argue that Rebecca's intelligent articulations of her abhorrence of war and violence are made central to the action of the genre paintings by Cogniet and Delacroix discussed here. The legacy of this may be seen in the orientalised framing of Elizabeth Taylor's directed gaze (shown at the beginning of this chapter) in her performance as Rebecca in the 1952 adaptation of *Ivanhoe*.[18]

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version of the myth that Rebecca most resembles, a 'true citizen of the world' (142) with a 'rather neutral point of view' (143): 'With the typical refinement expected of a complete eighteenth-century man of the world he avoids violence and bloodshed, taking but little account of wars or even the rumours of wars. But he is always more than willing to engage in discussions. He will give the skeletal history of a whole nation and draw therefrom profound moral lessons. He loves to descant on personalities – princes, statesmen, poets, and philosophers – or on the net achievements of civilizations'. Rebecca reminds us of this figure in her avoidance of violence and bloodshed, her facility to proffer moral lessons and her astute reflections on the 'achievements' (or lack thereof) of chivalric Christendom. Rebecca is a 'world observer' (149). Anderson's 'Appendix B: Notes on the Wandering Jewess' reveals that the Wandering Jewess was seen in the nineteenth century as a type of everywoman who embodied 'the transcendent power of human love which is capable of any sacrifice'. It appears that this type emerged in Edgar Quinet's version of the tale, published in 1833, which probably owes much to Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Rebecca. Anderson identifies Maria Krüger as the first to 'document' a Wandering Jewess as companion to the Wandering Jew in her tract of 1756, however as a nonfictional account, the tract does not elaborate on the figure but simply refers to her existence as a companion.

[18] Ann Rigney has suggested that Rebecca holds centre stage 'through the star Elizabeth Taylor', noting that the highpoint of the film was the trial for witchcraft; *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 102. It is outside the parameters of this discussion to provide an analysis of other scenes within the film that demonstrate a particular gaze that Taylor embodies, however I would like to suggest here, on the strength of the image included at the beginning of this chapter, that the director Richard Thorpe has

As much of my argument is based on an analysis of Rebecca's *descriptio*, I would like to briefly explore her orientalism in relation to what has come to be thought of recently as Scott's 'window-dressing', his tendency to verbally dress his characters in clothing that not only purportedly denotes the historical dress of the period and place of the novel but also that appeals as a commodity to readers of his fiction. Writing about one critic's assumption that Scott's depiction of the 'clothes horse' Edward Waverley denies any evaluation of the historical processes that allow an eighteenth-century Englishman to unselfconsciously dress for a portrait in highland tartan, Caroline McCracken-Flescher takes note of how the sumptuous costumes of Scott's characters can denote complexities rather than demanding straightforward approbation of a naive historicism: 'I suggest that, dazzled by the vision of Waverley in his tourist tartan, critics have read Scott's window-dressing as his stock-in-trade – the focus of his critique as his last word'.[19] She goes on to outline the consequences of this approach:

> We have privileged the tale over its telling and locked ourselves out of the lively process of negotiation by which Scott narrates a nation's future. In fact, in his first two novels, Scott begins to establish narration as a space within which Scotland stands always in production.[20]

Something similar might be said of Scott's Rebecca in the context of *Ivanhoe*'s vision of England's past as a negotiation of its future, or as part of the production of the future nation. Much of the debate that has surrounded Scott's depiction of the Jewess in the novel has revolved around what she wears (or, if we agree with John Docker, 'how Oriental Rebecca appeared and wanted

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intentionally engaged with the visual tradition of representing Rebecca (as I outline below in this chapter) and was very interested in framing that gaze as Jewish, a potent gesture given Hollywood's infiltration by McCarthyite politics at the time of production.

[19] Caroline McCracken-Flescher, *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 17.

[20] McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands*, 18.

to appear'[21]). Our introduction to Rebecca necessarily influences how we appraise her character as the novel progresses, and our initial tendency might be to consider her as decorative rather than having her own perspective about English politics:

> [Rebecca's] form was exquisitely symmetrical, and was shewn to advantage by a sort of Eastern dress, which she wore according to the fashion of the females of her nation. Her turban of yellow silk suited well with the darkness of her complexion. The brilliancy of her eyes, the superb arch of her eyebrows, her well-formed aquiline nose, her teeth as white as pearl, and the profusion of her sable tresses, which, each arranged in its own little spiral of twisted curls, fell down upon as much of a snow-white neck and bosom as a simarre of the richest Persian silk, exhibiting flowers in their natural colours embossed upon a purple ground, permitted to be visible—all these constituted a combination of loveliness, which yielded not to the loveliest of the maidens who surrounded her. It is true, that of the golden and pearl-studded clasps, which closed her vest from the throat to the waist, the three uppermost were left unfastened on account of the heat, which something enlarged the prospect to which we allude. A diamond necklace, with pendants of inestimable value, were by this means also made more conspicuous. The feather of an ostrich, fastened in her turban by an agraffe set with brilliants, was another distinction of the beautiful Jewess, scoffed and sneered at by the proud dames who sat above her, but secretly envied by those who affected to deride them.[22]

When reading Rebecca's *descriptio* it is worthwhile attending to McCracken-Flesher's cautioning about Scott's window-dressing; Rebecca's costume is a means by which to critique prejudice

[21] Docker, *1492*, 47.
[22] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 71-2.

rather than an attempt at authenticity, or even mere decoration for its own sake, or for the sake of exoticism. For example, when Lewin writes that the Saxons and Jews in the novel 'are fixed outside of a history which they are nonparticipants' because they are 'out of date in terms of clothing, religion, and custom'[23] she seems to be reading the costumes at face value which allows her to conflate Anglo-Saxon and Jew as nonparticipants, rather than seeing the subtle gradations with which Scott depicts and critiques each individual character in relation to their attitudes towards clothing, food, religion, and custom.

On a similar point, Lewin also explores how Scott 'makes use of conventional orientalist tropes in describing Rebecca yet deploys them with a particular Jewish twist'.[24] Making her focus the passage just quoted, the 'ornamental word portrait'[25] of Rebecca, she attempts to establish that the heroine's ornamented costume guides the Christian male gaze to linger over her orientalised form. Attributing the gaze to Prince John, Templeton and the male reader (Lewin doesn't seem to notice that Scott addresses the 'fair' reader too) she suggests that Scott exploits this voyeurism by retrospectively shaming his reader for enjoying the prospect that Rebecca's form offers. Lewin's conclusion that 'Scott clearly needs Rebecca to be oriental'[26] is not so certain, although it was probably the simplest and most dramatic way in which Scott could represent her difference from the other characters (characters that she outshines in all respects). I will argue that the prospect view that Lewin notes as significant to reader expectation and response is used to ironic effect retrospectively (as she suggests). However, I will argue, it is used to produce a very different effect: Rebecca adopts the prospect view as a position from which to denounce what she sees as the barbarism in chivalric valour. In other words, Rebecca is able to use this very masculine technique of appraisal to make her criticisms of the society that has produced that technique.

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[23] Lewin, 'Distinction of the Beautiful Jewess', 31.
[24] Lewin, 'Distinction of the Beautiful Jewess', 30.
[25] Lewin, 'Distinction of the Beautiful Jewess', 30.
[26] Lewin, 'Distinction of the Beautiful Jewess', 33.

Lewin's study of Rebecca is most illuminating, however, when she draws our attention to the similarities between Rebecca's dress and that depicted in contemporary fashion plates, where British women, both Christian and Jewish, sported the turban as a fashionable statement. It is my argument that Scott looked to current images and accounts of clothing to reproduce the familiar, to clothe strange characters in recognisable clothing in order to make them more sympathetic to his contemporary readers who might experience only the alienating 'rust of antiquity'[27] (in Templeton's words) in the depiction of their ancestors. Rebecca's originality and appeal are tied, then, to a sense of authenticity, which, as Lewin points out, is entirely fabricated.[28] It is a virtual authenticity that is given form by the rich descriptive detail, the window-dressing that Rebecca exhibits. The appeal for Lewin is that Rebecca transcends or 'disrupts oppositions and destabilises literary conventions' of 'East and West, alien and equal'.[29] While Rebecca's authenticity as a Jewish woman living in medieval England cannot be verified, Scott does embellish her with 'authenticities' from other times and places; a borrowed authenticity.

If it was not for the purposes of rendering Rebecca authentically Jewish, why, then, did Scott pay so much attention to her dress? While I see Rebecca's dress as significant to the ways in which she is represented as historically 'embodied', I would like to shift the focus of the discussion away from her appearance to her historicised patriotic perspective which is established through visual associations with the antiquarian studies of Joseph Strutt and the portraits (both verbal and visual) of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. The following chapter will discuss Rebecca in conjunction with two texts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Scott had in his library at Abbotsford, one of which he acknowledges in the novel; Joseph Strutt's *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England* and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's 'Turkish Letters'. As I hope to show, Scott draws on these texts as sources for clothing in which to dress Rebecca. This is not mere window-dressing; the clothing and objects

[27] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 10.
[28] Lewin, 'Legends of Rebecca', 180.
[29] Lewin, 'Distinction of the Beautiful Jewess', 29.

he chooses for Rebecca are written into her narrative so that the original source texts resonate in certain ways when transferred through her to the world of *Ivanhoe*, and these conspicuous visual items draw our attention to Rebecca's point of view as an outsider, a reading of perspective rather than surface that we must take into consideration if we are to move beyond seeing Rebecca as an object of Scott's antiquarian window-dressing.

II Joseph Strutt's *Dress and Habits* as a Source for *Ivanhoe*

While Joseph Strutt's oeuvre has long been recognised as a foundational influence on Scott's poetry and novels, it is the case that Scott found Strutt's approach to composing romance very limiting for his own purposes. The following discussion establishes the degree of Scott's reliance on Strutt's ground breaking studies in the history of costume, and more importantly points to the ways in which these studies were too limited for Scott's purposes. Scott seems to have quickly mined Strutt and needed to look to other sources to find further references to costume to work into the narrative of *Ivanhoe*. I contend that Scott looked to one of Strutt's sources for inspiration in depicting Rebecca – the 'Turkish Embassy Letters' of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the portraits in Turquerie that were inspired by her letters.

In his Preface to the 1842 edition of Joseph Strutt's *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, James Robinson Planché, in praising Strutt's achievement in depicting the dress and habits of the people of medieval England, notes that as a survey of 'the general subject of costume'[30] the study still remained unrivalled in scope (if not in accuracy) in portraying 'the prevalent fashions of our ancestors, through every century'[31] nearly half a century after it was initially published. While Planché mentions two alternative antiquarian publications available to the public, those of Sir Samuel Meyrick and Thomas Stothard, as being exemplary for their antiquarian correctness, they do not touch so thoroughly on the question of dress,

[30] Joseph Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, edited by J.R. Planché [1842] Vol. 1 (London: Tabard Press, 1970), v.
[31] Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits*, v.

which Planché suggests is still an under-researched area of inquiry in the 1840s. Noted for its novelty and speculative ingenuity, Strutt's study is represented by Planché as a pioneering work, one that is remarkable for having so few errors considering that the author laboured, to quote Strutt's own phrase, 'as it were in the dark'.[32] Before the significant research findings of Strutt were published, there was no comprehensive information available to artists and writers who wished to accurately depict historical costume.

More recently, Roy Strong has noted that there were no English studies on medieval costume prior to those of Strutt.[33] As Strong points out, over the last thirty years of the eighteenth century, Strutt produced a 'whole series of profusely illustrated and elaborately researched books, all basically of the same type, publishing the visual sources for English social and domestic history' that he had so carefully studied and details of which he had copied from manuscripts;[34] Strong also notes that Strutt's work has been lauded for its unparalleled research of wide-ranging sources, including manuscript illuminations held in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.[35] While Strutt's focus was predominantly the costumes of England, he also included costume studies of ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt, Israel, and Persia, as introductory material which speculates on the 'beginnings' of the manufacturing of cloth and its subsequent uses for clothing.

It was Strutt's intention for these books to be used by artists, and in him, the figures of antiquary and artist merged. As Strong notes,

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[32] Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits*, vi.

[33] Roy Strong, *And when did you last see your father?: The Victorian Painter and British History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 49.

[34] Strong, *And when did you last see your father?*, 50.

[35] Strong, *And when did you last see your father?*, 51. Strutt's publications included *Honda Angel-cynnan or, A compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, etc. of the Inhabitants of England* (1774-76), *The Chronicle of England* (1777-78), *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England* (1796-99), and *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (1801).

> Burrowing, as no one else had ever done, through a morass of visual and written evidence, together with early printed source material, he pieced together for the very first time a picture of everyday life in England from the Anglo-Saxons down to the Tudor age. The consequences were revolutionary for the art of historical reconstruction, and it was Strutt more than any other person who gave the painters of the new Artist-Antiquarian phase [of British history painting] the sources that they so desperately needed.[36]

It was not just painters who felt Strutt's influence; the artist-antiquary's influence on Scott's historical fiction was also profound. Scott not only consulted Strutt's volumes for material for his novels, but also learnt directly from Strutt the pitfalls of attempting to weave antiquarian accuracy into narrative fiction (a point which I will outline below). Of Strutt's works it was *The Dress and Habits* and *Queenhoo-Hall* that were most influential in the composition of *Ivanhoe*.

Strong has discussed Strutt's centrality to the development of British and French genre painting, noting, as we have seen, that Strutt's scheme of antiquarian costume studies was a first of its kind in its attempts to accurately record the dress of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Furthermore, Strutt's work is praised for the dramatic vividness of the engravings that accompany the written descriptions, and for the breadth of its 'historical reconstruction' of the social world of medieval and post-medieval England for modern readers.[37]

In his overview of the development of eighteenth-century history painting, Strong has established a direct connection between developments in antiquarianism, history writing, and history painting; the practitioners of these three interconnected fields worked together to promote public interest in the accurate depiction of historical costume. Strong places Scott as a key intermediary figure in the process of the development of British history painting. On the one

[36] Strong, *And when did you last see your father?*, 50.
[37] Strong, *And when did you last see your father?*, 51.

hand, Strutt's publications inspired an interest in accurately depicting medieval dress. This pioneering work in costume was one inspiration for the historical novels of Scott, which then in turn influenced the ways in which artists incorporated antiquarian detail into their paintings. While pictorial accuracy in paintings and engravings was still valued for its antiquarian interest, Scott's novels paved the way for the emergence of a new visual culture that took as its subject matter 'personal, domestic glimpses of earlier ages, the great of the past caught informally', which Strong labels the 'Intimate Romantic' phase of history painting,[38] a phase that Scott pioneered in prose.

Figure 6 An example of the dramatised movement of the figures as they interact. Through this method, Strutt evokes a sense of time passing as well as presenting his readers with rich detail of dress (Joseph Strutt, Plate XLI: 'Female Dresses of the Twelfth Century', *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits*, n.p.)

Strong sees Strutt as central to the progression of historical painting from what he calls the 'Artist-Antiquarian' phase, which was characterised by artists' interest in antiquarian accuracy of detail, to the 'Intimate Romantic' phase of painting. This was in part due to Strutt's method 'of rearranging costume figures from various original sources in tableaux evocative of life in a distant age', and Strong sees a natural development from the prosaic and static written descriptions of costume in *The Dress and Habits*, via the evocative visual tableaux that accompanied the written descriptions, to a more fluid and dramatic narrative portrayal of medieval costume and habits. As Strong notes:

[38] Strong, *And when did you last see your father?*, 13. For studies of the development of history painting, see Roy Strong and the more recent study by Rosemary Mitchell, *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image 1830-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Mitchell describes Scott as a pioneer of the 'historical picturesque' (84).

> He had recreated the past; all that remained for him to do was to animate it, to breathe into it life and speech, action and plot. The figures would then move, the robes flow, the plumes nod, the veils flutter, the burghers and nobility would exchange words, the arms of the knights would once more resound, the horsemen would gallop. From *The Dress and Habits* to an antiquarian historical novel must have seemed a short step, and Strutt took it.[39]

Late in his career Strutt commenced a romance called *Queenhoo-Hall*, but he did not live to finish it. Strutt's publisher John Murray passed it on to Scott, who, in Strong's words, 'completed it rather badly'.[40] We know from Scott that Strutt's romance inspired him to write *Waverley*, and, via Laurence Templeton, we know that Scott purposely forged a different direction to Strutt as a writer of historical romance. Scott draws his reader's attention to *Queenhoo-Hall*'s limitations in putting accuracy before narrative interest:

> The late ingenious Mr Strutt, in his romance of Queen-Hoo-Hall, ... limited the popularity of his work, by excluding from it everything which was not sufficiently obsolete to be altogether forgotten and unintelligble.[41]

So while Scott was dependent on Strutt's antiquarian volumes for their rich detail in costume, detail that was wholly concentrated on distinctive and different features of ancient dress, he was also careful to significantly alter his methods from Strutt's as a writer of historical romance. Scott considered Strutt's romance to be somewhat bogged down in its painstaking and faithful attention to historically accurate details of dress. We need to keep in mind that Scott (via Templeton) was working towards shortening the readers' perception of distance between

[39] Strong, *And when did you last see your father?*, 52.
[40] Strong, *And when did you last see your father?*, 52.
[41] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 9.

medieval and early nineteenth-century manners to make the point that the English 'ancestors' were not so very different to 'us' and that our medieval counterparts did indeed share some common attributes with which Scott's readers could readily sympathise. The important point for this discussion is that Scott was intensely aware of including primarily those examples of ancient costume and habits that might be of sympathetic interest to a modern audience.

For Scott, the appeal of Strutt's antiquarian work appears to reside in its ability to evoke through detailed and aesthetically pleasing illustrations a broad cross-section of medieval society; for Strong,

> Strutt opened up, for the very first time, a window into the English Middle Ages, carefully selecting illustrations to depict all levels of society – rustics, noblemen, lawyers, merchants, officers of state, ecclesiastics – and all types of costume: travelling dress, masquerade attire, dresses for young ladies and for matrons, hunting costume, soldiers' gear, monastic habits'.[42]

Figure 7 A further example of Strutt's dramatisation of everyday habits in past times (Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits*, Plate LXL, n.p.)

But most importantly in relation to the composition of Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Strutt depicted the differences in dress between Anglo-Saxon and Norman, fuel for an imagination that was to construct a most vivid and compelling depiction of racial and cultural intolerance.

Furthermore, while Strutt was an extremely important source of information about Anglo-Saxon and Norman costume, as well as Jewish costume, it is evident

[42] Strong, *And when did you last see your father?*, 51.

that Scott benefited from selective use of *The Dress and Habits of the People of England*, looking for the dramatic potential of a particular visual image or item of costume, rather than choosing a costume to denote a character's belonging to a particular historical period. It appears that if the costume detail did not resonate with Scott, he did not use it, and this seems to point to something already hinted at in the 'Dedicatory Epistle': that Scott often put aside historical accuracy in order to develop the dramatic or 'romantic' aspects of his narrative. It is possible to conclude, then, that Scott's selective use of Strutt indicates that it was more important for him as a novelist to refer to costume details that were of dramatic or rhetorical interest. There are several cases where Scott drew on Strutt's study for dramatic effect. According to Tulloch, Scott appears to have been taken with certain images that worked as 'striking symbol[s]' which were then worked 'thoroughly into his story'.[43] Tulloch in particular notes Scott's use of Strutt's 'evidence for metal collars being worn by slaves in the Anglo-Saxon period' as a direct source for Gurth's collar, and also the inaccurate detail of the Jews' yellow headdresses may have been taken from either Robert Henry or Strutt. Scott seems to have had a strong sense of the dramatic potential of the metal collar, and this may be one of the reasons why Strutt's warning that his study contained errors did not appear to concern Scott. In the two examples just noted, the dress need only be roughly 'authentic', as it is more important that the items of dress work to further the dramatic and rhetorical features of the narrative.

It becomes apparent, moreover, that while Strutt's study was unsurpassed in range and detail regarding the appearance of costume, it was understandably limited in its ability to show how costume was used in everyday life and legally regulated, especially when conveying information about Jewish clothing and its various social meanings and uses. While Strutt was able to find limited yet detailed examples of Anglo-Saxon dress from the eighth century onwards, his sources for Jewish dress are not as illuminating. Strutt elaborates on this problem in general terms in his 'Address to the Public', which accompanied the initial publication in 1796:

[43] Tulloch, 'Essay on the Text', in Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 498.

> ... on the one hand, the descriptions of the dresses derived from our early writers, are frequently so very vague and nugatory, that they afford but little or no light in the explication of the drawings and monumental effigies coëval with them; and, on the other hand, where these descriptions are more full, they often want the concordant assistance of painting and sculpture. I have, however, exerted the utmost of my ability to unite the two sources of information with each other; and, where my authority is in any point doubtful, or deficient, I have acquainted the Reader how far he has to depend upon conjectural evidence, which from necessity occurs in several instances.[44]

While Strutt was able to rely to some extent for information on English medieval dress derived from the 'Saxon annals',[45] known now as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, he did not have equivalent sources for Islamic or Jewish dress of the Middle Ages. The lack of information on Islamic and Jewish culture was a source of frustration up until the second half of the twentieth century, when the study of Jewish life in the Islamic Mediterranean of the high Middle Ages by S.D. Goitein was first published. Goitein was one of the first to outline the meaning and significance of the late nineteenth-century discovery of the Cairo Geniza Documents, documents that were to become the basis for his masterful six-volume survey called *A Mediterranean Study*. The Hebrew word *geniza* means burial; it designates a repository of discarded writings and refers to the medieval Jewish practice of burying documents that were written in Hebrew. The Cairo Geniza has been the most significant repository for historical research, and it was not uncovered until around 1890, when the synagogue building was entirely renovated. So, the sort of information that is needed to draw a picture of social and economic history of the medieval Jewish merchant

[44] Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits*, viii.
[45] Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits*, 13.

class could not have been accessed in either Strutt's or Scott's time. As Docker has pointed out, the contents of the geniza would have had direct relevance to the depiction of Jewish merchant characters in *Ivanhoe*, had Scott had access to this material. Likewise, the sorts of records that Strutt would have consulted were not to be made widely available in print for another century. Lack of this sort of information, however, did not stop either Strutt or Scott.

In Strutt's mind, the dearth of information on medieval Jewish and Islamic dress probably did not pose a problem, as the general belief was that the habits of the 'barbaric' Middle East would not have changed until the passing of thousands of years. As such he relied on Old Testament descriptions of dress for specific details, and then supplemented and corroborated this information with modern accounts of travel through Turkey. One of the sources that Strutt uses to verify his description or terminology of Jewish dress is Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's first-hand account of travels to Adrianople and Constantinople in the early eighteenth century. Lady Mary[46] was considered to be an expert on Turkish dress, especially since, as the wife of a diplomat posted at the Turkish embassy, she had access to Turkish women's private quarters and thus was one of the few travel writers of the time who was able to provide an eyewitness account of how women dressed and more importantly the social meanings which dress held for women. While Strutt looked to the Bible for information, and narrowed his study of Jewish costume to ancient Israel, Scott allowed his imagination to roam (as I will argue) with Lady Mary around the Mediterranean basin, the place from which Isaac and Rebecca so dangerously sailed to arrive in England. In a passage that links the dangers of travel and sumptuous commodities, Isaac reminds Rebecca that they had sailed to England out of the 'Gulf of Lyons' (where the Rhone enters the Mediterranean) during a storm. This conversation takes place in a small apartment 'richly furnished with decorations of an Oriental taste', while Rebecca is 'seated on a heap of

[46] I refer to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu as Lady Mary throughout, rather than referring to her as Montagu; it is as Lady Mary that she witnessed the world whilst travelling, and it is as Lady Mary that she corresponded with friends in England and mainland Europe. I follow Isobel Grundy, Lady Mary's recent biographer, in this practice (*Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

cushions, which, piled along a low platform that surrounded the apartment, served like the estrada of the Spaniards, instead of chairs and stools'.[47] Rebecca's Oriental taste is aligned with the Mediterranean trade routes that she has travelled with her father in his 'traffic' of goods, a shipment of which Isaac laments having lost in the storm:

> ' ... I flung over my merchandise to lighten the ship, while she laboured in the tempest – robed the seething billows in my choice silks – perfumed their briny foam with myrrh and aloes – enriched their caverns with gold and silver work! And was not that an hour of unutterable misery, though my own hands made the sacrifice?'[48]

Scott is able to link Rebecca and Isaac with Mediterranean trade and thus reinforce their status as peaceful cosmopolitan characters, distinct from those characters that are returning from the crusades and represent a way of life that is destructive and warlike.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's account of the economic and cultural centre of the Mediterranean basin, an account which focused so crucially on dress as a medium by which to interpret Turkish culture to her British friends, was the most extensive at the time Scott was developing his Mediterranean Jewish characters. I argue that, for this reason, Scott had to go beyond Strutt and his other avowed sources and rely also on Lady Mary's first-hand accounts for information on the social functions as well as the description of eastern dress in order to find examples of clothing that were of heightened dramatic and rhetorical potential. While I can argue only that it is likely that Lady Mary's famous 'Turkish Embassy Letters' were one of Scott's sources for Rebecca, I can also point to one significant reason why Scott would not have cited these letters as a source: his friend and confidante Lady Louisa Stuart, who was the granddaughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, saw herself as a custodian of Lady Mary's

[47] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 96.
[48] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 96-7.

reputation. As the 'Turkish Embassy Letters' were an embarrassment to the family, especially as there was also a small industry in forged letters that had sprung up in the eighteenth century fostering a further industry of spurious gossip surrounding Lady Mary's life, Lady Louisa was keen to keep a lid on the more notorious aspects of her grandmother's reputation, and certainly to correct false information regarding her family. While Scott evidently felt at ease discussing a recent edition of Lady Mary's letters with Lady Louisa, this is a private correspondence and Scott would almost certainly have viewed it as improper to draw attention to the more free-spirited aspects of Lady Mary's letters by advertising them as a source for his Jewess Rebecca in the very public medium of the 'Dedicatory Epistle' to a much-anticipated novel.

One of the appealing aspects of Lady Mary's letters is that they provide a window onto a private world. They also reveal the very personal responses of Lady Mary to Turkish culture and people. In Chapter Seven I outline the ways in which Scott shaped Rebecca's character, and argue that Rebecca reflects a particular cosmopolitan attitude that I believe has come directly from the one that is expressed in the letters written to friends in England by Lady Mary.

CHAPTER SEVEN

'A sort of Eastern dress':

Rebecca and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish Habit

When Scott commenced *Ivanhoe*, he was too ill for the physical act of writing and so he dictated the early parts of the novel to an amanuensis. It is probable that roughly the first half of the novel was composed by dictation to William Laidlaw.[1] When Scott was well enough to take up the pen, as Tulloch notes in his edition of *Ivanhoe*, he was constantly revising his words as he wrote the novel, and this is evident at least in the part of the novel that exists in manuscript.[2] As the lavish description of Rebecca occurs in the first volume, we have no way of knowing how he ordered his thoughts and words to produce that description. Tulloch has also noted, however, that Scott made an addition to this description at the eleventh hour, introducing this change between the extant corrected proofs and the first edition.[3] The late addition acts to break up the extended description of Rebecca's apparel: after itemising her eyes, eyebrows, nose, teeth, hair, neck and bosom Scott now has his narrator pause to note that 'all these constituted a combination of loveliness, which yielded not to the loveliest of the maidens who surrounded her'.[4] While this additional line allows the reader to pause and imaginatively assemble the listed details into a 'combination of loveliness', it also acts to delay the narrator's guiding remarks that lead the reader's attention to the 'prospect' of Rebecca's deep *décolleté* neckline, a costume detail

[1] Tulloch, 'Essay on the Text' in Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 408 and 409.
[2] Tulloch, 'Essay on the Text' in Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 416.
[3] Tulloch, 'Essay on the Text' in Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 428.
[4] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 72.

that separates her further from the other women who attend the tournament. Tulloch suggests that the lines Scott added emphasise Rebecca's beauty, and while this is certainly the case, I would also add that these lines quite specifically reinforce a comparison between Rebecca's beauty and that of the 'English' ladies who gather at the tournament. This effect is further reinforced in some copies of the third edition, as noted by Tulloch, where Rebecca's neck is now described as 'lovely' rather than 'snow-white', which suggests a further augmenting of these differences in complexion, though not necessarily by Scott.[5]

If we place this addition in the context of others he had made to the manuscript at earlier stages, both concerning Rebecca and her father Isaac, we can see that Scott was as concerned with augmenting the exoticism of the Jewish characters. Scott takes pains to highlight the acquisitiveness of the Christians (it is Prince John's gaze that the narrator follows, it is Prince John's grab at Isaac's money that characterises his tenuous hold on power). He also creates a further distance between the two religions in order to dramatise the prejudice that Laurence Templeton complexly refers to when making the comment that 'Our ancestors were not more distinct from us surely than Jews are from Christians', a comment which Tulloch has noted that Scott added to the proof sheets.[6]

In these subtle ways, Scott is able to build on the characters from *The Merchant of Venice*, both Jew and Christian, and in so doing establishes Rebecca and Isaac as much more complex (and less vengeful) than Shakespeare's 'Elizabethan stage Jews'.[7] As Tulloch has noted, further changes 'which more significantly affect our understanding of the characters'[8] include the rewriting of a particular exclamation to make it 'a more thoroughly pacifist comment'[9] and substantial additions to the siege sequence outlining Rebecca's vantage point when she reports

[5] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 435.
[6] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 426.
[7] For a discussion of the 'Elizabethan stage Jew', see Alan C. Dessen, 'The Elizabethan Stage Jew', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 35.3 (1974), 231-45.
[8] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 417.
[9] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 417. The exclamation has been altered from 'God of Moses forgive the creatures thou hast made' to 'God of Moses defend thy children'.

the battle to bed-ridden Ivanhoe.[10] Furthermore, it would appear that Scott showed consideration for the dramatic potential of Isaac's costume in relation to that of Rebecca. At the proofs stage, Scott changed the colour of Isaac's cap from red to yellow.[11] This occurs in the scene in Chapter Six of the first volume which sees Isaac delivered to safety by Ivanhoe, at a moment when he writes a letter of credit for Ivanhoe to a fellow Jewish merchant or money-lender residing in York, Kirjath Jairam of Lombardy.[12] As Minna Rozen has shown in her analysis of Nicolaus de Nicolay's *Navigations et pérégrinations Orientales* of 1568, Jewish men of the Levant distinguished their class by the colour of their hat. By changing Isaac's hat from red to yellow, Scott was, whether consciously or not, changing Isaac's status from physician to ordinary man.[13] Scott would certainly have known of Nicolay's travel accounts through Vertot, who used Nicolay's *Navigations* as a source for his *History of the Knights of Malta*, which Scott knew well and in turn drew upon for *The Siege of Malta.*[14] It is the sort of clothing detail that may have appealed to Scott, not for the purposes of authenticity, but for contrast and dramatic potential.

What emerges, then, is a picture of Scott honing his characters throughout the six months that he composed and corrected *Ivanhoe*. It is possible, though it cannot be affirmed, that during this time Scott had in mind the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. We know from Scott that he often revisited the letters (expressed in a letter to Lady Louisa Stuart, discussed below) and it seems possible that this remembrance, combined with a strong recollection of Vertot, prompted Scott's Ottoman take on Jewish costume. We must keep in mind that Scott had few other sources for eastern costume, and Lady Mary's account is most memorable.

On 16th of January 1820 Lady Louisa Stuart wrote to Scott praising *Ivanhoe* in these terms:

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[10] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 417.

[11] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 426.

[12] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 64.

[13] Minna Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul: The Formative Years, 1453-1566* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 289.

[14] Walter Scott, *The Siege of Malta and Bizarro*, edited by J.H Alexander, Graham Tulloch and Judy King (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 476, n. 21.42-22.6.

> ... everybody in this house has been reading an odd new kind of book called Ivanhoe, and nobody, as far as I have observed, has willingly laid it down again till finished. By this I conclude its success will fully equal that of its predecessors, notwithstanding it has quite abandoned their ground and ploughed up a field hitherto untouched. The interest of it indeed is most powerful; few things in prose or verse seize upon one's mind so strongly, are read with such breathless eagerness as the storming of the castle related by Rebecca, and her trial at Templestowe. Few characters ever were so forcibly painted as hers ...[15]

While Lady Louisa praises the scenes that feature Rebecca, it is apparent from the letter that the novel's Jewish heroine does not remind her of Lady Mary's description of herself in Turkish dress. While this particular correspondence between Scott and Lady Louisa does not reveal anything regarding Scott's interest in Lady Mary, a later exchange definitely does. On 4th of December 1820, Lady Louisa wrote to Scott concerning a recently published edition by James Dallaway of *The Letters and other Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*:

> I once had thoughts of making Mr Morritt introduce me to Mr Dallaway and proferring my help towards an improved edition of Lady Mary's works, free at least from such monstrous blunders as rendering my grandfather's sister, Mrs. Anne Wortley, his mother. But upon examining Mr. Dallaway's publication attentively, I saw such cause to set him down a decided blockhead (pardon the unfeminine phrase) that I relinquished the design.[16]

[15] Walter Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, edited by H. J. C. Grierson, Volume VI (London: Constable, 1934), 115-6, n. 1.
[16] Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 310, n. 1.

Scott's response on 14th of December reveals the depth of his professional interest in and personal fascination with Lady Mary's letters:

> The deuce take Dallaway for being a blockhead and losing the very interesting communication which you might have honoured him with on that most interesting of all persons Lady M.W.M. I wish if it is not too great a burthen on your kindness that you would mark down a few of his inaccuracies and I will esteem the permission to write them on the margin of my own copy. Last autumn a bookseller asked me as a favour to write a few lines introductory to a huge double columned edition of Fielding's novels and I was of course led to look into Lady Mary's account of him which drops into her letters in different places and it befell me as it has don[e] so often as I opened the Book for any other purpose to sit down and read it over from beginning to end.[17]

As Ioan Williams has pointed out, Scott had been keen to write the prefatory essays for what eventually became *Ballantyne's Novelists Library* as early as 1808, and Williams gives 'late in the year 1819' as the time that Scott finally revived the idea, 'offering to give his work free and dedicate the profits to John Ballantyne' who had plans to retire from his auctioneering business.[18] The earliest reference in the letters to the Fielding piece, however, seems to be when it was sent to London on 17 November 1820, and Lockhart's reference to the revival of the scheme taking place in the autumn of 1820 supports this date. It is clear, however, that Scott held a long-term fascination with Lady Mary that he reveals in his letter to Lady Louisa. It is also important to note that he had in his library the sixth edition of Lady Mary's letters edited by Dallaway (and

[17] Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 311-12. Scott owned a copy of Dallaway's 1817 edition of Lady Mary's works. The entry on the Advocates Library catalogue does not mention the existence of marginalia in any of the volumes.
[18] Ioan Williams (ed), *Sir Walter Scott on Novelists and Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1968), 15.

other letters to Sir James and Lady Frances Stewart published in 1818), so he therefore had access to the letters mentioned in the correspondence with Lady Louisa.

Given that this was the case, there are two issues we need to consider. What correspondences are there with Lady Mary's description of herself in Turkish clothing and Rebecca's appearance, and what might be the cultural significance of Lady Mary's Turkish dress for Scott? Before I address these questions in the following chapter, the significance of Lady Mary's accounts for British society must first be addressed.

Lady Mary accompanied her husband on an ambassadorial visit to Adrianople (now Edirne) and Constantinople (now Istanbul) from 1716 to 1718, and during her stay she often

Figure 8 Attributed to Jean Baptiste Vanmour, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu with her son, Edward Wortley Montagu, and attendants*. Oil on canvas, c. 1717, 695mm x 909mm. National Portrait Gallery, London.

dressed in Turkish costume as a sort of disguise, choosing this dress in order to move incognito on solitary excursions. She attempted to discover as much as she could about the life and customs of Turkish women, after being inspired to do so by conversations with an effendi who suggested to her that she had been misinformed regarding their lack of freedom. Lady Mary visited the private rooms of various women, including the mother of the Sultan, and a wife of a court official (although she never entered the Royal harem) and she recorded her observations in letters to family, friends and British royalty. These letters were circulated widely, and, along with the several portraits she sat for, influenced both eighteenth-century fancy dress costumes and in turn fashionable informal dress in England and France.

Writing to her sister, Lady Mar, on the first day of April, 1717, Lady Mary offers an account of the pomp surrounding her role as the Ambassador's wife. She assures her sister that she will soon send a portrait of herself in the 'Turkish Habit' she first adopted whilst staying in Adrianople, but in place of the unfinished portrait she offers this *descriptio*:

> The first part of my dress is a pair of drawers, very full, that reach to my shoes, and conceal the legs more modestly than your petticoats. They are of a thin rose-coloured damask, brocaded with silver flowers. My shoes are of white kid leather, embroidered with gold. Over this hangs my smock, of a fine white silk gauze, edged with embroidery. This smock has wide sleeves, hanging half way down the arm, and is closed at the neck with a diamond button; but the shape and colour of the bosom are very well to be distinguished through it. The *antery* is a waistcoat, made close to the shape, of white and gold damask, with very long sleeves falling back, and fringed with deep gold fringe, and should have diamond or pearl buttons. My *caftan*, of the same stuff with my drawers, is a robe exactly fitted to my shape, and reaching to my feet, with very long, strait falling sleeves. Over this is my girdle, of about four fingers broad, which all that can afford it have entirely of diamonds or other precious

Figure 9 British School, *Portrait of a Woman*. Oil on canvas, c. 1717, 915mm x 725mm. Royal Collection, St. James's Palace, London. (The sitter has been identified as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu).

> stones; those who will not be at that expense, have it of exquisite embroidery on satin; but it must be fastened before with a clasp of diamonds. The *curdee* is a loose robe they throw off or put on according to the weather, being of a rich brocade (mine is green and gold), either lined with ermine or sables; the sleeves reach very little below the shoulders. The head-dress is composed of a cap, called *talpock*, which is in winter of fine velvet embroidered with pearls or diamonds, and in summer of light shining silver stuff. This is fixed on one side of the head, hanging a little way down with a gold tassel, and bound on, either with a circle of diamonds (as I have seen several) or a rich embroidered handkerchief. On the other side of the head, the hair is laid flat; and here the ladies are at liberty to show their fancies; some putting flowers, others a plume of heron's feathers, and, in short, what they please; but the most general fashion is a large *bouquet* of jewels, made like natural flowers; that is, the buds, of pearl; the roses, or different coloured rubies; the jessamines, of diamonds; the jonquils, of topazes, &c. so well set and enamelled, 'tis hard to imagine any thing of that kind so beautiful. The hair hangs at its full length behind, divided into tresses braided with pearl or ribbon, which is always in great quantity.[19]

[19] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 'To the Countess of Mar, Adrianople, April 1, O.S. 1717', in *The Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Sixth Edition, Volume 2, edited by James Dallaway (London: Longman, 1817), 183-6. A more faithful reproduction of Lady Mary's original letter may be found in *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, edited by Robert Halsand, Volume 1 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965), 326-7. I thank Graham Tulloch for locating the placement of the letter within the series, and for tenaciously tracking down a copy of the particular volume.

Bearing in mind that a *descriptio* is a rhetorical piece that was meant not simply to describe, but also to praise or blame, it is worth noting that in describing her own appearance in an intimate letter to her sister, Lady Mary opens the way to praise Turkish (non-Christian) women who had been so thoroughly misrepresented (in her opinion) by such travel writers as Aaron Hill and Jean Dumont, whose works she had consulted before reaching Belgrade but had been gradually critiquing as she moved further east from that city (where she had spent several weeks conversing with her host Effendi Achmet-Beg on 'the confinements of Women')[20] to Adrianople. The qualities that Lady Mary praises in Turkish women are their beauty and the liberty with which they go about their intrigues. Turkish women, despite the reports of travel writers, go about their amours with more freedom than English women; in her opinion 'the Turkish Ladys don't commit one Sin the less for not being Christians'.[21] On the 17th of May, Lady Mary writes to the 'Italian savant'[22] Abbé Conti about an excursion she takes in Turkish dress to one of the local Exchanges, and notes that her 'disguise' allows her to be an independent observer free from the restrictions of ambassadorial ceremony:

> I had the Curiosity to go to see the Exchange in my Turkish dress, which is disguise sufficient [from being recognised as the wife of the Ambassador], yet I own I was not very easy when I saw it crowded with Janizarys, but they dare not be rude to a Woman, and made way for me with as much respect as if I had been in my own figure.[23]

Left to herself, Lady Mary is able to explore the market and observe the various people who do business there, including the rich and powerful Jews. Adam Geczy has noted that her clothing

[20] Montagu, *The Complete Letters*, ed. Halsband, 308.
[21] Montagu, *The Complete Letters*, ed. Halsband, 327.
[22] Lewis Gibbs, *The Admirable Lady Mary: The Life and Times of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762)* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1949), 134.
[23] Gibbs, *The Admirable Lady Mary*, 354.

'permitted her a fluidity of movement' and furthermore that she celebrated this freedom by having herself depicted in her 'Turkish Habit' in many portraits:

> That Mary Montagu felt at home in the smooth, ventilated Ottoman garments is attested to in the many portraits she had made of herself in them. Together with her very real experiences of newfound womanly freedom, they were for her a tangible sign of a manageable and less restricted life for women, freed of the cumbersome, painful whalebone in corset and bustle. By using the veil in public, Montagu was able to pass unhindered and outside the ambit of male scrutiny ... [24]

Figure 10 Modest School, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (née Pierrepoint)*. Watercolour on ivory, n.d., 35 mm high. Private Collection.

Geczy notes that through the popularity of her accounts in the letters she intended for publication, Lady Mary somewhat influenced English clothing fashions, and her account of the Levant coincided with a vogue for dressing up in portraiture.[25] Her dressing in Turkish clothing was, for Geczy, something 'that anticipated forms of dress in which women felt autonomy rather than constraint ... and when she persisted in wearing it back in England, it remained a sign of the glimpses of independence she had while wearing it'.[26] By the time Scott was writing, Geczy notes, Lady Mary's dress was equated with a 'creatively embraced

[24] Adam Geczy, *Fashion and Orientalism: Dress, Textiles and Culture from the 17th to the 21st Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 69.
[25] Geczy, *Fashion and Orientalism*, 69-70.
[26] Geczy, *Fashion and Orientalism*, 71.

exoticism'.[27] As Robert Halsband has noted in his *Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, the published letters 'showed Lady Mary as she wished to appear before the world, a brilliant and graceful *bel esprit* on a tour through foreign lands'.[28]

Before moving onto a comparison of Rebecca's appearance with the one that Lady Mary promoted of herself, I would like to consider one final observation that she makes of Turkish women that seems relevant to Rebecca's appearance, especially in relation to her very different appearance to Rowena. It appears that Lady Mary enters into a long-standing debate about the superiority of western over eastern beauty. Frederick Calvert, Lord Baltimore (whose collection of remarks on Turkish life has been cited by Aileen Ribeiro as being the second most influential travel account in England after Lady Mary's letters) takes the western European Enlightenment side of the debate when he published his *Tour to the East* in 1767:

> A perfect beauty is every where a rarity, but must not be looked for now-a-days in the East, but rather in those countries where literature, arts, and sciences abound. For an exact proportion and symmetry, with proper colouring and expression in every part, are not sufficient to make beauty perfect: this requires the excellencies of the mind; they are endless and inexpressible, the fruits of great genius and a fine education.[29]

It is possible that Lord Baltimore, having an interest in the customs of the East, had read Lady Mary's letters either in manuscript or print (the first authorised collection was published in 1763), and he was perhaps thinking of the following passage which she had written in April 1717 after

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[27] Geczy*, Fashion and Orientalism*, 71.
[28] Robert Halsband, *The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957), 288.
[29] Frederick Calvert, Lord Baltimore, *Tour to the East, in the Years 1763 and 1764* (London: W. Richardson and S. Clark, 1767), 74-5.

visiting the house of the 'Kahya's Lady' Fatima.[30] Again, Lady Mary goes into very detailed description of the dress of Fatima's slaves, and the textiles and decorations of the rooms in her house; however she spends most time in describing her beauty:

> … so much her beauty effaced everything I have seen, nay, all that has been called lovely either in England or Germany. I must own that I never saw anything so gloriously beautiful, nor can I recollect a face that would have been taken notice of near hers. She stood up to receive me, saluting me after their fashion, putting her hand to her heart with a sweetness full of majesty, that no court breeding could ever give. She ordered cushions to be given me, and took care to place me in the corner, which is the place of honour. … That surprising harmony of features! that charming result of the whole! that exact proportion of body! that lovely bloom of complexion unsullied by art! the unutterable enchantment of her smile! – But her eyes! – large and black, with all the soft languishment of the blue! every turn of her face discovering some new grace.
>
> After my first surprise was over, I endeavoured, by nicely examining her face, to find out some imperfection, without any fruit of my search, but by my being clearly convinced of the error of that vulgar notion, that a face exactly proportioned, and perfectly beautiful, would not be agreeable; nature having done for her with more success, what Apelles is said to have essayed, by a collection of the most exact features, to form a perfect face. Add to all this, a behaviour so full of grace and sweetness, such easy motions, with an air so majestic, yet free from stiffness or affectation, that I am persuaded, could she be suddenly transported upon the most polite throne of Europe, nobody would think her other than born and bred to be a

[30] The Kahya was the deputy to the grand vizier.

> queen, though educated in a country we call barbarous. To say all in a word, our most celebrated English beauties would vanish near her.[31]

If we recall the famous *descriptio* of Rebecca (quoted above on pages 171-2) we can immediately see that it shares some precise details with the above two passages; it shares with Lord Baltimore's remarks a conventional appraisal of Eastern beauty and it shares with Lady Mary's quite radical description in its reversal of Enlightenment convention. Lady Mary celebrates Fatima's harmony of features and proportion of body, while Lord Baltimore dismisses the idea that 'an exact proportion and symmetry of face and body' is enough to be considered perfect beauty where there is no western European education to enliven or distinguish it. We can thus see similarities between Rebecca's *descriptio* and those produced by Lady Mary of herself and her friend Fatima. In her picturesque evaluation of Fatima's beauty, Lady Mary praises the harmony of her 'features' and the proportion of her body. Lord Baltimore is more prosaic in his description of Turkish beauty, describing what Lady Mary sees as Apellian perfection as 'symmetrical'. Scott plays with this commonplace and has his narrator describe Rebecca's beauty as 'exquisitely symmetrical'. We cannot help but recall that the conventional Laurence Templeton alludes to the prospect view of Rebecca's *décolletage* a few lines later.

Alongside the appraisal of Rebecca's form, we are bombarded with detail about her clothing and accessories. This feature of the *descriptio* follows Lady Mary's self-description closely: they might be companion miniature portraits in colour and detail. Rebecca's 'sort of Eastern dress' seems closely modelled on Lady Mary's. Given the fact that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was little opportunity to observe and record Turkish women's costumes, due to the restricted access to the *haremlik*, – 'the private quarters where only members

[31] Montagu, 'To the Countess of Mar. Adrianople, April 18, O.S. 1717.' in Dallaway (ed), *The Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Volume II, 239-41. This letter is reproduced in *LMWM Letters*, To Lady Mar 18 April [1717], 349-50.

of the family, the women and their female friends spent their time'[32] – it seems likely that Scott would turn to Lady Mary's letters, although he would also have had the choice to consult the English and French masquerade handbooks (that were largely based on Lady Mary's accounts and portraits, as we have seen in the case of Strutt's use of her as an authority) in order to dress Rebecca in 'a sort of Eastern dress'. Aileen Ribeiro, whose classic study of *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790* is still the authority on such matters, notes:

> There was a certain amount of confusion over the details of oriental dress; the term 'an Eastern habit', which occurs frequently in masquerade accounts, could cover any kind of costume that had easily recognisable features such as turbans, ermine facing to robes, and it was often extended to the dress of those countries, like Greece, which were subject to Turkey and whose costumes were 'oriental' in certain aspects. Distinguishing characteristics of the various Eastern countries were often lacking.[33]

Further to the issue of whether or not Scott had the 'Turkish Embassy Letters' in mind when developing Rebecca's *descriptio*, it is worth noting Devoney Looser's discussion of Lady Mary's status as an 'expert on Turkish women's history',[34] which was perhaps due to the fact that Lady Mary creates what Looser calls an embodied narrative eye.[35] Through setting up this narrative subject position, Lady Mary 'grants herself the power of a historian of women'[36] and due to the power of her eyewitness accounts of Turkish women's life she was considered to be 'an eighteenth-century anthropologist or historian of cross-cultural female manners'.[37] While Looser

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[32] Jennifer Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East* (London: Routledge, 2003), 41.
[33] Aileen Ribeiro, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and Its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture* (New York and London: Garland Press, 1984).
[34] Devoney Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670 – 1820* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 86.
[35] Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History*, 83.
[36] Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History*, 83.
[37] Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History*, 87.

is interested in the dynamics of Lady Mary's gambit to establish herself as an expert but also as 'a historically embedded woman' at the expense of the Turkish women whom she dehistoricises,[38] I am more narrowly concerned with the ways in which Lady Mary came to be a model of female cosmopolitanism based on the descriptions of herself in Turkish attire. The following comparison of Lady Mary's description of her own clothing with Rebecca's *descriptio* takes as its context the premise that Scott probably read the letters to enjoy the self-fashioned account of herself as a cosmopolitan *bel esprit* as well as to glean details of the dress of Turkish women.

[38] Looser discusses this point in some detail on 83-5.

Figure 11 Anon., *Lady M-y W-r-t-l-y M-n-t-g-e Female Traveller*. Etching, Princeton University Library.

'Montagu is shown ... in the classical senatorial pose, one foot slightly forward, right hand outstretched and a paper or book in her hand, her eyes fixed upon a distant audience. Identified in an accompanying inscription as 'The Female Traveller. In the Turkish Dress,' the image endows its subject with sight and speech, and hence also with power.'

Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1993), 149.

While there did exist visual records of Turkish women's dress dating from the sixteenth century, there were no written accounts of the ways in which the women wore their clothing, nor how women in informal settings enjoyed clothing.[39]

There are three main items of Rebecca's clothing that Scott alludes to: her simarre or curdée, her vest or antery, and her headdress. It is interesting to note that he uses the French and English words for the oriental garb, which in some ways westernises and 'domesticates' her otherwise exotic appearance. Rebecca's simarre is 'of the richest Persian silk, exhibiting flowers in their natural colour s embossed upon a purple ground' while Lady Mary's curdée is of a 'rich brocade' of green and gold, and her 'drawers' or salvar is brocaded with silver flowers. Rebecca's vest, which we are told is unbuttoned 'on account of the heat', displays buttons of gold and pearl, while Lady Mary's antery has diamond or pearl buttons (she does not specify which). Rebecca also wears a diamond necklace while Lady Mary's smock or gömlek is 'clos'd at the Neck with a diamond button' although she makes the point that 'the shape and colour of the bosom [is] very well to be distinguish'd through it'. Rebecca's profusion of 'sable tresses' that are arranged into 'twisted curls' is similar to Lady Mary's description of Turkish women's hair that 'hangs at its full length behind, divided into tresses braided with pearl or riband, which is allways in great Quantity'. While there are differences enough in these two descriptions to perhaps cast doubt on whether Scott was modelling Rebecca on Lady Mary, it is, I think, evident that Scott's tone follows Lady Mary's very closely in its provocative delight in drawing attention to the body through the loose and luxurious clothing, and the parallels between the two *descriptios* strongly suggest that she was Scott's model for Rebecca, especially given that hers was the most renowned and widely circulated account in Britain of Middle Eastern women at the time.

Inevitably, throughout the eighteenth century, through artists' copying and altering of Lady Mary's description to fit with English fashions, what constituted oriental dress was vague.

[39] Jennifer Scarce outlines the beginnings of serious costume studies which 'began as European trade and diplomatic missions to the Ottoman Empire increased from the sixteenth century onwards'. Early artists included Peter Coeck van Aelst (1533), Nicholas de Nicolay (1551), and Melchior Lorch (1559) (40).

Nevertheless, I would argue that in dressing Rebecca Scott refers as much to the details outlined in Lady Mary's letters as he does to her sense of historical embodiment. The masquerade handbooks are devoid of the sense of historical awareness that grounds Lady Mary's observations on women's dress. While I argue that Scott was not aiming at an antiquarian authenticity when dressing Rebecca, I do think that her clothing links her with the proliferation of images of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu that circulated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and denotes her as cosmopolitan, and also, in the particular scene in which she is described, aligns Rebecca sympathetically with her father against the vulgar court of Prince John. While Scott was not aiming at an antiquarian authenticity, Rebecca's connection to Lady Mary links her as much to the fashionable present as it does to the past, and is typical of Scott's interest in the correspondences between past and present; the 'extensive neutral ground' between our ancestors and us. We should recall that Strutt made no real distinctions in Middle Eastern costume throughout the ages: Scott's 'sort of Eastern dress' likewise encompasses ancient and modern notions of costume in its lack of specificity.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The female wanderer and patriotic perspective in Ivanhoe

Figure 12 Léon Cogniet, *Rebecca and Brian de Bois-Guilbert*, 1828. Oil on canvas, 88.5 x 116 cm. Wallace Collection, London.

A man, when he undertakes a journey, has, in general, the end in view; a woman thinks more of incidental occurrences, the strange things that may possibly occur on the road.

—Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women,* 1792

I The Patriotic Perspective and the Problems with 'Croaking' in Print

Throughout the eighteenth century, the concept of patriotism, as elaborated by Joseph Addison in his essay for *The Spectator* No. 69 (1711) and by Voltaire is his *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733), was closely tied to an emerging sense of England's cosmopolitanism, and its authority as an expression that fostered sentimental and free associations between 'citizens of the world' was based on an understanding of patriotism as an affective response to commerce and exchange, as symbolically epitomised for both writers in the Royal Exchange in London. This concept of patriotism is related to emerging definitions, notably in Samuel Johnson's dictionary, of the term 'conversation', from its roots in the Latin *conversatio*, broadly meaning company or society, to a more relaxed definition that encompasses terms such as commerce, intercourse, familiarity, chat, and easy talk. The shift from the general to the particular, and the formal to the familiar, is a shift that was supported by, if not precipitated by, the burgeoning print culture, in the form of the periodical, and particularly in the form of essay and letter which both mimic intimate exchange. In these essays and letters, the author is a distanced spectator of commerce and conversation, a position that Oliver Goldsmith would adopt in his essays on race and nation for the *Royal Magazine* later in the century. The spectator is an engaged but distanced observer who is removed from the cosmopolitan scene in his endeavours to describe the very process of immersion that would necessarily disrupt the distanced position of disinterested observation.

In 1733 Voltaire published *Letters Concerning the English Nation* in which he presents an image of London's Royal Exchange in order to make a point about the freedom and opportunity that England allows people from different religions to associate with one another:

> Take a view of the *Royal-Exchange* in *London*, a place more venerable than many courts of justice, where the representatives of all nations meet for the benefit of mankind. There the Jew, the Mahometan, and the Christian transact together as tho' they all profess'd the same religion, and give the name of Infidel to none but

> bankrupts. There the Presbyterian confides in the Anabaptist, and the Churchman depends on the Quaker's word. At the breaking up of this pacific and free assembly, some withdraw to the synagogue, and others to take a glass. This man goes and is baptiz'd in a great tub, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: That man has his son's foreskin cut off, whilst a sett of *Hebrew* words (quite unintelligible to him) are mumbled over his child. Others retire to their churches, and there wait for the inspiration of heaven with their hats on, and all are satisfied.[1]

As Nicholas Cronk observes, in his Introduction to the Oxford Classics edition of the letters, Voltaire builds on earlier representations (for example those in the works of Daniel Defoe and Alexander Pope) of the Royal Exchange as 'a potent image of the benefits of trade'[2] by introducing religion as conspicuous but ultimately secondary to commercial interests. In its visibility and audibility, religion is potentially divisive. When placed in the context of free trade, the divisive signifiers of religion are not only weakened, but the numerousness of sects also ensures, in conjunction with trade, that such a multitude can 'all live happy and in peace'.[3]

In relation to his discussion of this particular passage from Voltaire's letter on the Presbyterians in England, Cronk draws attention to an earlier allusion that joins trade, religion and nation: 'England is meeting of all religions', Voltaire wrote in the earliest of his surviving English notebooks, 'as the Royal exchange is the rendez vous of all foreigners'.[4] In this parallel, England is equated with trade, and it could be argued that the Royal Exchange becomes a metonym for England, while religion is linked less emphatically to the foreign through civilised, informal encounter. Here, England as a nation is noted for its secular diversity and its religious

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[1] Voltaire, 'Letter VI: On the Presbyterians', *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, edited with an introduction by Nicholas Cronk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 30.

[2] Cronk, 'Introduction' to Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, xix.

[3] Voltaire, 'Letter VI: On the Presbyterians', 30.

[4] Voltaire, *Notebooks*, edited by Theodore Besterman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), Vol. 1, 51, as quoted by Cronk, 'Introduction' to Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, xix.

tolerance, but it is ultimately defined by its commercial imperatives of exchange and encounter, the 'pacific and free assembly' where the term infidel may be applied only to bankrupts. Cronk notes that 'the language of religion is assimilated to (and so subverted by) the language of trade' and that the 'discussion of the benefits of trade is metaphorically inextricable from the attack on religious intolerance'.[5] It would appear further that 'England', as Voltaire uses the designation, stands as a metonym for the then recently formed Kingdom of Great Britain, thus incorporating, yet at the same time effacing, the regional differences and interests of Ireland, Scotland and Wales (and the Thirteen Colonies of America, which incorporated Georgia in 1733, the year of publication of Voltaire's *Letters concerning the English Nation*).

In 1812, nearly eighty years after the initial publication of *Letters concerning the English Nation*, Anna Letitia Barbauld's counter-patriotic poem *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* was printed in London for J. Johnson and Co. at St. Paul's Churchyard (still at the heart of mercantile London, but in contrast to the Exchange in its having a bad reputation as the site of an insalubrious print culture). Barbauld's Juvenalian satire presents a future vision of Britain as a tourist destination for travellers from North America, 'wanderers' who take an antiquarian interest in the culture of a once-great nation, as represented in the poetry that they have read in preparation for their pilgrimages to the ruins of London. William McCarthy has described the poem as an 'alienated statement':

> [I]n it, Barbauld deplored the material facts of ongoing war and fierce economic inequity [of the Napoleonic Wars], and defied the national ideologies by which they were supported. That is one reason for the poem's hostile reception in 1812, and

[5] Cronk, 'Introduction' to Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, xix.

> that, also, is why the poem speaks to those today who feel out of joint with their time; her alienation chimes with theirs.[6]

The poem, then, is a statement of both alienation and dislocation, and was received by reviewers with little sympathy for its intelligent criticism of the carnage of war. According to McCarthy and Elizabeth Kraft, reviews of the poem, 'whether in liberal or conservative magazines, ranged from cautious to patronizingly negative to outrageously abusive',[7] and, as noted by Francesco Crocco, stood as responses to the poet's criticism of British militarism.[8] Interestingly, only four years before the publication of *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*, Amelia Opie published a similarly critical poem on the British wars with France, yet Opie, according to Clare Broome Saunders, 'avoided the censure that was to be heaped on Barbauld by using the historical distancing of medievalism',[9] setting her poem during the Crusades. Saunders has argued most convincingly that female poets adopted a medieval subject matter in order to screen contemporary references to politics and avoid censure through using this 'historical distancing mechanism'.[10] It would appear, then, that in choosing to publish a poem looking to a future Britain in ruins, Barbauld left herself open to criticism that she was unpatriotic in predicting Britain's fall from greatness and economic demise. Scott, whose *Lay of the Last Minstrel* is evoked in Barbauld's poem, added privately to the flurry of criticism that surrounded the publication of *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* in a letter to Joanna Baillie, who is also explicitly celebrated: 'I detest croaking', he writes, 'if true it is unpatriotic and if false worse'. The largely negative reception of the poem led to its being Barbauld's last separate publication. Despite Scott's negative evaluation of the poem, it is

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[6] William McCarthy and Olivia Murphy (eds), *Anna Letitia Barbauld: New Perspectives* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2014), 1-2.

[7] William McCarthy and Elizabeth Kraft, in the prefatory notes to *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* in *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry and Prose*, edited by McCarthy and Kraft (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2002), 160.

[8] Francesco Crocco, 'The Colonial Subtext of Anna Letitia Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*', *Wordsworth Circle*, 41:2 (Spring 2010), 91.

[9] Clare Broome Saunders, *Women Writers and Nineteenth-Century Medievalism* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 31.

[10] Saunders, *Women Writers and Nineteenth-Century Medievalism*, 31.

possible that a particular passage remained with him and was food for thought when composing *Ivanhoe*. It is also possible that Scott was aware of the power of a medieval setting, particularly a setting that focused on foreign wars such as the Crusades, to screen allusions to contemporary events.

In a passage which evokes Britain's domestic marketplace, as noted by McCarthy and Kraft in their edition, Barbauld's poem closely echoes but builds upon Voltaire's meeting of religions:[11]

> The mighty city, which by every road,
> In floods of people poured itself abroad;
> Ungirt by walls, irregularly great,
> No jealous drawbridge, and no closing gate;
> Whose merchants (such the state which commerce brings)
> Sent forth their mandates to dependent kings;
> Streets, where the turban'd Moslem, bearded Jew,
> And woolly Afric, met the brown Hindu;
> Where through each vein spontaneous plenty flowed,
> Where Wealth enjoyed, and Charity bestowed.
> Pensive and thoughtful shall the wanderers greet
> Each splendid square, and still, untrodden street;
> Or of some crumbling turret, mined by time,
> The broken stairs with perilous step shall climb,
> Thence stretch their view the wide horizon round,
> By scattered hamlets trace its antient bound,

[11] McCarthy and Kraft (eds), *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry and Prose* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002), 167, n. 4.

And, choked no more with fleets, fair Thames survey

Through reeds and sedge pursue his idle way.[12]

(ll. 159-76)

Barbauld extends the image to incorporate race (and to add Hinduism to the list of religions) and to introduce to the image an awareness of the recent emergence of the British empire as something that might be held in suspicion if Britain followed France in its imperial claims, or that might be held in a positive light if Britain moves its political focus away from the old to the new world. As Barbauld does not mention Voltaire the similarity may be unintentional but it does seem possible that Scott was thinking of both authors when writing *Ivanhoe*. When taking into consideration that Barbauld also lists Runnymede, the site of the signing of the Magna Carta, as one of her North American pilgrims' destinations, it is possible that in recalling his own avowed source of inspiration, John Logan's *Runnamede*,[13] Scott also recalled Barbauld's powerful evocation of a foundational moment in the shaping of the English nation. Furthermore, the reliance of 'dependent kings' upon merchants is a central issue in *Ivanhoe*, and so it is possible Barbauld's lines on the monarch's dependence on commerce were also in Scott's mind when composing his novel. Essentially, many of the most significant features of *Ivanhoe* are also to be found in *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*.

Both Beaumarchais's edition of Voltaire[14] and Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* appear in the catalogue of the Abbotsford library. The latter was bound in a volume with Robert Southey's patriotic *Odes to the Prince Regent* and *Carmen Triumphale* of 1814, and the anonymous *Monody on the Death of Lord Melville* of 1812. This volume sat on a shelf in the library next to John Wilson Croker's *Summary of the Life of the Duke of Wellington* (1816). Despite his concerns in 1812

[12] Barbauld, *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* in *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Selected Poetry and Prose*, 167.

[13] Walter Scott, 'Introduction to *Ivanhoe*', in *Ivanhoe*, New Edition [Magnum] (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1830), Vol. 16, vii-viii; Tulloch, 'Essay on the Text,' in Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 405.

[14] This edition includes the English letters.

regarding its 'croaking' or remonstrating tone, Scott apparently thought at some stage before the catalogue was completed that the poem could hold its own amongst its patriotic counterparts. Moreover, it is an interesting choice for Scott to have bound Barbauld's poem with the work of one of the poets who denounced her in private (Southey), and to have shelved the poem alongside the work of an author who had savaged her and her poem in the press (Croker). It is interesting to speculate that this private gesture was a type of literary evaluation. In any case, from this we get a sense that while Scott held very strong views about patriotism,[15] he was also interested in a woman's perspective on patriotism and indeed women's perspectives on patriotism in general. As already noted, women turned to medievalism in order to veil their criticism of contemporary politics, precisely so they would not be savaged in the press. Scott in part draws on this tradition and consolidates it in *Ivanhoe* by making the most astute perspective on patriotism Rebecca's.

While this chapter is interested in the issues that have recently been raised regarding nation and cosmopolitanism in *Ivanhoe*, it will take as its focus the more narrow issue of how the national and cosmopolitan are explored through the figure of the sympathetic female patriot. The familiar figure of the female patriot was featured in classical writing on patriotism (as we have seen in the discussion of classical patriotism in relation to Rose Bradwardine); however she had become a controversial figure throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth.

[15] Scott's opinions on patriotism are voiced in a letter to Joanna Baillie to which she responds: 'I greatly admire & approve your spirit in what you say regarding the struggle for national independence. But I think the meaning of M^RS Barbauld's poem is in some degree mistaken by you as it has been by many people. Tho' she condemns the system that has prevailed for many years of being constantly at war, she looks forward to the unhappy change which she supposes will take place in this country as a thing that must happen in the natural course of events in the course of ages, as we learn from experience learning & arts have travelled over the globe from one country to another remaining permanently nowhere, and not as a misfortune soon or suddenly to befall us ... Her hopes of the Americans I believe arises from her having had no connection with them and knowing little about them.' (Baillie to Scott, 7 November 1812, *The Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, Volume 1, ed. by Judith Bailey Slagle, Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999, 314).

II Patriotism and Peripheral Vision in *Ivanhoe*

Recent critical interest in *Ivanhoe* has moved away from the central historical moment of conflict between conquered Saxons and usurping Normans – the portrayal, in Tulloch's words, of 'a world divided between the dominant Norman ruling class and the conquered English only a few of whom have retained any prominent rank in society',[16]to focus on the novel's representations of cosmopolitanism and of its Jewish characters, its fragmented historicity and its representation of commodity cultures that drive modern notions of the historical. In exploring these more peripheral cultural representations that exist beyond the central conflict of nation building, the recent studies have shown Scott's medievalism suggests a more radical vision of society than was previously noted, especially with regards to the basic question of how to get along as a nation with conflicting regional, economic, cultural, religious, and racial interests and investments. While recent studies have pointed to Scott's interest in cosmopolitan and peripheral cultures, to my knowledge there has not yet been a study that focuses on the role of the patriot, and how he or she establishes for themselves a particular perspective from which to promote nation and national 'causes' (or suggest that this is futile in a divided nation). I take Scott's interest in the peripheral as my starting point, and focus firstly on his use of the female outsider's perspective to explore the many faces of patriotism that appear in the novel, and secondly on how Scott uses the female peripheral perspective in order to examine the difficult questions about nation and patriotism that are central to *Ivanhoe*.

In addressing the peripheral, I will focus on the figure of the wanderer, which is most ambiguously embodied in the novel by Rebecca, and as such I will be reading her character in the context of a shift in British sensibility regarding homelessness or loss of community. I will argue that it is Scott's interest in generating sympathy for the displaced that necessitates a different approach to the concept of home (and hence patriotism) than that which is earlier espoused in the Waverley novels. The Scottish novels present an idea of home that is deeply linked to the

[16] Tulloch, 'Historical Note', in Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 495.

resolutions of the novels; the heroes are rewarded, as Wilt notes, with 'mate, property, peace'.[17] In this sense, home and nation are neatly wedded with the hero's homecoming in a romance of domesticity. *Ivanhoe* is characterised by what might be called an 'epic' domesticity that the previous novels do not share.[18] While the home plays an important symbolic function in *Ivanhoe*, that symbolism is obliterated again and again in order to force readers to consider home and nation from the periphery and from the wanderer's perspective. This is a departure from Scotland's ordered Georgian townscapes and contrasting highland wildernesses that figure in the earlier novels, sites and geographies which nurture and protect its outlaws and dispossessed. These locations as vestiges of social memory are shown to be in transition, and as 'memory places' – places that, in Jones' words 'bind communities together and create social identities, at the same time as they dramatize how our consciousness of the past is symptomatic of the disappearance of certain kinds of living traditions'[19] – they are vulnerable to change and decay, but in the end Scott tends to reward his characters with the opportunity for domestic retirement; the pastoral mode rather than the epic. In *Ivanhoe*, the domestic features as something that disorients, unsettles and entraps, but it also features as a catalyst for exile and further wandering; the epic mode rather than the pastoral. Judith Wilt argues that *Ivanhoe* 'begins with the Coming Home moment' that patterns eighteenth-century novels, but then 'invests this profoundly important topos with full and troubling dramatic ambiguity'.[20] Wilt further describes the 'coming home' pattern as being informed by 'the desire of the ordinary Western man, the soldier as well as the ruler'.[21] To this I would add the desire of the extraordinary Jewish woman who is perhaps

[17] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 140.

[18] T. K. Seung has noted that both the journeys of Odysseus and Aeneas feature a sense of estrangement from home and a longing to return that causes ceaseless wandering and striving. In the case of Aeneas, as in that of Ivanhoe, the destruction of home takes place before a new mission to establish a new home commences; 'The traditional epic opens by posing the ultimate mission for the hero, for example, the task of returning to his home in Ithaca for Ulysses after the Trojan War and the mission of founding Rome for Aeneas after the destruction of his home in Troy' (*Goethe, Nietzsche, and Wagner: Their Spinozan Epics of Love and Power* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington, 2006), 6).

[19] Jones, *Literary Memory*, 76. Jones is drawing on Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire*.

[20] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 26.

[21] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 26.

most responsible for the 'troubling dramatic ambiguity' with which the novel concludes (a point to which I will return).

Ingrid Horrocks has argued that the figure of the wanderer developed out of 'a re-imagining of the prospect overview', that is, the view developed by eighteenth-century poets that relied on a survey of 'society as a whole from a single, stable position'.[22] That position, she argues,

> which claimed to encompass everything, was annexed to the position of the disinterested gentleman in retirement, and was a fiction born out of a real sense that society was becoming more difficult to comprehend and describe. In these poems the poet is imagined as standing alongside this idealized gentleman, at once playing a role in bringing him into being, and, through assuming his view, endeavouring to present some kind of survey in poetic form of the landscape, the nation, and the empire.[23]

In addressing *Ivanhoe*'s varying peripheral perspectives it is my aim to show the kind of investment various characters have in wandering and travelling and how this investment troubles their notions of patriotism. The following discussion will address various concepts of patriotism and perspective in order to illuminate the shifting allegiances of those who adopt the 'single, stable position' — this perhaps best describes the Saxons — and those who take to a life of wandering — this perhaps best describes the Jews, although the Saxon outlaws are wanderers too. It becomes immediately apparent that these allegiances are not fixed. Horrocks notes that a particular quality of the wanderer is his capacity for sympathy:

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[22] Ingrid Horrocks, '"Circling Eye" and "Houseless Stranger": The New Eighteenth-Century Wanderer (Thomson to Goldsmith)', *ELH*, 77 (2010), 665.
[23] Horrocks, '"Circling Eye" and "Houseless Stranger"', 665.

> Narratives of wandering or traveling are always potentially linked to sympathy because of the way in which they are structured around moments of pause and encounter, either with a landscape or with other people.[24]

The wanderer approaches 'vision not through stability but through mobility, not through detachment but through sympathy'.[25] This chapter will examine a variety of these types of pause and encounter in *Ivanhoe* and see how the process of travelling is equally as important as the achievement of the destination; the strenuousness of travel and the accounts from characters about the physicality and hardships of travel (Isaac's and Rebecca's sea venture, for example), as well as the defamiliarising, vertiginous, disorienting experiences of travel, are often related at moments of pause and encounter when the traveller is seeking hospitality. It is also apparent when reading these encounters that Scott uses the motif of the wanderer to draw out characters' prejudices in order to show their insularity and in turn to question their modes of patriotism. The confronting chance encounter with the foreign provides pause for characters to reveal their prejudice and insularity, as we shall see, by habitually complaining about their undue exposure to pollution through exposure to people of other nationalities and religions.

Both Michael Ragussis and David Simpson have argued for the importance of Scott's use of *The Merchant of Venice* in critiquing the violence and prejudice depicted in *Ivanhoe*. The figure of conversion is central to Ragussis' analysis, which locates *Ivanhoe* at the 'international crossroads of one of the most pressing political questions of the day, the relation between national identity and alien populations, between the native and the foreign'.[26] Simpson similarly addresses *Ivanhoe* in the context of his discussion of Scott's Crusader novels as a cluster of narratives that speak to

[24] Horrocks, "'Circling Eye" and "Houseless Stranger"', 666.
[25] Horrocks, "'Circling Eye" and "Houseless Stranger"', 666.
[26] Michael Ragussis, 'Writing Nationalist History: England, the Conversion of the Jews, and *Ivanhoe*', *ELH*, 60.1 (Spring, 1993), 182.

the possibility of 'cosmopolitan tolerance' within nation states,[27] and of welcoming strangers without the necessity for conversion. For both studies, Scott's references to *The Merchant of Venice* ground the figures of conversion in the context of Christian zeal for Jewish conversion. Yet, as I hope to show, there are similar textual foreshadowings that point to gendered, domestic images that serve also as powerful critiques of assimilation, but are less obviously linked to issues of cosmopolitanism. In focusing the discussion on the scenes of hospitality and home I wish to point to the structural doubling of Wilfred of Ivanhoe's homecoming with Rebecca of York's leave-taking that makes ample use of the deep tensions of irony and nostalgia that keep the two protagonists in an intimate dance of estrangement. The opposing journeys of Rebecca and Ivanhoe point to a deep emotional structure within the novel that is informed by nostalgia. In this, the journeys are dissimilar to those of Waverley and Rose; their paths cross and through a kind of sympathetic engagement Edward is able to align himself with Rose's historicised rather than romanticised sense of the domestic. Instead, the opposing journeys of Ivanhoe and Rebecca set up the foundation conflict that, in Scott's view, is the beginnings of romance. As a feudal and chivalric ideal, domesticity is used by Scott to engage his readers emotionally with the strange and with the idea of the stranger.

III 'The Accents of an Unknown Tongue': Female Articulations of the Distance between Cultures

Judith Wilt has noted the 'almost self-perpetuating quarrel of languages' that *Ivanhoe* embodies:

> ... the races, Norman and Saxon, have already met on the field of Hastings, with what results all know. Yet the crossing, the mutual changing, the advance and retreat

[27] David Simpson, "'Which is the merchant here? and which the Jew?': Friends and Enemies in Walter Scott's Crusader Novels, *Studies in Romanticism*,47.4 (Winter, 2008), 448.

> goes on, two hundred years later, at the level of language ... Distinctness of language forces distinction of class and even of feeling.[28]

In this sense, it is interesting to note that the characters' dance of deference and indebtedness is underscored throughout the novel by many references to the distance between cultures, to the prejudices that attend that distance, and to the differences in language that create misunderstandings, sometimes comic and sometimes tragic, between the characters. While the supposed editor Laurence Templeton alerts us to the possibility that our ancestors are no more distinct from us than 'Jews are from Christians', for the bulk of the novel the reader is confronted with images and scenarios that speak to the opposite idea, and reveal the sorts of cultural difficulties that Voltaire had described as being overcome by trade. In *Ivanhoe*, patriotism, trade and racism are closely linked, and this calls the chivalric concept of *noblesse oblige* into question. Furthermore, as Chris R. Vanden Bossche has pointed out, Scott 'seeks a "grammar" through which to represent the past' in order to 'elaborate how a historical shift from one cultural code to another might take place'.[29] I will argue that the 'shift in cultural code' is most forcefully articulated by Rebecca and Rowena in promoting forgiveness and peace.

I begin this discussion of the distance from other characters that Rebecca experiences with the series of scenes in Volume One that depict the aftermath of the second day of the tournament at Ashby-de-la-Zouche. Ivanhoe, with the help of *Le Noir Faineant*, has won the day but has lost consciousness, the swoon brought on by 'a wound upon his side' made by the head of a lance.[30] This situation provides the two heroines of the novel with the opportunity to defy convention: Rebecca is able to implement her healing skills on a Christian, and Rowena finds herself standing up to her father in articulating her own views on patriotic behaviour. While Cedric the Saxon's apprehension at his son's ordeal momentarily overrules his 'patriotic

[28] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 23.
[29] Chris R. Vanden Bosshe, 'Culture and Economy in *Ivanhoe*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 42.1 (June 1987), 47.
[30] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 117.

stoicism',[31] the knowledge that Ivanhoe's wounds are being attended to, and that he is quite possibly in 'friendly hands,' alleviates the 'paternal anxiety which had been excited by the dubiety of [Ivanhoe's] fate' and a renewed 'feeling of injured pride and resentment at what he termed Ivanhoe's filial obedience'[32] takes over as he grapples with his ward over the niceties of patriotism and honour. Rowena suggests that Ivanhoe's conduct at the tournament, rather than being juggling tricks (as Cedric calls the displays of chivalry), was 'brave in execution', and that Ivanhoe is 'boldest among the bold, and gentlest among the gentle'.[33] Cedric's response is to declare that he will attend Prince John's festival to show his enemy 'how little the fate of a son, who could defeat their bravest' affects him. Rowena then cautions that Cedric's actions could be interpreted as being hard-hearted:[34] 'thine is the hard heart', answers Cedric, 'which can sacrifice the weal of an oppressed people to an idle and unauthorized attachment'.[35] Rowena's patriotism is distinct from Cedric's because of her love for Ivanhoe and not in spite of it. Familial and romantic love, for Rowena, ought to be the source from which other forms of love, such as love of country, flow. For Cedric, patriotism and ancestry are one, and while his paternal feelings are ultimately shown to be more powerful than his fervour for lineage, he is seen as a foolish figure in this instance. Rowena's loyalty to Ivanhoe the wanderer wins out over Cedric's loyalty to race and place. To maintain the honour of ancestry, in Rowena's opinion, is to engage in worldly affairs rather than to stay at home. Her patriotism is an act of just this sort of engagement; her sensibility makes her open to engage with the foreign through her 'unauthorized' attachment to Ivanhoe. Scott appears to support a notion, through Rowena's articulation of Ivanhoe's *travail*, that leaving one's country, that uprooting oneself and adopting foreign ways, is more patriotic than staying at home as it provides an opportunity to choose to return from abroad, but just as

[31] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 153.
[32] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 153.
[33] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 153.
[34] Indeed, Wamba thinks Cedric hard-hearted for leaving 'my young master, in his blood', and fears him because of it (155).
[35] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 153.

importantly it provides an opportunity to join a broader community of sufferers. Rowena's haughtiness is softened by her attachment to wandering Wilfred of Ivanhoe.

This scene is typical of the dance of deference and indebtedness that pervades the novel, and that seems to describe the limitations of chivalry for Scott. In a scene that occurs in the following chapter, Rowena is called upon to put her feelings of bigotry aside. On their return from Prince John's banquet via the convent of St Withold's, the Saxons happen upon a horse-litter placed upon the ground, attended by 'a young woman, richly dressed in the Jewish fashion' and 'an old man, whose yellow cap proclaimed him to belong to the same nation' who 'walked up and down as if affected by some strange disaster'.[36] Abandoned by their escort, Isaac and Rebecca (and Ivanhoe, who is tucked away in the horse-litter) have been left to travel unprotected through bandit-infested woodlands. Isaac's appeal to Cedric and Athelstane to travel in their safeguard is unsuccessful, and Cedric proffers two attendants and two horses to guide them to the nearest town instead of allowing them to join his larger company. At this stage Rebecca appeals to Rowena:

> ... Rebecca, suddenly quitting her dejected posture, and making her way through the attendants to the palfrey of the Saxon lady, knelt down, and, after the Oriental fashion in addressing superiors, kissed the hem of Rowena's garment. Then rising, and throwing back her veil, she implored her in the great name of the God whom they both worshipped, and by that revelation of the Law in which they both believed, that she would have compassion upon them, and suffer them to go forward under their safeguard.[37]

[36] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 159.
[37] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 160.

Rebecca pleads with Rowena 'in the name of one dear to many, and dear even to you', rather than pleading on her own behalf.[38] However, it is Rebecca's 'noble and solemn air' that persuades Rowena, whose 'strong sense'[39] allows her to attend to the party's distressing circumstances. It becomes apparent later that Rowena does not understand that it is Ivanhoe who is being conveyed in the horse-litter, and so while she still makes a rather arbitrary and pointless distinction between Jews and Christians ('Jews though they be, we cannot as Christians leave them in this extremity'),[40] she does however have a greater capacity for sympathy and for wise counsel than do Cedric and Athelstane. This distinction between Jew and Christian is treated with further irony when Urfried/Ulrica notes the levelling effects of sexual violence; 'Jew or Gentile, thy fate would be the same; for thou hast to do with them that have neither scruple nor pity'.[41] In any case, while Rebecca petitions Rowena for help she does not accept Rowena's offering of companionship and she maintains her distance from the Saxon princess on the grounds that she does not want to disgrace Rowena with her company.

Isaac, being one 'that would live by traffic' and 'must hold his time at the disposal of every one claiming business with him', benefits from trade in that 'his traffic had rendered every tongue spoken in Britain familiar to him'.[42] Front-de-Bœuf, unlike Isaac, cannot understand Saxon and cannot be sure, when attempting to read a letter written by the Saxons, that he has it around the right way, and De Bracy once resisted learning to write the language, instead forming the characters into 'spear-heads, and sword-blades'.[43] Knowledge of several languages may also facilitate cruelty. Front-de-Bœuf may not know Anglo-Saxon, but he is able to communicate with

[38] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 160-1.
[39] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 157.
[40] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 161.
[41] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 194-5. It is ironic that Urfried/Ulrica sees violence as a leveller while Ivanhoe later expresses to Rebecca that the differing responses to the violence that upholds the chivalric code is something that distinguishes Christian from Jew.
[42] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 98.
[43] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 203.

the Saracen slaves whom he commands to torture Isaac.[44] We can assume that Rebecca has the same facility as her father with the languages spoken in Britain, and we know from her encounter with Brian de Bois-Guilbert at Torquilstone that she speaks Saxon (and one assumes her conversation with Gurth is conducted in Saxon). Believing her party abducted by Saxon outlaws, Rebecca addresses her captor in that language, but Bois-Guilbert rapidly turns to French in order to communicate with her as it is implied that he cannot sustain a conversation in Saxon (although he is able to translate the Saxons' letter for Front-de-Bœuf and De Lacey). It is at Torquilstone castle, more so than at any other site in the novel, that identity becomes divorced from language. Bois-Guilbert, who has no true affiliation with place or country and claims an allegiance only to power, describes Rebecca's own commitment to her religion as a narrow Jewish prejudice,[45] while Rebecca's response is to place as much distance as possible between the two of them by threatening to throw herself off the castle battlements.[46] It is not simply a spatial distance between her and Christians that Rebecca wishes to maintain; it is primarily a distance of a worldview that is shaped by differences in religion. When Bois-Guilbert accepts the standoff and leaves Rebecca to consider his proposition, her thoughts move immediately to her father and then to 'the wounded Christian', who are both named in her prayers:

> Her heart indeed checked her, as if, even in communing with the Deity in prayer, she mingled in her devotions the recollection of one with whose fate hers could have no alliance — a Nazarene, and an enemy to her faith. But the petition was already breathed, nor could all the narrow prejudices of her sect induce Rebecca to wish it recalled.[47]

[44] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 182.
[45] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 198.
[46] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 200.
[47] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 202.

The narrator's recollection of the 'narrow prejudices' of Rebecca's sect not only points to the irony of Rebecca being the least prejudiced character in the novel (especially as she is able to see the prejudices tainting all religions, including her own), but it also acts more subtly to reinforce how much distance exists between her and the non-Jewish characters. The literal distance Rebecca attempts to place between herself and Christian violence is later played out more fully in the scene where she tends to Ivanhoe's wounds.

In Rebecca's petition we see a kind of erosion of identity when Christian and Jew mingle in her thoughts and prayers. A few chapters later Rebecca – after her interview with Urfried/Ulrica, which serves to confuse her identity further – finds herself alone in a room with the injured Ivanhoe, and is entreated by him to describe the battle as it is taking place. Earlier, after Ivanhoe is wounded at the tournament at Ashby, Rebecca encourages her father, whose 'prejudices and scrupulous timidity' make him reluctant to harbour a Christian,[48] to accept Ivanhoe into his home so that she can tend to his wounds. Her argument is mounted in response to Isaac's merchant logic:

> 'Holy Abraham!' he exclaimed, 'it is a good youth, and my heart bleeds to see the gore trickle down his rich embroidered hacqueton, and his corslet of goodly price – but to carry him to our home! – damsel, hast thou well considered? – he is a Christian, and by our law we may not deal with the stranger and Gentile, save for the advantage of our commerce'.
>
> 'Speak not so, my dear father', replied Rebecca; 'we may not indeed mix with them in banquet and in jollity; but in wounds and in misery, the Gentile becometh the Jew's brother'.[49]

[48] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 231.
[49] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 98.

When it comes to pleading with Front-de-Bœuf, Isaac uses a similar logic, and invokes the common ground of Christian and Jew – 'by all which I believe, and by all which we believe in common'[50] – to little effect. Front-de-Bœuf links trade with loss of liberty, calling Issac a 'pawn-broking slave'.[51] So, by the time Rebecca comes to tend to Ivanhoe's wounds in an abandoned apartment at the top of Torquilstone castle, the reader has seen plenty of evidence that using trade as a means of negotiation, and as a way of finding common ground, is of little use to her. It is through her abilities to heal that she is brought into contact with Ivanhoe, and not through the mechanisms of monetary or chivalric exchange that were established by Isaac and Ivanhoe near the beginning of the novel, a mercantile relationship of deference and indebtedness that sets the Voltairian tone that would now be demolished at Torquilstone. As the narrator explains earlier:

> ... the Jews, both male and female, possessed and practised the medical science in all its branches, and the monarchs and powerful barons of the time frequently committed themselves to the charge of some experienced sage among this despised people, when wounded or in sickness. The aid of the Jewish physicians was not the less eagerly sought after, though a general belief prevailed among the Christians, that the Jewish Rabbins were deeply acquainted with the occult sciences, and particularly with the cabalistical art, which had its name and origin in the studies of the sages of Israel. Neither did the Rabbins disown such acquaintance with supernatural arts, which added nothing (for what could add aught) to the hatred with which their nation was regarded, while it diminished the contempt with which that malevolence was mingled. A Jewish magician might be the subject of equal abhorrence with a Jewish usurer, but he could not be equally despised. It is, besides, probable, considering the wonderful cures they are said to have performed, that the Jews

[50] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 182.
[51] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 183.

> possessed some secrets of the healing art peculiar to themselves, and which, with the exclusive spirit arising out of their condition, they took great care to conceal from the Christians amongst whom they dwelt.[52]

It is no surprise to 'the youngest reader of romances and romantic ballads',[53] then, that Rebecca's initiation into the healing arts allows her freedoms and powers that Rowena could not enjoy; namely, 'with her own hands to examine and bind [Ivanhoe's] wounds'.[54] More so, it is another take on the chivalric dance of deference and indebtedness, as 'the gallant knight submitted the wounds of his person to her cure, whose eyes had yet more deeply penetrated his heart'.[55] It is interesting to note, too, that it is while Rebecca is in her role as healer that she is heard speaking Hebrew by a person other than her father:

> The accents of an unknown tongue, however harsh they might have sounded when uttered by another, had, coming from the beautiful Rebecca, the romantic and pleasing effect which fancy ascribes to the charms pronounced by some beneficent fairy, unintelligible indeed to the ear, but, from the sweetness of utterance, the benignity of aspect which accompany them, touching and affecting to the heart.[56]

As Ivanhoe cannot thank Rebecca in Hebrew, he does so in 'the Arabian tongue, with which his eastern travels had rendered him familiar, and which he thought most likely to be understood by the turban'd and caftan'd damsel who stood before him'.[57] Ivanhoe here embodies the positive figure of the wanderer that emerged in late eighteenth-century prospect poems, who engages

[52] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 232.
[53] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 232.
[54] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 232.
[55] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 232.
[56] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 235.
[57] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 235.

sympathetically with the foreign. But he still gets it wrong. Rebecca addresses him in English, with 'a smile which she could scarce suppress'; 'I am of England, Sir Knight, and speak the English tongue, although my dress and my lineage belong to another climate'.[58] Wilt notes this passage as an example of Scott delineating the distinction of feeling between Christian and Jew.[59] The distinction of feeling is arguably more forcefully illustrated a little later in this scene when Rebecca criticises chivalry, a scene that I will address in the next chapter, in the context of Rebecca's unique perspective, and of the importance of this perspective to the 'Intimate Romantic' phase of visualising history that Scott pioneered. The limits of language reflect the limits of sympathetic engagement between the competing cultures, and Scott explores this through likening Rebecca to Schiller's heroic Joan of Arc, whose own articulations of patriotism neatly voice the distinctions of feeling between French and English nationalists.

[58] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 235.

[59] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 23.

CHAPTER NINE

'We can have nought in common between us':

Rebecca, Literary Memory and the Language of the Liminal

> Thou art my people's enemy and mine.
>
> Nought common can there be 'twixt thee and me.
>
> —Schiller, *The Maid of Orleans*[1]

We are told by the narrator that a 'moment of peril is often also a moment of open-hearted kindness and affection',[2] yet ironically Rebecca's description of the peril creates a further distance between her and Ivanhoe. As she communicates with Ivanhoe in English, so it is in the English language of the Bible in translation that Rebecca dismantles the glories of chivalry. Scott again employs associative literary memory to establish the 'distinction of feeling' between Christian and Jew. When disabusing Brian de Bois-Guilbert of his belief that she would willingly become his paramour, Rebecca has already echoed lines from Schiller's dramatic reworking of the legend of Joan of Arc, *The Maid of Orleans*; 'we can have nought in common between us'.[3] Captured by the English, Schiller's Maid, Johanna, is taken to a tower where she speaks with an English soldier who has fallen in love with her despite his loyalty to country and nation. She rejects his

[1] Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller, *The Maid of Orleans,* in *Selections from the Dramas of Goethe and Schiller*, translated by Anna Swanwick (London: John Murray, 1843), Act V, Scene ix, 278. Swanwick's translation into English of *The Maid of Orleans* is most likely the first published.

[2] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 241.

[3] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 197.

efforts to be her 'shield against a world',[4] and also his attempts to persuade her to renounce her nationality and take up the 'English banner'.[5] Interestingly, Daniel Whitmore, who has noted Scott's reference to Schiller's play, compares Johanna with Ivanhoe in that both 'are acutely aware of the passive, subordinate positions' they hold as captives.[6] This is a misidentification, however. As Whitmore has also outlined, '[t]he active role of spectator/narrator is performed by Rebecca'.[7] In actively drawing his readers' attention to *The Maid of Orleans* by twice quoting from the play (once as epigraph) for chapters that display Rebecca's self-possession, candour and bravery, it is apparent that Scott is associating Rebecca with Johanna as female patriots.[8] In the famous scene where Rebecca reports the siege of Torquilstone castle to bedridden Ivanhoe, she takes up her 'shield against a world', a 'large ancient shield' that she places against the lower part of the window, from behind which she maintains a clear view of the battle. Scott makes a point of this, explaining that 'Rebecca could not only see what passed beyond the precincts of the castle, but also commanded a view of the outwork likely to be the first object of the mediated assault'.[9] Johanna, who is chained to the wall of the tower, is familiar with the French soldiers' insignia but cannot see them in order to follow the battle, while the English soldier is unable to 'read' the insignia but has the vantage point from which to view the battle. Rebecca, momentarily in the active role of the English soldier, has taken up the 'single, stable position' of the prospect view (recalling Ingrid Horrocks' description). Yet the cultural distance between her and Ivanhoe disrupts the sense of Rebecca as a stable witness to the battle. Rebecca quickly re-adopts the

[4] Schiller, *The Maid of Orleans,* Act V, Scene ix, 278.
[5] Schiller, *The Maid of Orleans,* Act V, Scene ix, 280.
[6] Daniel Whitmore, 'Scott's Indebtedness to the German Romantics: *Ivanhoe* Reconsidered', *Wordsworth Circle*, 15 (1984), 72.
[7] Whitmore, 'Scott's Indebtedness to the German Romantics', 72.
[8] Rebecca echoes Johanna when she tells Brian de Bois-Guilbert that they 'can have nought in common between us' (as already noted, in Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 197), and the epigraph attached to Volume 2, Chapter 29 of *Ivanhoe* directly quotes Queen Isabel's directive to the English soldier to 'Ascend the watchtower yonder ... Look on the field, and say how goes the battle' (Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 241). Isabel, in Anna Swanwick's translation, commands the soldier to 'Ascend the watch-tower which commands the field, / And thence report the progress of the fight' (Schiller, *The Maid of Orleans*, V.XI, 281)
[9] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 244.

peripheral, outsider's perspective when the initial excitement of reporting the battle gives way to feelings of horror at the bloodshed. Like Amy Robsart, Rebecca is unable to 'read' the heraldic devices, yet unlike Amy, Rebecca is able to articulate the problems with the violence at the heart of the pageantry. As a wanderer figure, Rebecca, in Horrocks' terms, approaches 'vision not through stability but through mobility, not through detachment but through sympathy.'[10] While Ivanhoe wants only descriptions of banners and insignia Rebecca begins to describe the violence and carnage, the 'conflict of two oceans moved by adverse winds'.[11] While Rebecca is stationed above the battle and out of view, it is also the case that her sympathetic engagement with the individuals in the battle disrupts that stable viewpoint. Rebecca's withdrawal from the atrocities is complete as she leaves her station at the window, renouncing her role as objective witness to again take up the role of sympathetic healer. Her criticism of a chivalric code that glorifies violence initially comes out of a concern for Ivanhoe's futile struggle to mobilise himself despite his severe wounds:

> 'Alas!' said the fair Jewess, 'and what is it, valiant knight, save an offering of sacrifice to a demon of vain-glory, and a passing through the fire to Moloch? – what remains to you as the prize of all the blood you have spilled, of all the travail and pain you have endured, of all the tears which your deeds have caused ... [Glory] is the rusted mail which hangs as a hatchment over the champion's dim and mouldering tomb – is the defaced sculpture of the inscription which the ignorant monk can hardly read to the inquiring pilgrim.[12]

[10] Horrocks, "'Circling Eye" and "Houseless Stranger"', 666.
[11] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 246.
[12] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 249.

Nadia Valman has noted that Rebecca's speech closely echoes an aside made earlier in the novel by the narrator:[13]

> [The knights] escutcheons have long mouldered from the walls of their castles. Their castles themselves are but green mounds and shattered ruins – the place that once knew them, knows them no more – nay, many a race since theirs has died out and been forgotten in the very land which they occupied, with all the authority of feudal proprietors and feudal lords. What then would it avail the reader to know their names, or the evanescent symbols of their martial rank![14]

In both cases Scott has imagined the ways in which history imperfectly reveals itself through indistinct, and perhaps unreadable, traces – the shattered ruins and evanescent symbols will not be accessible to future generations (perhaps recalling Barbauld's vision of a future Britain). Ivanhoe cannot see Rebecca's point, and so she can only retreat. Wrapping herself in her veil, she sits at a distance from his couch while he sleeps, her back turned towards him, while the 'conflict of two oceans', of that between her faith and her love for Ivanhoe, rages within.

It is not surprising that several scenes at Torquilstone that feature Rebecca – Rebecca's movement towards throwing herself off the battlements to escape Brian de Bois-Guilbert, her account of the battle to Ivanhoe, and her abduction by Brian de Bois-Guilbert – were taken up as subjects by genre painters over the next few decades. While many are not particularly innovative in their depictions of the heroine's appearance, there are several that appear to have drawn on Rebecca's embodied perspective. Both Léon Cogniet and Eugène Delacroix have captured the spirit of Rebecca's character, and in discussing their work in the context of the tradition that Roy Strong identified as the 'Intimate Romantic' phase of historical painting, I

[13] Valman, *The Jewess in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture*, 27.
[14] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 79.

would like to suggest that both artists were inspired by Scott's attempts to write female characters who evidently possess what might be termed a 'historical consciousness'.

Figure 13 Detail from Léon Cogniet, *Rebecca and Brian de Bois-Guilbert.*

In Cogniet's 'Rebecca and Brian de Bois-Guilbert' (1828), the fluid, interlocking poses of Rebecca and the Saracen slave work to place the other figures in the background of the scene (see the image placed at beginning of Chapter Eight). Apart from the discarded weapons in the foreground, the only element of stillness is Rebecca herself; she is the eye of the storm. The abrupt contrast between the darkened and partially obscured faces of the men and Rebecca's luminescent appearance draws our attention to her features and expression, making hers the central perspective within the frame. While she remains stoic, she is not passive. Her posture reflects assertiveness, as she grasps the white horse's mane to steady her self in the saddle. To a degree her looks are inscrutable, yet we are still invited through the openness of her expression to question what she might be experiencing. Rather than producing an abduction scene in the tradition of the 'Rape of the Sabines', Cogniet has moved beyond depicting Rebecca as victim to depicting her as an observer of her own fate. Her gaze is directed to heaven, while her centred body resists the Saracen's grasp. In a sense, her other-directed gaze deflects the viewer's gaze which the lines of her Orientalised dress encourages – Rebecca is oblivious to anything other

than her own self-possession; to focus on her faith she needs to shut out the maelstrom of Christian violence.

Figure 14 Eugène Delacoix, *Rebecca and the wounded Ivanhoe*, 1823. Oil on canvas, 647mm x 542mm. Private Collection.

While Delacroix's 'The Abduction of Rebecca' (1846) makes reference to the 'Sabine' tradition in its focus on Rebecca's passive victimhood, his earlier experiments with representing Rebecca as an active participant in the events at Torquilstone castle show the artist to be equally interested in Rebecca's active pacificism. 'Rebecca and the Wounded Ivanhoe' (1823) presents Rebecca in the active role of reporting the siege to the bedridden Ivanhoe, who, from his position within the frame, can probably see the battle for himself. The lines delineating Ivanhoe's languid posture, however, lead our attention to Rebecca's alert eyes and open hands. As she gestures with her right hand towards the action she resists and denies her affiliation with the action of the battle with her left, and this is perhaps a directive to the wounded Ivanhoe not to rise up from his bed. Her eyes are bright and alert, witnessing the action of the battle, while Ivanhoe's are shadow-filled hollows. Delacroix has stationed Rebecca as the active witness and commentator within the scene, and has connected her through her contradictory gestures as a participant in the unfolding drama of historical event of the siege while revealing her resistance to what takes place outside the frame.

While it is the case that artists such as Jacques-Louis David had depicted strong women involved in historical events, for example his 'The Intervention of the Sabine Women' (1799) depicts women as freedom-fighters in the act of resisting abduction, such paintings rendered the women in masculine poses and did little to reveal or illuminate the women's interiority. With the

development of the 'Intimate Romantic' phase of history painting (which we will recall was an innovation directly influenced by Scott),[15] artists were able to construct scenes that were accurate regarding the detail of everyday life while keeping the broader sense of historical events in the process of unfolding. In the figure of Rebecca, Scott provided artists with a female character that could embody the objective and active witness of historical events, and still retain her femininity, and thus imbuing history and historiography with the particularly feminine perspective often attributed to romance.

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Diana Garofalo has recently argued that 'Scott's novels offer traces of the present in his historical narratives, which stimulate a sense in the reader of "being there", of seeing oneself in the midst of an action or event that has crucial significance for here and now':

> For Scott, who sees the historical novel as fundamentally about connecting past and present and showing how the past matters for the present, the genre functions so as to enact moments of possibility. In creating an atmosphere of eventfulness, Scott is concerned with examining moments of decision that can alter a situation. … What matters is less how things 'turn out' in his novels and more what becomes possible at crucial moments, even if these are sometimes missed opportunities.[16]

Garofalo argues that Rebecca functions within this methodology by working an enchantment that she borrows from the powerful ideology of commodity exchange that drives the narrative:[17]

[15] Strong, *And When Did You Last See Your Father?*, 27.
[16] Diana Garofalo, *Women, Love, and Commodity Culture in British Romanticism* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 127.
[17] Garofalo, *Women, Love, and Commodity Culture in British Romanticism*, 119.

> [Rebecca] appears to be in some ways outside of exchange because of her exclusion from the marriage market. She is no rival for Rowena because she cannot be given in marriage to a Christian. On the other hand, she is the most dangerous rival precisely because she cannot be had. … The subject of loss, the Jew, is necessary for the circulation of desire within the text and among readers.[18]

While Garofalo discusses this point in relation to the scene in which Rebecca threatens to throw herself from the battlements of Torquilstone, I wish to explore Rebecca's 'enchantment' in relation to her leave-taking of Rowena. I will argue that both Rebecca and Rowena subvert the traditional patriarchal 'plot' in which women are objects of exchange. Central to this is Rebecca's self-possession (which I have argued is a feature of the genre paintings that depict her) in aligning herself with the renunciation of material goods to move definitively into her healing role, which also casts her into further wanderings – Rebecca cannot remain in England, as she is unable to heal her country's wounds.

An effect of Scott's exquisite description of Rebecca's oriental dress, so readily taken up by Cogniet and Delacroix in their detailed depictions of her richly coloured and ornamented clothing, is that we forget that Rebecca spends the final volume of the book dressed in white.[19] The significance of her veiling herself against Ivanhoe in resistance to her attraction to him is perhaps more evident in her visit to Rowena in the closing scene of the novel, where we witness both women unveil to one another. On the second morning after her marriage to Ivanhoe, Rowena receives Rebecca into her apartment. Rebecca is 'shrouded' in a 'long white veil' that 'overshadows' rather than conceals her figure. She is a ghostly presence in the room, and speaks

[18] Garofalo, *Women, Love, and Commodity Culture in British Romanticism*, 122.

[19] Rebecca appears to Gurth in Volume I, dressed in white, and he superstitiously takes her to be a 'white woman' (100); later, white is employed to link Rebecca with superstition when she is clothed in 'a coarse white dress' (386) at her trial for witchcraft, and during the trial she is accused of shifting into 'the form of a milk-white swan' (328).

to Rowena of her intentions to leave England, 'ere this moon again changes'.[20] Rebecca's last-minute visit to Rowena before going into voluntary exile bears a feeling of belatedness; she can no longer heal the wounds of her country, and during her visit, she separates herself from the lives to which she was intimately bound through 'debt of gratitude' and 'unceasing charity'.[21] Rebecca might be an apparition (perhaps distortedly mirroring the comically resurrected Athelstane), yet the mutual unveiling presents each woman with a sight of the other's extraordinary beauty, causing both to blush, even if momentarily as Rebecca's blush 'past slowly from her features like the crimson cloud, which changes colour when the sun sinks beneath the horizon'.[22] Here we see 'the odd, unsettling, deranging erotics of self and other' which John Docker refers to, and what Nadia Valman describes as a moment 'punctuated by an enigmatic eroticism'.[23] The denouement of the novel has excluded the male characters; they are out of the frame, while the two heroines play out the more civilised aspects of the chivalric code in appraising the beauty of the other. While Rebecca adamantly states that she cannot remain in England, because of the 'gulph' that exists between Christian and Jew (echoing her earlier words to Brian de Bois-Guilbert, and more closely echoing those in Luke 16.26),[24] there is still a sense of rapprochement in this moment that confuses the gaze that had been so firmly established by the narrator when first introducing Rebecca in his *descriptio* that 'overshadowed' her form and aligned her with the commercial sphere of the novel. Rebecca has since appeared otherworldly in her white veil, and in a further surrendering of worldliness offers up her jewels in a casket to Rowena. Scott touches on Schiller's *Maid of Orleans* again in mirroring the sacrifice of jewels

[20] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 398.
[21] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 399.
[22] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 400.
[23] Docker, *1492*, 34-35; Valman, *The Jewess in Nineteenth-Century British Literary Culture*, 33.
[24] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, note 399.38, 578. Graham Tulloch has noted that the allusion to the 'story of the rich man and Lazarus' is 'entirely fitting for Rebecca who stands in the novel neither for a narrow Judaism such as her father at times exhibits nor, of course, for the narrow Christianity of Beaumanoir, Prior Aymer or even, at times, Ivanhoe himself but for a more tolerant recognition of what the two faiths share ...' ('Ivanhoe and Bibles' in J.H. Alexander and David Hewitt (eds), *Scott in Carnival* (Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1993), 317).

made to King Charles VII by his mistress Agnes Sorel to pay his troops,[25] a deed celebrated in the play by Schiller as a level headed act of female patriotism, that also references the classical tradition of female patriotism (discussed above in relation to Rose Bradwardine's 'sacrifice' and noted in relation to the French artists' wives who, as a group, offered their jewels to the Assembly).

While Rebecca sees her jewels as essentially worthless to her, it still remains an act that ties her to Rowena as a 'social claim' (to again use Jane Addams' term).[26] The concept of the 'social claim' is pertinent to many of Scott's female characters, especially those characters that understand themselves through their roles as daughters and future wives. Louise W. Knight has succinctly described Addams' concept:

> Daughters, she said, are raised to be 'altruistic ... self-forgetting ... and self-sacrificing'. They then become torn between two sets of duties: 'the family claim', the responsibility the daughter feels to subdue her dreams in favor of serving the family, and 'the social claim', the duty to society that she longs to fulfill. When these duties clash because the family refuses to let the daughter honor the 'social claim', it is 'a tragedy'.[27]

Scott allows Rebecca to honour her social claim, although the bleak ending which sees Rebecca seeking to carry out her duty outside of England leaves the reader dissatisfied. It has also been noted by W.J. Pearce that the ending of *Ivanhoe* closely follows the story recounted in William

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[25] Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller, *The Maiden of Orleans: A Romantic Tragedy*, translated by John T. Krumplemann (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), Act I, SceneIV, 20.

[26] Jane Addams, quoted and discussed in Regina Hewitt, *Symbolic Interactions*, 195. Interestingly, Hewitt contextualises Joanna Baillie's *The Family Legend* in terms of the 'social claim'; 'Helen sought the greater good' in promoting 'reconciliation and charity within and between the clans' (195).

[27] Louise W. Knight, *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008, 255.

Shenstone's narrative poem *Love and Honour* [28]but Scott would have been familiar with the version of the old ballad as it appeared in Percy's *Reliques* as 'The Spanish Lady's Love', wherein an unnamed lady, '[d]ecked with jewels' is taken prisoner by an Englishman, yet when she is set free she wishes to remain with him as his wife. The Englishman already has a wife in England, and the Spanish lady gives her jewels to his wife, and then vows to enter a convent.[29] While Rowena expects that Rebecca will do the same, Rebecca explains that there are no convents, but that 'among [her] people, since the time of Abraham downward, have been women who have devoted their thoughts to Heaven, and their actions to works of kindness to men, tending the sick, feeding the hungry, and relieving the distressed'.[30] The jewels in their brilliant uselessness become traces of the historical past that, in Garofalo's terms, 'bring the modern reader into contact with ways of life they can experience only in fragments and traces in the novel and the museum'.[31] While Scott plays up Rebecca's spectral appearance, he also ties her to the rhythms of the natural world, the moon's changes and the sense of time a traveller measures by the tides, and the mutable colours of the sky as the sun sinks beneath the horizon.[32] The elegiac tone of the final meeting between Rebecca and Rowena is made more poignant by Scott's likely reference to James Thomson's 'Epitaph on Miss Stanley':

> Blest be the bark that wafts us to the shore
> Where death-divided friends shall part no more ... [33]

[28] J.W. Pearce, 'Miscellaneous Notes: IV', *Modern Language Notes* (May 1907), 151-2.
[29] Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (London: John Templeman, 1839), 147-8
[30] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 401.
[31] Garofalo, *Women, Love, and Commodity Culture in British Romanticism*, 123.
[32] Despite the fact that it is morning, and that Rebecca and Isaac will sail to the east, it is fitting in elegiac tone and rhythm that Scott evokes the closing of the day in reference to both Rebecca's leave-taking and Richard's premature death. It also seems that Scott was fond of symbolising the disorienting effects of diaspora, as noted in the Introduction to this thesis in the passage in *The Abbot* which describes the scattering in all directions of the nuns.
[33] James Thomson, 'Epitaph on Miss Elizabeth Stanley', in J. Logie Robertson (ed), *Poetical Works* (London: Oxford University Press, 1908), 456, ll. 21-2.

The association of the literal 'bark that wafts [Rebecca and Isaac] hence'[34] with Thomson's metaphysical bark sets the tone for the ending of the novel, which quietly notes Richard the Lion-Hearted's 'premature' death on a foreign strand, the terminus of the 'glamorous adventure', as Ian Duncan writes, which 'provides an explicitly imperialist frame for the domestic history of conquest in which all subjects are strangers in relation to their place and origins, all are disinherited, all occupy a colonial subjectivity'.[35] Rebecca's stately departure 'diminishes the English future from which she is shut out', leaving the remaining characters in the fissures of an 'untransfigured world'.[36]

I have been attempting in this chapter to build a correlation between Scott's representation of Rebecca, her alignment with commodity culture (following Garofalo), and the materiality of her life that she renounces when she offers her jewels to Rowena (and to England). While Rebecca's form becomes more spectral, ephemeral and mutable in the final pages of the novel, hinting at her haunting of Rowena, it is also the case that the jewels that she leaves behind work within the novel as the visible traces, the material symbols that stand as evidence of her involvement in the events that make up the historical texture of *Ivanhoe*. I hope to have shown in several key images depicting women in the patriotic act of offering their jewels to the nation that there is an awareness in each that through such visually striking and memorable scenes the women become an essential part of the pictorial narrative of nation. In the case of Rebecca, the act of offering her jewels provides Scott with the opportunity to situate a Jewish medieval woman's life in a social-historical context that ties her directly with nation. With *Ivanhoe*, Scott has taken this motif, orientalised it, and to a large degree interiorised the spectacle in order to voice rather than display a form of female patriotism. In *The Archeological Imagination*, Michael Shanks argues that heritage sites 'frequently work on the *ambience* of the past: the past's *habitus* ... as embodied in things and environments':

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[34] Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 401.

[35] Ian Duncan, 'Introduction', in Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), xix.

[36] Duncan, 'Introduction', in Scott, *Ivanhoe*, xxvi.

> It is in the details of everyday life that the past seems to come alive and carry authenticity. ... Narrative, or, more precisely plot, is often taken as a key aim of historiographical or archaeological study – a story of what happened. In this model of practice, the archaeologist sifts through the remains for evidence, distinguishing source material, signs of what happened, from the background of irrelevancy, the matrix of earth, rubble, silt, that contains the evidence, and from which the evidence is to be recovered. This background might be called the *noise of history*, against which is distinguished what actually happened, the drama, if you like ... But this archaeological practice is flawed if it is not recognized that there is no drama ... without the incidental ambience and manners [here, he is using Scott's term] ... [37]

Our sense of the past is predicated on an engagement – through heritage sites and through historical writing – with the sensorial. Scott was highly aware of this issue (*The Antiquary* is arguably about just this point), yet the problem that he faced is that, historically, women made little noise. Through his use of objects as symbols through which the female characters might keep to the terms of the social claims, Scott conjures women (imaginatively) into our sense of historical process, materialising a position from which the female characters might 'enact moments of possibility' (in Garofalo's words) that for Scott connect 'past and present to show how the past matters for the present'.[38]

[37] Michael Shanks, *The Archaeological Imagination* (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2012), 72-3.
[38] Garofalo, *Women, Love, and Commodity Culture in British Romanticism*, 127.

Finally, before we take leave of Rebecca, I would like to draw attention to an interesting parallel between her and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, of which Scott would probably have been conscious. As a citizen of the world who had closely observed Turkish inoculation practices, Lady Mary saw herself upon her return from Turkey as bringing a service to her fellow compatriots by pioneering in England the practice of inoculating children for smallpox (a process that she called 'engrafting'). She had suffered the effects of smallpox as an adult, and had had her son inoculated whilst living in the Levant.[39] Within three years of her return to England, in the spring of 1721, there occurred an outbreak of smallpox. Lady Mary claimed in a letter:

> I am patriot enough to take pains to bring this useful invention into fashion in England; and I should not fail to write to some of our doctors very particularly about it, if I knew any one of them that I thought had virtue enough to destroy such a considerable branch of their revenue for the good of mankind.[40]

Lady Mary connected her sponsorship of inoculation with patriotism, but she also advocated the particular operation Turkish women practised as opposed to the practices English physicians were adopting. Several of those physicians complained that the 'fashion' amongst 'a few *Ignorant Women*'[41] of inoculating for smallpox had caused deaths, and so Lady Mary published anonymously a scathing letter, called 'A Plain Account of the Inoculating of the Small Pox by a Turkey Merchant', outlining the prejudices and failures of the profession. The point I am attempting to highlight here is the connection between patriotism and medical practice in Lady Mary's mind, and her articulation of this in letters to her friends. Isobel Grundy has noted that Lady Mary was deeply disappointed in her attempts to bring a tested procedure to England:

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[39] Halsband, 'New Light on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Contribution to Inoculation', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 8 (1953), 395.
[40] Montagu, *Letters and Works*, Vol. 1, 308-09.
[41] Halsband, 'New Light', 400.

> For years she struggled with regrets about her 'great' or 'patriotic' undertaking; she said she 'never would have attempted it, could she have foreseen the vexation, and even persecution, it was to bring on her'.[42]

Lady Mary's attempts to bring about this change in knowledge through inoculating her own children involved the extra step of taking her daughter into society with her as proof of the operation's success. Her stance on Turkish culture as being more advanced or enlightened than English culture has already been noted in relation to her opinions and observations on Turkish women, and again we can see that in adopting Turkish medical practices deemed fashionable 'amongst an illiterate and unthinking People'[43] by English medical men (including apothecaries), Lady Mary shows the 'old' or backward eastern culture to be the more enlightened. By the time Scott was writing *Ivanhoe*, Lady Mary's practices had become the standard preventative measure against contracting the smallpox virus, her attitude to these practices was considered to be enlightened and progressive by the mid-eighteenth century, and she was lauded for 'conferring health and life to thousands'.[44] I would like to suggest that Rebecca's healing abilities are linked to patriotism in a similar way. David Simpson has noted that 'Rebecca's education as described in the novel is ... completely rational and conventional; she is the diligent student of a gifted teacher, and her extraordinary talents come by ordinary means',[45] yet he also observes that as a healer 'she remains always threatening' as a potential sorceress.[46] Her methods for healing remain mysterious to others:

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[42] Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 220.

[43] William Wagstaffe, *A Letter to Dr. Friend* (London: Butler, 1722), 6; quoted in Halsband, 'New Light', 400.

[44] James Burges, *An account of the preparation and management necessary to inoculation*, 1754, 3-4; quoted in Halsband, 'New Light', 405.

[45] David Simpson, "'Which is the merchant here? and which the Jew?": Friends and Enemies in Walter Scott's Crusader Novels', *Studies in Romanticism*, 47 (Winter 2008), 441.

[46] Simpson, "'Which is the merchant here? and which the Jew?'", 450.

> Rebecca's near-magical healing abilities are not assimilable or properly appreciated by a bigoted population of self-styled patriots who cannot distinguish the human from the purportedly demonic, and who must interpret good as somehow the signature of evil.[47]

Yet, as Keith M. May has argued, Rebecca's exotic body 'houses an enlightened spirit':

> ... for all her exoticism (of dress, for instance) she is an exemplary modern type placed amid the superstitions and rivalries of the twelfth century. She looks forward to an age when healing has become a science rather than a form of magic ... She despises the very spirit of her age, not because she is primitive but because she is, impossibly, a figure of the distant future.[48]

It is through healing that Rebecca most positively expresses her patriotism and commitment to England, and it is through this role that she is most able to articulate her unquestioning loyalty to her people who await her in Spain.

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In traversing borders, Rebecca evokes the idea of a cultural frontier. When she takes leave of Rowena, her thoughts have moved to the tides that will take her and her father far from England. In many ways she has served throughout the novel as a potentially uniting force that lessens the gulf between cultures, sharing with others (in a limited way) the linguistic, religious, political, social and economic world of twelfth-century England; in Graham Tulloch's view

[47] Simpson, "'Which is the merchant here? and which the Jew?'", 450.
[48] Keith M. May, *Characters of Women in Narrative Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1981), 63.

Rebecca 'has a more tolerant recognition' than the Christian characters 'of what the two faiths share'.[49] Yet in the closing scene of the novel, we are left with a strong sense that Rebecca has become a memory, a spectral ghost that haunts Rowena's apartment. 'Even more present in her absence', writes Nadia Valman, 'Rebecca lingers uncannily in Ivanhoe's memory',[50] and as such she represents a liminal frontier space that comes to feature in Scott's later works. In Rebecca, we have the first of Scott's female characters to venture beyond the domestic framework of the novels, and who avoids the 'burnout' that Welsh noted is typical of the dark heroines. As Ann Rigney has pointed out, Rebecca was seen by Harriet Martineau 'as a powerful symbol of female potential' in her wanderings as an 'unemployed' healer.[51] Again, I return to Diana Garofalo's observation that Scott's novels 'offer traces of the present in his historical narratives, which stimulate a sense in the reader of "being there", of seeing oneself in the midst of an action or event that has crucial significance for here and now'.[52] Martineau clearly saw that Rebecca evoked aspects of her own experience in writing about the heroine's relevance to English women in the early 1830s. Yet in moving Rebecca outside of the domestic framework, Scott renders her (briefly) spectral. As Michael Ragussis has noted, 'Rebecca leaves behind the traces of her visit not only in the silver casket, but in the haunting, if immaterial, impression she has made' on Rowena and Ivanhoe.[53] What remains is little more than a haunting, where memory, impression and history become confused. The effect, however, is that the longing for a better world that Rebecca conjures in the final scene is transferred to Rowena and Ivanhoe, as she moves into the future and leaves England to the past. This is a future, however, that in Scott's time had already happened centuries ago. Ivanhoe and Rowena also represent the future, but in a different sense to Rebecca, as they remain as a hope for the renewal through their marriage of a currently ruined, despoiled and neglected land; their union represents the future union of the two races.

[49] Tulloch, 'Ivanhoe and Bibles', 317.
[50] Valman, *The Jewess in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 33.
[51] Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott*, 88-9.
[52] Garofalo, *Women, Love, and Commodity Culture in British Romanticism*, 127.
[53] Ragussis, 'Writing Nationalist History', 205.

Ivanhoe's settlement in England also evokes a theme prevalent in eighteenth-century poetry, such as Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*; the passing of empire from east to west. In many ways, Rebecca's leave-taking is an inversion of Ivanhoe's home-coming, as her future wanderings draw our attention to the recurrence of deracination throughout European history, while Ivanhoe's return draws our attention to the future hopes of the nation. In this way, Scott is able to criticise conflict in Barbauldian terms without presenting his vision as a pessimistic prediction of a future Britain in ruins. Rebecca's alignment with the natural world joins her to the transitory but not necessarily to the future per se (as it is already in the readers' collective sense of the past), and so a dual sense of history emerges wherein Rebecca embodies the transience of the historical chronotope while also moving beyond the framework of the official historical records – the standard history that briefly reports the death of King Richard – that structure the abrupt ending of the novel.

Throughout the thesis, we have seen, in the selection of novels discussed, the representation of women on the fringes of war and politics, making their presence more felt than known, often as witnesses to the 'Big Bow-wow strain'[54] of events that unfold over the duration of each novel. In this way, whether from their apartments or from the battlements of a castle, women have entered the 'historicity' of the novel, visible to the reader but often discretely out of sight of the other characters who are more directly involved in the events that are being witnessed. Even the highly visible Rebecca is shielded from the sight of the knights as they engage in battle below the castle battlements from which she views them, and only Scott's narrator, the reader and Ivanhoe

[54] The 'Big Bow-wow strain' is of course Scott's term for his own style of writing, as juxtaposed with the style of Jane Austen, who he claims possessed an 'exquisite touch' in delineating contemporary manners; Walter Scott, *The Journal of Walter Scott*, edited by W.E.K. Anderson (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972), entry for 14 March 1826, 114.

are able to see what she is up to. Whether the heroine is a reader who is comfortable in the confines of her apartment, or a wanderer who is compelled by conscience to move amongst her people to carry out the 'social claim' that is being made of her, the women still largely move behind the scenes, and Scott reveals painterly glimpses that establish the interiority of the heroines, an important aspect that would otherwise be lost from the novel's sense of history in the antiquary-narrator's focus on the reporting of military and political events. It might be claimed that the role of the witness is central to our idea of historiography: in one sense, the historian purports to achieve the position of objective witness to events as they unfold, or at least to report, analyse and record retrospectively the various accounts by witnesses of events. This can be achieved from the peripheries; indeed, the role of historical witness necessitates removal from the action, as the observer must work from a position outside the scenes of historical events as they unfold. For Scott, women are ideally placed to be such objective observers.

I return to these themes in the final chapter of Part Two in a discussion of Scott's final, unfinished work, *Bizarro*. Unlike the other works discussed in the course of the thesis, *Bizarro* sits awkwardly outside the Scott canon, as a kind of illegitimate child; it is a fragment, and was not considered fit to be published during the final months of Scott's life. For many reasons, but mainly due to its being composed after the final form of the Magnum edition ending with *The Surgeon's Daughter* had been determined, *Bizarro* was not included as part of the final edition of the Waverley novels, an edition that has been viewed as a 'fittingly complex conclusion to Scott's lifetime of inventing stories' (in Fiona Robertson's words).[55] *Bizarro*, then, is not framed within the personal history of its author, and sits as a kind of coda to the phenomenon of the Author of Waverley and his Waverley novels. The following seeks to briefly contextualise *Bizarro* in Ian Duncan's recent discussion of Scott's late works, to look at the ways in which Scott has drawn on themes that recur in the earlier works, but also to look at how Scott has drawn on the formal

[55] Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*, 123.

characteristics of earlier novels; for example, his employment of witnesses and depositions as narrative devices which structure the plot but also set in place narrative perspectives. I argue that a shift has taken place in the generic structure of *Bizarro*; while it still has historical-romance elements it is perhaps better understood as a prototype of the detective novel, in which the historical-romance tropes function to provide the mystery that must be resolved through sleuthing and the collecting of witness statements. A discussion of the incomplete *Bizarro* is also important to this thesis, as its young heroine, Monica, participates directly in the historical events of the novel. Unlike Rose Bradwardine, Scott's first reading heroine, who uses her intelligence and learning to act behind the scenes to influence events, and unlike Rebecca, Scott's first frontier heroine, who witnesses and offers critical commentary on the events in which she has momentarily been involved, Monica is implicated in the violence of the guerrilla-like warfare that marks the action of the novel, and rather than acting as the anonymous emancipator or the witness of events, her actions are witnessed and used as evidence by others.

In his introduction to the Penguin edition of *Ivanhoe*, Graham Tulloch has explored how the Middle Ages afforded Scott the opportunity to explore the intersection of romance and history in the 'crucial connecting point' of chivalry.[56] Scott renders 'romance of event and historical realism of character' through the social matrix of chivalry, and he is able show how romance might move towards history, and history towards romance;[57] chivalry is essentially historicised romance-in-action. In turning to the Middle Ages as a setting for *Ivanhoe*, Scott was able to dissolve the differences between history and romance that had always been a concern for him when writing his earlier novels. In making chivalry the focus of his novel, Scott was able to present history and romance as one and the same: 'the conflict between the two', writes Tulloch, 'is dissolved'.[58] In shifting his focus in *Bizarro* to more recent events taking place in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, involving the guerrilla-type warfare of the brigands located in the mountains of

[56] Graham Tulloch, 'Introduction', in Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), xx.
[57] Tulloch, 'Introduction', in Scott, *Ivanhoe* (Penguin, 2008), xiv.
[58] Tulloch, 'Introduction', in Scott, *Ivanhoe* (Penguin, 2008), xxii.

Sicily and Naples, Scott again struck out into new generic territory. While the characters are historically realistic and the events and setting 'Byronically' romantic, there is no room in the story for chivalry as a subject that might provide a place of convergence for history and romance to meet. In *Bizarro*, history and romance are both incipient; Scott's last tale relates a world in which society, history and romance are all in the act of becoming while the country and its people are still in thrall to a situation of 'total war'. Tulloch has pointed out that Scott was critical of the code of chivalry in *Ivanhoe*. Not only does the chivalric code fail women but in some cases it allows in its fantastic rhetoric for women to be legitimately victimised; however, in *Bizarro* there is no code of any kind to protect women from violence.

CHAPTER TEN

Scott's Final Romantic Researches:

Bizarro and the Beginnings of the Detective Novel

In April 1832 Scott was touring around the south of Italy. During a stay in Naples, he had the opportunity of hearing a local legend of a bandit and his wife, and it so struck him that he recorded this tale in his journal under the title 'Death of El Bizarro.'[1] It is a story of the captain of a gang of banditti, a native of Calabria, who finds himself and his party, including his wife and infant, surrounded by French troops whilst hiding out in the mountains. When his frightened child cries out, a noise that threatens to compromise the secrecy of the location of the banditti's hiding place, the bandit murders him. The tale has quickly taken an extremely violent turn, and so we perhaps do not expect the next escalation of violence. The mother takes revenge that night, while her husband is asleep; she shoots him, then severs his head from his body and offers it up to the authorities for reward. Rather than presenting the woman as victim, this tale reveals her to equal if not surpass her husband's brutality. Scott's fascination with the woman shows in the details he relates:

> His wife had never been very fond of [the bandit] though he trusted her more than any who approach'd him. She had been originally the wife of another man murderd

[1] J.H. Alexander, Judy King and Graham Tulloch, 'Essay on the Text of *Bizarro*', and 'Historical Note on *Bizarro*', in Walter Scott, *The Siege of Malta and Bizarro* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 435 and 464-7.

> by her second husba[nd], which second marriage she was compelled to undergo and to affect at least the conduct of an affectionate wife.[2]

Once the woman had delivered the head to the local authorities she seems to have entered into the living history of the region, her actions recorded in the legal records. Scott relates, 'This female still lives, a stately, dangerous looking woman yet scarce ill thought of considering the provocation.'[3] Several publications from the early 1830s relate a similar tale. Major Sir Grenville Temple, whose *Excursions in the Mediterranean* was published in 1836, just four years after Scott commenced writing the unpublished *Bizarro*, relates the story of a 'female whom [the locals] regard as a sort of historical personage, the wife of a famous chief of banditti, and who had herself been deprived of her ears for some irregularity of conduct':

> One day, while pursued by the French troops, she, together with her husband and their infant, had concealed themselves beneath a bridge; when, just as the soldiers were passing over, the child commenced crying: to prevent its being heard, which would have led to their immediate capture, the brigand caught up his child by the feet and dashed its head to pieces against the stones. The mother never forgave him; and some time after, she was seen approaching a French picket, bearing in her hand, as a peace offering, his bleeding head, which during his slumbers she had herself cut off.[4]

He points to another published rendering of the story that appeared in the *Keepsake Français* of 1831 by a Madame Tercy, which is also too close in detail to Scott's account to leave much doubt

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[2] Scott, *Journal*, 709.

[3] Scott, *Journal*, 710.

[4] Major Sir Grenville Temple, *Excursions in the Mediterranean* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1836), 160. He titles this anecdote 'The Bandit's Wife'.

that the stories dealt with the same 'historical personage'. Her narrative is similar to those which had been related to Scott and Temple, but sees the bandit's wife go mad with grief for her murdered child:

> … her senses were overcome by an atrocious delirium; she screamed out that her child was being murdered before her very eyes, and nothing could restore her sanity; and since that time she runs senseless about the countryside, digging the soil with her bony fingers, seeking the body of her first born.[5]

It appears, then, from this small collection of related but discrete tales that the woman had achieved the status of local legend; the basic tale remains the same, yet with each telling there are embellishments. Temple's anecdote and Madame Tercy's short story, although published, do not provide the wife with the same psychological interest as did Scott in his unpublished fragment. In Scott's hands, the bandit's wife is shown to have her own history which is inextricably linked to the political upheaval of the region, and it is implied in the narrative that she is an active participant in the events that unfold, rather than being a passive victim.

J.H. Alexander, Graham Tulloch and Judy King have identified the woman most likely to be the murderer of the bandit as Nicolina, the second wife of Francesco Moscato, known in Calabria as Il Bizzarro.[6] Nicolina indeed killed her husband, as shown in reports written shortly after and relating to Moscato's death in 1810. Scott heard the tale in 1832, and the event was reported to him as having occurred in Calabria about six years before.[7] It appears that Nicolina had become a tourist attraction and that her legend was perhaps a bit of a money-spinner for the locals. (One also wonders if the 'stately' woman that Scott refers to – presumably he did not

[5] Madame Tercy, 'La Fille de la Veuve et le Brigand de Bovine', in *Keepsake Français* (London: Whittaker Treacher, 1831), 228-32. English translation by Etiennette Fennell, 2012.

[6] 'Historical Note', *Bizarro*, 467-68.

[7] It is also possible that Scott misremembered the date, as he appears to refer to the time of French occupation but also claims that he heard the story six years earlier, and the French had lost control of the region in 1815.

meet her, although given the vivacity of his description it is possible that he may have seen her from a distance – is the same woman that had killed her husband over twenty years prior to Scott's trip; given that she had been living rough for several decades her demeanour might no longer be considered stately). Scott, who appears to have heard the tale for the first time, and who appears unaware of Madame Tercy's short story (which had been published in London in 1831), enthusiastically got down to work on composing the first five chapters of the ultimately unfinished manuscript.[8] Furthermore, Scott seems attracted to the story for its potential to explore the psychology of a woman who has been pushed to extremes, and who retaliates with equal violence, making her an active agent rather than a victim whose only option is to fall into madness.

Bizarro is set among the mountainous country of early nineteenth-century Calabria, a wild landscape marked by 'storms, electricity, the volcano, and the earthquake';[9] a region that produces equally wild and unpredictable people, and that was renowned for the prevalence of banditry. The story (which I recount here, as the plot forms the basis for speculation on motive) begins conventionally for Scott, and traces old romance-ground as it follows the fortunes and misfortunes of Hubert Wegweiser, a German-born ex-soldier residing in Calabria as warden of the hunt in the Forest of Apri. A widower, he has indulged his only daughter, Monica, from infancy. As a young woman, she is a 'lighthearted lass'[10] who is accustomed to ruling the house. She is also a crack shot, possessing 'personal strength',[11] is above average height, and is never to be seen without her carbine. Hubert arranges for Monica to marry Antonio, his protégé and ward, an orphan that he supported since infancy and then apprenticed. Monica is pleased that her father has chosen to marry her to a handsome and active young man, yet there seems to be a common understanding among the village gossips that Monica preferred another youth of the

[8] The editors note that it is not known whether or not Scott finished *Bizarro*, but that given his Italian travel itinerary, 'it seems unlikely that he had time to write more than the extant fragment' (438).
[9] Scott, *Bizarro*, 161.
[10] Scott, *Bizarro*, 176.
[11] Scott, *Bizarro*, 176.

village, the charming and charismatic Domenichino, a poacher-cum-bandit who would later adopt 'Il Bizarro' as his 'honourable nom de guerre'.[12] Monica and Antonio marry and their union is cause for further village gossip, some insisting that Monica has jilted Domenichino and that the rejected lover will take revenge. Monica had been seen regularly in the village speaking intimately with Domenichino, and Antonio reports to Hubert that Domenichino has threatened violence on anyone who dares to seek Monica's hand in marriage. Domenichino discovers the engagement of Monica to Antonio from Hubert who warns him off; Domenichino sends a warning against Hubert, who dismisses the threat as bravado, and then later makes a more public warning within Hubert's hearing that there will be trouble. On the night of the public warning, a group breaks into Hubert's dwelling through a window weakened by a broken frame and murders both Hubert and Antonio before they can put up a proper fight. Monica is missing.

At this point, at the end of the fourth chapter, the narrative shifts its focus from the events surrounding Monica's wedding and early wedded life to the endeavours of the local police to discover what has happened and to bring the criminals to justice. It is at this point that the novel begins to resemble a detective story. As a 'Calabrian Tale of Recent Date', as the subtitle of the novel suggests, *Bizarro* is set in a territory that had only recently arrested the attention of the British during the Napoleonic Wars. The subtitle also suggests that it is a tale of history still unfolding and not yet quite decided, with the continuing 'dislocation of whatever resembled civil society' throughout all regions of Italy.[13] Through the investigations of a French Colonel Larchant, who is aided by an old officer of the Sbirri in offering his practical knowledge of the region and its people, we learn from a couple of elderly goatherds that Monica had been sighted with a group of brigands. The reader, alongside Colonel Larchant, is presented with varying accounts of what might have happened prior to and since the murders of Hubert and Antonio. The narrative, then, becomes restricted to two forms of disclosure. Two competing forms of

[12] Scott, *Bizarro*, 167.
[13] Scott, *Bizarro*, 159.

'testimony' are offered to the reader; the assertions of village gossips and the conjectures of eyewitness testimony. Furthermore, we must navigate unfamiliar terrain without the directing opinions of an omniscient antiquarian-editor working from written manuscripts. The tale is apparently told from the perspective of an anonymous antiquarian-traveller who seeks to understand and explain the volatile country through its stories. It has already been established by Scott in Chapter Two that it would be a complicated undertaking to ascertain Domenichino's 'reputation in history':[14]

> It would be difficult, from the hasty records preserved by public tradition and containing many a deed of violence and slaughter, to select the first which distinguished our hero among persons of his own description, or conferred upon him the honourable nom de guerre of Il Bizarro, by which was understood a ruffian, not only characterising him for the shrewdness and address by which this bravo's enterprizes were marked, but with the audacity and bravery, as well as the daring inhumanity, with which they were hatched and conducted to their terrible determination. Let it suffice to say that the reputation which this man had formed to himself, frightful as it was for the crimes he had committed with a sort of [stoicism][15] unnaturally and unnecessarily hideous, had only to be recounted to excite a sense of cold-blooded atrocity dextrously contrived.[16]

The antiquarian-narrator, whose reluctance to relate the 'tiresome' details regarding Domenichino's history 'in proper order'[17] shows him to be somewhat selective,[18] prefers to

[14] Scott, *Bizarro*, 164.
[15] The editors realised the word here was 'stoicism' rather than 'scheme' (as it is currently printed in the EUP edition), had changed it in the transcription, but did not change it in the edited text (Graham Tulloch, private correspondence).
[16] Scott, *Bizarro*, 167.
[17] Scott, *Bizarro*, 167.

'relate one incident which bore deep upon his character, and appears to have actually proved decisive of his fate'.[19] Our restricted purview means that the competing accounts of what has happened on the night of the murders can be only entertained as probable. History is once again gathered into the folds of romance.

From the goatherds' description of Monica, we learn something of her plight. The old officer asks the woman, Julia Littina, 'Did she seem their companion willingly, or was she carried along with them by force?'[20] The old woman replies, 'If one woman is a judge of another's sobs and tears, she was carried with them by force, and felt like one who had sustained a deep injury; and I was sorry for the poor child, and would have helped her if I had dared, but I dared not for my life, and there was no one to aid me but my poor old man', her goatherd husband, Gaspar Giusto.[21] Her testimony is as compulsive and subjective as the gossip of the village women, and the idea of evidential truth has already been undermined at several points by the narrator. Scott continues to mediate our access to Monica's and Domenichio's histories through a series of disordered and dislocated stories.

The old woman goes on to describe how Monica is led on a donkey by a group of ill-looking men who surround her. Her face is smeared with dust and tears. She is being led down into the Devil's Gorge where a Capuchin friar is waiting to marry her to Domenichino. We discover from Julia that the friar senses that Monica has not consented to the marriage, and he observes her to be a 'desperate looking wretch'.[22] The fifth chapter abruptly ends here. As the editors of *Bizarro* have noted, Scott suffered several strokes while in Italy and while he managed to write five chapters, the long illness leading up to his death in September 1832 almost certainly prevented him from completing the manuscript.[23]

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[18] Scott, *Bizarro*, 167.
[19] Scott, *Bizarro*, 167-8.
[20] Scott, *Bizarro*, 188.
[21] Scott, *Bizarro,* 185.
[22] Scott, *Bizarro*, 188.
[23] Alexander, King and Tulloch, 'Essay on the Text', in Scott, *Bizarro*, 438.

So what can we glean from this fragment? Monica is unlike any of Scott's young heroines; tall in stature she is reminiscent of the older gypsy Meg Merrilies from *Guy Mannering*, or the wife of outlaw Rob Roy, Helen Macgregor. Like *St. Ronan's Well*'s Clara Mowbray, who is more of her age, Monica Wegweiser is left to her own devices and is placed in a position of being unprotected in society. But unlike Clara, or any of Scott's more conventional heroines, Monica knows how to use a gun and her father has no doubt about her ability to defend herself if she has a need to.

At the point of her abduction, Monica has experienced several weeks or even months of marital bliss with a man she did not directly choose but who is agreeable to her. The narrative brings into question whether Monica had thrown over Domenichino, jilting him after her father shows his preference for Antonio, and whether she had then chosen to return to him after being persuaded that her marriage to Antonio is a sham (as the village gossips suggest). This is supported by Domenichino's claim to the Capuchin friar that Monica had agreed to marry him that morning. These questions are not resolved at the beginning of the fifth chapter, and they form the basis of the Sbirri's inquiries.

It might be argued that the suffering evident in Monica's face, as testified by Julia, is enough to prove her innocence. It is certainly enough to raise doubt of her guilt, and it stands as a strong contradictory statement to those offered by the village gossips.[24] If we believe the old woman's testimony, which is given at considerable risk to her own life (and it appears that we are meant to take her testimony seriously, despite her comic demeanour) then it is likely Monica has sustained a deep injury. Her evident distress may be due to the loss of her father and husband, both of whom she has seen murdered in cold blood, but I think it also hints at her rape, which would account (albeit speculatively in my projected reading of the later chapters that were left unwritten) for the appearance of an infant child (in line with the local legend). Despite relating

[24] Interestingly, Scott bases the gossips' account on a 'secondary source' that he heard in Naples and recorded in his journal on 19 March 1832 (Alexander, King and Tulloch, 'Historical Note', *Bizarro*, 466).

the gruesome details of the murder, which he feels able to describe under the caveat of sensationalism, Scott is unable to explicitly refer to Monica's rape as taking place. The effect is to create a mystery surrounding the gruesome events in which Monica participates, to make room for village gossip as a competing authority against witness testimony, to establish Monica's presence in the investigation as a piece of evidence to be 'read', and finally, to explore the ways in which histories both illegitimate (from gossip) and legitimate (from legal records) might emerge out of one event and in the process of weighing up gossip, testimony and legal record demonstrate fictionally how it is that history and romance are intertwined and inseparable when tracing an event as it unfolds.

Scott would not have been thinking of himself as writing a detective novel. The genre would not be fully developed until Edgar Allen Poe published his series of mysteries featuring the proto-detective Auguste Dupin in the early 1840s.[25] But it is clear that the fifth chapter works as a deposition, and it points to the further involvement of Colonel Larchant in solving the mystery behind the murder of Hubert and Antonio and, we can assume, in solving the mystery of Monica's involvement in the murders. The testimony of the old woman stands in direct contrast to the gossip of the villagers who assume that Monica's early flirtations with Domenichino are proof of her consent to go with him, and proof that she had colluded in her husband's and father's deaths.

Scott's interest in crime and sleuthing is as evident in *Bizarro* as in many of his earlier novels, especially *Rob Roy* and *Redgauntlet*. Yet in *Bizarro*, the practice of sleuthing is the crux of the story, and the establishment of facts is central to the way in which the plot unfolds. There is nothing methodical about Frank Osbaldistone's and Darsie Latimer's attempts to know the histories of certain people and events, and the plots are woven out of the misreadings and misunderstandings of both characters that form the fabric of each novel. This shift might be

[25] A.E. Murch, *The Development of the Detective Novel* (London: Peter Owen, 1958), 9.

accounted for by an interest shown by Scott in a new and original type of picaresque tale that emerged out of post-Napoleonic France.

In February 1829, Scott recorded in his journal that he was reading 'part of a curious work calld *Memoirs of Vidocque*, a fellow who was at the head of Bonaparte's police':

> It is a *picaresque* tale, in other words a romance of roguery. The whole seems much exaggerated and got up but I suppose there is truth *au fond*.[26]

Scott had requested a copy from the *Foreign Quarterly* (where it had been reviewed) and had read it in February and March 1829,[27] a few years prior to travelling through Naples. Eugène François Vidocq's *Memoires* were hugely popular and influential throughout Europe. In her early study of crime fiction, *The Development of the Detective Novel*, A.E. Murch has placed Vidocq's picaresque series of anecdotes about his time as 'the first real-life professional detective'[28] as the most significant prototype for the later detective novel:

> His *Mémoires* gave detailed accounts of how he conducted the various investigations entrusted to him, almost all of them concerned with robberies or frauds carried out by organised gangs, and described his shrewd methods. … These innumerable little stories of practical detective work, many of them almost certainly fictional … follow much the same pattern; stating the 'case'; explaining the reasons for every action, every deduction; relating the steps in the pursuit of the criminal; and recording their arrest.[29]

[26] Scott, *Journal*, entry for Saturday 28th of February 1829, 525. Scott was composing *Anne of Geierstein* at the time.
[27] Scott, *Journal*, 525-6. Anderson references *Letters*, xi, 132, in his note 6, 525.
[28] Murch, *The Development of the Detective Novel*, 41.
[29] Murch, *The Development of the Detective Novel*, 43.

With a memory steeped in Scots law and an imagination nourished by the successes of his early 'romantic researches', it is a small step to see the reason why Scott was so interested in Vidocq's anecdotes, and I suggest that Scott transferred Vidocq's Parisian practical and common-sense methods for catching urban criminals to the rural mountains of Calabria and bestowed the talent for sleuthing on his Colonel Larchant. Unlike in Scott's earlier novels, the sleuth in *Bizarro* establishes an objective perspective in his approach to deducing what has occurred, so it would seem, then, that Scott may have been inspired by the new semi-autobiographical form of Vidocq's sensational narrative in which several steps in deduction are methodically observed.

Scott's evident preoccupation with the concept of sleuthing, or opening up upon a scent, is another indication of where his intentions for the plot of *Bizarro* were directed. Indeed, the motto placed at the beginning of Chapter Five clearly indicates to the reader that we can expect Larchant to be active in tracking down the true murderer; justice is here likened to the bloodhound:

> Thus, when a peaceful land is stained with crime,
> Justice, fierce bloodhound, comes through flames,
> Opens upon the scent with fatal quest,
> And strives to wake her hunters on the prey.[30]

Scott had relished the word 'sleuth' on several occasions throughout his writing career. He mentions the 'sleuth-bratch' in his notes to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*,[31] and in the first volume of *Tales of a Grandfather* he notes the origins of the word in relation to bloodhounds, or 'sleuth-hounds,' dogs known for taking up the *sleut* or scent.[32] As Evan Gottlieb has noted, Sir

[30] Scott, *Bizarro*, 183. The editors suggest that the lines are Scott's (n. 183.10-13, 504).
[31] Walter Scott, *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*, Vol. VI (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1832-4), 241-2.
[32] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, Vol. 1, 127.

Kenneth's dog in *The Talisman* 'plays a central role in resolving the plot (by literally sniffing out the perpetrator of the theft for which Sir Kenneth had been blamed)'.[33]

Scott's evident interest in the use of bloodhounds in sleuthing might also indicate that he had in mind for Colonel Larchant to be led into the hills by his own hound, a plot that would echo a segment of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* when it is noted that William of Deloraine 'by desperate bounds' could baffle 'Percy's best blood-hounds'.[34] It would seem that Scott's associative literary memory was again at play when composing *Bizarro*, recalling earlier sleuthing plots and applying the idea to Vidocq's new detective form. As the editors of *Bizarro* have noted, Scott's imagination was perceived by the celebrated antiquary William Gell to return frequently to his native Scotland through quoting snatches of verse while he explored the land and culture of Naples.[35] Similarly Ian Duncan has also noted that while Scott's late work was marked by darker visions of society, the late novels and stories also reveal a long-term commitment to returning to themes that preoccupy the earlier Scottish novels, and maintain a standard of innovation in form that characterises the early novels.[36]

Finally, it is worth noting that Scott's last heroine was given the name 'Wegweiser,' in German literally meaning 'sign' or 'marker' but figuratively meaning 'guide'.[37] The metaphor for romantic historiography that we noted in the introduction to the thesis, the damaged tapestry, has given way to the emblem of the guide. Rather than the dust of history obscuring the traces of women, the woman stands as evidence of those effects, her subjective perspective – the dust mingled with the tears on her face – becomes historicised. The traces of history become feminised in the earthy physicality of the wild landscape; the psychogeography of Byron's *The*

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[33] Evan Gottlieb, *Walter Scott and Contemporary Theory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 127.

[34] Scott, *Poetical Works*, Vol. VI, 62 and 241-2, n. 1.

[35] While the editors have noted that Scott took in a great deal more of his surroundings than Gell realised, it is also the case that the reveries that Gell describes are typical of those associative remembrances of literary fragments that Catherine Jones has established as typical of Scott's creative process.

[36] Ian Duncan, 'Late Scott,' in Fiona Robertson (ed), *The Edinburgh Companion to Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 131.

[37] Michael Jelden, *German-English English-German Concise Dictionary* (New York: Hippocrene, 2003), 227.

Bride of Abydos, the sentiments of which Scott transfers to Calabria when quoting from the poem as the motto to the first chapter, allows Scott to consider what history might look like when the gun is in the woman's hands. The woman is still central to the image, but she has shifted from being the fabricator of tales, a peripheral figure who pulls together the threads of history in order to weave a romance that might speak of women's experience, to the fleeting figure who is to be researched because she has imprinted her trace; Monica's history, her actions and the establishment of the truth surrounding the motives for her actions, are what is at stake. The traces made on her dirty face by the path of her tears, signs that are read by Julia and then, by proxy, the Sbirri, substantiate the materiality of women's history; in Scott's final 'romance of roguery' Monica embodies the essence of truth (the 'truth *au fond*') that constitutes the intersection of history and romance. The historical heroine is no longer peripheral, but central as a woman who will define her own fate in murdering her (second) husband and surviving to tell the tale. Monica's history is not just 'worth knowing'; it is imperative that it be known. Hers is a romantic tale of women's history in the making, a romance that speaks to a new sense of post-Waterloo history that is always in the process of forming, and, since the Napoleonic wars, defined by the contingencies and casualties of total war, a kind of war that is felt at all levels of society.

In *Bizarro*, Scott draws our attention to the problems of defining what counts as evidence – gossip or eyewitness testimony, both notoriously unreliable as sources of truth – and then presents the further problems involved in the romantic research of collecting and interpreting the stories; the narrator has, to a degree, done the job for us, sifting through competing stories to focus on one incident that might be representative of the whole. Antoinette Burton suggests that the fragmented nature of the archive is at heart the most significant problem for historians in general:

> If we fail to recognize how historical practice (or, indeed, any practice of looking) is in danger of reassembling and recalcifying what counts as evidence – and, in turn, what 'looks' like it belongs to the domain of the social or the cultural or the political – we miss a valuable opportunity to interrogate our investments in those domains.[38]

Scott was acutely aware when writing *Bizarro* that he should not miss that valuable opportunity to interrogate his long-term investment in the practice of plundering the archive while knowing at the same time that the information that it proffers is inadequate. When writing about women in history, Scott seems to have allowed himself much freedom to imagine and speculate on what might have happened to them; in *Bizarro*, this directly translates to the Sbirri's interest in speculating on what might have happened. The romantic research is no longer a trope, but a structuring feature of the plot. But what becomes most evident is that Scott is able to use to his advantage his acceptance that women's experiences had largely been left out of the archive; knowing what has happened to Nicollina, and determining the effects of her 'social claim' in killing her husband, is the central quest of Scott's final romantic researches.

[38] Antoinette Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 66-7.

CONCLUSION

Womankind, Scott's Immortality, and the Romance of Abbotsford

In the days immediately after his death, Scott's great accomplishment as the author of the Waverley novels was celebrated in several grand theatrical displays.[1] Scott was lauded as 'The Bard' in masques performed in London during the final months of 1832, and as these theatrical pieces were typically performed in remembrance of Shakespeare, they quite ostentatiously paid tribute to Scott as the second Shakespeare. As noted by Philip H. Mansell, highlights included *tableaux vivants* of characters from the Waverley novels, mimicking the high Elizabethan pageantry that formed tributes to Shakespeare and that had been celebrated in Scott's own *Kenilworth*. A unique feature of the Scott tributes that differed from those offered to Shakespeare was the incorporation of the interior of Abbotsford as theatrical scenery. 'A view of the Bard's study' was featured in a tribute to Scott performed at Sadler's Wells on the 15th of October. A fortnight later, as reported in the *Times* on 30 October, *Vision of the Bard*, a masque written by the Irish playwright James Sheridan Knowles was staged at Covent Garden. The account is worth quoting here at length:

> In Dryburgh Abbey, seen by moon-light, the tomb of Scott is discovered, occupying the centre of the foreground. A poet in the garb of Scotland enters, and after uttering some verses of eulogium on the genius of the departed bard, and of lament for his loss, deposits on his tomb a funeral chaplet … A slumber falls upon the mourner, and he reclines upon a bank. Fancy then enters and

[1] H. Philip Bolton has outlined the masque in tribute to Scott as 'Various Medleys of Scenes' in *Scott Dramatized* (London: Mansell, 1992), 494-5.

> invokes the genii of England and Ireland, and the Spirit of the Mountains, who assemble round the tomb, and unite in bewailing the fate of him who, while alive, had shared their best gifts, and worn them to his honour no less than to his own. Immortality then rises from the tomb, consoles their griefs by pointing to the lasting fame the poet has achieved, and to the undecaying monument which his genius has built upon his works. The clouds which have ushered the approach of Immortality then dissipate, and the tomb disappears; in the distance are shown a succession of pictures representing scenes from some of the best of that series of novels which have been long the delight of this age [the article describes a few of these scenes in detail: the final two scenes that are next described are the most relevant to this discussion] … In the dim twilight vaults of a mouldering abbey, Old Mortality is seen engaged in the vain but pious task of endeavouring to save from the ravages of time and neglect the names of the men who, in struggling for freedom of religious opinions, wrought out and established their civil liberties. The last scene represents the Court of Elizabeth in the castle of Kenilworth. The series of *tableaux* thus concluded, a change ensues which represents Abbotsford, as it may be centuries hence, where a festival is held in commemoration of Scott, and which the various personages who have occupied the preceding scenes are disposed into various groups.[2]

It is vital for the nostalgic effect of the masque that Scott be evoked through Old Mortality and then Elizabeth at Kenilworth castle before presenting a vision of a future jubilee celebrating Scott (a performance a few weeks later at the Theatre Royal at Aberdeen quite specifically suggests the year 3664).[3] In a Barbauldian vision of a future Britain, lovers of literature celebrate

[2] Quoted in Bolton, *Scott Dramatized*, 494.
[3] Bolton, *Scott Dramatized*, 495.

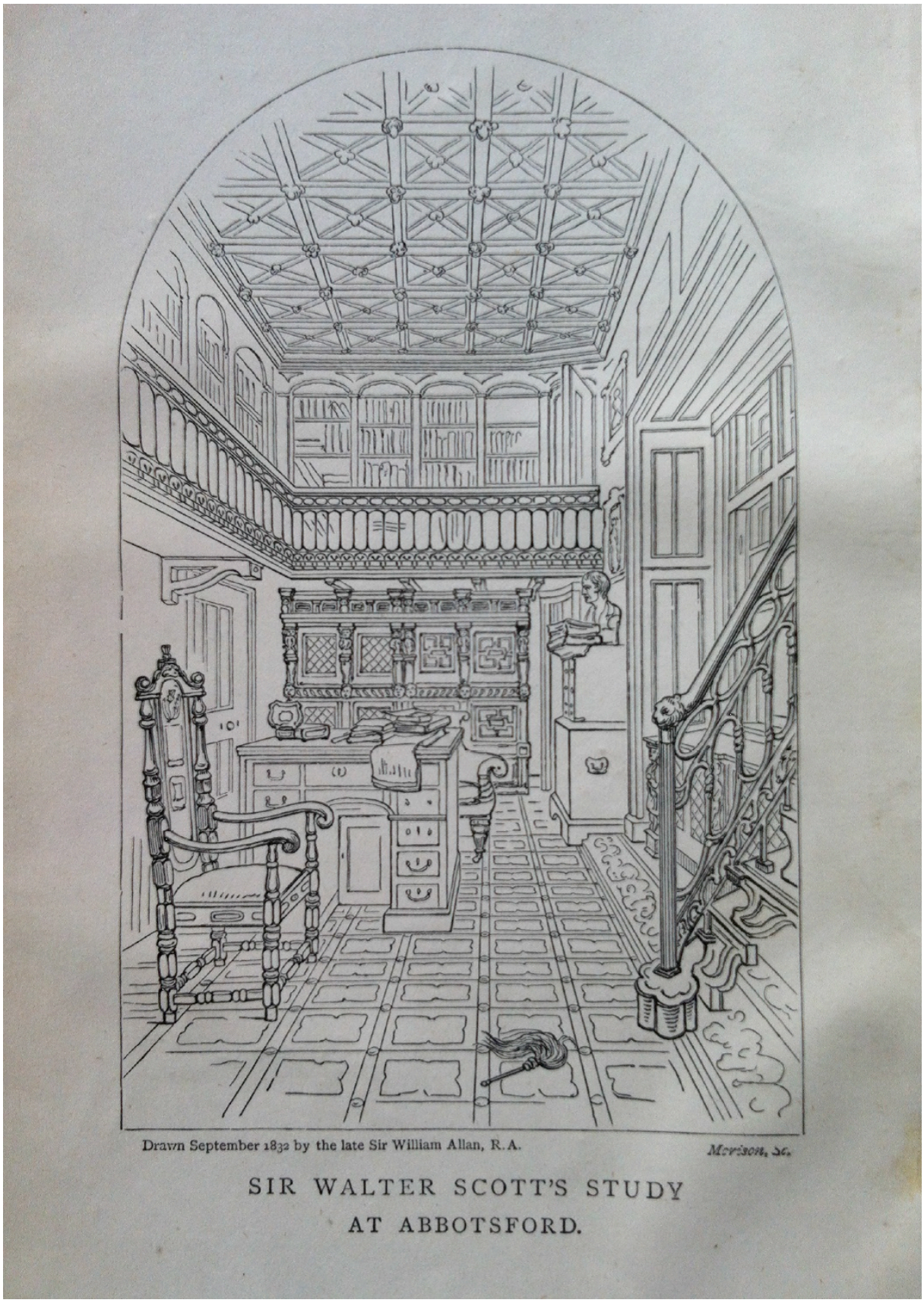

Figure 15 William Allan, *Sir Walter Scott's Study at Abbotsford*, 1832. Frontispiece to Volume 3 of the Copyright Edition of the Waverley Novels (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1868), n.p.

the life and achievements of Walter Scott in pilgrimage to Abbotsford. Old Mortality, preoccupied with his romantic researches, shows us the correct way to commemorate through memory, ritual and preservation, and to show our commitment to the liberties that Scott enshrined in the imagined community of the Waverley novels. The appearance of Queen Elizabeth in the ultimate scene before the ensuing 'change' to Scott's study links Kenilworth, the site of Olden Time, with Abbotsford, and feminises the principles that Old Mortality represents. Elizabeth is the link between his researches and Scott's conception of history. Scott is enshrined and immortalised in Olden Time, a chronotope presided over by the Faerie Queene Elizabeth.

In September 1832, William Allan was also at work on an illustration of Scott's study at Abbotsford as a commemorative celebration of the author. Allan's illustration of Scott's study at Abbotsford, completed shortly after Scott's death, is remarkable for its articulation of Scott's literary legacy in depicting a room entirely absent of figures. In this case, absence is presence. As with the Abbotsford represented in the pageant, Allan's Abbotsford draws on Scott's own myth making and celebrates his capacity to fictionalise his life, and to live out his fictions, as in the case of *Reliquiae Trotcosienses*, where he assumes the persona of Jonathan Oldbuck to itemise his objects and books at Abbotsford. Scott encouraged his readers to think of him in terms of the comic Oldbuck, and Allan is able to rely on this immediate connection in the minds of Scott's readers, making an indirect reference to the famous scene where the womankind of Monkbarns raise volumes of dust while attempting to clean Oldbuck's sanctum sanctorum. The sanctum at Abbotsford is no longer inhabited by its *genius loci*, but he haunts the scene. A door is left open, books are stacked upon books. All that remains out of place is the discarded feather duster, a trace of womankind that stands for the collective mourning of Scott as the 'jester-artist'[4] dons his final disguise in death. Allan's final vision of the Abbotsford study celebrates the intimately feminine and domestic aspect of Scott's public life. Like Rizzio's bloodspot, and Shakespeare's remains, Scott's imaginary dust should be respectfully preserved for posterity.

[4] Wilt, *Secret Leaves*, 7.

Throughout this thesis I have been drawing connections between the arguably feminine and certainly domestic materiality of Scott's historical imagination, and the role romance plays for Scott in imaginatively evoking the experiences of women who had traditionally been left out of the historical record. Allan's image, which may have influenced or perhaps was influenced by the tribute masques that were being performed in Scott's memory, summarises much of what I have attempted to argue: through his female characters Scott was able to remove a little of the dust from the archives. And as Ann Rigney has recently noted, for Scott 'objects play an active role in the unfolding of the plot as characters react to them or engage imaginatively with them':

> In Scott's world objects are agents with a capacity to trigger emotion and memories in the humans who react to them ... Scott's historical imagination was profoundly attuned to materiality.[5]

By the time Allan was composing his illustration, the women of the Waverley novels had become synonymous with Scott's romance of, and with, the archive. Moving behind the scenes, women are the stage managers of history, often invisible agents who are revealed through everyday domestic practices (the traces that archaeologists, and before them antiquaries, look for as evidence of how people lived in past times). I have been arguing that one of the unique qualities of Scott's historicised female characters is that he often chose to represent them as they had been represented in the historical record, as absent or out of view, and that this is a limitation of historiography that might be redressed with romance. Allan's illustration is a potent visualisation of this point.

The tableau vivant of Elizabeth at Kenilworth and Allan's 'Sir Walter Scott's Study at Abbotsford' both reference the associations of Scott's women as guardians of history, and

[5] Ann Rigney, 'Things and the Archive: Scott's Materialist Legacy', *Scottish Literary Review*, 7.2 (Autumn/Winter 2015), 18.

historical agents who leave traces: at Abbotsford, womankind enters history by giving it a good dusting, a whimsical reference to Scott's own obsession with the dust of antiquity. The duster represents history as process, through revelation (through the removal of the dust) or erosion (through removing more than just the layer of dust), and through this sign Allan is canonising Scott's literary and antiquarian achievements. The masculine space of Scott's study is feminised, with female labour linked with Scott's genius. This final image of Scott (which aptly reveals him in his absence) shows womankind to be essential to the reproduction of community at Abbotsford, and she presides as the guardian of Scott's literary memory.

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