

SCOTT AND THE NATURE OF HEROISM

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A thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

Department of English, University of Leicester

May 1980

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From 18 June 1979

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Scott and the Nature of Heroism

Ph.D. Thesis

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List of corrections

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| P. 4. line 22 | revelation |
| P. 14. footnote | W.E.K. Anderson |
| P. 51. line 9 | of circumstances |
| P. 52. line 7 | delete of the Highlands |
| P. 54. line 10 | delete Highland for Scottish |
| P. 62. line 20 | respond |
| P. 81. line 14 | honour |
| P. 88. line 8 | knowledge |
| P. 190. line 7 | attack |
| P. 218. line 8 | of Biblical Law |

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A B S T R A C T

This study is a response to some modern judgements of Scott's work rather than a general discussion of the Waverley Novels. Through close analysis of specific texts it attempts to reassess accepted views of the author's narrative technique and characterisation, as well as his uses of history and ideological conflict. Therefore, I concentrate on five novels as illustrative of a continuing attitude to the notion of heroism. Starting with Waverley, from which much critical opinion has derived, I discuss Scott's first exploration of realism and romanticism in the life of the hero. In the consequent tensions I find much of the material for later works.

The central section of my thesis looks at three European novels, Quentin Durward, Kenilworth, and Woodstock, for their demonstration of the breadth of Scott's social and historical concern as well as their universal themes more usually associated with the "Scottish" works. My final chapter discusses Old Mortality, drawing together some of the issues of heroism arising from all five novels, and relating these to the religious conflict within which Henry Morton achieves his status as hero. In conclusion, I try to discover Scott's placing within a philosophical and literary tradition which extends from the writing of David Hume, to the Existentialism of Albert Camus. In this I suggest a fundamental link between Scott's concern as a novelist, and a major literary theme of twentieth-century Europe.

Introduction

This study does not attempt a general discussion of the Waverley novels. It is a response to some modern critical judgements of Scott's work in the light of a close analysis of particular texts. This method imposes its own limitation on the number of novels studied and the range of material dealt with. Critics have established Waverley as being among the first rank of Scott's work, and his reputation as a writer of anti-romantic fiction has been influenced by particular readings of that novel. Since I have found Waverley to be the foundation of much that was to follow in Scott's narrative development, and in view of its importance in critical judgement, I devote my first section to an analysis of this work which offers a reading in conflict with present critical opinion. Within this discussion, I put forward an alternative view of Scott's writing as a realism which redefines the concept of Romanticism, especially in relation to his understanding of the nature of individual heroism. In addition to finding in Waverley a "new" and essentially romantic attitude to the heroic, I explore Scott's narrative style, his method of characterisation and uses of history, political conflict, modes of idealism and his concern with the nature of moral development.

In the three central chapters of my discussion I look at a selection of non Scottish works for the illumination they offer of Scott's universal, rather than his Scottish themes. In this way, I suggest that history is part of the author's style in discussing human concerns wider than those of period or event, as is implied by his reputation as primarily an historical novelist. In this, his variety of setting is important. Quentin Durward, Kenilworth and Woodstock explore not only variations on the heroic theme, but the issues of Romanticism and realism. My discussion relates these themes to the particular moral problems seen to arise from these periods and cultures. In the moral and psychological tone created within fifteenth-century France, Elizabethan England, and the rise of the Cromwellian regime, we see something of the scope of Scott's work. This is significant in discussing a writer particularly associated with the great conflicts of Scottish history. Yet it is from within his own culture that Scott explores most fully the issues of Religion and Politics, as well as the difficulties of social development and displacement. Therefore, I devote the third section of this study to a detailed analysis of Old Mortality for its exploration of one of the deepest themes of Scott's work, the relation of the individual's personal development to the orthodox religious climate of his day. In this I offer a reading which progressively finds in Scott a link with mid-twentieth-century views of the individual as "hero". Finally, I attempt to place Scott's universality within the context of human, rather than Scottish history, so that he is seen as offering a lively and demanding relationship to our own time.

Waverley

In the opening sentence of Waverley, Scott directs the reader immediately to the importance of his choice of title. It is to be of significance to the development of the whole work, as is carefully shown throughout the opening paragraph. "The title of this work has not been chosen without the grave and solid deliberation which matters of importance demand from the prudent" (p.1). This irony and self-mockery, together with the suggestion of shared confidences between author and reader, is an important characteristic of Scott's style. Yet it contains a more fundamental introduction to the author's concerns in Waverley, as he introduces his hero. Again, the self-mocking is at work in the assumed role of the spotless knight bringing forward his untainted hero.

I have...like a maiden knight with his shield,
assumed for my hero, Waverley, an uncontaminated
name, bearing with its sound little of good or
evil excepting what the reader shall hereafter
be pleased to affix to it. (p.1)

The chivalric imagery here underlines the author's romanticism. The hero's embryonic nature suggests not only that he is open to experience, but that the development of his character involves both author and reader. This insistence on the reader's self-activity, which will affix 'good' or 'evil' to Waverley's name, is important. It seems

to imply not only an author standing aside, offering freedom of judgment to his readers, but also free himself from the task of judging or categorising. This seems to suggest that the work is to be concerned with choice, decision and moral stance, and not only with the need for these things, but with the basis upon which they may be made, and consequent attitudes established. Waverley has been seen as a novel of education, and if this is so, Scott clearly also intends the education of the reader.

If Waverley's 'maiden' knighthood establishes Scott's romantic leanings, one is also aware that the 'supplemental' title 'Tis Sixty Years Since, prevents us from styling him purely 'Romantic'. (The 'or' of the title is again a neat pointer to the characteristic demand upon the reader to choose.) An examination of this second title is important for its insistence on history; the past as fact, as experience, which runs parallel with Waverley's experience to come. In this way, the work embarks upon a continuing though apparently contrasting discussion of experience both as past and as future. Moreover, future experience, in Waverley himself, is as yet blank, having a freedom akin to that of the Romantic imagination. On the other hand, the past constrains, demands fidelity to history, not in terms of factual accuracy, but as truth to experience because it has happened. There is a responsibility to reality as past history. Already we have here the contrast between freedom and responsibility as threads closely woven into the conception of Waverley. In addition, the terminology of commitment is marked, arguing not only an historical responsibility, but also the fairness of the historian's mentality, so that the supplemental title may, "... be held as pledging the author to some special mode of laying his scene, drawing his characters and managing his adventures" (p.2). Scott's pledge is to complete fidelity in his subject matter. In this

lies the realism at the heart of the romance of the work, and of Waverley's life.

In the early pages of the novel we are warned against styling the author either 'Romantic' or 'Realist'. Both attitudes are already present, but they are subtly blended. Waverley demands that we come to the work willing to be part of a free creative effort, and yet with the restrictions of a task which involves truth to human life as the past shows it. The uncertainty of an unfolding future contrasts with a given past. Later, Waverley himself is to equate 'romance' with uncertainty, change and contradiction, and 'history' with a more settled vision or determination of course. Such tensions are fundamental to Scott's art, and complicate an apparently clear distinction between 'romance' and 'realism'.

James Hillhouse finds that Scott is apt to "...flounder about in a mass of introductory material..."¹ yet these introductory chapters contain not only the key to Waverley, but to many of Scott's concerns in later works. Dealing with the need for realism, for example, he is quite explicit as to his intention in treating the past.

By fixing, then, the date of my story Sixty Years before this present 1st November, 1805, I would have my readers understand that they will meet in the following pages neither a romance of chivalry nor a tale of modern manners; ...the object of my tale is more a description of men than of manners. (p.3)

Since critics have found that the description of manners is one of Scott's strengths as a novelist, giving verisimilitude to his evocations of the past, it is important to notice that his primary concern is 'men' and the delineation of human nature. With firm, but humorous voice he develops his point.

1. James T. Hillhouse, The Waverley Novels and their Critics (University of Minnesota, U.S.A., 1936), p. 13.

It is from the great book of Nature, the same through a thousand editions, whether of black-letter or wire wove and hot-pressed, that I have venturously essayed to read a chapter to the public. (pp. 5/6)

Though this is tongue in cheek, the serious nature of the task is clear.

Some favourable opportunities of contrast have been afforded me by the state of society in the northern part of the island at the period of my history, and may serve at once to vary and to illustrate the moral lessons which I would willingly consider as the most important part of my plan, ... (p.6)

This use of contrasts is essential to Scott's wish to illustrate 'moral lessons'. Already we have a given contrast between the past 'Sixty Years Since', and Waverley's unformed history. This suggests a work at once grounded in human experience, and yet open to the unknown. It is from such complex contrasts, as well as from the more obvious historical contrasts of Scottish society, that the moral seriousness of the work is forged. Scott emphasises this complexity in his use of timescale. The hero is introduced retrospectively in chapter two, so that the reader is already oscillating between past and future, with the present pointed up in the technique of direct address by the author. Such swift juxtapositions of time, place, action and character are very typical of the narrative layering of Scott's work. One of its most immediate effects is to warn against any tendency to simplify the distinction between Romance, as the past, and Realism as present, or to equate these terms with any specific period or temperament. Scott defines his terms at the outset and there is to be no simple explanation of romance as past chivalry, or realism as 'manners'. His handling of human nature is a more complex undertaking than critics have allowed. Though he is rightly known for a deep engagement with history, it is not explored only for its own sake, but as the outward expression of psychological truths. In Waverley, history is seen as a revelation of man.

...those passions common to men in all stages of society, and which have alike agitated the human heart whether it throbbed under the steel corselet of the fifteenth century, the brocaded coat of the eighteenth, or the blue frock and white dimity waistcoat of the present day. (p.5)

One sees here the conscious drawing together of time and fashion toward the major concern with the human heart though this is found within the outward contrasts of historical change and conflict.

In his first hero, the 'untainted' Edward Waverley, Scott offers us the contradictory feelings of freedom and of constraint in an individual life. For all his unformed, embryonic nature, apparently open to every possibility, he is already free only in a very limited sense. He is constrained by the circumstances of his birth, inherited temperament, and his historical placing in time. Not only is his family divided in its political allegiance, but, as the boy heir, he will inherit this contradiction expressed socially in responsibility for property and dependants. He must contain the ethic of both Jacobite and Hanoverian. Nearer home, both of his father figures represent a more personal division, yet he is 'son' to both. Sir Richard contrasts with the affectionate Sir Everard of Jacobite sympathy and having a deeply personal allegiance to the Stuarts. (Indeed, the political methods of the two ruling houses always contrast in the personal manipulation of the Stuarts who rule through the heart, and the distant legality of the House of Hanover.)

For Edward, all these inherited allegiances seem to be mutually exclusive, yet even in his early life, he lives between and within them. One therefore expects the development of an individual whose career will involve contradiction at every level. Such an individual may, in choosing one way or the other, suffer an imbalance in the resulting neglect of one side of his inherited nature as child of both, or, he may choose to live divided against himself unless some synthesis is

looked for and achieved. These, it seems, are the problems before Waverley, but I would suggest that they also offer the reader the basic concerns of many of Scott's later novels.

In Waverley, the hero is engaged by turns in these contrasting experiences. As a young man he initially makes a clear choice (though even this is modified by his social rank) in his entry into the English dragoons. Later we are shown the effects of the development of an emotional life in the passionate attachment to the Jacobites as a first experience of falling in love, concentrated on Flora MacIvor, but also seen in the magnetic attraction to Fergus, and later to Charles Stuart. Characteristically, passionate feeling and Jacobitism are intertwined. In this period, there is a growing awareness of Waverley's condition of self-division as he develops an acute consciousness of his untenable position, which perhaps admits of no totally satisfactory solution. Yet, lest one slips into the error of viewing this as a conflict simply between romantic passion and realistic pragmatism, it is important to notice that the Romantic position itself is one of internal conflict, of mutually exclusive demands upon the heart. This is seen particularly in the emotional strain experienced by Waverley, when, as Jacobite, he finds himself in arms against his fellow countrymen, and even against another kind of father figure in Colonel Gardiner. Even more immediate is the developing affection for Colonel Talbot which increases this strain, as the demands of friendship to him, and to Fergus MacIvor, become more poignantly difficult and revealing. At the same time, Scott is dealing with the classic dilemma of the emotional and political rebel in conflict with the establishment of which he is a member by birth and education. One is aware that this loyalty to the establishment has been in no way negated by Waverley's early romantic reading, which perhaps emphasises the inherent internal conflict.

In looking at the third stage of Waverley's career, and his attempt at a personal resolution against the background of history itself in the Jacobite failure, I suggest that what has been seen as the final conformity is of a more complex nature than critics have allowed. The evidence implies a very subtle interweaving of romanticism and realism in Waverley's choice of domestic happiness. This may be seen as a more considered re-working of the values of the heart which are always characteristic of the hero at his most passionate and impulsive. If this is so, he may be seen as 'Romantic' to the end. In this connection it is necessary to explore the whole question of Scott's apparent realism to see how far the text suggests that he is re-defining this terminology.

Turning in more detail to Waverley's early life, a significant theme of the work is the power of chance or fate. Not only is he born into a specific period of conflict and change within a divided family, but his childhood is unstable. He lacks a mother or an attentive father. Chance alone brings him under the more fortunate care of Sir Everard.

It chanced that the infant, with his maid, had strayed one morning to a mile's distance from the avenue of Brerewood Lodge, his father's seat.... The Baronet arrived while the boy's maid was in vain endeavouring to make him desist from his determination to appropriate the gilded coach and six...his uncle had been just eyeing wistfully, with something like a feeling of envy, the chubby boys of the stout yeoman whose mansion was building by his direction. In the round-faced rosy cherub before him, bearing his eye and name,...Providence seemed to have granted to him the very object best calculated to fill the void in his hopes and affections. (pp. 15/16)

This is a significant moment for Edward, since it marks the beginning of his characteristic life of movement between contrasts. His two father figures differ in character as well as in political style. Sir Richard is devoted to securing fortune and position through marriage and public life, and is quite willing to use his child to that end.

Sir Everard, on the other hand, is truly grounded in love of family and tradition, but this is expressed through the heart. In the former man, personal ties are based on money and property, in the latter, upon blood and affection. In the tone and style of this passage, one notices the deftness of Scott's technique as he indicates character, and the effects of personal experience upon it. Childish curiosity and its desire to 'appropriate' is seen in Edward's delight at the gilded coach and six. In the portrait of Sir Everard, just come from 'eyeing wistfully' the yeoman's children, Scott delicately suggests the sorrow of childlessness, and prepares for the underlying strength of emotion, the 'void' in the 'hopes and affections' of a warm but lonely man. One is also prepared by this for Sir Everard to be an over-indulgent uncle.

For uncle and nephew, it is perhaps a case of the happy accident, the first suggestion of the part of fate upon individuals, though this theme is to be developed into a more difficult and painful experience in the older hero. However, in his fifth year, Edward is already a child of two worlds, potentially a bridge between them, and set for the complex experience of attempted reconciliation and restoration, themes which have their political counterparts in the conflict of Stuart and Hanover. Yet it is at this personal, private level, that we are first prepared for the wider conflicts of history.

An extension of this sense of chance is the element of the marvellous or uncommon and magnetic, equated first with the exploratory urge of childhood, concepts traditionally associated with Romanticism. The young Edward is irresistibly drawn toward the glittering coach and six, and in the chapters on 'Education' and 'Castle-building', Scott makes a detailed study of this kind of imaginative nature. It is one which has been encouraged by a diet of fanciful reading and a laissez-faire 'system' in the indulgent combination of Edward's tutor and his

uncle. It is important to notice that, despite its perils, this easy-going period of youth does contribute to a kind of freedom and openness of spirit, where a harsher regime might have been equally limited but resulting in a more rigid personality. As it is, we are left in no doubt as to the unspoilt, expansive nature of Edward's heart, even if his mind is undisciplined. It is perhaps precisely this softness of early experience, combined with physical delicacy, which gives him the capacity for a later identification with weakness and distress.

Nevertheless, Scott is clearly indicating the problems attendant upon the lack of any real parental or educational guidance. Sir Everard is benign, but since the boy lives in a condition of movement between his influence and that of a father "too interested in his own plans of wealth and ambition to notice more respecting Edward than that he was of a very bookish turn..." (p.24), neither home background offers much stability. In the purely educational realm, we have Sir Everard's naive but misplaced faith in the intrinsic value of any printed word. He "...had never been himself a student, and, like his sister Miss Rachel Waverley, held the common doctrine that idleness is incompatible with reading of any kind, and that the mere tracing the alphabetical characters with the eye is in itself a useful and meritorious task,..." (p.22)

Scott builds up the sense of disorder in Edward's life in the image of the boy driving through a 'sea' of books without rudder or pilot, and one sees that this sense of being launched on a journey without dependable guidance, is fundamental to his later experiences. His growing up is a series of disjointed oscillations between extremes which provide both cause and effect for a career of wild plunges from one mode of life to another. Yet though the image here is of Waverley as a vessel unable to steer a straight course, there is from the beginning of his life, a

sense of propulsion. While some of his erratic force stems from his temperament, he is also propelled by circumstances and by chance or fate, so that the reader must question basic assumptions as to the real freedom to choose even a wise course.

At the same time, in these early chapters Scott offers a latent source of guidance for his hero at sea in contradictory experiences. "His powers of apprehension were so uncommonly quick as almost to resemble intuition." (p.19) Here we are offered an innate human quality, not dependant upon birth, education or circumstance, and in that sense both free and perhaps conferring freedom. In this we may find Scott's answer, in so far as any is given, to Waverley's dilemma. On the one hand this quick apprehension and 'intuition' leads the hero into many difficulties, but is also perhaps that quality which leads him out of them, and towards what is, for him, a life faithful to his personality. It is a romantic inclination, deeper than simply an attraction to the marvellous or uncommon, which, while it draws him to Flora MacIvor and the Jacobites, later leads to Colonel Talbot and Rose Bradwardine. Not that the latter are seen as purely positive and the former negative, but that Rose and domestic life are more right for Waverley. In this sense, the work is as deeply concerned with emotional fidelity and integrity as are the works of Jane Austen. At the less private level, the same impulse which engages Waverley hand and heart to Charles Stuart, allows him to defy his own military code, and send the distracted Colonel Talbot home to his sick wife.

If this is so, one must be wary of the critical assumption that Waverley is a novel concerned with the perils of Romanticism, or a progress from disordered sensibility to sense and pragmatic conformity. This is to simplify Scott's highly complex study. An example of this argument is found in Andrew Hook's conclusions as to the resolution of the work's final chapters.

Waverley has finally to be awakened from his dream to a truer sense of reality; he has to be brought to see the significance of his own behaviour to recognise just what his high romantic spirit has committed him to. 1

This looks like too easy a division between mistaken romantic youth, and 'truer' maturity. Such attempts to define too closely, and therefore perhaps, misleadingly, Scott's attitudes to the romantic and the realist, seem to do less than justice to the complexity of Waverley and the later works. I would suggest that these works show us an author much less concerned to decide between one attitude and another, less of a dualist than has been implied, and more engaged in exploring not only these extremes, but the subtler shades of character between them. This breadth of human psychology may suggest the revelation of character as existing in a continuum between apparent opposites.

In discussing some of Scott's novels, therefore, I offer a reading which extends the critical notion of him as the writer of divided allegiance. Equally, the view that Scott's realism is the basis for a modern interest in him, needs to be questioned as strongly as was the former enthusiasm for him as the great Romantic. An example of this recent attitude is David Daiches' conclusion that Scott's best and most characteristic novels, "...might with justice be called anti-romantic fiction."² It seems clear from the early chapters of Waverley that Scott is not an 'anti-romantic', but is concerned instead to examine and re-define romanticism.

Even more subtle and attractive is the argument for the rediscovery of Scott on the grounds of his balance between the romantic and the realistic inclination. Yet this too seems inadequate in the light of

-
1. Andrew Hook, Introduction to Waverley (Penguin, London, 1972) p.22.
 2. David Daiches, "Scott's Achievement as Novelist", Walter Scott ed. D.D. Devlin (Macmillan, London, 1968), p. 33.

his many-sidedness. It is beguiling to see him as the synthesiser of the positive elements in contrasting views, but he is, I suspect, a less comforting and comfortable writer than this notion suggests. It is as a writer concerned with exploring the discomforts of life that Scott demonstrates his strength. It is one which speaks directly to the modern reader. Yet even critics who discuss the basic tensions of his work, such as Lars Hartviet's Dream Within a Dream, feel the need to ground that notion in the older view of a divided allegiance.

...Scott's vision of reality depends on tension and conflicting tendencies which can ultimately be traced to a common source, his 'divided allegiance' between the romantic and the prosaic or prudent. 1

However, it is clear that critics are justified in seeing Waverley as concerned with the results of the romantic temperament, especially as they affect the individual in relation to society. The early chapters of 'Education' show Scott concerned with both social and self-imposed isolation in 'Castle-building'. It is this isolation which begins to make society seem both less desirable and more threatening, while establishing no grounds for a true judgement of the matter. Both the attractions and the dangers of a growing love of solitude together with an increased sense of social awkwardness, result from lack of personal contacts. "Castle-building" neatly implies the romantic charm and the defensive impulse at work in the sixteen year old hero. This is allied to a quality of 'abstraction' suggestive of the distance from reality involved in the delights of the solitary life. "He was in his sixteenth year, when his habits of abstraction and love of solitude became so marked as to excite in Sir Everard affectionate apprehension." (p.25) We already see in Waverley an interesting contrast within the

1. Lars Hartviet, Dream Within a Dream (Humanities Press, N.Y., 1974) p. 17.

'romantic', an impulsive attraction outward to the 'marvellous', from gilded coaches to tales of fancy, and at the same time, a turning inward, with its potentially limiting pre-occupation with personal consciousness. Yet by implication, here are the seeds of the warmth of heart and dependence upon self which will later lead Waverley toward a degree of mature self-sufficiency.

This latent independence of spirit makes Waverley an unusual young man. Already he is, in his indiscipline, more natural and true to himself than a more socially integrated youth might be. Clearly he is in some sense to be a man apart because of this innate tendency. This perhaps gives him his status as hero, not in the more usual sense of high or noble deeds, though these will not be lacking, but in his psychological make-up.

Scott's apparent view of the influences of society upon individual development is important in this respect. He implies that the process of socialisation involves a movement away from the 'natural bent' of our passions. While endorsing a need for control, there is, within the writing a deeper sense of what may be lost.

Society and example, which more than any other motives, master and sway the natural bent of our passions, might have had their usual effect upon the youthful visionary. (p.25)

The tone of this language seems fierce in 'master', 'bent' and 'passions'. The point could have been made more lightly if simply social control was being endorsed. Yet the terminology of restraint is violent, and there is a passionate conflict here between 'natural' and social man. Moreover, that Waverley is described as 'visionary', notwithstanding the touch of irony, suggests both his apartness and his potential value as an outsider, one which a more normal youth would have eroded. In addition, his inherent stature is underlined in the suggestion that such social contacts as were possible locally, were inadequate for him. Clearly, Waverley has the capacity for heroism partly because of an isolation which allows

such a quality to grow. The problem of solitude versus socialisation for the uncommon individual is, one feels, from his Journal, important to Scott himself. One senses the equation of a free-wheeling imagination needing solitude, with the later heroic of self-reliant stoicism. Such qualities are found most markedly in his first fictional hero. It is the dreamer who, paradoxically, learns to deal effectively with life.

...from the earliest time I can remember,
I preferred the pleasures of being alone to
waiting for visitors and have often taken a
bannock and a bit of cheese to the wood or
hill to avoid dining with company. As I grew
from boyhood to manhood I saw this would not
do and that to gain a place in man's esteem
I must mix and bustle with them. 1

It will not 'do' for Waverley either, who equally cannot live without 'man's esteem'. Yet the apartness is a necessary prologue to moral survival. Nevertheless, for Scott, as for Waverley, the dreaming life is, in part, a protection against a painful or distressing reality.

My life, though not without its fits of waking
and strong exertion has been a sort of dream...
I have worn a wishing cap to divert present
griefs by a touch of the wand of imagination
and gild over the future prospects by prospects
more fair than can ever be realised. Somewhere
it is said that this castle-building - this
wielding of the aerial trowel - is fatal to
exertion in actual life. I cannot tell - I
have not found it so. 2

One sees that Waverley too has early need of an 'aerial trowel' when one remembers his insufficient childhood, not greatly stressed, but apparent. In effect, he is a kind of orphan, belonging to no one absolutely. Even at sixteen he has tasted the difficult reality of an unsettled home life. One feels the psychological truth of his reactive inwardness, and sees it also as a preparation for emerging into the real

1. W.E.K. Anderson ed., The Journal of Sir Walter Scott (Oxford, 1972), p. 50.

2. W.E.K. Anderson ed., The Journal of Sir Walter Scott (Oxford, 1972), p. 50.

world. Therefore, we cannot dismiss 'castle-building' as an undesirable phase to be abandoned for maturity. Instead, it may be seen as a source of much later strength. As Andrew Hook points out, it is precisely his imaginative awareness which makes Edward singularly attractive and open to experience.

Following Scott's detailed attention to Waverley's early life and education, the reader is well prepared for the development of a hero whose actions stem primarily from emotional impulse rather than 'reason'. Yet as the work progresses there is a distinction between this and Robin Mayhead's rather severe judgement of Waverley as, "The type...in which early habits have induced a basic instability, and a liability to rash judgement."¹ The characteristic style of the hero's decision making in his plunge from one army to another, from officer to rebel and from Flora to Rose, displays what may be called a romantic temperament. Yet if these changes in his life are grounded in strong emotion, it is clear that this is part of an educational process leading to the more considered, but no less deeply felt ties to Colonel Talbot and Rose. Particularly in the early difficulties with Colonel Talbot, Scott shows Waverley at his best, combining warmth of heart with a clear head which allows him to release his prisoner on compassionate grounds. In that situation he experiences the conflict between two kinds of duty, fidelity to a cause, and to an individual need. A similar conflict is also expressed in the almost filial desire to aid Colonel Gardiner at the battle of Preston. When faced with this kind of choice, between two moral rights, Waverley characteristically chooses the strongest personal demand. This is not to imply that he is guilty of 'instability'. In the case of Colonel Talbot, this emphasis on the personal makes him most completely

1. Robin Mayhead, Walter Scott (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968), p. 36.

an individualist, defying both the Jacobite cause, and the soldierly code, yet the reader is in no doubt as to the validity of his decision.

One is aware that this blend of rebellion and personal responsibility has something in common with the Hotspur and Prince Hal characters of Shakespeare's Henry IV. Scott himself makes the connection as early as chapter three, where Waverley is seen to "...curse the jargon of heraldry...with all the bitterness of Hotspur himself." (p.27) Like Hotspur, he is a young man of action, impatient with tradition, whose imprudence can take the form of enjoying rebellion for its own sake. Later, in Fergus MacIvor, this Jacobite alter ego seems to take over Waverley's Hotspur like characteristics more completely, being also quite willing to accept their consequences in defeat and death.

Much of Waverley's development is concerned with this movement away from the Hotspur personality, toward that more akin to the mature Prince Hal, ready to assume the role of conciliator in private and public life. Yet, as with Hal, who learns from his adversary's nobility in death, it is part of Waverley's education to have identified with such an actively rebellious temperament. However, his destiny is clear by chapter sixty-two, when Colonel Talbot addresses him as "Hal".

The influence of these two central friendships on Waverley is of particular importance. They make conflicting demands upon him and have a personal antipathy to one another. Fergus would have Waverley a Hotspur to the last. He interprets distress at Colonel Gardiner's death as mere vacillation. "I cannot tell what to make of you...you are blown about with every wind of doctrine..." (p.450) It is true that Waverley is 'blown about', but it is precisely this process of trial and error which is necessary for a true choice of values. It is his instinctive search for an independent view, as opposed to the rigidity of MacIvor, that makes a breach between the two, inevitable.

Yet as in the case of Hal and Hotspur, Waverley matures as a result of the depth of feeling in this relationship. This is very powerfully apparent in the chapter dealing with MacIvor's execution. In this way, it is clear that the influence of Jacobitism, with its consistent dependence upon the heart, has a lasting effect long after the political cause is lost. This is perhaps the larger view of Romanticism being suggested by Scott in dealing with the rising. The cause is expressive of the deeper movement. This background is considered in detail in the chapter called "Highland Minstrelsy", which suggests something of a tale within a tale on the whole theme of Romanticism. One feels this to be a very close critique of those attitudes and passions. In addition to providing an exposition of the main theme, it demonstrates something of the variety of Scott's technique as a writer.

The chapter opens with a telling insight into Waverley's nature. He 'worships' a romantic muse whose language he does not understand. Moreover, the attraction is not so much poetic content, as the enchantment of the unknown. "...I must tell you that Captain Waverley is a worshipper of the Celtic muse, not the less so, perhaps, that he does not understand a word of her language." (p.197) Much of this chapter turns upon the romantic strain of poetry enjoyed by Flora MacIvor, "...recording the feats of heroes, the complaints of lovers, and the wars of contending tribes...the chief amusement of a winter fireside in the Highlands." (p.199) This is a style of Romanticism parallel to the Jacobitism of which Flora is a devotee. She is in her own eyes, and in the eyes of Waverley, something of a heroine of that strain. In this, there is an essential difference between her and Fergus. Both may be seen as extremists, but where Flora's dedication is purely romantic, and to that degree, unrealistic, her brother is very much the pragmatist and political opportunist, concerned with the restoration of the "modern

Highlander". Had the Stuart army been richer in his single-minded pursuit of power, the rebellion might have succeeded. He is fully aware of the difference between ballads of ancient power, and the needs of the present situation. Though a Jacobite, he identifies the ethos of these old tales as blocking to new political aspirations. Tangible political power is his objective.

There are three things that are useless to a modern Highlander, - a sword which he must not draw, a bard to sing of deeds which he dare not imitate, and a large goat-skin purse without a Louis-d'or to put into it. (p.198)

Nevertheless, such tales sung by the bard Mac-Murrough, encourage the Highland rebels. They are a fundamental part of the weaponry of Jacobitism. Yet in most respects, its army is inadequate and ill-equipped. Historical Romanticism may provide the emotional impetus for rebellion, but fails in practical application.

Another common characteristic of Scott's technique in treating his theme, can be seen in his use of descriptive scenery as visual metaphors. In this chapter, while Flora and Waverley discuss the ancient poets, he leads them out of the house into a narrow valley. The reader is presented with a landscape at once realistic to the Highlands, and also expressive of the work's theme of Romanticism.

In a spot about a quarter of a mile from the castle, two brooks, which formed the little river, had their junction. The larger of the two came down the long, bare valley, which extended, apparently without any change of elevation of character, as far as the hills which formed its boundary permitted the eye to reach. But the other stream, which had its source among the mountains on the left hand of the strath, seemed to issue from a very narrow and dark opening betwixt two large rocks. These streams were different in character. The larger was placid, and even sullen in its course, wheeling in deep eddies, or sleeping in dark-blue pools; but the motions of the lesser brook were rapid and furious, issuing from between precipices like a maniac from his confinement, all foam and uproar. (p.201)

The photographic detail of this passage does more than show Scott as a master of the visual scene. It is a flowing and unstrained delineation of the emotional tones of the romantic and the realistic view. In a literal sense, we are shown two streams of life, having their junction in a landscape of which Waverley and Flora are, at that moment, a part. In this case, stability and realism seem to issue from the level valley, "without any change or elevation of character". It is "placid", even "sullen" in its course, suggesting both steadiness and dependability offering permanence and even passivity. Yet this larger, seemingly prosaic stream has depth and crisis within it. It involves a determined but also a complex progress, "wheeling in deep eddies" or "sleeping in dark pools". The language here suggests variability even in the broad stream from which the more excitable brook tumbles. "Wheeling" and "eddies" show its changing directions, with episodes of crisis within a steady course. At the same time, the sleeping "dark pools" suggest contrasting periods of stillness and concentration. This looks like a view, literally a landscape, of history as contrast, even contradiction. It implies an organic view of human life in its unity between human character, events and geographical background, very typical of Scott's writing.

In the "lesser brook" which spurts in fast and intense movements from its parent, we see the volatile nature of Romanticism, of which Jacobitism is the historical expression. Its dangers are apparent in the violent imagery. This smaller brook is ejected from between two precipices, offering a sense of its birth in crisis. The "rapid", "furious" character of its progress builds toward the inhuman in a kind of madness. As a source of energy confined and then violently unleashed out of control, the emotional tone shows its capacity to evoke terror, "...like a maniac from his confinement, all foam and uproar." (p.201)

It is, of course, the experience of this second stream that awaits Waverley, about to fall in love with Flora MacIvor and the Jacobite cause. We see him enter it as a vulnerable young man in his naive romanticism, suggested by the sudden allusion to light fiction. "It was up the course of this last stream that Waverley, like a knight of romance, was conducted by the fair Highland damsel, his silent guide." (p.201) One is aware of the distance between the fragility of the "knight of romance", and the violent dangers of romantic love. This gentle description of Waverley reflects his own essential nature. He has a romantic heart, but its softness is clearly unfitted for the extremes of Highland love and hate. These dangers to the hero prepare us pictorially for the actual shocks and perils to come as the narrative builds to the battle of Preston. In these passages, Scott uses an almost cinematic technique, a descriptive close-up of the territory prepared for Waverley as he follows Flora. This has the realism of faithful description, while suggesting its moral implications in a way reminiscent of Pilgrim's Progress.

As the two young people leave the realism of everyday life at the castle, they move into a world of private romance. It has the evanescent quality of fairytale, which partly suggests the nature of the emotion projected on to Flora by the hero.

A small path...led him through scenery of a very different description from that which he had just quitted. Around the castle all was cold, bare, and desolate, yet tame even in desolation; but this narrow glen, at so short a distance, seemed to open into the land of romance. (p.201)

From this, the writing moves quickly into a harsher tone, where 'romance' gives way to a physically threatening landscape. It hints not only at gothic horror and the picturesque, but at the pictorial morality of Bunyan.

The rocks assumed a thousand peculiar and varied forms. In one place a crag of huge rise presented

its gigantic bulk, as if to forbid the passenger's farther progress; and it was not until he approached its very base that Waverley discerned the sudden and acute turn by which the pathway wheeled its course around this formidable obstacle. 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. (pp. 201/2)

This is to be Waverley's true journey into romance, one of shocks, contradiction and deception. Its real dangers are indicated by the "chasm" over which there is but a fragile bridge, offering no balancing ledges, and at a dizzying height from the ground. This metaphor for the journey of the romantic imagination has both visual power and psychological depth. Equally, each symbol, the rocky obstacle, the chasm, the narrow bridge and the aerial nature of the path are apt and telling without detracting from the naturalistic flow of description. The moral points are made with equal ease and force. Scott achieves a deft indication of character in Flora and Waverley, by showing their different responses to this environment. She trips lightly, apparently mindless of danger across the narrow bridge, waving gracefully to Waverley below as she does so. Such sang froid is beyond the hero. He is a young man essentially at home only on solid ground, and therefore wisely passes under the bridge with a "sense of dizziness" at Flora's elevation in mid-air. Clearly they are not to be a match. Flora easily inhabits the rarefied air of romantic idealism, disregarding personal danger. Given a choice, Waverley will keep his feet on the ground. The impossibility of their permanent relationship is succinctly stated in such a scene.

This exposition of the Romantic leads fittingly into one of Waverley's most difficult personal experiences. We are shown in detail the confusion attendant on this growth in his emotional life. Scott is

rarely credited with an ability to handle moments of intense feeling, but Waverley shows him as very sensitive to important moments of emotional awareness. He catches very well the contradictory impulses of youthful feeling as Waverley falls in love with Flora while she extols the Celtic muse with fitting harp accompaniment. It is perhaps a scene to make the reader smile at its naivete, but also to feel its very real impact upon an inexperienced young man.

Indeed, the wild feeling of romantic delight with which he heard the few first notes she drew from her instrument, amounted almost to a sense of pain. He would not for worlds have quitted his place by her side; yet he almost longed for solitude, that he might decipher and examine at leisure the complication of emotions which now agitated his bosom. (p.205)

Love is obviously not going to prove an easy, or even a releasing experience. Already, he is both captive to Flora and aware of the need for distance in order to restore his equilibrium. The fairy-tale nature of the scene is, after all, only a thin veneer concealing the latent tumult of romantic love. An implied equation of love with pain as well as delight is important. This marks the start of a new complexity in Waverley's experiences. The whole emotional tone of the work is heightened. There is a sense of Waverley's increasing loss of balance. He is falling not only in love, but into Jacobitism as well. The separation of private and public, so characteristic of the earlier "castle-building", now seems no longer possible. All this is prefigured in the dizzying sensation experienced in the Glen. Love is the tripwire which removes all sense of a firm foothold from Waverley's life.

This loss of balance is emphasised in the speed with which these confusing emotions over Flora are followed by the disastrous misunderstanding over Waverley's army duties. Unjustly disgraced as it seems to him, he has a new sense of demands being made, of restrictions

increasing, and these are felt not as duties, but as fetters. One is aware of an innate impulse to freedom always at work in Waverley, but at the same time, he feels the extreme discomfort of being without acceptable rules or guidelines. The discipline of army life and an officer's code would have offered to another individual a perfectly acceptable rule of conduct. We are shown such a choice working positively in the character of Colonel Gardiner, and more particularly, Colonel Talbot. Its negative aspect is seen in the "military martinet", Colonel Melville and the disposition to pedantry of Baron Bradwardine. For Waverley, however, a combination of temperament and his early life, make army life unlikely as a permanent profession. His reaction to Colonel Gardiner's tough, but not unreasonable letter in his position as commanding officer, throws into relief the young hero's basic resistance to the pressure of authority. The reactions are intense and rebellious, a psychologically fitting mood in which to enter the Jacobite cause.

Edward's blood boiled within him as he read this letter. He had been accustomed from his very infancy to possess, in great measure, the disposal of his own time, and thus acquired habits which rendered the rules of military discipline as unpleasing to him in this as they were in some other respects. An idea that in his own case they would not be enforced in a very rigid manner, had also obtained full possession of his mind, and had hitherto been sanctioned by the indulgent conduct of his Lieutenant-colonel. Neither had anything occurred, to his knowledge, that should have induced his commanding officer...so suddenly to assume a harsh, and, as Edward deemed it, so insolent a tone of dictatorial authority. (p.237)

Waverley's lack of information here is indicative of the whole tenor of his life. He is learning painfully that choices must be made, demands responded to without a real basis for judgement.

In his search for some fixed point, he discovers that any frame of reference for life is likely to be ambiguous. This is one of the major

concerns of the work. He cannot emulate the tough, almost religious idealism of Flora, since he lacks her particular brand of single-mindedness and daring. Yet some course of action seems essential as a response to the emotional turmoil within him. From here, the work is intensely concerned not only with the development of Waverley's mind and judgement, but with the nature of his emotional growth. Indeed, Scott seems to be suggesting that the two go together. However, his present inexperience is emphasised by an inability to tolerate a condition of personal uncertainty in spite of his desire for freedom. Not having learned that the two are linked, he turns to the certainties and the worldly-wise pragmatism of Fergus MacIvor.

It may be observed, in passing, that the bold and prompt habits of thinking, acting and speaking which distinguished this young chieftain had given him a considerable ascendancy over the mind of Waverley. Endowed with at least equal powers of understanding, and with much finer genius, Edward yet stooped to the bold and decisive activity of an intellect which was sharpened by the habit of acting on a preconceived and regular system, as well as by extensive knowledge of the world. (p.238)

In the character of Fergus, we see an alternative code quite distinct from either the pure idealism of Flora, or the present confusion of Waverley. Fergus conducts himself according to a set of rules quite as rigid as those of army life, "...a preconceived and regular system" of active self-interest. We have been shown that his ambition for the Stuart cause and restoration is intimately connected with his desire for an Earldom. He has a natural will to power characteristic of the career statesman. Scott's awareness of the complexities of such ambitions are explored in many later works and particularly in Kenilworth, where English history is seen to turn upon significant individuals and their magnetic attraction to political power and status. The same theme is important in Quentin Durward in its treatment of the internal rivalries of European

States. Scott's interest in the whole question of personal power as motivation and guiding principle for life, extends well beyond Scottish history, and seems to stem from his concern with this expression of a psychological type.

Yet to Edward Waverley, the vigorous pragmatism and ardent self-interest of Fergus, looks like a solution to his disenchantment with the English establishment. In this though, his heart is not altogether misguided, for the Chieftain offers a genuine friendship and concern. Yet the imbalance of attachment in the relationship is already present. The emotional make-up of the two friends is very different. Waverley is more passionate, more vulnerable and less controlled than his friend. The feeling of being misunderstood and degraded by his own countrymen, "...filled him with such bitter emotions that, after attempts to conceal them he at length threw himself into Mac-Ivor's arms, and gave vent to tears of shame and indignation." (p.239) This is an extreme, albeit a human reaction, for a young soldier. The Chieftain, however, though moved by his friend's distress, is still able to turn the situation to his own advantage. He sees the moment to be ripe for Waverley's defection, and cleverly edges the personal emotion into the political issue. Waverley, already more than half-way to being a rebel, is now about to be swept into a political cause. Mac-Ivor's rationalisation is a brilliant example of the political speech which works upon private distress and disenchantments.

"...I would have vengeance to fall on the head, not on the hand, - on the tyrannical and oppressive government which designed and directed these pre-meditated and reiterated insults; not on the tools of office which they employed in the execution of the injuries they aimed at you."

"On the government!," said Waverley.

"Yes," replied the impetuous Highlander, "on the usurping House of Hanover, whom your grandfather would no more have served than he would have taken wages of red-hot gold from the great fiend of hell!" (p.241)

By contrast, Flora's idealism is both more realistic and more compassionate. Ardent Jacobite though she is, she has great clarity of perception where Waverley is concerned. His attachment to her is fitting in many ways, since they share an innate fairness of disposition. Her influence on the young hero, though emotionally dizzying at first, is potentially steadying. She is clear sighted about the nature of the Jacobite cause, and differentiates precisely between her brother's situation and that of Waverley. This perhaps is romantic idealism at its best and most humane. She is possibly even too generous to her brother.

...Fergus has taken his measures with his eyes open. His life has been devoted to this cause from his cradle; with him its call is sacred, were it even a summons to the tomb. But how can I wish you, Mr Waverley, so new to the world, so far from every friend who might advise and ought to influence you, - in a moment, too of sudden pique and indignation, - how can I wish you to plunge yourself at once into so desperate an enterprise? (p.246)

It is this element of the "sacred" in Jacobitism that binds Flora. Nevertheless, she encourages Waverley's impulse to independent choice. While he is inclined to lean on her as a "monitor" or moral guide, she directs him back to the prompting of his own heart. The two have much in common in their shared sense of values as arising from true feeling. In Flora, this is already allied to self-discipline and perception. She has made, for her, the right choice, and is wedded to the cause. Its failure leads her essentially religious temperament quite fittingly to a convent. Her instinct is to require Waverley also to make a choice equally suitable for himself.

"Incomparable Flora!" said Edward, taking her hand, "how much do I need such a monitor!"
 "A better one by far," said Flora, gently withdrawing her hand, "Mr Waverley will always find in his own bosom, when he will give its small still voice leisure to be heard." (p.247)

Very suitably, Scott calls this chapter of dialogue between the two "An Eclaircissement", and it seems to bring a kind of clarity to bear on the

emotional intensity and confusion of the preceding "News from England". In Flora, the romantic ardour of Jacobitism though obsessive in its way, has such a clear nobility and genuine feeling, that one may not dismiss it as merely mistaken or immature, or even unrealistic. Politically, Flora may be naive, but through her Scott suggests that an ardent nature needs such a cause or religion, some focus of dedication. In his Highland heroine, such ideals are made to seem attractively honest and caring. In this, she teaches Waverley a great deal. At this point in the narrative such a strain of romantic devotion seems richer than anything he has encountered before. Thus the influence of Waverley's first love not only marks the start of emotional growth, but a broadening of his moral nature. Love is not seen as an escape, but rather a complication of his life. Increasingly he is thrown back upon himself. Significantly, he has thrown himself into the arms of Fergus, and would gladly allow Flora to take charge of his moral life, but she, precisely by being the moral teacher he needs, refers him back to himself.

The pace of the work now steadily increases in keeping with the rapidity of the changes in Waverley's life. There is a sense of threat to any previous security. As he approaches Flora with a proposal of marriage, the sense that his fate hangs in the balance involves more than his emotional happiness. He is conscious of being carried along by the stress of events, and the tone of the writing is reminiscent of the "rapid and furious brook" issuing from the precipices in the "Highland Minstrelsy". This is emphasised in the repetition of the hero's walk up the Glen at Glennaquoich.

Waverley ascended the glen with an anxious and throbbing heart. Love, with all its romantic train of hopes, fears and wishes, was mingled with other feelings of a nature less easily defined. He could not but remember how much this morning had changed his fate, and into what a complication of perplexity it was likely

to plunge him. Sunrise had seen him possessed of an esteemed rank in the honourable profession of arms, his father to all appearance rapidly rising in the favour of his sovereign; all this had passed away like a dream, he himself was dishonoured, his father disgraced, and he had become involuntarily the confidant, at least, if not the accomplice, of plans dark, deep, and dangerous, which must infer either subversion of the government he had so lately served, or the destruction of all who had participated in them. Should Flora even listen to his suit favourably, what prospect was there of its being brought to a happy termination, amid the tumult of an impending insurrection? (p.253)

Here we see in Waverley a sense of being apparently at the mercy of fate. Involvement with these political activities is literally foreign to him. The "tumult" of the "impending insurrection" is seen as a kind of chasm, "dark", "deep" and "dangerous". Again, this has been prefigured in the "Highland Minstrelsy", where the romantic waterfall "seemed to seek the very abyss". This symbol of Romanticism is a combination of dream and nightmare. Significantly, it is beside this waterfall that Waverley and Flora are brought together. It is here too that the hero has begun to feel that dream and reality are interchangeable. Former reality now seems to have "passed away like a dream", while the present has the quality of an impending nightmare.

There seems to be no middle ground available for the young hero, between the unwelcome, and apparently unjust, disciplines of army life, and the "desperate enterprise" of his new friends. Love for Flora brings with it a "train of hopes and fears". The rising is described as a coming tumult. Even the advice of Fergus is felt to be "wild", "dangerous" and "precipitate". The language associated with the Jacobites, and with Waverley's new found emotional awareness, tends at the least to distraction, and often almost to a sense of derangement. One remembers the "maniac" little brook of "Highland Minstrelsy". Waverley now sees himself as being "whirled" along by Fergus, "...the partaker of all his desperate and impetuous motions, renouncing almost

the power of judging, or deciding upon the rectitude or prudence of his actions." (p.254)

One is vividly aware, as Waverley increasingly is, that the rush of events and personal influences, while precipitating the need for choice, involves a suspension of personal judgement and a loss of personal independence. Yet perhaps the primary source of this surrender of freedom is not so much fate, as Waverley's own need for the emotional ties to the MacIvors. The impulse toward personal attachments is, at root, the 'cause' which has captured Waverley. The constraining demands of the English military establishment have given way to the seemingly softer, but more enmeshing bonds of Romance in all its forms. Desiring freedom from one set of constraints, the hero has been drawn more deeply into a more subtle kind of tie. His loss of freedom is progressive as he realises with something like panic, a new need for it within a condition, both inward and outward, of insurrection. Again, paradoxically, it is Flora, even in her rejection of him, who seems to offer only personal conviction as the basis for decision making. Yet events and the pressure of his emotional experiences allow insufficient time or space for these to take root. "Let your part in this great and perilous drama rest upon conviction, and not on a hurried and probably temporary feeling." (p.258) This very fair and sensible advice might well summarise an important "moral lesson" for the reader, and for the "drama" of Waverley's life. However, as the work itself demonstrates, such a view reckons without the impact of events and individuals upon the personality, as is shown with particular vividness in Waverley's meeting with Charles Stuart.

It is, nevertheless, the search for what Flora calls conviction, and the basis on which this may be founded, that increasingly occupies Waverley. Her refusal of him increases his personal pain and uncertainty,

yet it is a measure of the growth of his independence that he can now debate with some clarity the arguments for and against the rising. Aware of the distressing nature of his position, neither entirely won to the Jacobite cause, nor a loyal English officer, his task is to pick his way precariously through the conflicting political and personal claims made upon him. The greater part of his nature tends toward peace and stability. "...he felt inexpressible repugnance at the idea of being accessory to the plague of civil war." (p.266) Moreover, he now brings reason as well as personal inclination, to bear on the problem.

Whatever were the original rights of the Stewarts, calm reflection told him that, omitting the question how far James the Second could forfeit those of his posterity, he had, according to the united voice of the whole nation, justly forfeited his own. Since that period, four monarchs had reigned in peace and glory over Britain, sustaining and exalting the character of the nation abroad, and its liberties at home. Reason asked, was it worth while to disturb a government so long settled and established, and to plunge a kingdom into all the miseries of civil war, for the purpose of replacing upon the throne the descendants of a monarch by whom it had been wilfully forfeited? If, on the other hand, his own final conviction of the goodness of their cause, or the commands of his father or uncle, should recommend to him allegiance to the Stewarts, still it was necessary to clear his own character by showing that he had not, as seemed to be falsely insinuated, taken any step to this purpose during his holding of the commission of the reigning monarch. (p.266)

We see in Waverley here, a new political awareness and maturity, as well as a determination to await "final conviction" before committing himself. This shift away from the purely emotional pull of Jacobitism comes not only after the impact of Flora's refusal and her clear-headed advice, but also follows the touching and concerned letter from Rose. She, like Flora, has an affectionate but altruistic concern for Waverley. In their integrity and reliance upon the heart as the ground of personal values, the two girls have much in common. Rose's letter from Tully Veolan is worthy of the mature Jane Austen heroine in its combination

of sense and sensibility. She is anxious to observe the very nicest proprieties, while being both natural and unaffected. "Forgive me if I am wrong in what I am doing, for, alas! Mr Waverley, I have no better advice than that of my own feelings." (p.263)

As we have seen in Scott's description of Rose in chapter fourteen, he is careful to show her frank, confiding and "aimiable qualities", which are in fact too natural to merit much attention from the hero at that period. He is still seeking a heightened life by which he may increase his own view of himself. "...looking out for some object whose affection may dignify him in his own eyes, than stooping to one who looks up to him for such distinction." (p.125) At the time of his attachment to Flora, though its intensity is greater, Waverley seems to parallel in his admiration of her, Rose's admiration of him at Tully Veolan. Both are in the process of emotional self-discovery. Running parallel to Waverley's personal growth, we see in Rose's letter, though it is still hesitant, a new sense of independence. She shows courage in writing at all, and is able to take the chance of being painfully misunderstood for the sake of what seems to her to be a correct impulse. Scott takes a great deal of trouble with the development of the right woman for his hero. This concern with the personal life, in a novel seeming to deal specifically with public actions and great events, is important. It suggests a sense of history being examined for its impact on the individual life. The political movements and ideologies involved are evaluated in the light of their human consequences. As has been suggested, history, both social and private, is much concerned with the influence of individuals upon one another. Thus the good marriage is very important for Waverley.

His decision to return to England is strongly influenced by Rose's letter. She has made it seem to be a matter of both heart and honour.

However, one of the results of his journeys, is the revelation of the degree to which such concepts as "honour" or "truth" may complicate, rather than clarify the position of the individual. This is especially so in a time of crisis, where allegiances are given not on the basis of principle, so much as partiality, temperament or prejudice. Waverley's almost untenable middle ground of frankness and candid behaviour is well seen in his "Examination" by Colonel Melville. Circumstantial evidence being against him in the matter of Colonel Gardiner's mislaid orders, the hero finds his only defence not in openness and truth, but in silence. We are aware that this is another severe blow to his natural personality. In the Highlands it has all but led him into a disastrous cause and a painfully abortive love affair, while this attempt to go home, to return to his natural surroundings, results in a further confinement and misunderstanding. Upright individualism is not, apparently, the answer to force of circumstances, or the preconceptions of a rigid mind like Melville's, who interprets Waverley's behaviour rather according to his prejudices than to the evidence. The hero is discovering that truth may be very much a matter of interpretation, and, so far from offering protection, may as easily embroil the individual more deeply.

Beset and pressed on every hand by accusations in which gross falsehoods were blended with such circumstances of truth as would not fail to procure them credit, - alone, unfriended, and in a strange land, Waverley almost gave up his life and honour for lost; and leaning his head upon his hand, resolutely refused to answer any further questions, since the fair and candid statement he had already made had only served to furnish arms against him. (p.304)

Nevertheless, one sees that in this realisation of the importance of naive truth, Waverley's personal independence is, in fact, growing. Not only have we seen him more politically aware concerning the rising, but he is learning to develop a personal strategy for survival. He is still a passionate and outspoken young man, but his naivete begins to be

matured into the capacity for firm refusal. In his new assertiveness toward Major Melville, we remember his previous firmness in refusing the blandishments of Fergus to "take the plaid".

"You appear convinced of my guilt, and wrest every reply I have made to support your own preconceived opinion. Enjoy your supposed triumph, then, and torment me no further. If I am capable of the cowardice and treachery your charge burdens me with, I am not worthy to be believed in any reply I can make to you. If I am not deserving of your suspicion, - and God and my own conscience bear evidence with me that it is so, - then I do not see why I should, by my candour, lend my accusers arms against my innocence." (p.304)

Waverley's increasing stature here is obvious as we immediately see that Major Melville is willing to bargain with truth if Edward will inform against the Mac-Ivors. By contrast, Waverley's passionate defiance that "...you should sooner have my heart out of my bosom," (p.306) gives him a complete moral victory over his examiner.

After ending this chapter on such a high note in Waverley's favour, Scott follows with a characteristically detailed discussion of the importance of individual character in the determination of events. We are shown not only how Melville and Morton have judged Waverley, but why, and the basis for judgement is seen to be less than purely objective observation in each case. It is dependent upon the mode of feeling that each brings to the situation. Each is overtly well qualified for his task, but the decisive factors are seen not to be the facts, or the ability to weigh evidence, but the character of those who do so. This is important to the whole concern of the work as to how and why personal and social judgements are made. It is the more pointed for coming after the reader's assent to Flora MacIvor's view that Waverley's truest course lies in consulting his own true conviction. As Mr Morton and Major Melville discuss the young man over dinner, the author offers us an insight into the difficulties of the problem, difficulties which

would not occur to the perceptive but youthful Flora, but which are clearly apparent to the older, more complex awareness of her creator.

Each mused over the particulars of the examination, and each viewed it through the medium of his own feelings. Both were men of ready and acute talent, and both were equally competent to combine various parts of evidence, and to deduce from them the necessary conclusions. But the wide difference of their habits and education often occasioned a great discrepancy in their respective deductions from admitted premises. (p.307)

To some extent, one may feel that these two men are examples of the romantic and the prosaic temperaments. Their opposing views are seen to stem from differences of experience, itself partly the result of inclination in a particular direction. Major Melville has been toughened by experience of the world. Mr Morton's gentler nature has seemed to act as a protection from harsh experience. It is clear that the latter is more likely to befriend Waverley.

Major Melville had been versed in camps and cities; he was vigilant by profession and cautious from experience, had met with much evil in the world, and therefore, though himself an upright magistrate and an honourable man, his opinions of others were always strict and sometimes unjustly severe. Mr Morton, on the contrary, had passed from the literary pursuits of a college, where he was beloved by his companions and respected by his teachers, to the ease and simplicity of his present charge, where his opportunities of witnessing evil were few, and never dwelt upon but in order to encourage repentance and amendment, and where the love and respect of his parishioners repaid his affectionate zeal in their behalf, by endeavouring to disguise from him what they knew would give him the most acute pain, - namely, their own occasional transgressions of the duties which it was the business of his life to recommend. Thus it was a common saying in the neighbourhood (though both were popular characters) that the laird knew only the ill in the parish, and the minister only the good. (p.308)

Scott is careful to make both men "honourable" and respected in their community, so that the two represent not positive and negative in the judgement of Waverley, but differences of perspective. As so often with Scott, we are presented not with a choice between right and wrong

in character, but with a consideration of the effects of experience and environment upon the personality. From this we observe the psychology at work in the making of moral and personal decisions. One sees also how he suggests ways in which these tendencies are self-perpetuating. Individuals will apparently only perceive that which previous experience allows them to recognise. In this we see how important are the continual contrasts and contradictions of Waverley's experience. He is not to be allowed only a single, narrow mode of life no matter what its virtues. This narrowness is characteristic of both Mr Morton and Major Melville. Each is limited in his way and therefore given to particular prejudices. Scott will now allow his hero, on the other hand, the chance to make up his mind too firmly or too soon on any issue. He hardly has time to assimilate any experience before he is pitched headlong into its opposite. Waverley's career offers him the capacity for manysidedness. Its aim is independence and breadth of mind. Before he settles on his mode of life as a man, he must be in a position to evaluate all the evidence of his experience. This consists, as we have seen, as much in a study of individual character, as of events; of many styles and attitudes to life. In each of Scott's characters, especially those who are in any way decisive for Waverley, though minor, we are shown a history of attitudes born of past experience and temperament. We see therefore, the root of personality and the tendencies of its judgements. Like a Jane Austen heroine, Waverley's task is discerning judgement through experience, rather than prejudice because of it.

In the case of Mr Morton, there is clearly some kinship with the young hero. He has had an early love of letters, which "...had tinged his mind in earlier days with a slight feeling of romance, which no after incidents of real life had entirely dissipated." (p.308) Married for love, Mr Morton has lost both wife and child, so that bereavement

has further softened "...a disposition naturally mild and contemplative. His feelings on the present occasion were therefore likely to differ from those of the severe disciplinarian, strict magistrate, and distrustful man of the world." (p.309) We are prepared, therefore, for Major Melville to judge the present issue of the rebellion and Waverley's involvement in it, according to strict law and justice to the community. However, Morton regards justice itself as bound to "regard the moral motive". Both have "justice" as their argument, but in Melville's case, it is an absolute concept. For Morton, legalism must be tempered by an understanding of individual intention. Throughout Waverley, these clashes of interpretation as to codes of behaviour, offer us a work concerned to enquire deeply into the nature of the truly moral action, and how it may be judged or, indeed, recognised. The argument here between laird and minister, suggests how closely related to point of view are such issues, even where individual characters are adherents to similar general principles of right conduct.

It is telling that at this moment of pressure, of personal danger and moral suspension, Waverley's instinct is to remember his essential roots, the ancient and "loyal faith to the house of Stewarts". Having previously seemed to command a return to England and the present Government, together with a refusal of Fergus and Jacobitism, honour is now seen as demanding the opposite course of action. It is now the English government that looks like the usurper.

"Why did not I," he said to himself, "like other men of honour, take the earliest opportunity to welcome to Britain the descendant of her ancient kings and lineal heir of her throne?" (p.316)

Here, the whole question of justice links the personal and the political dilemma. Opposing claims for Waverley's allegiance clash head on. Scott sees these concerns as involving the strongest private feelings. Waverley wakes "to a full consciousness of the horror of his situation."

(p.316) Beneath the theme of the Stewart restoration lies the deeper conflict between different views of justice. The political issue is seen to have its roots deep in the personal, individual problem of how true moral claims may be established.

However, as befits the hero's still fluid moral position, such issues are not to be decided as yet. Waverley's disequilibrium is reflected in his strong sense of living in a dream. He is keenly aware of his incapacity to control either the speed or the nature of the events which sweep him along. One result is his susceptibility to quick changes of mood, though this is not altogether negative. Horror and despair give way, when occasion offers, to the liveliest spirits, which are partly natural and partly stoical. Responding to Morton's friendship and quiet gaiety at dinner, "Waverley, whose life was a dream, gave ready way to the predominating impulse, and became the most lively of the party."

(p.326) In addition, one is conscious of a new self-awareness and pride in the face of disaster.

On the present occasion he piqued himself upon leaving on the minds of his companions a favourable impression of one who, under such disastrous circumstances, could sustain his misfortunes with ease and gaiety. His spirits, though not unyielding, were abundantly elastic, and soon seconded his efforts. (p.326)

The hero, so far from sinking into the passivity with which critics have associated him, begins to look like a survivor. He is learning though with great difficulty, to accommodate the swift contradictions of his experience. The extent to which his equilibrium is to be tested by events, is emphasised in the suddenness of the ambush, which removes him from the threat of English military justice, and delivers him to the Highlanders and the precarious moral authority of the Jacobites. The tone of the writing is now more urgent, suggesting not simply a turn of fortune, but violent propulsion into the unknown. "The velocity, and

indeed the violence, with which Waverley was hurried along, nearly deprived him of sensation." (p.340) Significantly, when his wound prevents him sustaining the pace of the Highlanders, he is carried along by them wrapped in a plaid. Having refused Fergus MacIvor's entreaty to "take the plaid", it has, it seems, taken him. In this, we are well prepared by the metaphor of the ambush, for the overpowering influence of Charles Stuart on Waverley.

This sense that the hero, though often seeming to make choices, is also at the mercy of events and of those around him, increases the psychological pressure of the work in the build up to the decisive meeting with the Prince. We are shown Waverley, captive once more, deliberating upon escape to England, or a return to the MacIvors. Yet we are also aware that this moral debate is, in fact, largely irrelevant in a condition of captivity. By implication, moral action exists only in a state of freedom. This has, from earliest experience, been only very partially available to Waverley. His movements are from one set of constraining circumstances to another, and this is often expressed as literal incarceration. The hero's experiences are very largely those of the captive, either more or less willingly, depending on circumstances. In this formative period of his life, with its increasing awareness of the need for moral choice, there is a corresponding realisation of the impossibility of making them effective in practice. This is, perhaps, one of the central tensions of the work; the individual's development into consciousness of constraints, and yet the need to acquire an independent view as a prerequisite for a humane morality. In addition, fate, or destiny is frequently seen as operating against this endeavour. In the case of Waverley, brought up in personal and political division, "...his fortune had settled that he was not to be left to his option." (p.346)

Alexander Welsh finds this to be evidence in the hero of a passivity which is, in his view, characteristic of Scott's heroes. He maintains that, "...Waverley actually has no escape plan...",¹ but one feels that escape is precisely what Scott does not wish to allow his hero. The essence of this educative journey is the fullest possible assimilation of each difficulty or dilemma as it occurs. Through Waverley, Scott offers us an unremitting experience of many complex moral, social and political issues and perspectives. Were escape and solution possible in such difficulties, there would be no internal conflict. It is the conflict engendered by opposing claims on the individual life, that lies at the heart of the work.

A kind of fatalism, born of extraordinary times, is strong in Waverley. We are made aware, again and again, that the hero has had an unusual degree of violent and dangerous contradiction thrust upon him. This creates a complexity in his surroundings which the inexperience of youth is not equipped to deal with. Though some similarities come to mind, the hero is no Catherine Morland, with a longing to be terrorised by the Gothic. We may not laugh at Waverley, since his naivete makes him intensely and seriously vulnerable in the real world of political violence. The naive romantic is seen as dangerously out of place in such conditions.

His passion for the wonderful, although it is in the nature of such dispositions to be excited by that degree of danger which merely gives dignity to the feeling of the individual exposed to it, had sunk under the extraordinary and apparently insurmountable evils by which he appeared environed at Cairnvreckan. In fact, this compound of intense curiosity and exalted imagination forms a peculiar species of courage, which somewhat resembles the light usually carried by a miner, - sufficiently competent, indeed, to afford him guidance and

1. Alexander Welsh, The Hero of the Waverley Novels (Atheneum, N.Y. 1968), p. 39.

comfort during the ordinary perils of his labour,
but certain to be extinguished should he encounter
the more formidable hazard of earth damps or
pestiferous vapours. (p.347)

It is this sense of grappling with a period of "formidable hazard", that creates the real difficulty for Waverley. In an environment where almost everyone is taking sides, even if it is only the lawless self-interest of Donald Bean Lean, the hero's attempt to assess each claim for its true value, leads inevitably to isolation. As a result, we see the young man most characteristically in a condition of exhaustion or despair, alone in a room, and not infrequently under lock and key. This is not the passivity of which critics complain, but the consequence of what might be considered its opposite, an impulse toward an active moral sense. Yet this is only possible after the experience of being swept along by each of the warring factions. It is true that Waverley often feels himself to be fortune's fool, as when he is being taken to the Prince, and contemplates "...the strangeness of his fortune, which seemed to delight in placing him at the disposal of others, without the power of directing his own motions." (p.356) However, it is only in this way that Waverley achieves the experience which allows subsequent reflection, and an evaluation of his own conduct as well as that of those around him. One feels that Scott is psychologically correct here in presenting this sense of helplessness. Waverley is very much a study of youth, dependent upon the power and influence of others. The work deals specifically with the period before Waverley has the opportunity or the equipment for the ordering of his own life. It is concerned with the progress toward maturity with the attendant "formidable" hazards.

The reader is intensely concerned with Waverley's final choices because Scott insists on the powerfully disorientating influences upon him. The hero is too young altogether to resist them, and yet is too open for absolute commitment. There is perhaps, some doubt as to whether

he finds choice to be a humane possibility at all. So far, only Flora MacIvor has seemed to combine deep commitment with personal disinterestedness. Nevertheless, she is destined not for the world, but for a convent, so that the problem of moral allegiances within society remains.

One of the most decisive moments for Waverley is, as critics have noted, the meeting with Charles Stuart. Robin Mayhead finds it one of the work's most important climaxes.¹ Lars Hartveit in Dream Within a Dream, goes further, finding it, "...the highlight of the novel." He sees this moment as "...the turning point in Waverley's career."² In the Prince's presentation of himself and his appeal to the young man, we see the major themes of the work brought together. Charles combines historical conflict with the more personal opposition between heart and head, romantic and pragmatic. Not without political acumen, the Stuart Prince nevertheless relies on the personal as a means of achieving political ends. His claim for allegiance is not based on an external code of justice, so much as on a clearly and deeply felt conviction and "affection". We are well prepared for this in the previous differences between Morton and Melville, the romantic versus the man of the world. The Stuart claim is essentially romantic, but it demands the backing of "justice" as strongly as does the law that judges Waverley's dereliction of duty to the English army. The whole concept thus begins to look extremely fluid, since it may be moulded to the particular needs of each proponent. The young hero has himself debated the relative claims of both old and new orders, finding "justice" in both. It is perhaps one of the work's central concerns to demonstrate the difficulties inherent in any such absolutes. Yet it is upon such ideals that the most far reaching decisions, both public and private, are based.

1. Robin Mayhead, Walter Scott, p. 38.

2. Lars Harteit, Dream Within a Dream, p. 96.

However, at this stage of his experience, justice as a romantic and personal idea, as distinct from legalism, has the stronger pull for the hero. Yet its impact is not due merely to the vulnerability of youth. The MacIvors and the Prince are also relatively young, and more worldly and pragmatic than Waverley, but, as Jacobites, they have chosen this cause as the basis for their lives. Nor may we dismiss this Jacobite Prince as an impulsive hot-head. Scott presents him as both gracious and fair-minded. His understanding of Waverley's position demonstrates a cool head and an acute perception. His psychological insight as to the appropriate appeal to the young man is masterly, yet he lacks the manipulative power of Fergus. His authority is natural and genuine. He has the essential quality of kingship, which is to make his followers believe in his right to command. Equally, he is confident enough to be able to allow Waverley's Hanoverian allegiance, and to place his appeal firmly on a sense of personal and moral rightness. One sees how this generosity is quite irresistible to Waverley's heart, at which it is aimed. It is clearly the heart and not the head which is responsible for what may also be seen as a very serious change of loyalties for Edward, if not for the House of Waverley.

"...I desire to gain no adherents save from affection and conviction; and if Mr Waverley inclines to prosecute his journey to the South, or to join the forces of the Elector, he shall have my passport and free permission to do so;..." "But", continued Charles Edward, after another short pause, "if Mr Waverley should, like his ancestor, Sir Nigel, determine to embrace a cause which has little to recommend it but its justice, and follow a Prince who throws himself upon the affections of his people to recover the throne of his ancestors or perish in the attempt, I can only say that among these nobles and gentlemen he will find worthy associates in a gallant enterprise, and will follow a master who may be unfortunate, but, I trust, will never be ungrateful." (p.369)

Such a combination of command, humility and pure charm is a powerful Jacobite weapon. Indeed the cause relies heavily on the need for such

moments of intense emotional experience in the lives of individuals. Significantly, the Prince throws himself upon the "affections" of his people, placing himself at the centre of the Highland need for a particularly personal loyalty. In such cases, the virtues of loyal service, moral courage and self-sacrifice are all grounded in the personal rather than the social ideal. Jacobitism, like Romanticism, is a creed for the individual life and not the collective community. This is both its appeal and its downfall. The ragged Jacobite army is finally ineffective just because it is based on individualism with its dangerous inclination to internal rivalry and instability. The implication behind the comparison set up by the author is that social life has the task of welding individuals into stable and permanent units. It offers a bulwark against the potentially disruptive and turbulent effects of individual impulse. One remembers Waverley's lack of early socialisation, and Scott's implication that its effects would have muted the individual passion. Since this has not happened, it is clear that Waverley is very likely material for Jacobitism. Thus, his instinct to follow Charles Stuart is a kind of truth to self. Yet, in the end, it is through the clash between these two, individual heart, and social order, that Waverley has to find his path.

As we have seen, by nature and inclination, the hero is romantic, individualistic and governed by the heart. Therefore, it is no surprise to see him overcome by a Prince who can combine the set piece political appeal, with true feeling. Scott is careful to emphasise the increase in personal importance which such a personality bestows on a follower who is, as in this case, particularly susceptible. The English social establishment has done little but seem to diminish Waverley's self-esteem, and the contrasting renewal of his personal worth in the eyes of a royal Prince, is almost intoxicating. The decision is not so much a matter of choice, as of psychological necessity.

Unaccustomed to the address and manners of a political court, in which Charles was eminently skilful, his words and his kindness penetrated the heart of our hero, and easily outweighed all prudential motives. To be thus personally solicited for assistance by a prince whose form and manners, as well as the spirit which he displayed in this singular enterprise, answered his ideas of a hero of romance; to be courted by him in the ancient halls of his paternal palace, recovered by the sword which he was already bending toward other conquests, - gave Edward, in his own eyes, the dignity and importance which he had ceased to consider as attributes. Rejected, slandered, and threatened upon the one side, he was irresistibly attracted to the cause which the prejudices of education and the political principles of his family had already recommended as most just. These thoughts rushed through his mind like a torrent, sweeping before them every consideration of an opposite tendency, - the time, besides, admitted of no deliberation, - and Waverley, kneeling to Charles Edward, devoted his heart and sword to the vindication of his rights. (pp.369/70)

Here we see in Waverley's action, the achievement of a sense of personal re-instatement, an apparently fixed point of reference, which also has the sense of a home coming. He takes up the cause of his ancestors in his "paternal palace", and re-unites himself to the strongest root of his House. The moment is touching in its feeling of relief at having found a moral and personal resting place. For Waverley, the cause now seems to offer a completeness, an outlet for both the personal and the public commitment, in devotion to one man. Moreover, romantic hero though the Prince may seem to be, his immediacy and his closeness to his followers gives him a reality far more powerful than the distant and unknown Hanover. Adventure it may be, but in Scotland, Jacobitism seems to have a solid, tangible presence which the English regime lacks. By implication, Scott suggests that true commitment rests only on real experience if it is to avoid formalism and become mere prejudice. This is not to say that formalism is absent from the Jacobites. Fergus MacIvor seems less morally credible than his sister, for example, precisely because his conviction is well mixed with a rigid political careerism. Thus his unyielding nature, though having many virtues, is not seen as a moral example for Waverley.

Therefore, it seems insufficient for the reader to dismiss Waverley's dedication to Charles as evidence of instability, or a mistaken surrender to the influence of the moment. As usual with Scott, moral choices are more complex. The times demand choice not "deliberation", and given the choice of the Elector of Hanover or Charles Stuart, Waverley quite truthfully chooses the reality of the moment. Flora has advised truth to the heart, and this is exactly how the hero chooses. Nor will this impulse decline as the cost of such fidelity is borne in upon him at the Battle of Preston. There is, throughout the work, no guarantee that any attempt at moral truth, romantic or otherwise, will lead to positive results. This is one of the most complex "moral lessons" that Waverley has to offer us.

Now given the personal sword of Charles, and costumed by Fergus as "an adopted son of Ivor" (p.396), Waverley consciously assumes the role of Jacobite. His success at the Holyrood ball shows the growth of confidence which results from having apparently settled his conflict of loyalties. The extent to which he is able to commend himself at the painful meeting with Flora, is good evidence of a new self-awareness. The reality of rejection is accepted with considerable emotion, but with equal control.

"This, then, is an end of my day-dream!" Such was Waverley's first thought, and it was so exquisitely painful as to banish from his cheek every drop of blood. (p.397)

However, Waverley is no longer the tongue-tied young soldier of "Highland Minstrelsy", but the friend of Charles Stuart, conscious of being about to partake in great events. Both the grand occasion and the revolution demand control of personal emotion. "By a strong and sudden effort, which the circumstances rendered indispensable, Waverley recovered himself so far as to follow the Chevalier in silence to a recess in the apartment." (p.397) Yet, though Waverley wears his new sophistication as well as

he does his new tartan, Scott is quite clear as to the inner cost of lost love. The emotional realism here is almost brutal. He puts aside any sentimental view of rejection. Its distress requires a toughness of response associated with the notion of "realism". We are offered not only the pain, but also the sheer hard work involved in accepting it. Thus the analogy is not with the beauty of romantic poetry, but the more prosaic and gallant post-horse. The young hero is learning to apply the harness of necessity to personal feeling.

...you must have observed, and doubtless with sympathetic pain, the reluctant agony with which the poor jades at first apply their galled necks to the collars of the harness. But when the irresistible arguments of the post-boy have prevailed upon them to proceed a mile or two, they will become callous to the first sensation; and being "warm in the harness", as the said post-boy may term it, proceed as if their withers were altogether unwrung. (p.398)

This increase of stoicism as part of Waverley's personal development, is characteristic of the author we find in Scott's Journal. The language combines the everyday experience with a kind of heroism in determined endurance. The simile of the post-horse conveys intense pain, yet one feels at the same time the light touch of an almost inconsequential experience. Post-horses may have some romance for the modern reader, but Scott clearly intends to refer back to the simple realism of loss and rejection as facts of life. The anguish is in no way understated, but is illustrated with a perspective very characteristic of Scott, who seeks a more "original" way of conveying truth to life than the "Art of Poetry" seems to offer. Nor, with equal truth and realism, is Waverley given to hopeless melancholy. His natural spirit and gaiety, together with a new sense of his own worth, assert themselves at the ball. In addition, the awareness of participating in the coming rebellion acts as stimulus and escape. "All nerves were strung for the future and prepared to enjoy the present." (p.400)

The growth of realism in Waverley's self-awareness is very characteristic of the work in its movement toward the climactic battle of Preston. The possibility for the young man to view the rebellion simply as an "adventure" diminishes with the March of the Highland army. On the one hand, the gathering of the clans under "...their respective banners, for the purpose of getting into the order of the march, was in itself a gay and lively spectacle." (p.407) Yet it is apparent that the army is in fact ill-armed except for the "leading men of each clan" (p.409) More important, however, in its personal impact, is the rescue and death of Sgt. Houghton. In this reunion, almost in the last moments of Houghton's life, Waverley is brought sharply back from the security of his new allegiance to Charles Stuart, to his more characteristic position of conflicting responsibilities. The placing of this incident immediately after the full force of the Stuart entourage upon the hero, is important in the implied qualification of Waverley's new cause. As usual, the conflicting claims are expressed in the fullest personal and emotional terms. Just as the moment of surrender to Charles was an impulse of the heart, so too is the response to Houghton. Waverley is alert to this pain because he is, by nature, responsive to any personal plea. "The voice of distress always found a ready answer in our hero's bosom." (p.415) Again, very characteristically, one of the results of this responsiveness is an increasing insight into his own circumstances. Colonel Gardiner's actions are now seen to be justified in the light of the misuse of Waverley's name. Moreover, since it is the Highlander Bean Lean who is responsible for this "intrigue", a more doubtful light is cast upon the "romance" of Highland life. One consequence of this unravelling of the narrative is that the English now appear as deserving of loyalty as do the Jacobites. In this, the reader is aware of the heightening of Waverley's fundamental moral dilemma as to which side is

truly his own, or if indeed, a good choice is possible in a situation where choice seems imperative. The claims of each seem now almost to cancel each other out. It is significant that the hero castigates himself with a failure toward Houghton not so much on the grounds of failed military duty, but in terms of human and personal responsibility. His brand of concern for his subordinate contrasts sharply with Fergus's brisk recognition of the soldier's lot.

"Poor fellow!" said Fergus, in a momentary fit of compassion; then instantly added, "But it will be a thousand men's fate before night, so come along." (p.417)

Waverley, on the other hand, sees Houghton not as an expendable soldier, but as a personal dependent. "...I tell you he is the son of a tenant of my Uncle's." (p.417) Thus the reflections on his death are less a soliloquy on dereliction of military duty, or the awareness of his desertion, but the realisation of a failure to adhere to the much more fundamental and enduring social and personal relation of tenant and landlord. It is the shared "paternal fields" that really suggest the bond between Houghton and Waverley. They are tenant and Squire, not soldier and officer. It is this realisation that increases Waverley's understanding of his English roots. The relation between these two is parallel to that of Fergus and Callum Beg. The irony and distress in the moment consists in Waverley discerning this rootedness when, as a "son of Ivor", he has just offered to Charles Stuart the complete command of his family's ancient Jacobite sympathies. He is now torn between two quite truthful loyalties. As so often with Scott, the conflict is not simply between right and wrong, but between two apparent rights. It is here that we see the hero as the victim not only of his own inexperience, but of the movements of history. As with the whole question of the Monarchy, history divides right from right, and time itself seems to blunt the distinction between conflicting claims.

Thus the "divine" right of the Stuarts offers a very difficult opposition to the de facto "right" of the existing Hanovers. This is a sophisticated moral and political issue, and one which shows the breadth and complexity of Scott as writer on the public and the private facets of the problem.

For Waverley, the most significant perspective, the one which directs the growth of his character, is not feeling for historical rightness, but feeling for the individual in the present. It is the immediacy of Houghton's death and distress that brings the hero to self-knowledge.

"Yes", he said, "I have indeed acted towards you with thoughtless cruelty. I brought you from your paternal fields and the protection of a generous and kind landlord, and when I had subjected you to all the rigour of military discipline, I shunned to bear my own share of the burden, and wandered from the duties I had undertaken, leaving alike those whom it was my business to protect, and my own reputation, to suffer under the artifices of villany. Oh, indolence and indecision of mind, if not in yourselves vices, to how much exquisite misery do you frequently prepare the way!" (p.419)

This soliloquy obviously demonstrates Waverley's increasing capacity for reflection upon conduct, but more important, it shows a new immediacy in his sense of personal responsibility, of interdependence. From this crisis arises the necessity to take account of the effect on others of any action or inaction. The emphasis here is on Waverley's lack of personal autonomy, not this time through force of circumstances, but because of the demands of human relationships. This is a more subtle concern in the work, than the demand for Waverley to awake from romantic dreams to true responsibility. He blames himself not for a failure of realism, but for a failure of the heart. He sees that his "indolence and indecision of mind" has had its effect upon another individual. This is emphasised by Houghton's dying insistence on their personal relationship of dependence. "Ah, Squire, why did you leave us?" (p.419)

At the same time, however, the difficult and imprecise nature of personal responsibility is clear. This self-knowledge comes after

Waverley has a new loyalty to the Jacobites, and this choice also has had its own truth and reality. If he sees his previous "indecision" as leading to "misery and mischief", we are about to witness the results of his seemingly decisive choice of the Stuart cause. We become sharply aware of one of the hero's central dilemmas, the impossibility of final choice for the humane individual born of, and heir to two worlds, whose nature partakes of both. It seems that only the role of reconciliation or personal withdrawal is possible.

In chapter forty-six, "The Eve of Battle", the hero is newly aware of his position as man of two worlds. Now a Jacobite, he finds himself faced with the necessity of destroying his own countrymen, and the tradition into which he has been born. The real cost of choice becomes starkly apparent. The consequences of choosing are seen in the destructiveness of the coming battle. Nor is Waverley's position as Jacobite, the root of the problem. Had he returned to his life as an English officer, his Jacobite experiences and ancient sympathies would still have meant a conflict with his "kin". To be on either side faces him with a repugnant duty. One recalls Waverley's earlier horror of civil war as he debated the rights and wrongs of the proposed Stuart Restoration. Now we see that a state of civil war exists within him. At Preston, the two sides of his nature are about to do battle. We are aware of this in its most immediate and horrifying reality as he watches the English make preparation.

They approached so near that Waverley could plainly recognise the standard of the troop he had formerly commanded, and hear the trumpets and kettle-drums sound the signal of advance, which he had so often obeyed. He could hear, too, the well-known word, given in the English dialect, by the equally well-distinguished voice of the commanding officer, for whom he had once felt so much respect. It was at that instant that, looking around him, he saw the wild dress and appearance of his Highland associates, heard their whispers in an uncouth and unknown

language, looked upon his own dress, so unlike that which he had worn from his infancy, and wished to wake from what seemed at the moment a dream, strange, horrible, and unnatural. "Good God!", he muttered; "am I then a traitor to my country, a renegade to my standard, and a foe, as that poor dying wretch expressed himself, to my native England?" (pp.423/4)

This sense of reality as a dream from which the hero would like to wake, is important in considering the critical notion of Waverley as a young man given to romantic dreaming from which he must emerge to maturity. The Eve of the battle of Preston is a good example of Scott's own questioning of the relationship between reality and dream. At moments intensely concerned with the complexity of human affairs and the demands of events upon individuals, the hero characteristically has a sense of being in a dream. The combination of clarity of consciousness, of moral and personal dilemma combined with the confusion arising from pressure of circumstances, makes for a high level of awareness, comparable only, perhaps, with the intensity of dreaming. What is questioned here, is the status of "real" life, of "realism" and action, those attitudes, in short, that seem to imply a firm and practical grasp on life. At Preston, we see such positions taken up by opposing sides in a single historical event. Quite clearly, at the point of battle, Jacobitism ceases to be a "romantic" concept, and issues into the world of power politics. The "cause" is seen in its "realism" of bloodshed, violence and death, led by the arch "realist" Fergus MacIvor, in whom the equation of Jacobitism and the notion of cause with a romantic view of life, is deeply questioned.

The whole problem of romanticism is raised by the battle. Waverley becomes aware of the shocking contrast between his present situation among the Highlanders, and their formerly apparently "romantic" life of raw emotion and an organic relation to the landscape. One remembers the early emphasis on the freedom and innocence of Waverley's very early life, his curiosity and explorative instincts which also constituted a

protected life. The contrasting freedoms here are with the gentle, bookish romanticism, which gave Waverley kinship to Mr Morton, and the dangerous, almost anarchic impulse to freedom suggested by the Highlanders. The eve of battle explores different aspects and developments of what might be termed the romantic consciousness. Equally, it demonstrates the dangers of equating Jacobitism with the purely romantic view. It is this kind of clarity that breaks in upon the hero as the morning fog of the Highlands lifts to reveal the nature of the "cause" as a very bloody struggle for power.

The moment of "closing" might seem to solve the problem by sheer intensity of action, but this is offset by the way in which Scott increases the personal tension for Waverley in the sighting of Colonel Gardiner, and the deliberate delaying of his death. This allows time for the full implication of the "parricide" to which Waverley will, in effect, be party, to be felt by him. Callum Beg's impulse to shoot Gardiner before the battle almost propels Waverley into the full awareness of his position. As in the case of Coriolanus, once having changed sides, there seems to be no honourable way out for the hero.

As usual, Scott insists on the very fullest realisation of this internal conflict. Yet one sees that it deepens the young man's capacity for moral reflection. The difference between Waverley's moral nature here, and that of Fergus, the activist soldier and politician, is marked. For Waverley, the coming battle is not simply a resolution of conflicting claims, but an event of tragic human consequences. He is aware of the human cost. Fergus, by contrast, has the capacity necessary to the military mind, of distancing himself from the personal implications of the rising. Where one senses his relief that reflection is "TOO LATE", Waverley's sensibilities are resistant to this moral "opiate".

"How many of these brave fellows will sleep more soundly before tomorrow night, Fergus!" said Waverley, with an involuntary sigh.

"You must not think of that", answered Fergus, whose ideas were entirely military. "You must only think of your sword, and by whom it was given. All other reflections are now TOO LATE."

With the opiate contained in this undeniable remark, Edward endeavoured to lull the tumult of his conflicting feelings. (p.427)

However, "tumult" will continue to be his characteristic condition. One discerns some authorial comment in the use of the term "opiate". It seems to suggest a suspension of consciousness as being necessary for absolute choice. In this we are aware of Waverley's difficulty. His is a personality particularly alive to experience and with a mind given to reflection. The kind of heightened consciousness which might suggest his "romantic" temperament, also makes him resistant to opiates. Characteristically he questions his conduct and that of others, after any particularly important experience. One feels him to be continually refining and re-examining his responses, so that the suspension of judgement necessary to the military mind, or the dedicated revolutionary, is very difficult for him.

This continual exercise and stretching of his facility for judgement may seem to contradict his capacity for almost total immersion in the moment. Yet the two are complementary. It is exactly this wholeheartedness in action and reflection, that makes his most natural role, not rebel or conservative, but potentially a hero of reconciliation and restoration, although one may not feel this to be his final position. However, earliest experience has shown him as a bridge between opposing attitudes and allegiances. It is at the battle of Preston that we become aware, as does the hero, of the need for a new kind of personality as the agent of rescue. By contrast with the destruction of the attempted Stuart restoration, the personal restoration which is always Waverley's vocation, is seen as more humane and more creative. Scott is offering us an emphasis on the difficult task of individual responsibility, in

contrast to the opiates of collective action, whether these arise from the conservative or the revolutionary impulse.

These issues are brought out with brutal clarity at Preston. The image of the lifting fog is dramatically effective in first masking, and then revealing the collision. The Highland army becomes a collective force shrouded in mist, symbolically protected from any clarity of vision. The terrain, as is often the case with Scott, reflects quite naturally the prevailing moral tenor of the action.

The army, moving by their right from off the ground on which they had rested, soon entered the path through the morass, conducting their march with astonishing silence and great rapidity. The mist had not risen to the higher grounds, so that for some time they had the advantage of starlight. But this was lost as the stars faded before approaching day, and the head of the marching column, continuing its descent, plunged as it were into the heavy ocean of fog which rolled its white waves over the whole plain, and over the sea by which it was bounded. Some difficulties were now to be encountered, inseparable from darkness, a narrow, broken, and marshy path, and the necessity of preserving union in the march. (pp.428/9)

Without any forcing of symbolism, Scott also makes use of these ~~Scottish~~ ^{Scottish} characteristic ~~Highland~~ conditions in which the hero finds himself. The Jacobite restoration does not offer any firmer moral foothold than the marshy ground. The difficulty of distinguishing any true path is nicely emphasised in the march of which Waverley is now a part. Moreover, Scott catches very well the attraction of being an active partisan; the energising results of resigning mental thought and conflict to decisive combat. There is an elevating sense of being part of great events, and a kind of personal release in setting aside a difficult individualism, for the collective endeavour. There is also a note of warning in the enjoyable heightening of emotion released in exchanging the private conflict for the bloodshed of physical combat. The moment prior to the closing of the two armies is seen as exerting a powerful hold over the individual.

One feels it to be a more intense and highly wrought experience for Waverley than any so far since his passion for Flora, and the meeting with Charles Stuart. Such moments are, one concludes, both enlarging and acutely dangerous. The expansion of consciousness is equalled by their potential for destruction.

The clansmen on every side stripped their plaids, prepared their arms, and there was an awful pause of about three minutes, during which the men, pulling off their bonnets, raised their faces to heaven and uttered a short prayer, then pulled their bonnets over their brows, and began to move forward at first slowly. Waverley felt his heart at that moment throb as it would have burst from his bosom. 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. The sounds around him combined to exalt his enthusiasm; the pipes played and the clans rushed forward each in its own dark column. As they advanced, they mended their pace, and the muttering sounds of the men to each other began to swell into a wild cry. (p.431)

The rising crescendo of feeling here effectively blots out all but the immediacy of the moment. Questions of right or wrong, decisions of allegiance give way to "wild", almost primitive emotion. Here we have an example of Scott's psychological and dramatic strength. Gone is the reflective, usually anxious young hero, and gone also are the moral arguments. Waverley is, briefly, the Hotspur-like man of action, momentarily a true Son of Ivor. In terms of the wider issues at stake, Scott captures very well the relief of warfare as the solvent of political conflicts. There is an immediate, though spurious resolution in the clarity of the moment of physical conflict.

At this moment the sun, which was now risen above the horizon, dispelled the mist. The vapours rose like a curtain, and showed the two armies in the act of closing. (p.431)

It is significant that Scott deals very quickly with the battle itself. "The rest is well known." (p.431) This seems to suggest

an emphasis on the symbolic rather than the historical representation. As his work develops in Waverley, and in later novels, one becomes increasingly aware of Scott's use of history as a lens for the personal life. The broad view of great events gradually leads the reader to the interior of the work, where a fine concentration on individual conflicts develops as the hard core of the novel. One is not surprised, therefore, when the wide confusion of the battle proper closes rapidly to focus on Waverley, faced with his former commander and father figure as the besieged enemy in need of rescue. This movement of narrowing concentration which enlarges the moral situation is very typical of Scott. It also suggests something of his visual, even cinematic technique, as the panoramic battle scene moves into close-up on the relationship between individuals.

Waverley's witness of the death of Colonel Gardiner is a poignant moment of personal loss. Both the violence of the death, and the dying reproach of "this good and brave man", emphasise the theme of absolute loss begun by the death of Houghton and culminating in the execution of Fergus. This is also the cost of civil war, both public and private. In the savagery of the attack on Gardiner, one is aware that the public battle for restoration is, in fact, a process of cutting down. This underlines heavily Waverley's alternative sense of restoration. His impulse is always toward the saving and protecting of life. Clearly he is out of place on any battlefield, and this seems to prepare for the final withdrawal into private life.

Nevertheless, Scott demands perception of his hero even in the heat of battle. The time for reflection is later, but the imaginative impact on the mind is insisted upon. Gardiner's death is a fully realised loss, felt as an abnormal outrage even in a situation where such events are common. The fervour of battle does not deaden the sensibilities of the hero. In this he is particularly contrasted with Fergus MacIvor.

Waverley could perceive that he had already received wounds, his clothes and saddle being marked with blood. To save this good and brave man became the instant object of his most anxious exertions. But he could only witness his fall. Ere Edward could make his way among the Highlanders, who, furious and eager for spoil, now thronged upon each other, he saw his former commander brought from his horse by the blow of a scythe, and beheld him receive, while on the ground, more wounds than would have let out twenty lives. (p.433)

For the Jacobites, this particular battle may have been "fought and won", but for Waverley it issues in a renewal of the "old" conflict. Colonel Gardiner's dying reproach provides the hero with a horrifying sense of his divided loyalty. This process of re-opening points of view is taken further by his encounter with Colonel Talbot. As we have now come to expect in Waverley, Scott always puts his hero back into a position of moral questioning, where the effects of choice and action are teased out until their complex consequences are revealed. Thus Gardiner and Houghton have faced Waverley with his social responsibilities as officer and Squire, and Colonel Talbot emphasises those of the family. Clearly Talbot is prejudiced against the Jacobites and sees Waverley quite literally as turncoat, in the "uniform and cockade of these men" (p.445) Nevertheless, his accusations point to the moral problem concerning the effects of individual action upon others.

"Are you aware, Mr Waverley, of the infinite distress, and even danger, which your present conduct has occasioned to your nearest relatives?...When I left England, your uncle and father had been obliged to find bail to answer a charge of treason, to which they were only admitted by the exertion of the most powerful interest. I came down to Scotland with the sole purpose of rescuing you from the gulf into which you have precipitated yourself; nor can I estimate the consequences to your family of your having openly joined the rebellion,..." (p.446)

Talbot's role here as reconciler and protector, prepares for the development of the relationship between the two men. His later brotherly relation to Waverley is suggested already in his closeness to Sir Everard,

"I acknowledge to him the duty of a son." (p.446) Again, the emphasis in the narrative has shifted from the historical and social, to the personal. The kinship of individuals with one another, related or not, is always the strongest moral imperative for Scott, and in this, Talbot's attitudes seem to be those nearest to an appropriate moral example for Waverley. By contrast with Fergus, whose insistence on kinship is clannish, but lacking in disinterestedness, Talbot has the kind of altruism so far seen only in Flora. It is based upon a sense of fraternity more subtle and more compassionate than the highly-wrought companionship of the "Sons of Ivor". Here we are offered two alternative modes of personal relatedness. The Highland code, later to be demonstrated at the trial of Fergus MacIvor by Evan, is full of passionate contradictions. The dangerous high spirits of the Highland temperament are shown in Flora's narrow escape from death at the hands of her own victorious fellow rebels. Since she represents among the Jacobites, a clear and disinterested sense of values, her role of near victim is important, and suggests the human suffering to come in the end of her worldly life and retreat to a convent. Equally, the lawless aspects of the Highlander is seen in Donald Bean Lean, whose theft of Gardiner's letter to Waverley occasions the hero's withdrawal from the army. The clannish code of self-interest and its disregard for law, are not glossed over by Scott. Yet he is able to show in Fergus and Evan that the Jacobite sense of honour is as personally demanding as the more gentlemanly principles of Talbot, and the gentler human instincts of Waverley himself.

Scott is careful to indicate, as the relationship between Waverley and Talbot develops, the differences in human terms between the soldierly code of Fergus and that of the Colonel. Fergus's attitude is one which might be called stoical passion. Individual life is felt as

less significant than adherence to a code. This is seen in his response to Colonel Gardiner's death, whereas Waverley's reaction is firmly grounded in emotional attachment.

"I am sorry for poor Colonel Gardiner's death; he was once very kind to me."
 "Why, then, be sorry for five minutes, and then be glad again; his chance today may be ours tomorrow. And what does it signify? The next best thing to victory is honourable death; but it is a pis-aller, and one would rather a foe had it than oneself." (p.451)

We have been made fully aware, throughout the narrative that the concern with political power is fundamental to the personality of Fergus. One might see him as the forerunner of the Machiavellian type more closely explored in Quentin Durward, and the impulse to power so strongly presented in Kenilworth. Scott typically shows such characters in very full dimension, but he also presents their attendant lack of important human traits. Usually, the realisation of the effect of these gaps in humanity is an important moral lesson for the hero. By contrast, in Waverley, Scott offers in Colonel Talbot, an alternative friend and mentor to succeed Fergus. He combines the soldierly virtues of duty and discipline with passion and a human concern for others. The gradual growth of the friendship between the two Englishmen makes the earlier influence of Fergus on the hero seem coercive. Talbot is perhaps the equivalent in Waverley of Jane Austen's Mr Knightley. He has some prejudices which are damaging, but on the whole he impresses the reader as a rather complete personality, and the best available moral guide for the hero. Waverley's deepest understandings and affections must develop slowly. "The character of Colonel Talbot dawned upon Edward by degrees; ..." (p.468) It is significant that this friendship is particular for its steady, positive growth, almost the antithesis of the heady rush of attraction that Waverley experienced with Flora and her brother. Equally, the development of love for Rose Bradwardine is also a gradual realisation.

From this point on in the narrative, after the climactic emotional impact of Preston, Waverley's emotional life and relationships take on a more considered, though no less deeply felt, or truly "romantic" character. The battle has seemed to be a watershed in his moral development, in which the conflict of romance and realism, tradition and rebellion, is momentarily clarified, only to be more deeply and more subtly uncovered. In this connection, it is important to see that the ebb of emotional attachment to the Jacobites is not a rejection of the romantic, but rather, a movement away from what might be seen as its oversimplification. Waverley is as much governed by the impulse of the heart in his affection for Talbot, and later for Rose, as he was in the more tumultuous attraction to Fergus and Flora, and even perhaps, to Charles Stuart.

This new tenor of emotional life is not, as critics seem to suggest, so much an awakening from error to judgement, as a deepening of the truly romantic disposition, and fidelity to true experience. Increasingly, Waverley is influenced from within, by the experience of his personal life, rather than being overwhelmed by the impact of outside events and personalities. Yet this is not to imply a retreat into pragmatism or safety. As the novel draws to its close, we see that though the "romance" might seem to be ended, and the "real history" begun, that real history consists in a heightened, more developed inner awareness which is more self-reliant and independent, and less the "child of caprice" than formerly. Nor is this a retreat from the romantic heart which always governs the hero. Scott is, one feels, engaged in a redefinition of "romantic" and "realistic", rather than attempting to polarise or synthesise them. In Waverley's case, it seems that to be romantic is, finally, to be realistic, that is, faithful to experience.

In this connection, one sees the importance to the work of Colonel Talbot as a learning experience for the hero. In many ways, his

character redefines the characteristics seen more narrowly before. He looks like a soldierly alter ego for Waverley, balancing and contrasting, in his Englishness, the more "foreign" fraternal relation with Fergus. The contrast is especially with the Machiavellian strain in the Chieftain, whose "...brain was a perpetual workshop of scheme and intrigue of every possible description." (p.471) Talbot can be very toughminded, even harsh in his prejudices, but there is none of the controlled violence of the true power seeker.

...as they were necessarily much together, the character of the colonel rose in Waverley's estimation. There seemed at first something harsh in his strong expressions of dislike and censure, although no one was in the general case more open to conviction...As a specimen of the military character, he differed from all whom Waverley had as yet seen. The soldiership of the Baron of Bradwardine was marked by pedantry; that of Major Melville by a sort of martinet attention to the minutiae and technicalities of discipline rather suitable to one who was to manoeuvre a battalion, than him who was to command an army; the military spirit of Fergus was so much warped and blended with his plans and political views that it was less of a soldier than a petty sovereign. But Colonel Talbot was in every point the English soldier. His whole soul was devoted to the service of his king and country, without feeling any pride in knowing the theory of his art with the Baron, or its practical minutiae with the major, or in applying his science to his own particular plans of ambition like the Chieftain of Glenaquoich. Added to this, he was a man of extended knowledge and cultivated taste, although strongly tinged, as we have already observed, with those prejudices which are peculiarly English. (pp.467/8)

The detail which Scott devotes to the portrait of Colonel Talbot indicates his increasing importance to the work, as the themes of conflict, having erupted violently in the battle, begin to subside into the real and practical necessity for restoration and reconciliation. One of the important lessons of Waverley is the realisation that conflict, both internal and overt, cannot be a permanent way of life. There is a growing urgency in the late chapters of the work for some alternative

to a condition of division, though this is of course, different from suggesting that a solution is arrived at. One feels that what has been seen as Waverley's final conformity, lies in a difficult, subtle ground somewhere between the concepts of revolution and restoration. Some kind of settlement, even of an uneasy kind is felt as essential. The work does not provide ideal answers to the moral questions raised, in fact, one might see the whole question of the ideal as a goal itself deeply under discussion. This difficulty embraces the desire for the security of an ideal as goal, be it political, personal, religious or social. A major theme of the work concerns the potentially destructive and disruptive results of this need.

However, the desire for a re-ordering of life from the heightened experiences of the Jacobite rebellion, is seen in the slowing down of the narrative pace, and in particular, as already noted, the quieter growth of personal relationships in Waverley's life. We have seen that Colonel Talbot's friendship is a learning process for both. If Waverley learns from Talbot's gentlemanly standards and personal steadiness, he in turn, learns a creed of human compassion which necessitates, on occasion, that the conventional codes be broken. Had Waverley not released Talbot to respond to his domestic crisis, the Colonel would perhaps have been too much a member of the establishment to harbour the hero as a refugee in his home. There is in this relationship, a mutual release not found in the more intense fraternity of Fergus and Waverley, or within the love affair with Flora. While she has in a sense released him to a more fitting life, it is always an unequal relationship, and despite the rejection, she is still felt to be his moral teacher. Thus, as Talbot and Rose grow in Waverley's estimation, Scott seems to be emphasising the value of mutuality in affection, rather than the intense influence of one mind and heart over

another. One might see this as an attempted re-working of the notion of romantic in the personal life. It seems to be an inadequate reading of Waverley's marriage to Rose to see it as second best to the love affair with Flora. As we have seen, Scott goes to a great deal of trouble to suggest her stature, even her toughness and altruism. She develops within the narrative from naive devotion into an understanding of the real courage needed for a demanding love. Their marriage emphasises the ascendancy of purely personal values. There is no glorious cause to unite them. Both are, in fact, outside the divisions around them. The point is made at Waverley's reading of Romeo and Juliet, "with taste and feeling, and spirit."

All the company applauded with their hands, and many with their tears. Flora, to whom the drama was well known, was among the former; Rose, to whom it was altogether new, belonged to the latter class of admirers. "She has more feeling too," said Waverley, internally. (p.485)

Flora's explanation of the work is rational, almost cold in a way that makes her seem almost anti-romantic compared with Rose, whose response to matters of feeling is one of equal feeling and sensibility. This tends to suggest that Waverley's apparently safe marriage is, after all, a truly romantic one. It is significant that his response to Rose increases with the realisation of her capacity for feeling. As we have seen, in the end it is this impulse toward the fulfilment of human feeling that most strongly guides Waverley. Therefore, he will inevitably move away from the whole concept of ideology, no matter how deeply felt. As the battle of Preston has demonstrated, they eventually issue in outright destructive conflict and the suspension of humane impulses.

The suppression of the human in the service of ideology, is an important theme in Scott's work, where politics, religion and history are particularly dealt with. In this respect, Kenilworth, Quentin Durward and Woodstock offer good examples of these concerns in contexts

other than Scottish history. Scott's appeal to the Europe of his day was perhaps based upon recognition of the universality of these conflicts. As Francis Hart suggests, a major achievement of the Waverley novels is to discuss the distinction between ideology, especially where it is expressed as "history", and humanity, or what Hart calls "nature".¹ One might add to this by suggesting that Scott sees "real" history as the personal life, and the intoxicating and dangerous conflicts of ideology as a kind of "romance". If this is so, then Waverley's sense that "...the romance of his life was ended, and that its real history had now commenced," (p.540) is much less a comment on the immaturity of youth and the failings of Jacobitism, than an almost revolutionary rejection of the public world and its value judgements based on dogma and creed. This is perhaps a more serious comment on the basis of social living than has been allowed. Few critics would see Scott as potentially anarchic, but I would argue that this kind of personal romanticism finally does take precedence over other social and public concerns in Waverley. Thus, one might see the "conformity" identified by critics as the conclusion of the work, as, at the very least, of a very threatening kind. Significantly, it is Colonel Talbot who acts as the agent of social restoration and mediator between Scotland and England. The hero, in effect follows his instinctive inclination and retires from social conflict in favour of personal fulfilment.

Waverley's determination toward the personal above all, is seen most clearly in relation to Fergus MacIvor, and nowhere more movingly than at the moment of the Chieftain's execution. Part of the shock of this event is in the realisation of the results of even the most noble aspects of ideology. Notwithstanding his tough opportunism,

1. Francis Hart, Scott's Novels The Plotting of Historic Survival (University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, U.S.A., 1966) p.30.

Fergus is a strong portrait of passion expressed as ideology and power seeking. Unlike Flora, who becomes more ethereal the nearer she moves toward the religious life, Fergus is always earthbound, so that the contrast between the urgency of his personality and that of Waverley, is important. At this point in the narrative, there is a fine distinction between these two "noble" natures, the heroic as Highland leader, and the heroic as human sensibility. Scott brings us face to face with this fundamental comparison within the work, as Fergus, in irons, awaits his execution.

"Is it of Fergus Mac-Ivor they speak thus," thought Waverley, "or do I dream? Of Fergus, the bold, the chivalrous, the free-minded? The lofty chieftain of a tribe devoted to him? Is it he that I have seen lead the chase and head the attack, - the brave, the active, the young, the noble, the love of ladies and the theme of song; is it he who is ironed like a malefactor, who is to be dragged on a hurdle to the common gallows, to die a lingering and cruel death, and to be mangled by the hand of the most outcast of wretches? Evil indeed was the spectre that boded such a fate as this to the brave Chief of Glennaquoich!" (p.612)

Here we see Waverley generous, but truthful as to the nobility within this Machiavellian nature, and attracted to the Highland heroism synonymous with the Scottish understanding of Chieftain. On the other hand, the reader is moved by Waverley, in his full awareness of an heroic figure brought low, and the human loss to him in the fraternal relationship that he and Fergus have shared. It is perhaps the very completeness of Waverley's response to this, which gains in intensity until the execution, that gives the young man his heroic status. As with most of his previous experiences of the heart, there is a total engagement, with the accompanying cost in pain, and Scott spares his "sneaking piece of imbecility", nothing. Thus it is the text that reveals most fully how Scott truly regards his first hero. The demands made upon Waverley, and the similarity with the personality found in Scott's Journal, full

of the later griefs of one given to "castle-building", suggest a typical piece of self-mocking and a part also of the teasing relationship he often enjoys with his readers.

As Waverley is faced with the death of this "romantic" Highlander, one feels that all former questions of public concern vanish before this ultimate test of experience. It is a confrontation with death itself, not only of a friend and 'brother', but also, in so far as Fergus is an alter ego, with his own death. There is a growing concentration on the feelings and private sufferings of the hero, at a very intense level. The importance of the execution is seen in the fact that Scott devotes a whole chapter to it. Inevitably, one is reminded of the Shakespearean parallel in the death of Hotspur, though Waverley is already more mature in feeling than Shakespeare's Prince. One is also aware of the degree to which Waverley and Fergus have changed places. Once the romantic young Englishman flung himself into the arms of the Chieftain. Now that youthful impulsiveness is about to be destroyed along with the passionate cause needed by such a temperament.

The grating of the large old-fashioned bars and bolts, withdrawn for the purpose of admitting Edward, was answered by the clash of chains as the unfortunate chieftain, strongly and heavily fettered, shuffled along the stone floor of his prison to fling himself into his friend's arms. "My dear Edward," he said, in a firm and even cheerful voice, "this is truly kind." (p.618)

We see here the nobility and passion of stoicism. As a creed for life, and especially for times demanding action and choice, Scott has, through Fergus, shown it in its narrowness and inhumanity, but also, as now, in its stature. It is important to distinguish between the deep stoical passion of both Flora and Fergus, and also in the political core of Jacobitism, and the notion of the cause as a "romantic" adventure. Waverley's break with the cause is by no means a break with romanticism,

but a more subtle movement toward it. This is especially true if one accepts the romantic nature of the relationship with Rose.

If, as I have implied, the death of Fergus is the true climax of Waverley's education, it is interesting to observe Scott's technique in handling this major event in the hero's life. One is impressed by the degree of silence and sparseness of description, characteristic also of Waverley's first intense awareness of falling in love. Scott's sensitivity as a writer allows the reader's imagination to respond to such moments. His technique may be described as theatrical or dramatic to the extent that he realises the value of pause and silence, and uses both fully.

...he pulled his hat over his eyes, and, leaving the castle, walked as swiftly as he could through the empty streets till he regained his inn, then rushed into an apartment and bolted the door.

In about an hour and a half, which seemed an age of unutterable suspense, the sound of the drums and fifes performing a lively air, and the confused murmur of the crowd which now filled the streets, so lately deserted, apprised him that all was finished, and that the military and populace were returning from the dreadful scene. I will not attempt to describe his sensations! (p.625)

This is a powerful portrayal of suffering and loss for the youthful personality. Yet the technique is simple and visual, allowing the emotional impact to come directly to the reader. It is an aspect of Scott's realism at its best, as is the powerful directness of Alick Polworth's unsentimental but fairminded epitaph on the victims of Jacobitism.

"It's a great pity of Evan Dhu, who was a very weel meaning, good-natured man, to be a Hielandman, - and indeed so was the laird o' Glennaquoich too, for that matter, when he wasna in ane o' his tìrrivies." (p.627)

Having demanded of Waverley, and the reader, the utmost personal development in this confrontation with death and loss, Scott shows himself both skilful and realistic in the controlled speed with which he releases the tension, and allows a feeling of restoration to rise. Truth to life is

underlined by the very fact that no experience is static, and death itself must give place to life. The ride back from the Highlands through England, is felt very much as a homecoming. The historical divisions of the Restoration issue give place to a necessary social and personal re-adjustment and re-growth. The changes of pace and emotional tone are nicely indicated in the description of a thriving, cultivated landscape, and the reassurance of ancient trees, literally Waverley's home roots. The shock of death and grief gives place quite fittingly to a new awareness of life. It is perhaps this insistence on the natural cycle of death and re-creation that constitutes a kind of naturalism in Scott's writing, and points to the organic nature of his "moral lessons".

...though his first horrible sensations had sunk into melancholy, Edward had reached his native country before he could, as usual on former occasions, look round for enjoyment upon the face of nature. He then, for the first time since leaving Edinburgh, begun to experience that pleasure which almost all felt who return to a verdant, populous and highly cultivated country, from scenes of waste desolation, or of solitary and melancholy grandeur. But how were those feelings enhanced when he entered on the domain so long possessed by his forefathers, recognised the old oaks of Waverley Chace, thought with what delight he should introduce Rose to all his favourite haunts, beheld at length the towers of the venerable hall arise above the woods which embowered it, and finally threw himself into the arms of the venerable relations to whom he owed so much duty and affection! (p.628)

On this return to home, normality and everyday life, rests the concluding tone of Waverley. Critics have seemed to find this an equation of maturity with conformity or a rejection of romantic dreams for the realism of pragmatic contentment. In either case, by this interpretation, the heroic element of Waverley's nature is lost. Lars Hartviet feels this to be so. "The heroic is, in the last resort, relegated to the

world of art."¹ The painting of Edward and Fergus at Tully Veolan, and Edward's role as teller of Highland tales, would seem to give substance to this view. Robert Gordon finds the renunciation of romance softened into safe compromise by marriage.² However, I have suggested that Scott is, in Waverley, attempting something more subtle by way of resolution. Beneath the apparently safe return to a happy marriage, a more dramatic statement is to be found. Waverley gives up the harsh stoical and Machiavellian worlds of Law, Government and Politics, and these have certainly been associated with great passion in the narrative. Yet they do not constitute the Romantic, or even the individualistic life. There is, one feels, strong evidence for the view that the return is to a less isolated and happier, but no less private world of "castle-building", that characterised him as a young boy. As a youth, he found society little to his taste, and inadequate to his sensitivities. These feelings needed to be tested by experience. Now, as a man, Waverley's verdict on public and social concerns seems to be a qualified negative. Waverley remains an individual needing above all, to fling himself into someone's arms, motivated most strongly by an affectionate, private disposition. The end of his journey is characteristic. Having flung himself into Jacobitism and the arms of MacIvor, he now emerges from his education in public life, to embrace the intimate affection of the family. In examining the conclusion of Waverley one may feel the narrator to offer a sensible, though perhaps tongue in cheek pragmatism in the statement, "Men must, however, eat, in spite both of sentiment and vertu;" (p.644). Nevertheless, in so far as the work has been a conflict between "sentiment" in the romantic

1. Lars Hartveit, Dream Within a Dream, p. 102.

2. Robert Gordon, Under Which King? (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1969), p. 24.

sense, and "vertu" in the Machiavellian or stoical sense, one is aware that Waverley has unequivocally chosen "sentiment". Therefore one must question very deeply the view that Scott has turned his back on "romance" for "real" history. I have suggested that he is pointing to a new rendering of the concept of "hero" and of romanticism. Waverley is both the prototype and the starting point for an exploration of this problem as it is developed in later works.

Quentin Durward

Having looked closely at Scott's first novel, and explored some of the issues it raises within the context of Scottish history, it is instructive to see how similar concerns are treated in three less well known works. Scott deliberately tested his art in settings less familiar to him than his own culture, therefore, any consideration of his work seems to demand some attention to novels other than those which have been designated particularly Scottish. In this section therefore, I look at Quentin Durward, Kenilworth and Woodstock. All involve the problem of individual development and integrity within difficult social or political pressures. Quentin Durward and Kenilworth deal particularly with the pursuit of political power, not as ideology, but as an expression of passion fixated on the desire to control. This is seen in these two works as the drive toward statesmanship and "civil government". In Woodstock we are offered a discussion of problems identified in Waverley, the pursuit of ideals and ideology together with a delineation of the whole concept of nobility and personal loyalty. The diversity of backgrounds found in these works suggests something of Scott's breadth of interest in universal human dilemmas, and helps the reader to see him as more than a writer for his own culture. As always, while he

finds nationality to be important to personality, it is the whole range of human nature that forms his essential material.

As another hero of romantic disposition, Quentin Durward is concerned, as was Waverley, with the naturing and survival of a young man within conflicting social and political factions. However, unlike Waverley, Quentin is also both exiled and in isolation, needing to seek and achieve his fortune. Thus, though he is something of a medieval knight seeking adventure, there is an acutely serious tone to the novel at the outset. This is quite different from the leisurely discussion of childhood and youth in the early chapters of Waverley. In addition, Quentin Durward, as its title suggests, is concerned particularly with the hero himself, in spite of the political detail and the finely realised portrait of Louis XI. As Robert Gordon points out,¹ the hero appears in all but six of the thirty-seven chapters. At the most obvious level, this is a tale of the difficulties but final success of knight errantry. In this sense, there is much "romance" in the work in its concern with youthful chivalry struggling for recognition in a world divided between the passionate feudalism of the Duke of Burgundy, and the modern "policy" of the King of France.

This conflict between passion and "necessity", identified by critics and expressed here politically, is seen in both the public and private dimensions. The political machinations of Louis to tame the warring factions of fifteenth-century France, are opposed to the passionately disruptive impulse to bloodshed represented by Burgundy. The concept of courage is equated with violence. Mercenary soldiers, and especially Le Balafre equate peace with cowardice. However, this opposition involves a more subtle motif in the work. The notion of physical daring as an ethic for life offers a whole code of conduct and a kind

1. Robert Gordon, Under Which King?, p. 121.

of personal freedom in the exertions of conflict. While this debased view of an chivalric notion is found in the impersonality of Le Balafre's mercenary soldiering, its most knightly and naive form is expressed in the young hero. As an idealistic young Scot, Quentin is an alien to the reality of these times. They demand qualities of brutality repugnant to his nature and objectionable to his search for love and honour. He is a soldier seeking a noble cause. While he is not quite the "maiden" knight sent forth by Scott in the opening passage of Waverley, this naive but courageous hero must attempt the conquest of every kind of evil associated with the tyranny of Louis' France.

This work is remarkable for the emphasis on brutality and bloodshed perpetrated by its historical figures. We are offered a portrait of fifteenth-century France where execution, incarceration, pillage and murder are commonplace. Tyranny of every kind is synonymous with the king's political methods in pursuit of "civil government" and stability. Louis is a Machiavellian prince who delights in the exercise of a cunning brain. The contrasting "passionate" excesses of Burgundy are a more overtly violent kind of similar tyranny. The central conflict then, is between tyranny and freedom. If Waverley is deeply concerned with the hero's desire for personal autonomy and independence, Quentin Durward deals more harshly with the same impulse. The hero's primary aim is to avoid some form of incarceration in one of the prisonlike castles. The "iron cage" of Plesses, Louis' seat of power, is found in various versions throughout the narrative. The overt task for the hero is to remain free while retaining his personal integrity. With such a theme, it is no surprise to find in Quentin Durward, beneath its vigorous tale of knight errantry, a work of very serious, even sinister tone. In addition, the work offers an opposition between the personal repression involved in political tyranny, and the

romantic and individualistic creed of love, as freedom and success.

If Louis uses his castles as fearful state prisons, one is aware also that the hero first hears Isabelle of Croye singing within the walls of one of them. She is the "lady of the turret", and the work's symbol of love and beauty. Thus the image of the castle is used both as an emblem of romantic love, and as the ultimate threat to personal autonomy in the cages of Loche invented by Cardinal Balue as instruments of torture for state offenders. "Castle-building" in Quentin Durward has extremely dark connotations, but it also holds the key to the personal freedom expressed in the love of hero and heroine.

We see too, that the Church and religion are also largely instruments of torture and tools of the state in this work. Except for the Bishop of Liege, the Church hierarchy, and notably Cardinal Balue, are as worldly and despotic as Louis himself, while the king repeatedly invokes the saints in pursuit of his ambitions and their attendant cruelties. Even Quentin's early cloistered life, though a refuge at first, is felt as a confinement, from which escape is essential. Thus there is no refuge from worldly tyranny in religion. Instead, it is depicted as itself a brutal cage, a theme which is fully explored, though in quite a different context in Old Mortality.

Within this brutal setting, Scott sets his two young lovers. Both are refugees. The hero seeks a noble life. He is a soldier in exile, cut off from his Scottish roots. Isabelle is a political tool of the crown, in need of rescue and refuge. Their coming together is a triumph of love and mutual aid. If Quentin saves Isabelle from the brutality of a forced marriage, she, in her need for rescue, gives him a noble cause to fight for. Finally, he chooses not Burgundy or Louis, not the service of war, but that of love. His survival is a victory for the romantic heart over all the wiles of state power and its corruption

of ideals. Quentin's heroism is remarkable in that he succeeds in bringing together love and duty, freedom and discipline, shrewdness and integrity. Though obviously not a "Scottish" novel, it is significant that Quentin Durward offers us a truly Scottish hero. It is a very particular brand of nobility that is seen to succeed, one that is implicitly always present at the French Court in the person of Lord Crawford, but which has, until the advent of the young hero, been alienated by the ignoble policies of the King. We see in this work, in the success of its hero, a Scottish challenge in personal qualities, to the defeat of human values.

As the work opens, we see France threatened by conflict and dissent, at the mercy of petty tyrants, but restrained now into "civil government" by the policy of the king. The danger comes from within, as the opening couplet from Hamlet suggests. Usurpation and insurrection threaten.

The princes who possessed the grand fiefs of the crown, and, in particular, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, had come to wear their feudal bonds so lightly, that they had no scruple in lifting the standard against their liege and sovereign lord, the King of France, on the slightest pretence. (p.1)

In addition, wandering bands of mercenaries divide the land.

These hireling combatants sold their swords for a time to the best bidder; and, when such service was not to be had, they made war on their own account, seizing castles and towers, which they used as the places of their retreat, - making prisoners, and ransoming them, - exacting tribute from the open villages, and the country around them. (p.2)

Human life on every level is held cheap and subject to the market place. This background is the rationale for the statecraft of Louis XI. Nevertheless, within these contradictions, there exist the trappings, if not the substance of ancient chivalry, offering a value system whereby the strongest devoted their power to the weak, and this is now expressed as formalism in gallantry between the sexes. This honourable code is,

in effect, now reduced to the level of entertainment at the "petty" courts, in jousts and tournaments. It offers some social gloss to the harsh reality of the French regime "whose character, evil as it was in itself, met, combated, and in great degree neutralized the mischiefs of the time - " (p.3) Yet Scott makes it clear that this is little more than one poison acting as antidote to another. The times do not admit of ruling qualities higher than firm restraint and the neutralization of "mischief". The King's virtues as leader and monarch are largely negative in his use of power. He is the true Machiavel.

Louis had not a spark of that romantic valour, or of the pride generally associated with it, which fought for the point of honour, when the point of utility had been long gained. Calm, crafty, and profoundly attentive to his own interest, he made every sacrifice, both of pride and passion, which could interfere with it. (p.3)

This portrait contrasts with the opposite, but equally despotic focus of power in Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. He represents passion for its own sake, as Louis enjoys craft and policy for the delight in exercising his wits.

The genius of the Duke was entirely different. He rushed on danger because he loved it, and on difficulties because he despised them. As Louis never sacrificed his interest to his passion, so Charles, on the other hand, never sacrificed his passion, or even his humour, to any other consideration. (pp. 8/9)

In Burgundy, we see a cruder version of the indulgent passion as lack of restraint, seen also in the "wild" excesses of the ill-disciplined Jacobites. Scott takes his theme of passion as personal and political power further in Quentin Durward and Kenilworth, than he does in the Jacobite novels. These two works deal particularly with history as the pursuit of power by individuals, and its effects on the surrounding moral atmosphere. In looking at specifically non-Scottish settings,

one is aware of the extent to which Scott is always pre-occupied with individual morality in any State or culture. The "moral lessons" to be gleaned, involve not so much national character and events, as a combination of personalities acting within a fertile context. In Quentin Durward, the historical background of fifteenth-century France is instrumental in developing the predilections of Burgundy and Louis, but the essential material, and the crucial factor for individual lives, is always the man rather than the historical movement. Nevertheless, where the notion of Kingship is also a deciding factor in history, Scott is particularly good at discerning the springs of action in ruling monarchs. This is especially so in the three works under discussion. They all take as major themes, the premise that "...the passions of the great, their quarrels, and their reconciliations, involve the fortunes of all who approach them." (p.11)

Into such an unstable and inhuman political landscape, Scott summons the noble young Scot, Quentin Durward. His openness and optimism remind one of Waverley's high spirits. Like the author's first hero, Quentin brings with him a sense of youthful promise. However, where Waverley was a "maiden Knight", Quentin is very much soldier as well as knight. He has already been tried and proved successful as a survivor. He has seen his family massacred and emerged a warrior. The fundamental optimism of his nature is beautifully suggested in the timing and description of his introduction to the reader. There is a sense of chivalrous youth entering the lists against all that is ignoble.

It was upon a delicious summer morning, before the sun had assumed its scorching power, and while the dews yet cooled and perfumed the air, that a youth, coming from the north-eastward, approached the ford of a small river, or rather a large brook, tributary to the Cher, near to the royal Castle of Plessis-les-Tours, whose dark and multiplied battlements rose in the background over the extensive forests with which they were surrounded. (p.12)

Scott's description of landscape, as so often, captures very well the fundamental conflict of the narrative. The early summer day suggests the untarnished brightness of Quentin's idealism, and the immediate threat to the young traveller of the landscape into which he journeys, is clear in the combination of forests and dark battlements. Quentin is, one feels, a more completely formed hero than the young Waverley, and it seems clear that Quentin Durward is less concerned with a journey of education, than a battle for personal survival in a world where violent death under a brutal power system, are established facts. Disguise and deceit are the standard political tools of the French King. By contrast, Quentin's physical appearance is important. Not only is he frank and open, but he gives the impression of being unaware of the existence of evil. The moral trials he must undergo concern precisely the acquisition of that knowledge, but also the power finally to overcome intrigue with integrity, and betrayal, with love. His innocence is therefore important for the moral lesson of the work.

His features, without being quite regular, were frank, open and pleasing. A half-smile, which seemed to arise from a happy exuberance of animal spirits, showed, now and then, that his teeth were well set, and as pure as ivory; whilst his bright blue eye, with a corresponding gaiety, had an appropriate glance for every object which it encountered, expressing good-humour, lightness of heart, and determined resolution...In short, there was an attraction about his whole appearance not easily escaping attention, and which was derived from the combination of fearless frankness, and good humour, with sprightly looks, and a handsome face and person. It seemed, too, as if his whole demeanour bespoke one who was entering on life with no apprehension of the evils with which it is beset, and small means for struggling with its hardships, except a lively spirit and a courageous disposition;... (p.14)

Thus in Quentin Durward, we have a hero who is potentially well equipped for life, but who must still experience fully the "evils" of life, and, in overcoming them, become fully mature, gaining the prizes of love and

honour. To the qualities of innocence and frankness already seen, must be added a toughening process which allows him to deal effectively with evil, without becoming, in the process, tainted by it. If the prevailing tone of this work is dark and violent, it suggests Scott's concern to create a hero able to negotiate the worst aspects of human nature. Death always threatens, and it is usually a violent one.

No sooner are we introduced to the hero's unpreparedness for disaster, than he finds himself almost drowned in an apparently harmless stream; quite literally, finding the water deeper than he knows. The whole narrative is nicely summarised in this first incident of near drowning. Scott demands that his hero enter a river out of his depth because, "Nothing like experience in this world..." (p.15) is a basic premise of his work. One is aware that this young man will encounter repeated dangers, but it is equally clear that he will master them. His tumble into the stream prepares the reader for his whole history. By leaving the cloistered world of the convent, he has already entered dangerous territory, and is, unknowingly, out of his depth. Warning of danger comes too late.

He either did not hear or could not profit by it,
being already deep in the stream. To one less
alert, and practised in the exercise of swimming,
death had been certain, for the brook was both
deep and strong. (p.15)

The hero is already a strong swimmer, and the problem set by the work can be seen as a trial of strength between his humane romanticism, and the world of tyranny that surrounds him. In Quentin Durward Scott puts this particular brand of romanticism to a severe test. It consists in a chivalrous code of conduct which combines "shrewdness" with "simplicity". As is often the case, the author deals with a personality exposed to strong contradictions in his experience. His heroes are frequently in conditions of danger and refuge by turns. Quentin's

background is already one of extremes. The massacre of his family as result of clan warfare issues in his protection by priests in a cloistered life. Yet unlike Waverley's early castle-building, his nature is not really fulfilled in the protected life. Clearly Quentin is a hero with a desire to get to grips with, and overcome difficulties. In this sense, he is a soldier by temperament, as Waverley, one feels, never is. Nor has Quentin any bookish tastes. He exults, as Waverley never does, in his family tradition of arms. "By fifteen descents in our family," said the young man; "and that makes me reluctant to follow any other trade than arms." (p.22) He is a born fighter, potentially an ideal knight and preserver, against heavy odds, of human values. His task in this work is to challenge the whole status quo established by Louis against the passionate ambitions of Burgundy. The young man's reaction to the Castle of Plessis, stronghold of the King, neatly defines for us the nature of his moral adventure. This castle, and the power it both symbolises and supports, is, in fact, a prison. In Louis, Kingship has the character not of noble leadership, but of a cunning jailor. His castle expresses the man and his political methods, "...so that the whole external front looked much more like that of a prison than a palace." (p.29) Quentin's task is to storm this castle, as his conversation with his companion of the early chapters implies.

"And now tell me, young man,...did you ever see so strong a fortress, and do you think there are men bold enough to storm it?" The young man looked long and fixedly on the place, the sight of which interested him so much... "It is a strong castle, and strongly guarded; but there is no impossibility to brave men." (pp.31/2)

The irony of the work is that before he can succeed in challenging Louis, Quentin finds himself, as a matter of survival, one of the Scottish Archers who help to guard his stronghold. Yet this also underlines Scott's usual method of enlightening his hero through formidable experience, and not through precept.

Another important clue to a major concern in Quentin Durward is the hero's desire for freedom, notwithstanding his soldierly heritage and the impulse to chivalrous service.

"To speak plain, I should have liked the service of the French King full well; only, dress me as fine, and feed me as high as you will, I love the open air better than being shut in a cage or a swallow's nest yonder, as you call these same grated pepper-boxes. Besides," he added, in a lower voice, "to speak truth, I love not the castle when the covin-tree bears such acorns as I see yonder." (pp.34/5)

The "acorns" in question, being hanging corpses, and the "signs" of the sovereign's "justice", make clear the sinister nature of the castle. Its romantic symbolism is largely replaced in the work by the political realism of its use as a place of confinement, secrecy, intrigue and death.

Already in the early chapters of the work, there is evidence of a conflict between the desire for freedom and yet the attraction of "castle-building", as a life of gallantry and courtly behaviour.

"...were I King Louis," said the youth, in reply, "I would trust my safety to the faith of the three hundred Scottish gentlemen, throw down my bounding walls to fill up the moat, call in my noble peers and paladins, and live as became me, amid breaking of lances in gallant tournaments, and feasting of days with nobles, and dancing of nights with ladies, and have no more fear of a foe than I have of a fly." (p.32)

Fittingly, the hero is to have a truly romantic outlet for his soldierly nature. The particular form of Quentin's task of knight errantry, as escort to Isabelle of Croye, is prefigured in his delight in the open air, and yet his pursuit of honour. On the one hand there is the love of freedom, on the other a search for the noble quest.

"...I am of the Douglasses' mind, who always kept the fields, because they loved better to hear the lark sing than the mouse squeak...I should like to follow a master that would keep his honour as bright as his shield, and always venture foremost in the very throng of battle." (p.43)

As the narrative progresses, it becomes clear that although overtly Quentin finds service with the King's Scottish Archers, his relation to Louis is always ambiguous. The young man's sense of being unable to relate wholeheartedly to a King whose personal style is deliberate falsity, is nicely suggested in their first meeting where Louis disguises himself as "Maitre Pierre". It prepares the way for the monarch's ability to mask himself and assume roles as the occasion demands. Thus it is no surprise to find him the master of duplicity in the negotiations with Burgundy, or that he intends the betrayal of Isabelle to William de la Marck. These qualities of deceit and betrayal are directly and actively opposed by the hero, not by excessive innocence, but by matching opportunism and craft with an equal strength of shrewdness and integrity. Quentin is able to combine the quickwittedness of Louis with the daring of Burgundy in the service of love and honour, rather than for the exploitation of power, as is the case with the two Princes.

The hero's true master then, is his chivalric love for Isabelle. It is also an unselfish and knightly cause, since their social disparity makes it unlikely that his devotion can be rewarded with marriage. That he finally succeeds in being elevated to high social rank and winning true love, demonstrates the fundamental optimism of the work. Quentin's search for fortune is not only a triumph of love and honour over the forces of bloodletting and intrigue, but it confirms Scott's implication that realism can be romantic and not merely pragmatic. There is much emphasis on the hero's resourcefulness and shrewdness in dealing with the cunning and trickery that surrounds him. Quentin succeeds because he is able to expand his thinking intelligently to meet difficulties as they arise, but the realistic negotiation of real life does not imply a rejection of the romantic impulse.

As is very characteristic of Scott's work, the remaining characters

offer alternatives for and extremes of attitudes displayed by the principals. Oliver Dain, significantly nicknamed "the Devil", is a heightened version of the love of intrigue found in the King, while the astrologer Galeotti is also a Machiavellian figure close to the monarch, but expressing the element of superstition in his character. This latent fear, and helplessness is well seen in the King's obsession with enlisting the aid of the saints, but most dramatically in chapter twenty-nine where the astrologer saves his own life by manipulating his master's fear of death.

While the work does not deal extensively with religion, the perversion of the Church into an agent of Statecraft is pointed out in the cruelty of Cardinal Balue's "iron cages" at the Castle of Loche, "in which the wretched prisoner could neither stand upright, nor stretch himself at length." (p.254) It is significant that the horror of this absolute confinement with its "secret acts of cruelty" is jointly perpetrated by Church and State, and the savage murder of the Bishop of Liege by De La Marck is only the explosive climax to the perversion of law and of sanctity which characterises the times.

By contrast, the love of freedom and the romanticism of Quentin's nature are explored in greater depth in the character of Hayraddin the Bohemian, and in the Beauty of the turret, the Countess Isabelle. Hayraddin is a particularly interesting example of the impulse to freedom carried to its most extreme. His conversations with Quentin are a powerful argument for the vagrant life, and one is aware of the implication common to much of Scott's writing, that absolute freedom is asocial, and that the price of human relatedness is a limitation on personal autonomy. One may feel that Scott's vagrants, leading an insecure, but untrammelled life, are the only really free personalities of the novels. Quentin Durward particularly, in its emphasis on tyranny

as the price of civil government, makes the figure of outlaw and the Bohemian, attractive in his comparative honesty.

The conversation between Hayraddin and Quentin is interesting for its comment on the whole problem of freedom versus confinement, which impresses one as being a strong motif in the work. One remembers the first novel's concern with this difficulty. In Waverley's case, the confinements are in part the result of his own temperament, but in the case of Quentin Durward, the hero's personal stance is different, and the society in which he must exist presents less subtle evils to counter. On the other hand, the consequences of failure to negotiate some kind of personal safety, as well as moral autonomy, are more absolutely disastrous. For Quentin, on a crusade against tyranny, the alternatives are victory or death. For Waverley, on a journey of personal education, the choices are a stunted moral nature and its consequent discontents, or the hope of a positive personal development. One is intensely aware of the perpetual threat to human existence in Quentin Durward, the background of torture and violence is not written for medieval effect or period colour. It reflects a view of political and social life as "nasty, brutish and short". The hero's response is total self-reliance. Quentin's propensity for hairsbreadth escape from death is significant in this connection. Circumstances beyond his control have led him three times to the brink of death, but his personal strength and capacity for survival are the agents of rescue. His fitness as a hero is seen in his escape from the three trials of fire, water and the rope. The burning of his family home in Scotland constitutes his initiation into the dark side of human nature. The near drowning in France represents a capacity to survive the unknown generally, and in particular the power of the elements, while his ^{escape from hanging constitutes a} successful challenge to the harsh "justice" of the King. However, the problem of remaining free in such a setting remains. Hayraddin the Bohemian offers one answer.

The vagabond represents the impulse to freedom of the pre-social individual. He is a kind of noble savage. In contrast to the extreme conformity of Louis, "civil government", he is without any allegiances either social or political, moral or religious. Yet his temperament is not that of anarchist, but "natural" man. He is not without a system of values, but these are asocial. Where Quentin is disposed to pity him for his lack of attachment, and therefore implicitly, his lack of a reason for living, the Bohemian's reply is important. It points to the central antithesis of the work, the opposition between the free or unfettered life, and the constraints of life in society.

"You are then", said the wondering querist,
 "destitute of all that other men are combined
 by - you have no law, no leader, no settled
 means of subsistence, no house or home. You
 have, may Heaven compassionate you, no country
 and, may Heaven enlighten and forgive you, you
 have no God! What is it that remains to you,
 deprived of government, domestic happiness,
 and religion."
 "I have liberty," said the Bohemian - "I crouch
 to no one - obey no one - respect no one, - I
 go where I will - live as I can - and die when
 my day comes." (p.265)

One feels that one of the major themes of Scott's work is the problematic nature of society, "all that men are combined by". Quentin Durward is an exposition of the corruption of those values to which the young hero aspires, good government, domestic happiness and religion. Yet the work makes us acutely aware not only of their perversion toward the end of political power - but the very tenuous nature of their existence at all. Such virtue as can be found in the iron hand with which Louis rules, exists only in his comparative success at restraining France from absolute lawlessness. Thus, it is only in Quentin and Isabelle that the positive social values seem to find expression. The state of France itself is remarkable for their absence. By contrast with civil reality, Hayraddin's creed of liberty is a form of rebellion

against the "iron cage" and the hanging corpses of the King's justice. It does imply, however, that life itself is a kind of cage from which the only real release is death. In addition, it seems to suggest that true freedom may exist only as an internal, and not an external condition.

"But you are subject to instant execution, at the pleasure of the judge?"

"Be it so," returned the Bohemian; "I can but die so much the sooner."

"And to imprisonment also," said the Scot; "and where then is your boasted freedom?"

"In my thoughts," said the Bohemian, "which no chains can bind; while yours, even when your limbs are free, remain fettered by your laws and your superstitions, your dreams of local attachment, and your fantastic vision of civil policy. Such as I are free in spirit when our limbs are chained. - You are imprisoned in mind, even when your limbs are most at freedom."

"Yet the freedom of your thoughts," said the Scot, "relieves not the pressure of the gyves on your limbs."

"For a brief time that may be endured," answered the vagrant; "and if within that period I cannot extricate myself, and fail of relief from my comrades, I can always die, and death is the most perfect freedom of all." (pp.265/6)

These views are important to an understanding of the hero, since he too is one who "loves the open air rather than being shut up in a cage." (p.34) He must avoid the cages around him, but also the alternative "freedom" of death. As the early description of Quentin suggests, he is a young man very much committed to life. However, although Hayraddin does represent an aspect of the hero which rejects the enclosing life of the cloister and castle, Quentin is clearly an individual to whom society is necessary. If this is so, Quentin Durward seems to affirm the virtues of social behaviour, although not that of society as given. At the end of Waverley one is left with a sense of separation from the social world. Quentin Durward, on the other hand, deals with the desire for social integration without loss of personal esteem or integrity. Thus the fundamental problems of the two works are quite different. Waverley's romantic nature demands adherence to a private

vision, whereas Quentin's chivalric code is dedicated to opposing and overcoming social evils.

The important distinction in this work, highlighted by the hero's conversation with Hayraddin, is between the "natural" and the "social". More particularly there is a clear opposition between instinct and "policy". This shows itself not only in the conflict of passion and necessity identified by Robert Gordon,¹ but especially in the perversion of all human relationships. This misuse of the ideals of love, honour and loyalty, finds expression not only in the obvious power struggles of the Court, but in the mercenary soldiers and political marriages. Even more distasteful is the archness of the Lady Hameline, who coquettes under the guise of a romantic disposition, but whose true tastes are reflected in her easy accommodation of the brutish De La Marck. "The Lady Hameline was as violent in her passions as she was vain and weak in her understanding." (p.343) The perversion of noble instincts is found at every level. Louis turns the potential nobility of the Scottish Archers, as best exemplified by Lord Crawford, into mercenaries such as Le Balafre, whose scarred face is symbolic of his fall from an ancient ideal of chivalry. Burgundy reduces human passion to the level of hot-headed indulgence. Both sexual and political lust is seen in the character of William De La Marck, reaching its worst excesses in the sacking of Liege. The corruption of the instinct toward the mysterious, is found in the Astrologer's craft and opportunism, while religion is reduced to superstition by the King, petitioning the Saints in aid of his political scheming.

The work deals with a social climate which has become coarsened and dehumanised. This is the deeper level of meaning in a work which overtly concerns a transition of political values from feudal to "modern"

1. Robert Gordon, Under Which King?, p. 10.

diplomacy. At this level, we see Scott's characteristic clash between "old" and "new" expressed politically. Yet it is the underlying moral distortion of both which the hero must overcome. In this respect, Hayraddin, also a refugee from violent death at an early age, can be seen as something of an alter ego for the hero. Not only is he dedicated to the notion of freedom, but he comes of a deeply instinctive race. His primitivism is found to be noble when compared with French society. His intuitive knowledge differs markedly from the craft and superstition of Louis' court. Only the destructive animal instincts are left to such a society. The more useful and creative powers have been lost.

"...the dog can trace the footsteps of a man, while man, the nobler animal, hath not the power to trace those of the dog. These powers, which seem to you so wonderful, are instinctive... From the lines on the face and on the hand, we can tell the future fate of those who consult us, even as surely as you know from the blossom of the tree in spring, what fruit it will bear in the harvest." (p.268)

Though Hayraddin also lives by his wits, as does everyone in this work, including the hero, he has not lost his personal sense of humanity and honour. In this he is a fitting companion for Quentin, whom he makes his heir in chapter thirty-four. The two are bound by a common morality. Quentin's humanity in cutting down the body of Hayraddin's brother, gives them kinship. Therefore, apart from the two lovers, these two offer one of the few relationships in the work not based on money or power.

"Will money render thee a trusty guide?" demanded Durward.

"If I be not such without it, No," replied the heathen.

"Then what will bind thee?" asked the Scot.

"Kindness," replied the Bohemian. (p.268)

Nevertheless, Hayraddin's impulse to personal freedom is an inadequate guide for Quentin. His ancient family tradition of arms and Catholicism, as well as his romantic disposition, incline him to

a life of personal obligation. His task, therefore, is to combine his ideal chivalry with a successful negotiation of the modern world. In order to make his fortune, both morally and materially, he must find a way to combine the concept of love, with honour and duty. The setting for this endeavour is the journey of knight errantry in conducting Isabelle and Lady Hameline from the French to the Burgundian court.

This journey provides an opportunity for the main themes of the narrative to come together. The road through dangerous country symbolises the hero's personal journey from cloistered refugee to veteran of the outside world. This is an opportunity for Quentin to fulfil his role as soldier and knight errant, with that of lover, in which he finds his personal freedom. Not unusually for a hero of the Waverley novels, this freedom necessitates the realisation of the ambiguity or treachery in a trusted leader or cause. It is the discovery of the King's deceit in plotting to betray Isabelle to De La Marck, that marks the turning point in Quentin's education into the facts of political life. It is here that his healthy instinct for self-preservation as well as honour, is seen to assert itself.

Quentin imagined that the death or captivity to which King Louis had, in cold blood, consigned him, set him at liberty from his engagement to the Crown of France; which, therefore, it was his determined purpose to renounce. (p.290)

Typically again, Quentin's response to the dangers surrounding him and his charges, is to trust to his own resources. One remembers from chapter two, that he was a strong swimmer even when out of his depth. Now, in assuming total responsibility for the victory or defeat of the values of love and morality, one finds him very well able to ally a good head to a good heart. He is well equipped to match craft and policy with shrewdness and courage.

At length Durward settled a plan of operation, on which he could the better reckon, as the execution

rested entirely upon himself; and, in the cause in which he was engaged, he felt himself capable of everything. With a firm and bold heart, though conscious of the dangers of his situation, Quentin might be compared to one walking under a load, of the weight of which he was conscious, but which yet is not beyond his strength and power of endurance. (p.291)

Such qualities of tough self-reliance are comparable with those demanded of Waverley in the course of his personal education. Yet Waverley's attainment of them, is, one feels, less secure than is the case with this young Scot. While the Englishman's passionate nature tended to endow him with a feeling of intoxication in the face of danger and great events, Quentin Durward has a less malleable, though no less generous nature. His purpose is always firm as he characteristically buckles on his sword and proposes to fight single-handed the combined corruptions of France and Burgundy.

Quentin then betook himself to his own chamber, armed himself with unusual care, and belted on his sword with the feeling at once of approaching danger, and of stern determination to dare it to the uttermost. These generous feelings gave him a loftiness of step, and a dignity of manner, which the ladies of Croye had not yet observed in him, though they had been highly pleased and interested by the grace, yet naivete, of his general behaviour and conversation, and the mixture of shrewd intelligence which naturally belonged to him, with the simplicity arising from his secluded education and distant country. (pp.295/6)

One is also aware that the entry of Quentin into the conflicts and rivalries of France, is dangerous to the delicate balance of power, only just held in check by the King. In addition, however staunch the hero's faith in himself, at first he is by no means the master of his own fate, or of events. Unknowingly, he acts as a political tool for Louis, and then inadvertently touches off the rebellion in Liege by wearing the badge of Louis' service. His early lack of personal autonomy is most clearly seen in his apparently hopeless love for Isabelle. Such romantic dreams are, as his actual dream at Schonwaldt illustrates, endangered by the violence surrounding the lovers. Both are attempting to secure their lives and their mutual love in conditions inimical to romance.

...Quentin's dreams, which at first partook of the nature of those happy influences under which he had fallen asleep, began by degrees to assume a more terrific character.

He walked with the Countess Isabelle beside a smooth and inland lake, such as formed the principal characteristic of his native glen; and he spoke to her of his love, without any consciousness of the impediments which lay between them. She blushed and smiled when she listened... But the scene suddenly changed from summer to winter, from calm to tempest; the winds and waves rose with such a contest of surge and whirlwind, as if the demons of the water and of air had been contending for their roaring empires in rival strife. The rising waters seemed to cut off their advance and their retreat - the increasing tempest, which dashed them against each other, seemed to render their remaining on the spot impossible; and the tumultuous sensations produced by the apparent danger awoke the dreamer. (pp.337/8)

As is often the case with Scott, descriptions of landscape, whether actual or as dream, are used to evoke the conflicts facing the hero. Here the dream suggests the idyllic nature of the feeling between the lovers, and at the same time, the antagonistic forces surrounding them. These forces consist of more than the disparity of wealth or rank as agents of separation. The "demon" elements and the "rising" waters, which seem about to devour the two, show the hero's unconscious understanding of their isolation.

As has been noted, human life at every level is governed by the purse, and for women especially, personal freedom hardly exists, despite rank and wealth. Isabelle is conscious of being a political tool, whose marriage has everything to do with "policy" and little with feeling. She is acutely aware of her vulnerability. "Freedom is for men alone - women must ever seek a protector,... And where am I to find one? -" (p.392) This sense of needing a refuge reflects not only Isabelle's defencelessness as a woman, but also of those qualities of love, beauty and gentleness, for which she stands.

The hero's pursuit of true love, which is central to the work, demonstrates its fundamental conflict. This is another aspect of the opposition of "policy" and feeling. Contrary to his reputation, Scott's

novels are particularly concerned with the experience of love, not only for its intrinsic value, but as a bulwark of personal identity and individual need in social conditions which elevate the organisational above the organic. Moreover, one is aware that it is usually a mixed and painful experience, issuing in loss and distress as often as in fulfilment. Even where lovers come together, as in the case of Quentin and Isabelle, they must first endure the experience of separation brought about by external circumstances. The threatened loss of love is felt in fact as a loss of direction, and a more distressing experience than all former dangers.

Separated from the Lady Isabelle, whose look had been for so many days his load-star, Quentin felt a strange vacancy and chilliness of the heart, which he had not yet experienced in any of the vicissitudes to which his life had subjected him. (p.311)

One sees here, as in Waverley, that the importance given to all actions and emotions depends upon an understanding of motive. The pursuit of romantic love, for example, is either foolish or noble according to the perspective of the judgement. Quentin's rescue of Isabelle during the sacking of Liege, in which his own life is always at risk, is foolish by the standards of the times, where only "policy" and brutal passion bind. As we have seen, the task of the hero of Quentin Durward is to re-instate alternative values in the "modern" world.

Whoever had seen Quentin Durward that fatal night, not knowing the meaning of his conduct, had accounted him a raging madman; whoever had appreciated his motives, had ranked him nothing beneath a hero of romance. (p.348)

It is as a "hero of romance" that Quentin Durward is triumphant. The fact that his creator chose to make him a young Scot, who is the victim of the failure of human values in his own country, seems to suggest an attempt to preserve and regenerate the humane impulses of "romance", even if this must be in exile. In this, Quentin has a fitting place

among the Scottish Archers who once, as Lord Crawford testifies, held an honoured place among the ancient ideals of chivalry.

It is important to an understanding of Scott's view of love as an ideal, to distinguish it from any sense of personal possession. It is quite distinct too, from "passion", which in this work is exemplified by Burgundy and De La Marck, where it stands for the more or less brutal acquisition of any desired object. "Love" as seen in Quentin and Isabelle, is marked by its qualities of unselfishness and principle. The key to the hero's truly romantic attitudes is found in his understanding that the awareness of love, and not the possession of it, may, if necessary, become a humane guiding principle for life.

He thought of his love no longer as a desperate and fantastic dream, but as a high and invigorating principle to be cherished in his bosom, although he might never propose to himself, under all the difficulties by which he was beset, to bring it to any prosperous issue. - "The pilot," he reflected, "steers his bark by the polar star, although he never expects to become possessor of it." (p.421)

This is perhaps the full maturing of Quentin's romanticism. He is able if necessary, to accept reality as a denial of particular hopes, without rejecting the impulses of true feeling behind such desires. It is important to stress also the "vigorous" nature of this adherence to what might be called the reality of the romantic dream. In itself, if accepted in such a spirit, the journey of romance is positive and energising. It involves not concentration on the self, but a continued openness to experience. Scott's heroes, while not infrequently suffering what he calls "love-melancholy", and being greatly distressed by it, are rarely rendered passive or defeatist as a consequence. As with Scott himself perhaps, a combination of stoicism and a vigorous taste for life re-asserts itself. Although personal disappointment remains a source of darkness, the author's sense of the heroic seems always to involve a return to life and growth.

Quentin's advice to Isabelle, brooding over the sack of Liege, represents the creed of all survivors. "Do not look back, but look steadily forward, as they needs must who walk in a perilous road." (p.550) It also suggests the degree to which the hero has succeeded in becoming a good pilot, able to steer skilfully by a "polar star". This contrasts with the "adroit pilotage" of Louis. The guiding principles of the two are quite different, and form the true conflict of the work. Quentin makes his fortune by fulfilling his potential as a romantic hero. Louis, for all his craft, is himself both superstitious and insecure. His intense dread of death, seen in his fear of the astrologer, reflects his true helplessness; a state of mind quite foreign to Quentin Durward. Louis feels himself to be not master, but victim of his own office. His skills in deceit constitute a trap. He is confined in a cage of his own making. Unlike the hero, he is unable to take personal responsibility for his life and actions.

"So help me, our Lord and Lady, and Monseigneur Saint Martin, Oliver and Balue have hearts as hardened as the nether millstone; and my life is embittered by remorse and penances for the crimes they make me commit." (p.538)

Nevertheless, the demands of Quentin's adherence to his humane principles are emphasised by a significant incident in the closing pages of the work. It forms the hero's final test of personal conduct, before he can be rewarded by the re-union with Isabelle. In the rescue of Gertrude during the pursuit of De La Marck, Quentin is faced with the fullest and most costly adherence to his code. If he saves this lady, he stands to lose every prize available to him as soldier and as lover. It is a moment of the utmost severity, and one in which a whole moral personality seems to hang in the balance. However, the young man has completed an excellent training in personal discipline with which to meet such a moment.

Her call was agonising, but it was irresistible; and bidding a mental adieu, with unutterable bitterness of feeling, to all the gay hopes which had stimulated his exertion, carried him through that bloody day, and which at one moment seemed to approach consummation, Quentin, like an unwilling spirit, who obeys a talisman which he cannot resist, protected Gertrude to Pavillon's house,... (p.634)

However, that in this case, virtue does have its reward, owes less to the convention of the happy ending, than the novel's tribute to the moral toughness, and not the tragic consequences, of the romantic temperament as seen in this young Scot. "...after all, it is sense, firmness and gallantry, which have put him in possession of WEALTH, RANK and BEAUTY!" (p.640) Such an heroic view of romanticism is especially interesting when compared with the results of its opposite impulse, the sacrifice of every personal feeling to the passion for power, as found in Kenilworth. If the human cost attendant on such pragmatism is central to Quentin Durward, it is more shockingly evident in Kenilworth, where English history provides Scott with a much darker delineation of the abandonment of love, and the corrupting passion of the lust for power.

Kenilworth

If one can see in Quentin Durward the emergence of a triumphant Romanticism, Kenilworth makes an interesting comparison for its contrasting defeat not only of romance, but of the humane values associated with Edward Waverley and Quentin Durward. In Kenilworth, not only is romantic love and natural feeling seen as the victim of Elizabethan England, but its demise is particularly brutal. However, I would argue that this also makes the reader aware of the very strength of that romantic impulse, since such extreme force is needed to subdue it. Only the utmost constraint, and finally, murder, can silence Amy Robsart. For all her apparent helplessness, the most evil and powerful contrivances of the age are, as I shall suggest, no match for her integrity. Thus any consideration of the place of romanticism in Scott's work must take account of Kenilworth's violently anti-romantic forces, and attempt to assess their outcome.

Just as the narrative builds to a climax of confrontation between Amy and the Queen, rivals of heart and head, the whole work is itself a progress toward the death of the heart, and the apparent success of those qualities of pragmatism and ambition synonymous with political statecraft. Even the Queen's self-styled "mothering" of her people involves the fierce suppression of her womanly qualities. Her mixture

of intelligent manipulation and hard-headedness, with only temporary lapses arising mainly from vanity, has something in common with the political techniques of Louis in Quentin Durward. She can be seen as England's version of the Machiavellian prince, though Scott's portrait is somewhat softened by the internal struggle between her role as monarch and her desires as a woman. Nevertheless, the reader gains the impression that Leicester's ambitions as a consort are always illusory, and that the Queen's overriding impulse is to be master and in no sense mistress. Thus the political background to the work, beneath the glitter and sophistication, is akin to the absolute tyranny of Quentin Durward. Elizabeth's justice is no less abrasive than that of the King of France. The emphasis in Kenilworth on extravagant Court display, on ceremony and gallantry, make the exercise of power only superficially less crude and threatening to individual freedom. The lavish use of gold, emphasised throughout and focused on the sovereign herself, conceals a social and political condition inimical to romantic values, as is the French Court of Quentin Durward. Elizabeth's England is perhaps the more dangerous for its seeming civilization. Bearbaiting may have given way to the plays of Will Shakespeare, but the undercurrent of fear which is the guiding force behind much of the action and reaction, gives Kenilworth a particularly sinister psychological tone. Fear of death and disfavour is never far beneath the surface at Court. The Queen rules through apprehension, and maintains the balance of power by a deliberate policy of uncertainty. This characteristic is nicely portrayed in her visit to Say's Court on the occasion of Sussex's illness, where "...the Queen took her leave of Say's Court, having brought confusion thither along with her, and leaving doubt and apprehension behind." (p. 252) Leicester himself is never quite sure of his ground even at his boldest, and Elizabeth's

skills in playing off the rivalries of Sussex and Leicester against one another, is a masterly lesson in the uses of personal disequilibrium as a political tool. Very typically in this work, nothing is as it appears. This is well shown in the Queen's handling of the quarrel between the rival Earls.

"Sussex," said Elizabeth, "I entreat - Leicester,
I command you."
Yet, so were her words accented, that the entreaty
sounded like command, and the command like entreaty. (p.264)

It is the Queen's antipathy to marriage, feared for its dilution of personal power, that necessitates Leicester's concealment of his true relationship with Amy. "She likes not marriages, or speech of marriage ...said Leicester." (p. 254) Yet one is impressed by the degree to which this has involved an emotional distortion in her. This is reflected in the vanity which needs constant attention in the form of flirtation and romantic gallantry from her courtiers. This susceptibility to flattery is nicely seen in the case of Raleigh, the "knight of the Cloak". Elizabeth's taste for such gallantries leaves her open to exploitation by the clever courtier. In this, Leicester is shrewdly clear-sighted about his monarch.

"She hath added another to those dangling satellites,
whom it is her pleasure to keep revolving around
her."

"Your lordship meaneth that Raleigh, the Devonshire
youth," said Varney, "the Knight of the Cloak, as
they call him at Court?"

"He may be Knight of the Garter one day, for aught
I know," said Leicester, "for he advances so
rapidly" (p. 254)

The implied sexual pun of "Garter" also shows how Elizabeth relegates relationships between men and women to an inferior and somewhat distasteful status of dalliance and conquest. One sees that vanity is one of the many staircases of the work, by which individuals may rise or fall. As I shall suggest particularly with reference to Amy, the whole metaphor of climbing forms the sustaining framework of the plot

in a work without a clear hero at its centre, and it holds together the intricate web of deceit and counter deceit which leads to the final murder. Kenilworth gives less emphasis to the development of a single individual than is the case with Waverley or Quentin Durward. Their titles reflect their concern with a particular personality. Although Amy Robsart does achieve the status of heroine through her personal growth in the events leading up to her death, Kenilworth is impressive for its exploration of psychological mood and tone in a particular social and political atmosphere. This work is a dark critique of "merry England" and Gloriana, though the roots of its corruption are seen to stem from human attitudes and not simply one historical period. In Scott's uncovering of the interior spirit of this outwardly controlled and civilised age, one is especially aware of his comment on its world of pageantry and show in the "Royal Progress". We are shown the repudiation of values at the heart of the metaphor of progress, suggestive of national development. The emptiness within the paste-board superstructure is seen in the stage set and performance that is Kenilworth Castle. There is much emphasis on the extravagant cost of the political and personal facades, and this is reflective of the human cost, culminating in murder. The fearful psychological price to be paid forms the core of the work. In this connection, one is aware that the concern with alchemy, the search for unlimited wealth and power is an underground and secret, even a hellish activity, expressed in the forge where Wayland Smith has worked with Alasco. Equally synonymous with hell is Amy's psychological torment, increasing in pressure throughout, as the price of her elevation to the nobility and her commitment to marriage. Though her feelings for him are never in doubt, it is clear that impressionable youth and girlish vanity has played some part in Leicester's success as a suitor and Tressilian's

rejection. As is frequently the case with Scott, there is some emphasis on the shortcomings of early life and education, and their result upon subsequent actions.

The Countess Amy had indeed to plead, for indulgence in those frivolous tastes, that the education of the times had done little or nothing for a mind naturally gay and averse to study... Her mother had died in infancy; her father contradicted her in nothing; and Tressilian, the only one that approached her who was able or desirous to attend to the cultivation of her mind, had much hurt his interest with her, by assuming too eagerly the task of preceptor; so that he was regarded by the lively, indulged, and idle girl with some fear and much respect; but with little or nothing of that softer emotion which it had been his hope and his ambition to inspire. And thus her heart lay readily open, and her fancy became easily captivated by the noble exterior and graceful deportment and complacent flattery of Leicester, even before he was known to her as the dazzling minion of wealth and power. (p. 364)

Yet part of the terror of the work is Amy's comparative innocence in this, and the disproportionate cost of her unwise choice. The conflict here, between naive goodness and sophisticated evil, is always unequal, and one is clearly aware that Amy's chances of survival in such a setting are always slight. Moreover her consent to the initial concealment of her marriage vows, sows the seed of her destruction. Her fault may be naive, but it is nevertheless tragically real. Yet the naivete even of this early deception, is the more vivid by contrast with the blatant falsities of Court life. Amy's covert marriage expresses not primarily her vanity, but a youthful romanticism. Her childlike delight in being a Countess with its attendant fineries, suggests this well. It is indicative of her later romantic stature, that her clothes become more simple as the narrative progresses, and as the quality of feeling for her husband is increasingly tested and found to be true. Her personal ascent is from role playing the romantic heroine, toward the heroic woman who contends vigorously against repressive social forces. Fittingly, Scott emphasises the

height to which she has attained before her death in the final climb up "a stair of great height". Though this is her final prison at Cumnor, it is also a true psychological elevation which death does not negate. The Royal Progress of Elizabeth to Kenilworth is, by contrast, an external conceit of persona and state compared with the distance travelled by Amy between Kenilworth and Cumnor. Both are prisons, but her acquiescence to the former as Leicester's absolute dependant, contrasts with the later independence of spirit which allows her to reject the pose of Varney's wife, a defiance which places her in extreme danger, and in fact decides her fate as his victim. Yet her challenge to Leicester's deceit and the ignoble practices of Court life, is worthy of the crusading and soldierly courage of Quentin Durward. She rests her case solely on the ideals of truth and honour, and this offers a strenuous challenge to the status quo of the narrative.

"There hath been but one cause for all these evils, my Lord," she proceeded, "and it resolves itself into the mysterious duplicity with which you have been induced to surround yourself. Extricate yourself at once, my Lord, from the tyranny of these disgraceful trammels. Be like a true English gentleman, knight, and earl, who holds that truth is the foundation of honour, and that honour is dear to him as the breath of his nostrils. Take your ill-fated wife by the hand, lead her to the footstool of Elizabeth's throne - say that in a moment of infatuation, moved by supposed beauty, of which none perhaps can now trace even the remains, I gave my hand to this Amy Robsart - You will then have done justice to me, my Lord, and to your honour; and should law or power require you to part from me, I will oppose no objection." (p. 559)

Amy's strength within the narrative is perhaps most economically but pointedly made after her flight from the prison of Mervyn's Tower to the fountain in the Pleasance. Her escape, though temporary, is nevertheless an important defeat for all the jailors of the work.

"Nay, then I am undone," said the jailor; "the prison's broken, that is all. Kenilworth prison is broken," he continued, in a tone of maudlin

lamentation, "which was the strongest jail between this and the Welsh marches - ay - and a house that has had knights, and earls, and kings sleeping in it, as secure as if they had been in the Tower of London. It is broken, the prisoners fled, and the jailor in much danger of being hanged!" (p. 528)

In the light of Amy's heroic challenge to duplicity and deceit, it is interesting to look at the other major romantic figure of the work, the rejected lover, Edmund Tressilian. One characteristic which he shares with *Quentin Durward* and to some extent with *Waverley*, is a rather tenuous relationship to society. Equally, he shares their impulse as "traveller" or explorer, and the background image of him as one of the "knights of romance", is characteristic of Scott's young adventurers. "I am a traveller, who seeks for strange rencounters and uncommon passages, as the knights of yore did after adventures and feats of arms." (p. 27) In this sense, one sees that the "hero" for Scott is the young romantic attempting to relate an older chivalric ideal to his own times. Here we are dealing with an important concern for the author, the desire of the individual to modify the spirit of the age in order to accommodate a past ethic which has become deeply rooted within him. We characteristically see a youthful "knight" making an uneasy progress within a society inimical to romance. In this impulse lies the strongest evidence of Scott's adherence to romanticism no matter what the "modern" social setting. This is not to suggest that the author sees it as without flaw, indeed the greater part of *Waverley* and of *Quentin Durward* is given to tempering the romantic individual. Nevertheless, the desire to shape these young knights into effective members of society without violating their basic natures, argues a powerful allegiance to Romanticism as a human creed.

In this respect, Tressilian may be seen as a lesson in romantic failure. His inability to survive the personal defeat of Amy's

rejection and her subsequent loss, makes him at once a poignant and a failed hero. It is the fixed nature of his temperament that makes him unsuccessful, both initially as Amy's suitor, and later, as her would-be rescuer. His bookish tendency makes him able to see her only as pupil, a failure which might reasonably make the virile Leicester seem doubly attractive. Equally, the fixed state of melancholy is consistent with such a nature. In Tressilian, ideals of honour and constancy have become solidified and inflexible. On the one hand, this makes him sympathetically faithful, but on the other, it shows the inability to move beyond rigid principle. Thus he is unable to break his promise of twenty-four hours silence at Kenilworth, when it was necessary to do so. Such an inability to change course effectively is, for Scott, an indication of later failure. Perhaps his most subtle moral lesson is the need for adherence to principle and human values which is sufficiently flexible to give both strength and humanity to the individual. Extreme rigidity, no matter how fine the underlying motive, tends in Scott's work toward destruction in the fanatic or the martyr. For Tressilian, the moment when he alone has the power to confirm Amy's abuse at the hands of Leicester, sees him unable to distinguish between the minor and the major issue. One feels that the whole moral course of the work turns upon Tressilian's moment of unique power, the possibility to impeach "Leicester's veracity".

"How Sir!" said the Queen, - "impeach my Lord of Leicester's veracity! But you shall have a fair hearing. In our presence the meanest of our subjects shall be heard against...the most favoured; therefore you shall be heard fairly, but beware you speak not without a warrant! Take these certificates in your own hand; look at them carefully, and say manfully if you impugn the truth of them, and upon what evidence." As the Queen spoke, his promise and all its consequences rushed on the mind of the unfortunate Tressilian, and while it controlled his natural

inclination to pronounce that a falsehood which he knew from the evidence of his senses to be untrue, gave an indecision and irresolution to his appearance and utterance, which made strongly against him in the mind of Elizabeth, as well as of all who beheld him. He turned the papers over and over, as if he had been an idiot, incapable of comprehending their contents. (pp. 494/5)

Tressilian's disastrous confusion marks the turning of the tide against Amy, and the human ethic she stands for. One feels convinced that justice would have been done but for Tressilian's failure. Elizabeth's boast of a fair hearing would result from her vanity as much as from her love of natural justice. The Queen's pride in a rigid control of the woman, in favour of the monarch, would not have permitted even her jealousy to overcome her determination to be seen as a firm and impartial ruler.

The psychological key to this decisive moment for both Tressilian and Amy is the young man's consistent failure to move toward the larger view, in spite of his undoubted nobility and courage. Scott suggests that this is not an intellectual, but an emotional trait, which makes it seem inevitable that Tressilian will die of grief in exile. The ability to deal effectively with the present seems to depend upon a refusal to become fixed in past attitudes or events, while retaining personal ideals. For Tressilian, however, the early loss of Amy encourages his disposition to retreat and a kind of moral timidity; inaction born of the fear of acting wrongly which parallels the emotional stasis following the rejection. This leads to a life of unreality, and in this lies the seed of Tressilian's failure as knight errant to Amy, or as moral regenerator of Elizabeth's Court, both of which roles are, potentially, his. Although sympathetic to the young man, Scott defines his "weakness" as "dangerous". The reader is aware of how deeply such a blockage colours not only Tressilian's inner self, but also his environment. Therefore he is unable to counter the paste-

board glitter of the Court with any but a morally ineffective gloom. This means that the moral alternatives of the work must remain false gold or darkness. Tressilian is, in this way, as deeply imprisoned as ever Amy is, and he achieves no parallel growth toward escape or personal assertion. In this young man we see not only the pain of lost love, but also its potentially disastrous consequences. This also seems to highlight Scott's insistence in Waverley and Quentin Durward that loss be transformed into an agent of growth and not of defeat.

The melancholy thoughts of Tressilian cast a gloomy shade on all the objects with which he was surrounded. He compared the magnificent scenes which he here traversed with the deep woodland and wild moorland which surrounded Lidcote-Hall, and the image of Amy Robsart glided like a phantom through every landscape which his imagination summoned up. Nothing is perhaps more dangerous to the future happiness of men of deep thought and retired habits, than the entertaining an early, long, and unfortunate attachment. It frequently sinks so deep into the mind, that it becomes their dream by night and their vision by day - mixes itself with every source of interest and enjoyment; and, when blighted and withered by final disappointment, it seems as if the springs of the spirit were dried up along with it. This aching of the heart, this languishing after a shadow which has lost all the gaiety of its colouring, this dwelling on the remembrance of a dream from which we have been long roughly awakened, is the weakness of a gentle and generous heart, and it was that of Tressilian. (p. 450)

In this passage, one sees the dangerous "weakness" of the romantic disposition. It explains the failure of Tressilian either as suitor or as hero. This is seen more clearly by comparison with the attitude to lost love found in Quentin Durward. Facing the loss of Isabelle, Quentin's strength as a romantic emerges in his determination to make the knowledge of love itself a "load-star", rather than a source of permanent grief. In addition, for all his nobility and sense of service, Tressilian is also perhaps guilty of failure in imagination and perception. His assumption that Amy would have allowed herself

to be seduced, or would have consented to the status of "paramour", is not only unflattering to her, but suggests very little understanding of her obvious spirit. His excessively pedagogic temperament is seen in his tendency to understand Amy only as an erring pupil. Though immature, one feels that she has, by contrast, more potential for self-knowledge. Her faults are naivete and lack of discipline, but she moves toward self-awareness, and is able to acknowledge and reflect upon her actions. This is clear as she watches the firework display at Kenilworth, a neat metaphor for the art of the "magician" Leicester, and the whole spirit of the age as a pageant of insubstantial brilliance set against a background of darkness.

The magnificent towers of the Castle were enveloped in garlands of artificial fire, or shrouded with tiaras of pale smoke. The surface of the lake glowed like molten iron, while many fireworks, (then thought extremely wonderful, though now common,) whose flame continued to exist in the opposing element, dived and rose, hissed and roared, and spouted fire, like so many dragons of enchantment, sporting upon a burning lake.

Even Amy was for a moment interested by what was to her so new a scene. "I had thought it magical art," she said, "but poor Tressilian taught me to judge of such things as they are. Great God! and may not these idle splendours resemble my own hoped for happiness, - a single spark, which is instantly swallowed up by surrounding darkness, - a precarious glow, which rises but for a brief space into the air, that its fall may be the lower? O, Leicester! after all - all that thou has said - hast sworn - that Amy was thy love, thy life, can it be that thou art the magician at whose nod these enchantments arise, and that she sees them, as an outcast, if not a captive?" (p. 520)

Amy's new sense of Leicester as a magician is important for its pointing to one of the central motifs of the work, not only deceit and falsity, but the undercurrent of emotional power that individuals have over one another. Such influences are tinged with the supernatural. Both Alasco and Varney exercise a disproportionately strong power over Leicester. This is not explained merely by the Earl's desire for

position and wealth. His dependence is a psychological phenomenon of a kind implicitly warned against in Waverley. This is different from the more obvious power of the Queen, who, as the daughter of Henry VIII, has a penchant for consigning those in disfavour to the tower or the block. Yet even here, one sees that she has a psychological hold over Leicester which is more subtle, and is based upon her ability to manipulate his weaknesses.

Scott's portrait of Leicester is perhaps the work's most complex psychological study. One is impressed by the degree to which he is imprisoned in his dependent personality. He is caught between the attractions of two women, each flattering him, Amy through her naive devotion, and Elizabeth by her sexual and political condescension. Yet in neither relationship is Leicester free. He is remarkable for his combination of apparent power as the greatest Lord in the land, together with an almost total lack of self-determination. This characteristic dependence is seen most clearly and dangerously in the relationship with Varney. His skill in psychological manipulation is worthy of Iago. Therefore, although Edgar Johnson is justified in seeing Leicester as a "tinsel counterfeit",¹ at the deeper level, he is a man lacking inner direction. This being so, he is open to corruption in a social setting of power games. The metaphor of climbing, nicely pointed up in the incident of the couplet composed at Hampton by Raleigh and the Queen, is the background to all the personal struggles of the narrative. The courtiers, as distinct from the statesmen, serve in hope of personal advancement, so that petty rivalries govern them, and Elizabeth makes use of these rivalries as a political tool. By contrast with this self-serving, Leicester's "hasty" marriage and his taste for looking to the stars for an understanding of his fate, seems almost naive. Thus he is corrupted less

1. Edgar Johnson, Sir Walter Scott - The Great Unknown, Vol. I (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1970), p. 758.

by an excess of villainy, than by a lack of personal substance. Like Kenilworth Castle, the Earl looks a splendid figure of power, but he is mainly the product of lavish costuming. This is parallel to the buckram and pasteboard embellishments of the Castle for the benefit of public spectacle. He is less a study in wickedness than in emptiness. In this, he is partly the victim of his times. In a different social climate one feels that he might have been drawn to healthier influences as his attraction to Amy suggests.

Thus Scott shows not only the spirit of this Elizabethan age, but its impact upon individuals. The political realists of the work, led by the Queen and Varney, are anti-romantic, but they are also trapped in their own desire for power. In both of them, one sees the demanding nature of these drives. They result in defeat for Varney and personal isolation for Elizabeth. By contrast, Amy seems increasingly free in her external captivity since she adheres not to the constraints of circumstances, but to her own romantic nature. Beneath this central theme of the will to power, lies the deeper suppression of conscience and humanity. Leicester's refusal to accept personal responsibility for his actions, by invoking fate, is not only a major personal flaw, but also demonstrates the spirit of the age. This is particularly seen immediately after he has implicitly given his wife to Varney as an exercise in Court pragmatism. The requirement on Amy that she deny her true union in favour of this symbolic adultery for reasons of political discretion, shows the extent to which human relationships are the victims of this golden Elizabethan age. Significantly, Leicester exculpates himself by reference to external forces, as he fails to revoke his denial of the marriage bond.

...the bright starry firmament, which the age
considered as the Book of Fate, lying spread
before Leicester when he opened the casement,

diverted from his better and more manly purpose. "There they roll, on their silent but potential course," said the Earl, looking around him, "without a voice which speaks to our ear, but not without influences which affect, at every change, the indwellers of this vile earthly planet. This, if astrologers fable not, is the very crisis of my fate! The hour approaches, of which I was taught to beware - the hour, too, which I was encouraged to hope for. - A King was the word - but how? - the crown matrimonial - all hopes of that are gone - let them go. The rich Netherlands have demanded me for their leader, and, would Elizabeth consent, would yield to me their crown. - And have I not such a claim, even in this kingdom? That of York, descending from George of Clarence to the House of Huntingdon, which, this lady failing, may have a fair chance - Huntingdon is of my house. - But I will plunge no deeper in these high mysteries. Let me hold my course in silence for a while, and in obscurity, like a subterranean river - the time shall come that I will burst forth in my strength, and bear all opposition before me." (p. 361)

The authorial comment here is clear, as Scott describes this soliloquy in terms of Leicester "stupifying the remonstrances of his own conscience, by appealing to political necessity for his apology, or losing himself amidst the wild dreams of ambition..." (p. 362) Self deceit is characteristic of Leicester's mode of thought, and the use of "stupifying" suggests the drugging of conscience, which in turn echoes the emphasis on poisoning and sedation, central to the plot, and the moral tenor of the times. In this connection, the misuse of sedatives and the healing art, is important. The double perversion of superstition and deadly drugs is found in the false arts of Alasco. He contrasts with the true physician, Wayland Smith, who both administers and embodies in his healing power, the antidote to the poisoning of Sussex and Amy. It is important to the moral lesson of Kenilworth that the heroine does escape poisoning. It clearly suggests her final freedom from the taint of the age. The antidote she is given by Wayland which nullifies Varney's poisoned drink, is symbolic of the innate straightforwardness of her nature. Though this is untried at first, it

increasingly protects her against the contamination of her social and political milieu. In such a setting however, the cost is inevitable. Yet Amy's is a "good" death, in flight from the cage of Cumnor Place. Her moral nature increases with the loss of her personal power, as Leicester's increase of power correspondingly diminishes his. Amy's progress is a gathering commitment to a romantic ideal, while Leicester's fall moves toward murder. Thus the work traces the process of the rejection of love for power, of the humane and the romantic for the cold and pragmatic.

However, the cost of this exchange is suggested in the pervading atmosphere of fear surrounding Court politics. There is especially a fear of the truth, and its replacement by flattery and deception. This is especially seen in the play of false roles in personal relationships. Both Leicester and Varney base their careers on this kind of role playing, which makes them incapable of a true relationship. In this way, Leicester is as false a suitor to Elizabeth as he is a false husband to Amy. His pursuit of the role of consort to the Queen is an example of his ability to ignore inconvenient facts. Equally, with Amy, he has a parallel capacity to play the ardent husband while still courting Elizabeth. Moreover, he sees this only as a matter of political manoeuvring, and is impervious to the deeper moral implications. The degree to which these practices infuse themselves into his whole thinking is seen in the requirement of an equal duplicity in Amy. There is apparently no personal ethic that Leicester will not sacrifice for expediency. In this he seems almost more culpable than Varney, since he is capable of moral awareness, and his servant is described as innately "remorseless". Faced with Amy's honesty, Leicester is able to acknowledge the superior moral nature, and this makes his failure the more damaging.

"I am not worthy of you, Amy," he said, "that could weigh aught which ambition has to give against such a heart as thine!" (p. 559)

This admission of unworthiness points to the notion of lost or bartered Romanticism within the work. One is aware of this in the trio of failed Knights surrounding Amy, the truly Romantic heroine. Her lack of any agent of rescue contrasts strikingly with Isabelle's plight in Quentin Durward. Though Isabelle is also at the mercy of state policy and is required to make a parallel journey from one state prison to another, she is fortunate in the protection of Quentin's crusading romanticism. Amy, on the other hand, is repeatedly either failed or duped by these Elizabethan Knights. As we have seen, Tressilian sees himself as one of the "Knights of old", but is too rigid and introverted, as well as too lacking in a chivalrous belief in his "lady" to be her effective rescuer. Leicester's refusal to risk the loss of political prestige for a marriage of love, not only suggests his paucity of feeling and personal cowardice, but also his inclination only to play at the romantic lover, much as he plays the suitor to Elizabeth. To neither woman is he a true Knight. As the master of show and golden illusions, he is both stage manager and leading actor at Kenilworth. However, perhaps the most telling comment on the perversion of the Romantic ethic, is the Knighthood of Richard Varney. That the Queen should knight him as Amy's husband, out of a wish to honour the Robsart family, helps to give the work its tragic irony, as well as its characteristic darkness. It says much of the moral setting of the age, that the darkest figure of Kenilworth, its most ruthless power seeker and would-be rapist and murderer, can be elevated to the nobility. This in turn gives him additional licence for his malpractices. That Varney's opportunism is first condoned by Leicester and unknowingly given the highest approval by the Queen, says

much of Court mores where even Elizabeth is no match for Varney.

In these three cases, the role of Knighthood in Kenilworth is seen to be either an inadequate or a debased form of chivalry. Equally, the Court gallantries demanded by Elizabeth are a vulgarised and self-serving version of courtly love. As with much else in this work, the natural, both in relationships and in social environment, is crushed by a superstructure of wealth, power and display. Reciprocity at all levels is replaced by control, from the Queen's absolute rule at Court, to the relationship of servant and master seen in Varney and Leicester.

This absence of the natural in attitudes to life, is also seen in the comparatively small part played by nature or natural description in the work. As we have seen, Scott tends to make landscape a metaphor for moral atmosphere or personal condition. In Kenilworth however, the moral scenario is laid mostly in prisonlike overdecorated interiors. The draperies of Cumnor give way to the overdressed wealth of Kenilworth Castle. Yet even nature has become imprisoning, as is seen in the trees surrounding Cumnor Place, which form part of the barrier to Amy's escape. Michael Lambourne's description of this wood as "dark as a wolf's mouth" (p. 36), suggests something of Amy's danger within the house, and in breaking out, nature itself seems to conspire against her.

The fugitive Countess with her guide traversed with hasty steps the broken and interrupted path, which had once been an avenue, now totally darkened by the boughs of spreading trees which met above their head, and now receiving a doubtful and deceiving light from the beams of the moon, which penetrated where the axe had made openings in the wood. Their path was repeatedly interrupted by felled trees, or the large boughs which had been left on the ground till time served to make them into faggots and billets. The inconvenience and difficulty attending these interruptions, the breathless haste on the first part of their route, the exhausting sensations of hope and fear, so much affected the Countess's strength, that Janet was forced to propose that they should pause for a few minutes to recover breath and spirits. Both therefore stood still beneath the

shadow of a huge old gnarled oak-tree, and both naturally looked back to the mansion which they had left behind them, whose long dark front was seen in the gloomy distance, with its huge stacks of chimneys, turrets, and clock-house, rising above the line of the roof, and definedly visible against the pure blue of the summer sky. One light only twinkled from the extended and shadowy mass, and it was placed so low, that it rather seemed to glimmer from the ground in front of the mansion, than from one of the windows. The Countess's terror was awakened - "They follow us!," she said... (p. 391)

This passage shows Scott's use of environment both natural and man made, to suggest psychological atmosphere. The gloomy and aged oaks, and the darkened image of Cumnor are a kind of miniature castle, a black image of perverted romance. These images prefigure the dangers of Kenilworth itself. Secrecy and concealment have dictated the atmosphere at Cumnor, so that the light which terrifies Amy quite fittingly emanates from the cell of its alchemist pursuing his "occult" studies. This summarises the powers of darkness which surround the pursuit of ambition within the work. They are personified in Alasco, as Janet suggests.

"He is of those....who sit up and watch by night that they may commit iniquity. Evil was the chance which sent hither a man, whose mixed speech of earthly wealth and unearthly or superhuman knowledge, hath in it what does so especially captivate my poor father." (p. 391)

This description of the powers of the astrologer at Cumnor has been prepared for in the preceding passage. It demonstrates Scott's ability to bring together without strain, natural, social and psychological description, so that they allow the reader to feel the contribution each makes to the other. Character and atmosphere combine to imply the nature of forthcoming events. The pursuit of the occult at Cumnor prepares for Leicester to be revealed as the "magician" of Kenilworth, and suggests the nature of the "art" practised on Amy.

However, perhaps the most important use of natural description in Kenilworth, is Scott's placing of the Pleasance in the grounds of

Kenilworth Castle. This "richly ornamented space of ground" (p. 528) is significant for the contrast it offers to the confinements and paste-board qualities of Leicester's Castle. It is this highly romantic setting which is used for Amy's brief period of retreat, and her meeting with the Queen, as well as the later duel between Leicester and Tressilian. Thus it forms the background for much of the most deeply felt emotional progress of the work. It shelters the heroine at her most vulnerable. Its protective openness is important in this respect, as compared with the "enclosed apartments" which have typically confined Amy, and where her personal and sexual honour, as well as her life, are always at risk. Here, the Romantic is suggested in arbours, statues, fountains and grottoes, but it has a more natural setting, suitable to Amy's nature, than had the claustrophobic draperies of Cumnor Place.

...it occurred to her, at the moment of her escape, that, among its numerous arbours, bowers, fountains, statues, and grottoes, she might find some recess, in which she could lie concealed until she had an opportunity of addressing herself to a protector, "...I will not again venture into an enclosed apartment. I will wait, I will watch - amidst so many human beings, there must be some kind heart which can judge and compassionate what mine endures." (p. 529)

Here, Amy has abandoned her pretence to wealth and rank as the Countess of Leicester, and puts her faith only in natural feeling. The Pleasance provides an oasis for the personal in a setting otherwise dedicated to its concealment. By contrast with the castle, though romantically stylised, the setting has a life giving quality suggested by the "clear basin" and the "silent fountain" at which Amy refreshes herself. More important, however, is the degree to which this landscape acts as a place of release, and fosters movement toward emotional truth and feeling. It is a place of confrontation and near revelation. Yet in each case, there remains an element of restraint and a choking of personal veracity so characteristic of Kenilworth. There is a welling

up of real feeling, of genuine relationship, before these are suppressed once more for reasons of policy, which forms the reality of the times as shown. One example of this, is the revelation of the Queen's real attraction to Leicester in the love scene. Feeling is allowed, to the point perhaps of longing, only to be firmly checked. "Were it possible - were it but possible! but no - no - Elizabeth must be the wife and mother of England alone." (p. 534)

Nevertheless, the reader is aware in the meeting between the two women, that there is a surge of natural feeling in Amy's absolute repudiation of Varney; and Elizabeth's genuine protectiveness.

...the unfortunate Countess dropped on her knee before the Queen, let her casket fall from her hand, and clasping her palms together, looked up in the Queen's face with such a mixed agony of fear and supplication, that Elizabeth was considerably affected. "What may this mean?" she said, "this is a stronger passion than befits the occasion. Stand up, damsel - what wouldst thou have with us?" (p. 536)

The Queen is rarely emotionally moved, and this concern for Amy reflects the feeling already released in her by Leicester. In the successive emotional struggles, one is aware of an increasing pressure toward the corruption of repressed truths. This builds to a critical climax as the secret marriage is almost revealed. All this is, significantly, triggered off by Amy's breaking of Kenilworth jail. Her flight to the Pleasance acts as a temporary release for all the main characters, as well as a re-assertion of her natural self in defiance of the imposed and unnatural role play as Varney's "wife". That reality very nearly succeeds in breaking through the pasteboard show, suggests something of the power of the romantic consciousness engendered by this landscape and expressed in the young heroine. Nevertheless, the Pleasance is still a romantic contrivance, and therefore is vulnerable to the unnatural "evil genius" of Richard Varney. Yet, there is a contest

fought, though lost, between the real, and the seeming, represented by Amy's true union of love, and the false alliances of lust and power. This constitutes the psychological duel that prepares for the actual combat between Leicester and Tressilian. It is Amy who throws down the gauntlet to Elizabeth on whom the pursuit of the unnatural really centres.

"Thou didst deceive thine old and honoured father
- thy look confesses it - cheated Master Tressilian
- thy blush avouches it - and married this same
Varney?"

Amy sprung on her feet, and interrupted the Queen eagerly, with, "No, madam, no - as there is a God above us. I am not the sordid wretch you would make me!...I am not the wife of that contemptible slave - of that most deliberate villain! I am not the wife of Varney! I would rather be the bride of Destruction!" (p. 538)

Having burst from all restraint of policy, the truth begins to build an emotional force of its own, as raw feeling almost takes over from the careful speeches of Court life.

"...tell me, woman - for by God's day, I WILL know - whose wife, or whose paramour, art thou? Speak out, and be speedy - Thou wert better dally with a lioness than with Elizabeth." Urged to this extremity, dragged as it were by irresistible force to the verge of the precipice, which she saw but could not avoid, - permitted not a moment's respite by the eager words and menacing gestures of the offended Queen, Amy at length uttered in despair, "The Earl of Leicester knows it all." (pp. 538/9)

From this point, for four pages of dialogue between Elizabeth and the Countess, truth hangs in the balance. The decisive moment comes as Amy's loyalty to her husband is tested to the utmost of the Queen's rage. One sees Leicester's redemption begin to take effect, only to be fought back by the intrusion of Varney. This is an example of the psychological warfare in which Kenilworth is rich.

"Woman!" said Elizabeth, "I will know who has moved thee to this; or my wrath - and the wrath of kings is a flaming fire - shall wither and consume thee like a weed in the furnace."

As the Queen uttered this threat, Leicester's better angel called his pride to his aid, and reproached him with the utter extremity of meanness which would overwhelm him for ever, if he stooped to take shelter under the generous interposition of his wife, and abandoned her, in return for her kindness, to the resentment of the Queen. He had already raised his head, with the dignity of a man of honour, to avow his marriage, and proclaim himself the protector of his Countess, when Varney, born, as it appeared, to be his master's evil genius, rushed into the presence, with every mark of disorder on his face and apparel. (p. 543)

Consistent with his role in this narrative, Varney re-asserts the art of concealment and false feeling. Even this landscape partakes just enough of its deliberate fashioning to provide a chink of falsity which Varney may penetrate. After this psychological defeat, truth is not in evidence again until the actual duel between Tressilian and Leicester in totally natural surroundings.

Scott seems to make a subtle point as to the nature of the Pleasance as a place of high Romanticism, which is inimical to the true simplicity which might defeat falsehood. It is finally a setting more potentially suitable for the stagey temperament of Leicester than the veracity of Tressilian or Amy. One sees this during Leicester's soliloquy by moonlight, where both setting and speech have the deceit of a performance. Thus character analysis and visual description come together to create a powerful psychological comment upon Amy's husband, as he justifies the destruction of his wife for a supposed adultery. Language and mood seem to re-inforce each other.

"In the sight of God, I am no longer bound by the union she has broken. Kingdoms shall divide us - oceans roll betwixt us, and their waves, whose abysses have swallowed whole navies, shall be the sole depositaries of the deadly mystery."
By such a train of argument did Leicester labour to reconcile his conscience to the prosecution of plans of vengeance, so hastily adopted, and of schemes of ambition, which had become so woven in with every purpose and action of his life, that he was incapable of the effort of relinquishing

them; until his revenge appeared to him to wear a face of justice, and even of generous moderation.

In this mood, the vindictive and ambitious Earl entered the superb precincts of the Pleasance, then illuminated by the full moon. The broad yellow light was reflected on all sides from the white freestone, of which the pavement, balustrades, and architectural ornaments of the place, were constructed; and not a single fleecy cloud was visible in the azure sky, so that the scene was nearly as light as if the sun had but just left the horizon. The numerous statues of white marble glimmered in the pale light, like so many sheeted ghosts just arisen from their sepulchres, and the fountains threw their jets into the air, as if they sought that their waters should be brightened by the moonbeams, ere they fell down again upon their basins in showers of sparkling silver. The day had been sultry, and the gentle night-breeze, which sighed along the terrace of the Pleasance, raised not a deeper breath than the fan in the hand of youthful beauty. The bird of summer night had built many a nest in the bowers of the adjacent garden, and the tenants now indemnified themselves for silence during the day, by a full chorus of their own unrivalled warblings, now joyous, now pathetic, now united, not responsive to each other, as if to express their delight in the placid and delicious scene to which they poured their melody. (pp. 600/1)

This is reminiscent of the claustrophobic beauty of the apartments at Cummor Place. Thus the first part of the duel in the Pleasance seems like a romantic gesture, rather than a true contest. The real combat of the narrative, and the truth of Amy's situation can emerge only in the natural setting of the "second" duel in "...a sequestered spot, environed by lofty oaks about a mile's distant from the castle." (p.615) Only now does natural feeling take precedence over show and performance, though it is too late to save the natural heroine. As I have suggested, it is this natural feeling that Scott associates with the truly romantic impulse, and this is seen as the victim of Elizabeth's Court. Angus and Jenni Calder¹ feel that Kenilworth offers an account of the conflict between love and ambition in Leicester. However, I have argued that the deeper problem of the work is the inability of individuals within

1. Angus and Jenni Calder, Scott (Evans Brothers, London, 1969), p.116.

the given social setting, to be capable of love at all. This work deals with the repudiation of the real for the unnatural invention. It portrays an age of the amoral in human affairs. Expediency rules society, and one is aware that only Varney is Elizabeth's equal in this. Kenilworth is a study in the Elizabethan version of the Machiavellian creed of political necessity as the primary social impulse. At the deeper level, it exposes the murderous impulses latent in such a doctrine. Thus Scott demonstrates the inherent dangers in the complete suppression of romantic idealism. Its consequences are seen in the terrible denouement of Amy's death, which nevertheless, reinforces the moral lesson to be taken. However, the problem of combining the exercise of political power with a humane ideal is explored further in Woodstock, where in contrast to Elizabeth's Court, one sees the pursuit of noble political idealism, but this in turn becomes the source of destruction and division, in regicide and revolution. Thus Scott is to offer no easy solution to the humane organisation of social life, or the placing of human ideals within it.

Woodstock

By contrast with the enforced stability of Elizabethan society in Kenilworth, the opening chapters of Woodstock show the immediate results of social and political disruption in the English Civil War. The political background is seen as being deeply enmeshed in religious attitudes, and much of the work demonstrates the relation of the two. The intertwining of Church and State is seen immediately in the religious celebration for the Battle of Worcester. Yet the battered condition of the "edifices" of religion suggests the disarray common to both secular and sacred institutions.

The condition of the church and character of the audience both bore witness to the rage of civil war, and the peculiar spirit of the times. The sacred edifice showed many marks of dilapidation. The windows, once filled with stained glass, had been dashed to pieces with pikes and muskets, as matters of and pertaining to idolatry. The carving of the reading-desk was damaged, and two fair screens of beautiful sculptured oak had been destroyed, for the same pithy conclusive reason. (p. 2)

Here, the "rage" of Civil War is characterised by destruction of the symbols of tradition and beauty. Religion is one of the arguments of the Revolution, but it is, as Cromwell himself demonstrates, no less demanding and absolute in its austere sense of the Divine authority than the oppressive Divine Right for which the dead King has become

a martyr. Indeed, his increase in status achieves a more intense loyalty from the Stuart supporters. The execution has achieved victory for the Puritan cause, but this intensifies rather than resolves the essentially sectarian tensions of this apparently political conflict. The Scriptures characteristic of Cromwell's oratory are now even more necessary as justification for the seizure of power. It must counter the increased moral status given to the Royalists by the violence of its revolutionary act. However, in Woodstock Scott places the emphasis particularly upon the personal relationships within this broad setting of Civil War and great events. The revolution is referred to in emotional terms as a Regicide, and the ensuing destruction of Royalist hopes is seen mainly through the lens of its effect on the personal lives of the Lee family. Public events are the precipitating forces of change through which Scott shows individual responses to loss and re-adjustment. As is common to his work, the theme of change, of grief and attempted restoration, are at the heart of the narrative's larger historical concerns.

In addition, Woodstock is an example of Scott's exploration of the difficulties of political and religious idealism. The complex nature of conflicting loyalties is thrown up by events in the public arena and portrayed in close-up via personal relationships. For all the grandeur of its concern with defeated Monarchy and the emergence of a new form of State power, Woodstock is particularly concerned with the ethos of the family, of private ties and personal kinship. The ancient stronghold of Woodstock is a royal palace, but also a house under threat. Sir Henry Lee's guardianship of it is not simply a matter of political idealism, but one of personal love for a murdered master and friend. His grief for the King has all the horror of a private and not a political outrage. Moreover, the scattered Royalists

lack the collective comfort of the Jacobites, where intensity of feeling is backed up by marching clans and preparation for battle. Woodstock shows us the lost cause as private defeat, the only mitigation of which is the ignominious flight of the young Charles Stuart to await more propitious times. Significantly, there is no battle scene in this study of revolution. Cromwell cannot be defeated or decisively confirmed since he is cheated of the heir to the throne. A period of inconclusive struggle must be lived through before any public or personal stability is possible. This is a very different exposition of the political cause from the nobility and high moments of Jacobitism or the vigorous fight against tyranny found in Quentin Durward. The fundamental ideal proposed in Woodstock is one of stoic fidelity which is more quietly heroic in its cost than the warm heroism of Waverley, the crusading spirit of Quentin Durward, or the defiant courage of Amy Robsart.

With this emphasis on the personal response to moral conflict, Woodstock is a good example of the nature of the author's moral lessons as individuals attempt to negotiate unstable conditions arising from social and political division. Uncertainty and suspicion are characteristic of the times, where "...rumours...were circulated, exaggerated by the hopes and fears of so many various factions." (p. 17) Within this, a kind of stability is offered in the rigidity of Puritanism. This is best exemplified in the preacher Holdenough, whose personal strength and asceticism both attracts in its constancy and principle, and repels in its unbending nature, with its withdrawal from the pleasures of all "earthly objects".

Innocent pleasures of what kind soever they held in suspicion and contempt, and innocent mirth they abominated. It was, however, a cast of mind that formed men for great and manly actions, as it adopted principle, and that of an unselfish character, for the ruling motive, instead of the

gratification of passion. Some of these men were indeed hypocrites, using the cloak of religion only as a covering for their ambition; but many really possessed the devotional character, and the severe republican virtue, which others only affected. By far the greater number hovered between these extremes, felt to a certain extent the power of religion, and complied with the times in affecting a great deal. (p. 19)

As this passage suggests, Woodstock is greatly concerned with varieties of personal motivation, especially as they issue in political action and private choices. In this respect, the nature of the Puritan ethic is important since it must justify the regicide and the "horror" of Civil War. The moral problem posed is that of viewing the end as justification of the means. As Scott implies, this stance is common to all acts of revolution, or even of social change. More subtly, it is a difficulty for all idealisms which sacrifice the individual to a creed. As has been suggested in Waverley, Scott is concerned to demonstrate the complex and often deceptive psychology of the idealist, of whatever persuasion, and yet to argue in his heroes and heroines the need for the idealistic nature, willing, if necessary, to relinquish personal fulfilment, or life itself, for the sake of conviction. It is this central contradiction in Scott's work which suggests the demands of his realism. Though this involves an acute delineation of character and event, its moral depth is found in the refusal to simplify the complex search for morality in personal behaviour.

It is important to the problem of how idealism may succeed, and at what cost, to be aware that Woodstock offers, in the Lee family, adherents to a lost cause. Since the King is dead and Cromwell clearly in the ascendant, the loyalty of the patriots is inimical to the new era. Also, though it is humanly attractive, it is perhaps naively misplaced in exaggerated hopes for the fugitive Charles Stuart. Though the family save the young man for his later restoration, that event is not a moral or even a political victory. Though joyful, it is a pragmatic political

move, signifying only that times have changed, and the power of Kingship remains diminished. It is significant to the values of Woodstock, that though the return to London is triumphant, its power in the narrative resides primarily in the tender regard between an old man and an only partly reformed profligate. The emphasis is on qualities of genuine feeling that Charles has learned from his subjects. Their role in his escape, though it is basic to the historical drama, is less important than their moral influence. Politically, the Restoration is an anti-climax, and there is considerable irony in the army which destroyed Charles I, lining the route for his son's return to the throne. Such caustic realism demonstrates the relativity of all political causes, and the degree to which they may become outmoded simply by the movement of time. This makes the contrasting private themes of personal conduct all the more important. The moral lesson of Woodstock is less political than personal. Even the awareness of Kingship is developed by learning from personal relationships. Charles may be a better King as a result of having known Alice and the Lee family, not because he has become more skilled in the art of government. The emphasis is on the inner human condition, with social events as the precipitating factors of private experience. As in Waverley, Scott is aware of the invasive quality of civil strife in its effect upon family life and loyalty. One of its inevitable conditions is the experience of loss and personal grief. In Woodstock this is personified by Sir Henry Lee. From this study of the broken heart, to its consideration of the whole nature of fidelity, the work expresses Scott's particular brand of Romanticism which involves disinterested personal feeling as the mainspring of the humane life.

Their immediate entry into the narrative suggests the importance of these themes of grief and vitality brought low by sorrow. The

stoical sufferings of the author of the Journal seem to be reflected throughout Woodstock. The sense of a life's work lost is poignant in the old Knight and underlines the feeling of defeat, in spite of the happiness of the Restoration. Scott explores the painful cutting off of old attachments to the point where the whole personality is subsumed in sorrow.

The man was elderly, yet seemed bent more by sorrow and infirmity than by weight of years. He wore a mourning cloak, over a dress of the same melancholy colour, cut in that picturesque form which Vandyck has rendered immortal. But although the dress was handsome, it was put on and worn with a carelessness which showed the mind of the wearer ill at ease. His aged yet still handsome countenance had the same air of consequence which distinguished his dress and his gait. A striking part of his appearance was a long white beard, which descended far over the breast of his slashed doublet, and looked singular from its contrast in colour with his habit.

The young lady, by whom this venerable gentleman seemed to be in some degree supported as they walked arm in arm, was a slight and sylphlike form, with a person so delicately made, and so beautiful in countenance, that it seemed the earth on which she walked was too grossly massive a support for a creature so aerial. But mortal beauty must share human sorrows. The eyes of the beautiful being showed tokens of tears... (p. 21)

This shows the stifling of life characteristic of personal grieving. Age and youth are here bound together in melancholy, and one feels the "mourning cloak" casting its blight upon youth and beauty. Younger hopes are almost suffused in the sad influence of age. However, we are to discover that Alice is far from crushed by disappointment or bowed by the spirit of the times, in spite of the fact that it may cost her a great deal in the loss of her lover. Sir Henry, on the other hand, even in his most heroic moments at the defence of Woodstock, has about him the consciousness of defeat. His frequent absences, or mental lapses in conversation, suggest his longing to withdraw into sleep and death. He, like Woodstock itself, is a failing stronghold of past traditions. Such a theme of idealism and loyalties maintained

against increasing odds, is a common one for Scott, but it by no means has his unequivocal approval. It may well be seen as anachronistic or personally damaging to the individual if it involves an inability to face facts. In Sir Henry's case, since Cromwell is established in power at the outset of the work, his extreme loyalty may be felt as an excuse for negative attitudes, especially since he is now more interested in the closing than the continuation of life. Scott implies that one of the most damaging symptoms of grief is its latent hatred of life. One sees the psychological basis for the old man's resentment at the thought of Alice's potential happiness with Everard, an anger which goes beyond judging the old man as in rebellion against his King. Nevertheless, the symbolic nature of Sir Henry's defence of Woodstock, as well as its part in allowing Charles' escape, is important. His fervour expresses his intense need to affirm a passionately held view of life as based on personal loyalty and affection. His fault is in allowing this to become distorted by the demands of his own ego, and failing to recognise the difference.

In asserting the primacy of the heart in human affairs, Sir Henry Lee is the true opponent of Cromwell. The latter's convictions are based upon a religious dogmatism allied to a strong political ambition, both of which emanate from the head rather than the heart. Much of the work is concerned with conflicting modes of personal conviction. One of these is represented in varying degrees by the passionate and sometimes intemperate nature of the Cavaliers, and the other by the cooler, often more shrewd tenets of Puritanism. Characteristically, Royalist sympathies are expressed as feeling, and Puritan convictions, by argument. Both are flawed. Sir Henry's refusal, even his inability to admit the new status quo reveals the stubborn element in his kind of loyalty to the past.

"It is not to be endured!" said the old man, passionately; "it would stir up a paralytic wretch to start up a soldier. My people have been thinned, I grant you, or have fallen off from me in these times - I owe them no grudge for it, poor knaves; what should they do waiting on me, when the pantry has no bread and the buttery no ale? But we have still about us some rugged foresters of the old Woodstock breed - old as myself most of them - what of that? old wood seldom warps in the wetting; I will hold out the old house, and it will not be the first time that I have held it against ten times the strength that we hear of now." (p. 22)

From this viewpoint, the Puritans are only "bloodthirsty hypocrites", and in this attitude Sir Henry is as unbending as Cromwell himself. In its extreme, the Puritan charge against the Stuart cause is its profligacy and tyranny, and the equally extreme Royalist charge, is religious hypocrisy and bloodlust. The point made by Woodstock is that all moral truth or political justice, though the overt cry of any revolution, is necessarily lost in the ensuing bloodshed and partiality of war. It is left to the cool head and warm heart of Markham Everard as a humane Puritan, and to the firm integrity of Alice Lee as a sane Royalist, to resist the blandishments and corruptions of either side. This is made particularly clear in the seduction scene between Alice and Charles Stuart. The contrast between the flawed natures of each leader, and their worthiest servants, is instructive in seeing Scott's concern, not simply with the argument of any cause, but with the psychological characteristics of its proponents.

The tone of loss and defeat running through the work is centred not on the plight of the fugitive King, but on Sir Henry, a figure of tired and perhaps failed romanticism. The old man has lost his personal faith in the possibility of restoration. His sorrow is seated in a sense of values defeated with the execution of Charles I. Belief in the future depends upon Alice and the young generation of loyalists. Part of the poignancy of Woodstock stems from its demonstration of just

this lack of elasticity with which age and despair face tragedy. It is the sadder by contrast with the affirmative desire to comfort and restore which Alice personifies.

"My dearest father," said the young lady, weeping as she spoke, "what can I say to comfort you?"
 "Comfort me, say'st thou, girl? I am sick of comfort - an honourable death, with the ruins of Woodstock for my monument, were the only comfort to old Henry Lee." (p. 24)

This sense of the ruin of idealistic hopes is central to the problems posed. As usual, Scott is concerned with how far values may be put into practice at all in political, social or religious life. Thus the English Revolution continues to explore the difficulties already identified in Waverley, Quentin Durward and Kenilworth. In each of these works, the problems of the achievement of public ideals and modes of social or political organisation, form the broad canvas within which the more personal aspects of such dilemmas are explored. In Waverley and Quentin Durward, the emphasis is upon the individual effort to respond with integrity to the disruptive overthrow of traditions which need to be re-assessed. This is partly necessary where they are no longer appropriate to a changed social setting, and partly because of the development of the young individuals presented, which parallels the movements of history and society. The difficulty for Waverley and Quentin Durward, is to re-define their romantic idealism in terms of present reality. Waverley achieves this to the degree that the reader feels his new Castle-building with Rose is more truthful to the judgement of his experience. In the case of Quentin Durward, the soldierly Scot emerges as a crusader unvanquished, whose shrewd integrity in an amoral society will act as a focus of new idealism. In both cases, the solvent of disruption, and the impetus behind individual development is the mature understanding of Romantic love, and this is also central to Woodstock.

As we have seen in Kenilworth, love and the values of the heart may at once be the victim of a society revolving around the pursuit of power, and also, a powerful statement against such trends. As the opening chapters of Woodstock suggest, the theme and status of personal affection in the lives of the major characters is fundamental to the kind of idealism and fidelity being discussed. Perhaps the central opposition of the work is this personalised attitude to human values, in contrast to the austere distancing religious ethic of Puritanism. In a detailed discussion of Old Mortality I discuss Scott's wider implications of religious convictions in relation to personal action, but in Woodstock the Puritan ethic is also seen as an expression of individual psychology, and its effect upon character. Scott shows it particularly as a mode of thinking which affects the private man, and through that, his public actions. This is especially so in the study of Cromwell, where close observation of the Protector's characteristic psychological states shows us the complexity of the individual rather than the distant political figure of history. As we have seen, Scott tends to deal with history through the lens of personal experience and action. Out of these arise the mores of the spirit of the age. This in turn is reflected back into individual psychology.

In the Lee family, one sees history and political events internalised as deeply felt personal experience. While Sir Henry's despair arises from his sense of a cause totally lost, Alice, though distressed, has the buoyancy and also perhaps the steadier temperament which is able to take the larger view, trusting in time and fate to bring about the restoration of hope. "Fate...may have in store the joyful restoration of our banished Prince." (p. 25) In the meantime however, events dictate that some modification of Sir Henry's entrenched attitudes must take place before the successful flight of the young King as

custodian of the later spirit of restoration.

This need for an enlargement of personal attitudes is seen in the old man's hostility to his daughter's relationship with Markham Everard. Before his death, the Knight must be healed by a more generous experience of affection, one that is to be exemplified by the marriage of Alice and Everard. This builds a bridge between age and youth, between hope lost and that newly found, and between the old family and the new one. Early in the work, her father's concept of loyalty impinges harshly on Alice's love, and demonstrates the distortion of his affection. This is seen to be the cost of personal egotism masked by absolute judgements in private values. Not simply the spirit of the times, but her father's reaction to them, results in the distressing conflict for the heroine between two modes of feeling, that of filial duty and that of sexual love. His harshness reveals the suffering that his inadequate response causes, and the damage to personal ties that distorted grief may inflict on an attachment less faithful than Alice's. The old man's lack of perspective is not simply a regrettable fault, but a shocking rejection arising out of egotism and jealousy.

"... - thou speakest of lending me thy arm; but thy secret thought is thyself to hang upon Markham Everard's."

"My father, my father," answered Alice, in a tone of deep grief, "what can have altered your clear judgement and kindly heart? - Accursed be these civil commotions! not only do they destroy men's bodies, but they pervert their souls; and the brave, the noble, the generous, become suspicious, harsh, and mean! Why upbraid me with Markham Everard? Have I seen or spoke to him since you forbid him my company, with terms less kind - I will speak it truly - than was due even to the relationship betwixt you? Why think I would sacrifice to that young man my duty to you? Know, that were I capable of such criminal weakness, Markham Everard were the first to despise me for it." (pp. 28/9)

Here, Alice points to the fundamental concern for Scott, in the fact that civil or national "commotions", which include all historical movements of

social change, take their toll not simply of the national and individual body, but of its soul. Though it is equally true, as Kenilworth suggests, that the enforced stability of tyranny is little better. For Scott, the operation of the "soul" is seen in the quality of the heart. Where its impulses are denied healthy outlet or diverted falsely into the mindless collectivity of a fixed social idea, human nature suffers and is brutalised. On the other hand, the lack of conviction is personal and public life is not a condition of which the reader can approve, as seen in Joseph Tomkins, whose "honesty" is a casualty of the times, but also of his disinclination for it.

"Men call me honest Joe, and Trusty Tomkins."
 "If thou hast deserved such names, considering what trade thou has driven, thou art a jewel indeed," said the knight; "yet if thou hast not, never blush for the matter, Joseph, for if thou art not in truth honest, thou hast all the better chance to keep the fame of it - the title and the thing itself have long walked separate ways." (p. 39)

One sees here the cynicism which may characterise the disappointed idealist, and which adds to the disarray of the times by its low expectation of human nature. The loss of the tradition by which Sir Henry has lived, leaves in him a void to be filled only with bitterness, grief and a desire for death. This negative reaction to defeat is seen most dangerously in the damage done to his personal relationships, where absolute fidelity to his values has been made the condition of love. We have already seen how his attitude to his daughter is changed by her love for Markham, despite her renunciation for the sake of filial duty. In the manner of King Lear, Sir Henry's autocratic heart reveals a dangerous flaw in his understanding of love. This is clear in his personal repudiation of Markham Everard because the young man holds to an opposing ideal which the old knight can interpret only as rebellion.

"- I did love thee once. The bright-haired boy whom I taught to ride, to shoot, to hunt - whose hours of

happiness were spent with me, wherever those of graver labours were employed - I did love that boy - ay, and I am weak enough to love even the memory of what he was - But he is gone, Mark... and in his room I only behold an avowed and determined rebel to his religion and to his King - a rebel more detestable on account of his success, the more infamous through the plundered wealth with which he hopes to gild his villany. -" (p. 73)

This is conditional love turned first to resentment and then to a viciousness which puts the lowest construction on the motives of the young man. So far is the old man turned in upon himself, that he is unable to admit the virtue of his daughter or the restraint of her suitor. Even Alice's attempt to end the confrontation is interpreted by him in the most insulting light, so that the reader is aware how much Alice must be the Cordelia to this Lear. The corrosion of affection could hardly go further.

"If thou art afraid," he said, "to trace our forest glades by night, respected stranger, to whom I am perhaps bound to do honour as my successor in charge of these walks, here seems to be a modest damsel, who will be most willing to wait on thee, and be thy bow-bearer. - Only, for her mother's sake, let there pass some slight form of marriage between you - Ye need no licence or priest in these happy days, but may be buckled...in a ditch, with a hedge for a church-roof, and a tinker for a priest." (p. 74)

The worst austerity of Puritanism could not compare with this distortion of human feeling. Sir Henry Lee therefore, while sympathetic in his grief and loyalty, strengthens the Puritan argument especially as expressed by Markham Everard. If Holdenough denies earthly affection out of his understanding of spiritual purity, Sir Henry denies them out of the baser motive of personal bitterness, and is justly rebuked by Everard.

"Have your political prejudices so utterly warped every feeling of a father, that you can speak with bitter mockery and scorn of what concerns your own daughter's honour? - Hold up your head, fair Alice, and tell your father he has forgotten nature in his fantastic spirit of loyalty. - Know, Sir Henry, that

though I would prefer your daughter's hand to every blessing which Heaven could bestow on me, I would not accept it - my conscience would not permit me to do so - when I knew it must withdraw her from duty to you." (p. 76)

Sir Henry is so lacking in self-knowledge, and understanding of his daughter that though he makes an equation with King Lear, it is the wrong one, which makes the point for the reader more forcibly. "Soh mistress! you play the lady paramour already; and who but you! - you would dictate to our train, I warrant like Goneril and Regan!" (p. 77)

The charge that the old man has "forgotten nature" in his "fantastic" spirit of loyalty is fundamental to the questions posed by Woodstock, and by much of Scott's concern with modes of idealism. This issue is never simply between conflicting ideals, or concepts of love and duty, or public and private life, but rather the warping nature of prejudice and absolutism wherever it is found. Everard's defence of his Puritan principles seems more humane, more generous than the apparently romantic and chivalrous code of the Cavaliers. This is important to Scott's endeavour to identify the truly romantic position, and this is usually found where there is both integrity and generosity of heart, as is seen here in Everard. Therefore, Scott's critique of Puritanism, though damaging in the case of Cromwell, must be seen in the context of the Royalist faults. Its best proponent is Markham Everard, whose combination of rationality and personal feeling is attractive.

"...I have drawn my sword neither hastily, nor without due consideration, for a people whose rights have been trampled on, and whose consciences have been oppressed - Frown not, Sir - such is not your view of the contest, but such is mine. For my religious principles, at which you have scoffed, believe me, that though they depend not on set forms, they are no less sincere than your own, and thus far purer - excuse the word - that they are unmingled with the bloodthirsty dictates of a barbarous age, which you and others have called the code of chivalrous honour. Not my own natural disposition, but the better doctrine which my creed

has taught, enables me to bear your harsh revilings without answering in a similar tone of wrath and reproach. You may carry insult to extremity against me at your pleasure - not on account of our relationship alone, but because I am bound in charity to endure it." (p. 77)

Everard shows here, as he does in his protective friendship with Wildrake, a capacity to live up to principle, with a refusal to become personally rigid. It is not surprising therefore that the final union of the Lees is to centre on his fidelity to Alice and her father. As a humane idealist, his understanding extends beyond political and religious doctrine, and into human relationships. In addition, he is always likely to be the survivor of personal or moral conflict since he has the essential for all Scott's heroes, the perception and shrewdness to distinguish between sincerity and prejudice or self-interest. Yet he has the humanity to reject the fault but not the individual. In this sense, his idealism is pure without being harsh, and he is able to act as a focus of moral regrowth in a condition of division and destruction. Thus, even while he works for Cromwell's cause, he is not taken in by the hypocrisy of his own side. Equally, he is well aware of the more general dangers of political revolutions.

"Gracious Providence, where is this to end? We have sacrificed the peace of our families, the warmest wishes of our young hearts, to right the country in which we were born, and to free her from oppression; yet it appears, that every step we have made towards liberty has but brought us in view of new and more terrific perils..." He read long and attentively various tedious and embarrassed letters, in which the writers, placing before him the glory of God, and the freedom and liberties of England, as their supreme ends, could not, by all the ambagitory expressions they made use of, prevent the shrewd eye of Markham Everard from seeing that self-interest and views of ambition were the principal moving-springs at the bottom of their plots." (pp. 101/2)

As well as dealing with the problems of political bigotry, Scott is shrewd as to the demise of all ideology in political action. The overthrow of

tyranny may elevate in its turn, a political dictator. Equally the need for order and respite from bloodletting are inevitable, and render a return to the establishment of a social organisation essential. In this sense, everyday reality demands attitudes inimical to revolution, no matter what the merits of its argument. In appreciating this, Everard is both realist and idealist.

Enough of blood, he said, had been spilled - it was time that the nation should have repose under a firmly established government, of strength sufficient to protect property, and of levity enough to encourage the return of tranquility. This, he thought, could only be accomplished by means of Cromwell, and the greater part of England was of the same opinion. It is true that, in thus submitting to the domination of a successful soldier, those who did so forgot the principles upon which they had drawn the sword against the late King. But in revolutions, stern and high principles are often obliged to give way to the current of existing circumstances; and in many a case, where wars have been waged for points of metaphysical right, they have been at last gladly terminated, upon the mere hope of obtaining general tranquility, as, after many a long siege, a garrison is often glad to submit on mere security for life and limb. (p. 105)

If only on grounds of exhaustion, it is clear that revolution, or the conflicts even of "metaphysical right", must be a temporary state. After this, there is the feeling that the choices available may be little better than those obtaining before the conflict. Such a view casts some doubt on the holiest of wars, and suggests the historical relativity of all causes and factions. One is aware that Markham Everard's helplessness before events is nearly as great after the revolution, as before. "There is no help for it," he said; "it must be Cromwell or anarchy." (p. 108)

As leader of the new order, Scott offers in Cromwell a man "...in no way prepossessing" (p. 125) and this looks like a judgement of his moral nature. The religious basis for his actions is felt to be less than pure. "We shall probably judge him, and others of the same age, most truly if we suppose that their religious professions were partly

influential in their own breast, partly assumed in compliance with their own interest." (p. 127) This is no hero of the Commonwealth, but a professional soldier keen for power, having by his own admission, latent dangers of personality. "...to share my confidence is like keeping a watch over a powder-magazine,..." (p. 145) Nevertheless, Scott makes a small but telling comparison with Henry Lee in the glimpse of the private Cromwell showing affectionate submission to his daughter, whose softening influence over his defensiveness, is evident. This cameo scene offers much psychological insight into the insecurity of the man, as the self-justifying general moves swiftly into the role of dependent father.

He raised his voice so high, as if in pleading in his own defence..."It was other than selfish regards that drew me forth to action...and I dare the world - ay living or dead I challenge - to assert that I armed for a private cause, or a means of enlarging my fortunes..." (p. 148)

At the entry of his daughter, the change in demeanour is rapid. "Father, this is not well - you have promised me this should not happen." (p. 148)

The General hung down his head, like one who was either ashamed of the passion to which he had given way, or of the influence which was exercised over him. He yielded, however, to the affectionate impulse, and left the apartment... (p. 148)

Here we see a stress on the significance of the personal. It is evident both in the need for a tough professional soldier to find self-acceptance, and in the influence of his affections. Clearly Cromwell is more than a political powder-keg. He is shown to be also an individual driven by his own internal psychology. This is important to the wider view of political strife as having its basis less in conflicts of idealism, than in errors of judgement by individuals and nations. It is this that allows the political opportunism of Bletson, Harrison and Desborough.

It was wonderful to behold what a strange variety of mistakes and errors, on the part of the King and his Ministers; on the part of the Parliament

and their leaders, on the part of the allied Kingdoms of Scotland and England towards each other, had combined to rear up men of such dangerous opinions interested characters among the arbiters of the destiny of Britain. (p. 191)

Although Scott does not offer solutions to the conflicts of idealism found in Woodstock, or on the other hand, the dangers of pure self-interest, he implies that the task of the romantic hero or heroine is to offer an alternative of disinterested integrity which is revealed through the conduct of his private and public life. This involves resisting the inhumanity and rigidity of the extreme idealist, or the corruption of ideals in personal indulgence. In addition, they must act as moral touchstones for those whose social role involves the exercise of power. Nor is this a passive role, but one which requires often a dangerous activity as the agent of reconciliation and restoration. This may only be partially successful within the terms of the narrative. As I have suggested, in Woodstock, it is history that finally restores the King. Yet at the personal level which is the core of the work, it is the influence of private feeling and disinterestedness, best seen in Alice Lee, that has its larger effect upon Kingship.

The preparation for her attempt at re-unification is seen in Alice's influence upon both Mark and her father. Through her affectionate and intelligent handling of the quarrel she slowly brings them close together.

...if a reconciliation had not as yet taken place, the preliminaries had been established on which such a desirable conclusion might easily be founded. It was like the commencement of a bridge; when the foundation is securely laid, and the piers raised above the influence of the torrent, the throwing of the arches may be accomplished in a subsequent season. (p. 321)

We see here how much Woodstock is concerned with the difficulty of establishing new foundations where personal and public life is broken. The emphasis upon divided affection and broken hearts, makes this theme of re-building particularly strong. As heroine, Alice operates successfully

in the private and the public arena, and with equal conviction in both. Like Quentin Durward, she is a strong swimmer. "... Alice had been bred up during the close and frequent contests of civil war and had acquired the habit of hoping in behalf of those dear to her, until hope was lost." (p. 321)

The firmness of her nature is important to her heroic role, especially in her moral and sexual battle with the King. The two episodes of attempted seduction in the work provide a metaphor for the contending forces. They test the romantic heroism found in Alice, and it is found to be steady. While capable of deep feeling, neither Alice nor Phoebe may be gulled into a perversion of religion or power. In Tomkins' attempted seduction of Phoebe and Charles' pursuit of Alice, not only sexual honour and personal integrity are at stake. By implication, the whole status of religious conviction and political idealism is in balance. Both men attempt the corruption of an ideal for personal pleasure.

In his portrait of the King, Scott makes it clear that despite the positive virtues of an elastic spirit, he lacks personal discipline to the point of indulgence. This is the more dangerous since his charm makes it more possible to evade responsibility. Clearly the future King stands greatly in need of a lesson in firmness and restraint as practised by Alice Lee.

...he was, in short, in youth and misfortune, as afterwards in his regal condition, a good humoured but hard-hearted voluptuary - wise, save where his passions intervened - beneficent, save where prodigality had deprived him of the means, or prejudice of the wish, to confer benefits - his faults such as might often have drawn down hatred, but that they were mingled with so much urbanity that the injured person felt it impossible to retain the full sense of his wrongs. (p. 397)

One may feel that Alice's hopes for Charles are naive when the real life "voluptuary" is in the same room. Nevertheless, her ability to

rebuff his advances gracefully makes it clear that her romantic nature has much strength and intelligence. The failure of his seduction has lessons for both the private man and the future monarch. His "profligate logic" is defeated by Alice's "disinterested virtue". In addition, the idealism of the loyalist cause seems to be restored. As a loyalist, Alice has a discipline and self-command only matched by the best of Puritanism, seen in Markham Everard. Their marriage is therefore appropriate, and an act also of re-unification. Yet before this may take place, both must counter the psychology behind the failure of fidelity which abuses position or trust. As is frequently the case in Scott's work, we are offered the outside influences and circumstances which have contributed to the King's personality.

His profligate logic, however, was not the result of his natural disposition, nor received without scruple by his sound understanding. It was a train of reasoning which he had been led to adopt from too close intimacy with the witty and profligate youth of quality by whom he had been surrounded... Whose genius was destined to corrupt the age, and the monarch on whom its character afterwards came so much to depend. Such men, bred amidst the licence of civil war, and without experiencing that curb which in ordinary times the authority of parents and relations imposes upon the headlong passions of youth, were practised in every species of vice... The events of the King's life had also favoured his reception of this Epicurean doctrine. He saw himself, with the highest claims to sympathy and assistance, coldly regarded by the courts he visited, rather as a permitted supplicant than an exiled monarch. He beheld his own rights and claims treated with scorn and indifference; and, in the same proportion, he was reconciled to the hard-hearted and selfish course of dissipation which promised him immediate indulgence. If this was obtained at the expense of the happiness of others, should he of all men be scrupulous upon the subject, since he treated others only as the world treated him?

But although the foundations of this unhappy system had been laid, the prince was not at this early period so fully devoted to it as he was found to have become, when a door was unexpectedly opened for his restoration. (pp. 414/5)

The door is to be the romantic yet realistic heroism of Alice Lee. Here, we see Scott's characteristic ability to bring together the effects of public events upon private lives. History influences individual psychology and in turn this has its effect, especially in leadership, upon the mores of the times. This complex interaction of history and the individual is a major concern of Woodstock. As I have suggested, it deals with the results of a great historical act of revolution by looking closely at the personal lives of the survivors. A major theme, therefore, is the nature of personal survival where times have swept away previous assumptions as to the moral basis for living. The demise of the old order of monarchy not only deprives the Lee family of the cornerstone of personal values, but, in so far as Puritanism is itself a reaction against that tradition, it too needs to re-establish its values for normal, and not only revolutionary times. Cromwell's success in this version of the holy war means the abandonment of the role simply of moral antagonist, for that of establishment and government, which must at all costs achieve stability and a convincing degree of power. Therefore, in the light of political necessity, morality is seen to be relative. It is significant that Scott places most of the emphasis of Woodstock on personal relationships. It is these that are the key to change. Private life must recognise the limitations of public affairs, but also re-vivify them by personal conduct. It is Alice's integrity as daughter, as lover and as subject, that makes her an agent of personal and public restoration. Equally, it is Sir Henry's failures as a father that allow the reader to see the inadequacy of his reaction to grief. Again, it is Everard's sense of duty and restraint in relation to those two, which makes Alice's bridge-building possible. One sees therefore, how fundamental are the ethics of the heart to an optimistic view of private or public life. Without such values, even political stability is

shortlived. This prevailing need for the heart to have its place in every mode of life, accounts for the success of the Stuart cause in England, not because it is morally firmer than the Cromwellian regime, but because the nation has need of the personal, even where faulty, in its leadership. Implicitly, only by an appreciation of the personal can individuals and nations be at peace. Cromwell is loved by his soldiers, but not by the populace, and he himself is aware of his disqualification for leadership. He is confined by his need to protect himself, expressed by the need to wear chain mail. He is revered only as the tool of the revolution, as distinct from the personal devotion inspired by the Stuarts. This says nothing for the moral merits of either, but shows the necessity of human nature to relate naturally to its leaders. Though the army follows Cromwell like "dogs", they will also be the servants of the restored Stuart monarchy. Cromwell's personal failure is important to his public predicament. "I would I had any creature, were it but a dog, that would follow me because it loved me, not for what it could make of me." (p. 673)

This desire for disinterestedness is at the heart of the heroic idealism found in Scott's heroes and heroines, and is the basis for his view of the truly romantic nature. Cromwell's impulse toward it demonstrates the author's fairness in portraying him, and gives the Protector his potential for heroic stature. Yet he is flawed by his reliance upon dogma, rather than upon human principle. He lives, quite literally, by the Book, and his life is an attempt to adhere to its text. However, for Scott, this kind of rigid moralism is no less problematic than the perversion of ideals seen in the excesses of the Cavaliers, or the indulgence of the King. Such rigid thinking is also dangerous to his role as statesman, seen in the need for his subordinates to steer him into intelligent leniency toward the Lees. The fanaticism latent

in Cromwell's moral rectitude emerges in the disappointment of defeat and the escape of Charles Stuart. It is pure bloodlust which orders the killing of Bevis. That Biblical sanction is found for this piece of gratuitous violence is the most damaging indictment of the Puritan mind. In its extremes, it is seen to use religion as justification of the dark side of human nature. The Old Testament is interpreted with a vengefulness that would root out life itself in the name of retribution.

"...let him be killed. Is it not written that they slew in the valley of Achor, not only the accursed Achan, with his sons and his daughters, but also his oxen and his asses, and his sheep, and every live thing belonging unto him? And even thus shall we do to the malignant family of Lee, who have aided Sisera in his flight, when Israel might have been delivered of his trouble for ever." (p. 652)

As is common to Scott's work, the heroic role belongs not to great leaders, or to the proponents of passionate causes, even where their argument is sound. Notwithstanding his cruelty, Cromwell's cause has its justice, as expounded by Markham Everard. Yet heroism is found rather in those who have the capacity for idealism, but refuse its licence to give way under pressure to the passion which masks self-interest or delusion. Scott is careful to make a fine distinction between passion and feeling, and between violent emotion, and the love which involves personal discipline. The ability to appreciate such distinctions is seen particularly in Alice Lee's response to Charles' offer of the status of his mistress. With intelligence and an unanswerable common sense, she turns his "profligate logic" against him, and at the same time retains the disinterestedness to see the situation in its larger perspective of political and public life. In this way, she recalls the King to his better self. The appeal rises from a call to his protectiveness as a man, to a challenge to the monarch.

"Think of the course you recommend to a motherless maiden, who has no better defence against your sophistry than what a sense of morality, together

with the natural feeling of female dignity inspires. Whether the death of her father, which would be the consequence of her imprudence; - whether the despair of her brother, whose life has been so often in peril to save that of your Majesty; whether the dishonour of the roof which has sheltered you, will read well in your annals, or are events likely to propitiate God, whose controversy with your house has been but too visible, or recover the affections of the people of England, in whose eyes such actions are an abomination, I leave to your own royal mind to consider." (p. 473)

Alice is one of Scott's best examples of the romantic heroine. She has a warm heart and a cool head, together with the total lack of personal vanity which has the wit to see the seduction attempt as more damaging than its immediate affront to her personal honour. In the same way, she is prepared to be misunderstood morally to prevent the duel between Charles and Everard. She values her virtue, but does not surround her ideals with that egotism which is the hallmark of the obsessively virtuous. Such qualities prepare for her final role as personal guide to the King in his escape. Significantly, she is the only member of the Lee family able to negotiate the personal and moral dangers of the darkened wood.

However, in spite of this central core of honour defended, Woodstock ends on a sombre note. The continued sense of mourning, despite the Restoration, throws the emphasis of the narrative once again on the theme of loss, not only through personal disaster, but in the passage of time. It is true that the grief of Sir Henry is softened before his death by the success of his filial protege, though even this is muted by the loss of his own son. Yet the final chapters are autumnal in tone, suggestive of sorrow somewhat relieved and accepted, but not conquered, and revealing its weakening effect upon a susceptible human spirit.

Years rush by us like the wind. We see not whence the eddy comes, nor whitherward it is tending, and we seem ourselves to witness their flight without a sense that we are changed; and yet Time is beguiling man of his strength, as the winds rob the woods of their foliage. (p. 680)

This elegiac sense of the autonomous movement of human history through time, gives a wider perspective to the ideals and the historical conflicts presented. Thus the natural movements of life are toward change, and the direction of that change is unknown. Such a recognition of the natural in history damages the hard fanaticism of all religious or political idealists who act violently to force events in the name of particular creeds, and a desire for permanence and security. Indeed, as Woodstock ends with the Nunc dimittis, and the death of Sir Henry Lee, the reader is left with death itself as the most powerful agent of change. Finally, it is in this context that ideals must be judged. This theme is developed more fully within the religious conflicts of Old Mortality. In addition, that work explores in greater detail some of the concerns of Waverley and those of the non Scottish works of political idealism and religion already discussed in attempting to define Scott's re-working of Romantic values.

Old Mortality

In the opening chapters of Old Mortality, Scott seems to parallel the legendary figure who is keeping alive the memory of the old conflicts of seventeenth century Scotland, so that its motivations and consequences may continue to be assessed. In that sense, the setting of this novel is the burial ground, and its narrative task is to examine a crucial aspect of Scottish history for a re-examination of its lessons. This opening theme of history buried under a placid exterior, is carried throughout the work to the point of Morton's return from exile to find the burial ground of Bothwell Bridge beneath the pastoral calm of post-1688 Scotland. In addition, the conclusion brings the narrative full circle in the whole notion of history itself as buried beneath the convention of the novelist's art, in Miss Buskbody's tea-time parlour. As usual with Scott, the work makes an incision into the past in order to release the springs of action which seem to have governed its major characters and events.

We are asked to work backwards from present to past, from legend and myth to "live" character. Old Mortality starts the process by clearing away the first layer of obscurity from the tombstones of history, and Scott takes over as authorial guide in the process of

unearthing the personalities and conflicts that lie beneath them. The layering so characteristic of his work is seen here in sombre form, with death and the grave yard as the point of entry into an understanding of human action in pursuit of conflicting principles. The intention is less one of apportioning blame, than of discussing the nature and result of bigotry in any form, though religious sectarianism is at once felt as being particularly dangerous.

...I can hardly fear that at this time,...in describing the operation which their opposite principles produced upon the good and bad men of both parties, I can be suspected of meaning insult or injustice to either. If recollection of former injuries, extra-loyalty, and contempt and hatred of their adversaries produced rigour and tyranny in the one party, it will hardly be denied, on the other hand, that if the zeal for God's house did not eat up the conventiclers, it devoured at least, ...no small portion of their loyalty, sober sense, and good breeding. (pp. 15/16)

The work's immediate emphasis upon the death of the body, and awareness of its transitory nature is an important clue to its central concern, a discussion of the consequences of man's understanding of his spiritual nature. This includes his impulse to rely upon a supernatural authority as being more enduring than the social order. In consequence the conflict presented looks at the attempt to demand a civil life which allows for the priority of religious values, salvation, and the Divine Will. It also examines the temperament which appears to exalt the soul over the body. Bodily life is in general held cheap even, in his own case, by the humane Henry Morton. Yet it is precisely the inadequacy of the spirit contained in prevailing religious values, which accounts for much of the hero's personal distress, and the degree of bigotry and cruelty characteristic of the narrative. In this discussion of religious conflicts, Scott uncovers the human need for ideals of the spirit which are not necessarily confined to, or satisfied by, orthodox religion. It is Morton's "frozen soul" which is of most immediate interest to the

reader, as he engages in a fruitless search for warmth and freedom denied by his environment. This extends over the whole range of his experience, from social and political life, to religion and love. His personal life seems to have the chill of death and failure upon it, which is, one feels, inadequately redeemed by the final coming together of the lovers after a decade of exile and separation. Throughout the work, one is aware of the absence of the vital spirit of an Alice Lee, which is both humane and regenerative. Instead, vitality has become distorted into fanaticism. As is common with Scott, motivation as a force in human life is central to the work. In dealing with the religious conflict, he reveals the intensity of inner drives, and not only motives.

This sense of being driven, rather than of exercising choice is central to much of the psychology portrayed. The major characters are part of either a secular or a spiritual army. All are under orders. Burley finds himself to be commanded by God, and his final desperate descent into madness suggests the strain of that imperative. Claverhouse, though himself a commander, is under the stronger authority of his concept of military duty and reputation. Even Lord Evandale and Henry Morton, who represent an attempt at gentlemanly moderation, are themselves driven to the most testing feats of self-denial by their allegiance to concepts of honour and love as they understand those ideals. What perhaps distinguishes Henry Morton most significantly, therefore, is not so much his moderation, or even his humanity, but his acute awareness of repression, and his latent desire for freedom. In this, one sees his kinship with the young Edward Waverley. Much of Morton's anguish stems from his sense of personal loss in a total lack of self-determination. This problem is established very quickly in the narrative, once he is introduced as hero. However, the wider

themes of repression and coercion are found in the seemingly innocent communal gathering of the Wappenschaw. Here, social life has become part of a political programme of social engineering, "...an anxious wish on the part of the Government to counteract, by every means in their power, the strict or puritanical spirit which had been the chief characteristic of the republican Government." (p. 17) There is some irony in the compulsion attendant on a campaign against the "strict" puritanical spirit. Its effects, like much of the force employed by both parties in the religious conflict which follows, are counter-productive. Just as victory and defeat at Loudon Hill and Bothwell Brig respectively seem to cancel each other out, so the early chapters, and the mock conflict of the Wappenschaw demonstrate something of the futility of coercion, quite apart from its moral shortcomings and the subsequent bloodshed.

At the social level, compulsion is bad politics. "To compel men to dance and be merry by authority, has rarely succeeded..." (p. 17) In its more serious consequences, authoritarianism is seen to lead to entrenchment. "The vigour of the strict Calvinists increased, in proportion to the wishes of the Government that it should be relaxed." (p. 18) This suggests an important motif in the work, which is demonstrated particularly in Henry Morton's experiences of the ebb and flow of conflicting pressures of social life. Although Old Mortality is obviously concerned with religious conflict, each party is so deeply enmeshed in its political implications, that the work seems to combine, within this, a concern with the whole relationship of the individual to society. In Old Mortality, the difficulties of idealism and conviction in their practical application and result, are seen in an extreme and concentrated form. The sense of "mutual hatred and hostility", is strong. (p. 16) Deeply held convictions or beliefs tend to divide even where there is fundamental goodwill, as in the case of Mause

Headrigg and Lady Bellenden. More obviously sobering is the extent of fanaticism on both sides of the religious and political conflict. As in the irony of Burley and Claverhouse finally joining forces, hatred and opposition seem more potent forces than the humane attempt at understanding characteristic of Henry Morton. Violence and extremism exert a kind of magnetism which draws like to like, whereas the depth of feeling seen in Evandale and the hero is ineffective in achieving either personal fulfilment or public good. This is not to say that those two do not recognise one another, but their sense of honour, and even their generous rivalry for Edith, seems to create a negative situation where neither may be successful, but neither may withdraw since each in turn feels responsible for, and protective of, the other's life. That such noble sentiments and actions should result only in the rather weary coming together of Edith and Henry, and the death of Evandale, suggests something of the dark view of life which Old Mortality expresses. As with Woodstock, political calm returns only with the passage of time and changes in historical perspective. The battle ground of Bothwell Brig gives way to the pastoral scene to which the exiled hero returns. Yet the underlying suggestion of Morton's bitterness in this, arises precisely from the fact that peace has returned without him, and that his efforts as peacemaker while engaged in public life, have had little effect but personal damage to himself. Alexander Welsh finds himself moved by Henry Morton's final loneliness,¹ but perhaps the graver difficulty for the reader arises from a sense of the hero's redundancy in relation to the "cause" for which he has risked so much. We are aware not only of the commonplace that the role of peacemaker is a thankless one, but more distressingly, that it is neither effective nor desired by those in conflict. In a work so much concerned with

1. Alexander Welsh, The Hero of The Waverley Novels, p. 263.

issues of salvation at the obvious level of Calvinism, one is intensely aware of how little the adherents of either party wish to be "saved" from mutual destruction. In this, Old Mortality makes a painful contrast with Woodstock, where, although I have found time and the movement of history to be the final arbiter of conflict, one is nevertheless refreshed by the effectiveness of the role of reconciliation undertaken by Alice Lee and Markham Everard. Their marriage and new lineage, while not an answer to the fundamental problems of religious or political conflict, does establish a healthy possibility of human happiness and stability. It is difficult to have the same hopes for the frail Edith Bellenden and the soul-weary Henry Morton, in spite of the act of blessing which the dying Evandale confers upon them.

Morton is a young man at first fulfilling the role of romantic leadership. He has the air of a Robin Hood figure at the Wappenschaw. It is important to notice however, that this gathering is a contrivance of political propaganda, and not a spontaneous expression of social life. Thus the enforced element of role playing is established. Even social life is, paradoxically, an act of repression. Lady Bellenden's establishment must appear against her inclinations, and the stage is set for a mock battle which only thinly conceals the serious bloodshed to come. Nevertheless, at the Wappenschaw we are presented with a hero of naive but graceful appearance. The interest of the onlookers is divided between pleasure in the emergence of a possible champion, and disapproval upon religious grounds. Already we are aware that for Henry Morton to have inherited the mantle of his father's Presbyterian leadership imposes a strain upon the young man's life which is, as yet, only hinted at.

...when a slender young man, dressed with great simplicity, yet not without a certain air of pretension to elegance and gentility, approached the station with his fusee in his hand, his dark-green cloak thrown back over his shoulder, his laced ruff and feathered cap indicating a superior

rank to the vulgar, there was a murmur of interest among the spectators, whether altogether favourable to the young adventurer, it was difficult to discover. (p. 27)

Not only is Henry the hero of the work, he is its "green adventurer", and this colouration nicely suggests not only his youth and naivete, but also the element of the natural which permeates his character and motives. It accounts for his humanity and his preference for the immediate demands of human relatedness over the dictates of dogma, whether religious or civil. Thus, though Burley and Claverhouse are shrewd enough to see his latent strengths and wish to win him to their cause, Henry's nature inclines to neither man, but, ironically, to his rival in love, Lord Evandale. It is significant that this rivalry is the nearest relationship in the work to friendship. It is akin to the mutuality found in other works between like-minded men, where mutual growth is its positive result. One thinks particularly of Waverley and Talbot, and Darsie and Alan Fairford in Redgauntlet. By comparison Old Mortality offers very little in the way of satisfying or fulfilled personal relationships among major characters. It is precisely this loss or repression of the natural, added to the circumstances of the times and his position as dependent, which forms the bedrock of frustration and denial which is characteristic of Henry Morton's life. This seems to be so even before the forces of mutual repression erupt more violently with the news of the murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. It is not uncommon for one of Scott's young heroes to lack the means of personal independence in youth, and much of the work deals with the necessity and mode of gaining some feeling of self-determination. However, in Old Mortality, he places more emphasis on the serious consequences and the distress of spirit occasioned by being so caged by circumstances. The hero's first moral hurdle, concerned with the shelter of John Balfour, is, therefore, not simply one of conflicting loyalties between

his family allegiances, and the purposes of this religious zealot. It points to the very limited room for manoeuvre which is available to the dependent individual. As has been seen before in Scott's work, moral freedom and personal freedom are interdependent. One is aware that had Morton his own establishment, his moral choices would be more clearcut. The decision would have been ultimately the same perhaps, but much of the difficulty of the moment arises from the awareness that it is his situation and not his personal conviction which has the power to direct his actions away from his impulses. That Morton overrides the facts of his personal circumstances in order to shelter Burley, makes the action more desperate than morally strong, since he endangers not simply himself, but his uncle's household. One sees therefore, how dangerously diluted Morton's natural moral nature could become simply by force of circumstances. The development of a strong moral nature is seen to depend upon the exercise of judgement among perceived choices. Where these hardly exist, a kind of internal stasis may occur. This is perhaps the key to the later resignation of this confined young man.

"I am very sorry for your distress," said Morton; "and had I a house or place of shelter that could be called my own, I almost think I would risk the utmost rigour of the law rather than leave you in such a strait. But my uncle is so alarmed at the pains and penalties denounced by the laws against such as comfort, receive, or consort with inter-communed persons, that he has strictly forbidden all of us to hold any intercourse with them." (p. 55)

At first sight therefore, Henry Morton might seem to be a young hero attempting to take up where Waverley left off, in placing his humane idealism in a social setting. He has been seen as the moderate humanist countering the inhumanity of fanatical ideals and religious convictions. Yet this "green adventurer" has his most effective and successful role as romantic champion only in his achievement at the contrived level of a performance at the Wappenschaw. His inherited circumstances do not

admit of the kind of development characteristic of a young knight in the mould of Quentin Durward. Though the two share many ideals of honour and humanity, Morton is too constrained by circumstances which oppose the necessary independence of spirit, to become a knight errant within his society. Such love of adventure as might have developed, is, when the reader first meets him, weighed down under the denial of his natural self, seen in the hopeless love for Edith Bellenden, and the gold chain of political and religious involvement inherited from his father. It is painfully ironic, therefore, that an emphasis upon the natural in his ideals particularly characterises Morton, as his response to Burley's religious absolutism shows.

"...I own I should strongly doubt the origin of any inspiration which seemed to dictate a line of conduct contrary to those feelings of natural humanity which Heaven has assigned to us as the general law of our conduct." (p. 66)

One is also aware that it is usually Morton's legalism with regard to his notions of honour that blocks the fulfilment of his "natural" humanity in personal circumstances. His horror of being under obligation to Evandale, and his excessive tendency to doubt and self-denial in the matter of Edith's feelings for him, demonstrate this.

Denied the fulfilment of love, or the possibility to find other positive outlets, he may not even buy his independence, since his only financial support is the gold chain kept from him by his uncle. From this fundamental frustration arises his characteristic experience of denial as a fact of life. At the same time, one is aware that the constraints which prevent him from leaving Scotland to seek freedom and fortune as a soldier in the manner of Quentin Durward, are perhaps as much internal or psychological as circumstantial. One feels that although he chafes against the frustrations of his life, he has become sufficiently habituated to them to give in without too much resistance

to the pressure to remain dependent. He has the perception to see the bigotry of both sides in the sectarian dispute, and the conviction to refuse both, but there is in him also the tendency to withdraw, to suppress his real desires and bow to the times, rather than oppose them. Thus he initially rests in indecision, rejecting his inherited social role, though he is far from lacking social concern or national pride.

"...can I be a man and a Scotchman, and look with indifference on that persecution which has made wise men mad? Was not the cause of freedom, civil and religious, that for which my father fought; and shall I do well to remain inactive, or to take the part of an oppressive Government, if there should appear any rational prospect of redressing the insufferable wrongs to which my miserable countrymen are subjected? And yet, who shall warrant me that these people, rendered wild by persecution, would not, in the hour of victory, be as cruel and as intolerant as those by whom they are now hunted down? What degree of moderation, or of mercy, can be expected from this Burley..." (p. 73)

As this passage shows, the difficulty for Morton is not so much that of moral choice, but the lack of it. He rightly assesses both parties in the civil and religious conflict to be equal in intolerance, which leaves no place at all for the humanitarian. Much of Morton's distress arises less from the youthful error of making hasty or impulsive decisions from which he may yet learn and develop as is the case with Waverley, as from his position as an anachronism within his society. Perhaps part of the characteristic depression which makes this a curiously aged portrait of youth, arises from a lack of opportunity to be young and rebellious, to make the impulsive moves of Waverley. One senses in Morton that youthful spirit has been put down by the ethos of the times as ruthlessly as is religious dissent. He is painfully and inhibitedly aware of being out of place. In a setting where only extremes are possible, Morton is redundant. When he does assume the apparently relevant role of leader and peacemaker, it is always doomed to failure. All the violent feelings are non-productive. Loudon Hill and Bothwell Brig cancel

each other out and, as in the case of Burley, fanaticism creates its own destruction. There is very little that Henry Morton can do to influence either men or events, and this is always clear to him. Yet the personal resolution of a positive private life open to Waverley, who comes to similar if more muted conclusions, is also out of Morton's reach. His characteristic despair therefore arises out of a desire for action, thwarted by the knowledge that no releasing action is possible. This is the recipe for introversion, depression and the impulse to self-destruction, which one sees to be characteristic of his soliloquies. One is aware of the depth of misery in the language of sickness, fatigue, and loss of hope. Such total disenchantment in youth, is a sobering aspect of Old Mortality. Its resulting tendency to self-disgust is especially dangerous.

"I am weary of seeing nothing but violence and fury around me, - now assuming the mask of lawful authority, now taking that of religious zeal. I am sick of my country, of myself, of my dependent situation, of my repressed feelings, of these woods, of that river, of that house, of all but - Edith; and she can never be mine!" (p. 73)

This sense of being caged and frustrated is shown here in its internal condition of distress, more overpowering and serious than anything encountered by Waverley, Quentin Durward, or even Amy Robsart. All are at times forcibly restrained and confined. All have the sensation, the threat, or the actual experience of imprisonment. Yet the downward spiral of Henry Morton's spiritual and psychological condition is deeper than any of the imprisonments in the novels so far discussed.

The status of religious conviction as a credible human experience lies at the heart of Old Mortality. What is at stake in the life of its hero is the soul of Henry Morton. In a work overtly concerned with spiritual questions and Divine Law, the issue is not which mode of salvation society shall adopt in its religious practices, but whether

in such a setting, the soul of the humane individual is to be crushed or released. More quietly immediate to the reader than the outcome of the civil and religious battle, is the battle raging within this conflict for the personal salvation of Morton. As is common for Scott the personal and individual conflict is the kernel within the outer shell of great historical events. One may say that the major theme of Old Mortality is the charting of Henry Morton's attempts to save himself, while society beats out its destructive path to what is doctrinally seen as salvation. The impulse to escape into exile or military service is part of the hero's desire to rescue himself from deadening frustration. Active service looks like a release from passive servitude.

"But I am no slave," he said aloud, and drawing himself up to his full stature - "no slave, in one respect, surely. I can change my abode, my father's sword is mine, and Europe lies open before me, as before him and hundreds besides of my countrymen who have filled it with the fame of their exploits. Perhaps some lucky chance may raise me to a rank with our Ruthvens, our Lesley's, our Monroes, the chosen leaders of the famous Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus; or, if not, a soldier's life or a soldier's grave." (p. 74)

However, the fragility of this moment of purpose, is seen in the stronger attachment, albeit a hopeless one, to Edith. "Another glance of Edith's eye, another walk by Edith's side, and my resolution would melt away. I will take an irrevocable step, therefore, and then see her for the last time." (p. 74) Here, it is clear that Henry's impulse to freedom is never really strong enough to energise him into complete rejection of his environment. He is quite easily turned aside from his resolution by Alison's well intended comfort of some future independence in the inheritance of his uncle's estate, and therefore the freedom to marry Edith. There is, therefore, a sense of his tacit consent to the facts of his life. This is a trait which paves the way for his later stoical

resignation to personal loss, rather than a more energetic impulse to fight in his own cause. Equally, Evandale's rivalry brings out not only the competitive spirit in Morton, but the latent tendency to withdraw. He is, therefore, very often at the mercy of the actions of others. Psychologically Morton is a captive even before his first experience of captivity after the arrest at Milnwood. His life is a "compelled journey", so that being in Bothwell's custody is only the beginning of a series of excursions further away from the possibility of self-determination. The actual experience of captivity and threatened death, reflect and seem to act out his preceding view of himself as imprisoned by environment and circumstance. The fatalism which seems to underlie Morton's inability to break free either from Scotland or from a hopeless personal attachment, suggests his recognition of being irredeemably rooted in his society. For all his seeming individualism, he is bound to his society until it rejects him, by making him an official outcast in exile. Yet, in spite of the tenuous hold which the hero has on any kind of acceptance in Scotland, seen in the threat of execution which hangs over him, whether as a private citizen or a soldier in the cause of civil and religious liberty, freedom is never a possibility. The only alternative offered is banishment.

Henry Morton is, much more than other heroes discussed, at the mercy of the social and religious values of his time. In the case of Edward Waverley, the reader has the sense of a private citizen engaged upon a learning experience in public life, and only in its power as long as he chooses to remain publicly committed. Waverley moves toward greater strength as a private man. The possibility for positive withdrawal on his own terms is open to him, and his final role is a matter of choice based on experience of the alternatives. This never seems possible for Henry Morton. It is due partly to the fact that while Scott's

usual agent of rescue for a young hero is an appropriate love-match, Edith Bellenden is divided from the hero not simply by political division and family prejudice, but by Morton's own tendency to surrender his own needs. The negative streak in his nature reminds one of Edmund Tressilian, whose honourable ideals seem to militate against an energetic pursuit of effective action to save himself, or to rescue the woman he loves from an intolerable situation. Although, as Alexander Welsh allows, Morton is a "proper hero" in his adherence to his firm stoicism, and the effort to challenge fanaticism with a humane view of justice, the reader is aware of the hopeless inequality of the battle between this one individual and society.

The work shows us fanaticism working at almost every level and on each side of the religious and political divide. Except for the pragmatic Jenny Dennison, and the solid but harassed Cuddie Headrigg, the major characters tend toward the obsessional. By contrast, the gentle fidelity and affection of Edith Bellenden is too delicate to offer much opposition to such passion. In a crisis, she is characteristically overcome with distress, where only the strong femininity of an Alice Lee or an Amy Robsart would have had any hope of challenging the status quo. In this work, an affectionate and honourable heart is insufficient to counter the reality of the times as defined by the ever realistic Jenny when discussing the question of Morton's guilt or innocence. Edith's reliance upon justice as a release of Morton's captivity is seen to be distressingly naive.

"Oh my dear Miss Edith," said her attendant, "these are not days to ask what's right or what's wrang; if he were as innocent as the new-born infant, they would find some way of making him guilty, if they liked." (p. 134)

One is aware how particularly unfitted are either of the lovers to deal with the fanatical impulses surrounding them, when one sees how alike

they are in their scrupulous attitudes to life and relationships. This can seem, on occasion, to be carried to extreme lengths, though the naivete and embarrassment based on a fear of being misunderstood is psychologically understandable. Yet the almost fatal flaw in this relationship is the inability of either to believe themselves loved by the other.

An example of Edith's personal insecurity, and the uncertainty of the relationship is seen in her anguished visit to the young hero in prison. Their mutual timidity reveals the self-effacement which makes them particularly vulnerable in a society divided by extremism and bigotry. In addition, their meeting in prison nicely suggests their isolated yet captive relation to society. There is no sense of energy released in their meeting, but rather the expectation of failure and rejection. Such a pair of lovers are unlikely to have the qualities of conviction and resilience to overcome the obstacles which their environment places before their union.

The door, which slowly opened, discovered Morton with both arms reclined upon a table, and his head resting upon them in a posture of deep dejection. He raised his face as the door opened, and perceiving the female figures which it admitted, started up in great surprise. Edith, as if modesty had quelled the courage which despair had bestowed, stood about a yard from the door without having either the power to speak or to advance. All the plans of aid, relief, or comfort which she had proposed to lay before her lover, seemed at once to have vanished from her recollection, and left only a painful chaos of ideas, with which was mingled a fear that she had degraded herself in the eyes of Morton by a step which might appear precipitate and unfeminine. She hung motionless and almost powerless upon the arm of her attendant, who in vain endeavoured to reassure and inspire her with courage... (pp. 140/1)

Given the relative ineffectiveness of such a painfully insecure love, the only alternative to the passion of spiritual zeal expressed in the fanaticism of Burley, or the "duty" of Claverhouse, seems to be

the extreme control of Edith and Morton. Such strength as they do possess is channelled not into action, but into stoic repression. Thus the relationship is characterised by her role as saint, and his as worshipper. "For two or three minutes, Edith stood as motionless as the statue of a saint which receives the adoration of a worshipper." (p. 141) This is love idealised almost into a condition of frozen spirituality. Immobility is its characteristic, and this perhaps contributes to, as much as it reflects, the "frozen" condition of Morton's soul. Though this love can be seen as expressive of romantic ideals of honour and fidelity, it lacks the firmness of true conviction which might make positive action less difficult. In this, Morton's mode of loving necessarily accords with the lack of conviction in himself. Yet even more seriously, one sees that love is not the agent of mutual release which is associated in Scott's work with successful romanticism. At the same time, in this work, the need for a strong but humane personal conviction is especially pressing. Yet much of the narrative deals with the doubtful status of other convictions presented.

Among the major characters, ideals tend toward fanaticism. Even Morton's humane moderation suggests something of the fanatical puritan in his obsession with honour which represses the self so harshly. In these early chapters, this looks like defeat, rather than the later, more considered stoical resignation. There is in Morton a feeling of psychological entrenchment that we associate with the fanatic rather than the moderate man. A clue to his predicament lies in the overall feeling that the tenor of his life, but for the moments spent with Edith, has been "gloomy". This is also, perhaps a reflection of the character of the times, coloured as they are, by the "gloomy" religious ethic of Puritanism, relieved only by violence and bloodshed. In such a setting,

the happiness of the individual is considered a relatively unimportant, if not a frivolous notion. Even before the abortive attempts to wrest some sanity and human feeling out of the fanaticism of the times, Morton, in the true spirit of dour Calvinism has a sense of life as primarily one of suffering. Such a mode of thinking sees death as a happy release. One feels him to be part of a tradition which sees existence as a vale of tears, with little hope of mitigation in personal fulfilment. This accounts for the willingness to relinquish life and love, and the stoic endurance which later characterises him. It is a credible extension of his austere conditioning. Yet the impulse to a greater freedom is there, and from this flows his tension and distress.

"To you, dearest Edith, - forgive me, I should have said Miss Bellenden, but misfortune claims strange privileges, - to you I have owed the few happy moments which have gilded a gloomy existence; and if I am now to lay it down, the recollection of this honour will be my happiness in the last hour of suffering." (p. 142)

The predicament of exile or death, in which Morton finds himself while in prison for harbouring Burley, seems to reflect the only alternatives open to him throughout the work. A sense of suffocation always threatens personal extinction, from which exile in foreign service seems the only alternative. Given his inability to accept this escape, much of the narrative is concerned with what might be seen as Morton's movement toward death itself. His engagement with the Covenanters renders his life quite specifically under threat. The work seems to suggest the thin dividing line between life and death, especially in the battle scenes, but also in the mutual life saving of the central characters. Edith attempts the rescue of Morton which leads to Evandale's actual saving of the hero from execution by Claverhouse. Thus Evandale and Morton are linked not only by their rivalry in love, but more profoundly by their mutual cheating of death. As Angus Calder puts it, the novel

is "...profoundly concerned with death. Dead men ride through it - ...determining the conduct of men in the novel's present."¹

Part of this concern with death stems not only from the theme of religious salvation, of spiritual life or death in the balance, but with the related theme of lost or frustrated love, and its relation to the emotional death which threatens to, or may actually, overwhelm the frustrated lover. At the level of the "romance" of the work, the triangle of Edith, Morton and Evandale is reminiscent of the Wertherian romanticism of Goethe, where the experience of a hopeless passion leads to a personal crisis of suicidal proportions. Henry Morton's weariness of life arises from a similar source. In this, one is surprised that Carlyle should have found in Scott a want of spirituality, since Morton's crisis of love and faith would seem to lend itself sympathetically to the author of Sartor Resartus.² Part of the serious moral tone of Old Mortality is seen in the link Scott forges with romantic love, and issues of faith and religious conviction. He brings the whole issue of romanticism, its nature and status, to the level of a life or death concern for Henry Morton. In Waverley, and in the non-Scottish novels discussed, I have tried to suggest ways in which the experience of love is emphasised, and especially the handling of its actual or threatened loss. In these works, attitudes and psychological responses evident at such a time both indicate and influence future personal development. However, in the case of Henry Morton, the response to what is perceived as lost love, is a recoil from life to the point of courting death. This suggests little hope for the experience as developmental. In this sense, one feels less progress in Henry Morton than in Waverley

1. Angus Calder, ed., Introduction to Old Mortality (Penguin, London, 1974).

2. Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus (Everyman, London, 1973), p. 42.

or Quentin Durward. He becomes older, more tired and perhaps more accepting of denial, but lacks the positive impulses toward experience which are characteristic of Scott's truly romantic heroes. A more serious charge against him is the degree to which he, unlike Waverley, becomes fixed in his mistakes, prejudices and errors of judgement, which are often based upon timidity and self-doubt. A fine line is suggested between time and mistaken emotional perceptions. Small misjudgements lead to much larger misunderstandings, especially in the case of Edith and Evandale. Given Morton's tendency to doubt, and its consequent willingness to relinquish his claim to happiness, one sees how the internal build up of negative feeling, together with the fear of rejection, makes it seem to exist. Ironically, though Henry Morton has been seen as the hero of moderation, and he does attempt this role in public matters, his private attitudes are inflexible. They allow little awareness of the possible ground between the absolute despair of loss, and the contrasting longing for completion. The most likely explanation of Edith's relation with Evandale being one of friendship, rather than love, given her proven concern for the hero, does not occur to him. The young man who can rightly distrust the extremism of both Burley and Claverhouse, is disastrously blind to his own extreme responses in private life. In this, it seems that despite his humane moderation, Henry Morton is not out of place in a novel concerned with the problem of fanatical feeling at many levels. He is obviously no religious or military zealot, still less a political fanatic, but he understands, and is understood by Burley and Claverhouse partly because he is in some ways akin to them in temperament. They punish society by their zeal, Morton punishes himself. If this is so, one may see the final confrontation with Burley as a fitting climax to this aspect of the hero's crisis. The religious fanatic is tormented by a Satan

of his own psychological invention, and Morton has been tormented by an equally powerful devil, the self-torture of an invented rejection. At the same time, it is important to see that much of his struggle throughout the narrative consists in the effort to divert this inner tumult away from the suicidal and heightened feelings, into more purposeful channels. In this, he is again comparable to Burley in his nightmare struggle with his inner drives.

Yet perhaps the real despair of Old Mortality lies in the prevailing social context, which makes his attempts at purposive action unacceptable, and finally, impossible. Nevertheless, Morton's engagement in public life does constitute a holding action. Though each of the battles cancels the effort of the other, these activities allow time for stoical resignation to develop and this goes some way to modify, if not to mitigate, the extreme external distress of the early chapters. It is important to note however, that this is acceptance rather than resolution. Only the chance bullet that kills Evandale allows the love to succeed. Though this has seemed by some critics to be contrived, it perhaps demonstrates the characteristically fine thread of circumstances upon which Henry Morton's life always seem to hang. The handcuffs so expressive of Morton's circumstances remain up to the moment of Evandale's death. The young nobleman's joining of the lovers' hands is the work's first active sign of release for all three. Significantly, it combines them in a linking of love and death. As the title of the work suggests, the figure of death seems close to all the concerns of the narrative. All the idealisms presented engage with death. Religion leads to battle or martyrdom. Military service always expects sudden death, and even the fidelity of Edith frequently seems to strain her fragile hold on life.

The crucial moments for Henry Morton's social and spiritual movements through the narrative are found in the movement from the sense of personal

loss, to public engagement. At the point of what is felt as despair and rejection, there is an inner reversal whose nature is suggested by the violence of the word "revolution". This is especially significant in a young man introduced as natural, humane and moderate. Desperation is seen to change his gentle nature into one more fitted for the battlefield. Yet at that moment, he is caught in the work's fundamental contradiction. On the one hand, public life is experienced as tyranny which decides the mode of private life, on the other, its demands appear to be the only possible release from the consequent misery.

"And to what do I owe it," he said, "that I cannot stand up like a man, and plead my interest in her ere I am thus cheated out of it, - to what, but to the all-pervading and accursed tyranny which afflicts at once our bodies, souls, estates and affections?" (p. 185)

Here we see the real invasiveness of social and political life upon even the most private emotions of the individual. One of the characteristics of Scott's work, and of Old Mortality particularly, is the interweaving of public and private life, so that the tyrannical authority of Government or society represses the individual life, whether this establishment be overtly political or religious in its doctrines. It is not uncommon for Scott's youthful heroes to be oppressed to varying degrees by society, and deficiencies of personal circumstance. The journey of education to develop and temper the imbalances of early life is a typical theme for the novel, and one which Scott explores fully. In much of his work the reader is left with the impression that if circumstances cannot be overcome, they can be usefully contended with. Even in the case of Woodstock where I have suggested that time and death have the last word, Everard and Alice Lee also represent the notion of personal resolution and progress. However, Old Mortality seems to offer a much darker view of the effect of circumstance and inheritance, as well as fate, upon the individual.

Like Waverley, Henry Morton lacks a father, but has a positive and a negative father figure in Major Bellenden and his uncle respectively. The parsimony of his uncle's denial of the young man's educational needs, is at least partly balanced "by frequent and long visits at Major Bellenden's, where he had an opportunity of meeting with many guests whose conversation taught him that goodness and worth were not limited to any single form of religious observance." (p. 180) Although Morton is able to add to this, "his own progress", the negative weight of circumstance is felt as overpowering to the natural impulses. Therefore, not only do we not see in Morton the elasticity of spirit characteristic of Waverley, more seriously, his whole spiritual and emotional development is blocked.

...the current of his soul was frozen by a sense of dependence, of poverty, above all, of an imperfect and limited education. These feelings impressed him with a diffidence and reserve which effectively concealed from all but very intimate friends the extent of talent and firmness of character which we have stated him to be possessed of. (p. 181)

Added to the privations of his immediate circumstances, the events of the times do not offer any alternative outlet.

The circumstances of the times added to this reserve an air of indecision and indifference; for, being attached to neither of the factions which divided the kingdom, he passed for dull, insensible, and uninfluenced by the feeling of religion or of patriotism. No conclusion, however, could be more unjust;...Condemning...each party as its excesses fell under his eyes, disgusted with the sight of evils which he had no means of alleviating, and hearing alternate complaints and exultations with which he could not sympathise, he would long ere this have left Scotland, had it not been for his attachment to Edith Bellenden. (pp. 181/2)

One is aware of the extreme emotional isolation of the hero. The kind of distress found in Waverley's early home has been refined and narrowed in the case of Henry Morton. This is emphasised by the fact that he, unlike Scott's first hero, makes no educational journey out of

his own country. He is firmly caught between the isolation of remaining in Scotland with little hope of Edith, or escape, but the total loss of love. As the reader increasingly comes to realise, such choices as seem to be before Morton, tend to be unacceptable. In no situation can he be at home. While trapped within the contradictions of his environment, he is also psychologically unsuited to them, lacking the means to make a satisfactory fit between his true nature and its environment. Nor does one suppose that exile is anything but another endurance test imposed by the ethos of the times. Thus in Henry Morton, one confronts the fact that no satisfactory resolution is possible by his own action. He may only wait for time and circumstance to turn in his favour, as Alison advises, and this necessitates the cultivation of that patient stoicism which later sustains him, though the difficulties involved in this are always clear. Yet even stoicism is not out of tune with the immediate tone of events which demand activity above all. The sense of stasis in Morton, up to the moment of inner resolution, when he believes he has lost Edith's affection, is reflected in the unstated nature of his relationship with her.

...borrowed the name of Friendship, used her language, and claimed her privileges...it had been continued without specific explanation until now, when fate appeared to have taken the conclusion into its own hands. (p. 182)

Given the "frozen" state of the current of his soul, confidence in love is lacking. "It followed, as a consequence of this state of things, as well as of the diffidence of Morton's disposition at this period, his confidence in Edith's return of his affection had its occasional cold fits." (pp. 182/3) It is this diffidence, resulting from the combination of a gentle temperament reacting to thwarting circumstances, which accounts for the hero's tendency to be "ingenious in tormenting himself" in love. Such lack of personal faith and conviction reflects and

contrasts with the larger questions of doubt and faith which constitute the spiritual core of the work. Morton's unbelief acts as a foil for the extreme position of other characters. We are offered a whole spectrum of modes of belief. The testing and torture are imposed not only by sectarians, but by individuals upon themselves. Morton tortures himself in love, Burley in his battle with doubt. Evandale's belief in honour and the gentlemanly code, inflicts the pain of assisting a rival, while Claverhouse's belief in duty denies him the right to human feeling. "I hope my private affections will never interfere with my public duty." (p. 223) At many levels, therefore, beliefs, ideals, and convictions also require repression and the denial of the self, so that the psychological fabric of Puritanism with its submission to higher authority, crosses the civil and doctrinal divide. It is not surprising therefore to find Morton a lonely and diffident individualist, since he sees his happiness as resting upon personal fulfilment, rather than in the service of either the Divine or the Civil Will. It is important to an understanding of his character to appreciate the degree to which the affliction of personal loss overwhelms all other considerations, making him careless of life itself. This is the more obvious when he is compared with Evandale, perhaps equally devoted to Edith and who always has less hope of success. Yet he displays a more elastic, if not a more distressed spirit. We see in Morton the passionate temperament repressed and struggling only with the utmost difficulty toward the stoicism that the soldierly and possibly more disciplined Evandale naturally puts into practice. Morton is the more introverted, and therefore the more backward looking of the two, as is seen in his depressive reaction to his captivity. There is in him always a latent resignation to fate, which is partly a psychological facet of temperament, and not only a result of his frustration. Adversity seems to drive him

deeper into himself where the dangers of the "blank and waste of heart" await him.

Morton, overwhelmed with a complication of feelings, was totally indifferent to the various arrangements made for his secure custody, and even to the relief afforded him by his release from the fetters. He experienced that blank and waste of the heart which follows the hurricane of passion, and, no longer supported by the pride and conscious rectitude which dictated his answers to Claverhouse, he surveyed with deep dejection the glades through which he travelled, each turning of which had something to remind him of past happiness and disappointed love. The eminence which they now ascended was that from which he used first and last to behold the ancient Tower when approaching or retiring from it; and, it is needless to add, that there was wont to pause, and gaze with a lover's delight on the battlements, which, rising at a distance out of the lofty wood, indicated the dwelling of her whom he either hoped soon to meet, or had recently parted from. Instinctively he turned his head back to take a last look of a scene formerly so dear to him, and no less instinctively heaved a deep sigh. (p. 197)

The almost engulfing effects of disappointed love make a contrast with the refusal of human involvement seen in the partisans of both sides, but it also seems to parallel in intensity the zeal of the religious and military fanatic. In so far as we find Morton's experiences to be a process of learning at all, they consist in the difficult journey from this threatening degree of passion to a more containable level of feeling, which will ensure the survival, if not the fulfilment of the individual. The difficulty of humane survival where the available options seem equally destructive is a major concern of the work, but Old Mortality offers us a special emphasis upon the cost of such perseverance.

At the same time, if one looks closely at the passionate zeal which represents the notion of life as subservient to cause or conviction, one is aware that this too makes a heavy demand upon the individual life although what is felt as the richness of personal conviction, especially where this is absolute, as is the case for Macbriar, may be a sustaining

and elevating compensation, even under torture. By contrast, Henry Morton must endure the dryness and strain which accompanies his journey whether in captivity, in military engagement, or in exile. Typical of Scott's technique for conveying this internal condition, is the description of the landscape through which the captive hero travels. Not only is isolation a predominant feature of the terrain, but there is a suggestion that in this, Nature is stronger than man's capacity to oppose her. By implication, this dark aspect of human nature is equally resistant to the individual power to withstand it. This tension suggests the degree of struggle within Henry Morton in his attempt to coerce his disposition from despair to stoicism. This psychological landscape is drawn as Scott's hero leaves the woods of Tillietudlem and all hope of Edith's affection which has seemed to constitute his only link with life and growth.

They had now for more than a mile got free of the woodlands, whose broken glades had, for some time, accompanied them after they had left the woods of Tillietudlem. A few birches and oaks still feathered the narrow ravines, or occupied in dwarf-clusters the hollow plains of the moor. But these were gradually disappearing; and a wide and waste country lay before them, swelling into bare hills of dark heath, intersected by deep gullies; -... This desolate region seemed to extend farther than the eye could reach, without grandeur, without even the dignity of mountain wildness, yet striking, from the huge proportion which it seemed to bear to much more favoured spots of the country as were adapted to cultivation, and fitted for the support of man; and thereby impressing irresistibly the mind of the spectator with a sense of the omnipotence of Nature, and the comparative inefficacy of the boasted means of amelioration which man is capable of opposing to the disadvantage of climate and soil. (pp. 211/212)

If in Henry Morton we see the difficulties of belief, and the tentative nature of his self-assertion, we may contrast this with its alternative. Much of the central section of Old Mortality presents the results of conviction carried to the point of absolutism. In the

conflict of the battle scenes, dealt with in this work at particular length, we see the brutality of fanatics in collision. In so far as this has the status of a "holy war", the whole nature of the religious ethic in question is under discussion. On each side, attitudes and beliefs are defended with a violence that seems to make bigotry their common denominator. By contrast, the resistant nature of Morton's search for an ethical position is the more attractive. In this work, the equation of war-like attitudes with religion, gives the impression that all the creeds offered tend to exist in opposition to humanity. Therefore, one is tempted to see much of Old Mortality as an exploration not simply of religion versus society, but more seriously, of religion versus life. Spiritual conviction may be seen not as supportive of natural life, but as a denial of it. The God centred rationale for repression, whether expressed socially or militarily, suggests that human energy should be deflected from present experience of this life, toward a concern with salvation in the hereafter. The implications are sobering in so far as this life is seen only as a means to an end. It follows that the individual is readily expendable, and the quality of personal experience is also largely irrelevant except in so far as it prepares for a life to come. As is usual for Scott, the difficulty is not to make a choice between creeds, but to contend with the probability that all ideals tend, when carried to such lengths, to deny the value of the individual life. Yet idealism is the hallmark of Scott's view of heroism, as is a deep concern for individual life. In this, Lord Evandale seems to share with Morton that status in Old Mortality. Although he too inherits a role, in this case in the army of Claverhouse, because of his appreciation of human life, he, like Morton, truly belongs to neither side in the conflict. This is made clear in his comments upon the battle to come.

"I humbly think," said Lord Evandale, "that, go the day how it will, it must be a bloody one; and that we shall lose many brave fellows, and probably be obliged to slaughter a great number of these misguided men, who, after all, are Scotchmen and subjects of King Charles as well as we are." (p. 221)

It is important to an understanding of Claverhouse that it is part of his "creed" to see the insurgents not as foolish, misguided "brave fellows", as does Evandale, but as "rebels". He parallels the religious fanatics in that his thinking is concentrated wholly on one mode of viewing the world, and it is this narrowness of perspective that forms the basis of the rigidity which ends in frustration. This is a dangerous exclusiveness in what may in itself be a credible ideal, which must be resisted by the humane individual. Henry Morton's lack of firm commitment brings him little joy, and a good deal of the distress arises from the vacuum which the would be idealist experiences at being unable to accept any of the contemporary attitudes.

Morton seeks a mode of belief which will allow his openness, yet the work shows us the propensity of beliefs to harden into closed attitudes. The battle scene seems to suggest that it is conviction itself which makes war not only in the human body, both personal and social, but, as Morton has found earlier, upon the human soul. One sees this illustrated particularly in the case of Cornet Grahame, whose life is so easily sacrificed both by Claverhouse and by Burley. Claverhouse's capacity to make a shrewdly cool judgement as to the usefulness of one life against another, seems to justify Hazlitt's description of him as "...a panther, smooth-looking, blood spotted".¹ This nicely captures the Commander's dangerous facility for killing. Ironically, as is not unknown for well meaning peacemakers, it is Evandale who is indirectly

1. William Hazlitt, The Spirit of the Age (Collins, London, 1969) p. 105.

responsible for the death of Grahame. The nobleman's genuine and constructive sentiments on behalf of a truce, are converted by his commander into an opportunity for sacrificing rather than preserving life. As with the religious fanatics, one feels that reconciliation as a mode of behaviour is unpalatable to Claverhouse. Given up entirely to the military ethic, he finds the highest virtue in a willingness to die, rather than in the impulse toward survival and rescue. His answer to Evandale betrays his enthusiasm for challenging life with the threat of destruction. That the source of this delight in teasing death may be satanic, offers a significant comment on the underlying darkness of his belief system. Even more dangerous perhaps, is the rationalisation which prevents Evandale's efforts at peacemaking. His nobility and eloquence might well have succeeded. Instead, an inexperienced but ardent young soldier is knowingly sacrificed to a task beyond his military capability. The reader senses Claverhouse's expectation of the outcome of Cornet Grahame's naive spirit.

"You shall not go on such an errand, my lord," said Claverhouse, "your rank and situation render your safety of too much consequence to the country in an age where good principles are so rare. Here's my brother's son Dick Grahame, who fears shot or steel as little as if the devil had given him armour of proof against it, as the fanatics say he has given to his uncle..."

"Were he my only son," said Claverhouse, "this is no cause and no time to spare him"...If Dick Grahame falls, the loss is chiefly mine; were your lordship to die, the king and country would be the sufferers."
(pp. 222/3)

It is difficult to believe that "loss" is a deeply felt experience for Claverhouse. The "indescribable emotion" which he briefly betrays at his nephew's death, arises as much from anger at Burley's rebellious act as from grief for the victim.

Scott is careful to deal in some detail with the last ride of Cornet Grahame, so that the reader is aware, when he falls, not simply

of the loss of a young soldier, but of a particular young man whose eagerness is affecting. Both armies, as the issues of the conflict, seem to recede as a single youth momentarily bears the whole weight of the narrative. "Cornet Richard Grahame descended the hill, bearing in his hand the extempore flag of truce, and making his managed horse keep time by bounds and curvets to the tune he whistled." (p. 224) Immediately, Scott offers us a whistling boy and not simply an anonymous soldier in danger. Because the author creates in Grahame a particular individual, rather than a King's messenger, the parley with Burley seems more urgent in its feeling of naivete attempting to brave the rhetoric of the fanatic. Burley's voice has the impassioned but impersonal tone of self-righteousness.

"Return to them that sent thee," said the insurgent leader, "and tell them that we are this day in arms for a broken Covenant and a persecuted Kirk." (p. 225)

By contrast, Cornet Grahame's refusal to be intimidated, and his determination to address himself directly to the rebels, shows his greater concern to save bloodshed. The degree to which this human appeal might have been effective, is suggested in Burley's need to shoot Grahame. An aspect of this zealot's fanaticism is seen in his dislike of the notion of mercy or rational thinking. For Burley, conviction means war with no quarter given. Like Claverhouse, his ethic of duty is anti-life. "Is it not written, 'Thou shalt be zealous even to slaying'? Let those, who dare, NOW venture to speak of truce or pardon." (p. 227) In the face of such rigidity, efforts at peacemaking ironically tend to result in more and not less bloodshed. One sees that the whole notion of peace enrages the fanatic. The disastrous efforts of Cornet Grahame pave the way for Henry Morton's later and equally fruitless efforts at bargaining for peace against such attitudes. Grahame's death also prefigures the psychological fate of the hero, whose failure in Scotland issues in the "death" of his ten years of exile. During

this skirmish, it is also clear that the lines of conflict are drawn more subtly than those suggested by the opposition of King's Men and rebels. This is seen first in the combat between Bothwell and Burley. Though they represent different sides of the overt conflict, in fact they are at one in their absolute commitment to do battle. They are well matched in their unrepentant zeal and disregard of death.

...nothing could withdraw the attention of the combatants from each other, or induce them to unclothe the deadly clasp in which they rolled together on the ground, tearing, struggling, and foaming, with the inveteracy of thoroughbred bull-dogs. (p. 232)

By contrast, Morton and Evandale, though rivals in love, are seen to be equally committed to the saving of life. Evandale's impulse to peace and reconciliation has already been demonstrated in his desire for terms with the rebels, a role which Morton later parallels as emissary to the Duke of Monmouth. Thus, this first battle scene of the work, allows the emergence of the personalities of the conflict, but it also begins to show where more subtle and deeper allegiances lie. As Angus Calder points out, the work characteristically deals with movements.¹ Part of this involves cross movements from one side of the civil and religious conflict to another as dictated not by the cause in question, but by temperament and disposition. Central characters are found in a variety of pairings until their true placings appear. Thus Burley and Claverhouse finally draw together as partners in brutal duty, while Morton and Evandale link as partners in the desire for love and harmony. Before this can become clear however, Scott carefully builds to the true psychological confrontation.

Initially, Morton and Burley are linked by family friendship and laws of hospitality and duty, while Morton and Evandale are in the hostile

1. Angus Calder, Introduction to Old Mortality (Penguin, London, 1974) p. 29.

roles of rivalry. With the joining of Claverhouse in military duty, and the implied partnership of Burley and Morton for the rebels, it looks as though the demands of role, social placing and external forces will determine individual reactions to events. It is equally clear that this involves a clash with the private feelings of the individual. It seems that his commitment to the establishment demands Evandale's allegiance to Claverhouse, while the role of protest now espoused by Morton, commits him to Burley. The extreme attitude of both leaders appears to implicate their followers in a disregard of human considerations. However, Cornet Grahame's abortive attempt at peace sets in motion a more accurate re-ordering of the personalities in conflict. His confrontation with Burley looks like a forerunner of the deep opposition to come of Morton and Burley in the defence of Evandale's life. Scott skilfully builds up to this dramatic climax within the skirmish, as Burley is faced with humanitarian opponents in ascending order of strength, by Grahame, Bothwell, Evandale, and finally, the hero. At this point, Morton has crossed the civil and religious divide to take his stand as defender of human principle against his own rebel cause. It is important that this obligation to rescue is based upon the same pressure of honour and the defence of life that Burley pleaded in his own cause when seeking Morton's hospitality after the Wappenschaw. Thus Burley and Morton are linked in their understanding of human honour, but the full risk of carrying this ideal through is characteristically borne by the hero. In Burley's case, ideals may be a matter of expediency. Though genuinely idealistic in nature, Morton's idealism is less naive than that of Cornet Grahame. Yet unlike Bothwell, Morton's conviction is of too complex a nature for the author to allow him a simple exchange with death. He must be seen to stand his ground and survive by a courage which is deeper than that of fearlessness in

battle. Old Mortality makes it clear that courage is a more difficult matter than the brave confrontation with violence. This paves the way for stoicism to take over as the primary ethic of the work, as distinct from military bravery or the courage of the religious martyr.

"You must not, and you shall not, slay him, more especially while incapable of defence," said Morton, planting himself before Lord Evandale so as to intercept any blow that should be aimed at him. "I owed my life to him this morning, - my life, which was endangered solely by my having sheltered you; and to shed his blood when he can offer no effectual resistance, were not only a cruelty abhorrent to God and man, but detestable ingratitude both to him and to me." (p. 247)

In this successful stand against Burley, Morton occupies a truly heroic role, both physically, in that he puts his life in danger, and morally, in that he defends an "enemy" against his own leader upon grounds of humanity and honour. This is a good example of the complex morality found in Scott's work. The hero whose moral nature engages us is driven away from the difficulties of personal concern, however distressing these may be, into a wider spectrum of public action. He must learn a moral sense which resists the egotism of self-absorption and also the abnegation of private responsibility which may trap the public man into moral decay. The hero's difficulty in this is seen in the complex necessity to remain true to an honourable basis of action which demands allegiance beyond faction, sect or principle. Thus the inner conflict is between the received notions of principle or idealism current in the events and social mores of his time, and a humane attitude more disciplined and tempered than the indulgence of emotional preferences. Therefore, like Waverley, though perhaps more subtly achieved in Old Mortality, Morton is characteristically on the wrong side, since he truly belongs to no ideal but his own, and that must be painfully clarified in moral growth.

Yet there is at the same time as this personal development, the conflicting need to oppose obvious social wrongs, and it is this impulse that leads him to defend first one kind of idealism, as in the case of the Covenanters, and then another, as in the case of Lord Evandale. One of the differences between Waverley and Morton, is that where Scott's first hero seems to change sides partly on emotional impulse, Old Mortality shows us the moral directive behind the apparent volte face of Morton at Loudon Hill. He defends Evandale not simply because the nobleman is unarmed, but because of the moral imperative beyond the current divisions between them. Thus Morton always carries his moral directive within him, even where this conflicts with the external ideal he is defending. Therefore, he fights on two fronts at once, whereas those characters more fixed in their moral natures endure no such conflict. It is perhaps a sign of Burley's repressed moral potential that he is so tormented by doubt. That this issues in dreams and nightmares, suggests the effort of will that has gone into the suppression of a conflict. As usual with Scott, central characters surrounding the hero are often examples of extremes to which he might have been led by particular aspects of his nature, had they achieved precedence over the whole. Thus in embryonic form, Morton has the possibility of Burley's religious zeal, for Claverhouse's sense of duty, for Bothwell's flight from the distress of a lost love, and for Evandale's selfless courage. In this, one may see the battles presented as a symbolic acting out of all the conflicting sides of the hero's potential personality. Each major character exemplifies the dangers and distresses of one mode of conviction dictating to the whole man. Yet the important factor for the work is that all are men of strong conviction, though these are seen as more or less distasteful according to the nature of their execution. In this way, the narrative studies the notion of belief

or idealism as the driving force of human life. The hero is one of Scott's most thoughtful and morally mature idealists in the complexity of his search for a humane expression of his nature. That this proves to be beyond reach in his own society is not only a reflection upon Scottish Puritanism as presented, but poses questions as to what kind of society might allow such hopes. The indictment of religion in Old Mortality, seems to imply that devotion to non-worldly concerns is no more conducive to goodness of heart, than is the social or political pragmatism of the societies presented in Kenilworth or Quentin Durward. In fact, the pursuit of the salvation of the soul is seen to be as destructive of humane life as is the pursuit of power or wealth.

The complexity of this destructive spirit of religious or military fanaticism in its worldly form, is seen in the young Ephraim Macbriar. In him, the spirit of religious altruism is seen as a total disregard for the worldly self, yet to him, this is felt as personally releasing rather than repressive. However, this mode of zeal is also the expression of an unhealthy and "naturally hectic" disposition, which tends to excess and is perhaps anxious to surrender life to a higher authority. The complete disregard for personal safety perhaps makes Macbriar something of a religious alter ego for Bothwell. Each seems to delight in testing the limits of their strength, apparently needing the challenge of opposition and adversity. Bothwell dies exulting in hatred and defiance of Burley. The young Macbriar while rather more sympathetic in his extreme youth, is equally careless of his life. In both cases pride in the degree of their commitment is carried to an extreme, but the almost hypnotic power that this can bestow is well seen in Scott's portrait of the evangelical.

Ephraim Macbriar by name, was hardly twenty years old; yet his thin features already indicated that a constitution, naturally hectic, was worn out by vigils, by fasts, by the rigour of imprisonment,

and the fatigues incident to a fugitive life. Young as he was, he had been twice imprisoned for several months, and suffered many severities which gave him great influence with those of his own sect. He threw his faded eyes over the multitude and over the scene of battle; and a light of triumph arose in his glance, his pale yet striking features were coloured with a transient and hectic blush of joy. He folded his hands, raised his face to heaven, and seemed lost in mental prayer and thanksgiving ere he addressed the people. (p. 255)

On the surface, this is the more benign face of religious fanaticism as compared with the violence of Burley. The calculated cruelty of the deferred execution of Morton until the twelfth hour arises less from conscious brutality, than from a detached adherence to ritual. However, Macbriar's courage stems from a sense of life as subservient to the Divine Cause. "...the worst that can befall us is but a brief and bloody passage to heaven..." (p. 259) Yet his eloquence is seen to be beneficial to his followers in so far as it helps to mitigate their very real earthly distresses.

The eloquence of the preacher was rewarded by the deep hum of stern approbation which resounded through the armed assemblage at the conclusion of an exhortation so well suited to that which they had done, and that which remained for them to do. The wounded forgot their pain, the faint and hungry their fatigues and deprivations, as they listened to doctrines which elevated them alike above the wants and calamities of the world, and identified their cause with that of the Deity. (p. 259)

Here we see both the power and the necessity of religion as an alleviation of distress among those powerless to achieve the social ordering of their own lives. It is one of the ironies of Old Mortality that it demonstrates so thoroughly the power of religion both to elevate and also to destroy human life. On the one hand, beliefs are an essential means of hope for the mitigation of misfortune if only in an afterlife, and on the other, the "cause" is itself a means of intensifying the oppression and bloodshed of those who seek its comfort and protection. In this, Scott's ambivalent attitude to formal religion seems clear. The only

satisfying ethic of the work resides in Mrs Maclure, who is significantly blind, and therefore spared the narrow vision of sectarianism. She is able therefore to practise a humanly Christian ethic of Charity. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the energy generated by the enthusiasm of religious zeal is both solace and a source of leverage against oppression. Where the times admit of no more positive social response than obedience, there is a corresponding impulse to disruption, which in this historical period finds expression in religious fanaticism. In other eras, a similar impulse leads to the rise of Jacobitism, but the common denominator seems to be the need for passionate natures to find a channel of expression, and this frequently issues in the espousal of some kind of ideal or cause. In most crises, the fundamental drive is toward a sense of freedom, whether this is expressed in social, political or religious terms. Underlying such conflict is the dislike of personal coercion, though as has been seen, this may itself generate its own repression. Nevertheless, this impulse moves toward some kind of self-determination. It may be observed even in those characters who seem most submissive to authority whether civil or religious. If one of the marks of the fanatic is his ability to lose himself in a cause, this can also be seen as a kind of release which has its own rationale and carries the individual beyond the confines of ordinary life. Thus he may see himself as visionary, living outside everyday experience. Implied in this is a kind of heroism to which Scott pays tribute in the stand of the Covenanters. The hallmark of this heroism is a refusal to admit the odds against success, which suggests an aspect of the human spirit found to be admirable.

...whatever may be thought of the extravagance or narrow-minded bigotry of many of their tenets, it is impossible to deny the praise of devoted courage to a few hundred peasants, who, without leaders, without money, without magazines, without any fixed plan of action, and almost without arms,

borne out only by their innate zeal and a detestation of the oppression of their rulers, ventured to declare war against an established government, supported by a regular army and the whole force of three kingdoms. (p. 260)

The sense here of "zeal" as productive of energy and the assertion of rights, is important to an estimate of the fanaticism found in the work. Not only is there an implication that the extremes of oppression and fanaticism maintain one another, but that this excess is perhaps the best that can be offered within the current climate of obsessiveness. Such attitudes are as much exemplified by Claverhouse as they are by the religious views of the Calvinists. Psychologically, they are parallel in their narrowness or fixity of vision, which is at once exclusive and self-justifying. Old Mortality suggests that the pressing of human life into such narrow channels necessarily results in repression or explosiveness. They do not offer the healthy alternatives for life needed by Henry Morton. Thus love, with its demand for the expression of the natural is also forced into a negative and frustrating experience.

Nevertheless in the portrait of Burley the work points to the insistence in human nature of energy and conflict. His characteristic inability to sleep restfully suggests the feverish activity of the obsessive. By contrast, Morton's desire for a rational argument in favour of the leadership of the Covenanters, and Burley's view of this as the "carnal" reasoning of a "babe in swaddling clothes", illustrates the gulf between the two men, despite fighting on the same side. One sees how close Morton really is to his rival Evandale, in his reply to the offer of power. Unlike the inhuman version of principle for which Claverhouse stands, Morton and Evandale combine an instinct for cool appraisal with a warm nature. They are not pacifist, but nor do they elevate passion or ideals above reason. As usual, Scott makes a distinction between the man of passion which tends to overwhelm rationality, and the man of natural feeling which embraces it.

...it is not surprising that a natural sense of the injuries of my country, not to mention those I have sustained in my own person, should make me sufficiently willing to draw my sword for liberty and freedom of conscience. But I will own to you that I must be better satisfied concerning the principles on which you bottom your cause ere I can agree to take a command amongst you. (pp. 282/3)

Burley characteristically justifies his action by sweeping religious rhetoric and emotion.

"...can you doubt our principles," answered Burley, "since we have stated them to be the reformation both of Church and State, the rebuilding of the decayed sanctuary, the gathering of the dispersed saints and the destruction of the man of sin?" "I will own frankly, Mr Balfour," replied Morton, "much of this sort of language, which, I observe is so powerful with others, is entirely lost on me." (p. 283)

It is important to notice that as Morton sees more of the passion of religious zeal and the harsh "duty" of Claverhouse, he becomes more inclined to the rationality of the stoic; and this contrasts with the desperation characteristic of him in the early chapters. There is here a parallel with Waverley, in that Morton only learns the dangers of his disposition by close association with others who seem to personify aspects of it. As has been suggested, Burley and Bothwell, Mucklewraith and Macbriar represent the distortions of zeal which are latent in the hero. From them, one is aware of Morton's need to strengthen his own more humane tendency. Equally, Claverhouse is the rigid figure of the establishment, whose dedication to duty and reputation are as damaging to the life of the natural affections, for which Morton is best fitted, as is the harshness of the religious fanatic. The difficult realism of Old Mortality lies in its suggestion that Morton must learn a lonelier lesson than Scott's first hero. For him, fulfilment will not only be greatly deferred, but it is always uncertain. The loss of Edith Bellenden seems to be more insistent in the narrative than the conviction of their final coming together. Contrasted with this theme of loss is

Burley's indulgence of passion and possession. Initially he has the drive to power expressive of the libertine. Later, he is equally possessed by his puritan self-denial. He is presented as having a history of profligacy, a tendency lending itself as much to excess in Puritanism as in indulgence.

In the younger part of his life he had been wild and licentious, but had early laid aside open profligacy, and embraced the strictest tenets of Calvinism. Unfortunately, habits of excess and intemperance were more easily rooted out of his dark, saturnine, and enterprising spirit than the vices of revenge and ambition, which continued, notwithstanding his religious profession, to exercise no small sway over his mind. (p. 286)

Passion as excess is a familiar theme in Scott's work and the notion is strengthened in Old Mortality's implied equation of its tendency to fanaticism and obsession. In the passage quoted, apart from the classic notion that there is no stricter puritan than the reformed profligate, one sees that the "dark" spirit of Burley has parallels with aspects of the hero's personality. The depressive frustration of Morton's feelings of dependency have shown the darker side of his humane nature. This has been implied in the violence of his eruption into public activity. Burley is more given to both excess and to rigidity, but he is part of the same spectrum of psychological responses which designate the passionate man rather than the quieter stoic, best exemplified by Evandale. It is because Morton's temptations are likely to be those of emotional extremism suggested by the underlying desire for suicide, that Burley is a moral lesson for him in a way that Evandale never is, though the latter is in many ways a very desirable model of behaviour. As is often the case in Scott's work, more is learned by the hero's association with a faulty or extreme version of his own dangerous traits, than by a more obvious moral example. Because Morton is overtly on the same side as Burley in the conflict for civil and religious rights, and in the genuine

relationship which is felt to develop between the two, the reader is aware of the importance of Morton's resistance to his deeper influence. It is in dialogue such as that concerned with the leadership of the Covenanters, that Morton is able to define and sharpen his own ethical and emotional position. To do this, he needs the opportunity to confront and struggle with Burley's extreme attitudes. Macbriar is so obviously evangelical that he is less relevant to Morton's problem of survival in the contemporary world. Morton's dislike of obvious religiosity creates a gulf between him and Macbriar, which makes the martyr less a moral lesson than a distressing experience of deluded suffering. Equally, the kind of ecstatic joy which raises Macbriar above his pain is essentially foreign to the hero, whose nature is always more firmly founded in the human and not the Divine experience. Thus, his moral journey is from a destructive human consciousness which feeds on its own distress, to one which may bear privation firmly. This must include a rejection of the damaging obsessive self-denial which characterises and finally destroys Burley, or the delight in destruction which has marked Bothwell's disappointments in preferment and love. More important perhaps to the moral tone of the work, is the fact that the hero must find an attitude to life which allows him to take responsibility for his actions into his own hands. Only then is he likely to be safe from the destructiveness which places human responsibility on a superior, whether that be "a righteous Arm", as in Burley's case, or King and Country in the case of Claverhouse. Scott makes clear in Old Mortality, as he has in the case of Cromwell in Woodstock, that the sense of having no choice but to obey a higher authority is one of the most dangerous aspects of the fanatical mind. It overrides all considerations of humanity and social justice. The licence thus offered may be as merciless as that of the libertine who acknowledges no law but his

own impulse. It is significant that both worldly and Divine obsessions often appear sequentially in the same personality. This missing factor is natural control and rationality, and more fundamentally, a love of the human for its own sake. In this we see the real divisions opening up between Burley and Morton in the discussion following the murder of Archbishop Sharpe. In this, we are also made aware of the ancient Scottish tradition of Divine inspiration as the rallying point of violent revolution.

"Did we not pray to be resolved how we should act, and was it not borne in on our hearts as if it had been written on them with the point of a diamond, 'Ye shall surely take him and slay him' - Was not the tragedy full half an hour in acting ere the sacrifice was completed, and that in an open heath, and within the patrols of their garrisons? And yet who interrupted the great work? What dog so much as bayed us during the pursuit, the taking, the slaying, and the dispersing? Then who will say - who dare say - that a mightier Arm than ours was not herein revealed?"

"You deceive yourself, Mr Balfour," said Morton; "such circumstances of facility of execution and escape have often attended the commission of the most enormous crimes - But it is not mine to judge you. I have not forgotten that the way was opened to the former liberation of Scotland by an act of violence which no man can justify, - the slaughter of Cumming by the hand of Robert Bruce; and, therefore, condemning this action as I do and must, I am not unwilling to suppose that you may have motives vindicating it in your eyes, though not in mine or in those of sober reason." (p. 292)

Henry Morton, as a declared partisan, but on the side of reason, is in fundamental opposition to the demands of the fanatic. Here we see him as more mature than Waverley in his resistance to the influence of a powerful personality, or emotional pressure. Burley's anger at this independence of spirit suggests how much he has relied upon his power over the younger man.

He perceived, with disappointment, that, upon points of principle, his young brother-in-arms possessed a clearness of judgement and a firmness of mind which afforded but little hope of his being able to exert that degree of influence over him which he had expected to possess. (pp. 292/3)

Thus in Morton, we see a characteristic of many of Scott's heroes. They increasingly learn to depend upon their own judgement in circumstances where pressures to conform to the standards of other people are strong. Since Morton's consequent isolation is particularly distressing to him, the cost of this refusal to submit is clear. One of the more sobering aspects of Old Mortality is the apparent impossibility of any enduring sense of integration between the hero and his associates. It is necessary for Morton to move away from his dangerously internalised sense of isolation, but the alternative of committed public activity has the effect not of resolving this difficulty, but only of externalising it. Yet it renders his loneliness rather more manageable than the former private distress. However, the exchange still endangers Morton's life. The suicidal longings not far beneath the surface of his frustration, are replaced by the overt dangers of near execution, first by Claverhouse, and then by the rebels he attempts to help. The important point is perhaps that the cost of this kind of sensibility and self-awareness is that he must live close to death either privately or publicly. To the degree that his activity dulls the personal pain, the reader feels more comfortable with threats of execution as being part of the soldier's lot, and especially so of the rebel. However, one of the marks of this most demanding narrative is the way in which Scott refuses to lighten either the load on the hero, or the pressure on the reader. That Morton's public endeavours are unsatisfying to him and to his fellow rebels, suggests some failure of this exercise of private exorcism. This is emphasised by the fact of the following exile which underlines the experiences of wilderness which are characteristic of this hero. Therefore, the general tone of the work remains dark, until time itself moves the major characters into mellow conditions.

It is important to much of Scott's work to see that the difficulty

underlying a heroic drive toward independence is not simply that of negative or distorting influences upon the individual. It also involves the fundamental propensity of passion to mask the excessive demands of the fanatic. This demand is upon the individual himself, as well as upon others. This is seen as a basic aspect of human nature which Scott views with some ambivalence. Not only is the power of emotion itself potentially dangerous, but it provides a fertile soil for a damaging response to the disappointments of life, as seen in Bothwell's reckless aggression. This is one of the lessons provided for the hero, since Scott demands that the frustration of natural feeling in a lost love, shall not become distorted into a passion for destruction. This problem is seen particularly in the sad verses carried by Bothwell and discovered after his death. Here, Scott defines one of his major themes, as the difficulty of establishing a positive and continuing channel for deeply felt ideals and sentiments.

"Alas! what are we," said Morton, "that our best and most praiseworthy feelings can be thus debased and depraved; that honourable pride can sink into haughty and desperate indifference for general opinion, and the sorrow of blighted affection inhabit the same bosom which licence, revenge, and rapine have chosen for their citadel? But it is the same throughout; the liberal principles of one man sink into cold and unfeeling indifference, the religious zeal of another hurries him into frantic and savage enthusiasm. Our resolutions, our passions, are like the waves of the sea, and, without the aid of Him who formed the human breast, we cannot say to its tides, 'Thus far shall ye come, and no farther.'" (pp. 314/5)

Here one is also aware of the kind of religious ethic espoused by Morton, and its contrast with the excess of the fanatics. The emphasis is upon "Him" who formed the human breast as an agent of restraint, though this is distinct from the strict repression that bespeaks the puritan. The innate control of the human heart as created is also significant, so that the ethic emerging in Morton seems to constitute a natural religion

of human feeling. There is deference toward the Creator, but also the sense that His Creation, if relied upon, is equal to the task of maintaining an equilibrium in human feeling. This is in contrast to the kinds of conviction surrounding the hero, which suggest that right living may only be affirmed at the cost of repression and perhaps violent effort. Part of Morton's sense of being an anachronism in his society stems from this tendency toward the gentle toughness of 'natural' stoicism defined as a fully human apprehension of the Divine place in human affairs. This is in direct opposition to the religious zealots who denigrate the human and insist upon the inherent disease within it. The reader is in turn led to feel that they themselves best demonstrate their own doctrine. Morton's understanding of man's falling off from the ideal is that it may be righted by personal understanding. For the true Puritan the flaw is permanent, and therefore much of human life is found to be beyond redemption. It is this which accounts for the fanatic's facility to destroy, since he considers his victim by definition unworthy of life.

The difficulty for Henry Morton is to negotiate humane actions on behalf of the justice he sees in the Covenanters' cause, within the more extreme aspects of rebellion. It also contains one of the work's central concerns, the complex opposition between the natural and the unnatural. As we have seen, Henry Morton represents the desire for natural justice and the freedom to express natural feeling. Much of the painful irony of his public engagement resides in the unnatural methods which must be used in pursuit of this cause. This is seen in his participation in the attack upon Tillietudlam. In this, he is deeply aware of the distressing necessity to turn upon part of his own nature. The Bellendens have formerly represented to him an experience of natural and humane feeling. Yet his letter to Major Bellenden before the

attack is set out with a coolness matched with concern that often marks the heroic stance in Scott's work. It could equally well have come from the pen of Markham Everard fighting for Cromwell in full knowledge of the deficiencies of his own side.

...I have taken my resolution in honour and good faith, and with the full approval of my own conscience. I can no longer submit to have my own rights and those of my fellow-subjects trampled upon, our freedom violated, our persons insulted, and our blood spilt, without just cause or legal trial. Providence, through the violence of the oppressors themselves seems now to have opened a way of deliverance from this intolerable tyranny, and I do not hold him deserving of the name and rights of a freeman, who, thinking as I do, shall withhold his arm from the cause of his country. But God, who knows my heart, be my witness that I do not share the angry or violent passion of the oppressed and harrassed sufferers with whom I am now acting. My most earnest and anxious desire is to see this unnatural war brought to a speedy end, by the union of the good, wise, and moderate of all parties, and a peace restored... (p. 337)

In his decision to participate in the siege against his former friends for the sake of his ideals, one also sees Morton having to assume the dual and conflicting roles of attack and defence. This is especially significant to the nature of his role as a hero. The espousal of idealism in public life demands the former role, but his personal and private inclinations make him protective of the Bellendens. Characteristically he attempts to ensure the safety of the personal within the impersonal destruction of the conflict, and therefore resists the leadership of the Army which is to march on Glasgow. Typically, his role as rebel is a confined one, its limits being dictated by larger human concerns even than his ideals.

Tillietudlem; and if the management of the siege were committed to him, he had little doubt but that he would bring it to such an accommodation as, without being rigorous to the besieged, would fully answer the purpose of the besiegers. (p. 349)

An important aspect of Morton's development in the narrative is his

increasing awareness of the blurring of roles for the mature and concerned individual. For the idealist who also wishes out of both temperament and conviction to achieve a fulfilled private life, there is a conflict between public and private roles, and, more importantly, within the individual's understanding of himself. If Morton's initial entry into public affairs is in part a psychological reaction to personal disappointment, as the work progresses, we see an increasingly thoughtful awareness of public good. This takes Morton further than the earlier issues of personal life. In the siege of Tillietudlem, he is forced to come to terms with the mixed nature of the heroic role. Morton must not abandon either public or private role, but nor can he achieve, as perhaps Waverley does, a reasonable reconciliation between the two. What makes Morton particularly heroic, is the extent to which the author requires him to continue to carry the burden of conflicting ideals. He must remain humane friend and lover, and effective soldier and reformer. Old Mortality does not offer a synthesis of the hero's dualism, and this is a significant clue to Scott's work. To be heroic in Morton's style is a more subtle and testing endeavour than the undoubted courage of the idealistic soldier or public man, or the private romantic who suffers the distress of living by the heart and not by the head. For Morton, the task set is to endure the difficulties of both public conviction and of private risk. His stoicism, if it is to be sufficiently strong to support him, must accommodate these tests of head and heart, of personal and social, and of the spiritual and the worldly experience. The important point, however, is that the inherent divisions remain, and with them the discomforts of bearing them all. In addition to the consciousness of such difficulties, Morton must also take the strain of misunderstandings on every side. His seemingly uncommitted or ungrateful stance looks like a betrayal to others whose

attitudes are more absolutely defined. Thus, for Scott, the "romantic dreams of youth" and the active "cares of manhood" are seen not as a journey from romantic fictions to realistic fact, but from simplicity to complexity, from acquiescence to contradiction. In Old Mortality, this is the inner revolution at the heart of the social and religious rebellion. Nor is this a matter of steady development, as the speed of the narrative always suggests. The process is an almost unbalancing series of events and reactions. Much of the anxiety which is typical of Morton, arises from the disequilibrium involved in such rapid mental and emotional movements. These are paralleled in his journeys on horseback between one faction and another, between the social and the spiritual. It is clear that his only reliable coping mechanism is his own sense of integrity and personal courage. In this purity of motive he is most truly a hero of "puritanism" in its best sense of singleminded purity of heart.

When Morton was left alone to his own reflections, with what a complication of feelings did he review the woods, banks and fields that had been familiar to him! His character, as well as his habits, thoughts, and occupations, had been entirely changed within the space of little more than a fortnight, and twenty days seemed to have done upon him the work of as many years. A mild, romantic, gentle-tempered youth, bred up in dependence, and stooping patiently to the control of a sordid and tyrannical relation, had suddenly, by the rod of oppression and the spur of injured feeling, been compelled to stand forth a leader of armed men, was earnestly engaged in affairs of a public nature, had friends to animate and enemies to contend with, and felt his individual fate bound up in that of a national insurrection and revolution. It seemed as if he had at once experienced a transition from the romantic dreams of youth to the labours and cares of active manhood...As he revolved the particulars of this sudden change, the circumstances in which it originated, and the possible consequences of his present career, the thrill of natural anxiety which passed along his mind was immediately banished by a glow of generous and high-spirited confidence. "I shall fall young," he said, "if fall I must, my motives misconstrued, and my actions condemned, by those whose approbation is dearest to me..." (pp. 362/3)

It is common for a Scott hero to experience what seems to be a rapid movement from youth to manhood, from "romance" to "reality", though in the case of *Waverley*, the actual process involves a long series of events which build to the moment of new knowledge. In this way the disequilibrium of development is replaced by the balance of a new stability. The change is less from romance to realism, than from the kaleidoscope of early learning, to the steadier vision of self-knowledge. In this sense, Henry Morton is a more disturbing hero than his English predecessor, for the growth from youth to maturity is not only disquietingly rapid, but is only the prelude to a further process of learning to live with the imbalances of his society. Morton's growing up is not to be rewarded with stability, position and the right marriage until he has endured the social and personal punishment of ten years in exile. The painful results of social involvement, and the attempt to meet these dilemmas with positive action, are seen to reveal a darker Scott than his first novel might lead us to expect. This is perhaps the cost of "purity of motive" in "unnatural" conflicts. "Heaven, whose name is so often profaned during this unnatural war, will bear witness to the purity of the motives by which I have been guided." (p. 363)

One of the most important characteristics of Old Mortality is its development of the particular brand of stoicism associated with the hero. This is distinct from an adherence to the romantic ideals of the heart found in Waverley and in Quentin Durward. In pursuit of the kind of truth to self seen in both those young men, each has to achieve the capacity for an independent moral judgement. This, finally, is based upon humane values which attempt to retain a knightly or crusading spirit with enough shrewdness and intelligence to make the hero a "strong swimmer" in his social environment. The problem for Henry Morton,

however, is rather different. Very little personal choice is available to him, and since his grounding in his environment is stronger than that of Waverley or Quentin Durward, he is unable to achieve enough distance from its repressions to act as a liberating moral force. It is significant that Scott takes Waverley away from his own society for his journey of education, and Quentin Durward is able to become a re-generating force in France partly because circumstances have cut him off, but also released him, from his own social pressures. Neither hero must deal with the heavily internalised social mores which afflict Henry Morton. At the same time, though his frustrations are attributable to external circumstances, much is also due to his internal psychological dependence. This makes it even less likely that he will break with his inherited setting. He is, and remains, a part of the social and religious conflicts which surround him. Therefore, such personal growth as is possible and necessary for survival, must operate at a deeper level than has been seen in Waverley or Quentin Durward. In this, Morton is thrown back upon the resources of his own heart and mind more completely than either of those two. Isolation is such an overpowering feature of his experience that the achievement simply of moral security as part of the heroic endeavour, as found in much of Scott's work, is insufficient to meet the demand of this hero's circumstances. The losses, and the battles to be fought, are more dangerously crucial than other discussions of idealism by Scott. Old Mortality deals with a kind of courage and personal integrity which is more subtle than that found, for example, in The Fair Maid of Perth, where this theme is explored extensively, but in a more public and activist manner. Henry Morton must discover the courage needed to deal with inaction and denial. He must bear his lack of choice rather than refine a capacity for making choices.

One of the difficulties for the reader, however, is to assess the

stature of the stoicism apparently offered by Scott as a form of 'solution' to Henry Morton's dilemmas. On the one hand, this may be seen as a brave resource, and a buffer against absolute despair. On the other, it might lay Henry Morton open to the charge of personal passivity which Alexander Welsh associates with the Scott hero. Yet in fact, Welsh finds that Morton "...comes into his own as the passive and loyal hero of the new era."¹ However, as has been suggested, the 'new era' arrives by the operation of time and history, and that largely in the hero's exiled absence. Therefore, the placing and importance of his striving and suffering in relation to events, is difficult. Yet the notion that heroism in any form makes a significant difference to life, which is both personal and public, even universal, dies hard. However, as Welsh implies, the heroism of Old Mortality, though personally important in the reader's response to the hero, cannot alter his situation or his distress within it. It appears therefore that Morton's efforts at personal salvation are not the agents of rescue which parallel efforts have been in other works. Waverley and Quentin Durward save themselves and influence those around them. Morton does neither. "The answer is that only history can save him."² Therefore, the value of Morton's personal qualities in terms of real life seem doubtful if one accepts that there are less tortuous ways to survive until the times make a favourable change, as demonstrated by Cuddie Headrigg and Jenny Dennison. Their mixture of loyalty and pragmatism, with their final sense of security, would seem to make those attitudes more "successful" than those of the hero. Yet the true basis of Morton's suffering, is that he seeks not simply survival, but survival within an ethical context

1. Alexander Welsh, The Hero of the Waverley Novels, p. 235.

2. Ibid., p. 234.

which, for him, constitutes a sense of salvation. This is distinct from the religious doctrines surrounding him. If Waverley and Quentin Durward propose a romantic ethic of the heart as the basis of their lives, the context of religious conflict found in Old Mortality deepens such ethical and moral concerns, so that Morton must be an agent of spiritual and not only moral rescue. Where Waverley and Quentin Durward make their central quest an idealism of the heart, Morton has the more complex task of keeping alive an undistorted concern for the human soul. This is particularly necessary in his environment given the perversion of the spiritual seen in the religious fanatics. If this is so, then the reader may judge Morton's success or failure not on grounds of his moral or military choices, or even upon his obvious fidelity of the heart, but more deeply upon the degree to which he achieves spiritual freedom and salvation from the oppressions of his time. Thus the heroic that Scott explores here is more complex than the truth to self, or humane individualism. Equally, it goes beyond the fidelity to human principle and the heart, which characterises Edith Bellenden's distrust of all violence. In this, we see that Morton is more developed in his philosophical nature, and therefore perhaps less obviously effective than other heroes. Certainly he may not allow himself so fixed a personal ethic even as Edith, though this, by contrast with the bigotry surrounding them both, is a very generous kind of fixity.

In the conversation between the disguised Morton and Edith, the reader is made aware of the difference between the lovers. One sees that confrontation with oppression and evil itself necessarily risks the taint of the evil it challenges, while the hero remains conscious of the need for confrontation even though this be attempted as peacefully as circumstances allow, and with only the end of peace in view. The common subject of debate, however, is how best to defeat the negative

aspects of human nature. For Edith, direct challenge is always a clear wrong. For Morton, to refuse the challenge is to fail deeply, though the nature of that challenge must always be dictated by the desire for the preservation and not the destruction of life. Morton, therefore, walks a tightrope between the roles of the pacifist and the partisan. It is in this delicate and ill-defined area of involvement within the forces of human nature and society, that complex responses must be found.

Such an inability to define his personal position satisfactorily for himself or for others, constitutes one of the most severe burdens he must bear. Not the least of these is found in the condemnation of his conduct, as a fall from grace, from the woman he loves. It is characteristic of Henry Morton that his concern does not lie within the clear issue of the rights and wrongs of civil strife. His resistance is aimed at an oppression illustrated by civil war, but more fundamental than civil or religious oppression. He fights against the basic human tendency to deny the needs of the soul. The discussion of the civil disorder uncovers for the reader the philosophical rift between the lovers.

"The guilt of civil war," rejoined the horseman, "the miseries which it brings in its train, lie at the door of those who provoked it by illegal oppression, rather than of such as are driven to arms in order to assert their natural rights as freemen."

"That is assuming the question," replied Edith, "which ought to be proved. Each party contends that they are right in point of principle, and therefore the guilt must lie with them who first drew the sword, - as, in an affray, law holds those to be criminals who are the first to have recourse to violence."

"Alas!" said the horseman, "were our vindication to rest there, how easy would it be to show that we have suffered with a patience which almost seemed beyond the power of humanity, ere we were driven by oppression into open resistance! - But I perceive," he continued, sighing deeply, "that it is vain to plead before Miss Bellenden a cause which she has already prejudged,..." (pp. 388/9)

An important characteristic of Morton's heroism, is that the effort of judgement, even of a true judgement, is not his most important task. Nor, despite his role of peacemaker, is he, like Waverley, an agent of reconciliation. In so far as it is possible to define his role at all he is perhaps the representative of constructive confrontation with the forces of anti-life. He lives with the paradox of being the humane antagonist of destruction.

The significance of Morton's attitudes is seen especially clearly when the depth of cruelty to be found on both sides of the religious quarrel, is revealed. Incidents such as the murder of Archbishop Sharpe, and the trial conducted by the Cameronians make the point that this is a work less concerned with choosing doctrines, moral positions or even an ethical system, but with demonstrating the narrowness and dangers of rigid commitment. One might think that the answer to such a dilemma may be found in making choices, but acting upon them moderately. This has seemed to critics to be a reasonable reading of much of Scott's work, and is the basis for a view of him as humanitarian, rather than dogmatist. However, Henry Morton's difficulties suggest that a moderate course of ethical behaviour is inimical to a society which demands total allegiance to accepted values or belief systems. The degree of scorn suffered by the hero, from friends and enemies alike, in his attempt to plot a reasonable and humane course through the conflict, suggests that such thoughtful attitudes influence neither persons nor events, and do little but lead to outright rejection of their proponents.

Morton is remarkable for the degree of rejection he must suffer in his heroic role. Not only is he found wanting in fervour by Burley, he is also seen as deficient in loyalty and fidelity to the Bellendens, while Claverhouse finds in him a refusal to discern what is seen as

necessary sacrifice in the course of duty. More wounding still, is his designation of "fallen character" as a rebel, by Edith. Although Morton shares with Edith the desire to spare and not to shed blood, unlike her, he must actively engage those who hold different views. He challenges each side in what may be interpreted as a kind of verbal duel, or single-handed combat, as is seen in his defence of the sanctity of life in conversation with Claverhouse while he is the general's prisoner. The positive and negative aspects of the Commander's view of life are more sharply defined by Morton's own position. Though the hero's role appears to have the passivity of custody, he is nevertheless acting as defender of his faith in the value of life. It is this which represents the most profoundly religious attitude of the work, except for the charitable acceptance of suffering seen later in Bessie Maclure. In the following dialogue, the reader is aware of the great difficulty of true understanding between the man of conviction or fixed principle, and the more open humanitarianism, even where these two enjoy a degree of mutual respect.

Claverhouse seemed also to take pleasure in riding beside him, in conversing with him, and in confounding his ideas when he attempted to appreciate his real character. The gentleness and urbanity of that officer's general manners, the high and chivalrous sentiments of military devotion which he occasionally expressed, his deep and accurate insight into the human bosom, demanded at once the approbation and the wonder of those who conversed with him; while, on the other hand, his cold indifference to military violence and cruelty seemed altogether inconsistent with the social, and even admirable qualities which he displayed. Morton could not help, in his heart, contrasting him with Balfour of Burley; and so deeply did the idea impress him that he dropped a hint of it as they rode together at some distance from the troop. "You are right," said Claverhouse, with a smile, "you are very right, - we are both fanatics; but there is some distinction between the fanaticism of honour and that of dark and sullen superstition."

"Yet you both shed blood without mercy or remorse," said Morton, who could not suppress his feelings.

"Surely," said Claverhouse, with the same composure;
 "but of what kind? There is a difference, I trust,
 between the blood of learned and reverend prelates
 and scholars, of gallant soldiers and noble gentlemen,
 and the red puddle that stagnates in the veins of
 psalm-singing mechanics, crack-brained demagogues,
 and sullen boors, - some distinction, in short,
 between spilling a flask of generous wine, and
 dashing down a can full of base muddy ale?"

"Your distinction is too nice for my comprehension,"
 replied Morton. "God gives every spark of life, -
 that of the peasant as well as of the prince; - and
 those who destroy his work recklessly or causelessly,
 must answer in either case." (pp. 455/6)

Claverhouse is a particularly interesting study for the insight he offers into the Romantic or knightly ethic in Scott's work. His admiration for Froissart's "true chivalrous feeling" above "even poetry", suggests the combination of the martial and the courtly which is seen in Quentin Durward. Yet in Claverhouse, this soldierly romanticism is seen in its violence, and in the end, in its elevation of the individual human honour to a code of destruction. What makes Morton something of an heretic in relation to this ethic, and to all the religious codes of the times, is his refusal to compromise with his adherence to the intrinsic value of life no matter what its creed or condition. Even by twentieth-century standards, it has been considered difficult to preach the preservation of life at any price. For this to be Morton's statement within a puritan society, which views this life as purely transitory and expendable compared with the hereafter, is a mark not only of his heroic stature in terms of isolation and courage, but also of his originality even within the context of Scott's work. Morton models himself on no one and creates his moral system out of his own responses to what he sees and experiences. Like many principled men, Claverhouse has the equivalent of a Bible in his French historian, and he adheres closely to its text.

"Did you ever read Froissart?"
 "No," was Morton's answer.

"I have half a mind," said Claverhouse, "to contrive you should have six months' imprisonment, in order to procure that pleasure. His chapters inspire me with more enthusiasm than even poetry itself. And the noble canon, with what true chivalrous feeling he confines his beautiful expressions of sorrow to the death of the gallant and high-bred knight, of whom it was a pity to see the fall, such was his loyalty to his king, pure faith to his religion, hardihood towards his enemy, and fidelity to his lady-love! Ah Benedicite! how he will mourn over the fall of such a pearl of knighthood, be it on the side he happens to favour, or on the other. But, truly, for sweeping from the face of the earth some few hundreds of villain churls, who are born but to plough it, the high-born and inquisitive historian has marvellous little sympathy, - as little, or less, perhaps, than John Grahame of Claverhouse." (pp. 457/458)

This version of the Romantic ideal is seen here in its cruelty. Froissart's concern for the gallant knight and his courtly prowess is a love of what is felt as skill and excellence, rather than devotion to human life as valuable in itself. This is an example of idealism separating itself from the ordinary human experience. The young knight personifies the virtues of gallantry, breeding, loyalty, faith, hardihood and fidelity. It is an awe-inspiring list of accomplishments, thought of in all ages as desirable ideals. Yet they centre upon the ideal as an abstract achievement in its own right, and are, only secondarily, directed to a human or a humane end. Equally, the object of the knightly quest is a means of learning and demonstrating particular qualities. Thus, king, religion, enemy and lady, are the tools of the knight's self-perfection, rather than his primary concern. It is this kind of separation between the ideal and its human basis, which makes it possible for Froissart and Claverhouse to dismiss the "few hundreds of villain churls" with "marvellous little sympathy". In this we see the dangers and inhumanity of ancient chivalry.

For these reasons, the Scott hero, however knightly he may appear to be in the persons of Waverley and Quentin Durward especially, must

add to his character a solid understanding of, and concern for, all human life. This updating of Romantic chivalry is thus a re-working of the repertoire of ancient ideals in order to blend them with a more fundamental sense of awareness between the individual and his fellows. Yet in a paradox which is typical of Scott, this endeavour is only possible as an individual quest, and creates a more sharply defined personality as its outcome. The typical discomforts of Scott's heroes are found especially in their relationship to society, just because social idealism tends to be defined along lines parallel to those of Froissart and Claverhouse, as abstract absolutes, rather than as the difficult, less defined moral and personal act of refinement which is the concern of the author of the Waverley novels.

Therefore, Henry Morton must confront, challenge and modify in his own life the absolute attitudes that surround him. The dangers of such an enterprise are evident in the violent cruelty characteristic of the major characters of Old Mortality. Scott rarely underestimates the strength of the hero's opposition, and this is clear in the whole spectrum of fanaticism presented. In addition to the cold certainties of Claverhouse, there are the manic convictions of the Cameronians and the insane rebellion of Burley. It is in the confrontation with Burley that the issue is brought to a head as Morton grapples with the work's "evil genius", cut off from all help in the outside world. This is to be symbolic of his personal condition for most of the narrative. However, before this, Scott imposes on Morton ten years of exile, a device which sets the personal dilemma of the narrative within the larger context of history.

In the background of the change of historical dynasty, Scott offers a dramatic alteration of pace, from the pressures and movements of Morton's engagement with public life, to the stasis of his exile.

Both the "convulsions" of history and of personal life are felt to subside with the passage of time.

Scotland had just begun to repose from the convulsions occasioned by a change of dynasty, and, through the prudent tolerance of King William, had narrowly escaped the horrors of a protracted civil war. Agriculture began to revive, and men, whose minds had been disturbed by the violent political concussions and the general change of government in Church and State, had begun to recover their ordinary temper, and to give the usual attention to their private affairs, in lieu of discussing those of the public. (p. 482)

The emphasis here is upon a return to the natural at its normal rhythm. Agriculture and private life replace the pursuit of wars and conflict, and these effects are achieved not by a resolution of disputes, but by the distant "tolerance" of King William. This seems to suggest the ineffectiveness of the combatants and the efforts of Morton's peace-making, and to remove the outcome of events altogether from the domain of the private man or his immediate social context. Much of Scott's work has seemed to imply that the development of the individual is significant not only for his own life, but for his effect on public affairs. Waverley, even in his final castle-building, is very much more aware of social responsibilities than the formerly bookish youth. Although he no longer lives as a partisan, there is little doubt that he must, as hero, be effective in his social role. In the case of Henry Morton, his social role is withdrawn by the fact of his exile, so that he may not be a part of the new establishment of private life and the productive social life of agriculture. Characteristically, Claverhouse as Viscount Dundee is still to be found at the scene of conflict with the Highlanders whose "usual state",

...was so unruly that their being more or less disturbed was not supposed greatly to affect the general tranquility of the country, so long as their disorders were confined within their own frontiers... (p. 483)

Thus, disorder still exists, but in a more confined condition, though the reader is aware of this as a contained, rather than a vanquished threat. Like the two rivers of the early chapters of Waverley, the broad stream of life in the cycle of agricultural growth may have re-asserted itself, but the furious stream of insurrection and discontent remains one of its tributaries.

Nevertheless, the tone of Henry Morton's return to the scene of his former battlefield is one of firmness and maturity which suggests that he now has the status of a survivor, a "strong swimmer", as Scott is later to style the triumphant vigour of Quentin Durward. It is interesting to note that Morton's re-entry into his homeland as an exiled outsider, is very similar in tone to our first view of Quentin Durward's arrival in France after seclusion in a Monastery. Both men have endured a period of exiled peace after the fiercest possible encounter with destructive forces at home. Both return more knowledgeable and stronger, though the youthful energy of Durward, with his mature trials still before him, contrasts with the more staid mental attitude of Morton whose temperament never included the buoyancy of the later hero. This is perhaps because, despite the overt violence of Durward's early life, he is always able to counter it with the spirit of the soldier knight. On the other hand, the violence done to Morton by his heritage and his environment is compounded by his more introspective and reflective temperament. It is significant that whereas Durward is typically active in combat, Morton's resistance to destruction is that of the peacemaker and not the warrior. This is not to suggest that he is essentially more passive, but that the nature of the battle waged in Old Mortality has a more spiritual or metaphysical aspect than Quentin Durward's role in France. However, Morton's return has the tone of a crisis lived through and sustained, if not resolved.

It was on a delightful summer evening that a stranger, well mounted, and having the appearance of a military man of rank, rode down a winding descent which terminated in view of the romantic ruins of Bothwell Castle and the river Clyde, which winds so beautifully between rocks and woods...Bothwell Bridge was at a little distance, and also in sight. The opposite field, once the scene of slaughter and conflict, now lay as placid and quiet as the surface of a summer lake. The trees and bushes which grew around in romantic variety of shade, were hardly seen to stir under the influence of the evening breeze. The very murmur of the river seemed to soften itself into unison with the stillness of the scene around.

The path through which the traveller descended was occasionally shaded by detached trees of great size, and elsewhere by the hedges and boughs of flourishing orchards now laden with summer fruits. (pp. 485/6)

This very typical use of landscape suggests the change in the tone of the narrative from conflict to the acceptance implied by the pastoral setting. In the final chapters of the work, Morton's task is to consolidate his survival, and the climax of this process is seen in the trial of strength with Burley. Before this, however, comes the reiteration of his losses in a crescendo of distress after the sight of Edith apparently about to confirm her marriage to Evandale. The moment seems to echo Morton's previous experience of near death, and Edith's supposition that he has returned from the grave to prevent her marriage, confirms the work's final cycle of death in the loss of love, descent into a spiritual hell with Burley, and the ultimate leap back into life.

"I saw him!" she repeated - "I saw Henry Morton stand at that window, and look into the apartment at the moment I was on the point of abjuring him for ever. His face was darker, thinner, paler than it was wont to be; his dress was a horseman's cloak, and hat looped down over his face; his expression was like that he wore on that dreadful morning when he was examined by Claverhouse at Tillietudlem...My Lord, it is ended between you and me; be the consequences what they will, she cannot marry whose union disturbs the repose of the dead." (p. 516)

At the moment when Morton's loss seems to him to be absolutely confirmed, Edith is in effect being restored to him, though it is in keeping with the uncertainties of his previous life that such knowledge is denied him.

Yet it is in suffering this condition of distress that Morton is confirmed as the most human character of the work as well as its hero. He is the psychological parallel of Quentin Durward, in combat against the dark aspects of human life. In this we see the humanity of his heroism, as distinct from the aristocratic Romantic ethic of the Froissart Chronicle. It is in the depth of this exploration of the human elements in a "new" romantic ethic, and its implied rejection of the life denying characteristics of old ideals, that Old Mortality is particularly significant in a discussion of the Romanticism of Scott's work.

It is not by corporal wants and infirmities only that men of the most distinguished talents are levelled, during their lifetime, with the common mass of mankind. There are periods of mental agitation when the firmest of mortals must be ranked with the weakest of his brethren, and when, in paying the general tax of humanity, his distresses are even aggravated by feeling that he transgresses, in the indulgence of his grief, the rules of religion and philosophy by which he endeavours in general to regulate his passions and his actions. It was during such a paroxysm that the unfortunate Morton left Fairy Knowe. (p. 521)

It is in the perseverance of Morton's efforts in "paying the general tax of humanity", that he finally comes to an acceptance of the loss of Edith and his own social displacement. Having demanded these ultimate tests, Scott is then free to offer the reader the muted comfort of the conventional "happy ending" which returns the work to its novelistic status once the epic spiritual drama has been played out. The strain that is imposed by the effort to survive such tests with continued generosity of spirit, is clear. This is apparent in the extreme distress which the relationship between Edith and Evandale is able to cause after an absence of ten years. Morton's sense of confinement arises from an acutely developed moral sensibility to personal obligation and the feelings of others. The cost is correspondingly high.

With what feelings he must have listened to the dialogue between Lord Evandale and Edith, the greater part of which he involuntarily overheard, the reader must conceive...An hundred times he was tempted to burst upon their interview, or to exclaim aloud, "Edith, I yet live!" and as often the recollection of her plighted troth, and of the debt of gratitude which he owed to Lord Evandale (to whose influence he justly ascribed his escape from torture and from death), withheld him from a rashness which might indeed have involved all in further distress, but gave little prospect of forwarding his own happiness. He repressed forcibly these selfish emotions, though with an agony which thrilled his every nerve. (pp. 522/3)

This passage emphasises the particular nature of Morton's stoicism, which combines a belief in the honour and necessity of endurance, with a delicacy of the heart which in Scott's work is associated with the best impulses of the romantic nature. However, the unsteady plunge into the Clyde which follows this mood of resolution, suggests the degree of strain and the loss of balance which threatens such a demanding ethic. It is, however, in the perils of such an attempt that a new balance is found. Yet the difficulty of this is seen in the hero's danger mid-stream, a device which Scott is later to repeat with Quentin Durward.

In the first and second attempt to get on shore, the horse was frustrated by the nature of the ground, and nearly fell backwards on his rider. The instinct of self-preservation seldom fails, even in the most desperate circumstances, to recall the human mind to some degree of equipoise, unless when altogether distracted by terror, and Morton was obliged to the danger in which he was placed for complete recovery of his self-possession. A third attempt, at a spot more carefully and judiciously selected, succeeded better than the former, and placed the horse and his rider in safety upon the farther and left-hand bank of the Clyde. (p. 525)

In this context, "carefully" and "judiciously" suggest the kind of discipline imposed upon impulse which is necessary for Morton's safe survival. Within this miniature re-enactment of his existence to date, there is still the obstacle of what Carlyle was later to call the "nightmare unbelief". This may or may not involve the loss of

doctrinal faith, but more deeply, it is a loss of feeling of personal worth, of value and direction in the world and within the private consciousness. It is self-doubt at its most damaging, which creates the longing for death. Momentarily, Morton reverts to the earlier suicidal impulse. The defeat of this temptation is necessary to the final, secure hold on life.

"But whither", said Morton, in the bitterness of his heart, "am I now to direct my course? or rather, what does it signify to which point of the compass a wretch so forlorn betakes himself? I would to God, could the wish be without a sin, that these dark waters had flowed over me, and drowned my recollection of that which was, and that which is!" The sense of impatience, which the disturbed state of his feelings had occasioned, scarcely had vented itself in these violent expressions, ere he was struck with shame at having given way to such a paroxysm. He remembered how signally the life which he now held so lightly in the bitterness of his disappointment had been preserved through the almost incessant perils which had beset him since he entered upon his public career. "I am a fool!" he said, "and worse than a fool, to set lightly by that existence which Heaven has so often preserved in the most marvellous manner. Something there yet remains for me in this world, were it only to bear my sorrows like a man, and to aid those who need my assistance. (pp. 525/6)

This new strength and affirmation of life is necessary before Morton is fitted to become an effective combatant with Burley. In addition, the renewed sense of service to humanity is quieter, but more solidly based than the initial rush into a public career. Though Morton's outward circumstances are very little improved, his attitude to the facts of his existence has strengthened, and in Old Mortality, Scott allows the reader very little more than this as grounds for optimism. It is only when Morton faces the full force of Burley's madness that the reader is aware just how much personal strength is to be needed against the evils resident in the received moral doctrines of his culture. Throughout the work, it has been the fanatics and zealots of religion who have

claimed access to moral rectitude, and presumed to instruct the individual in his adjustment to the distresses of his life. In the cruelties of the Cameronians and the "possession" of Burley's spirit, it becomes clear that Morton is the only real alternative. This is a disturbingly severe conclusion given the extremes to which the hero has been reduced. However, the positive results of his development are seen in the firmness of his confrontation with Burley.

The underground chasm reflects the forces of Hell which have always threatened the fanatic, and have now come to dominate him. It is in this episode that the most serious battle of Old Mortality takes place, as Morton moves away from the uplifting goodness of Bessie Maclure into the satanic world in which Burley now lives. Scott therefore delays this most difficult journey until the last few pages of the work, so that his hero has achieved the necessary spiritual independence which changes the early, dependent youth, into the mature man. Significantly, and unusually in Scott's work, this is achieved without the aid and support of love, so that the reader feels the gain to be all the greater. Waverley is assisted in his maturing first by his love for Flora, and then, more fittingly, by Rose Bradwardine. Quentin Durward is inspired to nobility and courage as protector and lover of Isabelle de la Croye, while the love match of Alice Lee and Markham Everard forms a new bed-rock of hope in Woodstock. Morton, however, is denied the promise of love until the very last moment, and then it is achieved almost by the gift of Evandale, who, in his death relieves Morton of the need for further sacrifice. Having completed his personal progress, Morton may relinquish the role of go-between at the cost of his happiness.

Before this, however, Scott subjects his hero to the severest test of nerve and conviction, and these virtues are seen to be markedly different in quality from the reckless courage of other major characters.

The psychological background of danger is suggested first by the landscape, as Morton is led to Burley's cavern.

A hoarse and sullen roar had in part prepared him for the scene which presented itself, yet it was not to be viewed without surprise and even terror ...he found himself placed on a ledge of flat rock projecting over one side of a chasm not less than a hundred feet deep, where the dark mountain-stream made a decided and rapid shoot over the precipice, and was swallowed up by a deep, black, yawning gulf. The eye in vain strove to see the bottom of the fall; it could catch but one sheet of foaming uproar and sheer descent, until the view was obstructed by the projecting crags which enclosed the bottom of the waterfall, and hid from sight the dark pool which received its tortured waters; far beneath, at the distance of perhaps a quarter of a mile, the eye caught the winding of the stream as it emerged into a more open course. But, for that distance, they were lost to sight as much as if a cavern had been arched over them; and indeed, the steep and projecting ledges of rock through which they wound their way in darkness were very nearly closing and over-roofing their course. (pp. 565/6)

This is the last and most desperate conditions of Morton's confinement, so typical of his earlier life. In the distance lies his "more open course", foreshadowing the end of the work, but his immediate re-enclosure not only in the darkness of nature, but within the darkness of spirit personified by Burley, is more deeply threatening than his former dangers. This is emphasised by the depth of the descent, which "the eye strove in vain to see", and the repetition of words suggestive of a fatal fall in "precipice", "gulf" and "chasm". Not only does this demonstrate the hero's mortal danger, but it prepares the reader for the condition of the tenant of this cavern of hell.

Morton listened more attentively; and out of the very abyss into which the brook fell, and amidst the tumultuary sounds of the cataract, thought he could distinguish shouts, screams, and even articulate words, as if the tortured demon of the stream had been mingling his complaints with the roar of his broken waters. (p. 566)

However, before bringing these antagonists of the soul together, Scott's use of landscape becomes more complex as he conveys Morton's sense of

suspension between life and death, and contrasts the freedom of the open air and the heavens, with the prison of hell, while the bridge between these two is a tenuous near accident of nature. At this point, Morton is well beyond the problems of the redefined romanticism of Waverley or Quentin Durward, or faith in the human heart as a means of combating evil, as found in Kenilworth and Woodstock. Morton imperils not simply his life, but his soul, as he prepares to move away from "romance" and the outside world, into the "preternatural" cave where he must achieve victory over evil alone, and cut off even from the light of the sun. His only guide is his innocence, symbolised by the little girl, a "mountain maid" who "tript lightly before him".

They were nearly opposite to the waterfall, and in point of level situated at about one-quarter's depth from the point of the cliff over which it thundered, and three-fourth's of the height above the dark, deep, and restless pool which received its fall. Both these tremendous points - the first shoot, namely, of the yet unbroken stream, and the deep and sombre abyss into which it was emptied - were full before him, as well as the whole continuous stream of billowy froth, which, dashing from the one, was eddying and boiling in the other. They were so near this grand phenomenon that they were concerned with its spray, and well-nigh deafened by the incessant roar. But crossing in the very front of the fall, and at scarce three yards distance from the cataract, an old oak-tree, flung across the chasm in a manner that seemed accidental, formed a bridge of fearfully narrow dimensions and uncertain footing...From behind the same projection glimmered a strong red light, which, glancing in the waves of the falling water, and tinging them partially with crimson, had a strange preternatural and sinister effect when contrasted with the beams of the rising sun, which glanced on the first broken waves of the fall, though even its meridian splendour could not gain the third of its full depth. (p. 567)

Here, Scott is less concerned with polished natural description, than in invoking the psychological condition of Morton's journey. It forms the final movement of his spiritual development. To this end, the narrative recalls the setting of Milton's Hell, with Burley as the fallen angel of

Pandemonium. Here the religious conflicts shown formerly recede beside the mental and spiritual battle about to begin.

Burley, only altered from what he had been formerly by the addition of a grisely beard, stood in the midst of the cave, with his clasped Bible in one hand, and his drawn sword in the other. His figure, dimly ruddied by the light of the red charcoal, seemed that of a fiend in the livid atmosphere of Pandemonium, and his gestures and words, as far as they could be heard, seemed equally violent and irregular. All alone, and in a place of almost unapproachable seclusion, his demeanour was that of a man who strives for life and death with a mortal enemy. (p. 569)

That Burley uses the deeds of Edith's estate to bargain for the soul of Morton, reveals his loss of human values. He is able to use love as coinage. In refusing this, Morton is the moral victor before the two men grapple together. In his willingness to fight, but his refusal to relinquish fidelity to a former tie of obligation to Burley, he achieves a new moral autonomy. A supreme moment of choice is seen in the leap across the chasm back into the "natural" world. In this rejection of the hellish in his former companion, Morton achieves for the first time, a strongly active moral nature. This is the independence of spirit for which he has longed from our first acquaintance with him. From absolute loss he achieves a solid strength. Not only has his love for Edith been fully acknowledged, and its loss equally completely accepted, but Morton has clearly found the required moral foothold that his life formerly lacked. Also the new vigour of the leaping hero suggests that something important has been added to the acquiescent stoicism. He exits from Hell with all the dash and conviction of a knight of romance. Love and idealism are, in this sense, triumphant. Morton displays an energised nobility and valour later comparable with the less complex Quentin Durward. This augurs well for the formerly despairing young man.

...the enthusiast, rendered fiercer by the contest, glared on Morton with an eye expressive of frantic revenge.

"Thou hast my secret," he exclaimed; "thou must be mine, or die!"

"I condemn your threats," said Morton; "I pity you, and leave you."

But as he turned to retire, Burley stepped before him, pushed the oak-trunk from its resting place, and as it fell thundering and crashing into the abyss beneath, drew his sword, and cried out, with a voice that rivalled the roar of the cataract and the thunder of the falling oak, "Now thou art at bay! Fight, - yield, or die!" and standing in the mouth of the cavern, he flourished his naked sword.

"I will not fight with the man that preserved my father's life," said Morton. "I have not yet learned to say the words, 'I yield;' and my life I will rescue as best I can."

So speaking, and ere Balfour was aware of his purpose, and exerting that youthful agility of which he possessed an uncommon share, leaped clear across the fearful chasm which divided the mouth of the cave from the projecting rock on the opposite side, and stood there safe and free from his incensed enemy. (pp. 576/7)

This is the strongest assertion of life that we have seen from Henry Morton. It signals his fitness to accept life with Edith from the hands of Evandale, who, with Bessie Maclure has taken over the role of preserver of life. Thus, Scott is able to return the hero from an epic of the soul, to the world of the novel, where a "glimpse of sunshine" is desirable for the sake of Miss Buskbody. Yet, at the epic level, Morton has made the leap out of darkness into the light. Nevertheless, Scott avoids any specific moral conclusion. Neatly skirting the genre of either epic or Romance, he invokes the neutral power of Fate, which gives victory neither to good nor to evil, but arbitrarily, to life. Thus the achievement of love remains outside the moral argument, as Edith is pledged to her rightful lover.

Unconscious even of the presence of Morton, she hung over the dying man; nor was she aware that Fate, who was removing one faithful lover, had restored another as if from the grave, until Lord Evandale, taking their hands in his, pressed them both affectionately, united them together, raised his face as if to pray for a blessing on them, and sunk back and expired in the next moment. (p. 590)

After a climax of moral strength and unselfish courage, Morton has chosen life, which is morally neutral, and this seems to be Scott's response to the Puritan demand for a fanatical morality as presented in Old Mortality.

Conclusion

If Scott has been neglected by the modern reader, part of the explanation for this lies in his placing as an historical novelist who sees his task as that of reconciliation. He has been rightly credited with the attempt to link the old and new orders at periods of social crisis. Waverley's task is to become the hero of historical as well as personal reconciliation. Jacobitism and the Union with England must attempt a relationship. Yet, in the final analysis, Waverley is deflected from this heroic role and pointed toward a more profound effort. His human stature lies in a firm defence of the human heart, which is the final arbiter of his conduct. In this, he is the prototype of Scott's later explorations of the ethical quest. It is in this crusade of the heart that we may find Scott the Romantic. Such an impulse helps to explain his choice of material in what have been called the "lesser" works of heroic adventure exemplified by Ivanhoe and Quentin Durward particularly, in which I have found one of the best examples of knight errantry interpreted and acted out as a new understanding of an ancient tradition in the chivalric journey. Such journeys involve the quest for love and honour within the disciplines of courage and duty. The young Scot succeeds not because he is

strong or well matched against his adversaries, but because his heart is simple and his perceptions correspondingly clear. His shrewdness in confronting the evils of his time arises from a clarity of vision traditionally permitted only to the pure in heart, and it is in this that Quentin Durward fulfils the ancient spiritual ideal of knighthood, and adds to it the immediate commitment of a man involved in the fate of his own society. Though a hero, he is not a man apart, but one transcending time and the fixity of ideals which have become corrupted in their imprisonment within a system. The defeat of such perversions is achieved only in the experience of their real danger to human life. Therefore, the threat or actuality of imprisonment is a central motif in Quentin Durward, as it is in much of Scott's writing.

A parallel problem is explored in Kenilworth, where in the contrasting setting of Elizabethan England, Amy Robsart defends the ethic of the heart in her marriage and in her death. It is this fidelity which I have found to be central to Scott's work. This sets him within the tradition of Romanticism, but also suggests a re-definition. Amy Robsart is the victim of a society which has rejected love in favour of the pursuit of power. In her faithfulness to the point of death, we see the birth of a new crusade. This clear moral victory demonstrates the reversal of the central symbols of pasteboard and pageantry as substitutes for truth. The refusal of personal life in the service of statecraft is revealed as a perversion parallel to the tree of knowledge born of the human brain in Blake's poem "The Human Abstract"

And it bears the fruit of Deceit,
Ruddy and sweet to eat:
And the Raven his nest has made
In its thickest shade. 1

1. William Blake, Songs of Innocence and of Experience, 1789-1794 (Oxford University Press, London, 1970), p. 47.

The blackness and destruction symbolised by the Raven suggests the method of Gloriana's rule in the golden era of English development and apparent civilisation. She represents the crown of human achievement, and this is held to at the cost of the heart. Yet, in spite of her singlemindedness, the degree of deviation necessary is seen in her personal battle to reject Leicester and the whole notion of marriage. Autonomy has its price even for this Queen. England's true heroine is the weak and captive Amy Robsart flying to the arms of an unworthy husband. She is both the victim of his fear and duplicity, and his only moral centre. It is in Amy's understanding of womanly strength that the power of Elizabeth is most deeply challenged.

The difficulty of deciding upon the nature of the power governing society, is a common theme for Scott and this is further explored in Woodstock. Here the central opposition is between a harsh and exclusive allegiance to a system, whether Divine or Secular, or an awareness of the superiority of the demands of the heart, as represented by Alice Lee and Markham Everard. Though each has grown up within a tradition of state power and a creed of religious dogma, their human qualities are sufficient to allow a personal redemption from the grosser cruelties of either side. Such optimism as Woodstock offers is found in their union. However, my reading of this work suggests a darker interpretation than this new lineage seems to imply. In so far as Scott uses the new family as a tableau of idealised family life amid the rejoicings of the Stuart Restoration, there remains an imbalance in the resolution of the work. Reconciliation appears to have been achieved, and this is both familial and social. There is a restored order and a reinstated monarch. Yet the portrait of Charles, and the ease with which the allegiance of the army bends to the times, sobers the image of an England restored. There is a sense of fantasy or

fairytale in too easy an acceptance of the theme of a king returned in triumph to claim his rightful throne. The reader must persist in a concern that little of ethical value has been achieved in Charles' Restoration. Order is restored through weariness, rather than through a revolution in principles. Sir Henry Lee dies praising a return to Divine truth. Yet to interpret the Stuart house in such a light demonstrates the true aberration at the heart of the work. We are shown the fanatical delusions of the Protector's misuse ~~of~~ Biblical Law. Woodstock ends with an equally deluded, though apparently more benign failure in perception.

It is the extreme danger of such aberrations in current Religious doctrine that Scott explores most fully in Old Mortality. We are confronted with their harshest consequences for the individual soul. It is in the battle for the redemption of Henry Morton from the evils of his society, that Scott deals most seriously with the conflict between individual truth and the social organisation of ideals. In Old Mortality, we see the growth of a pattern to be found in much of Scott's work. In Morton's despair at what he feels as a wasted and impotent life, the reader is able to identify himself as "hero" of the experience of social and personal denial. In the crucial Victorian writings of Carlyle, and in the twentieth century, this has been extended to an understanding of the Universe as itself an expression of irrevocable loss. In this, Henry Morton belongs not to the particular dilemma of the seventeenth century, but to the whole tradition of human history. Such acceptance, or attempted resolution as is possible within this framework, is achieved only through the fullest possible demonstration and acting out of the purity of heart and vision exemplified by Morton's moral integrity, and found in varying degrees in other Scott heroes and heroines. It is in the flowering of

such a moral nature that the power and energy of the human spirit is revealed. The accompanying cost forms the bedrock of the dark elements of Scott's work. Yet this is a darkness illuminated by the optimistic impulses at work in the Romantic ethic. This consists in identifying the deepest moral understanding with the heart as the seat of natural feeling. It parallels Hume's contention that morality is derived not from reason, which gives rise to rules of conduct, but from feeling. He argues for the essential unreason of the moral sense. In this, the dreamlike uncertainties characteristic of Waverley as the "wavering" Scott hero, are seen in a wider perspective than the exigencies of historical events.

The merit and demerit of actions frequently contradict, and sometimes control our natural propensities. But reason has no such influence. Moral distinctions, therefore, are not the offspring of reason. Reason is wholly inactive, and can never be the source of so active a principle as conscience, or a sense of morals. 1

The implication here is of an innate moral directive which derives from the heart. This in turn gives rise to a clarity of vision and emotional response to human need, which must take precedence over other considerations of principle or religious doctrine. Such a vision of insecurity as the foundation of human experience must disrupt Scott's reputation for firm moral guidance. Nor may we find in him the certainty of a steady development for man's moral nature from immature romantic to mature realist. There is in his work no ethical parallel for human life in the implied movement from private dreamer to public activist. In the Waverley novels, Scott presents a dilemma much nearer in spirit to the twentieth century view of man as continually thrown back upon his own uncertain resources. It is an effort that must be repeated

1. David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature (Penguin, London, 1969), p. 510.

again and again in human history. Albert Camus offers a powerful expression of this theme in his essay The Myth of Sisyphus.

Nothing is told us about Sisyphus in the underworld. Myths are made for the imagination to breathe life into them. As for this myth, one sees merely the whole effort of a body straining to raise the huge stone, to roll it and push it up a slope a hundred times over; one sees the face screwed up, the cheek tight against the stone, the shoulder bracing the clay-covered mass, the foot wedging it, the fresh start with arms outstretched, the wholly human security of two earth-clotted hands. At the very end of his long effort measured by skyless space and time without depth, the purpose is achieved. Then Sisyphus watches the stone rush down in a few moments toward that lower world whence he will have to push it up again toward the summit. He goes back down to the plain. 1

The emphasis here is upon continual effort, with only the certainty that it must be repeated endlessly. We have simply the fact of "earth-clotted hands". Morality, ideals and ethical systems must be refined by "clay-covered" experience. There is no recourse to higher responsibility. Waverley is compelled to examine and live through each wave of contradictory events. Nor is this effort grounded in any one period, era, or social conflict. The variety of Scott's historical contexts emphasises this. The toughness of perception underlying such a view of human history has a parallel in our own time in the concept of "living without appeal". The final leap achieved by Henry Morton from Burley's cave of Hell into a life still lacking any promise of fulfilment, has an echo in much of Scott's work. Nor does this act of faith itself offer fulfilment. It takes place in the context of complete loss. Yet in the process, it creates a heroism expressed as a refusal to choose either personal or moral death. It is the antidote to Morton's temptation to suicide as the solvent of universal

1. Albert Camus, The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays (Random House, N.Y., 1961), p. 89.

denial. In this he transcends the heroism of the stoic. Camus expresses the undertaking that the twentieth century has called "absurd".

...it is a matter of persisting. At a certain point on his path the absurd man is tempted. History is not lacking in either religions or prophets, even without gods. He is asked to leap. All he can reply is that he doesn't fully understand, that it is not obvious. Indeed, he does not want to do anything but what he fully understands. He is assured that this is the sin of pride, but he does not understand the notion of sin; that perhaps hell is in store, but he has not enough imagination to visualise that strange future; that he is losing immortal life, but that seems to him an idle consideration. An attempt is made to get him to admit his guilt. He feels innocent. To tell the truth, that is all he feels - his irreparable innocence. This is what allows him everything. Hence, what he demands of himself is to live solely with what he knows, to accommodate himself to what is, and to bring in nothing that is not certain. He is told that nothing is. But this at least is a certainty. And it is with this that he is concerned: he wants to find out if it is possible to live without appeal. 1

In the toughness of this modern ethic, and its uncompromising demands upon the self, we have a link between the existential view of man as hero, and the kind of heroism understood by the author of the Waverley Novels.

1. Albert Camus, "An Absurd Reasoning", in The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays (Random House, N.Y., 1961), p. 39.

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