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Bakalářská práce

Separating the Historical and Romantic Elements in Walter Scott's Novels *Ivanhoe* and *Rob Roy*

Oddělení historických a romantických prvků v románech
Ivanhoe a *Rob Roy* od Waltera Scotta

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Ráda bych touto formou poděkovala PhDr. Christopher Koy, M.A., Ph. D za cenné rady, odborné vedení a trpělivost, které vedly k vypracování mé bakalářské práce.

Anotace

Cílem práce je analyzovat dvě z nejznámějších děl Waltera Scotta s ohledem na jejich romantické a historické prvky a míru, do které jsou vzájemně propojeny. První část práce popisuje především autorův život, charakteristické prvky jeho tvorby a literární vývoj od překladatele po jednoho z předních představitelů romantismu a světoznámého inovátora anglického historického románu. Scott využívá objektivní historii jako základ a zároveň pozměňuje a doplňuje historická fakta. Analýzy obou děl, s důrazem na oddělení těchto fiktivních prvků, jsou obsaženy v praktické části práce.

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyse the two major works of Walter Scott with an emphasis on both their romantic and historical elements and their interrelation. The first part of the paper is focused primarily on the author's life, characteristics of his work and literary development from a translator to the leading figure of literary romanticism and innovator of the historical novel in English. Scott employs objective history as a foundation while historical facts are consequently altered and supplemented. The analyses focused on separating those invented elements are included in the practical part.

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Introduction

My thesis focuses on two of the most popular fictional works by the Scottish author Sir Walter Scott, who has been one of the most popular writers of the 19th century and the leading figures of English romanticism. His career as a writer started with translating foreign ballads and shortly evolved into publishing his own ballads and poems. However, novels were what brought him eminence even one and a half centuries after his death. He started publishing novels in 1814 and focused primarily on themes and issues important for the region of the Scottish Border and his ancestors, the Highlanders. Scott could have chosen many of the already established kinds of novels for his career, but he found inspiration in Maria Edgeworth's Irish regional novels¹. From that point onwards, he was almost exclusively a historical novelist and produced 27 novels over the next twenty years of his life. Even today, Walter Scott is celebrated for the contribution, innovation and propagation of historical novel.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the famous historical novels *Ivanhoe* and *Rob Roy*, separating their romantic and historical elements and the degree to which they interrelate. The first part outlines Walter Scott's life, describes his influences, intentions, aspects of his writing and literary development. The main chapter of this part focuses on the characteristics of Scott's historical novels, which blend historical information with fiction. He constructed novels using a strategy of selecting particular historical facts, transforming them and supplementing historical records by using his imagination. Scott was a master of storytelling, a passionate antiquarian, patriot and a great writer, who was able to capture the spirit of a certain age in a way so that the ordinary reader is not capable of separating fiction from factual history.

The practical part includes analyses of *Ivanhoe* and *Rob Roy*, stressing their factual historical background and fictitious elements. Each novel is given three subchapters. The first serves the purpose of introducing the novel and its plot, the second provides historical context and the last one deals with the specific elements found inside the novel.

¹ Maria Edgeworth's works are considered the first historical novels. Scott acknowledged this source of inspiration and the two became friends following his turn from poetry to prose fiction.

1 Sir Walter Scott: An Introduction

Historical perspective, life and work

In order to provide a more precise understanding of Walter Scott's life, we should first consider the time he lived in, which in terms of political history was in the reign of Hannoverian Kings George III (1760-1820), George IV (1820-1830) and William IV (1830-1837). Parliament constituted the leading political institution while being divided among the partisan Tories and Whigs. Neither of these political parties managed to prevent a military clash with Ireland which ended with Ireland's defeat and subsequent unification with Britain in 1801. Another significant conflict influencing the social climate was undeniably the French Revolution that, even though it had not personally affected Scott as a conservative living in Scotland, gave impetus to contemporary thinking not only in Britain but throughout Europe. Broader layers of society found themselves interested in history, especially their nation's past consciousness, and accordingly with the national revolutions culminated the political development of nationalism and the push for popular sovereignty and the eliminating of aristocracy. One of the first steps of this nationalist movement was to awaken the historical consciousness of nations. Sir Walter Scott was one of the first to achieve this awakening as the majority of his fictional work was established on national pride in Scottish history. Scott not only revolutionized the status of the novel but also made the common man, rather than only the wealthy aristocratic elite, more aware than ever before of historical perspectives.

Scott is considered one of the finest exemplars of literary Romanticism encompassing Gothic elements that influenced Scott in his early years and helped him develop the historical romance novel subgenre. Ian Jack states:

His most obvious influence was in popularizing the historical romance. As he makes clear (...) this type of book was already familiar in the eighteenth century; yet what matters in literature is not so much being the first to do a thing as being the first to do it outstandingly well and at the critical time. (1958: 30-31)

Sir Walter Scott, 1st Baronet, was born on 15 August 1771 in Edinburgh, Scotland. He mentions in his autobiography that every Scotsman has a pedigree and he certainly took great pleasure in tracing his ancestry (Lockhart 1840: 5). He liked to imagine his ancestors as of the same thinking and motives as the merry-men, Little John and Robin Hood, even though his immediate relatives were vastly different (Jack 1958: 7-8). This imagination of his remoter ancestry (projected later in his works) contrasts highly with his strict immediate origins. Scott was a son of a lawyer, a Writer of the Signet, a strict Calvinist and a member of the Scott Clan. His mother was Anne Rutherford, the eldest daughter of a physician, who had been

better educated than most Scotchwomen of her day. Mrs Scott was described by her son as a motherly, tender-hearted woman with a peculiar mind (Hutton 1888: 11).

He survived polio at a very young age which left him lame. Nonetheless, this injury was crucial for his forthcoming development as a writer as well as his other interests. Young Walter was sent to live with his relatives in the rural Scottish Borders who introduced him to Scottish history, mainly through legends and fairy tales about the historic struggles of his Scottish forebears. Additionally, he enjoyed reading literature, poetry, chivalric romances, and nature while his health condition slowly improved. He often recited poetry and explored the countryside and its natural beauty. Gradually, he developed an obsession with folklore and began collecting folk songs, ballads and hearsays while reading medieval and Renaissance romances from previous centuries.

Walter Scott attended the Royal High School of Edinburgh and studied classics at the University of Edinburgh. He followed his father's steps despite his passion and became a solicitor. He married Charlotte Charpentier on Christmas Eve 1797 in St Mary's Church. They remained happy until the death of Charlotte three decades later (Williamina, Charlotte, and Marriage, 2020)

Throughout his adolescence and adulthood, Scott remained fascinated by oral traditions of the Scottish Borders and he continued to collect stories. He began his literary career as an editor of the traditional songs and ballads of Scotland and a writer of romances in verse (Jack 1958: 1). His first publication was a collection of ballads, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-03) which introduced Scott's name to a wide public. More poetic romances including *Marmion* (1808) and the world-famous *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) followed and gained even more praise as best sellers, establishing his literary reputation as a poet.

These times of prosperity and recognition did not last due to several reasons. Sales of his latest works declined; a new poet, Lord Byron, and his narrative poems and exotic tales overshadowed Scott; and lastly, he became an active partner in a printing company with Ballantyne Brothers which occupied much of his time. Additionally, he started creating an estate and family residence, Abbotsford which he purchased in 1811 and extended, filling it with expensive quantities of antiquarian objects. Scott's finances steadily deteriorated, and he started writing for pragmatic reasons rather than for love for his native country. From now on he wrote in order to avoid bankruptcy by paying off debts so he could afford to live in the monumental Abbotsford. While he took a natural pleasure in exercising his gift of storytelling, his first principal object in writing became making money, and in the end, he had no other motive (Jack 1958: 22). Jack also disputes that Abbotsford (and what it represented)

mattered to him more than anything he had ever written (Jack 1958: 22). As an excellent storyteller, Scott turned to writing and publishing a large number of novels to resolve his financial problems. This approach partially worked, as his financial situation improved. He was granted the baronetcy and spent last years of his life writing principally prose fiction. Sir Walter Scott died at the age of 61 at his grand home Abbotsford on 21 September 1832 and his remains are buried beside his ancestors in Dryburgh Abbey.

During the difficult part of his life, Scott rediscovered fragments of a novel he started a decade earlier, quickly finished it and published his first novel anonymously with the title *Waverley*; or, *'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814). *Waverley* is a historical romance of the Jacobite rising of 1745 in which Scott employs knowledge gained through his thorough research of Scottish history to create a seemingly credible image. However, he also incorporates romantic (fictional) elements. The debut novel was an immediate success throughout Europe and as a response, Scott produced more novels signed “by the Author of *Waverley*”, known as the *Waverley* novels, which established him as one of the most celebrated writers in Europe. *Rob Roy* (1817), set just before the Jacobite Rising of 1715, tells a story of Frank Osbaldistone and Robert MacGregor, is considered one of them. Further examples of historical romances set in the Scottish realm are *The Abbot* (1820), *Redgauntlet* (1824) and *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1828).

English history was another source of inspiration that Scott utilized in his writing. His English novels belong to the later period of his literary career and are usually perceived by critics as inferior but include one of Scott’s most popular works. The first of these to be published, *Ivanhoe* (1819), is subtitled by the author as ‘A Romance’. It depicts medieval England with colourful descriptions of chivalrous deeds, outlaws, knight tournaments and conflicts among Jews and Christians. Much of these themes were inspired by the Arthurian romances, especially T. Malory’s *Le Morte d’Arthur*². Further examples of English novels are *The Talisman* (1825), *The Betrothed* (1825) and lastly, *Count Robert of Paris* (1832).

Fundamentally, his nonfictional ballads and poetry as well as his historical romances, thoroughly falling within the European traditions of European taste in his time, brought him fame and fortune as well as the authority as the standard-setter for Scottish men and women of letters to come.

² *Le Morte d’Arthur* (1485) is the first prose account in English about King Arthur and the fellowship of the Round Table. The author is most certainly Sir Thomas Malory.

2 Walter Scott as a Writer and Novelist

Among the intentions of this chapter is an effort to describe the development of Sir Walter Scott's writing that culminated with a historical novel, bring attention to the repetition of themes he employed since the beginning of his career and characterize Scott's representation of a historical novel.

Scott began his career as a writer at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and his popularity continued to rise throughout the course of the later. One of the supreme literary critics in the language, William Hazlitt, described Scott in 1824 as "undoubtedly the most popular writer of the age" (Walker 1996: 113). The reputation of Walter Scott in his lifetime was enormous and he was for generations regarded as the greatest of British novelists, as he was by Charles Dickens and George Eliot (Alexander 2007: 29). Today his most significant "competition" as a favourite novelist would be Jane Austen and Charles Dickens.

2.1 Ballads and Romances

Although Scott's eminence and importance rest today upon poems and historical novels, his first works were ballads inspired by tales and songs he heard as a child from his relatives in the Scottish Borders (Watson 2007: 255) or translations of foreign works. In the mid-1790s Scott became interested in German Romanticism, Gothic novels, and Scottish border ballads (Encyclopedia Britannica 2020). *The Chase, and William and Hellen: Two Ballads, from the German of Gottfried Augustus Bürger*³ (1796) was his first published piece. Scott was also the first to translate Goethe's drama about Götz von Berlichingen, the so-called "German Robin Hood" who stole from the rich and gave to the poor, and publish it under the title *Götz of Berlichinge, with the Iron Hand: A Tragedy* (1799). His next poetic work, an anthology of Border Ballads published as *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*⁴ (1802), helped him to decide the course of his developing writing career as it made his name known to the wide public. From this point, Scott was known as an author exploiting the past events and times to fuel his work.

Scott's first poetic works were in the form of long narrative poems with romantic plots and roots in Scottish history. Although their form was not outstanding, critics exalted them for the depiction of Scottish themes. He published many poems over the course of ten

³This work is a rhymed version/free translation of G.A. Bürger's ballads *Der Wilde Jäger* and *Lenore*. Bürger was a German Romantic poet and one of the finest German balladeers.

⁴ The anthology consists of three parts with each one dealing with a different type of ballads (Historical Ballads, Romantic Ballads, Imitations of the Ancient Ballad).

years and some of those poems resemble his forthcoming novels: *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) blends historical information, chivalry, and supernatural elements⁵ (Walker 1996: 113) and *Marmion* (1808) shares with his novels a similar structure as well as characteristics of the story's hero, who possesses a mixture of positive and negative qualities. Presumably, Walter Scott's last successful long narrative poem, *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), utilizes romantic features in order to depict the life of the Highlanders. Thus, the romanticizing of historical details and nature, one of the main attributes of his novels, appears initially in his poetry and is developed further within the novels (Walker 1996: 114-119).

2.2 Novels

Sir Walter Scott decided to abandon poetry most probably due to financial reasons as he needed funds to pay debts following the bankruptcy of John Ballantyne's publishing house which he co-owned (Watson 2007: 263). Scott was also aware that Lord Byron was usurping his position as the best-selling poet of the day. He writes in his letters with pragmatism regarding Byron's impact on the taste of the public and his further success as a poet (Walker 1996: 120). The pressure he felt to publish well-selling works was immense.

Another motivation for his turn to prose fiction was rediscovering fragments of a novel *Waverley*, which he had abandoned in 1805. The novel was finished and published anonymously in 1814 in order to protect his reputation, as novels were then considered an inferior literary form⁶ (Wheeler 1984: 4). Nevertheless, it had an astonishing success, provided the ground for his future works of prose fiction and set the course of his career. *Waverley* is Scott's first venture into longer prose fiction and is often labelled as one of the first historical novels in the Western tradition. Scott's decision to document his thorough research into the oral tradition of the Scottish Borders thorough stories and novels turned out to be the right one.

⁵ *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* offers Scott's most unambiguous engagement with magic and the supernatural. It contains acts of necromancy, shapeshifting, the casting of spells, communion with spirit deities, and fairy tale archetypes such as a witch, a sorcerer, and a goblin dwarf (McIntosh 2017: 143).

⁶ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in his letters and conversations with Schiller insists that a novel is an inferior form to the lyric, drama, and verse-epic (Wheeler 1984: 4).

2.3 Historical Novel

As for his turn to prose fiction, Scott could have chosen some of the already established forms of novels, such as the Gothic novel, sentimental novel or novel of manners. The predominant type of his time was a novel of manners written by Fanny Burney and Jane Austen. However, Scott decided not to follow any of the already common forms and used them merely for inspiration (Buchan 1946: 127). His major inspiration might have been Maria Edgeworth, whose Irish tales are considered the first regional novels. Scott stated in a postscript to *Waverley* that he intended to emulate the admirable Irish portraits drawn by his friend Miss Edgeworth (Scott 1985: 493).

A historical novel can be briefly defined as a novel set in the past, focused on reconstructing the depicted period's atmosphere, social conditions and manners. *The Historical Novels Review* defines a historical novel as a novel set fifty or more years in the past and the author writes from research rather than personal experience (Johnson 2020). Hence, the plot can be set thousands of years into the past or merely a couple of generations.

The characteristics of historical novels vary as they are constructed with a different intention and level of attention to historical fact. Some authors decide to try to portray the past and its specifics rather authentically, while others might utilize just fragments of factual history, create fictional characters and use their rich imagination to produce a pleasing and entertaining content. Critics have frequently noted that Scott was attracted to periods of historical transition (Walker 2002: 200). Authors like him decided to revive the past to manifest their opinions or reflect on contemporary social and political issues by looking at parallel debates which occurred in the past.

Walter Scott's lifelong passion for history and the need for a well-selling work were the reasons he based the form of his oncoming works on blending factual historical events with invented characters, real with invented historical parts. As already mentioned, Scott translated Goethe's historical play *Götz von Berlichingen*. Additionally, it is possible that he was influenced by the European literary trend of historical fiction. He reconstructed the feelings and thoughts of people in the distant past employing a combination of thorough research and imagination.. However, he did not invent the historical novel. Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800) is considered the first true historical novel in English⁷ (Drabble 1996: 310). However, Scott became an initiator, propagator and influencer of this genre.

⁷ Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800) is recognized as the first fully developed regional novel and the first true historical novel in English. Walter Scott greatly admired her. (Birch and Hooper 2013: 216)

Some of Scott's works are referred to as romances rather than novels. Scott was fascinated by medieval romances in his formative years. Although he read widely in other literature as well, medieval romances were a prominent literary source for his works, especially for the Waverley novels (Mitchell 1987: 38). Thus, the Waverley novels and some of his other works are labelled by critics as historical romances. A romance is in this context defined briefly as a narrative consisting of marvellous and uncommon incidents that may be based on chivalry and is often set in the distant past such as the Middle Ages⁸. However, Scott describes Waverley in his preface as a novel and rejects romance as something frivolous and less generally accepted (Nagy 2014: 10). Ladislav Nagy highlights the series' characteristics signaling romance. Nagy's verdict is that Walter Scott does not write historical novels but rather a mix of history and romance, which is something that makes Scott modern and appealing (Nagy 2014: 17). Considering the main characteristics of romances, only three of Scott's romances are chivalry romances and only seven are connected to the Middle Ages.

Scott's historical novels show some consistencies. A reader might notice that his works are full of characters, frequently with troubled and intricate family relations, who are often caught up in complicated and potentially confusing plots. He was interested in major events that had an impact on his nation's history, but factual history – major historical events and personages – provides primarily just a skeleton for his works. Scott's stories and main heroes are rather fictitious and their historical background is presented to readers credibly and with emphasis on detail, even if it is altered (Shaw 1983: 150). Scott was, above everything, an excellent narrator who managed to mediate to his readers seemingly credible spirit and atmosphere of the age. (Walker 1996: 142).

2.3.1 Construction of Walter Scott's Historical Novels

Scott did not believe in changing history merely to suit his fictional convenience, yet he was willing to alter specific historical details to reveal with greater clarity fundamental historical patterns (Shaw 1983: 150). He intended to render remote periods in history comprehensible and interesting to a broad contemporary audience. Scott justifies fictitious elements in his novels by stating in *Ivanhoe's* Dedicatory Epistle that: "It is necessary, for exciting interest of any kind, that the subject assumed should be translated into the manners as well as the language of the age we live in" (Walker 2002: 185-186).

Scott's clearly stated formula for the construction of a historical romance was original with himself, and it has been followed by nearly all his successors (Beers 1926: 31). Walter

⁸ Scott established the difference between novel and romance in his chapter Essay on Romance (*The Prose Works Of Sir Walter Scott, Bart*),

Scott employs three strategies for incorporating historical facts into his work. The first is strategic selection based on choosing only certain people and events. The second is the transformation of historical detail. Scott plays with characters' personalities, ascribes traits and deeds of a particular person to someone else, intensifies aspects and overall reworks the facts so that they serve his purpose. The last of these strategies is the supplementation of the historical record. He blends history and fiction in a way to connect fictitious properties to real persons or vica versa. Sometimes Scott even provided a fictitious historical manuscript to answer his critic's attack regarding work's accuracy.⁹

The combination of these strategies creates an illusion that the historical details of Scott's works originate in only one source: factual history. Distinguishing the real from the invented is very complicated. The reason for including invented information in Scott's novels might be simple. Scott was a novelist whose main aim was to publish popular works of fiction which he based on the originality of his works' subject.

Through the above-discussed strategies combining historical facts, Scott enables his readers to learn about the private exciting lives of his characters and portrays their everyday life. This insight serves as a background for the historical and mostly political events that impact atmosphere, culture and generally the non-political life of a nation.

2.3.2 Romantic Elements

Romance is connected to the imagination which can add beauty to abandoned historical material and revive the reader's interest in the discussed matter discussed under. Scott possessed historic imagination (Beers 1926: 1) and he revived especially the Scottish past.

Beers considers Walter Scott "the middle point and the culmination of English romanticism" (Beers 1926: 1). Two favourite artifices of all romantic schools are "local colour" and "the picturesque" (Beers 1926: 33). Picturesque aspects can be seen especially in Scott's description of characters and scenery. Beers notes that Scott shares with the Romantic temper the feeling for the picturesque, colour and contrast (Beers 1926: 34). Scott was a quite patriotic person, whose stories are mainly connected to his native soil, and who admired the beauty of the scenery and its picturesque feeling. However, what signalled an appropriate setting for his books was a presence of legendary castles, woods or battlefields,

⁹ Scott wrote *Dedicatory Epistle* as a response to critics complaining about historical inaccuracies in his novels. Scott revealed in this letter, that his main historical source was an Anglo-Norman manuscript owned by Sir Arthur Wardour. This manuscript is completely fictitious.

and not merely the local and picturesque feeling (Beers 1926: 8). The feeling of contrast can be seen in all of Scott's work, in his dealing with landscapes and characters.

The majority of his work is written in the form of romance and therefore a reader can notice various romantic elements which include divided families, the villainous portrayal of foreigners, the Highland's landscape, characters' brave behaviour, a chivalric moral code, wicked upstarts, stereotypical heroes and heroines, hidden secret priests, the presence of various gipsies, smugglers and outcasts... and every possible aspect of the exciting or picturesque (Jack 1963: 190). With respect to the romantic elements, non-natives are rather presented as negative characters, often outcasts living at the edge of the established civilized society.

Scott declared that he intended to inform the future generations about their ancestors' honourable deeds and to emphasize the progress they underwent through hardship and losses. Walter Scott is not known merely as a novelist, but also as a social historian who wanted to depict the Scots as abandoning and forgetting hard times and entering into a more prosperous phase (Walker 1996: 125). Thus, although the period he usually chose were the times of crisis, the endings of his books are rather happy and contain the positive resolution of one or more difficult historical issues.

2.3.3 Realistic Elements

Literary critics have argued that Scott's work played a role in the development of realism. Scott's portrayal of his character's life, feelings, clothes and even the buildings are quite accurate. As a social historian, he attempted to capture the spirit of the age and typical behaviour of various classes. Although Scott altered or invented many historical facts, the fundamental events belong to factual history.

There is no doubt that Scott's work gives the strongest impression of romanticism, but his romanticism was based on a solid ground of realism (Ledbetter 1937: 19). Scott believed that the romance must be based on solid realism and involve reality. Otherwise, it is worthless and will not interest the reader. Imagination, when used correctly, has reality included in it so the best novel is the one that has a setting and incidents with their source in actuality (Ledbetter 1937: 21). Romanticism and realism are not necessarily antagonistic, as they are not easily separable. Scott's value as a realist lies in the firm foundation which that realism gives to his romanticism (Ledbetter 1937: 41).

The most prominent realistic theme in Scott's work is his love for Scotland (Ledbetter 1937: 22). This produced a rather true portrayal of Scottish manners, dress and tradition. He

was an antiquarian who gathered manuscripts and historical artefacts, studied ancient dialects, habits and traditions and techniques of combat (Ledbetter 1937: 20-22). Above everything, Scott knew the natives who became the subjects of his works. He portrays real characters who are true to their type and times (Shaw 1983: 153). His intense love for Scotland reflected in his ability to note and record facts, incidents, and characters in his manuscripts and notebooks which are today among the most prized tools of modern realists (Ledbetter 1937: 22-23).

A realist tries to build a true picture and Scott followed the scientific historical background as a necessity, proving that a combination of realistic and romantic elements brings the novel popularity and an artistic effect (Ledbetter 1937: 41). Although Scott is primarily a romanticist, he used realism to a great degree and with that use was a better writer (Ledbetter 1937: 47).

3 Introduction to the Practical Part

Walter Scott wrote many novels and many of them share common characteristics and themes. However, each of them is more or less unique and should be analysed separately. For this paper and the upcoming analysis, I chose two of Scott's most popular historical novels, *Ivanhoe* and *Rob Roy*. Each of them allows its readers to look into a different period and sends a different message. *Ivanhoe* is set in bygone times of Norman England and concerns conflict of nations engaged in the Crusades and chivalry in England. On the other side, *Rob Roy* captures the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 and deals with national identity and morality.

The first of the analysed novels is Scott's most-read work to this day. This novel is interesting and attracts great attention for multiple reasons. For one reason, the plot is not set in Scott's usual landscapes, the Highlands, but in northern England. *Ivanhoe* marks Scott's departure from the Scottish themes towards new, yet unexhausted material. Also, the romances which followed in the mode of *Ivanhoe* were not only historical, but rather adventure stories and romantic stories loosely situated in history (Alexander 2007: 117). When writing about the recent history of Scotland, Scott's sources could be legends, his ancestors' or other Highlanders' tales, as the aforementioned period was just a few generations away. However, producing a plausible novel set in the twelfth century was a challenge. Hence, Scott obtained necessary historical, political and social information from historical records or tried to intensely persuade his audience about the truthfulness of his invented sources.

Rob Roy is Scott's second most read historical novel. The novel portrays the Jacobite rebellion, political and religious struggle of Scottish people, the culture of the Highlanders and the clan way of life. Scott emphasized the differences between the beginning of the 18th century and his times of the Scottish Enlightenment. *Rob Roy* is quite fictitious and affected by the stories Scott listened to throughout his life that were handed down orally over many generations. Some historical facts were certainly modified but almost insignificantly when compared to *Ivanhoe*.

The following section of my thesis analyses the two novels and aims to separate their historical and romantic elements. Scott was a master of storytelling who blended the invented with historical information. Hence, it may be complicated to distinguish them properly. Each novel's section is divided into other subchapters that serve the purpose of introducing the novel and its plot, providing a historical context to it as well as examining specific elements found within the novel. The analyses focus on finding the specific historical circumstances, which had been altered to create a romance, and separating the fact and the invented.

4 Ivanhoe

Ivanhoe is a historical novel originally published in three volumes in late 1819. Walter Scott subtitled this work ‘*A Romance*’, a classification that signals fiction and a legend rather than exclusively history (Alexander 2017: 123).

Scott’s fairly realistic novels of Scottish setting set in recent past brought him vast popularity but of limited appeal. He felt the need for a change of scene as he feared the reading public was feeling the repetitiveness of Scottish theme. He needed popular successes to finance his estate, hence he turned to his lifelong passion, history. The need for a fresher source of inspiration caused him to focus on the Middle Ages and the history of England. *Ivanhoe* is the first of these novels, marking the departure from the Scottish themes as well as the shift to less realistic novels with more romantic adventurous elements and a rather fanciful depiction of medieval England.

Its genre is indisputably a romance in its purest form as it deals with the concept of chivalry. In fact, *Ivanhoe* appears on first reading to be a straightforward chivalric romance exemplifying the conventions of the romance plot¹⁰ (Sroka 1979: 645). Nevertheless, reading closely, we may detect that Walter Scott alters the conventional romance form by adding variations which create a more realistic romance. For example, the heroes are not idealistic; even heroic King Richard’s portrayal is occasionally critical. Ivanhoe as the titular hero is not the most prominent character and marries a less attractive heroine, and the new social order at the conclusion falls far short of a wish-fulfilment ideal (Sroka 1979: 645). Evidently, Scott significantly tempers the romance form with realistic elements in *Ivanhoe*.

Ivanhoe is a stirring tale dealing with themes such as racism, the chivalric code, intolerance and class relations and clearly represents one of the finest examples of medieval romances. It is his first prose romance and although Scott’s critical reputation rests today on *Waverley* and the Scottish novels, *Ivanhoe* proved to be his most popular legacy (Alexander 2017: 47).

¹⁰ Sroka (1979: 645) lists the conventional progression of the romance as the conflict between good and evil embodied in the heroes and villains, the perilous journey of the main character, his individual struggle and passage through ritual death, rescue of the endangered maiden and marriage to her, and the promise of general future happiness in a newly established social order.

4.1 Plot of *Ivanhoe*

The story of *Ivanhoe* is set in the late twelfth-century England and largely concerns the long-smouldering antagonism between the native Saxons and Normans. It gives colourful descriptions of King Richard, the Lionheart's period, the adventures of chivalrous knights and heroic outlaws, religious persecutions such as a witch trial, and divisions between Christians and Jews. The main scenes take place around Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire in northern England.

The year is presumably 1194, the nobility of England is overwhelmingly Norman, the Third Crusade was a failure and knights are returning to their homeland from the Holy Land. King Richard was captured in Europe and is believed to be still there, while his deceitful brother Prince John is plotting against his sovereignty and had usurped much of Richard's royal power. In addition, Prince John despises and oppresses the Saxons.

The Saxon protagonist, Sir Wilfred of Ivanhoe, is returning from the crusade to his ancestral home disguised as a palmer¹¹. His father, a Saxon noble Cedric of Rotherwood, disinherited him for his allegiance to the Norman King Richard I instead of committing his love with Cedric's ward and a descendant of the Saxon Kings, Lady Rowena. Cedric's new wish is to reawaken the Saxon royal line by marrying Rowena to an older pretender to the Crown, Lord Athelstane of Coningsburgh. One of the first scenes depicts disguised Ivanhoe guiding Norman travellers to Rotherwood.

Regardless of his hostility towards the Normans, Cedric obeys the rules of hospitality and welcomes them at his castle - the Templar knight Brian de Bois-Guilbert, Prior Aymer, and their disguised guide. As the feast begins, Lady Rowena asks curiously about Palestine, causing Bois-Guilbert to boast about his and Templars' achievements. As a result, the palmer mentions the skilful Saxon knights, including Wilfred of Ivanhoe, who even defeated the Templars and even Bois-Guilbert himself. Enraged and proud, Bois-Guilbert swears to challenge Ivanhoe to another duel if he meets him again. During the evening another traveller arrives – an old Jew, Isaac of York. Prejudice against Jews as well as oppression are considerably substantial and Isaac is treated poorly even by the servants. The only exception is the palmer Ivanhoe. He and Lady Rowena meet briefly later that night when Rowena asks him about his knowledge of Ivanhoe's well-being as she still loves him.

Isaac of York is a wealthy merchant and moneylender, whom Ivanhoe helps one more time (with the aid of Cedric's swineherd Gurth who knows the palmer's true identity) by

¹¹ Palmer is a religious pilgrim of the Middle Ages who had returned from the Holy Land, bearing a palm branch as a token (www.dictionary.com, 2020).

secretly leaving with him early in the morning before Bois-Guilbert's soldiers can capture him. In return, the Jew arranges for Ivanhoe to receive a suitable horse and armour for the upcoming tournament at the Ashby-de-la-Zouche Castle.

The tournament is presided over by Prince John and serves as one of the major scenes of the novel. Among the spectators is Cedric, accompanied by the beautiful Rowena and her arranged fiancé Athelstane, Isaac of York with his stunning daughter Rebecca and the outlaw Robin of Locksley. The challengers of the tournament are knights supporting the Norman Prince John – bold Brian de Bois-Guilbert, ruthless Sir Reginald Front-de-Boeuf and ambitious Sir Maurice de Bracy. At the end of the first day Ivanhoe appears disguised as the anonymous 'Desdichado' (Disinherited) and challenges Bois-Guilbert and other Norman knights to joust. He wins and becomes the day's champion, choosing to the dismay of Normans the Saxon Rowena as the Queen of Love and Beauty. The Disinherited Knight wins even on the second day, this time with the help of a mysterious knight in black armour, the Black Knight. However, Ivanhoe has been severely wounded and collapses as Rowena is about to crown him. He is unmasked and revealed to be Wilfred of Ivanhoe. Isaac's daughter Rebecca, an experienced healer, takes him in for treatment.

The last event of the tournament is an archery competition. A Saxon yeoman called Locksley wins by splitting the arrow in the bull's eye but declines Prince John's offer for enmity towards him. The prince rushes off to meet his advisor Waldemar Fitzurse and allied lords to plan a military rebellion against King Richard, who is rumoured to have already arrived in England.

In the meanwhile, Sir Maurice de Bracy wants to marry Lady Rowena for her beauty and wealth, and unable to wait, decides to orchestrate her capture in the forests, deceitfully depicting himself as a hero who rescues her and gains her sympathy.

A bit of time passes and Cedric is riding through the countryside with his ward Rowena, Athelstane and several servants. Rowena encourages Cedric to forgive Ivanhoe, as she loves him, but he remains stubborn. Cedric's company is joined by Isaac, Rebecca and a horse litter hiding unconscious Ivanhoe. The train is then ambushed by de Bracy's disguised men and taken to Torquilstone, the castle of Front-de-Boeuf. The only escapees are Cedric's two servants, Gurth and Wamba, who seek aid and appeal to archer Locksley, the leader of Sherwood forest outlaws. Robin of Locksley, also known as the outlaw Robin Hood, gathers his men and starts preparing for an upcoming rescue. The previously seen mysterious Black Knight joins his band.

Inside Torquilstone, prisoners are mostly separated. Cedric and Athelstane are held for ransom. Isaac is locked in a grim dungeon, where Reginald Front-de-Boeuf threatens him

with torture unless he provides a huge sum of money. Meanwhile, both Rowena and Rebecca are accosted. De Bracy tells Rowena that she will be released only if she marries him and Rebecca is put in a turret room, where she first meets an old and bitter imprisoned lady Ulrica, whose Saxon family used to own this castle before the Norman knight Front-de-Boeuf took it. Ulrica then leaves Rebecca with Bois-Guilbert, who wants the Jewess to be his lover. She however, would rather die than give up her chastity and honour. She has fallen in love with Ivanhoe while tending him. Ivanhoe is also at the castle and his condition has improved due to her care. Cedric's servants manage to rescue Cedric by tricking Normans with a disguise and Cedric joins the forces of Locksley besieging Torquilstone. Together they make a co-ordinated attack on the castle.

A bloody battle ensues while the castle is set aflame by Ulrica, as she sets fire to Front-de-Boeuf's chambers, killing him as revenge for her father's death. The Normans are defeated and the outlaws and the Black Knight manage to save Isaac, Rowena, and Ivanhoe. Nonetheless, among the dead Athelstane is found who had attempted to stop Bois-Guilbert. The templar saved Rebecca from the fire and kidnapped her, fleeing with her to Templestowe, a Templar preceptory. Torquilstone burns to the ground and the Norman who started the conflict, Maurice De Bracy, is taken captive by the Black Knight who whispers to him his true identity and releases him. De Bracy sets off to York to notify Prince John that King Richard I is indeed in England and has been disguised as the Black Knight.

After the battle, Isaac leaves the forest in a panic over his kidnapped daughter Rebecca. The Black Knight arranges to meet with Cedric in few days at Athelstane's castle to attend his funeral. The Black Knight departs, accompanied by Wamba.

Isaac reaches Templestowe to negotiate with de Bois-Guilbert for Rebecca's safe return, but the preceptory is under the control of Lucas de Beaumanoir – the stern racist grand master of the Knights Templar who resents Jewry and women. Beaumanoir accuses Rebecca of witchcraft and enchanting Bois-Guilbert and orders a trial. Nonetheless, Bois-Guilbert has fallen completely in love with Rebecca and advises her to demand a trial-by-combat in the end, so he can defend her. At her trial, she is found guilty based on a case of distorted facts and lies and sentenced to burning at the stake for sorcery. Thus, she demands a trial by combat, but the grandmaster appoints Bois-Guilbert as the order's champion, leaving no one willing to fight for her. Rebecca therefore asks her father to send for Ivanhoe.

Back in the forests, John's assassins ambushed the Black Knight and Wamba but were defeated with Locksley's aid. The knight reveals himself as King Richard and the outlaws kneel, swearing their allegiance. Locksley introduces himself by his right name, Robin Hood.

The band's crimes are pardoned by the king. Shortly after, Ivanhoe and Gurth join them, Ivanhoe swears his loyalty to King Richard once again and they all ride on to Coningsburgh.

Athelstane's funeral is being conducted by monks. Richard reveals his identity to Cedric and asks him to reconcile with his son, Wilfred of Ivanhoe. Cedric agrees when suddenly, Athelstane emerges alive dressed in his grave clothes. He has been laid in his coffin by monks desirous of the funeral money their abbey would receive. Athelstane pledges homage to King Richard, not wanting to be king and urging Cedric to marry Rowena to Ivanhoe. Cedric agrees. Shortly after, Ivanhoe receives a word from Isaac and both he and King Richard leave to help Rebecca by means of a duel.

Ivanhoe rides day and night and reaches Templestowe just in time. A stake has already been set up for Rebecca if her champion loses or fails to show up. Ivanhoe is still injured and his horse weak from travelling fast over a long distance. Nevertheless, he still fights and is knocked from his horse. However, even though Ivanhoe's lance did not touch him, Brian de Bois-Guilbert keels over dead. Ivanhoe gets up and it is revealed that Bois-Guilbert died of natural causes. Beaumanoir sees this as proof that God favours Rebecca and sets her free.

Subsequently, King Richard arrests and exiles the Norman knights plotting with his brother, Beaumanoir with the Knights Templar are forced out of England. Cedric acknowledges the Norman king's sovereignty. Beautiful and kind Rebecca gives up on her forbidden love to Ivanhoe and decides to dedicate her life to healing. She leaves with her father Isaac to Spain as there is less prejudice against Jewry. For Rebecca's unfulfilled love towards Ivanhoe, she does not thank him in person for saving her life but rather visits Rowena on her and Ivanhoe's wedding day, wishing her a happy life and leaving behind diamond jewels as a gift. Rebecca leaves without seeing Ivanhoe again, but Ivanhoe never forgets her. Wilfred of Ivanhoe and his wife Rowena are said to live a happy life.

Ivanhoe ends on with an anticipated happy end and Norman-Saxon cooperation.

4.2 Historical Context

At the turn of 12th and 13th centuries, England was a feudal state with the form of administration entirely different from the one before 1066. Before the Norman Conquest, the vast majority of the population was nearly exclusively Anglo-Saxon with its own ecclesiastical, legal and agricultural organization. However, with the defeat of Harald and the famous victory of William the Conqueror, a new ruling class arrived. The new sovereign arrived from Normandy, a territory located in today's France. His royal court (*curia regis*) as well as other magnates and their retinues from William's homeland spoke French. The defeated and subjugated Anglo-Saxons designated the foreigners as their enemies because of their different language, distinct lifestyle and foreign customs.

This fact was determining their mutual relations. Hostility often led to open revolts under a command of one of many native magnates of Anglo-Saxon origin. Consequently, the Normans viewed native nobility as violators of the new established feudal order. As a response, the ruling class confiscated land and property of rebellious nobles. It came even to such lengths that Anglo-Saxons were not allowed to retain their native Germanic language.

More than a century had to pass before these challenges were mostly overcome by the assimilation and amalgamation of both populations. Anglo-Saxons started to be labelled as English, which was in fact a derogatory term used for a person of low origin and therefore unacceptable for nobility. Nonetheless, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1070 to 1089, who acted on multiple occasions as William I's viceregent was already writing 'we English' and 'our island' (Maurois 1937: 79).

The situation in the country was further complicated by a rivalry among the monarch's sons after his death in 1087. Temporary peace was brought by the victory of Henry I of England (1100-1135), but another period of struggle came in the form of a civil war that lasted 19 years followed his death. These times of English history, termed the Anarchy by Victorian historians, had a few prominent figures, including the usurper of throne Stephen of Blois. Complicated domestic situation was stabilized by the long reign of Henry II of England (1154-1189), an energetic but sometimes ruthless Angevin king.

Henry II of England, also known as Henry Plantagenet, was Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou and the first Angevin king of England. Henry was born as the eldest child of the Empress Matilda, Henry I's daughter and a descendant of William the Conqueror, and the Count of Anjou. He inherited the claim of his mother to the English throne. Through his coronation, Henry II unified the domains of the English kings (England and Normandy) and his own house (Anjou, Aquitaine, Maine, Touraine and others). Subsequently, he expanded his authority over Ireland and Scotland. Although he formally answered to Louis VII, the

reality was that the extent of his influence and power across France was far greater than of the French king. His domain embodied more than a half of the Kingdom of France. One of the issues that Henry II had to confront was a conflict with his former friend and advisor Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, which was solved by relatively radical measures in 1170. Nonetheless over the years, the king's allies, as well as his friends and sons, started to leave his side. The aged and solitary king turned to his youngest son, John, who had until now stood by him. However, the tensions over the inheritance of the Angevin Empire caused further disputes. His sons did not approve of the way he had divided his domain, especially Richard who claimed Aquitaine and had allied with Philip Augustus, King of France. These disputes resulted in the Great Revolt that lasted many years and culminated in 1189, when the wounded king of England surrendered to Philip and Richard, paid homage and restitutions to the foreign king and recognised Richard as his heir. Subsequently, Philip Augustus revealed a list of English traitors, headed above all by John, his favourite son. After this, Henry became delirious and died of a haemorrhage.

In spite of his terrible end, Henry II had made England a powerful nation and fashioned a large empire known as the Angevin Empire. Maurois (1937: 102) states: 'the kingdom had achieved its unity, both languages existed side by side, but corresponded to class divisions rather than racial differences. Mixed marriages were frequent.' Moreover 'Henry had been a great king, a cynic, a realist, and stern, but on the whole a well-doer' (Maurois 1937: 108). His death was followed by adverse times characterized by Richard's and John's struggle for power over their father's legacy.

This was the time and mood when one of Scott's protagonists accedes to the throne. Richard I (1189-1199), who entered history popularly as Richard the Lionheart, was the third son of King Henry II of England and Duchess Eleanor of Aquitaine. Although his reign lasted only for ten years, he spent probably just six months in England after his accession. His overbearing and arrogant nature led him into conflicts with his father since childhood, coming to such extent that he allied with Philip II of France (Maurois 1937: 108-9). He inherited certain traits from his father: the violence of the Plantagenets, their immoderate love for women, and their courage. Yet he purposed adventure and despised prudence. He was a poet and troubadour, friendly with all the warrior squires of Périgord and he wished to play the romantic knight in real life (Maurois 1937: 109).

At the beginning of feudal times, knighthood had been nothing more than the duty to serve as a horseman in exchange for a grant of land, but the Church and poets enhanced this contract; making the dubbing of a knight a Christian ceremony and associated knighthood with noble deeds. However, the reality differed considerably from the glorified idea of valiant

warriors fighting for the True Cross. Instead of engaging in combat bravely, they brawled drunkenly and degraded the very name of chivalry. The perversity of these warriors led multiple times to massacring of populations of whole towns in France, including men, women and children (Maurois 1937: 109). Hence, out of all the glorified chivalrous virtues merely occasional courtesy to a highborn women and captured knights was left. Historians often mark Richard I as the archetypal representative of these “virtuous” knights.

Ivanhoe mentions the most important European event of those times – the Third Crusade commanded by King Richard of England. It was during his absence that his brother John unsuccessfully attempted a rebellion, although Richard took several precautions prior to leaving England. On his expedition, Richard’s distinctive courage and vehemence brought him respect among fellow crusaders, although he did not succeed in conquering Jerusalem. Enemies recognised and feared him, especially for his unrestrained cruelty. Even noble-minded Saladin avenged him by executing Christian prisoners after Richard mercilessly executed thousands of Muslim captives, including women and children. The aftermath of these actions is described by Maurois (1937: 110): “long years after that campaign, the Saracens still frightened their naughty children by the threat of fetching King Richard to come and kill them.”

European monarchs considered Richard dangerous. His unbounded nature caused him numerous conflicts with many of them; the most prominent being a quarrel with Leopold V, Duke of Austria who had Richard captured on his way back to England. Richard spent time as a prisoner drinking with his guardians while all of England gathered together the ransom for his release. However, the kingdom welcomed their ruler with enthusiasm. The unity of his kingdom, at least on the British Isles, saved his excellent soldier and minister Walter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who defeated the King’s brother John who had tried to seize power during Richard’s absence. John’s military forces surrendered and John retreated to Normandy. King Richard forgave him and the brothers made a truce. However, not long after this, Richard got himself into an insignificant dispute, became fatally wounded and died in 1199.

Richard’s decade-long reign was succeeded by his brother John (1199-1216), who was nicknamed Lackland because he was not assumed to inherit significant lands. He ruled as King of England for 17 years. However the listed description of this time will be brief for it is not relevant for events of *Ivanhoe*. King John renewed war with France that meant the loss of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and parts of Poitou as well. The Angevin Empire collapsed as a result of his reign. However, France was not his sole enemy as he also quarrelled with his vassals and Church, which resulted in a weakening of his position in England. Hereafter,

the baronial rebellion at the end of his reign of his resulted in the sealing of the Magna Carta (1215), a document which significantly limited royal power and established common law, which was an early step in the historical evolution leading to the democratizing of the United Kingdom. André Maurois (1937: 114) comments on King John:

King John succeeded in uniting all his subjects against himself. In the sparkle of his intelligence he was a true Plantagenet. He excelled in military and diplomatic tactics, a great charmer of women, a wine huntsman, but cruel and mean-souled. There had been greatness in Henry II and Richard; but John was merely odious.

4.3 Historical Facts

Every reader familiar with Scott's novels will easily notice that *Ivanhoe* seems less realistic than Scott's earlier novels. Reasons for this can be various and possibly involve the remoteness of the Middle Ages and the fact that Scott focused primarily on Scotland. He was not a historian of British medieval history.

Scott explains his intentions and the issue regarding historical accuracy in *Ivanhoe's* preface known as a Dedicatory Epistle. This section is written in the form of a letter and it aims to answer complaints of critics who might criticize the novel's historical inaccuracies. As the author points out, *Ivanhoe* is not supposed to be taken for a historical document but it is a work of fiction. Scott wanted to primarily interest and entertain his contemporaries with a romance or tale about chivalry, pride, love and prejudice.

Scott (1986: 10) justifies altering historical facts and inventing new ones with a statement that:

It is necessary, for exciting interest of any kind, that the subject assumed should be, as it were, translated into the manners, as well as the language, of the age we live in.

The author does not attempt to give false impressions about the period and does not claim to be completely accurate.

Scott also discusses realistic elements of his work and states that typical human behaviour stays the same regardless of centuries, class or culture. Thus, he deals with real issues that remain relevant even today. Human nature, prejudice and bigotry are just a few of the novel's themes that are timeless and affect positively *Ivanhoe's* appeal and a feeling of truthfulness. Scott simultaneously maintains the elements of romance. For instance, the quest, disguised hero, chivalric setting and forbidden love.

Scott wrote his novels against the background of historically significant periods. *Ivanhoe's* backdrop, the historical reign of King Richard I, is portrayed considerably amended. Romantic and historical elements are intertwined and Scott not only incorporates invented romantic elements but also modifies the chosen historical facts with romance. The rest of this chapter focuses on finding the historical events, which had been altered to create a romance, and separating the real from the invented.

4.3.1 Normans and Saxons

The Norman-Saxon conflict affects events throughout the novel and serves as the major conflict. Scott portrayed invented characters in actual historical events to reflect the effect they had on the people of England. The Normans are described negatively as usurpers and the Saxons positively as the oppressed natives. Even Saxon outlaws¹² possess good qualities, but the only positive Norman character is King Richard.

However, the antagonism among the Normans and Saxons is highly anachronistic and exaggerated. Scott propagates the theory of so-called Norman Yoke, which represents the alleged usurpation of the native Anglo-Saxons by William the Conqueror and his descendants. In the novel (Scott 1986: 138), Wamba cites a “Saxon proverb” associated with this term:

Norman saw on English oak,
On English neck a Norman yoke;
Norman spoon to English dish,
And England ruled as Normans wish;
Blithe world in England never will be more,
Till England’s rid of all the four.

The concept of Norman Yoke is present in the work of the twelfth-century monk Orderic Vitalis¹³, who emphasized the Norman-Saxon enmity and claimed the Anglo-Saxons plotted ceaselessly to shake off the Norman Yoke (Ibeji 2011). However, Orderic exaggerated, his theory has lost its historical significance and was disproved by reliable historical sources.

Historian E. A. Freeman states, that by the end of the twelfth century, the descendants of both Saxons and Normans in England referred to themselves as “English”, not “Saxon” or “Norman”. Subsequently adding, that the tension had declined by the reign of Henry I (Freeman 1876: 825-6).

The assimilation was gradual and Richard FitzNeal¹⁴ confirms that by the late 1170s, the process was largely completed (Bartlett 2000: Introduction):

With the English and Normans living side-by-side and intermarrying, the peoples have become so mingled that no-one can tell – as far as free men are concerned – who is English and who of Norman descent.

¹² Robin Hood and other outlaws who followed him, the Merry Men.

¹³ Orderic Vitalis (1075-1142) was a Benedictine and an English chronicler, who is considered in most cases as a reliable source, but who tends to exaggerate. He himself is the result of a successful Anglo-Norman marriage (Ibeji 2011).

¹⁴ Richard FitzNeal (1130-1198) was the treasurer of King Henry II of England.

Intermarriage, especially of Frenchmen and native women, also diluted racial identity and promoted bilingualism, which affected names of the English male peasantry. By 1225, names William, Henry, and Richard were greatly popular (Bartlett 2000: Introduction).

Ailred of Rievaulx¹⁵ supported the statements and wrote that by the 1160s, intermarriage was common in all levels of English society (Hugh 2007: 107-9).

Scott is aware of his anachronism and comments on the issue in *Ivanhoe*'s preface (Scott 1986: 11):

It is extremely probable that I may have confused the manners of the two or three centuries, and introduced, during the reign of Richard the Second, circumstances appropriated to a period either considerably earlier, or a good deal later than that era. It is my comfort, that errors of this kind will escape the general class of readers.

Additionally, it is highly probable Scott used the discussed conflict to create a parallel between the Norman Conquest and the 1707 Union of England and Scotland and to express his patriotic (Scottish) but also unionist tendencies.

4.3.2 King Richard I and Prince John

King Richard and Prince John are real historical characters, whom both became the kings of England. Although they are both Normans and brothers, they are attributed contrasting qualities.

In Scott's novel, King Richard is portrayed as a positive character and an honourable adventurous knight. He serves as the symbol of chivalry, justice, and courage. In contrast, King John is presented as a negative character and the symbol of corruption, envy and greed, whose actions negatively affect the whole kingdom. John plots against Richard throughout the novel but

Regarding the real historical figures, their reputation fluctuated wildly throughout the centuries and there is no unified verdict on their character and manners. D. Simpson states, that Richard Plantagenet was far from heroic as described in *Ivanhoe* (Simpson 2008: 439).

Ivanhoe is silent about Richard's attitude towards the Jews, but as the contemporary records state, he was as comfortable killing Jews as Saracens (Simpson 2008: 441). Some of the worst persecutions of the Jewry took place during his reign. Richard's coronation was followed by anti-Jewish riots and massacres across the kingdom. One of the incidents being

¹⁵ Ailred of Rievaulx (1110-1167) was a twelfth-century Cistercian monk whose works about history serves as one of the finest historical sources.

the forced suicide of five-hundred Jews at York, the home of Isaac of *Ivanhoe*¹⁶ (Simpson 2008: 441).

A. Maurois asserts in his history of England, that Richard's overbearing and arrogant nature led him into conflicts with his father since childhood to the extent that he planned to seize his throne (1937: 108-9). He was a true Plantagenet and inherited certain traits: their violence, their immoderate love for women, and their courage. He purposed adventure and despised prudence (Maurois 1937: 109).

At the beginning of feudal times, knighthood meant just a duty to serve the king in exchange for land, but the Church and poets made the dubbing of a knight a ceremony and associated it with noble deeds. However, instead of engaging in combat, knights brawled drunkenly and degraded the idea of chivalry. Their actions led multiple times to the massacring of whole towns in France, including men, women and children (Maurois 1937: 109). Richard I is often marked as the archetypal representative of these virtuous knights.

Ivanhoe mentions the Third Crusade, commanded by King Richard. On his expedition, Richard's distinctive courage and vehemence brought him respect among fellow crusaders (Maurois 1937: 108-110). His enemies feared him for his unrestrained cruelty and even noble-minded Saladin avenged him by executing Christian prisoners after Richard mercilessly executed thousands of Muslim captives, including women and children. The aftermath of these actions is described by Maurois (1937: 110): "long years after that campaign, the Saracens still frightened their naughty children by the threat of fetching King Richard to come and kill them."

European monarchs considered Richard dangerous as well. His unbounded nature caused him numerous conflicts with many of them; the most prominent being a quarrel with Leopold V, Duke of Austria.

Opinions on King Richard often considerably differ both amongst his contemporaries and later-day historians. For instance, the major Occitan troubadour of Richard's time, Bertrand de Born called King Richard Oc-e-Non ("Richard Yea-and-Nay") because of his reputation for terseness (Maurois 1937: 109). Additionally, Steve Runciman describes Richard I as follows: 'he was a bad son, a bad husband, and a bad king, but a gallant and splendid soldier' (Runciman 1954: 75). The verdict of modern historical science might be demonstrated with quoting Frank Barlow (1999: 292):

¹⁶ The Massacre at Clifford's Tower in York, 1190, is one of the worst anti-Semitic massacres of the Middle-Ages. The Jews were besieged and threatened with death or forceful baptism. Thus, forty families decided to rather die among their own and fathers killed their wives and children and then themselves (The Massacre of the Jews at Clifford's Tower | English Heritage, 2020).

Richard Coeur-de-Lion was a great man. Let loose as a boy in Aquitaine, where exalted ideas of individual grandeur were held, since 1183 he had gone his own arrogant and selfish way. He dedicated to a chivalrous way of life, but no simple knight-errant or careless troubadour, Richard was at his finest superhuman, at his worst unpleasant and inhumane. He was shrewd in politics and also capable of diplomacy on a great scale. More generous than his father, nobler, more imaginative, less careful, he bid for more glittering prizes and took far graver risks. Not as clever as Philip, more wayward, he tried by tremendous efforts to win back those advantages which in his rasher moments gave his rival. During his short life, his reputation was fabulous; and time has not greatly disturbed.

Although *Ivanhoe* was written as a romance and Richard, Scott was occasionally in agreement with modern historians and did not follow the idealized view. Scott portrayed King Richard as someone who cares for his nation and is chivalrous but can be reckless and puts his love for adventure above the well-being of his kingdom. Simpson states that Scott did not approve of Richard the Lionheart in *Ivanhoe* or *the Talisman*, but he is still portrayed as better than he was (Simpson 2008: 440-1).

Scott portrays Prince John as a power-hungry and greedy brother, who wishes to overthrow Richard. Generally, he is a rather cowardly and weak character who can be easily manipulated. Prince John of *Ivanhoe* does not possess any good qualities, fuels the rancour among the Normans and Saxons, and plots against Richard. This portrayal is true to life only partly, as the actual King John did in fact plan a rebellion and possessed many unfavourable qualities presented in *Ivanhoe*. He was cowardly, cruel, lecherous and tyrannical (Seel 2012: 6), but there is certainly more to King John than Scott presents.

Medieval historians were generally critical of John's behaviour and actions during the reign of his brother but became more positive when he ascended as the king of England (Holt 1963: 19). Nevertheless, Tudor and modern historians evaluated his efforts favourably and focused on John's moral personality, recognizing some of his quality.

Prince John was cultured, literate and is remembered as a benefactor of religious places. As an avid hunter, he was very active and had a satisfying knowledge of England and English language¹⁷ (John | Facts, 2020). He improved judicial and financial administration, especially the Exchequer. Although being unreliable, his political judgment was acute and many barons fought by his side in 1215 (John | Facts, 2020).

Many historians view John as able but flawed. For instance, C. Hollister proclaims that "John was a man who possessed great talents in certain areas but was afflicted with fatal

¹⁷ John was the first Norman king since the Norman Conquest who could speak English (John | Facts, Reign, Legacy, & Magna Carta, 2020)

shortcomings in others (Seel 2012: 8). W. L. Warren argues something similar: “John had the mental abilities of a great king but the inclinations of a petty tyrant”. (Seel 2012: 8-9)

G. Seel also mentions evidence suggesting that John was a dedicated and energetic ruler (2012: 8).

André Maurois (1937: 114) comments on John:

King John succeeded in uniting all his subjects against himself. In the sparkle of his intelligence he was a true Plantagenet. He excelled in military and diplomatic tactics, was a great charmer of women, a wine huntsman, but cruel and mean-souled. There had been greatness in Henry II and Richard; but John was merely odious.

It is interesting, that the actual King Richard is judged by modern historians far negatively than Scott and many writers did, but in contrast, Prince and King John is attributed positive traits. This can be surprising as Prince John is often described only in negatives. However, probably the fairest and balanced account of John is provided by the Barnwell chronicler:

John was indeed a great prince, but rather an unhappy one, who experienced both good and bad fortune (Seel 2012: 6).

4.3.3 Robin Hood

The legend of Robin Hood certainly belongs to *Ivanhoe*'s romantic elements. It is an inseparable part of the novel, although it is uncertain whether he existed and if so, the early legends historically do not interfere with the twelfth century.

The earliest ballads of Robin Hood associated the character with a king named ‘Edward’ and attributed it to the 13th or the 14th century (Dobson and Taylor 1977: 14-16). The first literary reference to Robin Hood comes from *Piers Plowman*, written around 1377, and the main body of the tales dates to the fifteenth century (Ibeji 2020). No known early ballads indicate that Robin Hood lived in the time of King Richard and Prince John.

Sir Walter Scott sets the core of his character on a medieval ballad cycle *A Gest of Robyn Hode*¹⁸. These ballads celebrate an outlaw Robin Hood and his merry men who remained loyal to King Richard during Prince John's usurpation. The social subtext of these ballads is the idea that Hood and his crew were stealing from the rich and giving generously to the poor or the idea of standing up for the common man in the face of tyranny as represented

¹⁸ The Lyttle Geste of Robyn Hode was written c. 1492-1510, but probably composed c. 1400) (BBC).

by John and his supporters. He also drew from Ritson's anthology¹⁹, where originates the picture of Robin Hood included in the novel.

In modern popular culture, Robin Hood is seen as a supporter of Richard the Lionheart. This view was first mentioned in the 16th century (Dobson and Taylor 1977: 5) and Scott propagated this idea. For instance, he attributed Robin the title Locksley and introduced the Norman-Saxon enmity. *Ivanhoe* did much to shape the modern legend (Dobson and Taylor 1977: 56).

4.3.4 The Jews

Two of the main characters of *Ivanhoe* are the Jewish moneylender Isaac of York and his beautiful daughter, Rebecca of York. They are fictitious characters inspired by Shylock and Jessica of W. Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*.

Rebecca is portrayed as an accomplished healer, who is dedicated to her faith. She chose her religion over her own life even when threatened with burning at the stake. She is probably the most sympathetic and admirable character. Her attributes are a stunning beauty, intelligence, generosity and loyalty to both her father and religion.

Isaac is a stereotypical wealthy Jew. Isaac's faith, wealth and profession give the medieval society an excuse to treat him as less than a human. Although possessing many negative qualities, Isaac would do and give away anything to keep his daughter safe.

Scott presents many occasions on which the Jews are treated poorly. The author appears sympathetic to the struggle of Isaac's people, but at the same time, portrays him as a stereotypical greedy and lying usurer. Scott's treatment of Jews in his novels is ambiguous, as he seems to criticize anti-Semitism but also mentions aspects of the Jews that seem to invite it.

Scott published the novel during a period of increased efforts for the emancipation of the Jews in England and portrayed the Jewry at the bottom of the social and political ladder.

There was no race existing on the earth, in the air, or the waters, who were the object of such an unintermitting, general, and relentless persecution as the Jews of this period" he writes (Scott 1986: 62).

It is believed that the Norman Conquest marks the arrival of the first Jews in England, where were their religious beliefs condemned as anywhere else. As already discussed, some of the worst persecutions of the Jewry took place during Richard's reign. His coronation was

¹⁹ J. Ritson published edition of Robin Hood ballads *Robin Hood: A collection of all the Ancient Poems Songs and Ballads now extant, relative to that celebrated Outlaw* (1795).

followed by anti-Jewish riots and massacres across the kingdom. D. Simpson (2008: 441) states, that Richard was as comfortable killing the Jews as the Saracens.

The Jewry had to cope with difficulties and vileness, but it was in the Crown's interest to protect their property, as they paid high taxes. They represented less than 0.25% of the English population but supplied 8% of the total income of the Royal treasury. They were a valuable financial resource to such extent, that The Exchequer of the Jews was established.

D. Hume mentions horrendous actions that the king and his minstrels implemented upon Jews²⁰ and writes that:

The most barefaced acts of tyranny and oppression were practised against the Jews, who were entirely out of the protection of law (Hume 1983: 483).
The monkish writers criticize King Henry for protecting this (Jewish) infidel race from all injuries and insults (Hume 1983: 378-9).

Hume further describes the occasions on which the infamous and already mentioned massacres of Richard's reign originated. One of the most horrid events was The Massacre of the Jews at Clifford's Tower of York in 1190, which resulted in hundreds of victims (Hume 1983: 379).

At the end of the novel, Rebecca expresses a critical view of England portrayed by Scott (Ben-Ari 2011: 45-47):

The people of England are a fierce race, quarrelling ever with their neighbours or among themselves, and ready to plunge the sword into the bowels of each other. Such is no safe abode for the children of my people [...] Not in a land of war and blood, surrounded by hostile neighbours, and distracted by internal factions, can Israel hope to rest during her wanderings.

This description of the English nation's stance on the Jewish people seems to be genuine, but the actual treatment of Jews was possibly more cruel.

4.3.5 Rebecca's Trial

Rebecca's trial and subsequent punishment are the novels worst inequity, as the Jewess is portrayed throughout the novel as a symbol of noble qualities and is the most admirable character. She is sentenced to burning at the stake, alone and with no one to help her. However, Ivanhoe arrives just in time to fight for her life and she is saved.

²⁰ They were often thrown into prison and huge sums were exacted for their liberty. These actions mediated such huge sums, that a particular court of exchequer was established (Hume 1983: 483).

Rebecca is sentenced to death by fire for the crime of witchcraft, but all charges and evidence are based upon her Jewish faith. She is guilty merely of being loyal to her religion, generous behaviour and beautiful appearance.

Throughout the Middle Ages, there are several recorded massacres of Jews including burning alive. The usual charge was the account of the blood libel²¹ (Weiss 2004: 103-104). The twelfth-century incidents include the burning of dozens of Jews in France in 1171 and 1191 (Weiss 2004: 104). However, there are no recorded incidents based in England, that were a result of blood libel.

For various reasons, Jews were sometimes seen as witches and hence prosecuted and charged with witchcraft. Nevertheless, Rebecca's punishment of burning at the stake is anachronistic, as it was highly unlikely in this period. The first executions by fire in England are recorded at the end of the 13th century and reserved for treason (Pollock & Maitland 1911: 504). And even then, England and Wales preferred hanging the overburning. Rebecca's trial and its outcome can be a mere allusion to the witch trials of Salem in the 1690s.

4.3.6 Names

In *Ivanhoe*, there is certain anachronism regarding characters' names. For Instance, Wamba serves as a fool in the twelfth-century England, but his name is borrowed from a seventh-century Visigothic king. His friend and a swineherd, Gurth, bears a specially chosen name as well. Gurth is a Scandinavian name and in the novel, Gurth is referred to as being a thrall, which is a Norse term for a serf or slave (Alexander 2007: 122-3). Scott also states Gurth is a son of Beowulf. The name Ulrica is special as well and invokes pagan Teutonic gods (Alexander 2007: 122). Even Cedric, his master, has the name of a sixth-century king of Wessex (Alexander 2007: 122). The name Cedric actually originates in *Ivanhoe*, as Scott misspelt Cerdic and became popular after the novel's release.

Mentioned names are all of an early Germanic, "Gothic", origin. None of them would be common in the time of *Ivanhoe*. The discussed anachronism might be Scott's attempt to make a point (Alexander 2007: 123):

It tells us that Scott believed the Germanic settler tribes preserved their ancestors attitude about the arrangement of political issues. This attitude is constitutionally different from Normans. (...) One of the book's morals is that the "Gothic" tradition of participatory democracy is fundamental to the English character (Alexander 2007: 122).

²¹ Blood libels are an antisemitic canard, suggesting that Jews used the blood of Christians, mostly children, in their religious practices. Over time, blood libel became a reference for any damaging false accusation (Blood libel 2020).

This moral was important in Scott's time, as this was the key difference between Georgian Britain and an imperious France, who attempted to subdue Europe in 1815 (Alexander 2007: 122).

4.3.7 Minor inaccuracies

Walter Scott certainly employed many romantic elements in *Ivanhoe* to create a compelling novel, but listing them would be lengthy and unnecessary, as the primary historical facts altered with romance have been already discussed in detail. Additionally, there are a few minor modifications which are worth mentioning.

The tournament at Ashby de la Zouch Castle belongs most probably to later centuries. Wamba disguised as a monk refers to an order that did not exist in 1194. Some of the places he mentions do not exist at all or are inspired by other cities. And lastly, Scott mentions several coins in the novel, but some of them are very unlikely to appear in the twelfth-century England. Byzants were Byzantine gold coins and zecchins Venetian gold coins.

5 *Rob Roy*

Rob Roy is one of Walter Scott's best-known historical novel and belongs to the Waverley Series, as the title page bears "by the Author of Waverley". *Rob Roy* is the sixth novel of the series and Scott's third²² romance employing the Highland region. The first edition dates 1818, although it was published on 30 December 1817. The novel is quite fictitious and affected by the stories Scott listened to throughout his life that were handed down orally over many generations.

Rob Roy focuses primarily on themes of morality, national and religious identity. It portrays the clan way of life, the struggles of Scottish people and emphasizes the difference between the beginning of the 18th century and the 19th century Scottish Enlightenment whose key figure is Scott himself. The novel may be a parallel to his contemporaneity as it presents some ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment and mentions Scotland's economic advancements which occur in the future. Watson (2007: 270) explains:

Rob Roy presents the Enlightenment values of Adam Smith, with emphasis on the pragmatism of commerce, prosperity, law and common social progress against the equally powerful spirit of Romantic individualism, cultural difference and tribal loyalty.

The main plot revolves around financial means as if Scott was arguing for an economic basis of the uprising. For instance, Rashleigh, the main antagonist, cheats and embezzles financial means in order to provoke the rebellion. Even Rob Roy's reason for supporting the rebellion seems to be rather financial, as he attempts to improve the financial situation of his family.

The title suggests that the main hero is the legendary Scottish outlaw Robert Roy MacGregor. However, Rob Roy is just a supporting character who crosses paths with the protagonist during his adventures. Scott may have given his name to the title of this novel to assist in sales of the novels. The protagonist and simultaneously the story's narrator is Francis "Frank" Osbaldistone. Frank is an Englishman from London, but his relatives and ancestors come from northern England near the Scottish borders, where he travels at the beginning of the novel and the main events take place. The novel is written as a memoir of aged Frank, who recounts circumstances that led to his marriage with Diana Vernon.

The novel is set shortly before the outbreak of the Jacobite rising of 1715 and ends shortly after. The rebellion created the background for the characters' actions and development, yet the conflict is mentioned only very briefly.

²² The first two romances dealing with the Scottish Highlands are *Waverley* and *Lady of the Lake*.

The contract for the novel was signed in May 1817 and Scott began to work on the novel during August. However, its progress was protracted by his gallstone-related illness (Rob Roy Composition 2011). Regardless of being severely weakened while on high doses of laudanum, Scott managed to finish one of his most readable works in only four months. Although it might be difficult for modern readers to understand passages and phrases written in Lowland Scots and anglicised Scottish Gaelic, I found it easier to read than I expected.

Reception of *Rob Roy* was almost unanimously favourable. The novel was a great success and the original print of ten thousand copies sold out only in two weeks (Rob Roy Composition 2011). Readers admired Scott's characters and once again enjoyed his talent for story-telling and characterization. Occasional criticism pointed out a minor involvement of the titular hero and weakness of the plot, as of too many coincidences and hurried conclusion (Rob Roy Composition 2011). Nevertheless, *Rob Roy* is Scott's second – after *Ivanhoe* – most-read historical novel.

5.1 Plot of *Rob Roy*

At the beginning of the novel, Francis “Frank” Osbaldistone is returning from France, where his father William Osbaldistone sent him for an apprenticeship to learn the family merchant business. However, Frank preferred writing poetry over learning the business and so his disappointed, business-minded father called him back.

William is a successful merchant in London. At a young age, he was disinherited by his father in favour of his brother Hildebrand, whose religion and character matched their father’s. William left his home and started a trading company Osbaldistone and Tresham in London. The family fortune and ancestral mansion Osbaldistone Hall in Northumberland²³ falls subsequently in the hands of Sir Hildebrand Osbaldistone.

In London, William becomes enraged as Frank does not want to follow his wishes and join the company so he sends Frank to stay with his uncle near the Scottish border and find out which of his five cousins will take Frank’s position at the trading company.

On the road, Frank encounters another traveller named Morris, who carries a large amount of money and acts nervously. Both travellers stay the night at the Black Bear Inn near Darlington, where they are joined by a sociable and friendly Scotsman Mr Campbell. Mr Campbell is the outlaw Rob Roy MacGregor in disguise. The next morning, Mr Campbell and Morris travel together but are halted by a highwayman who steals Morris’ sum.

Frank arrives at his uncle’s mansion just in time for a fox hunt and encounters a young huntress, Diana “Die” Vernon. Die is a relative of his uncle, beautiful, intelligent and outspoken for a woman of this time. Frank meets Sir Hildebrand and his six sons. The youngest Rashleigh appears charming and intelligent, but Diana warns Frank regarding his all cousins, describing them as dangerous bullies, drunks and fools. The worst of them being Rashleigh, who manipulates and exploits people around him.

Shortly after his arrival, Frank discovers there is a warrant for his arrest and decides to face the accusations. The fellow traveller Morris accused him of stealing his gold and the matter is taken to court. To Frank’s surprise, Rashleigh is present and seems to know Mr Campbell (Rob Roy), who arrived to prove Frank’s innocence. Frank is freed and Rashleigh claims he persuaded Campbell to testify on his behalf.

On one occasion, Frank gets drunk and strikes Rashleigh, who does not forget this even after they reconcile. Rashleigh leaves for London to work for Osbaldistone and Tresham and Frank decides to write a letter to warn Mr Owen, a clerk at his father’s company, against him. Frank learns that Die has to either marry any of Sir Hildebrand’s sons or enter a cloister.

²³ Northumberland is a ceremonial county lying on the Anglo-Scottish border.

At Osbaldistone Hall, Frank becomes Die's tutor. Although he is a Presbyterian and she a Catholic, they develop feelings towards each other. He also befriends the gardener, Andrew Fairservice, a talkative Scotsman, who tells him about the place's goings-on.

One day, Die advises Frank to go to London, as Rashleigh is in charge of the company while his father is on the Continent. She also rejects his feelings, as she intends to join the cloister. Furthermore, Frank receives a letter from Mr Tresham, his father's business partner, who informs him that Rashleigh has stolen documents to embezzle the company and fled to Scotland. Frank realizes his warning letter has not reached London and decides to go to Glasgow, accompanied by the gardener Andrew, to destroy his cousin's plans and save his father's company.

In Glasgow, Frank and Andrew attend a sermon when a stranger approaches Frank and tells him to meet him at midnight. The stranger turns out to be Rob Roy (Campbell) and takes him to prison, where he finds Mr Owen. The company's Glasgow partners, MacVittie and MacFin, made Owen a debtor of the company, accused and imprisoned him. They are joined by Nicol Jarvie, who is a Glasgow bailie, a Scottish partner of Osbaldistone and Tresham and Rob Roy's kinsman. Jarvie stands surety for Owen, so he can be freed. Before leaving, Rob Roy asks Frank to come with Jarvie to his home in the Highlands, promising to solve the financial problems Rashleigh caused. Frank, Owen and Jarvie leave together.

Soon after, Frank discovers Rashleigh talking with MacVittie and Morris. After their meeting, Frank confronts Rashleigh and they are ready to duel, when Rob Roy interrupts them, as he considers both his friends. He reminds Frank to meet him in Clachan and sends Rashleigh away. Frank and Owen learn Rob Roy's identity and realize his association with Rashleigh. Jarvie informs them of Rashleigh's aim to foment Jacobitism.

At the inn in Clachan, he meets soldiers with orders to arrest Rob Roy. Because of their presence, Rob Roy did not meet the party and sent Frank letter to postpone their meeting. Suddenly, English officers arrive with captured Dougal, one of Rob's men, to arrest them for connection with the outlaw. However, Rob's wife Helen and other kinsmen save them.

Helen has Morris as a hostage for her husband's safety, but after becoming enraged by the actions against her family, she orders him to be drowned. Her son's report Rob was captured by the Duke. Frank is sent to deliver Helen's defiant message, but he declines to obey and Rob is meant to be executed. However, Rob manages to escape. The chaos between the English and the Scots ensues.

On Frank's way back to Clachan, he encounters Die and an unknown gentleman, whom Frank assumes to be her husband. However, the stranger is her father Sir Frederick Vernon, who has been secretly meeting her at the Osbaldistone Hall. She gives Frank the vital

documents Rashleigh stole and says goodbye. After meeting with Jarvie, Osbaldistone and Tresham are no longer in debt.

Rob Roy tells the story of how he robbed Morris with Rashleigh at the beginning of the novel. Rashleigh was plotting for the Jacobite cause, but changed sides and stands now with the government and King George. Helen gives Frank a ring she left for him.

Frank and Nicol Jarvie leave the clan and arrive in Glasgow, where they meet William Osbaldistone. William is glad to see his son and everything is forgotten. He prospered on the continent and rewards Jarvie for his help.

At the end of the novel, the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 breaks out. The Osbaldistone's and Owen return to London. However, Frank rides north to support King George. After the rebellion is suppressed, Frank discovers that he is the heir of Osbaldistone Hall. He was imprisoned and, knowing his older sons died in battle, disinherited Rashleigh for his actions. He died soon after by distress of mind, rather than an illness.

Frank heads north to take possession of the estate. He learns, that Die and her father, the mysterious gentleman, are assumed to be dead or out of England. Sir Frederick was associated with the Rebellion and visited Die at the Hall in disguise. But Frank finds them both hiding from the government at the library. Unfortunately, Andrew divulged their presence and officers arrive with a warrant to arrest all three. Rashleigh is involved as well and helps with their capture. However, Rob Roy arrives at the scene, frees them and kills Rashleigh. With the clan's aid, the Vernons escape to safety in France.

At the end of the novel, Frank takes control of the ancestral home and starts working at his father's company and Diana is free to make her own choice after her father dies. The two are reunited, William approves of their marriage and the novel ends with an anticipated happy ending.

5.2 Historical Context: the Stuarts and Jacobitism

The Scottish unrest portrayed in *Rob Roy* and Scott's other novels arose from the complex relations of England and Scotland, which shared a monarch since the Union of the Scottish and English Crowns in 1603. King James VI of Scotland established a personal union among these countries when he inherited the English and Irish throne from Queen Elizabeth I. Despite the attempts of James VI and I, the two kingdoms kept their individual sovereignty, separate parliaments and laws. He was the first English king of the House of Stuart.

James VI and I (d. 1625) was a Protestant but exercised a tolerant approach to religious conformity and attempted to control various religious and political factions in Scotland. Scotland's economy thrived under his rule and with this increasing prosperity came also a development of the liberal arts (Mackie 1991: 196-7). J. D. Mackie comments on James' legacy:

During his reign, Scotland made a greater advance from barbarism to civilization than in any whole century of its previous history (1991: 198).

King James divided his opponents and introduced changes gradually, but his successor and son Charles I (r. 1625 – 1649) was too abrupt with his religious policies and managed to unite all opponents against himself (Mackie 1991: 201). The actions of King Charles initiated the English Civil War and resulted in his execution in 1649, followed by 11 years of Interregnum and the Cromwellian occupation. Scotland temporarily lost its independent government, parliament and legal system (Mackie 1991: 221-4)

The Restoration is a designation for the return of the monarchy in 1660 and, in a wider sense, denotes the reigns of Charles II (1660-1685) and his brother, James VII and II (1685-1688). Ending with the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

The Stuart monarchy was restored in 1660 with the succession of Charles I's son, Charles II (r. 1660–1685). Scotland greeted Charles enthusiastically and once again became an independent kingdom, governed by appointed Commissioners (Mackie 1991: 231-2). During his reign, Charles had never visited Scotland (Mackie 1991: 241). Charles also repeated some of his father's mistakes and attempted to rule without the parliament (Mackie 1991: 231). Although favouring religious tolerance, Charles consented to Clarendon Code that established the supremacy of the Anglican Church (Cannon and Crowcroft 2015: 210). He secured the throne for his successor, his brother James.

James VII and II (r. 1685-1688) was openly a Roman Catholic and omitted to take the Coronation Oath to defend the Protestants, subsequently putting Catholics in key governmental positions (Mackie 1991: 241). The Protestant majority in Britain hoped the

king will be soon succeeded by his Protestant daughter Mary. However, James produced a male heir in 1688. The Church of Scotland (Kirk) was also Protestant: primarily Calvinist in doctrine and Presbyterian in structure. Although there was a significant Catholic minority.

The birth of James Francis Edward Stuart transformed the political future of the realm and indicated the establishment of a Catholic dynasty (Cannon and Crowcroft 2015: 408). Therefore, English magnates initiated events known as the Glorious Revolution by inviting Mary and her husband William of Orange to seize the throne (Mackie 1991: 242). James's cause was lost in Scotland as well, for he violated the rights of the aristocracy to control society at the local level (Mackie 1991: 243). Demoralized, James fled England in December 1688. He was the last Catholic monarch of England, Scotland and Ireland.

The Glorious Revolution was almost bloodless. In 1689, the English Convention²⁴ declared James II had abdicated and transferred the crowns of England and Ireland to joint monarchs, Mary and William. The Convention of Estates followed England's precedent and, claiming James VII of Scotland had forfeited the crown by his actions, offered it to William. He accepted, along with limitations of royal power (Mackie 1991: 244). The Revolution settled the dominance of the Presbyterians in the Kirk.

William II and III (r. 1689-1702) and Mary II (r. 1689 – 1694) accepted *the English Bill of Rights* (1689), which limited the power of the monarch and ensured the rights of Parliament while restricting the royal prerogatives (Baker 2002: 403). Additionally, *the Bill of Rights* and *the Scottish Claim of Right Act* (1689) establishes Mary II's sister Anne and her descendant as their successor. Additionally, *The Toleration Act* (1689) allowed broader freedom of religion to Protestant nonconformists.

Mary died in 1694 and William governed alone until he died in 1702. Although they were co-rulers, Mary governed alone only during William's absences. However, she provided loyal support to her husband's policies and the harmony of their partnership made the Glorious Revolution a major step towards parliamentary government (Baker 2002: 403).

As the marriage of Mary and William was childless and their heir Anne failed to produce any surviving children, the English Parliament enacted *the Act of Settlement* (1701) to settle the succession of the English and Irish crowns. Next in line was meant to be Protestant Sophia, Electress of Hannover, and her Protestant descendants²⁵.

²⁴ The 1689 English Convention was an assembly of the Parliament of England. Similarly. The 1689 Convention of Estates was an assembly of Scottish bishops, barons and representatives of the Burghs.

²⁵ All Catholics or those married to Catholics were excluded from the line of succession.

Anne (r. 1702-1714) was an assertive woman who, despite her chronic ill-health, was a shrewd political operator and determined to rule. She gave active encouragement to major national ventures, such as the Union with Scotland (1707) (Cannon and Crowcroft 34: 2015).

The Act of Settlement (1701) applied only to the kingdoms of England and Ireland. There were tendencies in Scotland to preserve the Stuart dynasty, rather than accept the House of Hannover. Therefore, England planned to prevent any future conflicts and decided that full parliamentary union was essential to ensure the stability and prosperity of both kingdoms. However, the initial negotiations failed and the Scottish Parliament passed *the Act of Security*²⁶ (1704) as a response. It took three more years and a combination of exclusionary legislation, bribery and politics to achieve the union. On 1 May 1707, the Kingdom of England and the Kingdom of Scotland were united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain by *the Acts of Union* (1707). The union preserved the Church, the Law, the Judicial System, and preserved the definite nationality which Scotland had preserved so long (Mackie 1991: 260-3). England gained security for the Hannoverian succession and the constitutional settlement of the Revolution. Scotland gained a guarantee of her Revolution Settlement and an opportunity for economic development (Mackie 1991: 263).

Anne continued to reign as the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the last monarch of the House of Stuart. She was succeeded by Sophia's son, George I (r. 1714-1727) of the House of Hannover. The Hannoverian establishment in Scotland had its most enthusiastic backing in larger towns and Presbyterian strongholds, especially in the west and south-west (Wormald 2011: 158). It also enjoyed the wholehearted support of the most powerful highland clans, the Campbells of Argyll, who fought against the government's opponents. On the other hand, the Catholic minority supporting James's descendants drew its support primarily from other Highland clans and the Episcopalian north-east (Wormald 2011: 158).

5.2.1 Jacobitism

The supporters of Protestant William and Mary dominated the government but across the Realm remained a significant minority supporting the claims to the throne of James and his Catholic descendants²⁷ (Cannon and Crowcroft 2015: 507). This cause became known as Jacobitism, derived from the Latin version of James, *Jacobus*.

²⁶ *The Act of Security* (1704) states that after Anne's death, the Scottish Parliament will choose a Protestant descendant of the House of Stewart (Stuart), but not the one designated by the English, unless various economic, political and religious conditions were met (Mackie 1991: 259)

²⁷ Jacobites continued to support the claims to the throne of James's son James Francis Edward Stuart (the Old Pretender or "James III") and his grandsons Charles Edward Stuart (the Young Pretender, "Charles III") and Henry Stuart (the cardinal duke of York or "Henry IX") (Cannon and Crowcroft 2015: 507).

The Glorious Revolution happened upon the principle that a monarch, who violates the rights of the people, could be removed. However, Jacobites believed that monarchs could not be removed, as they are appointed by the divine right (Mackie 1991: 260). Thus, Jacobites considered the Glorious Revolution illegitimate and attempted to restore the House of Stuart to the British throne. Their attempts led to a series of risings.

Jacobitism had a religious, as well as a political, dimension (Cannon and Crowcroft 2015: 507). However, James II and his son and grandsons were Catholics and *the Act of Settlement* (1701) excluded them from succession on the English throne. Their peaceful restoration was virtually impossible (Cannon and Crowcroft: 507).

The Jacobite movement was strongest in the peripheries of the Realm: such as Catholic Ireland, the Scottish Highlands, and Northumberland in northern England. As well as other areas with a high ratio of Catholics. Nevertheless, the majority of Jacobite supporters was Protestant (Szechi 1994: 63-4).

Jacobitism was the strongest in Scotland, as the Glorious Revolution disestablished the Episcopalian²⁸ church and many Jacobite leaders belonged to Protestant Episcopalian congregations²⁹ (Szechi 1994: 64) (Cannon and Crowcroft 2015: 507). Among Jacobites were also Protestants who declined to declare loyalty to William and Mary, to Anne or refused to recognize the Hanoverian succession (Cannon and Crowcroft. 507). Scotland also became a sanctuary for those who opposed the Union in 1707. It also appealed to the lower, even the criminal, elements of society, as a form of social protest (Cannon and Crowcroft 2015: 507).

The efforts of the Jacobites to restore the Stuarts upon the throne attracted much attention, but their influence upon the development of Scotland was slight (Mackie 1991: 269).

Their efforts were doomed to failure and founded upon false hopes. They overestimated the number of their allies as the growing economic prosperity inclined the wealthy men to accept a rule of which they did not originally approve of. Additionally, England and Scotland dreaded the return of absolutism in the form of Stuart rule (Mackie 1991: 269).

There were open risings in Scotland and England in 1689, 1696, 1715, 1719 and 1745.

The initial Jacobite rebellion started in Scotland in 1689. It was led by John Graham, Viscount Dundee, whose forces consisted mostly of the Highlanders. They managed a victory over William's forces at the Battle of Killiecrankie, but Dundee was killed and the rising was defeated. The rising formally ended in 1692 with the Glencoe massacre³⁰.

²⁸ In the 17th century, *Episcopalian* represents the authority of bishops appointed by the monarch. In contrast, *Presbyterian* refers to the governance of elders.

²⁹ A significant Episcopalian minority left the cause after the establishment of the Scottish Episcopalian Church in 1712.

³⁰ A treacherous slaughter of 38 members of the Clan MacDonald of Glencoe for not pledging allegiance.

In 1696, Jacobites unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate William III. And in 1697, Jacobites and James VII and II lost the French dynastic backing, after King Louis recognized William III as a King of England.

The onset of the Jacobite rising of 1715, or “the Fifteen”, seemed to have all the elements of success (Mackie 1991: 271). More than 20,000 Scots fought for Jacobites. The Scots were tired of the union and assumed the death of Queen Anne in 1714 will create good conditions to restore the Old Pretender, “James III”. The rising was led by the Earl of Mar and enjoyed some short-lived success until it was brought down by a combination of poor leadership and French apathy (Wormald 2011: 158).

In contrast with “The Fifteen”, which had involved the whole of the Jacobite interest in Scotland, the attempt of 1719 was a mere side-issue of European diplomacy (Mackie 1991: 273). As far as Scotland was concerned, the event was of no substance (Mackie 1991: 374).

The Jacobite rising of 1745, or the Forty-Five, has attracted great attention for its romance, and because it seemed to come very near to success (Mackie 1991: 274). The Jacobite army rallied to the standard of James II’s grandson Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender (Wormald 2011: 158). The Jacobite armies were commanded by the brilliant Lord George Murray and scored multiple victories. However, they were forced to retreat to the Highlands and suffered a brutal defeat at the Battle of Culloden in April 1746 (Wormald 2011: 158).

Yet, the Forty-Five did not greatly affect the development of Scotland as a whole. The failure of the rising ruined the Scottish supporters of the White Rose and convinced foreign powers that it was not profitable to support a losing cause. As a political issue Jacobitism never recovered. Yet in Scottish sentiment it survived and, under the stimulus of the romantic movement, it produced literature still well-loved. For instance, the novels of Sir Walter Scott (Mackie 1991: 281).

Following these events, Jacobitism ended as a serious political movement. Fortunately, it produced a rich culture of art, music and political symbolism which centred around vague notions of lost national glory (Wormald 2011: 158). The culture in question was gradually sentimentalized and homogenized as a general expression of Scottish national feeling (Wormald 2011: 158). This patriotic feeling is most appealing in Walter Scott’s historical novel *Waverley*.

5.3 Historical Facts

Rob Roy is often compared to *Waverley* (1814) as both novels deal with similar themes and possess similar patterns (Burwick et al 2012: 22). However, there is a major difference. The historical events in *Waverley* are the main subject of the story and extend throughout the novel. However, in *Rob Roy*, the Jacobite rising is merely an adjunct to the plot (Howard 1979: 73)

Regarding historical elements, the novel deals with the Jacobite movement, the Scottish Enlightenment and mentions colonisation, agricultural and economic progress. Scott alters respective historical facts to emphasize both the contrast and parallels between the 18th and 19th century. The historical authenticity of events was affected by the stories and legends the author listened to throughout his life which were handed down orally over many generations.

Scott did not attempt to create a historically accurate analysis of the state of society. He aimed to research the fates of people who have been, as a result of the economic and political situation, denied their rights, identity and face a threat of losing their native habitat (Howard 1979: 73). The novel's characters may serve as representative symbols of all oppressed people in unfavourable situations.

In comparison with *Ivanhoe*, *Rob Roy* appears more historically authentic. The story takes place against the background of the Jacobite movement. However, the rising of 1715 is related to the plot indirectly and presented relatively briefly at the end of the novel. The major part of the novel is focused on the experiences and adventures of Frank Osbaldistone and the personage and nature of Rob Roy and his kinsmen.

Although the novel is set against real historical events and portrays real historical figures relatively authentically, it focuses on romantic themes. The historical events represent a relatively small part of the novel and the rest is devoted to romance and themes of love, the beauty of nature, national identity, adventure, morality and unfortunate fates of the Highlanders representing the obsolete ways which will soon vanish.

As has been already mentioned in previous chapters, Scott set his historical novels at the backdrop of historically significant periods. In the case of *Rob Roy*, he chose a period of social unrest reflecting political, economic and religious issues. Scott not only invents facts but modifies the already historical events with romance as well. The subchapters below focus on examining those historical events and separating the invented and the fact.

5.3.1 The Jacobite Rising of 1715

The plot of the novel is set against the background of the Jacobite rising of 1715. It is the main historical event of the novel. Reasons which led Jacobites to attempt to restore James VII and II or his descendants were already described in previous chapters.

The Jacobite movement was relatively strong in Scotland, particularly in the Highlands. There was a significant amount of those who were supporting the Jacobite cause as they were not satisfied with the Protestant monarch of Great Britain, the Union of 1707, the accession of Hannoverian dynasty or were forced to join the revolt for economic reasons. The aspects of the rebellion also appealed to the lower class of society; outlaws and figures such as the novel's titular hero, Robert MacGregor.

Although the Jacobites clashed with the governmental forces before, the rebellion of 1715 was the first major open conflict. The Fifteen involved the whole of the Jacobite interest and seemed to have relatively high chances of success (Mackie 1991: 271). However, it ended with the defeat of Jacobites and did not leave a significant impact.

The rebellion itself is not presented directly and is included only in one chapter at the end of the novel. All the romance associated with the Jacobite cause is not an important feature of *Rob Roy*, but its importance is in keeping with the novel's treatment of other issues (Howard 1979: 88). As for the stated information, the portrayal of the rising appears accurate.

Rob Roy and its lengthy introduction mention multiple battles which happened during the conflict. For instance, the battles of Bothwell Brigg, Sheriffmuir, Glenfruin and Prestonpans. Especially significant is the Battle of Sheriffmuir, which was the major conflict of the rebellion. Scott and his kinsmen were fighting for the Jacobite cause under the command of the Earl of Mar. Rob Roy led his men but did not follow Mar's orders to attack. Scott mentions in the Introductory chapter of *Rob Roy* (Scott 1995: 25-26):

During this medley of flight and pursuit, Rob Roy retained his station on a hill in the centre of the Highland position; and though it is said his attack might have decided the day, he could not be prevailed upon to charge. (...) Rob did not, however, neglect his own private interest on the occasion. In the confusion of an undecided field of battle, he enriched his followers by plundering the baggage and the dead on both sides.

However, this most likely is merely Scott's imagination, as Ch. Baker claims that Rob Roy saved the lives of his men, as following the orders would lead to a defeat, and could not rob the death (Baker 2002: 246).

With regards to historical accuracy, the governmental forces were led by the Duke of Argyle, John Campbell. The relations among Rob Roy and the Duke of Argyle are quite complex both in the novel and reality and worth mentioning. The duke was in charge of

governmental army at the Battle of Sheriffmuir against Rob Roy, but they are relatives from Rob Roy's mother's side and despite their conflicts, the duke was his protector (Scott 1995: 40). The character of Rob Roy also uses the name Campbell throughout the novel as a disguise as it was his mother's name. Other than the Duke of Argyle, the novel's other historical figure is the Duke of Montrose.

The circumstances connected with the rising which might have been romanticized are the bills of exchange which are crucial throughout the novel. I found their importance implausible and doubted their ability to incite the revolt and play a significant part in its course.

The Jacobite rising of 1715 and the upcoming attempts were not successful but Walter Scott and other authors employed them in their works and romanticized the lives, actions and endeavours of the participants in order to express and resurrect the Scottish national feeling (Wormald 2011: 158). The culture and way of life of the Highlanders are portrayed in countless ways gradually sentimentalized and produced a rich and unique culture.

5.3.2 Robert MacGregor

Rob Roy (Robert) MacGregor (1671-1734) was a member of the Scottish Highland clan Gregor and a hero to Scottish nationalists. However, he was regarded by the English as an outlaw and a traitor (Baker 2002: 246). Although Rob Roy is the titular hero, Scott approaches his character indirectly throughout the adventures of the fictitious protagonist Frank Osbaldistone.

Throughout the seventeenth century, MacGregors have been deprived of their ancestral lands. Hence being landless, they became cattle thieves and blackmailers³¹ (Wells 2020). Their rivals were the Campbells, although Rob Roy's mother originated from this large clan.

Rob Roy was formally educated and maintained the watch against cattle raiders in return for black mail (rent). After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, his clan supported James VII and II against William of Orange and Rob even fought with Viscount Dundee at Killiecrankie in 1689 (Baker 2002: 246). His clan was punished for supporting Jacobites and his father imprisoned. Subsequently, Rob assumed a larger role in the family, gained a reputation for his actions and started using his mother's name, Campbell. He had five sons with his wife Helen Mary.

³¹ Cattle theft (reiving) was a legal and honourable practice according to Highland custom. Similarly, blackmail originally meant protection against reiving – cattle theft. (Wells 2020).

For years, he conducted cattle business with the Marquis of Montrose, James Graham. However, they got into a conflict when Montrose lent Rob Roy money which was stolen by one of Rob's men. Although innocent, Rob Roy was accused of robbery, lost all his lands and was outlawed (Baker 2002: 246).

Although being an outlaw, Scott remained a supporter of the Jacobite movement and after he fought at the Battle of Sheriffmuir (1715), was declared a traitor as well (Baker 2002: 246). He continued to operate against his enemies but eventually submitted to General John Wade in 1722 (Baker 2002: 246). MacGregor was finally pardoned and freed in 1727. He lived to an age of 63 and died in 1734.

Scott presents Rob Roy in the introduction to his novel as a person motivated by plunder and reluctant to participate in battle (Baker 2002: 246). 41). But as already discussed, this portrayal was rejected by modern historians. Scott also claims that the actual Rob Roy was less noble and romantic than his fictional counterpart (Ungurianu 2007: 41). This statement may be true as the romanticized legends about Rob Roy's life and actions started developing already during his life. Rob Roy became a legend in his own time, probably thanks to D. Defoe's romantic portrayal in *The Highland Rogue* (1723) (Baker 2002: 246). And his personage is often compared to Robin Hood.

Scott describes Rob Roy as a complex character with both positive and negative traits. Frank is doubting his trustworthiness, but Jarvie attributes him as "a kind of Highland honesty" (Scott 1995: 275). Jarvie also stands up for Rob Roy, as he was once a respectable drover until his creditors seized his land and home and abused his wife (Scott 1995: 300). As a result of these events, Rob Roy became "a broken man who turned to blackmail and reiving on a large scale" (Scott 1995: 300).

What can be stated with certainty is that Rob Roy's role in the Jacobite rising was not as significant as Scott suggests (Ungurianu 2007: 41). Additionally, Scott's Rob Roy is a mysterious character who, through many coincidences, appears suddenly on multiple occasions to perform a heroic deed and save Frank. Those coincidences are highly unlikely.

Walter Scott stresses the qualities of the MacGregors in the introduction to the novel (Howard 1979: 73). As an avid antiquarian, Scott is intrigued by their character, way of life and tenacity to maintain themselves as a clan even under difficult circumstances (Howard 1979: 73). Rob Roy as the epitome of the MacGregor spirit. Scott portrayed Rob Roy and his life according to eyewitness accounts, legends and stories handed down in his family. Although the outlaw was already a legend during his life, the publication of *Rob Roy* and following written, theatrical and film adaptations magnified his fame.

5.3.3 The Highlands

In Scott's fictional foray into the past, he creates a work of romance by portraying heroic adventures and barbaric lawlessness set in romantic settings (Malzahn 2011: 94). The Scottish Highlands represent a romantic setting for the Scottish clans and their tales and Scott portrays them with unique plurality and complexity. The Highlands may be poetic, beautiful and sublime, but also dangerous, wild and dark. In Scott's novels, a description of the scenery belongs to the most prominent romantic elements.

This contrast also reflects the way of life and nature of the Scottish clans which reside there. The clans have their own moral code and a strong sense for honour, loyalty and their members are capable of heroic deeds. However, they are also capable of unrestrained primitive violence. Scott mentions within the novel their lawlessness, stating that their conflicts are often convicted by a sword. Additionally, Helen MacGregor's treatment of the captive Morris is an appropriate example because he is mercilessly drown.

The victim was held fast by some, while others, binding a large heavy stone in a plaid, tied it round his neck, and others again eagerly stripped him of some part of his dress. Half-naked, and thus manacled, they hurled him into the lake, there about twelve feet deep, with a loud halloo of vindictive triumph,— above which, however, his last death-shriek, the yell of mortal agony, was distinctly heard. The heavy burden splashed in the dark-blue waters, and the Highlanders, with their pole-axes and swords, watched an instant to guard, lest, extricating himself from the load to which he was attached, the victim might have struggled to regain the shore. But the knot had been securely bound—the wretched man sunk without effort; the waters, which his fall had disturbed, settled calmly over him, and the unit of that life for which he had pleaded so strongly, was for ever withdrawn from the sum of human existence (Scott 1995: 342)

Scott portrays the clan way of life in the Highlands in comparison with the Lowlands and England, especially Glasgow and London which represent a centre of economic development and progress. On the other hand, the Highlands are a poetic and romantic region, but there might be no place for places like this in the future. The distinct culture of the north is doomed and belongs to the past, while the future is founded upon the mercantile and rational values. Many Jacobites come from the Highlands and their defeat and subsequent punishing might be foreshadowing their fate.

5.3.4 Minor inaccuracies

Rob Roy is without a doubt a historical novel with a variety of romantic elements. As has been already discussed, the historical events of the 1710s are merely an adjunct to the plot which is mostly devoted to picturesque characters, sceneries, adventure, love and especially the portrayal of the Scottish Highlands and their native clans.

Regardless of their smaller significance as the historical background, Scott mentions a few historical events which are altered, anachronistic. For instance, the death of Duncan MacLaren is attributed to Rob Roy even though his murder happened twenty years later. Additionally, the fictitious character of Diana Die Vernon is heavily romanticized. Die is an educated, confident and strong-willed woman. However, she grew up in an environment and society which would probably not result in such maturity, manners and firmness of character.

Conclusion

Sir Walter Scott started his writing career as a translator of foreign poems and ballads but his historical novels are certainly his most valuable legacy and brought him eminence. He produced an amazing twenty-seven novels within sixteen years. The two most popular novels, *Ivanhoe* and *Rob Roy*, are the focus of this thesis.

The initial part of my thesis is dedicated to Walter Scott, as I believe literary works are a reflection of the author's socio-cultural and political background and should be understood to provide proper analyses. The section describes the author's literary development which culminated with an innovating historical novel, brings attention to the repeating themes he employed and characterizes his conception of a historical novel. Scott blended historical information with fiction according to a three-step strategy of selecting only particular historical facts, transforming historical detail and subsequently supplementing necessary historical records.

Romantic and realistic elements found within Scott's novels are discussed in the subchapters. Picturesque is a favourite artifice of all romantic schools and Scott employed it especially in the description of characters and landscapes. His feeling for picturesque, colour and contrast are his most prominent romantic features. However, Scott's romanticism is partly based on realism. As a social historian, he attempted to capture the spirit of the age and typical behaviour, traditions and manners of various classes. The fundamental elements of his works are for the most part realistic, as he believed that a successful romance must be based on reality, while scenes such as the return to life of Athelstane or in the manner by which *Ivanhoe* defeats Brian de-Boise in the duel to save the life of Rebecca while captured and under the jurisdiction of the Templars: these parts are wholly unrealistic and thoroughly romantic elements in *Ivanhoe*.

The primary aim of my thesis was to analyse the historical novels *Ivanhoe* and *Rob Roy* concerning their romantic and historical elements and their interrelation. Each novel is given three subchapters. The first introduces the novel and its plot, the second provides the historical setting of a given place and period and the final subchapter deals with the specific elements found within the novel.

Ivanhoe depicts medieval England with colourful descriptions of chivalrous deeds, knights in shining armour, beautiful women in need of rescue and outlaws, both "good" and "bad" such as Robin Hood. The novel maintains many of the elements of romanticism, such as a chivalric setting, the quest, villainous portrayal of foreigners, disguised here, forbidden love and an anticipated happy-ending. Historical elements serve as a foundation for the romantic plot and give the novel a feeling not only of authenticity, but of the way to learn the

national history in a way which was not dry or boring for the millions of readers. However, Scott altered a few significant historical facts which are discussed in the last part of the chapter and their historicity is supported by scholarly literature.

Rob Roy portrays the clan way of life, the struggles of Scottish people and emphasizes the difference between the beginning of the 18th century and the 19th century Scottish Enlightenment. The plot is set against the background of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 but it is not the main theme and event. Historical elements represent a relatively small part of the novel and the rest is filled with romantic elements, such as the description of the Highlands, adventure, courage, morality and national as well as ethnic and even linguistic identity. There are only a few historical facts which were altered and romanticized.

Each novel incorporates a different amount of romantic and historical elements. *Rob Roy* seems more historically authentic in comparison with *Ivanhoe* but both are primarily romances. There are no paranormal or unrealistic parts to the plot of *Rob Roy*. Scott was interested in major events which had an impact on his nation's history but real historical events and personages serve primarily as a mere skeleton for his romantic plots. On several occasions, Scott altered those facts to give a compelling story but he was an excellent narrator and presented his work credibly. He managed to mediate to his readers seemingly credible spirit and atmosphere of a given age, which might be the reason why his reputation has continued to be so renowned. Although his novels might be somewhat neglected by modern readers, he has been for generations regarded as among the greatest of British novelists, along with Charles Dickens and Jane Austen.

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