

HISTORIOGRAPHIC AND LITERARY: THE FUSION OF TWO EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MODES IN SCOTT'S *WAVERLEY*

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A first work is often traditional, and the study of it in the contexts of its traditions often yields fresh insights into the later canon that are as much technical as historical. Just as Shakespeare's early histories, Defoe's first novels, and Tennyson's first poems were shaped by the influences of an earlier age, so too was Scott's *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*. Begun in 1805, though not published until 1814, the novel, both in idea and technique, is a product fashioned largely by eighteenth-century modes. These were personalized by, as Grierson suggests, "a combination in Scott's mind of a solid interest in ... history on the one hand and of romantic fiction on the other, which made him finally the creator of the historical novel."¹ Thus, an examination of *Waverley* in terms of historiography and fiction as conceived by the eighteenth century brings a focus for its study different from that usually allowed.

Though few creditable histories were produced in Augustan England, the spirit of that age was nonetheless historical, as Cassirer shows,² for it raised the central philosophical problems of historiography: perspective and motive force. The "Ancients and Moderns" controversy was exemplary in its attempts to locate correct perspectives of reality (once the reality has been posited), yet while Pope and Swift could treat the controversy satirically, no serious history could be written until it was resolved. Hume's remark as late as 1753 that "there is no post of honour in the English Parnassus more vacant than that of history"³ does not disclaim the very real preoccupation of the age with the classical historians who, it was hoped, would reveal those parallels of ancient perspective and motive that would solve modern controversies. Dryden's interest in Plutarch, Voltaire's efforts in the *Essay on Manners*, and Vico's speculations in the *Common Nature of the Nations* represent attempts from different quarters that helped to establish the tradition of viewing history from the perspective of the unchanging, universal man.

It is to this tradition Scott refers when he asserts in his remarks introductory to *Waverly* "that the object of my tale is more a description of men than manners. A tale of manners, to be interesting, must either refer to antiquity so great as to have become venerable, or it must bear a vivid reflection of those scenes which are passing daily before our eyes, and are interesting from their novelty." And thus Scott shows he will proceed "by throwing the

force of my narrative upon the characters and passions of the actors – those passions common to all men in all stages of society, and which have alike agitated the human heart, whether it throbbed under the steel corslet of the fifteenth century, the brocaded coat of the eighteenth, or the blue frock and white dimity waistcoat of the present day.”⁴ Such remarks are freighted with conceptual implications. First, since Scott writes at a time the Ancients-Moderns question had been answered – or was at least irrelevant – he suggests quite another turn to it, that of the cyclical theory of history. The Enlightenment had reduced history, as Gay says,⁵ to a continuing struggle between the mentality of reason and that of unreason. Such a reduction, itself a historical variant of the old faculty psychology, led to a general scheme of periodization of four epochs that recur throughout history and would continue to do so: the great river civilizations of the Near East, those of Greece and Rome, that of the Christian millennium, and that of “modern times.” The first and third were seen as ages of unreason, myth, and superstition, while the second and fourth were regarded as epochs of reason, rationality, and science. Familiar with Scottish thinkers such as William Robertson and Adam Smith who subscribed to this evolutionary conception of history as well as with teachers who professed it, Scott found the theory further localized in Adam Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Ferguson argued that in spite of its lack of freedom and order, a “rude nation” or primitive society maintained cohesion by means of its “unreasonable” or intuitive blood-ties and loyalty, but when it grew to a “commercial” or civilized state, arts would replace action and thus eventually weaken the fiber of its members.⁶ Yet Scott accepted “the law of the necessary progress of society through successive stages,”⁷ and dramatized it by the final single sovereignty of the House of Hanover which marks the suppression of clan rule and folk society in northern Britain. The thematic conflicts of *Waverley* are in fact variants of this reason-unreason polarity as “civilized” England succeeds in its battle of culture against “primitive” Scotland. This opposition organizes a host of sub-polarities, that contribute to Scott’s idea both of history and of fiction. But more, his remarks invoke shadows of the old Augustan notion that man is always and everywhere the same, a concept produced by influences as diverse as Hobbesian necessity and Lockean uniformity of mind. *Waverley*’s actions are as much determined by event as they are by his own perception of reality, and Scott’s suggestion is that *Waverley* is typical, that any man must behave in the same way in similar circumstances.⁸ His behavior, it can be inferred, is at bottom reaction to events; thus his “waverings” are as much comments on the strength of the forces around him as they are manifestations of his inability to perceive correctly and to act firmly. Still a third implication of Scott’s remarks concerning the reflective nature of a story is highly traditional: that an added dimension of reality can be gained by allusion to past events. As expressed in the religious custom of typology and the Puritan literary tradition of emblemology (in spiritual biographies and autobiographies), contemporary

events not only recalled historical ones, but also implied concepts. In the *Journal of the Plague Year*, for example, Defoe shows that the 1665 plague was not only a contemporary disaster, but also a revisitation of the Biblical plague of the Egyptians, with both events suggesting the punishment of a wicked people. This tradition,⁹ popularized by the spiritual biography, gave art a made myth; events in one's own life could be interpreted both historically and conceptually, and the painter, historian, and novelist had thus a new mode of rendering experience, for details and events had become emblems. Gibbon's use of Roman ruins to objectify the decay of a culture by "irrational" Christianity, Rousseau's use of the "noble savage" as an emblem of the good, natural life, and Boswell's recurring motif of Johnson's mysterious collection of orange peelings to specify his eccentricity, are random examples of the historiographer's attempt to explain perspective and motive by means of provocative emblems and images. They become ultimately a kind of conceptual shorthand. Similarly, by titling and setting his novel's action "sixty years before," by using provocative images of architecture and clothing, and by claiming that past scenes must "bear a vivid reflection of those scenes that are passing daily before our eyes" (I,33), Scott fuses the modes of this emblematic historiography with that of the neo-classic mimetic art.

The recurrence of epoch and emblem in eighteenth-century historiography was aimed always at the isolation of crucial convictions that unify a society at a particular time. This aim provided means, moreover, for the first attempt in historiography to produce a scientific analysis of culture. Gay summarizes the various attempts to isolate specific perspectives in the age by pinpointing "Montesquieu's distinction between forms and principles of government; Turgot's ladder of theological, metaphysical, and positive forms of thought...; Hume's analysis of the religious impulse...; Lessing's speculative account of the evolution of religious beliefs; even Gibbon's feline dissection of Christian meekness insinuating itself into the Roman mind."¹⁰ Such motive-seeking was new to a historiography that had heretofore been little more than journals and memoirs, more records of impressions than assessments of causes. It is probably not too much to say that it was Scott who provided the link between such scientific motive-seeking of the eighteenth century and the illuminated, moving, and anecdotal histories of Carlyle and Macaulay, for it was he who first blended the traditions of historiography with those of the novel. Similarly it is hard to quarrel with the first term of Dame Una Pope-Hennessy's idea that "As the delineation or picturing of an epoch is his aim, to this end he subordinates all sentimental interests."¹¹

That Scott was familiar with these histories and methods is certain. Raleigh suggests that he learned the "stages" theory of history¹² as a student of

Dugald Stewart at Edinburgh, and Johnson shows that in the classes of Alexander Fraser Tytler, himself a disciple of Montesquieu, Scott heard the professor stress “the shaping power of institutions, of heredity, and of environment with an emphasis that was deterministic.”¹³ Moreover, the *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford* reveals his avid interest in historiography made manifest by the listing of many of the histories already mentioned as well as by twenty-three pages of entries of books of Scottish history and topography.¹⁴ It is not therefore surprising that *Waverley* seems concerned with motives or causes that determine the composition of the various cultural ideologies, particularly that of the Jacobite. This interest becomes more clear if Scott can be regarded as a sort of nineteenth-century *philosophe*¹⁵ writing from the perspective of a comfortable and civilized Scotland that in the late eighteenth century was a veritable golden age, as Trevelyan characterizes it,¹⁶ sending south innovators and teachers of engineering, agriculture, medicine, and surgery, as well as Adam Smith, Hume, Smollett, Boswell, and Burns. There was, moreover, a genuine political stability miraculously maintained after the ‘Forty-five had climaxed the breach that the 1707 Act of Union had ironically brought about. Only in such a prosperous calm can serious history be produced: it is no coincidence that not until the late eighteenth century were the first native and systematic critical histories of art, music, and literature produced by Reynolds, Burney, and Johnson among others.¹⁷ Prosperous ages are usually optimistic and conservative, both spirits which consciously seek after past causes to establish present integrity. And if such is Scott’s stance, it provides also a context for his hero’s progress.

A more internal strain of the historiographic tradition can be seen in what has been said of the rhetoric of the age:

The profundity of the contemporary commitment to the idea of society and its norms is suggested even by the image systems that appear repeatedly in the works of the major writers. Eminently social and public images of traveling, architecture, and organized military action and groupings of personified passions and ideas recur in poetry and prose alike. One favorite image is that of various kinds of clothing, used to symbolize the inherited social and institutional forces, ...¹⁸

Such image patterns were extended to art and history-writing, and Scott’s novel in part can be understood by a conceptual analysis of its imagery of architecture and military action and of the ways in which the images become emblems of stages in the hero’s progress.

The architecture suggests the life-style of Edward Waverley and also the

greater culture for which Scott seeks the motives. Most of the scenes at Waverley-Honour, for example, are set in its library,

a large Gothic room, with double arches and a gallery, which contained such a miscellaneous and extensive collection of volumes as had been assembled together, during the course of two hundred years ..., (III,47)

As do Pope biographically and Jane Austen fictionally, Scott here uses the library as a place of withdrawal or retreat from society and makes it one of Edward's favorite haunts. It is, moreover, an "inherited institutional force" for him that emblemizes the present family's withdrawal from the Hanoverian society to which it has long been opposed. Still, the appointments of the room do stress the history of the family's past service to society by the presence of the ancient broadsword that Edward wields in his reveries and by the portrait of old Sir Hildebrand Waverley which looks down on him (VI,65). The force of family spurs Edward to eventual arms and thereby makes of him a living emblem. That done, the family's life is reenacted in small by the hero until he returns to Tully-Veolan to hang a new portrait in its library, one of himself gloriously bedecked in Highland tartan and standing beside the great chieftain of the Clan of Ivor. And "Beside this painting hung the arms which Waverley had borne in the unfortunate civil war" (LXXXI, 510). With a Burkean stress on institutional continuity and the shaping power of tradition, Scott as novelistic historiographer isolates the family as the motive force in this culture. And he shows much the same with the MacIvor influence on Flora.

Properly considered part of the general architecture, Waverley-Honour's landscaping serves as an emblem for Edward's recognition of the family's life that he is destined to reenact. Waverley-Chase

had originally been forest ground, and still, though broken by extensive glades ...retained its pristine and savage character. It was traversed by broad avenues, in many places grown up with brushwood. (IV,54)

Brushwood in the lanes, like dust on the library's books, intensifies the setting for Edward's wool-gathering. For in the scene echoes of the dim past of the family reach him – the defense of the keep above Mirkwood Mere against Richard Crookback and later against Parliamentary Roundheads, the glen over which Queen Bess rode to the hunt, William Waverley's deeds in the Holy Land. Like Pope's grotto at Twickenham, Waverley-Chase belies

the present family's settled facade of behavior. And in the Chase, too, is the family typology that Scott clearly identifies as "splendid yet useless imagery and emblems with which his imagination was stored" (IV,55).

Such emblems typify his private Jacobite world of the past that determines Edward's entrance into the public world of Jacobite present – however useless or anachronistic it may be. But the anachronism has been prepared for by the emblems of the central early settings and is continued in the ancient Gothic edifices of Tully-Veolan and Glennaquoich. In silent opposition to these anachronisms is London, which is modern, Hanoverian, and neo-classic. It is not described visually, but it need not be. It is there; its presence looms as the unimpeachable force of inevitable modernity, a certain emblem of eighteenth-century progress, however morally tainted in the work of Hogarth and Fielding. Its reason, justice, and Parliament suggest a cool and stately architecture that opposes the imagination, revenge, and clan-rule of the Gothic Jacobite. That Edward returns to Tully-Veolan is significant, for the old ideas, having stood neither the tests of combat nor of popular faith, are still real notes in the making of a prudent gentleman who, to the eighteenth-century mind, was indeed a hero.

A more graphic strain of historiography is evident in the climactic chapters of the novel, those concerning the ball at Holyrood and the battle at Preston. As Byron in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (III) would preface the Waterloo conflict with the Duchess of Richmond's ball, Scott uses the Prince's fete (XLIII, 326-334) to produce a perspective of idealism that for Edward contrasts with the reality of the battle, and in the two scenes is a suggestion of his progress in small. Whether or not such a ball occurred is irrelevant. Speaking for such visual historiography, Reynolds had said that

With us History is made to bend and conform to the great idea of Art.¹⁹

For him and for Scott "history painting" was an ideal representation unmarred by the distortions of a particular reality.²⁰ This aesthetic is more mimetic than expressive, and by using this neo-classic technique of balanced yet antithetical scenes Scott reveals the debt he owes to the eighteenth century.

Some details of the battle-scene are cumulatively emblematic of Edward's progress. This kind of conceptual graphics, while popularized by Hogarth, had its origins in the historical paintings of the age, typified by van Blarenherghe's *Battle of Fontenoy* 1745,²¹ a picture that seems a veritable anticipation of Scott's battle at Preston. It covers a wide expanse in which carefully delineated figures grouped in long colorful ranks in the foreground contrast with a vague and generalized background, a technique designed to

render a perspective imitative of reality. The steady, red and blue ranks of the French line the high foreground, their King is poised in dignity, and all look down – a victorious focus – at a scene of their sturdy line of redoubts that cuts across the canvas in a semi-circle. The line has stopped an assault of British and allies who are in disorderly retreat toward the vague horizon, and whose confused colors are violations of the harmonious French landscape. The stability, security, and right of the home forces are in every detail contrasted with the confusion, peril, and wrong of the invaders.

Similarly the spectator approaches the Scott scene in panorama, is attracted to a specific detail, and that detail traces a line of vision back into the scene at large: the general impression is particularized and then harmonized in terms of the whole. Thus the reader, after deriving a general notion of the battle from the anticipation during the night before (XLVI), focuses immediately on the foreground detail of Fergus' clan gaining the firm plain "which had lately borne a large crop of corn" – the realistic details for focusing continue – "But the harvest was gathered in and the expanse was unbroken by tree, bush, or interruption of any kind. The rest of the army were following fast, ..." (XLVII, 353). The "following fast" sweeps into the static panorama against which "The Highland army ... was drawn up in two lines, extending from the morass towards the sea" (345). More details follow still faster, suggesting the nervous and frenetic mustering of troops and spirits. And Edward's reflections are pinpointed amidst it all:

It was not fear, it was not ardour – it was a compound of both, a new and deeply energetic impulse, that with its first emotion chilled and astounded, then fevered and maddened his mind. (354)

Then the lifting of the mist, the screaming of the pipes, the charge of the Highlanders, and the battle is on. Edward is frozen in a moment of history, in a conflict of two cultures. That one is native and the other adopted personalizes the history and intensifies Edward's own conflict. To hold would be treachery to his honor, to attack, treachery to his patriotism. Then "at this moment of confusion and terror," his sight (which is now also the reader's) fixes on the tableau of an English officer standing alone and poised by a deserted field-piece.

Struck with his tall, martial figure, and eager to save him from inevitable destruction, Waverley outstripped for an instant even the speediest of warriors, and, reaching the spot first, called to him to surrender. (355)

His saving the officer from the fall of Dugald Mahoney's battle-ax marks his first positive action and the solution of his dilemma; he saves a fellow

Englishman and still takes a prisoner for the Stuart Prince. And with that action a true descendant of *Waverley* is initiated in the middle-way. That he is initiated in a highly visual battle-picture is significant, because for the eighteenth century there was no more heroic genre of art than the history painting, and therefore what lesser place should a *Waverley* have?

If in *Waverley* Scott is in the debt of the historiographers, he is also indebted to the novelists of the preceding few generations. For to grant that his nominal interest is in his hero is to recognize a conception more than nominally inherited from these novelists – the organic character. This conception defines character “as a personality that endures in time, gradually developing, maturing, decaying, dying.”²² It is opposed to the older, legalistic notion that sees character in terms of only one action. This legalistic idea is realized in satire, where a man is judged on the basis of that action; the organic idea is realized in the novel where a man is understood in terms of a series of events, Paulson has found the origins of this organic character in

the growing acceptance of the assumption (with which the satirist could never agree) that man is basically good, and from the belief in progress. These led to, or demanded, a fiction that emphasized the growth of the individual. The villain of Augustan satire became the hero of the new age.²³

On this score Paulson shows Poulet observing that the central figure of this new conception of character was the man “immediately oriented toward what he is not, and toward what he wants to be.”²⁴ Such is the orientation of *Moll Flanders*, *Tom Jones*, *Pamela*, *Humphry Clinker*, and also *Edward Waverley*: all look forward to a happy future state. One sees this Shaftesburian idea of the benevolent man also in Reynolds’ idealized portrait subjects who gaze out hopefully into a bright future. Thus *Waverley*’s past idyllic wanderings, romantic readings, and exotic gloryings provide the experience he will with hope transmute to a future and set the direction that he will take, by orienting him toward a life in regimental colors and the Highlands. Yet there is still enough of the Augustan in Scott to be critical of these imaginary flights. His direct commentary (itself an eighteenth-century technique) that in these musings

Edward loved to ‘chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancy,’ and like a child among his toys, culled and arranged ...visions as brilliant and as fading as those of an evening sky.... (IV, 55)

is a clear statement of rational disapproval.

Scott's idea of fictional conflict, moreover, is purely traditional. It bulks large in the nature of the century past, as Bateson characterizes it:

The new organizing concept was essentially that of equipoise – a balance of property (the land versus business), a balance of classes (the gentry versus the middling class and the mob), and a balance of Protestant sects (Anglicanism versus the Dissenters), all reflecting themselves, however imperfectly, in a prevailing dualism of which the two-party Parliament was only one aspect.²⁵

Such polarities dramatize cultural parallels of Newton's Third Law: that for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction. And as with Newton and the eighteenth century, so with Scott: Gordon, for example, sees the novel's central significance in the conflict between Edward's sound and unsound judgment and between reality and romance.²⁶ One could add as subthematic devices to his scheme such oppositions as between Hanoverian and Jacobite, Lowland and Highland, and England and Scotland. This rationale influences even Scott's treatment of character, a treatment that at its best achieves a neat unity, but at its worst an oversimple and facile delineation of motive. Thus Rose Bradwardine's humanness and simple nature contrast with Flora Mac-Ivor's chauvinism and exoticism. In the same way Talbot's sincerity and good will conflict with Fergus' plotting and utilitarianism. The very punning with the name *Walverley* by the London journal that reaches Edward stresses his father's vacillating or wavering between political stances (XXV, 214), and Edward's own return to Tully-Veolan with Rose also underlines the achievement of an ultimate equipoise.

But it is event that gives form to such thematic antitheses. And it is with event – action external to character – that Scott is nearer eighteenth-century conceptions, particularly of Defoe, who in the *Journal of the Plague Year* allowed event to be the motive force to move the plot and to elicit responses from the character.²⁷ Scott was probably conscious of Defoe's influence,²⁸ for Scott was one of the first to collect Defoe's narratives, which he prepared for Ballantyne's 1809-10 edition and to which he prefixed a life. The main forces are beyond Edward's control, as the plague was beyond the power of H. F.: all either character can do is to respond, and therein is a prototypically existential situation. Edward's puzzlement at Preston alluded to earlier manifests an utter incapability on his part. Thus while he may orient himself, his powers are seldom more than a simple self-control; though he may come to master himself fully, he will not master event. In this aspect Welsh calls Edward a "passive hero," "one more eloquent in resolution than in action."²⁹ His vitality is sapped by event: his uncle causes his commission, the army causes his coming to Scotland, his father's disgrace causes his resignation;

even his “decision” to enlist with the Jacobites is caused by his lack of affiliation. Scott’s fascination with the event that produces a psychological effect on character is much in line with that of Defoe and Richardson: it is more presentational than analytic of psychological states and when it does become analytic, as with Fielding,³⁰ it is analytic more of a moral problem – i.e., the rightness or wrongness of Tom Jones’ or Waverley’s actions – than of the character himself. Of course the psychological answers are there but are not pointed to or elaborated. On learning of his father’s disgrace and its consequence of Waverley’s own failure to be promoted, for example,

Our hero’s bosom glowed with the resentment which undeserved and apparently premeditated insult was calculated to excite in the bosom of one who had aspired after honour, and was thus wantonly held up to public scorn and disgrace, (XXV, 214).

What Scott does is to analyze the effect of the event and to question its morality. His treatment of Waverley’s response is purely conventional – the bosom glowing with resentment – and its point is more social and objective – what the world thinks – than psychic and subjective. Similarly, Fielding’s novels reverberate with “the world’s” opinions of various actions and events; the town is virtually a touchstone of reaction which the hero observes and assimilates. Emily Bronte’s treatment of event on character would be far different.

If events, then, are internal determinants of antithetical themes, they have at least one external cause, and that is the simplicity that the reading public demanded. The concept has been recently recognized by Richetti, whose argument is that: eighteenth-century fiction was a “fantasy machine” much like the modern comic book and television. Half of its appeal was in scandal and exotic situations, and of necessity it had to be simple to accommodate a new reading public that was ill-educated and barely literate. Its further appeal, however, was in its ability to provide much of the reading public with an oversimplification of the social and moral universe. Thus its structure takes the form of a confrontation between two opposing attitudes toward experience, the secular and the religious. In popular fiction action is depicted as impious aggression against the social order or against innocents, a condition obvious in *Joseph Andrews* and *Pamela*, to name but two.³¹ By Scott’s day the education of the reading public had changed, though not exactly for the better.³² There were more schools, but the middle and lower classes to which the novel traditionally was directed had generally less time for reading; crowded housing, long hours of work and of school conditioned the production of easily read, easily understood books. And 57,000 copies of *Waverley* alone were sold between 1814 and 1836,³³ while countless numbers probably read borrowed copies. Expressly committing his novels

to the purpose of pure entertainment,³⁴ Scott was in the same situation as the early eighteenth-century novelists. The strange scenery, dialects, and great national themes, then, were made to order for a public he wished to entertain. Edward's clear-cut conflict was easily understandable. His saving of the English officer at Preston, as earlier seen, neatly satisfied his patriotism to England and his honor to the Jacobites. The resolution of his conflict is both exciting and pleasing, and regaining equipoise, the hero, as well as English and Scotch readers, is happy.

Scott's historical interests and the condition of the reading public, then, fortuitously coincided, and of the union was born the historical novel. The eighteenth-century tastes and rationale of the author had helped fashion a new genre for the nineteenth. It was a blend of art and history designed to entertain; as Lukacs had said,

The historical novel ...has to *demonstrate* by *artistic* means that historical circumstances and characters existed in precisely such and such a way. What in Scott has been called very superficially 'authenticity of local color' is in actual fact this artistic demonstration of historical reality.³⁵

Other eighteenth-century traits identify *Waverley* not as *a* historical novel, but as *Scott's* historical novel. There is, for example, the humor or mild satire of Donald Bane Lane's cattle-rustling treated in epic proportions, of Flora's inflated speeches, of Baron Bradwardine's pedantry, and of Macwheeble's parsimony. Pope's old "ruling passion" target of satire is influential, yet if these are satiric targets at all, they were nearer Arbuthnot than Swift, and if only humorous, nearer Goldsmith than Sterne. There is the dialect, derived from eighteenth-century interest in the unusual, especially the Celtic. There is the influence of the picaresque made popular by hands as diverse as Fielding and Mrs. Lennox. There is the sublime, the joy of scene which Scott shows in his Highland descriptions. There is the journey motif, often tantamount to the spiritual pilgrimage, that is a staple in classic eighteenth-century novels such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, *Humphry Clinker*, and *Sterne's Sentimental Journey*, not to mention *Gulliver's Travels* and Boswell's and Johnson's tours. *Waverley* too must journey to the Highlands to "find himself." There is the family motif that becomes a structural technique for establishing a character in social rather than spiritual dimensions; thus the complex domestic relationships of Tom Jones, Pamela, Tristram, Humphrey Clinker, and Vicar Primrose, and so too with *Waverley*. There is the rural ideal inherited from the romances of most of the same novels that is used as much for thematic as for atmospheric purposes, as in the Highland scenery in *Waverley*. And there is the realistic detail pioneered by Defoe and Richardson. All these literary traits are subsumed ultimately, however, in what Kroeber calls

Scott's conception of history: For Scott "history was process. He was the first artist to conceive of history as the organic evolution of competing styles of life."³⁶ Or as Hart sees it, for Scott "history becomes a mode of experience, a process of individual ordeal caused by personal involvement in the collision."³⁷

The questions beyond these considerations are many. How, for example, does Scott's form differ from that of the eighteenth-century novel? How do the influences seen here fare in the historical novel as it was written in the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries? How does Scott in *Waverley* show equally important Romantic tendencies? How does he join neo-classic thought with Romantic sensibility? All are worthy of sustained study.³⁸ What the present paper has attempted is merely to view *Waverley* from a focus different from what is usually allowed. In so doing the paper has sacrificed specificity for generality, chronology for topicality, and variations for parallels, all of which sacrifices seem sensible in terms of its scope and purpose: to suggest that Scott worked under the influence of two powerful and expansive traditions, historiographic and literary, which when blended form a new genre bearing an unmistakably eighteenth-century mark.

NOTES

- 1 Herbert Grierson, "History and the Novel," *Sir Walter Scott Lectures 1940-1948*, ed. W. L. Renwick (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1950), p. 38.
- 2 Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1951), pp. 197-200. Cf. Herbert Davis, "The Augustan Conception of History," *Reason and the Imagination: Studies in The History of Ideas*, ed. Joseph Mazzeo (Columbia Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 213-231.
- 3 Quoted by Godfrey Davis in his essay on Hume in *Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies Presented to F. P. Wilson* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), pp.231-234.
- 4 Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley, Or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, ed. Edgar Johnson (N.Y.: Signet, 1964), pp. 33 and 34. Subsequent references to the novel will be to this edition and will be chapter – and page – cited in the text.
- 5 Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism* (N.Y., 1968), p. 34.
- 6 See Avrom Fleishman's discussion of Ferguson in *The English Historical Novel* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1971), pp. 42ff.
- 7 Duncan Forbes, "The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott," *The Cambridge Journal*, 7 (1953-54), 27.
- 8 *Waverley*, "Introductory," pp. 34-35; "The deep-ruling impulse is the same in both cases the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries; and the proud peer who can now only ruin his neighbour according to law, by protracted suits, is the genuine descendant of the baron who wrapped the castle of his competitor in flames, and knocked him on the head as he attempted to escape from the conflagration. It is from the great book of Nature ... that I have venturously essayed to read a chapter to the public."
- 9 See, e.g., J. Paul Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and Quest for Form in "Robinson Crusoe"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966). By an examination of sub-literary forms, especially the Puritan spiritual biography and autobiography, the pilgrim "allegory," and the guide, Hunter shows that emblematic methods were conventional in 17th and 18th century England.
- 10 The Enlightenment, p. 38.

- 11 Una Pope-Hennessy, *Sir Walter Scott* (London: 1948), pp. 10-11.
- 12 John Henry Raleigh, "Waverley as History: on 'Tis One Hundred and Fifty-Six Years Since," *Novel*, 4 (1970), p. 26.
- 13 Edgar Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown* (N.Y., 1970), p. 26.
- 14 Compiled by J. G. Cochrane, intro. J. G. Lockhart (Edinburgh: 1838). Only 100 copies printed.
- 15 Cf. Duncan Forbes, "The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott," *The Cambridge Journal*, 7 (1953), pp. 26-30.
- 16 G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (London, 1944), pp. 418-419.
- 17 Lawrence Lipking has recently completed a study of this phenomenon in *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1970).
- 18 Geoffrey Tillotson, Paul Fussell, Jr., and Marshall Waingrow, eds., *Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (N. Y.: 1969), p. 6.
- 19 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. R. R. Wark (San Marino, California, 1959), p. 244.
- 20 Cf. David Douglas, *English Scholars 1660-1730* (London, 1951) p. 274: "Historical investigation withered in an atmosphere of abstract Cartesianism which neglected development, and by insisting upon the uniformity of human thought, discouraged the study of the distinguishing growth of diverse nations." Thus do Scott and Reynolds act from the motives of the Augustan Age.
- 21 There is a large reproduction of this painting of Louis Nicholas van Blarenberghe in *The Eighteenth Century: Europe in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Alfred Cobban (New York: 1969), pp. 194-195. The original is at Versailles.
See Scott's "Memoir of His Early Years Written By Himself," in John Gibson Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (London: 1906), p. 40: In this autobiography Scott confesses his inability at painting. "But show me an old castle or a field of battle, and I was at home at once, filled it with its combatants in their proper costumes, and overwhelmed my hearers by the enthusiasm of my description."
- 22 Ronald Paulson, *Satire and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 3-4. Cf. E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Epic Strain in the English Novel* (London:

1958), p. 88, who sees *Waverley* both as “the innocent let loose in the world” and “the young man who grows up.” He is also the “alien using his eyes” and the young romantic, *passim*.

23 Paulson, p. 5.

24 Georges Poulet, *The Interior Distance*, trans. Elliott Coleman (1959: rpt. Univ. of Michigan Press, 1964), p. 97. Quoted by Paulson, p. 5.

25 F. W. Bateson, “The Approach to Augustan Literature,” *A Guide to English Literature* (N.Y., 1965), p. 93.

26 S. Stewart Gordon. “*Waverley and the Unified Design*,” *ELH*, 18 (1951), pp. 107-122.

27 See H. George Hahn, “An Approach to Character Development in Defoe’s Narrative Prose,” *PQ*, 51 (1972), pp. 845-859.

28 See John Robert Moore, “Scott and Defoe,” *PMLA*, 56 (1941), pp. 710-735.

29 Alexander Welsh, *The Hero of the Waverley Novels* (Yale Univ. Press, 1963), p. 31.

30 For this main point the debt is again to Paulson, p. 51.

31 John J. Richetti, *Popular Fiction Before Richardson: Narrative Patterns 1700-1739* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969).

32 See Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 94 ff.

33 *Ibid.* Altick’s figure of 57,000 copies sold is remarkable when one considers Bateson’s observation (*Guide to English Literature*, p. 140) that in 1811 according to Francis Jeffrey there were about 220,000 readers in Britain, about 2% of the population. And it is the more remarkable when it is seen, as Edgar Johnson shows (*Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown* N. Y., 1970, p. xxiii) that “the guinea and ½ to two guineas for which Scott’s novels sold ... rendered them a luxury out of reach except to a very small segment of the population.” Appearing in two volumes, Scott’s *Waverley*, in 1814 would have cost from \$20 - \$40 in 1970 U. S. currency.

34 *Lives of the Novelists* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1906), p. 308: The novel is to offer “solace from the toils of ordinary life by an excursion into the regions of imagination....” And from his *Journal*, ed. J. G. Tait (Edinburgh, 1950) I, 85: “...I only tried to make that which I write diverting and interesting ...”

- 35 Georg Lukacs, *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (1937: Boston, 1964), p. 39.
- 36 Karl Kroeber, *Romantic Narrative Art* (Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1960), p. 186.
- 37 Francis R. Hart, *Scott's Novels: The Plotting of Historical Survival* (Univ. Press of Virginia, 1966), p. 24.
- 38 Excellent attempts at many of these questions are made in Avrom Fleishman's *The English Historical Novel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), Robert Kiely's *The Romantic Novel in England* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1972), and Marian H. Cusac's *Narrative Structure in the Novels of Sir Walter Scott* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1969).