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Withdrawing from History: Wordsworth, Scott, and Dickens and the Afterlife of the Scottish Enlightenment

by

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**INTRODUCTION. PAN-BRITISH ASSIMILATION AND THE POETICS OF PRIVATE LIFE,
1788–1841**

PROLOGUE: WILLIAM COLLINS'S "ODE ON THE POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS
OF THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND, CONSIDERED AS THE SUBJECT OF
POETRY" (1788) AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH

One might say that this project began with a nightmarish fall and a nocturnal journey.

One night, William Collins dreamt he fell out of a tree. Later, he told his friends, "[T]he Tree was the Tree of poetry."¹ This dream image could anticipate Collins the proto-Romantic poet, falling, fully ripe as it were, from the Tree of poetry in what Harold Bloom once called "full flight from the school of [Alexander] Pope."² Such a plunge suggests abandoning your fellow poets and poetic tradition for an individual vision, one as egotistical as it is terrifying, vertiginous. The notion accords with the William Collins famously depicted in Samuel Johnson's Lives of the English Poets (1779–81) as a failed man-of-letters who went mad and whose "flights of imagination pass the bounds of nature."³ This is the Collins whose "Ode on the Poetical Character" (1746) furnished Bloom with the introduction to The Visionary Company, his authoritative study of British Romanticism. In that ode, an allegorical description of the creative imagination, poetic inspiration stands as an intensely individualistic, privatized experience, a personal "transfiguration of the matter of common experience."⁴ Meanwhile, in her discussion of

Collins's "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland, Considered as the Subject of Poetry" (1788), a poem colored throughout with depictions of "nature's more awful solemnities,"⁵ Deborah Elise White notes that for Collins, "imagination stands outside . . . human [i.e., social] interest."⁶

A different Collins altogether emerges, however, when we consider the "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland" in its first appearance in print, namely, when it was published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh,⁷ a material context that complicates the conventional sense of Collins as being in thrall to an individual, solipsistic vision. Read in light of the Transactions, the poem, in fact, privileges a social context while it cautions against the excesses of private, anti-social pursuits—all in accordance with the Royal Society of Edinburgh's institutional objectives.

Collins had initially written the poem to commemorate the London visit of John Home, the Scottish dramatist who was a seminal part of what Yoon Sun Lee calls "a close-knit circle . . . that provided the intellectual and social force behind the Scottish Enlightenment" at a time when "Edinburgh had come to rival London as a capital of learning and genius."⁸ In the ode, Collins bids Home a safe return to his native Scotland, beseeching him to look to his birthplace's rich cultural heritage for inspiration and subject matter. He insistently reminds Home of his social connections, urging him to remember his English friends: "Go, not unmindful of that cordial youth, / Whom, long endear'd, thou leav'st by Lavant's side . . . nor forget my social name."⁹ Collins then ends his poem with a plea for the "kind protection" of his "Absent friend" (lines 218, 219).

The ode that opens and closes with a plea to Home to not forget his social obligations carries within it an elaborate warning against forsaking the public sphere in pursuit of a private vision. Accordingly, Collins provides threatening emblems of imaginative solipsism: the desolate, claustrophobic depiction of a “gifted wizzard [*sic*]” “Waiting in [the] wintry cave . . . / Or in the depth of Uist’s dark forests,” or else those versed in “second sight” who are at the beck of “their own visions” and “dreary dreams” (lines 54, 55–6, 58, 57). Soon after, he provides a narrative illustrating the dangers of solipsism when he cautions “wan’drers” against straying from known paths in pursuit of a “faithless light” (i.e., the *ignis fatuus*) through “glimm’ring mazes” (line 96) where “lurking ’mid th’ unrustling reed, / At those mirk hours the wily monster lies” (lines 99–100). This foretells the lonely demise of the “luckless swain” of the succeeding stanzas who forsakes the known social sphere of his “flocks and smoking hamlet” (line 106). Collins limns the human network the Highland dweller leaves behind, his “anxious wife [who] shall wait, / Or wander forth to meet him on his way” and “His babes [who] shall linger at th’ unclosing gate” (lines 121–2, 124). His apparition visits his widow in a dream, urging her to not forsake her social, workaday ties: “Pursue, dear wife, thy daily toils pursue / At dawn or dusk, industrious as before” (lines 133–4).

Throughout his poem, Collins grounds imaginative writing and its most fanciful colorings in a shared, public tradition of local folk beliefs. Thus, in the second stanza’s lengthy evocation of “the fairy people,” the vision is established as cultural consensus:

still, *'tis said*, the fairy people meet
 Beneath each birken shade on mead or hill.

There each trim lass that skims the milky store
 To the swart tribes their creamy bowl allots;
 By night they sip it round the cottage door,
 While airy minstrels warble jocund notes.

(lines 20–5, emphasis added)

This supernatural vision lacks any mimetic basis, nor is it simply the poet's individual fancy; it is what "'tis said." Similarly, the third stanza describes resurrected "Runic bards" (line 41). Here, too, this description consists of public, communal superstitions, the sort "Taught by the father to his list'ning son" and held "Where to the pole the Boreal mountains run" (lines 38, 37).

In publishing the "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland," the Royal Society of Edinburgh scrupulously framed, edited, and supplemented the poem in accordance with its institutional missions and identity. One of the chief organs of the densely institutionalized Scottish Enlightenment, the Royal Society attests to the organizational genius of the Edinburgh literati and eighteenth-century Scotland's spirit of urban improvement and cultural renewal.¹⁰ The Society's tenets and cultural work reflect its structure and material organization. As printed by the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Collins's poem corroborates the Society's progressive commitment to the social and institutional. Recast as a "curious and valuable fragment," the poem is made to join a discourse of practical empiricism and a developmental narrative of Scottish cultural history shared by museums and collections of the time.

Modeled after England's Royal Society, Edinburgh's Society saw public and institutional communality as the means to improvement and even international recognition. "The History of the Royal Society of Edinburgh" (published, along with Collins's ode, in volume one of the Society's transactions) extols a stirring vision of "the learned world . . . in one immense republic, which, though consisting of many detached states, should hold a strict union and preserve a mutual intelligence with each other."¹¹ Here, of course, the rhetoric of "common interest" suggests an Enlightenment context of sociability, but in Scotland after 1707, the rhetoric of a transnational "union" had an even more particular connotation. The "History" approvingly cites Thomas Sprat's 1667 account of London's Royal Society, particularly where he opposed its mission of unity to those "who retire from humane things, and shut themselves in a narrow compass, keeping company with very few, and that too in a solemn way, [who] addict themselves, for the most part, to some melancholy contemplations."¹² Such sentiments reverberate with Collins's ode, such as in his account of the lone swain's fatal straying.

The ode's instantiation in the pages of the Royal Society's Transactions shapes it in ways that privilege the poem's communal vision at the expense of an individual, imaginative one. The table of contents for the volume designates Collins's poem as "Written by the late Mr. William Collins and communicated by the Reverend Dr. Alexander Carlyle." Here, the poem's publication—its institutional "communication"—upstages its author. (Indicatively, the OED lists "to impart by way of information *to a society*" as one of the definitions of "communication" contemporary with the poem's appearance.)¹³ In changing the poem's title, the Royal Society found another opportunity to refashion Collins's ode according to its institutional premises: where Collins's

manuscript copy originally read “Ode to a Friend on His Return,” the published version bears the now-familiar title “An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland, Considered as the Subject of Poetry.” Claire Lamont writes that this change “deflects the reader’s attention away from the [earlier] tone of personal address . . . as the [Royal Society] valued the poem not only because it was interesting to overhear one poet talking to another about fit subjects for poetry.”¹⁴

The Society provided additions to the poem that foreground Collins’s warnings against forsaking the social. In manuscript form, the poem was missing a section of about 25 lines. Novelist and man-of-letters Henry Mackenzie, a Society member, was appointed to fill the gap. Through heightened imagery, Mackenzie develops explicit, menacing threats to the social order. His contributions immediately follow Collins’s depiction of those “engross[ed]” by second sight, literally antisocial seers who “astonish’d droop” in thrall to “their own visions” (lines 57, 58). Such figures hear the “nightly yell” (line 77) of a vague, foreboding “dread spirit” of “gigantic form” (line 78). This malevolent force apparently fuels sea storms, sending lone sailors to their deaths. The seers are privy to a related, menacing force that “hovers”

O’er the dire whirlpool, that, in ocean’s waste,
 Draws instant down whate’er devoted thing
 The failing breeze within its reach hath plac’d.

(lines 83–5)

Faced with such a threat, the wise seaman “flies with trembling haste” (line 86).

Similar forces menace the land, according to Mackenzie's conceit of spirits that surround "quicksand, bog, or fen" (line 88). Alternately shutting the "eye of day," obscuring "each star that wont to cheer the night," or summoning snow to "perplex the way," such forces entice and menace passing travelers with their deceit (lines 90, 91, 92). Mackenzie's added descriptions prepare the reader for the fate of the straying victim of "glimm'ring mazes" and are of a piece with Collins's ensuing warning about abandoning the known social and public spheres. The supernatural threats here are particularly menacing in their massy shapelessness; they take their visual inspiration from Mackenzie's "bellying rock that shades the deep" (line 70). By contrast, the trappings of public society ("the sheltering roof and haunts of men") are reassuringly tangible.

Invested in practical knowledge for a continuously developing Scotland, the Royal Society of Edinburgh was contemporary with the rise of antiquarian collections and natural-philosophy museums, material sites that, as Charles D. Waterston has noted, were designed to "illustrate the natural products of Scotland, having in mind the utilitarian nature of . . . [knowledge] and the value of such displays to the improvers of [the] age."¹⁵ In the pages of its Transactions, the Royal Society depicts the ode as precisely such a product. The Reverend Dr. Carlyle, in his letter advocating the poem's publication by the Society, noted that Collins's ode would "serve to illustrate some points that might be disputed hereafter & preserve the memory of the ancient Scottish fairy mythology."¹⁶ The "committee appointed to superintend the . . . Society's Transactions" agreed and began gathering minutiae and details recounting the poem's composition. The Society's introduction to the poem recounts how member Alex Fraser Tytler was appointed "to procure from Dr. Carlyle every degree of information which he could give

concerning it.”¹⁷ Tytler and Carlyle’s correspondence appears before the ode in the pages of the Transactions, reproducing a letter from Carlyle where he says of the work, “As a curious and valuable fragment, I thought it could not appear with more advantage than in the Collection of the Royal Society.”¹⁸

To the ode itself, the Society affixed explanatory footnotes that continue to construct the piece’s contributions to historical, anthropological, and linguistic knowledge. For Collins’s “sitting in the shepherd’s shiel,” *shiel* is glossed as a “kind of hut, built for a summer habitation to the herdsmen, when the cattle are sent to graze in distant pastures” (p. 68n). Similarly, “*kaelpie*” is noted as a “name given in Scotland to a supposed spirit of the waters,” a note that gives to the supernatural a local habitation and a name (p. 72n). A note in the ninth stanza, meanwhile, attributes Collins’s descriptions of the western islands to the writings of Martin Martin (author of A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland [1703]), “from whom [Collins] may likewise have derived his knowledge of the popular superstitions of the Highlanders, with which this ode shows so perfect an acquaintance” (p. 72n).

Collins’s descriptions of local lore and traditions lend themselves readily to a discourse of museums and collections. He writes that “Strange lays, whose power had charm’d a Spenser’s ear” are “yet *preserved*” in the region of the Boreal mountains (line 39). In the same stanza, he describes the bards who seem “to rise around / With uncouth lyres, in many-coloured vest” as “Runic” (lines 41–2). According to Roger Lonsdale, the OED designates this use of “Runic” as the first time it was extended to Scottish subjects; its earlier use was for “ancient Scandinavian language and literature” in antiquarian studies and collections, suggesting that Scottish subjects were supplanting Scandinavian

ones as objects of academic curatorship.¹⁹ In his ninth stanza, Collins describes a ruined “hoar pile” that yields an archaeological treasury; in the pile’s

small vaults a pigmy-folk is found,
Whose bones the delver with his spade upthrows,
And culls them, wond’ring, from the hallow’d ground!

(lines 143–5)

According to the poem, such empirical excavations can be channeled into socially productive directions. He reminds Home, his dedicatee, that by recording and preserving the “rural faith,” he could claim “new conquests” for his muse’s “boundless reign”: the language suggests sociopolitical potency achieved through cultural preservation (line 34).

* * *

This discussion of Collins and one of the chief institutions of the Scottish Enlightenment is my point of departure for a larger study of a change in poetics and British literature between the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a change attributable to developments in the material construction and dissemination of knowledge. I am interested in the shift from a historically inflected, temporally and spatially grounded poetics toward a transhistorical literature that, to use Jon P. Klancher’s phrase, is “unsituated in social space and time.”²⁰ I am tracing the development of a poetics of private life—a literature of interiority and the spaces of domestic retirement, often providing a vehicle for authorial self-representation. Paradoxically, this literary

ideology of what Alvin Kernan once called a Romantic “manifestation of an unchanging and distinctly human psychic essence . . . a *Universalpoesie*, the true voice of mankind appearing in all authors at all times”²¹ was, in fact, increasingly aligned with “British” or “English” identity at a time of pan-British assimilation.

In discussing this shift as it unfolds across the nineteenth century, I use the totemic figures of Sir Walter Scott, William Wordsworth, and Charles Dickens. The arc I trace parallels Scott’s renunciation of regional Scottish poetry for the novel and Wordsworth’s corresponding need “to develop a modern idea of authorship”:²² an increasingly autobiographical and generically *British* Romanticism. These dual reinventions would influentially alter the shape of British literature for Scott’s novelistic successors such as Dickens. In the case of Scott, Jane Millgate has usefully synthesized the organizing tropes and underlying assumptions of his poetry: “the importance of locality, the sense of regional identity and historical continuity, and the authenticating significance of historical and other ‘framing’ devices.”²³ In a letter written to Bishop Thomas Percy (whose Reliques of Ancient English Poetry [1765] made such an impression on Scott) contemporary with his own poetry, Scott writes, “An early partiality to the tales of my country, and an intimate acquaintance with its wildest recesses, acquired partly in the course of country sports, and partly in pursuit of antiquarian knowledge, will, I hope, enable me at least to preserve some of the most valuable traditions of the south of Scotland, both historical and romantic.”²⁴ In turning to fiction, however, Scott grounded his literature in what Ian Duncan calls the “private subject that is . . . set apart from public life, from politics, and . . . from historical process.”²⁵ Such a subject’s formation stands, Duncan argues, “in relation to” the “historical formation of

the modern imperial nation-state”—Britain after the Act of Union.²⁶ Wordsworth, meanwhile, was increasingly driven toward developing an alternative to something like *An Evening Walk* (1793), a scrupulously topographical poem couched, as Paul D. Sheats notes, in the “language of empirical transcription.”²⁷ As he recast such early work in the pages of the collected *Poems* of 1815 as “Juvenile Pieces,” part of a collected canon structured as autobiography (“The course of human life . . . commencing with Childhood, and terminating with Old Age, Death, and Immortality”),²⁸ Wordsworth helped erect “the modern idea of an author defining himself in terms of his own oeuvre and identifying his own ego with it.”²⁹ Add to that his conviction throughout *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) that, as John L. Mahoney puts it, “truth . . . [is] not individual and local, but general and operative,”³⁰ and you have a singular contribution to nineteenth-century literature: a “universal” poetics of individualism, one that, it can be demonstrated, parallels the formation of pan-British identity at this period. Coming down to the Victorians, we have Dickens, whose career and fame, I have often thought, suggest an extension of both Scott’s and Wordsworth’s: he assumes *the Scottish novelist’s* mantle of “master of a national reading public”³¹ and, in the place of “the Author of *Waverley’s*” aristocratic anonymity, *the English poet’s* personal, individualized relationship to his work and his readers—just as Dickens’s colossus-like fame bestrode the Anglo-Scottish border. Fittingly, Dickens’s rise to Scott’s stature on both sides of the Tweed was marked by a tour in Scotland in 1841. This was shortly after Dickens’s own memorable “appearance” before his reading public, in the final serial installment of *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838–39) (a novel replete with Wordsworthian sentimental radicalism over impoverished children and pedagogues who murder to dissect), where his signature accompanied a portrait of

the 27-year-old author.³² During the Scottish tour, he was in the midst of what was to have been his career-defining work, Barnaby Rudge (1841), a Scott-style historical novel with a titular antihero who might have been on loan from Wordsworth.

I argue that what undergirds the movement I describe and what informs my triangulation of Scott, Wordsworth, and Dickens is the changing status of eighteenth-century, chiefly Scottish modes of knowledge production during the long process of Anglo-Scottish assimilation. In the “Prologue” that opens this introduction, I show how one of the signature institutions of the Scottish Enlightenment constructed Collins’s ode as, at once, a valuable receptacle for regional history, anthropology, and philology as well as a celebration of eighteenth-century Scottish sociability. Such an interpretation is a departure from the more recent understanding of Collins as a proto-Romantic poet of private, imaginative solipsism. The implication, as I see it, is that the rise of a poetics of private life in the nineteenth century—a literature of individualized interiority commensurate with a privileging of imagination, subjectivity, and domestic retirement—was the result of the loss of the public, institutional sites that characterized the Scottish Enlightenment. Faced with unfamiliar, rapidly changing readerships in an increasingly urban, homogenous Britain, writers were forced to develop new ways of conceiving of and presenting themselves to their readers. As key philosophies of history developed during the Scottish Enlightenment (within highly specific material contexts) faded in influence, writers of poetry and fiction began, increasingly, withdrawing from history. In this project, I explore the loss of the Scottish Enlightenment’s public culture and key theories as a precondition for Wordsworthian Romanticism—the poetry of an “individual mind that keeps its own / Inviolable retirement”³³—and for Scott’s internationally

bestselling Waverley Novels; it is a loss that we see registered, however darkly, in Dickens's post-Scott historical novel Barnaby Rudge.

* * *

Throughout this project, when I mention the Scottish Enlightenment, I am thinking principally of, first, a highly specific set of material practices and institutional contexts and, second, a predilection for anthropological investigations of human society *within* grandly overarching narratives of universal progress—theses that were, themselves, the products of the Scottish Enlightenment's local particularity. The distinctiveness of eighteenth-century Scotland even within Britain has long attracted commentary and study. Thus, discussing Edinburgh of the 1700s, historian John G. A. Pocock notes that in it one could readily find “all the essential elements of an Enlightenment,” elements that simply “did not exist” in England at the same time.³⁴ Pocock is arguing here that, unlike the English Enlightenment, the Scottish Enlightenment was embodied in its various institutions: in the universities,³⁵ philosophical circles, debating clubs, and learned societies that so typified the Edinburgh metropolis.³⁶

The signature material arrangements of the Scottish Enlightenment were, collectively, a natural extension of Scotland's culture and history, a point that was made eloquently by Franco Venturi: “It is tempting to observe that the Enlightenment was born and organized in those places where the contact between a backward world and a modern one was chronologically more abrupt, and geographically closer. It was the difference between traditional Scotland and the Glasgow and Edinburgh of the eighteenth century

which created groups and societies similar to the patriotic ones of the continent.”³⁷ Both Scotland’s position within Britain and eighteenth-century experiences (especially after 1745 and the brutal setbacks of Culloden)³⁸ were of a nature that fostered a communal mindset, a sense of safety in numbers. Linda Colley has written, “Coming from a small country, and under persistent pressure from English prejudice, Scots in the world of letters, and in other realms of activity, tended to stick together and advance each other.”³⁹ Thus, buoyed by the hopes of cultural and economic revival, it was inevitable that Scots, as a communally minded people, would seek and establish “*institutional means of making an existing desire more effective.*”⁴⁰

As a distinctive material culture and milieu, the Scottish Enlightenment developed and popularized equally distinctive theories and areas of intellectual inquiry. As Clifford Siskin notes, “The [Scottish] Enlightenment was not just a flowering of Scottish culture, but a flowering of the *category* of culture itself.”⁴¹ The majority of Scottish Enlightenment intellectual work was directed toward studies of mankind in society, a massive undertaking that united linguists, philologists, “orientalists,” and all the other branches of learning in the pursuit of what is often called the Scottish Science of Man.⁴² Such inquiries were in the service of grand, telic narratives of societal progress. Designated (retrospectively, by Dugald Stewart [1753–1828], Edinburgh professor of mathematics) variously as “philosophic” or “conjectural” history, such theories, as Susan Manning writes, “constructed connected narratives of the rise and progress of individual societies; to this, it added a presumption (also known as ‘stadialism’) that all societies, beginning in barbarity, would pass through a similar sequence of organizational stages on their progress to ‘Civil Society.’”⁴³ Similarly, James Watt writes that typical “Scottish

Enlightenment social theory” posited “that there were general or universal laws governing the development of civilizations from ‘rudeness’ to ‘refinement’” and “that it was possible to assess the progress of different societies by common criteria, and therefore to form a ‘scale of civilization’ on which ‘the relative positions of nations can be accurately marked.’”⁴⁴ Here, too, we can see the formative influence of Scottish culture and eighteenth-century history. Manning writes, “[T]he grandly synthetic project of the Science of Man was also an enterprise of cultural renewal. It rewrote post-Union Scotland back on the world stage.”⁴⁵ As a triumph of civic pride and urban planning in the same country as the Highlands and in the same century as the brutal setbacks of Culloden, Enlightenment-era Edinburgh was itself, after all, a visible emblem of cultural progress.

Over the course of British assimilation, both the material arrangements and the chief intellectual contributions of the Scottish Enlightenment declined in influence. Siskin writes, “During the eighteenth century in Britain, Scotland was the Enlightenment home of philosophical inquiry—so much so that . . . [many] routinely followed the path north from England to the universities of Scotland . . . But by the early nineteenth century, the path no longer seemed so inviting.”⁴⁶ To be sure, Scottish conjectural history was never erected on a firm foundation of evidence. Put simply, the notion of a neat, sequential pattern of global destiny had no observable correlate in the real world; observation revealed no “four-part progression, but the overlap of one stage by another.”⁴⁷ These and other shortcomings would become even more apparent⁴⁸ with the growing obsolescence of the Scottish Enlightenment’s material cultures, the sites and contexts where these ideas were first developed and disseminated.

The growing erosion of the Scottish Enlightenment (understood as historical *theories* and localized *practices*), combined with the spread of print and literacy within an increasingly urban, homogenous Britain, cleared the way for what I call a poetics of private life.⁴⁹ Denoting a literature of individualized interiority, such a poetics presumes a thoroughly individual author in communion with a solitary reader. Displaced from anything like the eighteenth-century Scottish public sphere, it is a poetics of domestic retirement, outside of social space and time. Oftentimes, we see in such literature a rejection of the mechanical, telic narratives of Scottish Enlightenment historical theory. In this project, I will explore the early careers of Wordsworth, Scott, and Dickens to discuss their various ways of developing a literature that is post-Scottish-Enlightenment.

MATERIAL CULTURES AND THE PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE

My argument as a whole is shaped by my major methodological framework (which also constitutes a central contribution to ongoing critical conversations). I account for this fundamental transition in British literature through a focus on *material cultures*, conceived of on a “macro” as well as a “micro” level. At the macro level, a material-cultures emphasis includes the larger sites and structures for the publication, dissemination, consumption, and reception of knowledge and print.⁵⁰ In addition to their strictly economic functions, such contexts define authorship, the literary canon, and the very nature and purpose of literature itself. Duncan, for one, has claimed that the “institution of English literature” along with the “English critical tradition” (epitomized,

for him, by Dr. Johnson)⁵¹ “occupies a very different *site of production* in mid-eighteenth century Britain” as opposed to Scotland.⁵² I have asserted throughout this introduction that the emergence of a literary alternative to Enlightenment historiography, along with a critical understanding of literature as the expression of a singular author for a private reader, was (in this macro sense) very much a material phenomenon, a result of the decline of regional, chiefly Scottish material cultures. Thus throughout this project I am interested in *the spaces* in which knowledge is produced and texts are read. I forecast this emphasis in my prologue to this introduction, with the discussion of the Royal Society of Edinburgh as one such space, one of the Scottish Enlightenment’s many physical “institutions in which men of science functioned.”⁵³ As literal, material meeting places for the Edinburgh literati, these sites, as Klancher discusses, lent to the “‘public sphere’ in the eighteenth century” (and its distinctive thought) the quality of “face-to-face relations.”⁵⁴ Particularly in my chapters on fiction, I examine the spaces allotted for privatized, domestic reading. In the process, I have come to see Scott, often thought of as masculinizing the vocation of novel writing as well as the practice of novel reading, as advancing a strikingly masculine model of domestic retirement, a model that Dickens will go on to criticize in Barnaby Rudge.

In reading studies of British print culture of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, I have come to see it as an excitingly, anxiously liminal time, as period boundaries, cultural boundaries, and national boundaries were in flux.⁵⁵ Accordingly, I focus in this dissertation on early, *specifically transitional*, periods in these three authors’ careers; moreover, to give a sense of an author or *oeuvre* being (re)defined for a shifting print market, I frequently consult contemporary reviews

(writings that, in their existence alone, testify to a new world of mass-distributed print).⁵⁶ My growing conviction that the early years of a post-Enlightenment assimilated Britain amounted, in material-culture terms, to a wandering between two worlds has indelibly shaped my readings. I pay particular attention to my primary sources' treatment of historical time and discourse, moments where we might see literature announcing its autonomy from history. And I am drawn repeatedly to *journeys*, purblind, benighted wanderings: the nocturnal trek in Wordsworth's An Evening Walk, written when the sun was beginning to set on the loco-descriptive poem, beloved among natural-history societies and eighteenth-century coteries; Edward Waverley's fearful trip to the Scottish Highlands in Waverley (1814), Scott's own first foray into the alien territory of novel-writing; or else the murky, thief-haunted highways in Dickens's Barnaby Rudge, his belated eighteenth-century historical novel. Such motifs, I contend, reflect the passing of the Scottish Enlightenment's public sphere.

At the "micro" level of my critical framework, *material cultures* also suggests the material text, what George Bornstein usefully describes as "the physical features of the text that carry semantic weight and the multiple [physical] forms in which" texts appear.⁵⁷ The generic shift to fiction in my second chapter accompanies an increased awareness of the physical formats of the novels in question. In the case of Scott, I move beyond the accepted understanding that his novels established the three-volume material format as the dominant form for fiction in the nineteenth century to examine how he codifies the retreat from history and into private life (where both are defined in specific material terms) in the three-volume format. In Scott's handling, the commodified, three-volume form of the novel acted as a synecdoche for private life and privatized reading

and as a locus for the formation of a domestic, generically British identity; the material book's sheer physicality embodies his early novels' quest for a domestic refuge from historical determinism. In the case of Dickens, whose serialized novels beginning with The Pickwick Papers (1836–37) herald publication in parts as a serious challenge to the three-volume novel's dominance of nineteenth-century literature, I am interested in how in Barnaby Rudge, Dickens uses his serial structure to undermine not only Enlightenment notions of time and space but also Scott's narrowly masculinist model of domesticity as embodied in the three-volume material format. Influenced by Bornstein, I approach these novels with the assumption that the texts' physical features can be meaningful themselves. In their very status as material objects (in varying forms), these novels can indeed embody such complex notions as containment versus porousness, unity versus fragmentation, closure versus open-endedness, or the part versus the whole: all of these dialectics, in turn, are relevant to explorations of pan-British integration and the rise of domesticity. Within the novels themselves, I am especially attentive to depictions of books and other material texts, finding in such descriptions larger commentary about materiality more generally. My readings, moreover, are guided by an attention to *how* the novel's internal organization and/or parts' divisions can potentially "carry semantic weight." Thus, I read Scott's first three novels with an awareness of how their three-volume structure is working,⁵⁸ and with Barnaby Rudge, I trace how Dickens's weekly divisions are a vital part of his objectives.

SCOTLAND, ROMANTICISM, AND THE "COMING OF THE BOOK"

[A]ll is changed . . . by the introduction of books.

—Thomas Carlyle⁵⁹

As I see it, my project's chief contribution is to studies of British book history. Put simply, I bring together two heretofore unconnected narratives: the rise of the three-volume novel (a common topic in book-history studies) and the fall of the Scottish Enlightenment, understood as a set of material practices. This focus of mine comes at an opportune time. Recent scholarship has been looking increasingly at Scotland as a vital, overlooked component of British book history. Thus, Robert Crawford's latest history of Scottish literature (in which he explores the paradox by which a regionally tinged literature of crucial importance to "the local [Scottish] tourist industry" should come to "belong to the world") takes as its title Scotland's Books.⁶⁰ The monograph opens with a photograph depicting a postcard of The Book of Kells over a caption describing it as "The most beautiful book in the world."⁶¹ To me, he does not, however, fully explore what this prefatory image and his title seems to imply: that the history of Scottish literature is itself shaped and influenced by the physical codex. The monumental recent study in this vein would be the massive, four-volume Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland. The series's careful historical research is informed by the assumption that over the course of Scotland's history "books no longer represented mere repositories of information but became, in a profound sense, the material manifestation of a new communication order."⁶² Even here, however, I do not really see an effort to connect

what is sometimes called the Coming of the Book to the passing of the eighteenth-century Scottish public sphere.

As mentioned above, I have been inspired by seminal studies of British print culture in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Such studies discuss the rise of a new, influential sense of literature in the context of crucial changes in print and its dissemination. My study addresses what I see as an overly monolithic understanding of “Britain” in the work of Kernan, Klancher, and Scott Hess, in particular. It is, in large part, in this vein that I think of my project as participating in a series of *remappings*, the redrawing of boundaries—cultural, territorial, or otherwise. Thus, I intervene in the ongoing academic discussion of British Romanticism, a term that, in critical discourse, has long been a site for territorial dispute, a palimpsest marked by the traces and erasures of theoretical, canonical, generic, and even national borderlines. The publication of M. H. Abrams’s Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature in 1971 (less than one decade after Bloom’s similarly precedent-setting The Visionary Company) established (after years of institutional neglect by the New Critics) what came to be the definitive academic definition of Romanticism, one based on Abrams’s extended reading of Wordsworth’s so-called “Prospectus to The Recluse” (1814). These lines, a poetic mission statement, take for their “great argument” the workings of the creative mind: “How exquisitely the individual Mind . . . to the external world / Is fitted; and how exquisitely too . . . / The external world is fitted to the mind.”⁶³ This endeavor, the poetic exploration of “the mind of Man,” is an undertaking even greater than John Milton’s biblical cosmology in Paradise Lost (1667): Wordsworth will require a muse greater than Milton’s Urania and must “breathe in worlds / To which the Heaven of

heavens is but a veil” and pass “unalarmed” by “Jehovah, with his thunder, and the quire / Of shouting angels, and the empyreal thrones.”⁶⁴ The lines extol a vision of “high Romanticism,” which Nancy Moore Goslee nicely defines as “poetry that claims an autonomous, constitutive power for the imagination . . . [T]his poetry is characterized by religious, political, and aesthetic insubordination, by Promethean rebellion, and, often, by a Promethean isolation.”⁶⁵

In the years since Abrams’s influential study, a newer generation of scholars (such as Anne K. Mellor, in her English Romantic Irony, and Tilottama Rajan in Dark Interpreter: The Discourse of Romanticism) have challenged Natural Supernaturalism’s Romanticism as highly selective. Mellor, for one, takes issue with Abrams’s purposefully narrow poetic canon, which pointedly excludes George Gordon, Lord Byron “because in his greatest work he speaks with an ironic counter-voice and deliberately opens a satirical perspective on the vatic stance of his Romantic contemporaries.”⁶⁶ Even Wordsworth alone (who for Abrams constitutes “the great and exemplary poet of the age”),⁶⁷ in Abrams’s handling, is a carefully delimited one. It is well worth recalling, after all, that Wordsworth’s “Prospectus,” with its visionary, iconoclastic journey beyond Jehovah’s throne, originally comprised 89 lines of the 1,048-line “Home at Grasmere” (1800–06?), a fact obscured in Abrams’s Natural Supernaturalism. The longer work is a loco-descriptive treatment of the titular Westmorland village, an evocation of its “crag, and woody steeps, [its] Lake, / Its one green Island and its winding shores, / The multitude of little rocky hills, / [Its] Church and Cottages of mountain stone.”⁶⁸ Grasmere is “an individual Spot, / [A] small abiding-place of many men, / A termination,” and the poem

in its entirety is a celebration of local, regional groundedness, of enclosure, even, as Wordsworth extols a “liberty” that is

only for this end,

To flit from field to rock, from rock to field,

From shore to island, and from isle to shore,

From open place to covert, from a bed

Of meadow-flowers into a tuft of wood,

From high to low, from low to high, yet still

Within the bounds of this huge Concave[.]⁶⁹

Abrams’s Wordsworth, the Wordsworth of high Romanticism, requires that the “Prospectus” and all its sonorous abstractions be cut adrift from “Home at Grasmere”’s sense of locality.

The issue of high or Wordsworthian Romanticism’s apparent detachment from social life and history, indeed, from *materiality itself* has been a prominent strain in recent efforts to question or remap Romanticism. Klancher has referred, in passing, to “the metaphysical victory over social and historical conflict the word Romanticism has come to signify,” and the editors of 2004’s Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism

write with skepticism about the Romantic notion of “lyric poetry as the authentic utterance . . . of an ontological difference which escaped or resisted the collective pressures of society and history.”⁷⁰ Many persuasive studies have re-read British Romanticism with an eye to its larger social and material contexts,⁷¹ and here, too, I see my project making contributions. What I was most struck by in my readings in late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century print- and material-culture studies is the sheer contingency of Romantic categories of identity: Hess, for example, sees the so-called “Romantic self” as a reaction-formation to the loss of Enlightenment sociability, an “attemp[t] to . . . construct a *compensatory* new version of poetic identity.”⁷² In this sense, high Romanticism is very much a reflection of material contexts. Again, however, I see my study as part of a larger and *more literal* remapping by positing a poetics of privacy (realized under Romanticism) as a response to the loss of the *Scottish* Enlightenment’s material cultures.

Indeed, one of the latest critical, canonical remappings of Romanticism in fact concerns literal boundaries within Britain. In the introduction to Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism, Duncan, Leith Davis, and Janet Sorensen assert, “The term ‘Romanticism’ has come under intense scrutiny in literary studies in Great Britain and North America in the last couple of decades. Only very recently has that debate begun to address the term’s *anglocentric* underpinnings”: “British Romanticism,” they write, “is English, from [William] Blake and Lyrical Ballads in the 1790s, to [John] Keats, [Percy Bysshe] Shelley, and Byron (cut off from his own Scottish roots), prematurely dead in the 1820s.”⁷³ For my purposes, Scott’s long-standing exclusion from the canon of British Romanticism is symptomatic of this cultural exclusiveness. In this project, I place Scott

in a dialectical relationship with Wordsworth as a gesture of territorial remapping that is also canonical and generic. In suggesting the parallels in their respective acts of literary, professional reinvention, I argue for a common origin for high Romanticism and the three-volume novel, insofar as they are both reactions to key shifts in material culture and the production of print and knowledge. After all, in the same year (i.e., 1814) that Wordsworth severed his “Prospectus” from the regional transcription of “Home at Grasmere,” Scott turned from localized poetry to Waverley and its vision of withdrawing from the stage of history. Ultimately, through my selection of authors and my underlying focus, I see this project as redrawing some of the conventional demarcations of literary history and periodicity, given my discussions of “the Enlightenment,” “Romanticism,” and “Victorianism.” At the same time that I geographically locate British Enlightenment activity in Scottish material cultures, I argue for and employ a highly specific notion of what it means to be “post-Enlightenment.” As mentioned above, meanwhile, I have come to see Wordsworthian Romanticism as a response to material changes beginning in the eighteenth century. Finally, attention should be paid to Wordsworth’s role as the culmination of a “literary system centering on the individual creative self”: for many, this version of Wordsworth was enshrined in “his most radical claim of [individual poetic] autonomy,”⁷⁴ the autobiographical The Prelude, a work that, as Kernan writes, has “given ideal form to the romantic poet and the true work of literature.”⁷⁵ The massive poem that records its author in “the position of becoming one’s own telos”⁷⁶ first appeared in print the year of Wordsworth’s death, 1850: indicatively, this was the same year as the volume reissue of Dickens’s David Copperfield, his consummate *Bildungsroman*, the then-career-defining celebration of authorship and domesticity (clearly, much more widely

read than Barnaby Rudge). Wordsworth's early career saw him complexly involuted with Scott; at its end, he was a contemporary of Dickens.

Throughout the duration of this project, my selection of authors (i.e., three canonical, British, male writers) has been something of an elephant in the room. Nevertheless, I see my work here making contributions to an exploration of gender. Thus, my account of Scott's model of privatized reading practices outside the context of the Scottish Enlightenment I see as contributing to a revised understanding of domesticity, an understanding revised along gender lines. In Scott's first three novels, the private act of novel reading⁷⁷ is, like its chief domestic space, the library, conspicuously masculine—to a degree that, in light of Scott's biography, invites vaguely psychoanalytic speculation. In a household as culturally and religiously divided as eighteenth-century Scotland itself, Scott, as John Sutherland recounts, came to private reading through Anne Scott, his High Church, Jacobite mother (where the practice was something of a secret guarded from his austere Presbyterian father): Anne “read modern poetry and kept elegant volumes of Shakespeare in her dressing room . . . [Scott's] uncle once found young Walter (aged seven) reading Tristram Shandy—a book which must have come from Mrs. Scott's private library.”⁷⁸ Scott, indeed, at one point had found his mother's Shakespeare collection in her dressing room (in which the young Walter slept) “kept there, it would seem, away from her husband's gaze.”⁷⁹ “This secrecy,” Sutherland writes, “was something new and significant in the formation of his literary character . . . [W]here ballads and tales had been common property, public things to be openly enjoyed and transmitted by the traditional machinery of oral recitation . . . [here] literary pleasure was

private and closeted.”⁸⁰ Here, a private appreciation and consumption of literature is conspicuously feminine, yet throughout Scott’s fiction, women represent a threat to the privacy of the study or library, and the female (or else effeminate) reader, an aficionado of romances and other disreputable fare, becomes a comedic foil. For Dickens, Scott’s model of what I like to call a masculinized domesticity, was a formidable psychic and artistic obstacle. Barnaby Rudge records Dickens’s early efforts to establish himself as the laureate of a feminized Victorian domesticity of home and hearth through a critique of Scott, but one from which he emerges only half successful: Dickens’s Oedipal agon with Scott so overdetermines Barnaby Rudge that it fails to depict a successful feminine domestic space. A novel recounting the Gordon Riots of 1780, Barnaby Rudge is so insistent in claiming genealogical descent from Scott’s historical novels that its possible origins in the pages of a female novelist have gone unremarked by reviewers or critics alike. Jane Austen’s Northanger Abbey (1818) finds its heroine Catherine Morland telling the Tilneys (Henry and Eleanor) that “something very shocking indeed will soon come out in London.”⁸¹ When she admits to not knowing its “nature” (“nor who is the author”) but that “she shall expect murder and every thing of the kind,” Eleanor hopes that the government will “prevent its coming to effect.”⁸² Eventually, Henry resolves the confusion:

My dear Eleanor, the riot is only in your own brain. The confusion there is scandalous. Miss Morland has been talking of nothing more dreadful than a new publication which is shortly to come out, in three duodecimo volumes, two hundred and seventy-six pages in each, with a frontispiece

to the first, of two tombstones and a lantern—do you understand?—And you, Miss Morland—my stupid sister has mistaken all your clearest expressions. You talked of expected horrors in London—and instead of instantly conceiving, as any rational creature would have done, that such words could relate only to a circulating library, she immediately pictured to herself a mob of three thousand men assembling in St. George’s Fields; the Bank attacked, the Tower threatened, the streets of London flowing with blood, a detachment of the 12th Light Dragoons (the hopes of the nation) called up from Northampton to quell the insurgents[.]⁸³

Henry’s references to a mob in St. George’s Fields, attacks on public landmarks, and the intervention of the 12th Light Dragoons offers an unintentionally precise rendering of the Gordon Riots, while presciently anticipating Dickens’s account of them in Barnaby Rudge. If Henry’s “three duodecimo volumes, two hundred and seventy six pages in each” anticipates the initial material format planned for Dickens’s novel, his reference to the frontispiece of “two tombstones and a lantern” gestures toward Dickens’s anxiety that his Scott-inspired historical novel will be received as yet another “shocking” and “dreadful” London publication—the sort of novel Northanger Abbey tropes satirically as feminine. At the same time, the passage suggests that another urgent anxiety activating Dickens’s emulation of Scott was an awareness that Austen was his true precursor.

* * *

One final note on my project's discursive contexts: I would like to think that with this dissertation I make contributions, however modest, to discussions of the relationship between history and literature. Such discussions, when framed by literary critics of a particularly rarified bent, can betray a condescension toward historical inquiry. Taking up the question, "Is *literary* history possible?"—in a word, no—Sacvan Bercovitch characterizes historiography as narrowly positivist and hence incompatible with literature: "In the case of history," he writes, "the standard of certainty is empirical truth," whereas literature is "bound to the principle of resistance to any unified system of closure."⁸⁴ With a belief in empirical truth comes a faith in progress, whereas "[l]iterary texts are not progressive": "Light in August [i.e., a twentieth-century work] seeks to explore an old set of perplexities and returns us [i.e., back] to Oedipus Rex with a renewed respect for its contemporaneity."⁸⁵ Upon my first reading of this essay, I found it hardly fair: whither this tacit assumption that the professional historian is a believer in progress? Surely if I walked into a modern-day seminar in a history department and declared I was there to learn about mankind's glorious, unfolding triumph over barbarism, I would be laughed out of the room. It was enough to get me wondering about this set of assumptions, and I would like to think that this project represents one way of accounting for it—locating it geographically, temporally, and materially.

* * *

My first chapter, "British Bards and Scotch Romantics: Wordsworth and Scott," opens by evoking Scott and Wordsworth's final meeting at Yarrow, near the Anglo-Scottish border, a scene that embodies the redrawing of canonical and cultural boundaries I undertake in bringing their changing careers together. The focus in this chapter is

Wordsworth's topographical-descriptive An Evening Walk which I place in a variety of material and critical contexts that point to a reformulation in taste that accompanied expanding reading audiences and British assimilation. Thus, I read Wordsworth's poem as an engagement with the Scottish poet James Thomson, whose The Seasons (1726–30) long functioned as a site for discussions of poetics and criticism, current and emerging literary conventions. I also draw attention to An Evening Walk's publisher, Joseph Johnson, who is being increasingly recognized as an important figure in print-culture studies, one instrumental in establishing the individualized writer and the solitary reader as stable categories in a changing Britain. I conclude this chapter by discussing Scott's renunciation of locally, historically particular poetry for the novel as a movement analogous to Wordsworth's change in poetics.

In the next two chapters I look at Scott's first three novels, works he initially saw as comprising a loose trilogy. In my reading, I re-appraise Scott's relationship to the Scottish Enlightenment (the milieu in which he was educated) and challenge assumptions pertaining to Scott as a historical novelist: for me, Scott's seminal achievement in fiction, rather than interjecting historical consciousness into the novel, resides instead in his realization that the novel is not history—or the philosophy of history—by other means. In chapter 2, “‘Without the Company of Men of Cultivated Minds’: Waverley as Post-Enlightenment Novel,” I read Scott's first novel as an elaborate retreat from history and into private life, where both sides of the equation are understood in specific material terms. Scott associates private life with a model of novel reading established as a response to the loss of the Scottish Enlightenment's public culture. I draw attention to how Scott creates a textual bond between author and reader as an effort to replace

Enlightenment sociability with interiority and how he uses the material features of the three-volume novel to define the novel generically against the genres of history and romance. This chapter ends with a discussion of how Waverley's subsequent editions and initial reviews helped to further extract it from any local, Scottish, or historical context.

My third chapter (“The Ruins of History, the Consolations of Fiction: Guy Mannering and The Antiquary”), then, brings Waverley's two immediate successors into a dialectical reading. I stress how, taken together, these works herald nothing less than the coming of nineteenth-century literature—a culture of privatized reading—as a movement accompanying the decline of the Scottish Enlightenment, often figured through its cultural center, the metropolis of Edinburgh. In Guy Mannering (1815), Scott depicts a dessicated, oppressively foreign Edinburgh as the antithesis to the novel's vision of domestic retirement as figured in the private library and the modular book. In The Antiquary (1816), however, Scott provides a considerably more anxious, ambivalent depiction of post-Enlightenment reading culture as at once excessively material and dangerously ungrounded, a condition troped as a journey outside of and away from eighteenth-century Edinburgh. Ultimately, Scott's vision of literary history as downward spiral stands, in itself, as a resounding rejection of Scottish-Enlightenment models of linear historical progress.

As I see it in my fourth chapter, “Public Houses and Private Homes: The Two Pasts of Dickens's Barnaby Rudge,” Dickens's titular historical novel completes the arc Scott traces in Guy Mannering and The Antiquary (i.e., Edinburgh's decline as Enlightenment capital) with a novel focused on an amorphous London of the eighteenth century—and written when England's capital was becoming the new center of British

publishing. The notoriously uneven Barnaby Rudge focuses on the anti-Catholic Gordon Riots of 1780, a subject guaranteed to raise distressing questions about British cultural identity and the growth of a new, urban populace. My reading proceeds from the assumption that as a *serial novelist* Dickens continued and extended Scott's association of the novel with a domestic retirement from history but in a materiality that was itself critical of Scott's three-volume format and the model of domesticity it embodied. Thus, I emphasize how Dickens uses the weekly serial structure of his novel to enact a criticism not only of Enlightenment ideas of time and space but also of Scott's overdetermined three-volume format.

CHAPTER 1. ENGLISH BARDS AND SCOTCH ROMANTICS

INTRODUCTION: CROSSING BORDERS AND MAPPING BOUNDARIES

Prologue: By Yarrow's Streams

By Yarrow's streams still let me stray,
 Though none should guide my feeble way;
 Still feel the breeze down Ettrick break,
 Although it chill my wither'd cheek;
 Still lay my head by Teviot Stone,
 Though there, forgotten and alone,
 The Bard may draw his parting groan.⁸⁶

—Scott, The Lay of the Last Minstrel (1805)

In September 1831, William Wordsworth embarked on a “Tour in Scotland and on the English border,” one that he would later commemorate in his poetic sequence Yarrow Revisited. The occasion was a poignant one, as Wordsworth's guide, his friend of 28 years Sir Walter Scott, was on the eve of his own departure for Naples, leaving, as Wordsworth put it, his “Tweed and Teviot / For mild Sorento's breezy waves.”⁸⁷ Suffering from a stroke incurred by the desperate work schedule of his late years, Scott by the fall of 1831 was ailing and infirm—he died almost exactly one year later, on 21 September 1832—and looking to the Mediterranean (“warm Vesuvio's vine-clad slopes”) for comfort and therapy.⁸⁸ In Yarrow Revisited, Wordsworth wishes his friend and former rival, whom he poetically christens the “Great Minstrel of the Border,” safe passage in the faint hope that, basking in Italy, Scott might yet live to see his “[h]ealth

return to mellow Age.”⁸⁹ In the poem that later celebrates the valedictory journey, Wordsworth takes the opportunity to extol the sovereign autonomy of the poetic imagination over mere “localized Romance.”⁹⁰ In lines that have him seeing the famously home-bodied Scott off from the “native Fancy” of Scotland and the Border for the “classic Fancy” of Naples, Wordsworth champions an interiorized, private vision that is unbound by time and space: what, ultimately, is “the power of Yarrow,” or even “mighty Nature’s self,” he asks, without “the poetic voice / That hourly speaks within us”?⁹¹ When this elegiac work appeared in his “Yarrow Revisited” and Other Poems (1835), Wordsworth affixed a curious footnote: “Notwithstanding the romance that pervades [Scott’s] works and attaches to many of his habits, there is too much *pressure of fact* for these verses to harmonize as much as I could wish.”⁹²

In this note, like much of the poem it accompanies, we see encapsulated a Scott/Wordsworth binary that would have been a commonplace to nineteenth-century readers. On the one hand, we have a Romantic poetry of free-floating lyrical effusion, a Wordsworthian harmonizing untroubled by the recalcitrant texture of the actual. On the other, we have a poetry of historical and temporal particularity, Scott’s “habits” and his *habitus*. Indeed, this might be the Scott famously condemned by Thomas Carlyle for his most unheroic investment in the too, too sullied fact: the erstwhile antiquarian and curator of Scottish and Border poetry had “nothing spiritual in him; all is economical, material, of the earth, earthy.”⁹³ With Scott and Wordsworth, we see two different poetics, as William Hazlitt took up in 1818, writing, “[Wordsworth is] the reverse of Walter Scott in his defects and excellences. He has nearly all that the other wants, and wants all that the other possesses. His poetry is not external, but internal; it does not depend upon tradition,

or story, or old song; he furnishes it from his own mind, and is his own subject.”⁹⁴

Nowadays, we might describe this as a case of dual or alternate *Romanticisms*, or map the binary onto the Anglo-Scottish boundary—a gesture appropriate for Yarrow Revisited, with its invocations of national and oceanic borders. As Katie Trumpener notes in her Bardic Nationalism, where English poets such as Wordsworth “represent[ed] poetry as a dislocated art,” the work of an individual poetic bard “standing apart from and transcending its particular time and place,” Scottish poets, she argues, often worked within a context where “[n]ationalist antiquaries read bardic poetry for its content and its historical information.”⁹⁵ The Wordsworth of Yarrow Revisited, certainly, had long since renounced the localized topographical verse of his early years to make, as he claims in the “Prospectus to The Recluse,” “the mind of Man— / My haunt, and the main region of my song,”⁹⁶ and during this time, he was working on his autobiographical poem The Prelude (subtitled “Growth of a Poet’s Mind”), a poem that recounts a flight from the pressure of fact and cultural history, the exchange of rural folk pastimes and revolutionary activism for the insight that the mind is its own place and can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven. At the same time, though, we might fairly wonder just how fair this binary is to Scott, who had long ago abandoned *his* regional poetry for the bestselling *Waverley Novels*, the inaugural volume of which records, as Duncan puts it, “the sentimental formation of the private individual.”⁹⁷

It was 1803⁹⁸ when Wordsworth and Scott’s friendship started, a friendship bound to be dynamic, marked by peaks and valleys. Wordsworth might have spoken fondly of the year in which he “first became acquainted with this great and amiable man,”⁹⁹ but he was also known to grumble privately of how “the secret of Scott’s popularity is the

vulgarity of his conceptions, which the million can at once comprehend,”¹⁰⁰ or to pen, in a letter

What you say of W. Scott reminds me of an Epigram something like the following—

Tom writes his Verses with huge speed,
 Faster than Printer’s Boy can set ’en [*sic*],
 Faster far then we can read,
 And only not so fast as we forget ’en [*sic*].¹⁰¹

As Stephen Gill recounts, Scott’s Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (1802–03), with its deep “celebration of . . . local attachments,” may at one point have given Wordsworth the sense that in Scott “he had met a kindred spirit,” but “increasingly they both became aware how irreconcilable were their attitudes to their art.”¹⁰² It was perhaps with no small tincture of envy that the austere living Wordsworth derogated Scott’s wildly popular Lay of the Last Minstrel or Marmion (1808)—and as Gill surmises, the Scott of Yarrow Revisited tirelessly writing his way out of debt may have finally come for Wordsworth “to seem a noble image of the writer broken in the service of his art.”¹⁰³ The sense emerges that their fortunes are complexly, dialectically intertwined—when one is in ascendancy, the other is in decline. After all, Scott’s once bestselling poetry is now all but absent from the academic Romantic canon, a Romanticism long epitomized by Wordsworth.

Indeed, a promising book-length study might be made that traces the friendship and fortunes of these two totemic figures from opposite sides of the Tweed. In the process, one could suss out instances of homage, critique, and intertextual echo. The project could map the changing boundaries of taste and the shifting terrain of the canon, noting where the modern “Wordsworthian” sense of Romanticism emerges and where the novel comes to eclipse poetry. It is a project that could reveal a lot about changes in the construction and dissemination of print and knowledge within an increasingly urban and homogenous Britain. In 1833, an anonymous commentator described Yarrow, the liminal site of Scott and Wordsworth’s literal and figurative separation: “A solitary newspaper formerly made its passage up the water by slow stages and through many hands, contrasting forcibly with the regular and rapid circulation of periodicals at present. Withal, there has been a striking change in the habits of the peasantry. *Local attachments have given way to general knowledge.*”¹⁰⁴ Such a change is the main region of this chapter.

* * *

Do not say I ought to have been a Scotchman. Tear me not from the country of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton; yet I own that . . . I have been indebted to the North for more than I shall ever be able to acknowledge.

—Wordsworth to Allan Cunningham¹⁰⁵

This meditation on Scott and Wordsworth’s final joint tour of the Border is an emblem of and a point of entry to a whole host of border crossings and national, cultural, or literary/canonical remappings and dislocations. The organizing principle for this chapter is my tendency to see Scott and Wordsworth’s respective early careers as

analogous. In Wordsworth's swerve away from a poetics of local *habitus* and in Scott's renunciation of poetry for the Waverley Novels, I see parallel attempts to contend with the loss of local attachments in favor of general knowledge. The Scott/Wordsworth dialectic crystallized by Yarrow's streams is a stand-in for the larger traffic of boundary crossings and coalescence that marked British assimilation, as peripheral culture merged with the metropole and the Scottish Enlightenment migrated south—altered and distilled in the process. In my discussion, I address Wordsworth's An Evening Walk. As a natural-descriptive poem, it marks Wordsworth's belated, English attempt at a demonstrably Scottish-Enlightenment undertaking. By doing so, I reconstruct a Wordsworth who—despite his protests to the contrary—may have wished he had “been a Scotchman” and was, indeed, “indebted to the North for more than [he was] able to acknowledge.” In the process, I trouble extant accounts of British assimilation. Where Crawford depicts an England largely unaffected by Scotland's assimilation into Britain (i.e., an England for which “Britishness” is an unproblematic synonym for “Englishness”),¹⁰⁶ the Wordsworth of An Evening Walk is anxiously aware of his cultural and temporal distance from Enlightenment Scotland. As Trumpener notes, “British centralization implies not only the spread and enforced imposition but also the systematic underdevelopment of Englishness.”¹⁰⁷

Specifically, I read An Evening Walk as Wordsworth's conscious engagement with the poet James Thomson, a connection that foregrounds the change in poetics that accompanied the larger reorientations within Britain. Accordingly, I emphasize the long reception history of Thomson's natural-descriptive poem The Seasons. A poem typically praised for its “Scottish application of meticulous empirical method to descriptive

poetry,”¹⁰⁸ The Seasons over time came to be received as what Ralph Cohen calls “a poem the unity of which was related to the character of the poet.”¹⁰⁹ Crucial to this process was Samuel Johnson, whose discussion of Thomson in his Lives of the Poets is a key document in The Season’s reception history. I pay particular attention to this essay in light of (as I mention in my introductory chapter) Johnson’s formidable status as both the forerunner of a “print-based romantic literary system centering on the individual creative self” and as the “embodiment of the English critical tradition.”¹¹⁰ Ultimately, I suggest that we see the shifting reception of Thomson’s most famous work mirrored in Wordsworth’s revision of An Evening Walk over time: late in the poem’s bibliographic history, Wordsworth would acknowledge Thomson as an influence but a decidedly post-Enlightenment Thomson, recast as the forerunner of autobiographical, imaginative poetry. In the process, I bring attention to Joseph Johnson, who first published An Evening Walk in 1793. A significant figure in a changing print culture, Joseph Johnson typifies the rising generation of British publishers faced with the challenge of addressing an increasingly widespread reading public. I conclude with a consideration of Scott’s move from poetry to fiction.

* * *

Wordsworth’s first published poem, the descriptive An Evening Walk, sees him contributing to the venerable tradition of the topographical or *loco-descriptive* poem, the genealogy of which has been usefully described by Tim Fulford in a study where he attributes the genre’s popularity in eighteenth-century Britain to Thomson’s The Seasons: “Loco-descriptive poems such as The Seasons . . . derived from the genre of the georgic, based on the Latin poem written by Virgil during his exile from Rome . . . [Thomson’s

British] nationalistic version of Virgil's nature description was influential: The Seasons was one of the bestselling poems of the century. It spawned a great progeny of poems."¹¹¹

Thomson's iconic work began appearing in 1726, with the final composed section "Autumn" completed for the four-part whole first published in 1730. As a poem appearing as late as 1793, Wordsworth's An Evening Walk would be taking its place among loco-descriptive poems well into a period when, to paraphrase the Byron of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers (1807–09), the loaded Press fairly groaned beneath the labor of printing them. Indeed, in its review of An Evening Walk, the Monthly Review exclaims, "More descriptive poetry! . . . Have we not yet enough?"¹¹² The poem's belatedness alone is instructive: Wordsworth's first appearance in print would seem to signal a transition, to announce the veritable *exhaustion* of the loco-descriptive poem. In its tardiness, we can see more clearly how Wordsworth's foray into the topographical mode amounts to an engagement with a poetic idiom that had become one poised precariously between localized, heavily annotated transcription and personal, autonomous imagination; between empirical, often-scientific discourses and poetry-for-poetry's sake; between the carefully delimited reading audiences of the Enlightenment and the nineteenth-century print milieu of a "purer, more free-floating intelligentsia."¹¹³

Seen as an engagement with the Scottish Thomson, An Evening Walk also emerges as an engagement with a markedly Scottish-Enlightenment contribution to poetry. Mary Jane W. Scott writes that Thomson's "gift for descriptive [i.e., loco-descriptive] poetry . . . in great part represents the poet's Scottish heritage" and deems him "the poet who carried the theme of nature, vividly and realistically described, south of the Border and into Augustan English poetry"—a journey that "would ultimately alter

the course of English poetry.”¹¹⁴ In sum, The Seasons can be seen as “[g]rowing from the same cultural roots as the germinal Scottish Enlightenment itself.”¹¹⁵ Thomson’s own life captures the ferment of Enlightenment-era Scotland. During his education at Edinburgh University, the “empirical scientific method [taught there] particularly appealed to young Thomson, who would delight in directly observing and describing nature for poetry.”¹¹⁶ W. Scott writes that Edinburgh University taught its students “to see nature with a clearer, more closely observant eye”: “The value of first-hand observation and experience had earned increasing scientific and philosophical respectability, and *in this intellectual atmosphere* it is no wonder that poetry based on real, empirical experience of the natural world—descriptive poetry—began to gain such favor. The choice of James Thomson and his generation to write poetry of natural description was . . . a natural outgrowth of their broader scientific education in pre-Enlightenment Scotland.”¹¹⁷ Typical for an intellectual student at the time, he “participated wholeheartedly in various clubs and especially literary societies.”¹¹⁸ One such society was the Edinburgh Athenian Society, of which W. Scott has noted “some close connection” with “the ‘rising Generation’ of descriptive meditative poets” in Scotland and Britain.¹¹⁹ Before turning to Wordsworth and An Evening Walk, I discuss Thomson’s The Seasons as a poem representative of its distinctive milieu.

THE SEASONS AS SCOTTISH-ENLIGHTENMENT POEM

Ther [*sic*] is I’m perswaded [*sic*] a necessary fix’d chain of things.

—Thomson¹²⁰

Read with an eye for its historical significance, Thomson's The Seasons attests to poetry's interconnectedness with empirically based, science-minded improvement and theses of human progress in eighteenth-century Scotland. The four-book, 5,500-line poem's Miltonic renderings of the beauties and horrors of the seasons are an extended example of empirical-moral theodicy—an attempt to justify Nature's way to man. Thomson's frequently invoked muse may, unlike Milton's, be nameless, but the presiding genius seems to be Sir Isaac Newton, whom Thomson lauds as

pure intelligence, whom God

To mortals lent to trace his boundless works

From laws sublimely simple.¹²¹

The poem's Newtonianism, in fact, is a marker of its emergence from the progressive, intellectual milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment. Thomson's own Edinburgh University, as W. Scott notes, "had been the first college in Europe publicly to profess Newtonianism."¹²² John MacQueen argues that, among the intellectuals and reformers of eighteenth-century Scotland, "their Newtonianism implied other qualities and interests, most notably those connected with commercial and agricultural improvement."¹²³

Throughout The Seasons, Thomson depicts a comprehensively interconnected cosmos explicable in Newtonian—as well as Scottish Enlightenment—terms. For much of the poem, the sun functions as the type and emblem of a *primum mobile* God, one that

disseminates his love through the universe. The “Prime cheerer” (“Summer,” line 90), Thomson’s sun is the “best image here below / Of thy Creator” (“Hymn on the Seasons,” lines 66–7); in the sun, Thomson writes, “best seen / Shines out thy Maker” (“Summer,” lines 95–6). Thomson’s God (“Light Himself”) (“Summer,” line 176), meanwhile, is frequently described in language that suggests the sun’s central role within a Copernican/Newtonian cosmos. God is the “Source of Being! Universal Soul / Of heaven and earth!” (“Spring,” lines 556–7) and guides the very movement of the solar system:

With what an awful world-revolving power
 Were first the unwieldy planets launched along
 The illimitable void!—thus to remain,
 Amid the flux of many thousand years
 That oft has swept the toiling race of men,
 And all their laboring monuments away,
 Firm, unremitting, matchless in their course;
 To the kind-tempered change of night and day,
 And of the seasons ever stealing round,
 Minutely faithful: *such the all-perfect Hand*
That poised, impels, and rules the steady whole!

(“Summer,” lines 32–42, emphasis added)

(Compare this “all-perfect Hand” to the sun, of which Thomson remarks, “’Tis by thy secret, strong, attractive force / As with a chain indissoluble bond, / The system rolls

entire.”) (“Summer,” lines 97–9). Without the Creator—that is, “the mighty hand / That, ever busy, wheels the silent spheres” (“A Hymn on the Seasons,” lines 29–30)—

the astonished sun

And all the extinguished stars would, loosening, reel

Wide from their spheres, and chaos come again.

(“Summer,” lines 182–4)

God, in Thomson’s cosmology, then radiates his love through all of creation, the former a force similar to sunlight: “the soul of love is sent abroad / Warm through the vital air” (“Spring,” lines 582–3).

In several extended passages in The Seasons, Thomson traces the sun’s agency and minute workings, stressing the all-inclusive interconnectedness of the natural world. We learn that, in the “torrid zone” (“Summer,” line 632), the sun is the ultimate cause of disease and plague:

When o’er this world

. looks out the joyless sun

And draws the copious steam from swampy fens,

Where putrefaction into life ferments

And breathes destructive myriads, or from woods,

.

Whose gloomy horrors yet no desperate foot

Has ever dared to pierce; then wasteful forth
 Walks the dire power of pestilent disease.

(“Summer,” lines 1026–35)

In “Spring,” Thomson traces the sun’s pervasive influence on plant life:

Not only through the lenient air [but] . . .
 the penetrative Sun
 His force [also] deep-darting to the dark retreat
 Of vegetation, sets the steaming power [i.e., sap]
 At large, to wander o’er the verdant earth
 In various hues[.]

(lines 78–83)

Elsewhere, Thomson describes how

the vernal sun awakes
 The torpid sap, detruded to the root
 By wintry winds, that now in fluent dance
 And lively fermentation mounting spreads
 All this innumerable-coloured sense of things.

(“Spring,” lines 567–71)

This recurring emphasis on sap's influence over the "the vegetable world" ("Spring," line 572) marks Thomson's participation in a Scottish-Enlightenment context of practical, agricultural improvement—a discourse also evinced in "Spring's" descriptions of crop management and pest control. James Sambrook has traced these conceits involving sap to, for one, Richard Bradley's New Improvements of Planting and Gardening (1717–18).¹²⁴ (Indicatively, the same volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh that saw the publication of Collins's "An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland, Considered as the Subject of Poetry" contained an article discussing the "Motion of the Sap in Trees.")¹²⁵ The implication is that proper knowledge of science and natural history—coupled with a rationalistic piety for a prime-mover God—can spur agricultural and national rejuvenation. As MacQueen writes, "Newton, by the theoretical and practical application of scientific principles, had brought a richer universe within reach of human knowledge. By a corresponding application of scientific principles, it was now possible for the Scots to make a wilderness civilized."¹²⁶

Thomson repeatedly celebrates those who are able to see into the intricate workings of the natural world and can unravel the chains of causality that underlie sensory phenomena. Exhorting "Nature" "Enrich me with the knowledge of thy works" ("Autumn," line 1353), he lauds one "who can pierce / With vision pure into [the] secret stores / Of health and life and joy" ("Spring," lines 234–5). Thomson's terms are typically grandiose, his ideal one "whose *universal eye* / Has swept *at once* the *unbounded* scheme of things" ("Summer," lines 329–30, emphasis added). It is this ambition, this aim for a totalizing, causal understanding, that, in large part, marks The Seasons as a Scottish Enlightenment poem. The Seasons regularly celebrates philosophy,

conceived of as an investigation into causality and agency. For Thomson, philosophy is the

Daughter of Heaven! that, slow-ascending still,
Investigating sure the chain of things,
With radiant finger points to Heaven again.

(“Summer,” lines 1548–50)

In The Seasons, philosophical understanding—in the sense of natural philosophy—is a marker of civilization, what ultimately separates the sage from the swain. In “Summer,” Thomson uses the passage of a “rushing comet [that] to the sun descends; / And . . . sinks below the shading earth” (lines 1708–9) as an opportunity to compare the “guilty nations [that] tremble” (line 1711) “enslave[d]” (line 1712) in “superstitious horrors” (1712) and likely to see the comet as an omen, with “the enlightened few, / Whose godlike minds philosophy exalts” (lines 1714–5). The philosophically minded see the comet in terms of a larger design both rational and benevolent:

They see the blazing wonder rise anew,
In seeming terror clad, but kindly bent
To work the will of all-sustaining love[.]

(lines 1722–4)

Similarly, an autumnal meteor shower “swells the superstitious din” among the unlearned:

busy frenzy talks

Of blood and battle; cities overturned,
 And late at night in swallowing earthquake sunk,
 Or hideous wrapped in fierce ascending flame;
 Of sallow famine, inundation, storm;
 Of pestilence, and every great distress;
 Empires subversed, when ruling fate has struck
 The unalterable hour: even Nature’s self
 Is seemed to totter on the brink of time.

(“Autumn,” lines 1124–32)

There is an altogether different reaction from “the man of philosophic eye / And inspect sage” (“Autumn,” lines 1133–4):

the waving brightness he

Curious surveys, inquisitive to know
 The causes and materials, yet unfixed
 Of this appearance beautiful and new.

(lines 1134–7)

At one point, Thomson makes a distinction between the learned botanist, “number[ing] up [plants’] tribes,” and the “dull incurious” who designate all flora as weeds (“Spring,” lines 224, 227). The botanist’s professional investigations are in the service of a typically Scottish Enlightenment undertaking, the inquiry into early stages of civilization. Plant life bespeaks the time when mankind

lived in innocence, and told

A length of golden years, unfleshed in blood,

A stranger to the savage arts of life

Death, rapine, carnage, surfeit, and disease—

The lord and not the tyrant of the world.

(“Spring,” lines 237–41)

Early on, Thomson uses the rainbow to depict the two extremes of social development. For the “sage-instructed eye” (“Spring,” line 210), the “showery prism” emerges as a “various twine of light” (line 211) to be unraveled “From the white mingling maze” (line 212).¹²⁷ The “swain,” meanwhile,

wondering views the bright enchantment bend

Delightful o’er the radiant fields, and runs

To catch the falling glory; but amazed

Beholds the amusive arch before him fly,

Then vanish quite away.

(“Spring,” lines 213–7)

In repeatedly distinguishing the philosopher from the primitive or swain, Thomson reveals an investment in the stages of civilization typical of one educated in eighteenth-century Edinburgh. For Thomson, indeed, natural philosophy is central to the development from barbarism to modernity:

Without [philosophy] what were unenlightened man?
 A savage, roaming through the woods and wilds
 In quest of prey; and with the unfashioned fur
 Rough-clad; devoid of every finer art
 And elegance of life. Nor happiness
 Domestic, mixed of tenderness and care,
 Nor moral excellence, nor social bliss,
 Nor guardian law were his; nor various skill
 To turn the farrow, or to guide the tool
 Mechanic, nor the heaven-conducted prow
 Of Navigation bold, that fearless braves
 The burning line or draws the wintry pole,
 Mother severe of infinite delights!

(“Summer,” lines 1758–70)

The overarching Scottish Enlightenment investigation of the history, development, and destiny of social arrangements—what has been called the Scottish Science of Man—necessitated, as Mary Poovey has discussed, an underlying agent or mechanism to undergird sweeping patterns of development. In the absence of hard evidence, such vehicles could be quite abstract; Poovey writes that the chief Scottish literati “sought to *discover* or even to *create* abstractions that could explain *how* ‘human nature’ realized itself in those social arrangements both recorded and still unknown. [The] created abstraction . . . could [then] function as a historical agent.”¹²⁸ In “Autumn’s” lengthy panegyric on “Industry,” Thomson celebrates the ideal as such an engine for social evolution. Industry is the “Raiser of [a] human kind” (line 47) originally “by Nature cast / Naked and helpless out amid the woods” (lines 47–8). In a long, magisterial section, Thomson traces man’s evolution from his “sad barbarian” days (line 57), a process inaugurated when “Industry approached, / And roused him from his miserable sloth” (lines 72–3). (The full passage can be found at “Autumn,” lines 43–150.) Later on, Thomson celebrates Industry in specific nationalistic terms: it is the vehicle by which a newly rejuvenated, vigorous Scotland can contribute fully to a Britain “in soul united as in name” (“Autumn,” line 927. See also lines 910–28.)

* * *

Throughout The Seasons, Thomson’s philosophical moralizing is of a piece with his complex patriotism—his complicated status as the Scottish proponent of a unified but pluralistic Britain. As Crawford notes, “Thomson is aware of being a Scottish poet who sees Britain as a cultural amalgam comprising more than just England.”¹²⁹ Thus, in

“Summer,” Thomson again celebrates a universe fully interconnected, from angels to insects and on down to atoms:

Full Nature swarms with life; one wondrous mass
 Of animals, or atoms organized
 Waiting the vital breath when Parent-Heaven
 Shall bid his spirit blow.

(lines 289–92)

In Thomson’s handling, this interconnectedness justifies his poem’s inclusion of lowly subject-matter, such as a rustic, insect-infested cot. Even in such rural scenes, he maintains, “Brittania sees / Her solid grandeur rise” (“Summer,” lines 423–4). This inclusiveness is characteristic of a poet motivated by a “concern with a view of Britishness that makes full room for Scotland.”¹³⁰ Early on in the four-book The Seasons, he defends rustic scenes to those “who live / In luxury and ease, in pomp and pride” (“Spring,” lines 52–3) with the reminder

Such themes as these the rural Maro [i.e., Virgil]¹³¹ sung
 To wide-imperial Rome, in the full heights
 Of elegance and taste, by Greece refined.

(“Spring,” lines 55–7)

The lines depict a “wide-imperial Rome” that, like wide-imperial Britain, contains its own rural fringes (i.e., Maro’s rustic milieu), a Rome that—again, like Britain—takes its refinement (and its model of culturally unifying epic poetry) from one of its conquered, incorporated provinces.

The Britain Thomson repeatedly celebrates in The Seasons is one shaped by Scottish Enlightenment ideals and contributions. Thomson, throughout the poem, ascribes to Britain and Britishness a model of philosophical equipoise lacking in the other lands, cultures, and climes he panoramically surveys. In “Summer’s” memorable tour of the “torrid zone,” where the season’s effects are wholly more extreme, Thomson praises

the virtuous man,
 Who keeps his tempered mind serene and pure,
 And every passion aptly harmonized
 Amid a jarring world with vice inflamed.

(lines 465–8)

For all the wealth of resources and natural fecundity of a Pomona, Cairo, or Ethiopia, Thomson argues, these realms lack “Enlightenment virtues,” which “court the beam / Of milder”—that is, British—“climes” (lines 893–4). Given Britons’ mastery of the sea and trade, they have “the treasures of the sun without his rage,” and Britain’s mild climate extends to its winters, which set it apart, as well, from the “frigid zone” of the globe (as traced in “Winter”). When Thomson’s verse in “Summer” returns to Britain after its

globetrotting survey, it is sunset (“The Sun has lost his rage”) (“Summer,” line 1371) and ostensibly the appropriate time for a panegyric on the British philosophical tradition.

And yet, as I have established above, the poem’s definition of *philosophy*—an investigation into causes and agency—is demonstrably Scottish Enlightenment. Thomson depicts British philosophy as a group of “Social friends, / Attuned to happy unison of soul” (lines 1384–5)—an evocation of eighteenth-century Scottish sociability—and sets them abroad in “nature’s vast Lyceum” (line 1394), a conceit that invokes the commonplace designation of eighteenth-century Edinburgh as the Athens of the North while developing the British Rome/Greek Scotland analogy Thomson employs elsewhere. Moreover, Thomson explicitly separates *British* philosophical harmony from narrow *Englishness*. Thomson’s “Autumn” includes a lengthy jeremiad against hunting as a “thoughtless insolence of power” (line 391) and an illustration of fallen mankind’s variance with nature. In his satirical, mock-heroic description of a fox hunt and its aftermath, the hunt’s boorish, beer-swilling participants are explicitly *English* (e.g., deep in their cups, they speak boastfully “Of *England’s* glory”) (line 507, emphasis added). Thomson starkly contrasts such vulgar chauvinism to the “*British* fair” (line 572, emphasis added), who are made the representatives of a song-like “harmony” (see lines 570–609). A proponent of pan-British union, Thomson nevertheless sees the distinctively Scottish as necessary for a Britishness that is “aptly harmonized” (“Summer,” line 467).

* * *

Within The Seasons, Thomson advances a complicated, occasionally contradictory understanding of the very nature of poetry—an understanding also indicative of Thomson’s status as a member of the Edinburgh literati and the poem’s

status as a Scottish Enlightenment document. At various intervals in the poem, Thomson comments on the origins of ancient poetry. Thomson locates poetry's pre-literate roots in the days when

The first fresh dawn then waked the gladdened race
 Of uncorrupted man, nor blushed to see
 The sluggard sleep beneath its sacred beam;
 For their light slumbers gently fumed away,
 And up they rose as vigorous as the sun,
 Or to the culture of the willing glebe,
 Or to the cheerful tendence of the flock.
Meantime the song went round[.]

(“Spring,” lines 242–9, emphasis added)

From these bygone days, we are told, “The fabling poets took their golden age” (line 273). Oral versifying (“song”) is the unforced expression of a primitive but uncorrupt time, and it lives on, a collective archetypal legacy, among future poets—“fabling” of a “golden age.” Thus, in “Autumn,” Thomson refers to

the rural life in all its joy
 And elegance, such as Arcadian song
 Transmits from ancient uncorrupted times[.]

(lines 219–21)

Classical poetry is the transmitter of an “ancient uncorrupted” state of society.

At such moments, The Seasons seems to display what Simon Dentith identifies as “epic primitivism,” a “considerable intellectual tradition, with its roots in the Enlightenment.”¹³² This scholarly, critical approach to poetics reads classical and epic poetry as historical sources of evidence about life in ancient, “primitive” stages of civilization; in the process, such poetry reveals (through contrast) our own and the scholar’s modernity. Dentith writes that in this paradigm, ancient poetry is seen as constituting “the foremost evidence of the historical alterity of the barbaric world”;¹³³ Homer, in particular, “was a central figure in wider eighteenth-century debates about the progress of society and the transition to modernity.”¹³⁴ Epic primitivism accorded with many of the signature theories of the Scottish Enlightenment: “it was the writers of the Scottish Enlightenment who produced the most accessible and comprehensive accounts of the progress of human society through various stages, in which the reading of epic poetry provides some of the most persuasive evidence.”¹³⁵ In the case of Adam Ferguson, the author of An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1764), for instance, “the imbrication of notions of modernity [i.e., when measured against primitivism] with a historicist reading of epic is especially clear”: “many of his accounts of [the barbarous] stage of civilisation are in effect deductions from the text of Homer.”¹³⁶

The discussions of epic primitivism had important consequences (with implications for an understanding of Thomson). For one, the experience of measuring our own modernity against the barbarism of ancient poetry is, as Dentith notes, “not unequivocally a positive one.”¹³⁷ He writes, “From the perspective of our modernity we

can repudiate the ‘gruesome atrocity’ of barbarous society, but respond also to its sublimity or power: we have lost as much as we have gained, or rather, the price of our progress to civility is the loss of power and a world made more pallid.”¹³⁸ Thomson seems to register the ambivalence: he celebrates Industry as the engine of progress even as he deems modernity “these iron times / These dregs of life!” (“Spring” lines 274–5). In the move to cultural modernity, Dentith sees “a real loss of glamour, heroism, or straightforward poetic interest in the decorous rationality of the present. A straightforward repudiation of the barbaric stage of society which produced epic poetry might result in a wholly rational poetry, but not a very exciting one.”¹³⁹ *Decorous rationality*, in its faint praise, is a phrase tailor-made for Thomson’s (“not . . . very exciting”) The Seasons. (It is worth noting that in Thomas Love Peacock’s tongue-in-cheek version of an epic-primitivist history of poetry, Thomson is a decidedly silver- , not golden- , age poet, living in a lesser time of “deep and elaborate thinkers.”)¹⁴⁰ Thus, when not extolling an atavistic golden age, Thomson is calling instead for a poetry informed by the learning and philosophy of modernity: “Tutored by thee [natural philosophy], hence Poetry exalts / Her voice to ages” (“Summer,” lines 1753–4). The contradictions in Thomson’s conception of poetry reveal some of the contradictions contained within the larger Scottish Enlightenment intellectual project, the latter an endeavor that, as Siskin writes, would start to demand “more and more discursive effort” over time.¹⁴¹

In its account of the barbaric, pre-literate origins of ancient poetry, epic primitivism posits what Dentith calls “an imaginary scene of recitation”¹⁴²—a venerated “bard” performing ancient lays before a specific audience. The full-fledged “development of a *bardic theory*” in the eighteenth century, however, “both reinforces and complicates

the general story told by the philosophical historians” responsible for popularizing theories of epic primitivism.¹⁴³ Thus, on the one hand, as Trumpener discusses, “the bard is the mouthpiece for a whole society, articulating its values, chronicling its history, and mourning the inconsolable tragedy of its collapse”:¹⁴⁴ “emphasizing the cultural rootedness of bardic poetry and its status as historical testimony, [the bardic theorists’] work represents a groundbreaking attempt to describe literature as the product of *specific cultural institutions*.”¹⁴⁵ (Here, Trumpener manages to suggest the emergence of epic primitivism and bardic theory from the particular material sites that have occupied much of my focus on the Scottish Enlightenment and its signature historical theories, theories that were shaped by their original social/communal contexts.) On the other hand, however, “the original genius of the bard,” Dentith writes, “threatens to outweigh or unbalance the original historicising impulse which consigns traditional [poetic] forms to their originating social moment”: “Historicism, insofar as it understands culture as expressing in some sense the manners of the social world from which culture emerges, appears to downplay the element of individual genius which produces any cultural object; bardic theory, by contrast, emphasizes the central importance of the exalted artist.”¹⁴⁶ The remapping of both poetics and Britain that accompanied the decline of the Scottish Enlightenment’s local specificity would exacerbate this unbalancing that Dentith identifies.

A curious episode in The Seasons, in fact, sees Thomson’s poetic speaker communicating with the bards of ancient, localized poetry. Seeking respite from the summer heat, the narrator retreats into a forest, pressing on into “yonder grove, of wildest

largest growth, / That, forming high in air a woodland choir, / Nods o'er the mount
beneath" ("Summer," lines 517–9). "These," he writes,

are the haunts of meditation, these
The scenes where *ancient bards* the inspiring breath
Ecstatic felt, and, from this world retired,
Conversed with angels and immortal forms,
On gracious errands bent—to save the fall
Of virtue struggling on the brink of vice;
In waking whispers and repeated dreams
To hint pure thoughts, and warn the favoured soul,
For future trials fated, to prepare;
To prompt the poet, who devoted gives
His muse to better themes; to soothe the pangs
Of dying worth, and from the patriot's breast
(Backward to mingle in detested war,
But foremost when engaged) to turn the death;
And numberless such offices of love
Daily and nightly, zealous to perform.

("Summer," lines 522–37, emphasis added)

From this haunt, the poet feels a "sacred terror, a severe delight" (line 541) before
hearing an unearthly voice (speaking to his "abstracted ear / Of fancy") (lines 543–4).

They encourage the summer-enduring speaker in the search for “holy calm” and “harmony of mind” (line 550) and invite him to join the “Angelic harps” and

with responsive song,

Amid these dim recesses, undisturbed
By noisy folly and discordant vice,
Of Nature sing with us, and Nature’s God.

(lines 552–5)

This, we are told, is an honor reserved of “contemplation” or “the hallow’d ear / Of poet swelling to seraphic strain” (lines 562–3).

While the bards speak of a temperate harmony that is native to Britain—this section precedes the poem’s tour of the unenlightened torrid zones—they are a curiously deracinated presence, angelic and unearthly. Though they commune with the patriot (see lines 533–5), they are purged of the political thrust that Trumpener, for one, identifies in bardic poetry. They are, instead, the emissaries of a private, individualized poetic vision. They anticipate changing notions of the bard within British poetry, as the figure increasingly becomes “an inspired, isolated, and peripatetic figure,” one that “represents poetry as a dislocated art, standing apart from and transcending its particular time and place.”¹⁴⁷ A famous elegy written the year of Thomson’s death (1748) recasts the poet himself as a “Druid” (“In yonder Grave a DRUID lies”) and a “Sweet Bard.”¹⁴⁸ The poem imagines the departed Thomson as a consoling, meditative presence (“the soothing Shade”) on the shore of the Thames near Richmond, where “His airy Harp shall now be

laid.”¹⁴⁹ It makes a stark contrast to something like Evan Evan’s “Paraphrase of the 137th Psalm” (1764), with which Trumpener opens her Bardic Nationalism. That poem “envisions England as the site of Babylonian captivity.” Its Thames, Trumpener writes, “is not the subject of idyllic landscape description but a river of Babylon; on its willowy banks, the Welsh bards (transported from their country by Edward I in 1282) hang up their harps and vow poetic silence. To play for their Saxon captors, as they have been ordered, would be to surrender their nation’s last cultural treasures along with its political sovereignty.”¹⁵⁰ The elegy, “Ode Occasion’d by the Death of Mr. Thomson,” was by William Collins—the English poet, now remembered as a doomed bard, who was reinvented north of the Border by the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Here, Collins ensconces the Scottish Thomson beside the “stealing Wave,” where his shrine is an object of appreciation for a generic, homogenous Britain: “Long, long thy Stone and pointed Clay / Shall melt the musing BRITON’S eyes.”¹⁵¹ In the section that follows, I discuss the changing reception of Thomson’s The Seasons. This was a process that saw Thomson recast as the prototype for the “sympathetic” equation “of [author’s] life and work” as a principle bequeathing “an identity” on a literary work.¹⁵² This process accompanied The Seasons’s displacement, over time, from the local Scottish Enlightenment contexts shaping both author and work and was a development with important implications for Wordsworth.

THE INFORMING AUTHOR

[T]hough concealed, to every purer eye
The informing Author in his works appears.

As I suggested earlier in my discussion of the poem, Thomson’s The Seasons is a work the meaning of which is very much dependent on extra-literary contexts. Its pervasive Newtonianism, natural-philosophical spirit of inquiry, and distinctive nationalism mark it as a product of Scotland’s densely institutionalized Enlightenment. Over the course of its long aftermath, the terms in which the poem was read and received altered: where the poem’s conviction that “The informing Author in his works appears” once encapsulated its Newtonian theology and deductive impetus, it would come to express the work’s perceived contributions to the “reformulation of unity in poetry.”¹⁵³ This changing reception of The Seasons foregrounds key changes in the material production and dissemination of print and knowledge.

As the canonical example of natural- or loco-descriptive poetry, The Seasons was long read and revered for its extra-poetic merits. The conventional reading of the poem (a reading the work readily invited) was that its “groundwork . . . was its truth to natural history”: “Critics praised it for precise natural description and accurate scientific knowledge.”¹⁵⁴ Moreover, Cohen alludes to the widespread “use of the poem as a textbook” during the eighteenth century, as its descriptions served as “social, scientific, or grammatical guides.”¹⁵⁵ Similarly, W. Scott notes that “Scottish Enlightenment rhetoricians . . . drew many passages from [The Seasons] to illustrate their treatises” and that eighteenth-century Scots “have made a very manual of [Thomson’s] great work.”¹⁵⁶ Indeed, in the poem itself, Thomson venerates the external world over the poetic imagination:

But who can paint

Like Nature? Can imagination boast,
 Amid its gay creation, hues like hers?
 Or can it mix them with that matchless skill,
 And lose them in each other, as appears
 In every bud that blows?

(“Spring,” lines 468–73)

By this logic, a sheer transcription of the natural world is preferable to any imaginative rendering. As John Arthos remarks of eighteenth-century descriptive poetry more generally, “[N]ature’ was properly the subject of poetry in quite the same sense that it was the subject of science . . . The naturalist and the poet borrowed from each other, shared common interests and attitudes, and constructed a common language to fulfill their common functions.”¹⁵⁷ Decked out in scrupulous footnotes and annotations, The Seasons graphically depicts its dependence on and contributions to the rhetorical, scientific, and classicist discourses of Scotland’s era of improvement. (Thomson’s description of “utmost Kilda’s shore, whose lonely race / Resign the setting sun to Indian worlds” reflects a dependence on Martin Martin’s influential A Late Voyage to Saint Kilda [1698], a source Collins consulted for his “Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland, Considered as the Subject of Poetry.”) (“Spring,” lines 757–8)

Summarizing the work’s long reception history, Cohen writes, “The *unity* of The Seasons constituted a serious puzzle for critics.”¹⁵⁸ The most influential version of this

challenge was mounted by Samuel Johnson where he argued, “The great defect of The Seasons is want of method.”¹⁵⁹ The assertion and the underlying sentiment may very well seem curious: read as a work expressing “[t]he spirit of the Scottish Enlightenment in descriptive poetry,”¹⁶⁰ The Seasons can seem, if anything, overly schematic in its unity. The implication, as I see it, is as follows: as a poem conceived within, informed by, and initially disseminated throughout the Scottish Enlightenment’s local contexts, The Seasons would require new interpretive standards the further it traveled (both temporally and spatially) from the Scottish Enlightenment;¹⁶¹ the poem’s internal unities became less apparent outside the milieu of Thomson’s formative years. What the shifts in the poem’s critical reception attest to over time is the “reformulation of unity in poetry.”¹⁶²

Read outside of the Scottish public sphere, The Seasons “demanded a reinterpretation of unity.”¹⁶³ The poem’s critics and explicators began looking increasingly to the poet’s narrator (rather than the ideas or naturalistic descriptions) as a unifying principle. As Cohen notes, The Seasons (and loco-descriptive poetry more generally) came to be seen as “dominated by a narrator, a single character who served as a focus for the diverse views and incidents in the poem.”¹⁶⁴ Such an approach may not seem readily apparent in the poem, where Thomson’s descriptions of the natural world often have the effect of *troubling* the unifying perspective of a single narrator. Thus, standing before a ripening garden, Thomson’s narrator finds “the hurried eye / Distracted wanders” (“Spring,” lines 518–9), as his verse and vision struggle to keep up with the “Infinite numbers, delicacies, smells” (line 553). In light of such passages, the critical emphasis on the poem’s narrator emerges as a compensatory gesture. The critical attention devoted to the narrator accompanied a distinctive, influential approach to the

poem's author. Narrator and author are frequently conflated in criticism of The Seasons; Mary Jane W. Scott writes, "[T]he peripatetic speaker, the subjective 'I' who occasionally appears, is Thomson himself."¹⁶⁵ This equation, in turn, was part of a broader, more encompassing idea of the author's role. As Cohen sees it, the new conditions for the poem's unity "assumed that characteristics of the poet dominated the poem": a "sympathetic view of life and work," he writes, "gave an identity to the whole poem."¹⁶⁶ ("The informing Author in his works appears.") Here, too, the work's autobiographical components may not seem its most apparent elements; nevertheless, "[t]he conversion of The Seasons into a poem the unity of which was related to the character of the poet"¹⁶⁷ was undoubtedly a significant event in the history of poetics. In addition to the author, the individual reader was seen increasingly as a condition of the poem's unity. As Cohen sees it, this emphasis stemmed from a discussion of *readerly attention* that "developed in the criticism of The Seasons from the concept of unity because once . . . dramatic unity was denied, and a loose connection between parts granted, the reader became obligated to maintain his interest by supplanting with 'attention' and its proper conditions, the intensity found in plot."¹⁶⁸ The central terms in the new appraisal of Thomson's The Seasons—the autobiographically inclined author, the solitary engaged reader—point to a newly privatized culture of reading.

Samuel Johnson's discussion of Thomson in Lives of the English Poets is a crucial document in the critical reconfiguration of the poem. Cohen notes that many of Johnson's remarks "became key statements"; his reading of Thomson "persisted in criticism" in large part through the "language in which it was expressed, 'original,' 'without imitation,' 'genius,' 'imagination.'"¹⁶⁹ Such terms valorize the poet's author as

the unique, inimitable locus for the work. Moreover, in his discussion of Thomson, Johnson declares, approvingly, “The biographer of Thomson has remarked that an author’s life is best read in his works.”¹⁷⁰ Johnson’s pronouncements, I suggest, should be seen as symptomatic of changes in the production and spread of print and knowledge within a shifting Britain.¹⁷¹ As Kernan discusses in Printing Technology, Letters & Samuel Johnson, Dr. Johnson “lived out . . . the social mutation of writers . . . to a new authorial self *based on the realities of print and its conditions of mechanical reproduction.*”¹⁷² Kernan discusses, for one, how “after the print revolution, literature in time acquired a narrower meaning centering on a set of canonical literary texts displaying such qualities as creativity, imagination, and organicism”¹⁷³—terms recalling those in which Johnson discussed Thomson. Ultimately, the print-based “authorial self” Kernan traces would see its culmination in Wordsworth, the “cynosure of the scene of writing throughout the nineteenth century.”¹⁷⁴

At the same time, I contend, the changes Johnson presided over should be seen in the context of cultural re-orientations within Britain. As I mention in my introduction, Johnson epitomized “the *English* critical tradition,” a formation that “occupies a very different site of production in mid-eighteenth century Britain” when compared to Enlightenment Scotland.¹⁷⁵ The Johnson who influentially recast Thomson’s The Seasons should not be divorced from the Johnson infamous for needling James Boswell by repeatedly belittling Scottish achievements: this is the Johnson who was an early skeptic as to the validity of the Ossian poems, the (inauthentic) descriptions of which served as evidence for Scottish stages-of-society hypotheses. These instances testify to the fading influence of the Scottish Enlightenment and its distinctive material cultures. In

Johnson's last work, his Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland (1775), of course, he "examined Scotland . . . from a distinctively *English* perspective."¹⁷⁶ In the process, as Poovey describes in detail, he ultimately came to "question the limits of all systematic knowledge projects"—such as the grandly overarching narratives of the conjectural historians.¹⁷⁷ The Scotland Johnson encountered resisted the pronouncements of the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers; there was "a gap between what [Johnson] had expected to find in Scotland . . . and what he actually saw."¹⁷⁸ In describing this gap, Johnson pointed to areas of experience long neglected in Scottish-Enlightenment thought: "Journey to the Western Islands so powerfully dramatized the way subjectivity could affect knowledge production—not to mention the effects experience could have on the observing subject."¹⁷⁹ The end result was an enduring example of print-based, author-centered writing—one built on the ruins of Scottish Enlightenment knowledge production.

"MORE DESCRIPTIVE POETRY"?

Neither individuals nor nations become . . . *enlightened* in a moment.¹⁸⁰

—Wordsworth, from a discussion of The Seasons

In Wordsworth's An Evening Walk, we encounter, as it were, the *twilight* of the loco-descriptive poem. Discussing its credentials as descriptive poetry, Geoffrey H. Hartman writes, "The poem's plan . . . [is] ultimately based on Virgil's Georgics, which proved country matters could be the substance of a sustained poetry."¹⁸¹ As

Wordsworth's first published poem, the work certainly suggests that "the impulse to record particular observations of rural phenomena was centrally important in Wordsworth's poetic efforts."¹⁸² James Averill traces the poem's origins to a school holiday of 1788, an occasion that "inspired [Wordsworth] to write a loco-descriptive poem celebrating the beauties of the English Lake District,"¹⁸³ an impulse expressed in the poem's subtitle, "from the Lakes of the North of England." Indeed, in his account of the work's genesis, Wordsworth singles out an oak tree between Hawkshead and Ambleside: "I date from it my consciousness of the infinite variety of natural appearances"¹⁸⁴—an assertion that grounds the poem in the timebound features of a specific landscape. Elsewhere, Wordsworth says of the poem and its descriptions, "There is not an image in it which I have not observed; and . . . I recollect the time and place where most of them were noticed."¹⁸⁵ The poem's Lake District, its Grasmere, is a neatly contained, demarcated region, consisting of many a "pastoral cove" and "lonely island," set off by "willowy hedgerows" and "woodland bounds."¹⁸⁶ The young Wordsworth of the poem thrills to hearing his "carols wild" (line 20) echo back from the enclosing rocks of his world, while the older poet is content to find provincial oases of charm in the wilderness:

Ev'n here, amid the sweep of endless woods,
 Blue pomp of lakes, high cliffs, and falling floods,
 Not undelightful are the simplest charms
 Found by the verdant door of mountain farms.

(lines 125–8)

Wordsworth's survey uncovers local superstitions native to many an "ancient hamlet" ("Strange apparitions mock the village sight") (lines 176, 178), while nearby "Druid stones" (line 171) attest to bygone social arrangements.

Elaborating on the poem's genre, Hartman describes An Evening Walk as "a topographical poem . . . [that] seems to provide a frame for a multitude of images and sensations culled from nature, either by direct observation or via the eyes of unusually exact observers whose travel books Wordsworth had read."¹⁸⁷ This latter element—the sense in which the poem, as an example of its genre, is consciously contributing to an ongoing *textual* conversation—affects the very form and appearance of the poem. Gill writes, "It was a mark of the [loco-descriptive] genre that it should advertise its literary texture and thus the pages of [An Evening Walk]"—like Thomson's The Seasons—"when first printed were embellished with [the author's] own footnotes."¹⁸⁸ Thus, Wordsworth uses footnotes to clarify, say, the adjacent mountains' "immense quantities of woodcocks"¹⁸⁹ or else how "[t]he lily of the valley is found in great abundance in the smallest island of Winandermere."¹⁹⁰ Wordsworth's notes frequently provide a gloss for examples of regional dialect, such as "gill" ("a term confined to this country")¹⁹¹ and "intake," a word he describes as "local," one that "signifies a mountain-enclosure."¹⁹² (Here, a term of local, regional specificity itself denotes a demarcated enclosure.) Arguably Wordsworth's most significant instance along these lines is his gloss for "sugh," said to be "[a] *Scotch word* expressive . . . of the sound of the motion of a stick through the air, or of the wind passing through the trees."¹⁹³ Here Wordsworth's use and etymological discussion of Scottish dialect is an emblem of the loco-descriptive poem's

localized, eighteenth-century Scottish origins; it suggests an early Wordsworth who perhaps “ought to have been a Scotchman” after all. The footnotes specify Wordsworth’s allusions and quotations, his reliance not only on earlier poets but also on such non-fictional sources as James Clark’s A Survey of the Lakes (1789).¹⁹⁴ Several of Wordsworth’s notes suggest an attempt to make contributions to the growing body of travel literature. Thus, he writes in one footnote, “The reader, who had made the tour of this country, will recognize in this description the features which characterize the lower waterfall in the gardens of Rydale.”¹⁹⁵ The passage intimates that the Wordsworth of An Evening Walk has the reader-traveler in mind. In a subsequent note he remarks, “These rude structures, to protect the flocks, are frequent in this country: the *traveler* may recollect one in Withburne, another upon Whinlatter.”¹⁹⁶ In his gloss on a “Druid monument” near Broughton, Wordsworth notes, “I do not recollect that any tour descriptive of this country makes mention [of it]. Perhaps this poem may fall into the hands of some curious traveler, who may thank me for informing him, that up the Duddon, the river which forms the aestuary at Broughton, may be found some of the most romantic scenery of these mountains.”¹⁹⁷ Here Wordsworth sees his poem filling an unfortunate gap in travel writing. Wordsworth’s extra-poetic dependence on footnotes in An Evening Walk is such that he even employs them, curiously, to validate his own observations. A passage describing young swans climbing onto their mother’s back features a note declaring, “This is a fact of which I have been an eye witness.”¹⁹⁸ It is so customary to think of Wordsworth as the realization, after Thomson, of an author-narrator principle of unity that it is jarring to see Wordsworth here pedantically insisting on his personal observations in a footnote.

For all the critical assertions that in An Evening Walk Wordsworth transcends eighteenth-century loco-descriptive poetry, the poem itself seems to depict *the diminishing* of something like Thomson's vision and ambition. Mahoney is typical here in writing that An Evening Walk "is in many ways *more than* the standard poem of Sensibility, associated with writers like Thomson, [James] Beattie, and Collins, as the visual is touched by a certain meditateness and awe in the presence of nature."¹⁹⁹ The formulation posits a subjective sensibility—a poetic vision—pushing beyond naturalism—though in his survey of Wordsworth's early reception, Mahoney notes, in fact, a tendency to chide Wordsworth for forsaking careful descriptions in favor of private ruminations.²⁰⁰ Sheats writes, "The psychological dilemma implied by An Evening Walk . . . is that a compulsive naturalism deprives the mind of man of freedom, dignity, and identity. Its technical corollary is that a language of empirical transcription—a picturesque Dutch realism—is entirely inadequate to . . . [describing] the excursive activity that embodies the dignity and identity of the mind."²⁰¹ In such a formulation, An Evening Walk constitutes an act of imaginative liberation, a Romantic manifesto conceived as a radical break from the eighteenth century.

Read against the grain of The Seasons, however, Wordsworth's poem cannot help but seem a record of depletion: at just under 450 lines (less than one tenth the size of the earlier work), it is a vast reduction of Thomson's most famous poem. Conceived at a far remove from The Seasons's eighteenth-century Scottish milieu, An Evening Walk represents the inward collapsing of something like Thomson's vision. Where Wordsworth's predecessor surveys the four seasons of the year within the landscape, An Evening Walk essays "The history of a poet's ev'ning" (line 52). And, indeed, the

operative word here is *poet*. Almost immediately, Wordsworth works to establish a poet-narrator foundation for unity. The poetic problem Wordsworth confronts in An Evening Walk (for the benefit of his imagined correspondent) is the epistemological instability generated by his changing perception of the same (albeit fluctuating) landscape:

Fair scenes! *with other eyes than once, I gaze,*
 The *ever-varying* charm your round displays,
 Than when, erewhile, I taught, “a happy child,”
 The echoes of your rock my carols wild.

(lines 17–20, emphasis added)

In carefully delimiting the poem’s temporal framework to the observations culled from a single day—and making that diurnal course analogous to his own life—Wordsworth quickly resolves this problem and sets up a way to prove to his interlocutor that “some joys to me remain” (line 50). Wordsworth’s handling of the problem suggests that he has benefited from the recasting—that is, the pan-British reception—of Thomson; he is clearly looking to *the author* for poetic unity. Moreover, the very problem he addresses marks the poem as distinct from Thomson’s: An Evening Walk is not a theodicy, an attempt to describe in Newtonian-*cum*-Scottish Enlightenment terms how “Ther is . . . a necessary fix’d chain of things.”

Throughout An Evening Walk, we see Thomson’s conceits cut adrift from any larger, systemic worldview. Early in his poem, Wordsworth describes a moment

When, in the south, the wan noon brooding still,
Breathed a pale stream around the glaring hill,
 And shades of deep embattled clouds were seen
 Spotting the northern cliffs with lights between;
 Gazing the tempting shades to them denied,
 When stood the shortened herds amid the tide,
 Where, from the barren wall's unsheltered end,
 Long rails into the shallow lake extend;
 When schoolboys stretched their length upon the green,
 And round the humming elm, a glimmering scene!

(lines 52–61, emphasis added)

As we have seen, Thomson's Copernican/Newtonian sun is also responsible for "copious steam" (as well as disease) while it spurs sap on "to wander o'er the verdant earth" ("Summer," line 1028; "Spring," line 82), an emblem of all-encompassing interconnectedness. Wordsworth shows no interest in tracing such minute connections. Here, the interplay of sun and steam, light and shade, is strictly impressionistic ("a glimmering scene!"): the emphasis is on the poetic observer, whose vision here is far more rarefied than that of the loco-descriptive transcriber. Later in the poem, Wordsworth recounts the sufferings of a vagrant woman and her children. The former tries to boost the spirits of her young charges "By pointing to a shooting star on high" (line 260). The shooting star motif looks back to Thomson (who also would incorporate stories of human suffering into The Seasons's natural landscapes), but in his work it was an opportunity

for the sage to appreciate the larger design of the cosmos. Wordsworth does not provide any larger notion of interconnectedness. (Indeed, the children's absent father is busy scrutinizing "The Moon's fixed gaze between the opening trees": beneath the same sky they are utterly separated) (line 262).

In his highly influential reading, Hartman asserts that in An Evening Walk, we see "the leisurely peripatetics of the eighteenth-century Rambler become *a nightmare straying*."²⁰² In sum, we see in An Evening Walk the sun setting on the whole loco-descriptive tradition. Hartman writes, "While Wordsworth is intently engaged in observing nature [in the poem], day slopes into darkness, baffles his observations, and the question arises of whether he can adhere in the encroaching darkness to nature's 'ever-varying charm' . . . [H]is mind faces the coming of a night in which that variegated nature is no more."²⁰³ As I see it, this purblind state—this nightmare straying—is the condition of the post-Enlightenment poet, confronting new, uncertain terrain. As a loco-descriptive poet of 1793, Wordsworth is what An Evening Walk might call "The latest lingerer" (line 367). He is wandering between two worlds and using an alien—that is, Scottish—poetic genre. As it traces "the [sun] dial's moral round" from noon to night (line 38), An Evening Walk becomes a veritable poem of the mind in the act of finding what will suffice. Wordsworth, as Hartman writes, "is already in quest of a . . . principle of compensation" even "as light fades."²⁰⁴ The poem charts how the heat of noon yields to "eve's mild hour" (line 88) and a fleeting moment of intensely heightened visibility as "the day-star lessens still, / Gives one bright glance, and sinks behind the hill" (lines 173–4). Once "Unheeded Night has overcome the vales, / On the dark earth the baffled vision fails" (lines 363–4). And yet, Wordsworth takes pains to establish that a private, poetic

faculty persists: “Nought else of man or life remains behind / To call from other worlds the wildered mind” (lines 375–6). The wildered mind prevails, and Wordsworth finds his compensation:

—No purple prospects now the mind employ
 Glowing in golden sunset tints of joy,
But o’er the soothed accordant heart we feel
 A sympathetic twilight slowly steal,
 And ever, as we fondly muse, we find
 The soft gloom deep’ning on the tranquil mind.
 Stay! pensive, sadly-pleasing visions, stay!
 Ah no! as fades the vale, they fade away.
Yet still the tender, vacant gloom remains,
 Still the cold cheek its shuddering tear retains.

(lines 379–88, emphasis added)

From there, Hope’s dawn (“far lovelier than the Moon’s own morn”) (line 408) leads him on to domestic retirement (a place, perhaps, to write poetry), a cottage, now the “Sole bourn, sole wish, sole object of my way” (line 416), to live the remainder of his life. Wordsworth’s compensations in An Evening Walk are different from something like Collins’s “An Ode on the Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland.” In the latter work, as we have seen, nightmare straying re-asserts the importance of Scottish-Enlightenment

public life. In the section that follows, I consider An Evening Walk's publication context and history.

Crucial to understanding An Evening Walk's curious, transitional status in the loco-descriptive genre is the work's first publisher, Joseph Johnson, a figure Gerald P. Tyson aptly characterizes as a representative figure in "the dissemination of knowledge during a crucial epoch of British history."²⁰⁵ Klancher notes that Johnson's publishing innovations (particularly in periodicals) coincided with "the political and economic dislocations that led Wordsworth toward his own taste-making act of writing."²⁰⁶ As the child of Everton Dissenters and the future publisher of (in addition to Wordsworth) such activist writers as William Godwin, Thomas Paine, and Mary Wollstonecraft, along with many of the writings associated with the prominent Dissenting academy of Warrington, Johnson's religious and political heterodoxies were of a piece with his forward-looking tendencies as a publisher and printer. As Tyson puts it, "Johnson's inquisitiveness and receptivity to new ideas and unorthodox thought . . . is reflected in part by his continuing interest in the industrial innovations occurring in England at the time."²⁰⁷ Indeed, Johnson, early in his career, began looking to the recent, widespread expansion in the production and dissemination of knowledge and print as a way of promoting the religious and political views he shared: Tyson notes that as "a major publisher for . . . Dissenting intellectuals," he "made it possible for Dissenters to disseminate their beliefs to a wide audience."²⁰⁸ Johnson's Monthly Magazine, which he began publishing in 1796 with Richard Phillips, promised in its first issue "the propagation of . . . liberal principles."²⁰⁹ During the 1780s, the authors Johnson regularly published were best described as "men

and women who wrote to benefit society by sharing experiences and theories with a wide range of readers.”²¹⁰

In Johnson’s practices and activities as an influential publisher, we encounter the unprecedented growth of the reading public within an increasingly urban, homogenous Britain. Thus, for example, Johnson strove for low prices, as “[a] low price meant that the work could be broadcast to a larger audience and the spread of literacy was furthered.”²¹¹ Here, too, we see Johnson’s political sentiments in action, his conviction that “an enlightened populace was the best assurance of an honest and stable government.”²¹² This is typical of the Johnson who, as Tyson recounts, “[i]n 1807 . . . became a ‘proprietor’ of the London Institution for the Advancement of Literature and the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge . . . As its title implied, the London Institution was established to accumulate and broadcast information through an extensive library, lectures, and occasional publications.”²¹³ Indeed, it is through Johnson’s emphasis on the broad dissemination of books and periodicals that we can see how the wholesale expansion of the reading public meant the cultural turn away from the model of knowledge production exemplified by, say, the Scottish Enlightenment. Indicatively, in one of the books Johnson published, A General Description of All Trades (1747), those who practice the profession of bookselling are defined as “the common Channel by which the Works of the Learned pass to the Studious and the Curious, in all the parts of Literature, for Instruction, Amusement, or Edification.”²¹⁴ Indeed, throughout his career, one area in which Johnson “had established a considerable reputation was education and moral philosophy. Such works were known popularly as ‘books of an improving kind.’”²¹⁵ The implication is that books (their sale and production) will increasingly assume the role of the improvement-

oriented Enlightenment public sphere. We see a similar vocabulary and set of assumptions in Johnson's early awareness of the growing market for periodicals.²¹⁶

Johnson issued, for one, Joseph Priestley's Dissenting, Unitarian The Theological Repository and described it in an advertisement as "a common channel of communication."²¹⁷ (Both Priestley and Johnson aspired for "the price to be kept low in order to reach as many readers as possible."²¹⁸)

Johnson's output as a publisher, his books and periodicals alike, were seen as efforts to re-supply a lost sense of consensus and community within an increasingly disparate reading, intellectual culture. Thus, his many works on medical topics "provided cohesion to a medical community that extended far beyond London and included practitioners in towns to the north and west where surprisingly important contributions to science were being made."²¹⁹ Tyson writes that Johnson's "function as a bookseller gave cohesiveness to an otherwise fragmented band of liberal writers."²²⁰ Moreover, Johnson's periodicals were often intended to provide a valuable function within an increasingly unmanageable print market. In his discussions with Thomas Christie, who co-founded the Analytical Review with Johnson, the publisher can be seen "eagerly formulating a plan for a new periodical—one which would 'analyze' books in such a way as to communicate a true and accurate judgment of their worth."²²¹ A letter written during these negotiations suggests that this undertaking in large part addresses the profusion of the print marketplace: "While it is right and proper that large collections should be formed of all that is known on any subject for the use of persons who have much leisure, or a peculiar taste for the cultivation of such subjects; it is also proper that some regard should be paid to the ease of men engaged in active life and professional business, to whom 'every great

book is a great evil'; and who, though they may have an ardent love of knowledge, and might be extremely useful in diffusing it, and promoting the benefits derived from it, are, however, too much involved in the necessary duties of their stations, to find leisure to peruse volumes in quarto and folio."²²² With the decline of an eighteenth-century public sphere and the concomitant explosion of reading material, the need for informed guidance grew in importance.

In addition to religious and political liberalism, Johnson's signature publications also propagated what Klancher calls "the making and cultivating of 'mind'" as an additional ground for cohesion in a post-Enlightenment milieu marked by a "purer, more free-floating intelligentsia."²²³ A typical essay from Johnson's Monthly Magazine, "Are Mental Talents Productive of Happiness?," champions the "pleasures of the intellect" as "incalculably more varied, more constant, more in the power of the individual, and *less dependent upon local circumstances and external event*."²²⁴ The wording is significant; it sheds light on An Evening Walk as a Wordsworth-Johnson project and a transitional moment for the loco-descriptive poem. Wordsworth maintained of An Evening Walk: "the plan . . . has not been confined to a particular walk or an individual place; a proof . . . of my unwillingness to submit the poetic spirit to the chains of fact and real circumstance. The country is idealized rather than described in any one of its local aspects."²²⁵ Wordsworth does not want to be confined to the local fact-finding of the loco-descriptive genre. The sentiment anticipates the Lyrical Ballads, of which Mahoney remarks that it makes the case that "truth" for Wordsworth "is not individual and local, but general, and operative."²²⁶ Indeed, Joseph Johnson was Wordsworth's first choice for publisher of

Lyrical Ballads; Wordsworth sought him for his skills in promotion and distribution—his ability to reach a broad readership.²²⁷

In the poem's re-appearances over time, we see it move even further away from its loco-descriptive origins. Wordsworth, in later years, was inclined to diminish the poem and its specific merits. Reflecting on the initial publication of An Evening Walk (along with the equally early Descriptive Sketches), he writes, airily, "It was with great reluctance [that] I huddled up those two little works and sent them into the world in so imperfect a state. But as I had done nothing by which to distinguish myself at the university, I thought these little things might shew that I could do something."²²⁸ An Evening Walk would be the opening poem in Wordsworth's Poems collection of 1815, a reprinted selection internally structured on the model of "[t]he course of human life . . . commencing with Childhood, and terminating with Old Age, Death, and Immortality."²²⁹ Placed in the section "Juvenile Pieces," the poem purported to offer "a representation of a past self."²³⁰ The poem, finally, is subordinated to its author's life. Freed from "local circumstances and external event," the poem no longer appeals to natural history, rural dialect, or learned guidebooks for its validity or rationale. It exists, instead, as a stage in a poet's personal *Bildungsroman*, a massive life/works interface that would become synonymous with Wordsworth.

For future printings, Wordsworth would gradually reduce his footnotes to obscure the extent of his allusive borrowings. The attempt was to produce a poem that would justify his retrospective classification of it as a poem describing phenomena "which had been unnoticed by the poets of any age or country, as far as I was acquainted with them."²³¹ (As Averill says of the initial version, "Indeed, the poet of An Evening Walk

often seems less interested in keeping his eye on the object than on other poems.”)²³² One near-exception is worthy of comment. Where Wordsworth had formerly attributed a Thomson allusion to John Scott’s Critical Essays on Some of the Poems of Several English Poets (1785),²³³ the note was later amended to make the borrowing from The Seasons direct “rather than through the mediation of a critic.”²³⁴ The effect is to claim An Evening Walk as a direct descendant of the poet Wordsworth once extolled as “one whom Nature had admitted to share in many of her highest enjoyments and most retired pleasures, and who had received the boon with the keenest feelings and a warm and exquisite sensibility.”²³⁵ Here Thomson is the prototype for a privatized visionary poetics, a high-Romantic communion with “Nature,” even as he is the forerunner of an autobiographical poetry: The Seasons, Wordsworth writes, “is a work of inspiration; much of it is written from himself, and nobly from himself.”²³⁶ In that work, Wordsworth notes, “Thomson pledged himself to treat his subject *as became a Poet*”²³⁷—as a Poet, and not as some other thing, such as a Newtonian, or a Scottish natural philosopher.

HARP OF THE NORTH, FAREWELL!: SCOTT AS LAST MINSTREL

And think’st thou, SCOTT! by vain conceit perchance,
 On public taste to foist thy stale romance,
 Though MURRAY with his MILLER may combine
 To yield thy muse just half-a-crown per line?
 No! when the sons of song descend to trade,
 Their bays are sear, their former laurels fade.
 Let such forgo the poet’s sacred name,
 Who rack their brains for lucre, not for fame:
 Still for stern Mammon may they toil in vain!
 And sadly gaze on Gold they cannot gain!
 Such be their meed, such still the just reward
 Of prostituted Muse, and hireling Bard!
 For this we spurn Apollo’s vernal son,

And bid a long, “good night to Marmion.”²³⁸

—Byron, English Bards and Scotch Reviewers

The poet who famously chides Scott in the above lines was also, by most accounts, in part responsible for his decision to “forgo the poet’s sacred name.” Millgate writes that, by the time he published his last major poem, The Lord of the Isles (1815), Scott had been “outstripped . . . by Byron,” a fact he freely admitted: in a letter to James Ballantyne, Scott confesses, “Byron hits the mark where I don’t even pretend to fledge my arrow.”²³⁹ Elsewhere, Scott would attribute his renunciation of poetry for novels to a need to appeal to a wider and, indeed, *British* readership: “The curiosity of the English,” he writes, self-deprecatingly, “was not much awakened by poems in the rude garb of antiquity, accompanied with notes referring to the obscure feuds of barbarous clans, of whose very name civilized history was ignorant.”²⁴⁰ Scott could be expressing the sentiment poetically in his Marmion, when the titular knight, ironically dubbed the “flower of [the] English land” encounters a “Northern harper rude [who] / Chanted rhyme of deadly feud”: “Scantly Lord Marmion’s ear could brook / The harper’s barbarous lay.”²⁴¹ Of course, English Bards and Scotch Reviewers should hardly be taken as a careful, impartial study of the early-nineteenth-century print marketplace, yet some of Byron’s claims are worth considering, particularly his contention that material changes are at the root of a transformed literary culture:

No dearth of Bards can be complained of now

The loaded Press beneath her labour groans

And Printer's devils shake their weary bones.²⁴²

For Byron, a literary culture oversaturated by print is a world of “prostituted Muse” and “hireling Bard,” and the “Coming of the Book” is a cause for concern: “’Tis pleasant, sure, to see one's name in print; / A book's a Book, altho' there's nothing in't.”²⁴³ In the section that follows, I consider Scott's poetry in the context of his own eventual “good night to Marmion.” Scott's poems, I argue, provide a record of a gradual renunciation of regional and rhetorical specificity and historical particularity. The discussion begins by establishing Scott's own belated, ambivalent relationship to Scotland's Enlightenment heyday.

Where Thomson, as we have seen, was a quintessential poet of his particular milieu, Scott's relationship to the Scottish Enlightenment was more complex. As Peter Garside notes, throughout Scott's “comments on the [Scottish] Enlightenment, one senses a feeling of distance.”²⁴⁴ To be sure, as a student at Edinburgh University, he was in a position to take in “enlightenment at its fount,” as Sutherland writes.²⁴⁵ In this setting, in most accounts, he developed crucial “presuppositions, a manner of thinking and a historical method.”²⁴⁶ As a student of both Adam Ferguson and Dugald Stewart who enjoyed a “direct relationship with the *literati* of the Scottish Enlightenment,” Scott was fairly “soaked with ‘philosophical’ [i.e., conjectural] history.”²⁴⁷ As with many eighteenth-century students at Edinburgh University, Scott's exposure to such ideas was heightened by his involvement with one of the university's learned societies, in his case the Speculative Society (“the leading student debating society”): since its founding in 1764, “a large proportion of the papers presented by members had been on

‘philosophical’ historical subjects.”²⁴⁸ During these years, Scott “accepted the leading principle of conjectural history: the law of the necessary progress of society through successive stages.”²⁴⁹ Such tenets accompanied a belief in the “essential uniformity” of this stage-by-stage progress.²⁵⁰ For the Speculative Society, he presented a paper he wrote arguing that feudalism “proceeds upon principles common to all nations when placed in a certain situation,”²⁵¹ and in an early published essay, he asserts that “the same state of society and civilization produces similar manners, laws and customs.”²⁵² What should be kept in mind, however, was Scott’s basic belatedness, the way his time at Edinburgh University came as the Scottish Enlightenment was starting to wane. As Sutherland writes, Scott “was inflicted with the infuriating sense of having missed history, of having arrived too late on the Scottish scene.”²⁵³ Over time, the Enlightenment leanings of his thought would decrease, as he came to believe that “laws become *less* uniform and systematic as society progresses.”²⁵⁴ This is an insight he explores in his first three novels.

To read Scott’s poetry is to read a record of a developing, if at times regretful, renunciation of the Scottish Enlightenment’s historical theories and local particularity, a renunciation culminating in his turn from poems to novels. Both Scott’s poems and the prefatory or paratextual writings attached to them are informed by “epic primitivism,” in which “popular poetry is the carrier or the embodiment of a *geist* at once historical and national.”²⁵⁵ Thus, in his preface to The Bridal of Triermain (1813), Scott writes, “To modern readers, the poems of Homer have many of the features of pure romance; but in the estimation of his contemporaries, they probably derived their chief value from their supposed historical authenticity. The same may be generally said of the poetry of all early

ages . . . Poets, under various denominations of Bards, Scalds, Chroniclers, and so forth, are the first historians of all nations.”²⁵⁶ Dentith has identified in Scott’s poetry what he calls an “underlying” “imaginary anthropology,” i.e., an interest in cultural stages within a developmental narrative. Scott defines the aim of The Lay of the Last Minstrel, his first major poem, as “to illustrate the customs and manner which anciently prevailed on the Borders of England and Scotland.”²⁵⁷ He goes on to justify both his aim and various stylistic decisions:

The [Border] inhabitants living in a state partly pastoral and partly warlike, and combining habits of constant depredation with the influence of a rude spirit of chivalry, were often engaged in scenes highly susceptible of poetical ornament. *As the description of scenery and manners was more the object of the Author* than a combined and regular narrative, the plan of the Ancient Metrical Romance was adopted, which allows greater latitude, in this respect, than would be consistent with the dignity of a regular Poem. The same model offered other facilities, as it permits an occasional alteration of measure, which, in some degree, authorizes the change of rhythm in the text. The machinery, also, adopted from popular belief, would have seemed puerile in a Poem which did not partake of the rudeness of the old Ballad, or Metrical Romance.²⁵⁸

“Literary” considerations yield here to historical and sociological ones, testimony to how, “[f]or [Scott] ancient poetry and regional history were mutually illuminatory.”²⁵⁹

Similarly, in the advertisement for his succeeding poem Marmion, a poem culminating in 1513's battle of Flodden Field, Scott declares, "The design of the Author was, if possible, to apprise his readers, at the outset, of the date of his Story, and to prepare them for *the manners of the Age in which it is laid.*"²⁶⁰ (The success of the Lay makes him confident that another "*attempt to paint the manners of the feudal times . . . will not be unacceptable to the Public.*")²⁶¹ Leaving the Border region for the Highlands in 1810's The Lady of the Lake, meanwhile, Scott finds "the society of the clans in the sixteenth century" to be "an evidently more propitious context for the claims made on behalf of the origins of popular poetry" he shared with "the philosophical historians."²⁶² That poem has long been celebrated for what Dentith calls its investment in "a particular and ethnographically established history,"²⁶³ its poetic descriptions of clan organization, manners, and superstitions, all informed by an awareness of constant cultural change:

Time rolls his secret course. The race of yore,
 Who danced our infancy upon their knee,
 And told our marveling boyhood legends store,
 Of their strange ventures happ'd by land land or sea,
 How are they blotted from the things that be!²⁶⁴

A significant part of Scott's epic primitivism in his first major poem, The Lay of the Last Minstrel, stems from his use of the titular bard as frame narrator. As he recounts in his preface, it was due to his interest in the "poetical ornament" and metrical forms developed during a "partly pastoral and partly warlike stage of society" that "the Poem

was put into the mouth of an ancient Minstrel . . . who, as he is supposed to have survived the Revolution, might have caught somewhat of the refinement of modern poetry, without losing the simplicity of his original model.”²⁶⁵ For the Scott of the Lay in particular, the bard or minstrel is both emblem and repository of cultural and regional memory and specificity. Thus, the eponymous last minstrel charms his captivated listeners with accounts “Of manners, long since changed and gone” (IV.xxxv.25). In a beloved passage, he celebrates his (and his art’s) deep, abiding connection to his native land:

O Caledonia! stern and wild,
 Meet muse for a poetic child!
 Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
 Land of the mountain and the flood,
 Land of my sires! what mortal hand
 Can e’er untie the filial band,
 That knits me to thy rugged strand!

(VI.ii.1–7)

In the sixth canto of the Lay, Scott features a procession of minstrels at Branksome Hall, there to celebrate a relatively bloodless victory over the English and the happy end to a feud between two noble Scottish houses. Each minstrel is a representative of his respective region and bardic tradition, whether it is Albert Graeme, a Scottish Borderer “In lonely guise, as nature bade” (VI.x.12); one Fitzraver, an associate of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, whose “sonnet, rhyme, and roundelay, [was] / Renown’d in haughty

[Henry VIII's] court" (VI.xiii.3–4); or Harold of the Orkney Islands, whose encounters with "Norsemen" taught him "many a Saga's rhyme uncouth" (VI.xxii.14). The survey is a poetic realization of Scott's conviction quoted above that "[p]oets, under various denominations of Bards, Scalds, Chroniclers, and so forth, are the first historians of all nations."

In framing his first major poem as the performance of a minstrel for a specific audience, Scott displays what I have described earlier as an epic primitivist attention to an originary "scene of recitation."²⁶⁶ Such rhetorical situatedness presumes a pre-Romantic understanding of poetry—or even of identity. As Goslee puts it, "[T]he minstrel performing in the communal, oral tradition is to the modern poet, writing in private and publishing for unknown readers, as the 'pre-individual' self of the medieval period . . . is to the apparently individual, creative self of the romantic era, the self claimed by its poets."²⁶⁷ Indeed, the poem's oft-quoted lines, spoken impromptu by the minstrel, castigating "The wretch, concentrated all in self" (for whom "no Minstrel raptures swell") could be an indictment of the whole project of high or Wordsworthian Romanticism (VI.i.12, 8). The embededness of the minstrel's lay in Scott's poem recalls the public, communal contexts of the Scottish Enlightenment. Goslee writes of The Lay of the Last Minstrel, "Minstrels who represent the oral tradition in its prime appear in canto 6, responding to their audiences with narratives" that while they "include some magic, yet are constrained in their values by the face-to-face encounters with their society."²⁶⁸ (We have seen earlier how the Royal Society of Edinburgh, itself organized around "face-to-face encounters," similarly "constrained" the supernatural, sublime colorings of Collins's "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland.")

In its situatedness, The Lay of the Last Minstrel comes as a reminder of what Millgate calls the “uneasiness” Scott reveals in his early writings for “poetry in its naked condition—as an artifact detached from the world of rational discourse”; his use of a minstrel is of a piece with his efforts “to ground the world of his imagination in that of actual history and geography and so render it ‘safe.’”²⁶⁹

As we have seen, however, the privileging of the bard figure has the potential to replace the “historicising impulse” with an emphasis on “original genius.”²⁷⁰ In the case of Scott, as Dentith notes, he “combines” an epic-primitivist or conjectural-history “view with the potentially distinct idea of the powerful bard.”²⁷¹ With this tension or “problem” of bardic poetry in mind, we can trace across Scott’s major poems a progression toward a newly privatized poetics, a poetry of widely distributed print, of individual authors and distant, solitary readers; such writing is as free from local or rhetorical situatedness as it is from the dictates of history. Curiously, this modern state of poetics is a state Scott’s Lay seems to foretell and caution against. The minstrel’s central narrative features a significant subplot involving the mysterious spell book of the dead wizard Michael Scott and the havoc wrought when it falls into the hands of the mischievous dwarf, Lord Cranstoun’s Goblin Page. The bound volume is the source of a sinister magic that subverts the laws and limitations of time and space—i.e., when its original owner “in Salmanca’s cave, / . . . listed his magic wand to wave, / The bells would ring in Notre Dame!” (I.xiii.4–6)—and baffles collective standards of certainty:

[The book] had much of glamour might,
 Could make a ladye seem a knight;

The cobwebs on a dungeon wall
 Seem tapestry in lordly hall;
 A nut-shell seem a gilded barge,
 A sheeling [i.e., hut] seem a palace large,
 And youth seem age, and age seem youth—
 All was delusion, nought was truth.

(III.ix.11–8)

Easily and maliciously stolen by a goblin, the book, as Goslee notes, “is almost demoniacally free of the social constraints imposed upon the minstrel who performs traditional songs in the midst of his own society.”²⁷² The episode is Scott’s cautionary, apprehensive account of “the shift from singer and listeners to writer and readers, from mutual social definition to some more private, more alienated relationship”²⁷³—it is Scott’s ominous prophecy of a post-Enlightenment culture of knowledge production, one centered on the material book.

Even as early as the Lay, Scott was embarking on a necessary redefinition of the bard figure in his poetry. He takes pains to establish his eponymous minstrel as a solitary figure, one at odds with his surroundings:

The last of all the Bards was he,
 Who sung of Border chivalry;
 For, welladay! their day was fled[.]

(The Lay of the Last Minstrel, “Introduction,” lines 7–9)

Scott links the minstrel's status to key geopolitical changes within Britain: "Old times were changed, old manners gone; / A stranger filled the Stuarts' throne" ("Introduction," lines 19–20). The implication is that the minstrel must accordingly adapt his art for a changing audience. Much is made throughout of how the minstrel is now performing for a largely feminine audience, like the Duchess of Buccleuch and her ladies in waiting, rather than his bygone warlike auditors: abridging a martial section of his lay, he announces, "[W]ere each dame a listening knight, / I well could tell how warriors fight" (V.xxi.7–8). The motif anticipates the Scott who will wholly adapt his art for the "feminized" culture of novel reading. The proudly Scottish minstrel rejects, toward the end of his lay, his listeners' suggestion that "the more generous Southern land / Would well requite his skilful hand" (V.xxx.31–2), but by the end of the poem, Scott has removed him (his harp now "Hush'd") from Scotland's "poor and thankless soil" (V.xxx.13, 29) to transplant him to domestic retirement:

A simple hut; but there was seen
 The little garden hedged with green,
 The cheerful hearth, and lattice clean.

(VI.xxxi.19–21)

This was the consolation Wordsworth found at the end of An Evening Walk. Here we see that Scott, too, was looking to a poetics of private life—the poetics of a domesticated

bard—as the response to a British print culture increasingly dominated by “the more generous Southern Land.”

In a late poem like Rokeby, published the year before Scott’s first novel, we see the minstrel figure become the emblem of a private life and private art that are downright threatening in their self-absorption: the bard figure Edmund (a character rather than a narrator) is a self-concentred wretch in a poem filled with them. (The central action hinges on the private schemes of Oswald Wycliffe, who cravenly abstains from the “public good” of the battle of Marston Moor but thinks nothing of hiring the self-serving mercenary Bertram Risingham to commit an act of traitorous murder on the battlefield.)²⁷⁴ Rokeby’s Edmund uses his minstrelsy for private gain in the service of a band of thieves and outlaws united in selfish greed. Scott intimates that the minstrel’s private selfishness is of a piece with his artistic credo: “the conscious pride of art / Had steel’d him in his treacherous part” (V.xxii.3–4).

After the Lay, Scott would abandon the minstrel/audience apparatus that framed his first major poem, part of his heightened movement toward a literature of private authorship and consumption. In Marmion, his first succeeding poem, the “frame” surrounding the poem’s six cantos set in 1513 is a series of six highly meditative verse epistles addressed to close friends of Scott’s from his then-home of Ashestiel, a device foregrounding a reading culture of solitary author and reader alike. (One of the addressees, George Ellis, the editor of Specimens of Ancient English Romances [1805], confessed that he in fact missed the Lay’s “most charming of minstrels” and doubted the loss was fully “compensated by the idea of an author shorn of his picturesque beard, deprived of his harp, and writing letters to his intimate friends.”)²⁷⁵ Fittingly, one of

Scott's epistles interrupts and silences a minstrel within the text, one in the act of singing "Of Scotland's ancient Court and King" (IV.xxxii.32). Moreover, he concludes the whole poem with an epilogue addressed "To the Reader" and those who are about "To *read the Minstrel's idle strain*,"²⁷⁶ suggesting the passing of an oral communal culture. Scott's framing epistles as a whole are ruminative, Wordsworthian musings on time, the surrounding scenery, and the proper nature and aims of poetry. Typically, these sections find Scott contemplating a bleak, wintry landscape, one barren of historical or social interest—as, for instance, when he mourns the loss of the days when

oft, from Newark's riven tower,
 Sallied a Scottish monarch's power:
 A thousand vassals muster'd round,
 With horse, and hawk, and horn, and hound[.]²⁷⁷

As a poet, Scott, like the Wordsworth of An Evening Walk, is in search of *what will suffice*, and his consolations throughout the epistles are internal, Wordsworthian ones as well: "Something, my friend, we yet may gain; / There is a pleasure in this pain."²⁷⁸ The epistle that opens Marmion finds Scott justifying his latest "Essay to break a feeble lance / In the fair fields of old romance"²⁷⁹ by claiming descent from Edmund Spenser, Milton, and John Dryden, all "invoked as practitioners, or would-be practitioners, of romance."²⁸⁰ Freed from the bardic trappings of the Lay, Scott positions his poetry within a pan-British canon of authors whose work purports to transcend time and locality; as Millgate writes, "The legitimization of Marmion is thus literary rather than historical."²⁸¹

Indeed, to follow Scott's poetry after the Lay is to see Scott increasingly distancing himself from the dictates of history. Millgate calls the verse-epistle framework of Marmion "a direction away from the historical fable and towards the contemporary world of the author and his friends."²⁸² Meanwhile, the various prefaces and advertisements of Scott's poems record the progression. The Lay's preface, as mentioned above, carefully locates its focus on "the customs and manners which anciently prevailed on the Borders of England and Scotland." In Marmion, however, Scott moves toward a greater independence from history; his advertisement declares, "The present story turns upon *the private adventures of a fictitious character*," though it may be "called a Tale of Flodden Field."²⁸³ In the poem's fifth canto, meanwhile, as the narrative turns to the events of Flodden, Scott declares,

Such acts to chronicles I yield;
 Go seek them there and see:
 Mine is a tale of Flodden Field,
 And not a history.—

(V.xxxiv.19–22)

Marmion itself, as Millgate notes, deploys "a pattern of ambiguous metaphors for fictions that claim to escape the judgements of history."²⁸⁴ Many of these revolve around the dastardly anti-hero Marmion himself, whose crimes include forgery: "Marmion's forgery enacts Scott's own ambivalence toward the free inventions of his imagination in romantic narrative and toward their successful publication."²⁸⁵ The advertisement for 1813's

Rokeby, meanwhile, announces poetic fiction's utter autonomy from historical record: focusing on fictional events "immediately subsequent to the great battle of Marston Moor, 3rd July, 1644," Scott declares, "This period of public confusion has been chosen, *without any purpose of combining the Fable with the Military or Political Events of the Civil War*, but only as affording a degree of probability to the Fictitious Narrative now presented to the Public."²⁸⁶ As mentioned above, this poem's central characters either abstain entirely from the Civil War campaign of 1644 or use the battlefield for furtive acts of murder.

The Lady of the Lake's recurring bittersweet refrain "Harp of the North, farewell!" (VI.xxix.38, for example) could furnish a motto for Scott's major poetry as a whole. It is, as we have seen, a poetry forever bidding adieu. In this context, Scott's turn to the novel emerges as a next, logical step. In the two chapters that follow, I discuss Scott's first three novels, conceived as a trilogy, to reveal how they, too, chart a course away from the cultural influence of the Scottish Enlightenment. That journey, in turn, is the realization of Lay of the Last Minstrel's dire prophecy: the triumph of the all-powerful material book.

CHAPTER 2. “WITHOUT THE COMPANY OF MEN OF CULTIVATED MINDS”: WAVERLEY
AS POST-ENLIGHTENMENT NOVEL.

INTRODUCTION—ONTO THE STAGE OF HISTORY?

At the opening of Waverley, Scott defines what will be the paradigmatic format, materiality, and *destiny* of the nineteenth-century triple-decker. Waverley's first seven chapters constitute the most self-consciously attenuated opening since Tristram Shandy's (1760–67). As Edgar Johnson writes, these “deliberately paced . . . chapters . . . have often been undervalued by impatient readers.”²⁸⁷ We weather an account of Edward Waverley's divided family, with his Tory uncle and largely absent Whig father, his dilettantish reading and education, and his eventual appointment to a regiment of dragoons quartered in Scotland. This first section ends with Waverley's auspicious journey to Tully-Veolan in the Lowlands, an opening neatly closed with an image of the “stupendous barrier” of the Highlands of Perthshire.²⁸⁸

It has long been alleged that the leisurely exposition of these first chapters has the effect of heightening Waverley's encounter with Scotland and the Jacobite cause. A refined, romantic sensibility leaves behind the secluded library at Waverley-Honour for the stage of history—the events of 1745—and moves into the “sociological museum”²⁸⁹ of the eighteenth-century Highlands. Duncan writes of Waverley, “Thematically, historical experience banishes romantic illusion.”²⁹⁰ Such readings always remind me, as a film buff, of the magisterial dissolve from Laurence Olivier's Henry V (1945), where the stagebound playhouse's unworthy scaffold yields to the vasty fields of France:

Agincourt as the Photographic Real. Thus, according to these readings, Waverley leaves behind the *longeurs* and metaliterary fripperies of the opening section, a transition of a piece with Scott's larger dismissal of romantic, sentimental, and modish literary genres and types in chapter one, perhaps the slowest chapter of the opening lot. It is a chapter worthy of a closer look.

That first chapter offers a dizzying tour of the early-nineteenth-century print market. Adopting an intimate, collusive tone with his reader, Scott defends his choice of title, subtitle, and time period by moving through a profusion of popular genres and tropes, all possibilities for Scott's novel. The alternatives are heterogeneous and divergent, and the effect is that Scott is charting for Waverley a "middle path," as he does when settling on the novel's historical period: "By fixing then the date of my story Sixty Years before this present 1st November 1805, I would have my readers understand that they will meet in the following pages neither a romance of chivalry, nor a tale of modern manners; that my hero will neither have iron on his shoulders, as of yore, nor on the heels of his boots, as is the present fashion of Bond Street; and that my damsels will neither be clothed 'in purple and in pall,' like Lady Alice of an old ballad, nor reduced to the primitive nakedness of a modern fashionable at a rout" (p. 4). In formalist terms, Scott wants to avoid, on the one hand, the craggy, Gothic claustrophobia of the Udolpho-like "Waverley, a Tale of Other Days" and, on the other, the free-wheeling hecticness of "A Tale of the Times," a "dashing sketch of the fashionable world" with a "heroine from Grosvenor Square, and a hero from the Barouche Club or the Four-in-Hand, with a set of subordinate characters from the elegantes of Queen Anne Street East, or the dashing heroes of the Bow-Street Office" (p. 4). Scott's role in solidifying the three-volume novel

as the paradigmatic format for nineteenth-century fiction has long been recognized,²⁹¹ in Waverley, as intimated here in the first chapter, we see him carefully defining it as a formal-material model for unity and closure.

Categories and binaries are confused and intertwined in chapter one's depiction of the literary marketplace. "Romance" is mired in the historical excrescences of "Rosycrucians and illuminati," and "*primitive nakedness*" defines the "*modern fashionable*" (pp. 3, 4, emphasis added). In Scott's description of his focus, meanwhile, we encounter competing origins: "Those passions common to men in all stages of society, and which have alike agitated the human heart" constitute his theme, of which he notes, "Upon those passions it is no doubt true that the state of manners and laws casts a necessary colouring" (p. 5). The remarks look back to the "state-of-society" theses Scott would have encountered as a student of Stewart and Ferguson in "one of the most self-consciously 'enlightened' centres in eighteenth-century Europe."²⁹² At the same time, they echo the "Preface to Lyrical Ballads," articulating a moment of spatial and temporal displacement: the Scottish Enlightenment's absorption by British Romanticism. It is enough to make Waverley's reader retreat to his library.

In Waverley, Scott ultimately stages a retreat from history and into private life. Certainly, this reflects the entirety of the novel, the trajectory Edward Waverley travels over the course of the novel, given his retreat from the Jacobite cause and his marriage and domestic retirement with Rose Bradwardine. Scott, however, conceives of history and private life in specific, material terms: private, domestic life is associated with a model of novel-reading that Waverley develops, one where individual author and privatized reader meet in a timeless realm beyond historical particularity. As Duncan says

of Waverley, the state of private life “is that of our own reading of the novel.”²⁹³ With his first novel, Scott deftly but conspicuously codifies this retreat in the three-volume format. In this manner, Scott manages to make the retreat from history the generic destiny and subject matter not only of *the novel* as a genre, but also of the three-volume novel more specifically. Waverley’s move into a private life associated with interiority and reading practices outside history needs to be seen in the context of key changes in the production and dissemination of knowledge and print in the long aftermath of Anglo-Scottish union. The institutional sites of the Scottish Enlightenment were rendered obsolete and reconfigured after the Act of Union. Waverley dramatizes this change.

The loss of the specific material practices of the Scottish Enlightenment, along with the increasingly complicated status of Scottish cultural identity vis à vis British assimilation, changed the importance and function of literature. Duncan, in a discussion of the “new rhetoric” of an increasingly “British Scotland,” traces a general “tur[n] away from the traditional goals of inculcating civic virtue”: here, Duncan invokes bywords of Enlightenment Edinburgh, an improving spirit and project informed by philosophical-historical narratives of cultural progress and public forums for urban renewal.²⁹⁴ Alternately, we see a turn “toward an emphasis on the stylistic formation of polite discourse and the cultivation of sensibility in modern civil society—‘literary’ values, in short.”²⁹⁵ Describing the same period, Ina Ferris identifies an emerging discourse “of human sympathy, which denied calculation and temporal and spatial differentiations, positing an underlying core of humanity in each human being.”²⁹⁶ According to Ferris, “the imagination provided privileged access” to “this core,” and “fiction itself . . . stood as a critical vehicle.”²⁹⁷ Seen in this context, Scott’s development of an authorial narrator

and an individual—albeit universal—reader in a timeless space marks an effort to replace Scottish Enlightenment sociability with an interior sensibility.

When Scottish identity was becoming inextricably complicated, a literature positing what Ferris calls an “underlying core of humanity” was an apposite one for pan-British assimilation and its changing notions of subjecthood and identity. In this context, *Waverley* posits an *escape from history* wherein *the very idea of history* is entangled with the sheer unnarratable messiness of Scottish history and the problematics of Anglo-Scottish integration. Accordingly, the novel itself becomes Scott’s way of “cement[ing] the Union in the hearts of men”²⁹⁸—one reader at a time.

As *Waverley* makes clear, the material book, more specifically the three-volume novel, stands in for this ideological creation of an individualized and cultural “private life beyond historical process.”²⁹⁹ In *Waverley*’s “Introductory” chapter, Scott famously elevates the physical codex above and beyond historical particularity: “the *great book* of Nature,” Scott writes, remains “the same through a thousand editions,” transcending historical contexts both ancient—“of black letter”—or modern—“wire-wove and hot-pressed” (p. 5, emphasis added). Goslee writes that for Scott the modular volume functions as the “central image . . . that illustrate[s] writing’s escape from social embedding and its definitions of a group’s sense of truth.”³⁰⁰ Put more concretely, the material book offers for Scott an alternative to the institutional practices and material cultures of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Scotland. This is a theme Scott would develop in *Waverley*’s successor, *Guy Mannering*, a novel that posits a literary alternative to the “group’s sense of truth” offered by Enlightenment Edinburgh and that was reportedly inspired by an oral narrative that affords the physical book a conspicuous

role. Past discussions of the three-volume novel in British literary history have traced its emergence to changing, increasingly privatized modes of literary consumption—the process by which the reading public was commensurate with what Sutherland, echoing Thomas Carlyle, calls the “reader on a sofa.”³⁰¹ This narrative needs to be reconfigured historically as well as geographically: the rise of the canonical three-volume format reflects the realignment of eighteenth-century Scottish communality and the complexities of British integration. Such a reading demands a new account of Scott’s development of the so-called triple-decker.

* * *

This chapter explores Waverley’s retreat from history as Scott’s efforts to associate *the novel* generically with a cultural turn away from Scottish Enlightenment reading practices and contexts. My discussion begins by considering how in the novel Scott develops a literary, textual site for reading and knowledge dissemination as a response to the decline of the Scottish public sphere, a condition the novel dramatizes: specifically, I account for Scott’s novelistic creation of an author-reader interchange as a reflection of a search for cohesion and the redefinition of reading audiences. From there, I discuss how Scott carefully designates the novel, its particular discourse and cultural work, in opposition to the genres or discourses of history *and* romance. Influential studies of Scott’s efforts “to negotiate the place of the novel within the new discursive landscape created by the Enlightenment”³⁰² often see Scott negotiating *between* the modes of *history* and *romance*. Where many accounts, as I mentioned in my opening, see Scott using history to ballast and supplement a febrile, ineffectual romance mode,³⁰³ others see Waverley and its successors as romance’s triumph over history.³⁰⁴ I argue that in

Waverley, Scott establishes the novel in opposition to history *and* romance. This gesture is central to understanding Scott's conception of the novel as an ever forward-looking form.

FILLING THE VOID: THE AUTHOR-READER CIRCUIT AND POST-
ENLIGHTENMENT READING CONTEXTS IN WAVERLEY

Duncan has described how throughout the *Waverley Novels* Scott assumes a specific textual relationship with his reader, one suggesting that “the author sat at the chronological origin of [an] animating circuit and the reader at its end.”³⁰⁵ Reflecting the reconfigurations of print culture between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Scott locates the site of reading in the communion between an individual author and an ideal reader that he constructs and valorizes. Waverley's self-conscious first chapter finds Scott introducing an anonymous narrator who styles himself as the novel's author, taking credit for the work. This textually constituted persona anticipates the eventual end of Scott's own anonymity and, eventually, the *Waverley Novels*' massive precedent of “the identification of a series of works with a celebrated individual.”³⁰⁶ The narrator, in chapter one, defends his generic and paratextual choices for the novel. His good-natured celebrations of his “intimate knowledge of the particular ingredients necessary to the composition of . . . novels of various descriptions” mark him as an assertive, decisive craftsman, one who brings “grave and solid deliberation” to all elements of authorship (p. 3). At the same time, he repeatedly declares his independence from “the example of [his]

predecessors”—extant textual genres, “pages of inanity, similar to those which have been so christened for half a century past” (p. 3).

Scott extends this autonomy to the reader,³⁰⁷ grounding many of his decisions for the work in terms of “what . . . my readers [could] have expected” (p. 3). The reader’s importance for Scott’s undertaking can be gauged by his recurring reference to an author-reader “contract” (p. 339). Thus, even as Scott, as an author, avoids “unnecessary . . . preconceived associations,” when “like a maiden knight with his white shield” he grants Waverley “an uncontaminated name,” he leaves the reader freedom to “affix” his or her own associations (p. 3). Indeed, the reader’s independence, according to Scott, dictated the final volume’s structure, the concluding “Postscript, which should have been a Preface” placed in deference to the habits of Scott’s readers (p. 339).

The basic integrity and autonomy of Scott’s authorial narrator and his imagined reader stand in marked contrast to Waverley’s temperament. Waverley’s early development and education are chronicled immediately after the opening chapter; simply put, the narrator and his invoked “gentle reader” have both already experienced the individual development the novel traces for its protagonist, something Waverley’s overall taste and diffuse, indolent practice as a reader reflects and a fact reinforced by the explicitly retrospective focus of the subtitle, “’Tis Sixty Years Since.” The implication is that the novel’s authoritative narrator/author and individual reader represent the highest or final stage in Waverley’s educative development, the conclusion of the work as a *Bildungsroman*.³⁰⁸ Flora MacIvor, as she predicts Waverley’s destiny, places him in “the quiet circle of domestic happiness” at Waverley-Honour, where he “will refit the old library in the most exquisite Gothic taste, and garnish its shelves with the rarest and most

valuable volumes” (p. 250). Once outside of history and an individualized denizen of private life, Waverley, like the reader of the novel, is free to enjoy the “individualist, class-specific act of reading.”³⁰⁹

Scott’s opening address to the reader dismisses the trappings and conventions of a “Sentimental Tale,” one featuring a “heroine with a profusion of auburn hair, and a harp, the soft solace of her solitary hours, which she fortuitously finds always the means of transporting from castle to cottage” (p. 4). This stands in contrast to Waverley’s highly romantic reading tastes—to say nothing of his (passing) infatuation with dark-haired Flora MacIvor, who memorably plays her harp before a “romantic water-fall” for Waverley’s benefit (p. 105). Waverley, we learn, feeds his imagination early on with “picturesque and interesting passages,” as well as “Spenser, Drayton, and other poets who have exercised themselves on romantic fiction, of all themes the most fascinating to a youthful imagination” (p. 14). Later, he seeks “poetry of a more sentimental description” (p. 14). While at Tully-Veolan, his introduction to Scottish history and manners, Waverley remains “readily interested by a tale bordering on the romantic” (p. 55). In this section of the novel, his reading tastes are contrasted with the Baron of Bradwardine’s—“their characters and habits of thinking were in many respects totally opposite.” Bradwardine’s literally prosaic reading underscores Waverley’s “warm and vivid imagination” (pp. 56, 57).

More importantly, Waverley’s habits and practices as a reader contrast with those of Scott’s constructed reader in Waverley. Much is made of Waverley’s indolent reading, the product of a “somewhat desultory” education (p. 11). Waverley, we are told, is of a disposition inclined to “renoun[ce] study so soon as curiosity is gratified, the pleasure of

conquering the first difficulties exhausted, and the novelty of pursuit at an end” (p. 12). “[P]ermitted to read only for the gratification of his own amusement,” he risks “losing for ever the opportunity of acquiring habits of firm and incumbent application, of gaining the art of controuling, directing, and concentrating the powers of his own mind for earnest investigation” (p. 12).³¹⁰ By contrast, Scott’s reader is praised for his “patience” in having “accompanied me through these sheets” and thus “strictly fulfill[ing]” his part of the author-reader contract. Indeed, in honoring this contract, the reader’s conduct indicts Waverley’s abdication of his army commission.

Waverley’s passivity—the sense that he is at the mercy of events and circumstance—becomes a corollary of Scott’s textual creation of an authoritative narrator/author. This is more than simply a matter of contrast, a rudderless hero to highlight an assertive author. More sinned against than sinning, Waverley throughout the novel is *narrated* rather than narrating, a condition that assigns authority to the narrating agent and therefore to the author. On his first appearance, Waverley is called “the hero of our tale,” a conceit Scott employs repeatedly (p. 10). Waverley’s designation as a hero often seems ironic, being applied when Waverley is not being particularly heroic, when, for instance, he is only five years old. It has the effect, however, of reifying Scott’s authority and evincing his active intervention in the narrative. We are reminded that— from the distance of *Sixty Years*³¹¹—the narrator/author already knows of Waverley’s maturation and eventual acts of genuine heroism, while acting as a further reminder that the author had already experienced the personal development Waverley was undergoing. “Waverley’s heroism” attests to the author’s active reconstruction of the past.

Furthermore, no competing biography of Edward Waverley within the text is granted authority. Waverley's travels and activities beyond Perthshire quickly become the stuff of oral and written narratives. Major Melville produces one while detaining him in Cairnvreckan (see pp. 154–61), an “article in the Gazette” (i.e., “some London journal”) purportedly includes another, and Prince Charles alludes to having heard many accounts of Waverley's actions and adventures (pp. 126, 197). That many of these narratives are flawed and circumstantial, “gross falsehoods . . . blended with such circumstances of truth as could not fail to procure them credit,” is further proof of Waverley's passivity, his vulnerability to slander and deceit (p. 159). At the same time, it contributes to the novel's creation of authorial agency. Scott's narrative of Waverley's adventures—the novel's—is the valid one, taking precedence over what the Chevalier calls the many “partial and mutilated accounts” (p. 197). Ultimately, Scott distinguishes the novel, generically and materially, from the “partial and mutilated” discourses of *romance* and *history* alike, part of my conviction that the development of an individual, autonomous author was coeval with Scott's “generic restructuring of the novel.”³¹²

Scott's creation of an author-reader “circuit”—realized largely as an antithesis to Waverley himself—is a material phenomenon, one bespeaking new notions of the material book and new grounds for cultural consensus in a post-Enlightenment British print culture.³¹³ Championing his reader at Waverley's expense, Scott foregrounds the physical formats of books and by extension announces the ascendancy of the three-volume novel, in which Scott played a significant role. Waverley's desultory reading is such that he often has difficulty finishing *a single volume* unless it “pleased or interested him” (p. 12). Scott's more disciplined reader, meanwhile, remains with him across three

volumes. The novel's author-reader discourse points to the reformulation of reading audiences between the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The textual construction of an individual, self-aware author and a solitary reader was a response to the loss of public, communal sites for the reception and dissemination of print and knowledge sites characteristic of the material cultures of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Further, Scott connects his protagonist's reading to distinctive material sites—a means of limning the impact of the loss of institutional structures within an increasingly urban and homogenous Britain. Thus, Waverley-Honour's library, “a large Gothic room, with double arches and a gallery,” influenced Waverley's indolent reading (p. 13). We are told that the library “contained that miscellaneous and extensive collection of volumes usually assembled together . . . without much scrutiny or nicety of discrimination” (p. 13). Here, “Waverley was permitted to roam at large,” a fact responsible for his driving “through the sea of books, like a vessel without a pilot or a rudder” (p. 13). Scott contrasts such indulgence to “the poor student . . . limited to a narrow circle for indulging his passion for books . . . [who] must necessarily make himself master of the few he possesses ere he can acquire more” (p. 13). At once, Scott indicts the rapid expansion of the print market and the loss of a whole milieu of communal judgment and disinterested discrimination.

Scott's description of Waverley-Honour's library in volume one is of a piece with a larger discussion and set of motifs describing public life and the effects of communal society and institutions, motifs that deploy themes and imagery demonstratively Scottish Enlightenment in character. In chapter one, Scott describes his focus as “those passions common to men in all stages of society,” evincing an eighteenth-century investment in

the universally human as well as a Scottish emphasis on societal stages (p. 5). He goes on to note, “Upon these passions it is no doubt true that the state of manners and laws casts a necessary colouring”: thus, the “wrath of our ancestors . . . was coloured *gules*,” where for Scott’s contemporaries it was “tinctured sable” (p. 5). Soon after, Scott reflects, “Society and example . . . more than any other motives, master and sway the natural bent of our passions” (p. 15). The universally human is directed, inflected, and colored by the socially, structurally particular in a conceit suggesting a stained-glass window, an image Scott invokes directly in the second chapter: “[Sir Everard] looked at the attorney with some desire to issue his fiat, when the sun, emerging from behind a cloud, poured at once its chequered light through the stained window of the gloomy cabinet in which they were seated” (p. 8).

By contrast, the library at Waverley-Honour is “large and sombre,” its sole illumination “afforded by the decaying brands on its ponderous and ample hearth” (p. 17). The light source permeates dimly through the interior, rather than being directed and magnified. Waverley-Honour’s library is not one of the convivial sites of Enlightenment Edinburgh. Nor, however, is it yet the domesticated library that Flora predicts for Waverley’s future, the moonlit demesne of “a clear summer night,” where Edward’s additions to the shelves correct Sir Everard’s more haphazard arrangement, and “taste” has conquered the Gothic (p. 250). In its liminal state, the library is an emblem of benighted solipsism anticipating Waverley’s purblind trip to Scotland.

Waverley’s initial journey into Scotland in volume one vividly depicts the growing obsolescence of Enlightenment communality, a theme of interest and urgency in Scottish history. In the last chapter, I discussed how for the Wordsworth of *An Evening*

Walk, “[t]he leisurely peripatetics of the . . . eighteenth century rambler become a *nightmare straying*”³¹⁴—one that I attribute to the anxiety produced by reinventing poetry for a “purer, more free-floating intelligentsia.”³¹⁵ Here, Waverley’s largely solitary trek north amounts in material culture terms to a wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born.³¹⁶ A lone Englishman encountering a historically dense, sociologically complex Scotland, Waverley uses his belletristic interpretive framework as a version of whistling in a graveyard. He is clearly outside of and estranged from any sociable or institutional setting: this, I contend, is the subtext for Waverley’s own “nightmare straying” into the Highlands, a key context for interpreting his perceptions.

The early descriptions of the Lowlands hamlet of Tully-Veolan exhibit the tropes of Scottish-Enlightenment sociological thought. The narrator limns the village’s “primitive state” (the hamlet is called “stragglings” twice in one paragraph), suggesting an investment in the stages of civilization and their outside markers (p. 32). Such descriptions implicitly connect the village’s oppressive, sun-baked “stagnation” to its economics and industries: the passing description of a “watchful old grandame” highlights her “distaff, and spindle”—always-reliable indices of an archaic society—and we are treated to an overview of Lowland subsistence agriculture “Sixty Years Since”:

The village was more than half a mile long, the cottages being irregularly divided from each other by gardens, or yards, as the inhabitants called them, of different sizes, where . . . the now universal potatoe was unknown, but which were stored with gigantic plants of *kale* or colwort,

encircled with groves of nettles, and here and there a huge hemlock, or the national thistle, overshadowing a quarter of the petty inclosure . . . The dry stone walls which fenced, or seemed to fence . . . [t]hese hanging gardens of Tully-Veolan, were intersected by narrow lanes leading to the common field, where the joint labour of the villagers cultivated alternate ridges and patches of rye, oats, barley, and pease, each of such minute extent, that at a little distance the unprofitable variety of the surface resembled a tailor's book of patterns.

(p. 34)

Turning this descriptive precision to the inhabitants, the narrator expresses quintessentially Scottish-Enlightenment faith in a universal humanity stifled by societal inertia: "It seemed . . . as if poverty, and indolence, its too frequent companion, were combining to depress the natural genius and acquired information of a hardy, intelligent, and reflecting peasantry" (p. 33).

Waverley's perceptions, meanwhile, are those of a refined, literary cast. Within the general squalor of the village, he focuses on "more pleasing objects," namely, "[t]hree or four village girls, returning from the well or brook with pitchers and pails upon their heads" (p. 33). For Waverley, they "somewhat resembled Italian forms of landscape," and the "elegance of their costume" and the "symmetry of their shape" would appeal to any "lover of the picturesque" (p. 33). Throughout this sojourn at Tully-Veolan, Waverley finds his assumptions—English and literary ones—qualified by the local and

historical. When he first encounters Davie Gellatly on the grounds of the manor house, which he deems the “solitary and seemingly enchanted mansion,” Waverley classifies him as “not much unlike one of Shakespeare’s roynish clowns” (p. 39). Soon after, he learns from Saunderson that Davie, “more knave than fool,” is an “innocent,” a standard feature of local Scottish culture: “there is one such in almost every laird’s house in the country” (pp. 39, 39–40).

Scott intimates that Waverley’s interpretations—his “reading”—of Scotland are the product of a particular material culture. Thus, Waverley, raised in privacy and seclusion, clearly prefers and responds to the cloistered solitude of Bradwardine’s manor, rather than the heat and dust of the village: “The solitude and repose of the whole scene seemed almost monastic, and Waverley . . . walked slowly down the avenue, enjoying the grateful and cooling shade, and so much pleased with the placid ideas of rest and seclusion excited by this confined and quiet scene, that he forgot the misery and dirt of the hamlet he had left behind him” (p. 35).

Waverley’s reactions to the *creagh* while at Tully-Veolan—which introduces him to the Highlands and ultimately hastens his involvement with the Jacobite cause—also reflect the influence of Enlightenment interpretive sites. When Rose Bradwardine explains the system of black-mail to Waverley, he immediately deems the “state of the country . . . equally novel and extraordinary” (p. 72). He is particularly struck by “the systematic mode in which [the ‘Highland thieves’] depredations were conducted; and that the practice was connived at, and even encouraged, by many of the Highland chieftains, who not only found these *creaghs*, or forays, useful for the purpose of training individuals of their clans to the practice of arms, but also of maintaining a wholesale

terror among their Lowland neighbours, and levying, as we have seen, a tribute from them, under colour of protection-money” (p. 72).³¹⁷

In addition to demonstrating Waverley’s world view, the scene emerges as Scott’s subtle commentary on the waning influence of Scottish Enlightenment thought and culture. As I argue in my introductory chapter, the “systematic” interpretation of cultures, coupled with theses about historical progress, emerged from and reflected a specific material structure in eighteenth-century Scotland. In failing to recognize the “systematic” arrangement of Highland life, Waverley foregrounds the necessary connection between Scottish-Enlightenment thought and its points of dissemination. The latter, of course, were largely obsolete for Scott’s 1814 readers. As an English subject who comes to renounce Jacobitism and presides over a union of sorts, Waverley functions in ways as an emissary for those very readers.

In Waverley’s initial trip to the Highlands, Scott depicts a sensibility adrift from communality and the public sphere—an apt depiction of post-Enlightenment knowledge production. Cocooned in “his own meditations,” Waverley travels with the Highlander Evan Dhu across an amorphous, potentially threatening landscape, one beyond the ken of the social: “Through the gorge of the glen [the division between the Lowlands and the Highlands], they found access to a black bog, of tremendous extent, full of large pit-holes, which they traversed with great difficulty and some danger . . . The path itself, or rather the portion of more solid ground on which the travellers half walked, half waded, was rough, broken, and in many places quaggy and unsound. Sometimes the ground was so completely unsafe, that it was necessary to spring from one hillock to another, the space between being incapable of bearing the human weight” (p. 77).

Here and throughout Waverley's first trip north, "murky darkness" and unsafe ground signify the absence of public, communal culture, the broken paths vividly suggesting the margins of human society (p. 78). Scott, moreover, isolates Waverley in pairing him with a guide who "spoke very little English," causing him to retreat further into his own solipsism (p. 78): "He had now time to give himself up to the full romance of his situation. Here he sate on the banks of an unknown lake, under the guidance of a wild native, whose language was unknown to him, on a visit to the den of some renowned outlaw, a second Robin Hood perhaps, or Adam o'Gordon, and that at deep midnight, through scenes of difficulty and toil, separated from his attendant, left by his guide:— what a fund of circumstances for the exercise of a romantic imagination, and all enhanced by the solemn feeling of uncertainty at least, if not of danger!" (p. 78). Waverley's journey, we are told repeatedly, was motivated largely by curiosity rather than a wholly selfless interest in retrieving Tully-Veolan's stolen cattle, a mission Waverley derogates as "degrading": "He felt at once the impulse of curiosity, and that slight sense of danger which only serves to heighten its interest" (p. 72). In this context, curiosity becomes a recklessly private, anti-social pursuit, a literal wandering off the beaten path.

As I discuss in my introductory chapter, Collins's "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland" similarly uses an account of a nocturnal journey to stage a conflict between the known paths of the social ("the shelt'ring roof and haunts of men") (line 89) and the pursuit of a private vision. For me, the poem's distinctive textual history—published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh—suggests that such nightmare strayings articulated convictions about the public sphere and the late-Enlightenment print network. Collins's poem

includes the cautionary account of a curious “swain” led by a “faithless light” through “glimm’ring mazes” where “lurking ’mid th’ unrustling reed, / At those mirk hours the wily monster lies” (lines 98, 96, 99–100). In the pages of the Royal Society’s Transactions, such a message was of a piece with the Society’s collective identity, public service, and social missions. For Scott, Waverley’s murky wanderings are the ambiguous expression of a transition in print history, the condition of coming *after* the ferment of Enlightenment Edinburgh.

In key instances, Waverley’s reactions to the denizens of the Highlands reflect the passing of the institutions of the Scottish Enlightenment and their distinctive theoretical contributions. Here, too, a comparison with Collins’s poem is instructive. Based on the natural-history writings of Martin Martin, whose Description of the Westerns Islands of Scotland and A Voyage to St. Kilda were commissioned by London’s Royal Society and dedicated to its president Charles Montague,³¹⁸ Collins’s poem describes various Scottish tribes and cultures, particularly those of the isle of St. Kilda.

Collins—unlike Waverley—recognizes and celebrates the “systematic” nature of Kilda life, how the isle’s natives live in a sociable community according to Enlightenment-approved standards of public virtue: “Fair Nature’s daughter, Virtue”³¹⁹ (line 157). Significantly, “Kilda’s race,” according to Collins, never leaves its “bounded walks” (line 161). Collins’s consideration of tribes and cultures in Scottish history accords with the models of philosophical history espoused by the Royal Society of Edinburgh, as his discussion of an ancient burial mound for now-extinct “pigmy-folk” (line 143) evinces: the same tomb houses rich cultural precedents, the “mighty kings of three fair realms” (line 147), and opening the vault will let “monarchs stalk with

sov'reign pow'r" (line 152). Even pigmies, that is, contain the seeds for future greatness, a pigmy-to-giant view of cultural development.

Waverley's initial perceptions of the Highlanders are at odds with this developmental thesis, further reflection of the novel's post-Enlightenment origins. Evan Dhu's arrival illustrates this. His curiosity "highly interested," Waverley and the reader weather a bit of formality (Saunders Saunderson acts "the part of master of the ceremonies"), only to encounter "a stout dark man of low stature"—a somewhat anticlimactic outcome (p. 73). Similarly, when he arrives at the abode of Donald Bean Lean (here, Evan Dhu now serves as "master of ceremonies"), Waverley finds him "totally different in appearance and manner from what his imagination had anticipated": "The profession which he followed—the wildness in which he dwelt—the wild warrior forms that surrounded him, were all calculated to inspire terror. From such accompaniments, Waverley prepared himself to meet a stern, gigantic, ferocious figure, such as Salvator would have chosen to be the central object of a group of banditti" (p. 80). "[T]hin in person and low in stature," Lean, instead, "appeared, on the whole, rather a diminutive and insignificant figure" (p. 80).

In such passages, Waverley depicts a diminished, unprepossessing Highlands. The novel, of course, foretells the culture's destruction. In this manner, Scott undermines the developmental narratives of conjectural history in a distinctive way: by including these scenes in Waverley's initial arrival in Scotland—which I have read as an illustration of the liminal status of the post-eighteenth-century print market—Scott comments on the Scottish material cultures that produced and disseminated such theories. Telic historical

interpretations, Scott seems to imply here, require a specific print culture. *Waverley*'s impressions reflect the lack of that context and the need for a new one.

ON NEUTRAL GROUND: ROMANCE AND HISTORY IN WAVERLEY

Of the oral legends and accounts that feed *Waverley*'s romantic imagination, it is conspicuous how many end in death, lost love, and ruptured unions; as narratives, they have no second acts. This, I will show, is something they share with the partisan historical accounts of rebellion that Flora MacIvor celebrates—and thus the abortive uprisings in which the MacIvors are involved. Moreover, this sets both the romantic and the historic discourses apart from *Waverley*, where closure is founded on domestic retirement and “the right marriage”—Scott's concept of the novel's destiny, generically.

Thus, rather than comprising opposites or alternatives for Scott, *history* and *romance* in *Waverley* become two sides of the same coin: conjoined discourses against which Scott positions the novel. Just as *Waverley* and Bradwardine found “a neutral ground” for their respective tastes for romance and history, Scott levels history and romance into outdated modes. This gesture allows the novel to emerge as a forever forward-looking form, outside of and unbound by the past and history. Its subtitle alone, after all, guarantees that it will always be about a past *no more* than Sixty Years away. Scott's vision for the novel, again, is an insistently material, metaformalist one: in *Waverley*, the three-volume novel offers closure and completion superior to the (equated) discourses of history and romance.

Generally bored by Sir Everard's genealogical monologues, Waverley is entranced by the chivalric "deeds of Wilibert of Waverley in the Holy Land," particularly "his supposed death, and his return on the evening when the betrothed of his heart had wedded the hero who had protected her from insult and oppression during his absence; the generosity with which the crusader relinquished his claims, and sought in a neighbouring cloister that peace which passeth not away" (p. 16). Similarly, he thrills to the account of "the sufferings and fortitude of Lady Alice Waverley during the great civil war" (p. 16). Lady Alice's youngest son dies while helping Charles I hide at Waverley-Honour; the account ends with "Miss Lucy St. Aubin [who] lived and died a maid for his sake, though one of the most beautiful and wealthy matches in this country; all the country ran after her, but she wore widow's mourning all her life for poor William, for they were betrothed though not married" (pp. 16–7).

In Waverley, then, tragic or sacrificial celibacy—the cloister or a maiden's mourning garments—marks romance generically. Sir Everard, after being spurned by Lady Emily in the novel's second chapter, ignores her five more willing sisters and, "[w]ith a grace and delicacy worthy *the hero of a romance* . . . withdrew his claim" (p. 9, emphasis added). Soon after, Edward Waverley, age five, enters the narrative and is designated "the hero of our tale" (p. 10), not, indicatively, the hero of a romance: as a child carrying forward-looking thoughts and the future hopes of Sir Everard, he indeed offers an alternative to the dead-ends of romantic heroism. His arrival opens a new narrative possibility into Waverley, the plotting of individual development or *Bildungsroman*:³²⁰ the succeeding chapter is entitled "Education," as Scott redefines both heroism and the generic purview of the novel.

Scott's novelistic account of Waverley moves him toward domestic union, a destiny that means avoiding the terminus of romance. Waverley's early attachment to Flora, who describes herself as "a young woman possessed of the usual accomplishments, in a sequestered and *romantic* situation" (p. 106, emphasis added), threatens to become one of the doomed, static romance plots he absorbed at Waverley-Honour.³²¹ In moving narratively beyond this threat, Scott stages the novel as a corrective to the limitations of romance while claiming for the genre the "domestic felicity" Flora foretells for Waverley (p. 135).

The MacIvors' historical narratives resemble the romance plots Waverley loved. Both Fergus and Flora use the language of chivalric romance, casting Waverley into history and narrative as a potential "knight-adventurer," assessing the "justice and the danger of the cause" (p. 130). It is hardly coincidental that Charles Edward Stuart is rendered in similar terms: his "form and manners, as well as the spirit which he displayed in this singular enterprize, answered [Waverley's] ideas of a hero of romance" (p. 193). The MacIvors also cast their own historical mission in these terms. Flora expresses her partisan loyalties and sense of historical destiny through "the memory of the gallant Captain Wogan"—an erstwhile member of Oliver Cromwell's army who escaped to the Highlands to take up the royalist cause, for which he gave his life. This account of martyrdom offers to her what the story of Lady Alice offers to Rachel Waverley; she later gives Waverley her own poetic tribute to her hero (p. 133). Wogan's history represents another rejection of the domestic: Flora—who never marries—remains in love with Wogan's memory and his "short but glorious career"; her brother³²² notes that she is "more in love with the memory of that dead hero, than she is likely to be with any living

one” (p. 147). Wogan, meanwhile, offers another ultimately abandoned narrative possibility for Waverley, with whom he shares an initial: we are told that the account “coincides peculiarly” with his “romantic disposition” (p. 147), and Major Melville calls it “the very counterpart of [Waverley’s] own plot” (p. 164).

With the characters of Mr. Morton (the “venerable clergyman”) and Colonel Talbot, Scott further presents what Duncan has dubbed “‘literary’ values,” the ideology for which the novel functions as a vehicle (p. 153). Here, too, these values are cognate with notions of closure and completeness—material and textual features of the novel that distinguish it from such competing genres as romance and history. The Cairnvreckan pastor’s benevolent mercy and innate faith in the imprisoned Waverley’s innocence certainly mark him as an instance of the “public virtue of human sympathy which denied calculation” that Ferris finds evinced in the fiction contemporary with Waverley.³²³ His compassion for Waverley “had the natural effect of softening Edward’s heart”—an acknowledgement of “an underlying core of humanity in each human being.”³²⁴ In Scott’s account, Morton’s virtues are of a piece with his superiority to narrow political or religious partisanship—testament to changing grounds of identity within an increasingly homogenous Britain. Waverley’s narrator remarks, “I have never been able to discover which [Morton] belonged to, the evangelic or the moderate party in the kirk” (p. 154). Similarly, Morton derogates those who hold “church government or ceremonies as the gage of Christian faith or moral virtue” (p. 167).

More importantly, Morton’s conviction of Waverley’s innocence is largely attributable to what one might call his *novelistic* perspective, a comprehensive interpretive framework structured as a narrative of individual development. Here, too,

Scott defines the nineteenth-century novel's province while venerating it over other flawed, incomplete genres and narratives as a model of wholeness. Influenced by his own life narrative, Morton is able to place the circumstantial evidence of Waverley's treason within a larger narrative scheme. The pastor of Cairnvreckan, we learn, had, like Waverley, a youthful "love of letters," albeit one "kept in subordination to his clerical studies and duties" (p. 162).³²⁵ Accordingly, he diagnoses Waverley's apparent Jacobite tendencies by relegating them to an early developmental stage within a *Bildungsroman* plot. According to Morton, Waverley is, like the "[h]undreds of misguided gentlemen . . . now in arms against the government," in other words, "misled by the wild visions of chivalry and imaginary loyalty" attributable to youth, "education and early prejudice" (p. 163). When he and Waverley discuss the latter's visit to Donald Bean Lean's cave, Morton acknowledges "the power of curiosity and the influence of romance as motives of youthful conduct" (p. 168). Those (such as Major Melville) incapable of such developmental or novelistic terms, he warns, may misdiagnose Waverley, assigning to him "motives of action entirely foreign to the truth" (p. 168).

The character of Colonel Talbot offers Scott an opportunity for revealing the inadequacy of cut-and-dried historical narratives and identities. He allows Scott to, again, champion the novel over other genres and discourses. Certainly, Waverley's act of saving his life argues for a "core of humanity" transcending political allegiance—the theme of *the novel* in post-Union Britain, according to Ferris. "[I]n every point the English soldier," Talbot's "peculiarly English" prejudices provide Waverley an occasion for arguing against limiting national prejudice and for a common language—a salient point for Waverley's post-Union, pan-British reading audience (p. 246).

As I see it, Waverley's act of eventually securing Talbot's release is more than a Morton-like act of altruism. Talbot's "domestic distress" (p. 260) prompts Waverley's actions: Talbot had received a letter from his sister indicating that his capture at Preston after a rumor of his death drove his pregnant wife Lady Emily ill with shock, such that "the poor infant scarce survived its birth"; the latter was "the future heir, so long hoped for in vain" (p. 259). With Talbot imprisoned, Lady Emily remains—in Waverley's words— "in the situation the most interesting to a husband, to seek a —" (p. 260). By arranging for Talbot's release, Waverley forecloses the possibility that the narrative will end like one of the tragic, anti-domestic romances of his youth (the accounts of Wilibert or of Lucy St. Aubin), with his real or rumored death and Lady Alice forced "to seek a — ."

By providing closure for the subplot involving Donald Bean Lean's treachery, his "framing" of Waverley, Talbot provides a narrative that foregrounds the complexity of Scottish history and the instability of partisan loyalty: historical, political allegiances, it would seem, are always suspect, partial, and virtually *unnarratable*. Fiction is the corrective. "Donald Bean's machinations" (p. 243), even as they disillusion Waverley, expose the fissures and fault lines in the Jacobite cause; Lean's intrigues, we learn, had long gone "beyond what was suspected even by Fergus MacIvor" (p. 244). Accordingly, Waverley comes to realize that Fergus's company contains "as many seeds of *tracasserie* and intrigue as might have done honour to the court of a large empire . . . Every person of importance had some separate object, which he pursued with a fury that Waverley considered as altogether disproportionate to its importance" (p. 250). Indeed, Fergus is

willing, as he puts it, to sell himself to the “devil or elector” when Prince Charles refuses to advance his marital ambitions (p. 254).

Talbot’s account of how Lean used Waverley’s seal to invite a mutiny among his men is significant, simply put, for showing how easily one could be started. Waverley’s fellow soldiers “had been educated as Jacobites, so far as they had any opinions at all [and] . . . easily fell into the snare” (p. 244). Prince Charles seems, in fact, to think that Talbot himself, a scion of “the great English families” known for their aristocratic, Jacobite sympathies, could be talked into shifting allegiance (p. 261). The depiction of eighteenth-century Scottish history is a troublingly unstable one. The conception of a Jacobite cause internally divided into countless “seeds of *tracasserie* and intrigue” and justifying Talbot’s characterization of it as a “heterogeneous mass of wild and desperate men” (p. 241) reveals the true face of history as what Srinivas Aravamudan has called “the fragmented, irreconcilable multidimensionality of the *historical*.”³²⁶ For Scott, the novel offers a compelling way out.

Talbot’s grim depiction of Scottish political history as “heterogeneous mass” continues to influence Waverley after the latter retreats from the Stuart cause. En route to Ulswater to hide with the Williams family, Waverley has ample opportunity to survey the ruins of history, as when he visits Lord Lonsdale’s field, littered with slain dragoons and Highlanders: “Ambition, policy, bravery, all far beyond their sphere, here learned the fate of mortals” (p. 281). In his sanctuary, where he hears of the surrender of Carlisle and the Chevalier’s retreat, he is able to recollect Talbot’s opinions and influence in tranquility. Now he can fully appreciate Rose Bradwardine for being “destitute of the devoted enthusiasm of loyalty, which, to her friend, hallowed and exalted misfortune” (p. 283).

Here Waverley realizes that “the romance of his life was ended, and that its real history had now commenced” (p. 283). It is a line frequently quoted, but often out of context, as if to describe Waverley’s leaving Waverley-Honour and its library for eighteenth-century Scotland. Here, from hindsight, the historical struggles of the Stuart cause are conjoined with romance, as “subjective or ‘affective’ histories”³²⁷ become “real history”—the same leveling gesture Waverley performs in delimiting the space of the novel.

Temporally and physically remote from Waverley, Talbot’s influence fills a significant void: “In this solitary and secluded situation, *without the advantage of company or conversation with men of cultivated minds*, the arguments of Colonel Talbot often recurred to the mind of our hero” (p. 283, emphasis added). The description encapsulates the decline of the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere, its many circles of cultivated minds. The Talbot/Waverley interchange, focused in Waverley’s mind, becomes a type of the author/reader animating circuit.

In negotiating the place of the novel against the extant genres of history and romance, Scott is consciously thinking in terms of the three-volume novel, establishing it as an over-determined format for unity, closure, and unproblematic containment. It materially instantiates the vision of completeness Scott finds lacking in other genres of the “new discursive landscape created by the Enlightenment.”³²⁸ When Melville detains Waverley for questioning, one incriminating piece of evidence is the set of political writings given to him by Pembroke, his non-juring tutor, works Melville calls “two treasonable volumes” (p. 163). Here, their two-volume status is of a piece with their polemical biases and outmoded historical pedantry. At the same time, they parallel and indict the equally biased, truncated narrative Melville constructs for Waverley—an

account that Scott corrects and supplements with Talbot's revelations in the novel's *third volume*. Indeed, two treasonable volumes could very well describe Waverley itself if shorn of its third volume and Edward's escape from the Jacobite cause prior to Culloden—two volumes of Edward's treason. In chapter one, as he discusses the implications of the rejected "Waverley, a Tale of Other Days," Scott describes a narrative of "a castle scarce less than that of Udolpho, of which the eastern wing had long been uninhabited, and the keys either lost or consigned to the care of some aged *butler* . . . whose trembling steps, about the middle of the second volume, were doomed to guide the hero, or heroine, to the ruinous precincts" (p. 3, emphasis added). In Waverley, however, "Butler" is the name Edward assumes while incognito in London—a third-volume conduit out of the nightmare of history and into an inhabited domestic space, not the guide to an empty castle and a Gothic dead-end in the middle of volume two. With three volumes, you get an escape route.

The rest, as they say, is history. Waverley's afterlife in British print culture would exacerbate Scott's innovations in his first novel—the means I have traced by which he moved the novel into a timeless realm outside history while resituating the context for reading and knowledge creation in an author-reader sympathetic bond. Future iterations of Waverley find Scott further solidifying his authorial identity through addresses to the reader. In his "General Preface" (1829) to Waverley, Scott declares his intention of "speaking more of himself and his personal concerns," an intimation of an author-based, autobiographical framework for the novel.³²⁹ In his 1829 "Advertisement" to the reissued collection of all his novels, Scott notes, "[T]he course of the events which occasioned the

disclosure of the Author's name . . . [had] in a great measure, restored to him a sort of parental control over these Works."³³⁰

In Waverley's later guises and iterations, "history" and "romance" would become even more fused: from the mists of hindsight their distinctions became even more blurred. Borne back ceaselessly into the past, they became signifiers of the old and outdated—as imprecise as the "Gothic" trappings of Waverley-Honour's library.³³¹ As the inaugural volume of the *magnum opus* edition of Scott's novels, Waverley, according to Millgate, presided over the virtual obsolescence of eighteenth-century literature and culture³³² as far as the "general reader of the 1830s" was concerned.³³³ The success of the *magnum opus*, she notes, ensured that future publishers of miscellanies and reissues "confined . . . [their] attention to novels first published within the relatively recent past and did not venture back across the border of taste into the alien territory of the eighteenth century."³³⁴ Here, "eighteenth century" becomes another empty marker for the atavistic.

Millgate describes how Scott—like his contemporaries—"had become increasingly aware that the work of his great predecessors included 'a large proportion of matter, condemned by the purity, whether real or affected, of modern taste' . . . Even an inoffensive novelist such as Mackenzie had fallen a victim to the alterations in sensibility."³³⁵ Mackenzie ("Our Scottish Addison"), of course, was the subject of Waverley's powerfully ambivalent closing dedication. In this context, it reads more like a kiss off. Scott had once called Mackenzie "the last link of the chain which connects the Scottish literature of the present age with the period when there were giants in the land—

the days of [Adam] Robertson, and [David] Hume, and [Adam] Smith . . .and Ferguson.”³³⁶ Scott, over time, severed himself from the chain.

All of this, I contend, is present from the beginning, or, rather, the subtitle: *Sixty Years Since*. The phrase forever displaces the novel from its historical origins.³³⁷ It makes the novel a rarity in literature: a work that predicts its own afterlife and reception. Accordingly, the novel’s initial reviews themselves further displaced the work from its originary contexts, a vital way of understanding *Waverley*’s two successors.

WAVERLEY AND THE LITERARY WORLD IN THE SOUTH

There were men of literature in Edinburgh before she was renowned for romances, reviews, and magazines.

—Scott³³⁸

The *Waverley* Novels register a key transition in material culture and the production of knowledge. They bear witness to the obsolescence of the traditional sites and coteries that so typify the densely institutionalized Scottish Enlightenment and point to what Ferris calls a “less institutionally defined, more stratified and unpredictable readership,” one that could no longer “represent the commonality and consensus (the clubbiness)” of the eighteenth-century milieu.³³⁹ The new periodicals of the nineteenth century—the journals and reviews that were so crucial to the popularity and received

impressions of Scott's novels—also attest to this change. Discussing the Edinburgh Review as a particularly significant example, Ferris writes, “If the Edinburgh Review, arising as it did out of the clubs and debating societies central to intellectual life in turn-of-the-century Edinburgh, was rooted in the classic sites associated with the liberal public sphere, its notorious motto, *Judex damnatus cum reus absolvitur* (the judge is condemned when the guilty go free) signaled at the same time its breakdown.”³⁴⁰ Accordingly, the Review positioned itself “in a critical, reflective space organized by general rules and laws that lay outside time.”³⁴¹

The formation of this space was coeval with Scott's idea of the novel as discussed in the previous section, it, too, positioned outside time. His creation of an individualized author and an ideal reader who “spirals above all audience belonging” was a response to the same public sphere “breakdown.”³⁴² In this section, I trace how early influential reviews of Waverley further distanced the novel from its Scottish Enlightenment leanings, in a manner precipitating the self-conscious critiques of the two successors.

My discussion has been greatly indebted to Siskin's work. Siskin has described the “disciplinary displacement of Scottish philosophy by English literature,” the gradual erosion of the “proliferation of activities we know as the Scottish Enlightenment,” at a time of British assimilation.³⁴³ This period, according to Siskin, witnessed the “recasting of common-ness”: the reformulation and redefinition of such key Scottish philosophical tenets as identity, communality, audience, and the public for a growing Britain (rather than an “idealized philosophical community of educated men,” i.e., the Edinburgh literati).³⁴⁴ I contend then that significant reviews “recast” Waverley and thus continued Scott's efforts to negotiate post-Enlightenment print culture.

One of the earliest reviews of the novel (from the British Critic of August 1814) rehabilitates it for a securely unified Britain, an enterprise that identifies while containing the sociological-history elements within a highly self-conscious description of the cultural work of a nineteenth-century journal. The reviewer describes the job of the “conductors of a critical journal”: to, alternately, “confirm or correct a judgment already formed” in the reading public, or else to “direct it to a new and undiscovered object.”³⁴⁵ As such, the reviewer takes “a certain gratification . . . in introducing two distinguished personages to each other,” and so with Waverley, it introduces its readers “on this side of the Tweed” to a “publication which has already excited considerable interest in the sister kingdom.”³⁴⁶

The reviewer goes on to acknowledge the work’s historical and anthropological acumen: it calls the novel a “vehicle of curious accurate information,” one “faithfully embodying the lives, the manners, and the opinions of [a] departed race, and as affording those features of ancient days, which no man probably, besides its author, has had the means to collect, the desire to preserve, or the power to pourtray [*sic*].”³⁴⁷ Throughout the review, however, the problematically local, regional, or antiquarian are carefully mediated. It praises the novel’s humor in the “many cases [where] it assumes a more general appearance,” less so where it is “of a local and particular nature.”³⁴⁸ Discussing the novel’s authorship and origin among the “northern literati,” the reviewer describes the material production sites of Scotland as narrow and cabalistic. “[W]e in the south,” he writes, “can have no opportunity of entering into the secret history of the literary world in the north; nor if we had, should we attempt to enter into its detail, as to the generality of our readers it could afford neither amusement nor interest.”³⁴⁹ Consistent with this

dismissal of provincial Scottish obscurantism is the loaded praise for Scott's "sound and vigorous mind" as one free of "flimsy theories" and "mawkish speculations."³⁵⁰ Here the reviewer takes a swipe at the theoretical fruits of the Scottish Enlightenment, the speculations of conjectural history, extolling the powers of the authorial mind in the process.

This periodical's recasting of the novel is particularly pronounced in the curious discussion of Waverley's subject matter, what it calls "the year 1745, the last fatal year when the blood of our countrymen was spilt on its own shores, when Briton met Briton on his native land."³⁵¹ Writing after the "restoration of peace to the whole European world,"³⁵² the reviewer cannot help but fear that the loss of an external focus for "the mighty machine of national strength" may precipitate the return of internal conflict. Along these lines, Waverley has a valuable role to play in maintaining the *pax Britannica*: "If the history of these bloody days, which is embodied in this tale, shall by an early and awful warning inspire the nation with a jealous vigilance against the very first symptoms of their recurrence, we shall consider that not even the light pages of fiction shall be turned in vain."³⁵³ With this disclaimer safely in place, the reviewer is free to describe the events of 1745 as "monuments of spirited independence, and of intrepid loyalty," as genteel generalizations trump local partisanship.³⁵⁴

Francis Jeffrey's oft-cited review of Waverley reflects its Scottish critic's post-Enlightenment sensibilities. Part of a circle with its "eyes set ambitiously on London," Jeffrey (like his contemporaries) lacked his Enlightenment predecessors' interest in studying "'the progress of society' in any sustained way."³⁵⁵ Accordingly, his many writings on Scott's novels have the effect of "re-channeling" Scottish-Enlightenment

motifs “into a new Whig populist historiography.”³⁵⁶ Writing on Waverley for the Edinburgh Review—for which he once contributed an article rejecting conjectural-history theses³⁵⁷—Jeffrey duly notes the novel’s sociological-historical orientation: “The object of the work before us,” he writes, was “to present a faithful and animated picture of the manners and state of society that prevailed in the northern part of the island, in the earliest part of last century.”³⁵⁸ He goes on, however, to isolate and dismiss the novel’s provincialism (e.g., its being written “in a dialect unintelligible to four-fifths of the reading population of the country . . . and published, moreover, in a quarter of the island where materials and talents for novel-writing have been supposed to be equally wanting”).³⁵⁹ The novel succeeds despite these drawbacks, altogether besting “the rubbish of provincial romances” (here, an intimation of Waverley’s superiority to both romance and the provincial).³⁶⁰

Where Jeffrey celebrates the novel, it is in highly individualistic terms, language consonant with Wordsworthian Romanticism: the reader of Waverley encounters an “instructive exposition of human actions and energies, and of all the singular modifications which our plastic nature receives from the circumstances with which it is surrounded.”³⁶¹ Rejecting the inflections of the local and the appeals of antiquarianism and romance, Jeffrey champions a Waverley suitable to nineteenth-century periodical readers, catering to what Klancher calls their “fecund capacity for self-reflection.”³⁶²

* * *

Such reviews anticipate and prepare the way for Guy Mannering and The Antiquary, which, along with Waverley, Scott saw as comprising a unit. As I discuss in

the next chapter, Guy Mannering describes the milieu of Enlightenment Edinburgh: a novel consciously concerned with private life, it examines the limitations of historical determinism and communal knowledge. The Antiquary finds Scott rendering the future of print culture in a “disembodied printer,” a powerfully ambivalent image of the industrialized “diffusion of . . . knowledge” of a piece with the nineteenth-century periodicals market.³⁶³ This last novel of the three opens “near the end of the eighteenth century,” thus marking the trilogy as one that ushers in the nineteenth century.³⁶⁴

After The Antiquary, Scott called his first three works a “series of fictitious narratives in tended [sic] to illustrate the manners of Scotland at three different periods.”³⁶⁵ He goes on to note that in this series he deliberately “sought my principal personages in the class of society who are the last to feel the influence of that general polish which assimilates to each other the manners of different nations.”³⁶⁶

British reviewers refuted these claims from their first appearance. John Wilson Croker, commenting in the Quarterly Review on the avowed intention to “exhibit three different stages of society” and their corresponding manners, “presume[d] to doubt a little the literal authenticity of the statement”: “[S]o far from endeavoring to illustrate the manners of three different periods,” Scott instead “has endeavored to describe three different periods of which the manners were very much the same.”³⁶⁷ Contrary to Scott’s claims, the novels offer “the characteristic follies, foibles, and virtues, which belong to our own acquaintance and to all mankind.”³⁶⁸ Croker obviates the works’ claims to historical particularity, attesting to the growing difficulty in sustaining in the nineteenth century the sort of quasi-Enlightenment scheme Scott’s “Advertisement” to The Antiquary posits.³⁶⁹

Scott's 1816 description of his first novels uneasily combines two different discourses: one Scottish, localized, steeped in Enlightenment historical-anthropological rhetoric; the other British, international, and belletristic. This overlap is best appreciated through Scott's use of the word *manners*, which here is, at once, spatially and temporally delimited (i.e., Scotland at three discrete historical moments) *and* an emblem of international exchange, the Act of Union and its long aftermath, as the manners of different nations are jointly assimilated. "Manners" here also suggests the sociological orientation of classic Scottish Enlightenment thought, a concern with cultural and social classes—implicitly hierarchical—that occupy an assumed arc of progress, as the "influence of general polish" performs its ministrations.³⁷⁰ At the same time, manners as "general polish," suggests an alternate definition, the generalized sense of manners as a "person's habitual behaviour or conduct," especially "in reference to its moral aspect," or else "the moral code embodied in general custom or sentiment." "[G]eneral polish" as the agent for disseminating manners, meanwhile, assumes manners in the sense of "[p]olite behaviour or deportment; habits indicative of good breeding."³⁷¹

This dual, co-existing sense of manners³⁷² attests to crucial sea changes in print culture and the reading public at a particular moment in British history changes that, as we have seen, nineteenth-century reviews reflect and register. Just as Waverley's hybrid nature (i.e., the inclusion of an early, extant opening section with the remainder of the novel) marks Scott's awareness of the Heraclitan shifts of print culture, the progression of these first three novels points to the material emergence of "'literary' values" something underlying the "Advertisement's" overlapping sense of *manners*. In the next chapter, I trace this progression in Guy Mannering and The Antiquary.

CHAPTER 3. THE RUINS OF HISTORY, THE CONSOLATIONS OF FICTION: GUY MANNERING AND THE ANTIQUARY

The subject . . . goes beyond historicism by refashioning an explanation of himself or herself in the wake of the multiple futures that exist in the now, rather than by yielding to the tyranny of a totalized now that purportedly leads to a singular future.

—Aravamudan³⁷³

Literature contributes to history—contributes to knowledge, morality, culture, and society—by questioning stories of progress and designs of totality.

—Bercovitch³⁷⁴

That Scott conceived of Waverley, Guy Mannering, and The Antiquary as constituting a trilogy—the Waverley Novels—has long been accepted. The structure or underlying plan of that trilogy, however, remains a subject of debate. Scott himself assigned a chronological progression to the three novels in his “Advertisement to The Antiquary”: “Waverley embraced the age of our fathers, Guy Mannering that of our youth, and the Antiquary refers to the last ten years of the eighteenth century,”³⁷⁵ a scheme that has puzzled subsequent critics, hard-pressed to trace the progression. As Robert C. Gordon writes in his reading of Scott’s first three novels, “It would seem that the closer Scott came to his own age the more chaotic the world became for him.”³⁷⁶ The course Scott traces in these first three novels does not run smooth; the trajectory is disruptive, as each succeeding novel undermines the conclusion of its predecessor. In this

manner, the sequencing alone of the initial *Waverley* Novels, it would seem, subverts the stadial, history-as-progress narratives that flourished during the Scottish Enlightenment. Indeed, *Waverley*'s two successors take Scott even further away, both temporally and spatially, from the world of the Scottish Enlightenment. This chapter demonstrates, for one, how the trilogy ushers in the nineteenth century, the age of the domestic three-volume novel, by bidding the eighteenth century adieu.

My overall account of Scott's development in these first three novels emphasizes the materiality of the book as a locus for the formation of a domestic British identity, an identity coeval with the loss of the Scottish Enlightenment's material cultures and local specificity during the process of British integration. Instantiated in the modular commodity of the three-volume novel, privatized reading—rather than constituting an especially heightened instance of local particularity³⁷⁷—becomes a site for membership within an increasingly widespread, homogenous Britain. Past studies have generally acknowledged the importance of *the novel*, generically, in imagining a pan-British identity. This chapter foregrounds *the book* as a material technology and physical presence. This specific emphasis has been largely absent from past studies of Scott's evolving project, including those, such as Duncan's, that trace Scott's movement toward a "private life beyond historical process."³⁷⁸ Millgate, for one, has called for discussing "Scott's career as a novelist as a historical phenomenon taking place over a period of time," in order to "throw light on the dialogue with himself and his first readers about the conventions . . . he was in the process of creating."³⁷⁹ What I add to this is my conviction that Scott's increased awareness, shortly after *Waverley*, of the material book as a physical commodity within a pan-British print market is part of this development.

For Scott, the changes affecting Scotland during the long period of British assimilation can be encapsulated by the resonant phrase “the Coming of the Book.” This was an insight Scott shared with that most anti-Enlightenment of Scottish writers, Thomas Carlyle, who pronounced, “[A]ll is changed . . . by the introduction of books.”³⁸⁰ As I discuss in my introductory chapter, recent scholarship has been looking increasingly at Scotland as a key chapter in the story of the Coming of the Book. Such studies have yet to really connect the rise of the material book, in the paradigmatic three-volume format, to the decline of the eighteenth-century Scottish public sphere. We get a glimpse of this narrative in the remarks of a commentator for Fraser’s Magazine, lamenting how “the vaunted Modern Athens [i.e., Edinburgh] is fast dwindling away into a mere spelling book and primer manufactory.”³⁸¹

In this chapter, the idea of the book as a modular commodity underlies the trajectory I trace in Scott’s two novels after Waverley. As Scott moves further away from the Scottish Enlightenment and its milieu, he ultimately moves toward, first, a heightened awareness of the *material instantiation* of literature and knowledge and, second, a wholly privatized mode of reading, a journey that amounts to a downward spiral. As I move sequentially through Guy Mannering and The Antiquary (offering, in each case, a brief plot description to precede my main argument), my discussion brings Waverley’s two successors into a much-needed dialectical reading. Thus, I emphasize how The Antiquary fundamentally *disrupts* its predecessor Guy Mannering’s sanguine narrative of domestic retirement and individual liberation from history figured through the modular book. Set in a Scotland where, as one character puts it, “every mansion in the county of the slightest antiquity has its ghosts and its haunted chamber” (p. 89), The Antiquary gives the lie to

its predecessor's faith in the home as a refuge from history. Scott's third novel repeatedly exposes private, domestic reading as a rootless, disconcertingly ungrounded endeavor. Similarly, as a novel teeming with obscured, unreadable inscriptions and rusty, moldering relics, it depicts textual materiality (indeed, materiality in general) as inherently flawed and problematic. My reading of Guy Mannering opens below, with a discussion of the "idea" of the material book that Scott develops in the novel. Toward this end, I pay particular attention to the oral legend that inspired Scott's second novel, a folk tale that assigns the physical book a conspicuously prominent role.

BETWIXT THE TWO BOARDS: THE IDEA OF THE BOOK IN GUY MANNERING

In Guy Mannering, Scott foregrounds and celebrates the sheer physicality of books, what George Crabbe, in lines the novel quotes approvingly, might have called

That weight of wood, with leathern coat o'erlaid,
 Those ample clasps of solid metal made,
 The close-press'd leaves unclosed for many an age,
 The dull red edging of the well-fill'd page,
 On the broad back the stubborn ridges roll'd
 Where yet the title stands in tarnish'd gold.³⁸²

Materiality is a key component of Scott's idea of the book, and in Guy Mannering it becomes part of his efforts to continue developing a literature of privatized domesticity.

Scott's notion of the book as a material object, a physical structure, informs his second novel's recurring thematic motif: domestic space as a refuge from history. This can be appreciated by considering Scott's own account of the novel's origins. A valued paratext for readers of Guy Mannering, Scott's introduction to the novel associates the physical book with domesticity and an escape from the trials and tribulations of historical determinism—an apposite opening gesture for a novel Scott himself once described as “a tale of private life.”³⁸³ Scott attributes Guy Mannering's plot to an old legend related by John MacKinlay, a Scott-family servant and “an excellent old Highlander, without a fault, unless a preference to mountain-dew over less potent liquors be accounted one.”³⁸⁴ The tale that Scott reproduced, the germ of Guy Mannering, was naturally adorned and complicated, even if the final novel “retained the vestiges of the original tenor of the story” (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” p. 15).

MacKinlay's alleged narrative describes an English tourist well-versed in astrology and traveling “benighted” among “the wilder parts of Galway” (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” p. 9). Finding the kindness of a laird and his pregnant wife (confined in childbirth), the traveler repays his benefactors' hospitality by producing an astrological reading of the “future prospects of the child now about to come into this busy and changeful world” (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” pp. 9–10). The constellations reveal that on the child's twenty-first birthday, he will suffer a critical crisis of faith, “an unhallowed and unhappy temptation.” His only chance of successfully weathering such temptations, according to the astrologer, lies in immediate, lifelong devotion to God and piety, a life of faith and virtue (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” p. 10). The astrologer asks, in return, to be periodically informed of the young heir's upbringing and that the

child be sent to stay with him “at the time when the fatal and decisive period approaches” (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” p. 11).

The heir, indeed, suffers increasing doubt and temptation as he nears the age of twenty-one (and his appointment to travel to the astrologer’s house and confront his fate). Encountering the very Prince of Darkness as he approached the “fated and influential hour” of his twenty-first birthday, the youth subdues his foe in significant terms: “‘Say what you will,’ was his answer to the Tempter—‘I know there is as much betwixt *the two boards of this Book* [i.e., the Bible] as can insure me forgiveness for my transgressions, and safety for my soul’” (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” p. 14, emphasis added). The speech decisively defeats his adversary, and we learn that our hero was thus “consigned over at the close of this story to domestic happiness” (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” p. 14).

An insistently physical presence, the boarded and bound codex functions here as a form of *deus ex machina*. It serves as the conduit for the protagonist’s journey “at the close of this story to domestic happiness.” In Scott’s account, its two covers or “boards” provide a veritable barrier against the “demonic” threats of fate and historical change. (Later, in the novel itself, Scott will nicely develop this conceit of the book-as-barrier during the smugglers’ armed assault on Guy Mannering’s home at Woodbourne: Mannering and his lodgers barricade themselves inside with “folio volumes, brought hastily from the library”) (p. 164). Scott describes the MacKinlay narrative as one comprised of “the incidents of the life of a doomed individual, whose efforts at good and virtuous conduct were to be forever disappointed by the intervention, as it were, of some malevolent being” (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” p. 9). The doomed individual in

question triumphs over his nemesis through his recourse to a physical book. For the tale's hero, the material volume provides an escape from a world of fate and determinism, one where individual strivings are "forever" thwarted by inscrutable outside forces. Similarly, for Scott the boarded and bound novel offered a vehicle for narratives of autonomous private life as an alternative to the grimly deterministic models of history popularized during the Scottish Enlightenment. With its sweeping stadial theories that relegated all human actions and endeavors to a preordained narrative of universal progress, the Scottish Enlightenment propagated a vision of what Robert C. Irvine calls "history as a nightmare from which humankind struggles to awake . . . a force outside human control by which we are nevertheless determined."³⁸⁵

Throughout Guy Mannering, Scott shelters the private individual from history, where history itself is irretrievable from historical determinism—the vagaries of fortune, the fatalistic pronouncements of astrology, or the mechanistic, telic narratives of Scottish Enlightenment conjectural history, with its ideology of what Aravamudan might call "the tyranny of a totalized now that purportedly leads to a singular future."³⁸⁶ Accordingly, my reading of Guy Mannering emphasizes how Scott memorably bids a fond farewell to the world of Enlightenment Edinburgh and how he associates astrology with conjectural history; both disciplines emerge as outmoded communal disciplines against which he posits the material book as an emblem of privatized reading outside history.

In Guy Mannering, the physical, material features of Scott's novel—that which is betwixt *its* two boards—tell a similar story: from the outset, Scott uses *paratext* to announce his own authorial identity within a post-Enlightenment print market. Guy Mannering's title page features the following epigraph:

'Tis said that words and signs have power
 O'er sprites in planetary hour;
 But scarce I praise their venturous part,
 Who tamper with such dangerous art.

The lines describe a personal renunciation of a potentially dangerous astrological art, in a manner anticipating the theme and destiny of the novel itself: the titular astrologer Guy Mannering marks his retirement to a bungalow near Ellangowan Place in Galway by declaring “Here ends THE ASTROLOGER” at the novel’s happy resolution (p. 355).³⁸⁷ The quoted lines of poetry reveal its narrator breaking from a communal tradition of orally reiterated (“’Tis said”) beliefs.

This opening epigraph comes from Scott’s first major poem, The Lay of the Last Minstrel. Incorporating it here, Scott uses the novel’s renunciation of archaic, communal superstitions to depict the birth of his career as a novelist as a Prospero-like rejection of a dangerous—because poetic?—art. In a coy editorial note that fooled few, Scott wrote of his citation, “[T]he motto of this Novel was taken from the Lay of the Last Minstrel, to end the conclusions of those who began to think that, as the author of *Waverley* never quoted the works of Sir Walter Scott, he must have some reason for doing so, and that the circumstance might argue an identity between them” (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” p. 20). The intimation here is that the author’s identity is encoded in the self-enclosed diegetic world of his fiction—in the very pages of his material book, in the insistently physical space of the paratext.

The same title page distinguishes Guy Mannering as “By the Author of ‘Waverley,’” an equally auspicious gesture in Scott’s career.³⁸⁸ Here the title page enacts the author’s suturing to his *oeuvre*. Author is fused to his work—his commodified, published books—in a tautological, self-validating equation: Guy Mannering, “By the Author of ‘Waverley.’” The second Waverley Novel by the author of, well, the first Waverley Novel. As Waverley’s successor, Guy Mannering marked the real beginning of the Waverley Novels proper, as much a literary phenomenon as a watershed in book history, a mass-produced, internationally disseminated textual commodity.³⁸⁹ Collectively, the Waverley Novels offered post-Union British readers an alternative to a history grown unbearably complex.

GUY MANNERING: SCOTT’S TALE OF PRIVATE LIFE

Commentary on Guy Mannering has long seen it as an anomaly in the Scott canon, given its general indifference to matters of public history.³⁹⁰ Such neglect, though curious coming from the so-called father of the historical novel, is typically seen as appropriate for Scott’s “tale of private life,” in which, he claims, he wanted to “shake myself free of Waverley” and its investment in public, historical events.³⁹¹ I maintain, however, that Guy Mannering is among Scott’s most self-conscious meditations on the process of withdrawing from history. The novel’s world is one of sinister intrigue and incident; its characters are at the mercy of mysteries and prophecy and move through a landscape where violence seems to repeatedly erupt. The setting is Scott’s grim depiction

of life lived *in history*. In Guy Mannering, Scott tells the story of two protagonists seeking the solace of private life against a background of historical flux and contingency.

The novel opens with the titular figure, an Oxford-educated English traveler lost in the dark and foreign wilds of Dumfries county. He eventually finds refuge with the Bertrams of Ellangowan Place, whose household consists mainly of Godfrey Bertram, the current laird, his pregnant wife, and the inimitable Dominie Sampson, pedagogue and “stickit minister,” retained at Ellangowan to copy accounts and write letters for the laird (and generally endure the latter’s jests and interminable stories). During his brief stay, he meets two other regular associates of the Bertrams: Meg Merrilies, a member of the tribe of gypsies that had long been allowed to stay on the grounds of Ellangowan, in exchange for gifts and services, and the sinister Dirk Hattaraick, a “free-trader,” whose black-market brandy and tea is a fixture of the Bertrams’ table.

The laird’s wife gives birth the night of Mannering’s arrival, to a son, one Harry Bertram. As in the oral tale that inspired the novel, Mannering (against the pious objections of Dominie Sampson) performs an astrological reading for the new Bertram heir. The reading reveals three periods of jeopardy for the laird’s firstborn: at the fifth year, the tenth year, and the twenty-first year. To Mannering’s chagrin, this third period corresponds to a similar reading he performed for his beloved Sophia Wellwood, whom he eventually marries—a “similar conjunction of planetary influence threatened her with death, or imprisonment, in her thirty-ninth year” (p. 20). Troubled by the coincidence, Mannering vows to give up astrology after one parting gesture. He leaves the Bertrams with a sealed envelope containing the three-part prophecy and strict instructions that the account is not to be read until after the child’s fifth birthday: Mannering’s rationalist

assumption is that knowledge of the prophecy may unconsciously realize it; once the first period of danger has been quietly averted, the rest can be safely dismissed. After thanking his hosts, Mannering returns to England, departing, as well, from the narrative for a number of years.

The period leading up to Harry Bertram's fifth birthday and the first predicted crisis of Mannering's astrological reading is marked by abrupt and forceful change, a "great commotion" (p. 31) affecting the local community. Bertram becomes a justice of the peace, exercising his new authority with uncharacteristic zeal and severity. In addition to sending mendicants and pedlars to the workhouse, he assists the revenue officer Frank Kennedy in persecuting Hatteraick and the other free-traders and has peace officers forcibly remove the colony of gypsies from Ellangowan Place, destroying their huts and shelters in the process. (This latter action inspires Meg's vengeful ire, her prophetic threat to Bertram: "You have stripped the thatch off seven cottages,—see that the roof-tree of your own house stand the surer!") (p. 44).

Harry's fifth birthday finds Kennedy at Ellangowan, as a royal sloop of war pursues Hatteraick's smuggling vessel. When the excise officers fire upon the free-traders, Kennedy heads to the Point of Warroch to intercept any fugitives making for shore. On the way, he meets with young Harry, out on an excursion with his tutor Dominie Sampson; against the latter's protests, he takes the child with him to the headland at Warroch. Hours elapse with no sign of Kennedy, Harry, or the fugitive free-traders. A search party, however, discovers Kennedy's strangled body at the foot of a cliff but no sign of the child, who is believed either kidnapped or murdered by the free-

traders or gypsies. The news hastens Bertram's wife into premature labor, and she dies giving birth to a daughter, Lucy.

After a gap of seventeen years, Mannering returns to Scotland and the vicinity of Ellangowan. He learns of the events of Harry's fifth birthday and the declining financial fortunes of the Bertrams in the intervening years: the Laird of Ellangowan and his daughter Lucy see creditors take possession of their estate, which is then put up for sale. The unscrupulous lawyer Giles Glossin—Bertram's former agent, who supported him as justice of the peace—intends to purchase it, its price being greatly reduced given the disappearance of the male Bertram heir. Mannering intends, however, to save the estate for the Bertrams by purchasing it himself.

Through a series of letters Mannering writes to his friend Arthur Mervyn who resides in Westmoreland, we learn that Mannering had made his fortune in India, where he was a celebrated colonel. His time abroad was not without incident. In India, a young cadet named Vanbeest Brown was in love with Mannering's daughter Julia and called on her regularly. Misled by an ambitious, Iago-like³⁹² colleague of Brown's, Mannering thought the romantic attention was for his wife Sophia. Mannering challenges Brown to a duel where the younger man is wounded. Before Mannering and his second can offer aid, "some of these *Looties*, a species of native banditti, who are always on the watch for prey, poured in upon us" (p. 71). Brown is abducted during the struggle, and the shock of the whole incident affects Sophia Mannering's health; she dies within eight months (by which time Mannering had learned of her and Brown's innocence). The widower and his daughter leave India. Meanwhile, after escaping from the *Looties*, Brown follows his

beloved Julia to Britain, re-establishing contact with her while she is staying with the family friend Arthur Mervyn.

Though Mannering loses Ellangowan Place to Glossin, he and Julia settle in nearby Woodbourne, where Dominie Sampson and Lucy Bertram are regular visitors. The strain of seeing Glossin purchase Ellangowan Place proved too much for Godfrey Bertram, who died during the estate sale. Lucy Bertram is regularly visited by her lover Charles Hazelwood, son of the aristocratic Sir Robert Hazelwood, who disapproves of his son's attachment to the impoverished Lucy. During this time, Brown travels from Westmoreland to southwest Scotland to continue his pursuit of Julia. Upon crossing the border into Scotland, he makes the acquaintance of Meg Merrilies (who sees something familiar in the young cadet) and earns the devotion of Dandie Dinmont, a farmer from Charlieshope, after rescuing him from robbers. He stays on as a guest of the Dinmonts.

After leaving Dandie and his wife, Brown heads toward Woodbourne in search of Julia. On his way he re-encounters Meg (who, in turn, saves his life from roving smugglers). Meg, by now, has realized what the reader may have already suspected: Brown is, in fact, Harry Bertram, the long-missing Bertram heir. She asks him, cryptically, that he take pains to see her again before leaving the country (a request doubly cryptic for Harry, who remembers little of his early life or the abduction). Continuing toward Woodbourne, the bedraggled Bertram encounters Julia, Lucy, and Charles Hazelwood (who are all suspicious and apprehensive after defending Woodbourne from an attack by armed free-traders). Hazelwood and Bertram get into an altercation, and the former is wounded when his gun accidentally discharges; Bertram flees. Soon after, Glossin, Ellangowan's new inhabitant, eager to ingratiate himself with

the influential Hazelwoods, vows to apprehend “Brown” upon hearing of the shooting. In the course of his investigations, Glossin learns Brown’s true identity, a fact that undermines his claim to Ellangowan and threatens to expose a grim secret: his culpability in the abduction, seventeen years earlier. On the fateful day in question, Glossin had confronted Hattaraick and his associates shortly after they murdered Kennedy; the smugglers were debating what to do with Harry Bertram (Meg made them promise not to kill the child). Seeing an opportunity to buy Ellangowan from the undiscerning Godfrey Bertram, Glossin encourages them to take Harry to Holland and accepts half of the smugglers’ contraband in exchange for his silence.

Glossin eventually encounters and arrests Bertram before making a plan with Hattaraick to divert the custom-house guards away from the prison while the free-traders burn the prison down during Bertram’s stay. Meg, however, helps him to escape from prison and asks that he later meet her in a cave near “Gauger’s Loup,” the site where Kennedy’s murdered body was found. By now, Bertram remembers his early childhood and, before meeting the gypsy, goes over the whole story at Woodbourne, with the Mannerings, his sister Lucy, and Dominie Sampson in attendance.

Accompanied by Hazelwood and Dandie Dinmont, Bertram goes to his rendezvous with Meg. The three are to hide and listen as Meg coerces Hattaraick to recount his role in the murder and kidnapping, intending to ambush him at an appointed time. In the ensuing struggle, the free-trader is arrested, but Meg is mortally wounded. While she lives long enough to provide a statement detailing the events of seventeen years earlier, she dies before she can fully implicate Glossin. Glossin, hoping for Hattaraick’s continued silence, secretly visits him in prison. Distrusting Glossin’s

intentions, the free-trader strangles him and commits suicide in his cell. The closing chapter foretells Ellangowan Place being restored to Harry Bertram, while Mannering makes plans to inhabit a bungalow adjacent to the property he so long admired.

With its split protagonists, bifurcated plots, border crossings, and deracinated nomads, Guy Mannering is a novel of sprawling, uncontainable energies. In its own way, its vision of social life as a concatenation of overlapping classes, ethnicities, and dialects gives the lie to Scottish-Enlightenment notions of universal humanity marching neatly through four stages, on its way from barbarism to modernity. Its depiction of shifting cultural boundaries and complexly defined identities mark it as a novel of its historical moment—as Scotland’s identity grew increasingly complicated under British assimilation and it lost the local particularity that it had enjoyed during the eighteenth century. Alyson J. Bardsley has written that Guy Mannering foregrounds “the problem of establishing and maintaining national boundaries in the context of increasingly mobile funds and populations.”³⁹³ She goes on to note how the novel’s “interactions of European imperialists and Indian ‘bandits’ abroad, and of smugglers, gypsies, and English immigrants at home combine to challenge the smooth combination of the political, ethnic, and geographical aspects of the nation-state.”³⁹⁴ The implication in Guy Mannering is that literature is the answer and the three-volume novel offers a fixity and unity unavailable to history or geography.

In Guy Mannering, Scott noticeably assigns to the novel’s many travelers a *literary sensibility* that functions as a *lingua franca*, a way of always finding a home in the world. When the world-weary Mannering returns to the Ellangowan environs for the

first time in seventeen years, he is troubled by news of the Bertrams' ill-fortune (which reminds him of his own) and looks to the scenery for consolation: "[T]he old towers of the ruin presented themselves in the landscape. The thoughts with what different feelings he had last sight of them so many years before, thronged upon the mind of the traveler. The landscape was the same; but how changed the feelings, hopes, and views, of the spectator! . . . But Nature's bounties are unaltered. The sun will shine as fair on these ruins, whether the property of a stranger, or of a sordid and obscure trickster of the abused law [i.e., Glossin], as when the banner of the founder first waved upon their battlements" (p. 73). He goes on to derive philosophical repose from the example of the "ancient chiefs, who erected these enormous and massive towers to be the fortress of their race, and the seat of their power . . . [who never] dreamed the day was to come, when the last of their descendants should be expelled, a ruined wanderer, from his possessions" (p. 73). Thus, the English traveler appropriates the remnants of Scottish history in the landscape for his own private consolations. Purging the scenery of local specificity, he makes of it a literary conceit: a Wordsworthian celebration of a timeless, unchanging Nature, one that never betrayed the heart that loved her.³⁹⁵

Mannering's reverie in Scotland could be that of Harry Bertram when he first encounters a "celebrated pass in the Mysore country"—or else "the levels of the isle of Zealand" (p. 114). His friend Delasserre similarly indulges in "glowing descriptions of [his] native canton" (p. 114). Julia Mannering celebrates India as a "land of magic" (p. 93) and later deems Westmoreland, in the Lake District, a "country of romance" (p. 93). England, no less than Scotland, is a destination of aesthetic tourism, much to Arthur Mervyn's annoyance, who rails about seeing the region reduced to "the resort of walking

gentlemen of all descriptions, poets, players, painters, musicians, who come to rave, and recite, and madden, about this picturesque land of ours. It is paying some penalty for its beauties, that they are the means of drawing this swarm of coxcombs together” (p. 90).

The overall effect is to foreground the sheer universality—or perhaps *transportability*—of the “tasteful,” literate appreciation of generically aestheticized landscapes.

Indicatively, Scott deploys this motif of landscape reverie chiefly during the novel’s occasional epistolary sections. The novel’s travelers compose letters laden with literary, artistic commonplaces to wax lyrical over rural beauties, as in this passage from Julia’s letter to Matilda Marchmont: “The scenery [of Westmoreland] is such as nature brings together in her sublimest moods—lakes, that, winding up the shadowy valleys, lead at every turn to yet more romantic recesses—rocks which catch the clouds of heaven. All the wildness of Salvator here, and there the fairy scenes of Claude” (p. 93). These letters, of course, are the work of an individual writer communicating with an individual yet spatially remote reader: as such, they recall Scott’s idea of the novel as discussed in my previous chapter, where I saw the author-reader circuit as a response to the loss of Scottish-Enlightenment sociability.

Guy Mannering reaffirms how Scott conceives of the new literature of a post-Enlightenment Britain in explicitly material terms. When Harry Bertram, the displaced, fortune-tossed heir of Ellangowan, finds himself imprisoned (as the unsuspecting victim of Giles Glossin’s plot), Scott uses reading material to underscore the literally *unheimliche* space of the prison cell and to continue connecting private life with a model of reading situated outside history. In jail, Bertram is like a Scottish Boethius, one seeking the consolations of literature: “Bertram found himself reduced to . . . pacing his

little apartment for exercise, or gazing out upon the sea in such proportions as could be seen from the narrow panes of his window, obscured by dirt and by close iron-bars, or reading over the brutal wit and blackguardism which despair had scrawled upon the half-whitened walls . . . Bertram next desired the maid to procure him a book, and enforced his request with a shilling; in consequence of which, after long absence, she re-appeared with *two odd volumes* of the Newgate Kalendar” (pp. 267–8, emphasis added). Anything other than the private commodity of a three-volume novel (i.e., the “two odd volumes”) may just as well be the graffiti in Bertram’s cell—suitable reading for the dispossessed, the victims of history. The scene subtly re-establishes the three-volume format as a marker of fiction’s generic uniqueness and its association with private life. Private life, defined by privatized reading, emerges as, at once, a domestic refuge from history (a theme the novel repeatedly pursues) and an endlessly exportable modular commodity.

We see in Guy Mannering—which was written, after all, soon after Waverley’s singular success as a mass-distributed commodity—a noticeable, compensatory deliberateness to its physical structure. A brief comparison to Scott’s first novel may be instructive. Unlike Waverley, Guy Mannering often reads like a novel without a hero. Its narrative is divided between multiple protagonists, each of whom is absent from the novel for extended intervals. Guy Mannering lacks—or dispenses with—Waverley’s *Bildungsroman* structure. (Scott’s deft handling of the *Bildungsroman* in Waverley, I argued in my last chapter, is central to the authorial narrator and constructed reader he establishes from the novel’s outset: Edward’s desultory, sophomoric reading stands in marked contrast to that of the narrator and imagined reader; Edward’s education is a process of “catching up.”) Indeed, Guy Mannering offers interrupted or fragmentary

versions of a Waverley-like *Bildungsroman*. Thus, we read about Harry's childhood at Ellangowan (his early education with Dominie Sampson, Meg Merrilies' dotting attention, etc.) before he is kidnapped and removed from the narrative at age five. This, indicatively, is the same age at which Edward Waverley is designated "the hero of our tale." Fairly late into volume one, we are given Mannering's back-story in a letter to Arthur Mervyn, a brief overview of a youth not unlike Waverley's, one divided between a father and two uncles; forced to choose between "divinity and commerce," he "slipped down and pitched upon a dragoon saddle" (p. 69).

In place of the sustained *Bildungsroman* telos of Waverley, Guy Mannering appeals to material features of the text (i.e., volume divisions) as a structuring principle. (It might even be alleged that here the volume divisions give us cues as to how to read this novel, given its multiple plotlines and complicated chronology.) Thus, both volume one and volume two open with a solitary figure making a border crossing into Scotland during the month of November, as Scott uses the novel's material instantiation to contain the dual narratives. Scott relies on volume divisions in Guy Mannering as a way of constructing a narrator and reader—and hence supplementing the absence of a Waverley-like *Bildungsroman* plot. Volume two, for example, finds Scott's authorial narrator setting the scene for his reader: "Let the reader conceive to himself a clear frosty November morning, the scene an open heath, having for the back-ground that huge chain of mountains in which Skiddaw and Saddleback are preeminent; let him then look along that *blind road*, by which I mean a tract so slightly marked by the passengers' footsteps, that it can but be traced by a slight shade of verdure from the darker heath around it, and, being only visible to the eye when at some distance, ceases to be distinguished while the

fort is actually treading it. Along this faintly-traced path advances the object of our present narrative” (p. 117).

It has been alleged that Scott’s splitting of the *Bildungsroman* plot in Guy Mannering represents his efforts to address the dualism of his increasingly pan-British readership. Thus, Andrew Lincoln has called Scott’s second novel “an attempt to manage the acute crisis of identity engendered by the experience of empire, by splitting the narrative between two heroes, a senior English one and a junior Scottish one, who can represent different aspects of a divided Anglo-British identity.”³⁹⁶ Similarly, Bardsley has written, “[T]he hero of Guy Mannering is not a man but a model of how empire affects the conception of Scotland’s peculiar relationship to the idea of nation-state, a rethinking of the nation for post-Union, Empire-era Scotland.”³⁹⁷ What I would add to this is that it is the materiality of the novel that constitutes an attempt to manage this acute crisis of identity. It becomes apparent, that is, that in the novel *the reader*—a subject constructed textually, one maintained in the borders between volumes—may be the only non-problematic subject on display. Integrated, unlike the novel’s divided “hero,” the reader offers an identity superior to a purely “Scottish” or “British” one.

Throughout Guy Mannering, Scott defines his project as editing and synthesizing discrete, disparate materials into a pre-existent, three-volume totality. Thus, Arthur Mervyn’s first letter to Mannering follows the narrator’s avowal: “We have assumed already the privilege of acting *a secretio* to this gentleman, and therefore shall present the reader with an extract of this letter” (p. 87). Similarly, Julia Mannering’s letters to Matilda Marchmont are introduced as follows: “The perusal of a few extracts from these [letters] may be necessary to render our story intelligible” (p. 91). At one point, a plot

point is signaled with “[w]e must now take up another thread, which is also to be woven into the adventures” (p. 283). Late into the second volume, as Harry Bertram is in Meg Merrilies’s hut, overhearing the smugglers from whom he is hiding, the narrator intrusively remarks, “We omit here various execrations with which these honest gentlemen garnished their discourses,” and a selective version of their cant and slang follows, integrated into the texture of the novel (p. 148). The textual records of Mannering and Sampson’s trip to Edinburgh are included in the novel on the “economical consideration that they will go far to complete this volume” (p. 226). This trope becomes for Scott a provoking one; this motif of textual bricolage is a material/formalist corollary of the forced assimilation that, throughout the novel, undergirds societal progress—the dark side of British integration. With it, Scott, as it were, indicts the project he initiated with Waverley: he exposes the seams in the overdetermined whole of the three-volume format and reveals the suppressions, erasures, and overwritings upon which privatized reading—the world of the triple decker and the domestic library³⁹⁸—depends.

We see this at work with Scott’s treatment of the epigraphs that open each of Guy Mannering’s chapters. Rather than leaving his epigraphs “at the edge of the work, generally closest to the text,”³⁹⁹ Scott noticeably integrates his epigraphs into the larger diegetic world of the novel. For example, the second chapter opens with an epigraph from Shakespeare’s 1 Henry IV, Hotspur’s lines “Comes me cranking in, / And cuts me from the best of all my land, / A huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle out” (p. 7). The epigraph is literally echoed within the chapter: during the brief history of the Bertram family, the narrator remarks of Dennis Bertram’s appriser that he “emerged upon possession, and, in

the language of Hotspur, ‘came me cranking in,’ and cut the family out of another monstrous cante of their remaining property” (pp. 8–9). Similarly, late in the first volume we find the narrator explicitly discussing a chapter epigraph. Thus, Edward Young’s

The bell strikes one,—we take no note of time

But from its loss. To give it then a tongue

Is wise in man. As if an angel spoke,

I feel the solemn sound—

prompts the narrator’s comments: “The moral, which the poet has rather quaintly deduced from the necessary mode of measuring time, may be well applied to our feelings”(p. 78).

Epigraphs, generally speaking, are fragmentary and irruptive, past voices and texts that disrupt the insistent present-tense orientation of prose fiction.⁴⁰⁰ In Scott’s distinctive handling, they expose the fault lines between resistance and incorporation. Gérard Genette has defined the epigraph “as a quotation placed *en exergue* . . . literally *en exergue* means *off* the work, which is going a little too far. Here the *exergue* is, rather, at the *edge* of the work, generally closest to the text.”⁴⁰¹ They are inherently implicated in the marginal; in Guy Mannering, they amount to resistant historical relics dwelling uneasily alongside a larger, assimilative narrative. We see this in concrete, human terms

with the novel's depiction of Meg Merrilies, whose presence in the novel has been noted as "troubling, since it points to a fundamental aspect of human nature that must be constrained by the process of improvement."⁴⁰² Her first appearance in the novel comes as an "epigraphic" interruption of a larger, overarching narrative. The chant she sings for the new Ellangowan heir literally intrudes upon the laird's "desultory and long narrative": her verse is rendered as an epigraph of sorts, a relic of border minstrelsy:

Canny moment, lucky fit;
 Is the lady lighter yet?
 Be it lad, or be it lass,
 Sign wi' cross, and sain wi' mass.

(p. 14)

After a brief exchange with Bertram and his guests, Meg launches into another "wild tune, in a high and shrill voice," thus opening another epigraphic interlude within the novel:

Trefoil, vervain, John's-wort, dill,
 Hinder witches of their will;

Weel is them, that weel may

Fast upon St. Andrew's day.

Saint Bride and her brat,

Saint Colme and his hat,

Saint Michael and his spear,

Keep the house frae reif and weir.

(pp. 14–5)

She lapses into a third gypsy song when Mannering next encounters her, as she sits on a “broken corner-stone”: one relic atop another.

In making the texture and materiality of the book a key component of his thematic aims in Guy Mannering, Scott, it would seem, found himself forced to re-encounter the often brutal *material* workings of cultural assimilation. I begin my discussion of the novel with an examination of Ellangowan Place as a particularly concentrated emblem of the tensions inherent in Guy Mannering's theme. From there, I discuss the novel's depiction of Scottish Enlightenment thought and material cultures, both of which Scott portrays as archaisms, institutions destined to be replaced by the nineteenth-century novel.

ON THE RUINS OF HISTORY: SCOTT'S HOUSE OF FICTION

Early in the novel Mannering seeks shelter at Ellangowan, the ancestral home of the ill-fated Bertrams. Confronted by a “turreted and apparently . . . ruined mansion, of considerable extent,” Mannering tells his guide, “[T]his is a ruin, not a house” (p. 7). After learning that the ruins are, in fact, Ellangowan Auld Place, where the “lairds lived . . . langsyne,” Mannering discovers how “leaving the ruins on the right, a few steps brought [him] in front of a small modern house,” Ellangowan New Place (p. 7). Mannering is, understandably, relieved to find a refuge from the “dreary scene of desolation” he traveled through in the novel’s opening pages (p. 21). After his first night at Ellangowan, Mannering muses over the modern house emerging from the “two massive round towers” of the old castle: “‘How happily,’ thought our hero, ‘would life glide on in such retirement! On the one hand the striking remnants of ancient grandeur, with the secret consciousness of family pride which they inspire; on the other, enough of modern elegance and comfort to satisfy every moderate desire’” (p. 22). Here the English tourist’s meditations resuscitate the Scottish ancestral seat into a country home—the literary trope for a privatized refuge from history, from Ben Jonson’s Penshurst forward—while claiming architectural relics (“the remnants of ancient grandeur”) for private subjectivity (“secret consciousness”).

The novel’s account of Ellangowan New Place, the “small modern house” mentioned above, constructs it as a domestic sanctuary from history, where history is grimly deterministic. Scott traces the Bertram family’s “long pedigree” from the “barbarous ages of Galwegian independence” (p. 7) down to the eighteenth century, with allusions to the Norman Conquest, the Wars of Montrose, the “skirmish of Dunkeld,” and

the Protestant succession. Largely a catalogue of names that, as Julia Mannering later puts it, “alike defy memory and orthography,” the account is the sort of bewildering, allusive overview that so tries the patience of twenty-first-century readers of Scott. In this vision of Scottish history as Byzantine intrigue, the Bertrams are perennial victims, as historical change circles around them, and they find their political allegiances shifting—typically to the losing side. Lewis Bertram, Godfrey’s father, planned a refuge: “He sold part of the lands, evacuated the old castle, where the family lived in their decadence, as a mouse (said an old farmer) lives under a firloft. Pulling down part of these venerable ruins, he built a narrow house of three stories height, with a front like a grenadier’s cap, two windows on each side, and a door in the midst, full of all manner of cross lights. This was the New Place of Ellangowan” (p. 9). Here, the Bertrams are shielded from “the foul fiend [that] possessed them with a spirit of contradiction which uniformly involved them in controversy with the ruling powers” (p. 8). As in the oral tale that inspired it, with its vision of personal strivings menaced by uncanny outside forces, in Guy Mannering, the *demonic* denotes change and contingency, threats to insular individualism. This applies here to the Bertrams’ futile political contrariness. We might think, too, of Dirk Hattaraick: the Protean, border-crossing villain is described as “half Manks, half Dutchman, half devil” (p. 26).

The new/old structure of Ellangowan is a rich, polysemous image. Its resonance comes, in part, from Scott’s inscribing of his own complicated status within a changing Scotland and the rich, productive dialectic undergirding his early fiction. Commentators have seen in such fusions of the modern and antiquated Scott’s rendering of contemporary Scotland, a nation with a capital that, like Ellangowan, was divided into

(feudal, atavistic) Old Town and (mercantile, urban) New Town. Biographically inclined studies have seen in such imagery what James Kerr calls “Scott’s complicated sense of his own historical position” as a “member of the professional middle class” who “became directly involved with the landowning class of the Border country.”⁴⁰³ Kerr sees Ellangowan and similar spaces as a type of Scott’s *Abbotsford*, which itself “expresses two conflicting motives: the desire for upward mobility, the parvenu’s dream of making it rich and buying a country estate; and a longing for the restoration of the ancient landed establishment, and with it, the social relations of an older and better world.”⁴⁰⁴

The dualism of the Bertram ancestral seat gestures, as well, to the hybridity of Scott’s early novels. *Waverley*, after all, is a composite text, famously comprised of chapters written at different periods in Scott’s life—a material corollary of that work’s self-conscious awareness of the nineteenth-century novel’s relationship to the past and its own relationship to the Heraclitian shifts of print culture. In Scott’s account, *Guy Mannering*—a novel grafted onto an oral Highland legend and a book repeatedly intercalated by poetic mottoes, antiquarian fragments, and scraps of Border minstrelsy—is a similar compound. He decided to ultimately downplay the astrological elements of the novel, allegedly “changing [the work’s] plan . . . in the course of printing.” Thus, the “early sheets retained the vestiges of the original tenor of the story, although they now hang upon it as an unnecessary and unnatural encumbrance” (Scott, “Introduction to *Guy Mannering*,” p. 15). These similarities between Ellangowan Place (a vision of refuge for Harry Bertram and Guy Mannering alike) and the materiality of Scott’s initial novels heighten Scott’s ongoing association between domestic retirement and private reading.

I include this description of Ellangowan Place for its ambiguity—the way that it concretely renders what I see as a compelling instability at the heart of Scott’s project, what I cannot help but think of as Scott’s “house of fiction.” The novel, as a genre, provides Scott with the following: private interiority as a replacement for eighteenth-century Scottish sociability; a compelling alternative to Scottish Enlightenment historical theories; and a way of negotiating the complexities of pan-British integration and thus “cement[ing] the Union in the hearts of men.”⁴⁰⁵ In Guy Mannering, the three-volume novel, like the three-storied New Place of Ellangowan, provides closure and containment that neither history nor geography can provide. To build, however, a “small modern house” on the ruins of history is to build a house on sand (the remnants of an increasingly obsolete, discredited Enlightenment tradition)—or else to perform an act of territorial violence and displacement. The hodgepodge that is Ellangowan Place, meanwhile, indicts the thematic conviction throughout Guy Mannering: the attempts to contain unstable borders and identities between the boards of a material book. New/old Ellangowan reminds twenty-first century readers of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s notion that the codex volume “is made of variously formed matters, and very different dates and speeds”; it anticipates Michel Foucault’s point that “the material unity of the book” is, in fact, a “weak accessory unity.”⁴⁰⁶ Ellangowan place foregrounds for us not only the centrality of fiction to Scott’s larger cultural project, but also the *sheer fictionality of that undertaking*. With Scott’s house of fiction, the scaffolding is always showing.

In Guy Mannering, the comforts of home—the thematic importance of which are doubly stressed with the novel’s dual plotlines—are epitomized by one room in the house: the library. Thus, when Mannering settles into his new home in Woodbourne, the

chapter's main emphasis is on the house's impressive library: as he presides over his new household, "Manning was careful to substitute for [Julia Manning and Lucy Bertram's] amusement in the evenings such books as might convey some solid instruction with entertainment, and, as he read aloud with great skill and taste, the winter nights passed pleasantly away" (p. 108). In making the library synonymous with domestic retirement, Scott, of course, makes a further connection between private life and the "class-specific act of reading."⁴⁰⁷ At the same time, Scott's depiction of the domestic library in the novel—his sheer insistence on the image—foregrounds the myth-making and mystifications that attend on his great object. In assembling his personal library, Manning takes great pride in the many books he inherited from his uncle, a "deceased prelate" (p. 109)—but, with his priggish disdain for trade and new wealth, he passes over *the money* he also received from the estate. Signs of cultural capital, the library's books are marshaled to keep unseemly economic realities at bay: with limited success, it turns out.

The domestic library figures prominently in Guy Manning's closing chapter, which comes as a distillation of Scott's association of the book with a private life beyond history. The novel's resolution is a curious one: even as it appears to busily tie up loose ends, it leaves other tensions open. Thus, even as Harry Bertram returns triumphantly to "the house of his ancestors" (p. 353), in the rather confusing terms of his family creditors he is required to go to India again. (No mention is made of the income and property he stood to inherit from his aunt on his father's side.) Put simply, the restored Scottish heir cannot go home again, and Scotland's borders, once more, hang in abeyance. It is at this point that Scott summons a library—the only real closure we are given. The final chapter

dwells, with much greater clarity than it affords to the details of the Bertrams' debt and Henry's estate, on Mannering's plans for a new library "which was to be built on the scite [sic] of the New Place of Ellangowan, in a style corresponding to the magnificence of the ruins in its vicinity" (p. 353). Overwriting the "small modern house" (p. 7) of Ellangowan New Place, it is a more stable household than Harry Bertram's; it offers a closure and unity that neither history nor geography can provide. In its almost abrupt, jarring re-introduction, Mannering's library acts as a *deus ex machina*, one last trick before Prospero-like retirement. Indeed, it hearkens back to the MacKinlay narrative where a totemic bound volume is a magic portal "at the close of this story to domestic happiness" ("Introduction to Guy Mannering," p. 14). It exposes Scott's project as a consoling, material fiction.

THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT AS *COMMUNIS ERROR*

Discussing her father's studies in astrology, Julia Mannering writes that Guy "possesses other sciences, now lost to the world, which enable the possessor to summon up before him the dark and shadowy forms of future events" (p. 91). Her words could furnish a skeptical description of Scottish conjectural history, it, too, a speculative surmising about a distant, far-flung future, based on fleeting or fragmentary evidence. The Scottish Enlightenment's hypothesis of a universal evolution from primitivism to modernity was, naturally, never erected on a firm foundation of evidence. Poovey writes, "What the so-called conjectural historians . . . wanted to describe—the origins of modern

society and especially how ‘rude’ societies became ‘civilized’—had not been reported by witnesses in a position to record what they had presumably observed . . . [O]ne could not literally see . . . or read accounts of anyone who had seen, the transition from hunter-gatherer to agricultural society.”⁴⁰⁸ Faced with this lack of evidence, such historians had to resort to increasingly airy and groundless assumptions. According to Poovey, “conjectural” itself is derived from “*conjectûra*,” meaning “a throwing or casting together” that denotes a “mode of producing knowledge about the future from signs or omens believed to be portentous”⁴⁰⁹—a definition that recalls Julia’s account of her father’s astrology.

A metaphorical stand-in for conjectural history, astrology in Guy Mannering emerges as an outmoded communal discourse. Scott constructs it as an archaism⁴¹⁰—a superannuated, deterministic worldview at odds with individualism. This is also the prevailing impression of Scottish Enlightenment thought and culture, as depicted in the novel’s celebrated excursion to Enlightenment Edinburgh, what Garside has called “perhaps the finest piece of social description in [the] novel” and evidence for Scott’s conviction of “the intellectual and cultural importance of the Scottish Enlightenment as a whole.”⁴¹¹ In these scenes, Scott depicts privatized reading—represented by the domestic library and the material book—as an alternative to determinism and a stifling communality.

In the earliest chapters of Guy Mannering, Scott stages a debate over the merits of astrology intended to raise doubts about its validity. Defending the art against the attacks of Dominie Sampson, who appeals to “the brief, the modern, and . . . the vernacular name of Isaac Newton” to help his cause, Mannering cites “the grave and sonorous authorities

of Dariot, Bonatus, Ptolemy, Haly, Etzler, Dieterick, Naibod, Hasfurt, Zael, Tanstetter, Agrippa, Duretus, Maginus, Origan, and Argol” (p. 16). “*Communis error*—it is a general mistake,” Sampson replies, thus intimating that Mannering has nothing to empirically justify astrology beyond a catalogue of names. Scott’s narrator confirms this point at the start of chapter four; he notes that astrology retained its following generally because “[g]rave and studious men were loth to relinquish the calculations which had become the principal objects of their studies, and reluctant to descend from the predominating height to which an insight into futurity, by the power of consulting astral influences and conjunctions, afforded them over the rest of mankind” (p. 19). Such a description could apply equally well to the theories of the Scottish Enlightenment, the studies of what Scott had once called Scotland’s “giants in the land . . . Robertson, and Hume, and Smith . . . and Ferguson.”⁴¹²

Shortly after his debate with Sampson, Mannering grows disillusioned with astrology: “like Prospero, he mentally relinquished his art, and resolved, neither in jest nor earnest, ever again to practice judicial astrology” (p. 21). Indicatively, Mannering’s renunciation is described as an act of private liberation, his personal freedom from an archaic jargon and an increasingly obsolete tradition. Astrology for Mannering here amounts to pernicious group-think: “the contagious influence of a prevailing superstition” shared by “learned men” steeped in the “universal prejudices of their age” (p. 21). When, after he performs an astrological reading for the newborn heir of Ellangowan, he discerns three periods of jeopardy for Harry Bertram, and he recalls how he once found a “similar conjunction of planetary influence” for his future wife Sophia (p. 20), he rejects any explanation from the “arithmetical labyrinth and technical jargon of astrology” (p. 20).

Instead, he posits that his “imagination” had “lent its aid to make the similitude between the two operations more exactly accurate” (p. 21). A discourse of individual resolve and imaginative potency accompanies a break from an antiquated, communal mindset, a break troped as a Prospero-like act of retirement.⁴¹³

The novel’s celebrated excursion to Edinburgh depicts—with affection—the cradle of the Scottish Enlightenment as an atavistic, communal culture. The narrative dispatches Mannering and Sampson to the capital city upon the death of Lucy’s estranged aunt Margaret Bertram to learn if the deceased had kept her reluctant promise to settle the estate of Singleside and £400 a year on her impoverished niece. Attended by the advocate Pleydell, they learn at the funeral that Margaret had drawn up a new deed naming as principal heir Harry Bertram (whom she “was well assured . . . was yet alive in foreign parts, and by the providence of heaven would be restored to the possessions of his ancestors”) (p. 221). (Mannering and Pleydell’s inquiries reveal that a chance meeting with Meg Merrilies assured Margaret of Harry’s existence.) As with Mannering’s astrology, the legacy of the Scottish Enlightenment consists, apparently, of a catalogue of names, the “first literary characters of Scotland,” and we find no real endorsement of their philosophical theories (p.226). Indeed, Mannering deems one example of their theories “sufficiently ludicrous” (p. 228), and the narrator states that, overall, the Edinburgh literati’s “acute talents were more to be admired than their speculative opinions” (p. 226).

In Edinburgh of the 1770s (before the era of urban renewal and improvement),⁴¹⁴ Mannering travels through a setting as alien to him as the wilds of Galway. He encounters a coarsely public culture, one seemingly devoid of private sanctuary. The

houses, we are told, “were so close, that the neighbours might have shaken hands with each other from the different sides, and occasionally the space between was traversed by wooden galleries, and thus entirely closed up” (p. 213). In the Old Town, “the great bulk of the better classes, and particularly those connected with the law, still lived in flats, or stories, of the dungeons” (p. 201). When Mannering first encounters the lawyer Pleydell, he is conducting business from Clerihugh’s, a tavern: Mannering’s dialogue with Pleydell’s servant hinges on a suppressed pun—Pleydell’s house is his *public* house. At the tavern, Pleydell’s “scene for social indulgence,” “men and women, half- undressed” toil in the kitchen, exposed to public view (p. 203). Appropriately, Mannering finds solace in Pleydell’s library—easily the highlight of an otherwise unimpressive house. The library offers repose and scenery in the midst of oppressive urban spectacle, and in Pleydell’s account it brings a little cultural capital as well:

[T]he library, into which [Mannering] was shewn by an elderly and respectable-looking manservant, was . . . a well-proportioned room, hung with a portrait or two of Scottish characters of eminence, by Jamieson, the Caledonian Vandyke, and surrounded with books, the best editions of the best authors. “These,” said Mr Pleydell, “are my tools of trade; a lawyer without history or literature is a mechanic, a mere working mason; if he possess some knowledge of these, he may call himself an architect.” But Mannering was chiefly delighted with the view from the windows, which commanded that incomparable prospect of the grounds between Edinburgh and the sea; the Firth of Forth, with its islands; the embayment

which is terminated by the Law of North Berwick; and the varied shores of Fife to the northward, indenting with a hilly outline the clear blue horizon.

(p. 213)

In Guy Mannering, Enlightenment Edinburgh is a world of facades and surfaces: it is all exterior, like the “uninterrupted range of buildings” reaching from the Luckenbooth to the Canongate (p. 201). Thus, the funeral for the little-mourned Margaret is an exercise in hollow artifice, the mere “exterior trappings of sorrow,” in a manner apparently typical of eighteenth-century Scottish practice:

In Scotland is universally retained the custom, now disused in England, of inviting the relations of the deceased to the interment. Upon many occasions this has a singular and striking effect, but upon some it degenerates into mere empty form and grimace, in cases where the defunct has had the misfortune to live unbeloved and die unlamented. The English service for the dead, one of the most beautiful and impressive parts of the ritual of the church, would have, in such cases, the effect of fixing the attention, and uniting the thoughts and feelings of the audience present, in an exercise of devotion so peculiarly adapted to such an occasion. But according to the Scottish custom, if there be not real feeling among the assistants, there is nothing to supply the want, and exalt or rouse the

attention; so that a sense of tedious form, and almost hypocritical restraint, is too apt to pervade the company assembled for the mournful solemnity.

(pp. 214–5)

Pleydell, we are told, could “slip off [his manners] on a Saturday evening” as he would “his three-tailed wig and black coat” (p. 204). During his weekend revels, he and his companions play “High Jinks,” a drinking game based on carefully maintaining a public persona: “the dice were thrown by the company, and those upon whom the lot fell were obliged to assume and maintain, for a time, a certain fictitious character . . . If they departed from the character assigned . . . they incurred forfeits, which were either compounded for by swallowing an additional bumper, or by paying a small sum towards the reckoning” (p. 204). Assuming the role of a facetious monarch, Pleydell adopts a faux-medieval argot when addressing his visitors. When he eventually “breaks character” to hear Mannering and Dandie Dinmont’s appeals, he ends the games with a declaration that might be a comedic version of the theme of both Waverley and Guy Mannering: “like a second Charles V., we will abdicate, and seek in the private shade of life these pleasures which are denied to a throne” (p. 206).

Guy Mannering’s Edinburgh, capital of the Scottish Enlightenment, is a land of the past, a backward-looking milieu as mired in historical particularity and insularity as the late Margaret Bertram, interred in the “deep black fat loam” outside the death-obsessed mausoleum of her seventeenth-century ancestors (p. 217). Pleydell’s “High Jinks” is described as an “ancient and now-forgotten pastime” (p. 204). While in his

mock-chivalric mode, Pleydell playfully mistakes Mannering for his bygone ancestor Sir Miles Mannering, who was “so renowned in the French wars” (p. 205). In the novel’s satirical depiction of the Edinburgh anthropologist James Burnett (part of Mannering’s fragmentary record of his encounters with the Scottish literati), the eccentric Burnett, a “close imitator of the ancients,” keeps a perverse *memento mori* for Scottish Enlightenment culture: his “table was strewn with flowers, and garlands were hung upon the necks of the bottles of clarets, which circulated freely to the memory of sages, dead and living, and to the prosperity of learning and literary institutions” (p. 227).

From the ashes of the Scottish Enlightenment, Scott implies, the three-volume novel arises. Pleydell gives Mannering letters of introduction to “some of the finest literary characters of Scotland” (e.g., John Clerk, Burnett, Ferguson, Home, etc.) (p. 226). Mannering kept an account of his meetings with these figures, but, according to the narrator, this record was reduced to “some mutilated letters to Mr Mervyn, found in an old cabinet at Mervyn Hall, Llanbraithwaite . . . [A]s the room looked out upon the lake, they have suffered much from damp, and . . . I have not been able to assign to the fragments those names which are necessary to expound and to illustrate them” (p. 226). The narrator decides to incorporate these nameless relics into the main narrative for the “economical consideration that they will go far to complete this volume” (p. 226).⁴¹⁵ Thus, Scottish Enlightenment teachings are literally relegated to the material considerations of a three-volume novel.

* * *

We have seen in Guy Mannering how Scott's avowed efforts to "shake [himself] free of Waverley" takes some of the following forms: a heightened attention to the materiality of the physical text, an awareness that extends even to the volume-by-volume structure of the whole; and a, related, rejection of the *Bildungsroman* telos in favor of dual protagonists, a structural complexity mediated by the physical features of the novel. In his "tale of private life," Scott retreats from history as lived and contested events, as history itself becomes an idea of determinism, a force from which to flee. Guy Mannering's thematic emphasis on the materiality of the book is decidedly post-Waverley in that it registers Scott's self-consciousness as to his work's status as a physical commodity. Moreover, we have seen how Scott's overtly material understanding of the novel—as a composite whole, a synthesis of discrete materials, texts, and voices—can become the basis for cultural commentary. This focus of Guy Mannering's would pave the way for The Antiquary, which limns the implications of a post-Enlightenment fall into materiality.

THE ANTIQUARY: THERE IS A TIDE

The Antiquary opens with a friendship being forged on a tedious, dilatory journey: traveling from Edinburgh to Queensferry, the titular antiquarian Jonathan Oldenbuck (popularly Oldbuck) meets the young Englishman known enigmatically as Lovel. The trip is marked by annoying, unnecessary delays, but the pair exemplifies the "Christian temper of making the best of all occurrences" (p. 20). (Oldenbuck is

particularly pleased by the opportunity to point out historical landmarks and landscapes.) The Antiquary's world is one threatened by ebb tides and rumors of war, changing fortunes and death at sea—all of which teach its denizens philosophical repose. The novel itself might be suggesting patience and equanimity to the reader: The Antiquary has been long regarded as leisurely paced and thinly plotted, distinguished wholly by its discrete comic or suspenseful setpieces. Some of its most fondly remembered scenes involve—as the title intimates—humorously futile arguments over highly suspect scraps of antiquarian evidence, arguments that, as Lovel at one point remarks, are “not unlike that which the two knights fought, concerning the shield that had one side white and the other black” (p. 65). At such moments, Scott could be positing the novel as an alternative to impossible standards of historical certainty.

En route to Fairport, Oldenbuck learns little of Lovel and surmises that he is an actor. (Once he settles in town, Lovel becomes the subject of local gossip and suspicion; the novel is set in the 1790s when anxieties about French invasion and espionage were at their zenith, a time when traveling strangers attracted notice and concern.) Lovel soon learns that Oldenbuck is a financially stable Whig bachelor (in a largely Jacobite neighborhood) who is unduly proud of his descent from Aldobrand Oldenbuck, a German Protestant printer. Oldenbuck shows Lovel his home at Monkbarns (a veritable museum), where he lives with his unmarried sister Griselda and his niece Maria M'Intyre. (On this initial trip, Oldenbuck shows Lovel a tract of land he purchased, the “Kaim of Kinprunes,” the site where Julius Agricola reportedly confronted a Caledonian army, circa 367 A.C.E.; they are interrupted by Edie Ochiltree, a traveling mendicant, who insists that the relics of the Roman camp are, in fact, remnants of buildings he helped

erect for a wedding party a mere twenty years earlier.) On a subsequent trip to Monkbarns, Lovel meets the Wardours: Sir Arthur and his daughter Isabella, of Knockwinnock Castle. Oldenbuck's friend, rival, and fellow antiquarian, Sir Arthur is an aristocratic Catholic Jacobite, with all the tendencies and biases that implies. Like Godfrey Bertram in Guy Mannering, he is financially embarrassed and hopelessly gullible, at the mercy of creditors and charlatans alike.

On an evening when the Wardours and Lovel are visiting Monkbarns, one of Sir Arthur and Oldenbuck's typical antiquarian arguments turns hostile, as each attacks the other's genealogy. The Wardours leave hastily, opting to travel via the sands at Halket Head, without realizing that they will soon be trapped between the cliffs and the rising tides. With the aid of Edie, Lovel leads their rescue from the side of a cliff. Exhausted, he stays the night at Monkbarns, in a chamber called the Green Room. (The room is believed haunted, and Lovel apparently encounters the ghost of Aldobrand Oldenbuck, Jonathan's revered ancestor.) In the morning, after Oldenbuck and Lovel encounter the Mucklebackit family, the denizens of a nearby fishing village, it comes out that Lovel had met Isabella Wardour previously in Yorkshire, where he fell in love with her. As the illegitimate son of unknown parents, he is discouraged in his pursuit, since the genealogy-obsessed Sir Arthur could never approve such a match. Lovel, in turn, learns from Oldenbuck that Sir Arthur, deeply in debt, is in thrall to the sinister Dousterswivel, a German magician-chemist who had already extorted money from Wardour to mine ore to be transformed into gold (among other stratagems).

One evening, Oldenbuck, Lovel, the Wardours, and assorted guests join Dousterswivel at the ruins of St. Ruth's Priory, ostensibly so that the German can show

them a valuable treasure buried nearby. They are joined by Captain Hector M'Intyre, Oldenbuck's brash, hot-tempered nephew, who is home on an extended visit. Dousterswivel's guests discuss the ruins of the monastic library that once inhabited the spot, and Lovel reads aloud "The Fortunes of Martin Waldeck," an old folk tale of Isabella's transcribing. Over the course of the evening, Hector interrogates Lovel about his background, charging him with dishonesty. The two arrange to fight a duel on the succeeding night in the same spot. Lovel wounds Hector in the duel (the latter's fate is, initially, uncertain), and Edie Ochiltree helps Lovel to flee the country, first hiding him in a cavern beneath the priory ruins. While they are in hiding, they eavesdrop on Dousterswivel and Wardour, as the adept persuades Sir Arthur that—in exchange for a fee—he will lead him to buried treasure.

Soon after, when Dousterswivel tries to collect from Sir Arthur, both Edie and Oldenbuck press for an excursion to the site of the alleged treasure. Miraculously, Edie's digging uncovers a cache of silver ingots—enough to return the Wardours to prosperity. As an act of revenge, Edie convinces Dousterswivel to stay on and dig for more riches, after the former had privately arranged for Steenie Mucklebackit (of the fishing village) to frighten the alchemist by hiding in the ruins, impersonating a ghost. On this occasion, both Edie and Dousterswivel witness a Catholic funeral procession.

As news of Sir Arthur's mysterious new wealth circulates, we learn through the fishing village gossips that Countess Glenallan, eldest living scion of the mysterious Jacobite Glenallan family, just died: hers was the funeral that Edie and Dousterswivel saw, and the countess's death is of particular interest to Elspeth Mucklebackit, grandmother of the fishing-village family. Elspeth sends for the current Earl of Glenallan

so she can confess to her role in a dark secret dating back to her days as a Glennallan-family servant: the current earl (the late countess's son) was in love with one Eveline Neville, whom his mother hated for her family connections. After he married her in secret, his mother (with the aid of the servant Elspeth) convinced him that Eveline (who was now pregnant with his child) was his own half-sister. The lie drives Eveline to suicide after giving birth to a son, who is clandestinely sent to be raised by the earl's estranged brother. Elspeth's dying testimony sends the Earl of Glenallan to consult Oldenbuck, a one-time rival of his for the hand of Eveline. The two form an alliance to learn the fate and possible whereabouts of the child of so long ago.

During Glenallan and Oldenbuck's inquiries, news reaches Fairport that the French have planned an invasion of the Scottish coast. Hector, having recently recovered from the injuries he sustained in the duel, makes arrangements to gather local troops and collaborate with one Major Neville, the officer overseeing Fairport defense. In the midst of this, Edie brings the news that Lovel had just returned to Fairport by ship; moreover, he intimates to Oldenbuck that the "treasure" unearthed near St. Ruth's was Lovel's own, bestowed on the Wardours for their monetary difficulties—he and Edie buried it after overhearing Dousterswivel and Sir Arthur on the night of the duel. When Major Neville arrives to take charge of the defense, he proves to be none other than Lovel. When the Earl of Glenallan notes the major's strong resemblance to his dead wife, it comes out that Lovel/Neville is indeed the earl's son, the recent heir of the uncle who had raised him. The revelation anticipates Lovel's marriage to Isabella. As for the French invasion, it proves to be a misunderstanding, as a watchman mistook a bonfire (where the mining and

alchemical equipment of the exposed, discredited Dousterswivel was being burned) for a signal flare, a resolution that sees history reborn as benevolent farce.

Set at the dawn of the nineteenth century, The Antiquary would seem poised to announce a great age of the novel. This is a work, after all, that memorably and amusingly records the failure to successfully compose an epic in twelve or twenty-four books (i.e., Oldenbuck's projected Caledoniad), thus suggesting the passing of an older literary era. With its frequent forays into the mock-heroic mode—its lapdog Juno and seal-fighting Hector—The Antiquary could be heralding the novel, Henry Fielding's "comic epic in prose," as the new pinnacle of Parnassus for a shrewd and skeptical generation—a genre fit to anticipate and answer Karl Marx's famous query: "Is Achilles possible with powder and lead? Or the Iliad with the printing press, not to mention the printing machine? Do not the song and the saga and the muse necessarily come to an end with the printer's bar, hence do not the necessary conditions for epic poetry vanish?"⁴¹⁶ Apparently yes, and *the novel* fills the gap.

The Antiquary, however, is a work whose moments of Gothic or sublime unease repeatedly undercut its moments of gentle humor (and vice versa); in one of the novel's most celebrated set-pieces, Scott provides a more anxious commentary on his efforts to situate the post-Enlightenment British novel within a changing landscape. Returning from an evening at Monkbarns, the Wardours and Edie Ochiltree find themselves trapped on the rapidly vanishing sands between Halket-head and the incoming tides. Their predicament is a heightened, starkly elemental version of the "nightmare straying" that,

throughout this dissertation, I have seen as expressing the purblind condition that follows the loss of Enlightenment sociability. In this image, Scott might be depicting his efforts to carve out a niche for the nineteenth-century novel. On the one side, we have the “beetling precipice” of an atavistic folk culture, one as overwritten with local relics, signs, and associations as the Halket craigs. Edie, the representative of a dying folk tradition and “the news-carrier, the minstrel, and sometimes the historian of the district” (p. 47), attempts to effect their rescue from the incoming tides by *reading* the local names and fading relics on the palimpsestic craig in a demotic version of regional historicism: “[F]asten the rope weel round Crummies’-horn, that’s the muckle black stane—cast twa plies round it—that’s it!—now, weize yoursell a wee easel-ward—a wee mair yet to that ither stane—we ca’d it Cat’s-bug—there used to be the root o’ an aik-tree there—that will do! . . . Now ye maun get to Bessy’s Apron, that’s the muckle braid flat blue stane” (p. 76). On the other side, we have the “raging abyss” of an ever-encroaching universalism that, like the novel’s tides, foretells local erasure and forced, foreign assimilation. Scott finds a novelistic version of human commonality on the “beach under Halket-head”: the sands, “rapidly diminishing in extent by the encroachments of a spring-tide and a northwest wind,” become “a neutral field, where even a justice of peace and a stalking mendicant might meet upon terms of mutual forbearance.” (The implication is that this version of communion is more benign than that promised by the leveling forces of French republicanism across the channel.) As the neutral field dwindles to what Edie calls “a square yard of rock that would be dry for twal hours,” we are more likely to be impressed by now narrow is the way for the nineteenth-century Scottish novel, the Scylla-and-Charybdis dilemma facing Scott. As this image demonstrates, with its

insistently leveling tides, the project Scott began in Waverley was made more urgent and unstable by the British and international reception of his fiction.

I posit The Antiquary's self-consciousness about the Waverley Novels' widespread distribution and consumption as a way of understanding a text that has long proven difficult to interpret comprehensively. In her influential reading of the novel, Joan S. Elbers surveys the many discussions of The Antiquary that have found it random and episodic, before ultimately calling the novel "a unified work of art organized around a series of thematic contrasts," namely, the contrasts between the local community, understood as a "network of relationships that make up the social organism" and a "revolutionary society . . . constructed mechanistically according to some abstract blueprint."⁴¹⁷ I argue that the novel's sophistication, in fact, is such that it undercuts such binaries in favor of a pervasive antifoundationalism, one that, for Scott, is an extension of the changes in the production and distribution of knowledge that accompany Scotland's absorption into Britain.⁴¹⁸ In the novel, the binary categories of "the local" and "the global" are repeatedly blended⁴¹⁹—just as land and sea are melded in Oldenbuck's philological theory where "terrestrial objects were . . . appealed to for ascertaining submarine measurement . . . [and] the productions of the water are established as gages of the extent of the land" (p. 85). One of the novel's most memorable comic motifs has Scott, as it were, *erasing* the purported place where Scottish localism squared off with the globalizing force of the Roman Empire: The Kaim of Kinprunes, the site of the local/global dichotomy at its most fundamental, may be literally groundless (there is no there there), but that does not stop Oldenbuck's enthusiasm for commemorating it in the projected Caledoniad, where the binary can be sustained as a poetic fiction, a printed

commodity in the literary marketplace. *The Antiquary* traces the complex involutions of the local and the global within the new print network of post-Union Britain. Scott reveals the subtle, manifold dislocations of British assimilation: with its imagery of mercurial tides and subterranean passages, *The Antiquary*, after all, is about finding that the ground has shifted beneath your feet.

We see the same dislocations in the novel's intercalated tale "The Fortunes of Martin Waldeck." A cautionary account of demons and hubris set in Reformation-era Germany, the tale deploys the trope of "the printer's devil"—and its popular nexus of religion, magic, and Faustian overreaching⁴²⁰—to produce a powerfully ambivalent meditation on post-Enlightenment print culture. Throughout the story, the spectral and the material, the local and the global, are inextricably intermingled. Thus, the tale's "tutelar demon" is at once "visionary" and earthy, chthonic: he is described as "in the shape of a wild man, of huge stature, his head wreathed with oak leaves, and his middle cinctured with the same, bearing in his hand a pine torn up by the roots" (p. 170). At the same time, the Reformation—what the story refers to as the "doctrines of Luther" (*Martin Waldeck's* namesake)—is a marker of provincialism and regional particularity. This is an inversion of Scott's depiction of Protestantism elsewhere in the novel: personified by Aldobrand Oldenbuck, printer of the Augsburg Confession, it is a universalizing, leveling force coeval with mass-distributed print.⁴²¹ In "The Fortunes of Martin Waldeck," the "doctrines of Luther" are associated with the local peasantry, of a piece with their superstition and unreflective chauvinism. Thus, they defend their resident demon against the attacks of a "travelling capuchin," a representative of itinerant rootlessness: "A travelling friar, they said, that is here today and gone tomorrow, may say

what he pleases: but it is we, the ancient and constant inhabitants of the country, that are left at the mercy of the insulted demon, and must, of course, pay for all” (p. 171). Under the new order of the printer’s devil, the tale implies, the very categories of local and global become untethered.

“The Fortunes of Martin Waldeck” is, again, a cautionary parable, and, to the many readers of The Antiquary after Scott’s own lifetime, an uncannily ominous one: Martin’s encounter with the sooty (printer’s) devil initially produces unprecedented riches, but at a high cost—not unlike the Scott who for the Victorians was an object lesson in the pitfalls of “wealth, hastily attained and ill-employed” (p. 179).⁴²² The story registers the mercurial uncertainties of the expanded print market of the nineteenth century, with its promises of magical/demoniacal wealth and fame. The story’s blended binaries depict the paradoxical properties of the post-Enlightenment, modular book: at once disembodied and insistently material. In the sections that follow, I address the novel’s depiction of these two contradictory facets of the material book. I begin by briefly framing The Antiquary as a novel that literalizes the movement away from the Scottish Enlightenment.

From its outset, The Antiquary leaves behind the milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment, Edinburgh’s “Athens of the North.” Indicatively, it does this in a manner that concisely but explicitly subverts the arc and destiny of its predecessor Guy Mannering. As the narrative opens, we encounter Lovel and Oldenbuck embarking on a journey out of Edinburgh “on a fine summer’s day” (p. 13). This projected journey

evokes—and refutes—Guy Mannering's opening, with Mannering traveling through the gloomy murk of Galway on a quest for the comforts of home and hearth. The Antiquary gives us a journey *out of light*: we leave behind the pellucid atmosphere of late-eighteenth century Edinburgh, a world of sweetness and light where, unlike Mannering's Galway, the visual emblems of the characters' social roles are reassuringly apparent.⁴²³ (This description of the Scottish capital, of course, is in marked contrast to the moribund, oppressively foreign Edinburgh that figures in Guy Mannering.)

Lovel and Oldenbuck's general destination is Fairport, a "thriving seaport town on the northeastern coast of Scotland" and, according to the novel, a center for the exchange of mass-produced goods and texts. (En route to Fairport, as they are dining at a public house in Queensferry, Lovel and Oldenbuck sit beneath a series of prints inspired by Thomson's The Seasons, a moment that encapsulates the fate of regional-descriptive poetry in an age of mechanical reproduction.) The house that marks the end of the journey is Oldenbuck's Monkbarns, said to be "a labyrinth of inconvenient and dark passages" (p. 31). This description codifies The Antiquary's revision of its predecessor: the journey out of Enlightenment Edinburgh and into the international marketplace and the privatized home has become a journey from light to darkness. In The Antiquary, the loss of the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere inflects Scott's criticism of the settlements reached in Guy Mannering. As such, my discussion emphasizes, first, The Antiquary's depiction of the increased physicality of the book as a fall into a problematic materiality and, second, its criticism of privatized reading and its limitations.

AN EMBARRASSMENT OF RICHES: THE FALL INTO MATERIALITY IN THE
ANTIQUARY

The Antiquary opened a drawer, and began rummaging among a quantity of miscellaneous papers, ancient and modern. But it was the misfortune of this learned gentleman, as it may be that of many learned and unlearned, that he frequently experienced, on such occasions, what Harlequin calls *l'embarras des richesses*—in other words, the abundance of his collection often prevented him from finding the article he sought for.

(p. 107)

As we have seen, Guy Mannering posits the material book's physicality as an emblem of closure and containment corresponding to that novel's thematic quest for a domestic sanctuary from historical determinism. In The Antiquary, however, textual materiality is the condition of a post-Enlightenment world that is also post-lapsarian—part of a fall into a sullied, problematic materiality. Textual or otherwise, materiality in The Antiquary is inherently flawed, marked by unwieldiness and unreliability. Those involved in the titular practice of antiquarianism—which, of course, is a fetishizing of the “discrete historical object or artifact”⁴²⁴—repeatedly encounter the limitations of the material fragments and relics in which they traffic. Some of the novel's most memorable comic scenes involve the misreading of an antiquarian fragment or relic. Scott's narrator says of Oldenbuck that “from his antiquarian researches . . . [he had] acquired a delight in building theories out of premises which were often far from affording sufficient ground for them” (p. 133). The inability of material records and physical texts to produce anything other than what Yoon Sun Lee calls “egregiously contingent forms of

knowledge” is figured in the sheer illegibility of the antiquarian object, stressed throughout the novel.⁴²⁵ Thus, as Lovel prepares to enter Monkbarns for the first time, Oldenbuck detains him at a doorway to point out an inscription, some “mouldering traces of letters” that are, in fact, said to be “totally illegible” (p. 31). These letters and characters have, however, occupied much of the antiquary’s time and research, and, predictably, Lovel’s own flimsy conjecture that one of the figures on the doorway resembles a mitre is enough to “set the Antiquary’s brains to work” (p. 31). Pausing on the grounds of his property at one point, Oldenbuck shows his guest the tomb of one John o’ the Girnel, a site marked by a moss-covered headstone bearing “an inscription, of which, as Mr Oldbuck affirmed, (though many doubted), the defaced characters could be distinctly traced” (p. 111).

The sense of a post-Enlightenment fall into material excess—an embarrassment of riches—is perhaps best encapsulated by this oft-cited early description of Oldenbuck’s library at Monkbarns, what Lee characterizes as a “random, untotalizable, and uncontainable mass of objects”⁴²⁶:

It was a lofty room of middling size, obscurely lighted by high narrow latticed windows. One end was entirely occupied by book-shelves, greatly too limited in space for the number of volumes placed upon them, which were, therefore, drawn up in ranks of two or three files deep, while numberless others littered the floor and the tables, amid a chaos of maps, engravings, scraps of parchment, bundles of papers, pieces of old armour,

swords, dirks, helmets, and Highland targets. Behind Mr Oldbuck's seat . . . was a huge oaken cabinet . . . The top of this cabinet was covered with busts, and Roman lamps and pateræ, intermingled with one or two bronze figures. The walls of the apartment were partly clothed with grim old tapestry . . . The rest of the room was paneled, or wainscoted, with black oak, against which hung two or three portraits in armour, being characters in Scottish history, favourites of Mr Oldbuck, and as many in tie-wigs and laced coats, staring representatives of his own ancestors. A large old-fashioned oak table was covered with a profusion of papers, parchments, books, and nondescript trinkets and gewgaws, which seemed to have little to recommend them, besides rust and the antiquity which it indicates. In the midst of this wreck of ancient books and utensils, with a gravity equal to Marius among the ruins of Carthage, sat a large black cat, which, to a superstitious eye, might have presented the *genius loci*, the tutelary demon of the apartment. The floor, as well as the table and chairs, was overflowed by the same *mare magnum* of miscellaneous trumpery, where it would have been impossible to find any individual article wanted, as to put it to any use when discovered.

(pp. 32–3)⁴²⁷

Material relics of Scottish history are part of this hoard, such as a set of thumb-screws, once deployed as torture devices for imprisoned Covenanters, or the three antique

calthrops once “dispersed by Robert Bruce to lacerate the feet of the English chargers” (pp. 33, 34). (Consigned to an arm-chair, the latter, in more recent history, once injured the posterior of a traveling professor of Utrecht visiting the antiquary.) If Waverley and Guy Mannering suggest that the domestic library could correct the complexities of Anglo-Scottish history, The Antiquary suggests instead that to domesticate history is simply to reduce it to clutter.

The general chaos of the room takes its cue from the state of the bookshelves, which, noticeably, Scott describes first: “One end was entirely occupied by book-shelves, greatly too limited in space for the number of volumes placed upon them, which were, therefore, drawn up in ranks of two or three files deep, while numberless others littered the floor and the tables.” In The Antiquary, Scott depicts print culture in the age of the modular book as an unmanageable profusion. When Oldenbuck, the Wardours, and their respective guests contemplate the ruins of the monastic libraries at St. Ruth’s, Oldenbuck laments the loss of the library’s holdings in the aftermath of the Scottish Reformation; Isabella suggests, however, that “some modern antiquaries . . . would certainly have been drowned if so vast a lake of learning had not been diminished by draining” (p. 162). Where the physical book is concerned, this profusion, this surplus of materiality, produces a semiotic excess, a crisis of interpretation: it amounts to an “overgrowth” of potentially significant materiality that is, finally, unreadable, as in this rich, self-negating passage describing rarities in Oldenbuck’s library: “Here were editions esteemed as being the first, and there stood those scarcely less regarded as being the last and best; here was a book valued because it had the author’s final improvements, and there another which (strange to tell!) was in request because it had them not. One was precious because it was

a folio, another because it was a duodecimo; some because they were tall, some because they were short; the merit of this lay in the title-page, of that in the arrangement of the letters in the word Finis. There was, it seemed, no peculiar distinction, however trifling or minute, which might not give value to a volume” (p. 36). At one point we are told that one of Oldenbuck’s pastimes was writing “essays on medals in the proportion of twelve pages to each letter of the legend” (p. 25): the material text generates interpretation unnaturally and disproportionately, in what could be an analogue of Dousterswivel’s sham alchemy.

Scott comically depicts the challenges of reading after the “fall” into an excessive textual materiality in the scenes set in the “back-parlour of the postmaster’s house at Fairport” (p. 138). These passages recall a similar chapter in *Guy Mannering*, and the comparison underscores the changes in the production and dissemination of knowledge that Scott traces in the early Waverley Novels. The Fairport postmaster’s wife and her fellow gossips rifle through the letters in the post-office like “sibyls . . . consulting their leaves” as they attempt “from the outside of the epistles . . . to amuse themselves with gleaning information, or forming conjectures about the correspondence and affairs of their neighbours” (p. 138). Material considerations bar their best efforts, however. Thus, the baker’s wife, whose snooping is hampered by one envelope’s seal wax, echoes Hamlet’s famous lament—a *locus classicus* for the limitations of the material—in “wishing that the too, too solid wax would melt and dissolve itself” (p. 142). In this scene, the various physical dimensions of the text—its many fronts, wrappers, and thresholds—occlude meaning. We are told, for instance, of a letter addressed to Lovel (a favorite subject of local gossip), of which “[n]othing could be gathered from the outside,

except remarks on the various properties which philosophers ascribe to matter,—length, breadth, depth, and weight” (p. 141).

The post-office set piece echoes the chapter set at the Gordon Arms pub in Guy Mannering. On the very night of Mannering’s first return to Scotland after his twenty-two-year absence, a cross-section of local Scottish types gather at the pub to trade gossip about the Bertrams, eventually discussing Harry’s birth and the day of his disappearance. The gossips produce increasingly inaccurate accounts of the chief episodes in his life: some accounts have Harry the victim of Meg Merrilies, where another version has Satan—in Meg’s earthly form—as the perpetrator; an account of the astrological reading identifies Mannering as an “ancient” bearded man who assigned Dominie Sampson to protect Harry from “the Evil One” before he “vanished away” (p. 64). The emphasis in this chapter, however, is on public-communal knowledge production. The Gordon’s patrons, with their comically speculative attempts to construct narratives of agency and causality, are a parodic version of the similarly inclined coteries of Enlightenment Edinburgh. Here in The Antiquary, which Scott positions at an even further remove from the Scottish Enlightenment, the material text is the focus of Scott’s scrutiny; it is the locus for knowledge for a shrewd and skeptical generation doomed to see through a glass darkly.

AMATEUR ANTIQUARIANS, ARMCHAIR READERS, AND DISEMBODIED
PRINTERS

[Sir Arthur Wardour] retired for the evening into his library, in the fearful state of one who, hanging over a precipice, and without the means of retreat, perceives the stone on which he rests gradually parting from the crag, and about to give way with him.

(p. 387)

Antiquarianism in the novel is a stand-in for a set of reading practices that are post-Scottish-Enlightenment by virtue of being utterly anti-institutional. Such practices are distinguished by the two other items of my subheading: armchair readers and disembodied printers. Like the “class-specific act of reading,”⁴²⁸ the antiquarianism of Oldenbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour is, as Lee writes, “pursued in a spirit of conspicuously bourgeois leisure.”⁴²⁹ Like reading, it is the province of private life and the armchair (the latter a byword not only for cozy retirement but also for unaffiliated amateurism, e.g., an “armchair detective”). Oldenbuck’s various antiquarian collections “might well be envied by an amateur” (p. 25). His research projects are, we learn, shared by “most of the virtuosi of his time”; his enthusiasms, we are led to believe, are those of a “ready-money man” in a changing Scotland (pp. 25, 24). Similarly, Sir Arthur, “a joint labourer with [Oldenbuck] in his antiquarian pursuits,” comes to antiquarianism as an amateur pastime: “in his more advanced years, as he became too lazy or unwieldy for field-sports, he supplied them by now and then reading Scottish history . . . and having gradually acquired a taste for antiquities” (p. 52). (In true dilettante fashion, Wardour’s studies were “neither very deep nor correct”) (p. 52). In one of the novel’s earliest descriptions of Oldenbuck, we are told that he has “the knowing look of an amateur”: this comes as he, literally departing from eighteenth-century Edinburgh, turns to study his copy of Sandy Gordon’s *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, a “book illustrative of the Roman

remains in Scotland”: “undoing the parcel in his hand, [he] produced his folio, on which he gazed from time to time . . . admiring its height and condition, and ascertaining, by a minute and individual inspection of each leaf, that the volume was uninjured and entire from title-page to colophon” (p. 18). Thus, the movement outside of and away from Edinburgh public life culminates in the private (“amateur”) appreciation of the material book, which in Scott’s description here is an insistently physical technology.⁴³⁰

Situated outside of the public structures of the Scottish Enlightenment, the epistemological assumptions and methodologies of antiquarianism are opposed to some of the signature theories of the Edinburgh literati. The typical antiquarian’s wholesale investment in the material records of the past is widely seen as obstructing what Manning has called “the Scottish Enlightenment’s progressive narrative and universalizing paradigm”: here, Manning refers to the global theories of telic societal development that constituted conjectural, “speculative,” or “philosophical” history.⁴³¹ Similarly, Trumpener has noted that the antiquarian’s “nostalgic clinging to ruins . . . impedes the productive potential of the present.”⁴³² Insofar as he depicts antiquarianism as a type for modern (i.e., post-Enlightenment), privatized reading, Scott here is at his most provocative and prescient: well ahead of such theorists as Paul de Man and Bercovitch, he announces literature’s autonomy from historical narrative. Just as the antiquarian relic functions as a return of the repressed—a demonstration that the past is not even past—literature, as Bercovitch has written, “contributes to history—contributes to knowledge, morality, culture, and society—by questioning stories of progress and designs of totality.”⁴³³

Concerned with deducing general patterns of human, societal development, Scottish conjectural historians derogate particular, inductive evidence in favor of broad, fundamental trends and principles. As Poovey writes (in her discussion of conjectural history *vis-à-vis* the “problem of induction”), “[T]he priority . . . assigned to universals and to the (invisible) laws of nature went hand in hand with a devaluation of the observed particular.”⁴³⁴ By contrast, antiquarians—curators of material relics—are invested in the observed particular. As a set of practices that are “[n]ontotalizing and untheoretical, empirical and inductive in [their] approach,” antiquarianism can be understood as a skeptical riposte to sketchy master narratives, such as the theories of stadial progress that characterized Scottish Enlightenment intellectual work.⁴³⁵ In the novel, Oldenbuck, a “shrewd and skeptical man” (p. 53) proud of his antiquarian research, envisions his projected epic Caledoniad and its history “of the real Scottish monarchs” as an alternative to the more fanciful visions of Boethius or Ossian,⁴³⁶ whose accounts of Scottish history he deems “as vain and insubstantial as the gloomy pageant of the descendants of Banquo through the cavern of Hecate” (p. 53). Here, an antiquarian can provide a riposte to a speculative, progressive version of Scottish history that is ultimately erected on airy nothingness.

Throughout The Antiquary, antiquarian scrutiny of relics (itself a type of privatized reading) undermines “stories of progress and designs of totality.”⁴³⁷ Oldenbuck, for example, owns an alleged “lachrymatory,” which he believes was a Roman artifact from the time when the Romans “had passed the defiles of these mountains, and left behind them traces of their arts and arms” (p. 288). With the relic, which is later destroyed by Hector’s dog Juno, Oldenbuck had hoped to “trace the

connexions of nations by [pottery's] usages, and the similarity of the implements which they employ"—an instance of Scottish historiography at its most grandly overreaching (p. 289). Hector's "reading" of the shattered vessel brings things back to earth: a mere "paltry pipkin," the item was no different than the water jugs Hector has in his Fairport lodgings ("I brought home a pair of them—I might have brought home twenty") (p. 289). Similarly, when Dousterswivel shows Oldenbuck the cornucopia filled with gold coins that was reputedly unearthed in St. Ruth, the latter muses on the horn in tongue-in-cheek conjectural-historical terms: "It was an implement of nature's fashioning, and therefore much used among rude nations, although it may be the metaphorical horn [i.e., of cuckoldry] is more frequent in proportion to the progress of civilization" (p. 220). Edie Ochiltree debunks such a grandiose interpretation when he recognizes the "loom" as "an auld acquaintance o' mine": "I could take my aith to that sneeshing-mull [i.e., snuff container] amang a thousand—I carried it for mony a year" (p. 232).

This horn, which Edie wrests from its place in a stages-of-society narrative, immediately recalls the horn that figures prominently in Lovel's waking visions of the Flemish tapestry in the Green Room at Monkbarns. This memorable image connects some of Scott's signature concerns in the novel: the loss of a communal culture, the rise of individualistic private life, and the Coming of the Book. One of Lovel's nightmares in the apartment reportedly haunted by Aldobrand Oldenbuck involves an arras depicting a medieval hunting scene: "The tapestry waved wildly on the wall, till its dusky forms seemed to become animated. The hunters blew their horns—the stag seemed to fly, the boar to resist, and the hounds to assail the one and pursue the other; the cry of deer, mangled by throttling dogs—the shouts of men, and the clatter of horses' hoofs, seemed

at once to surround [Lovel]—while every group pursued, with all the fury of the chase, the employment in which the artist had represented them as engaged” (p. 100). We are presented here with an organic social totality, pre-modern life as it might be posited in the oral, communal circles of eighteenth-century Scotland. The scene Lovel beholds shifts, however, as “an individual figure among the tissued huntsmen . . . seemed to leave the arras and to approach the bed of the slumberer. As he drew near, his figure seemed to alter. His hunting horn became a brazen, clasped volume,” and he assumed the appearance of Aldobrand, the German Protestant typographer (p. 100). Here an “individual figure” overwrites and replaces an idea of social life. Aldobrand is the representative of an international, mass-distributed print culture; as the printer of the Augsburg Confession, he epitomizes the notion of the printing press as an agent of global, paradigm-shifting change. His “brazen, clasped volume,” an emblem of privatized reading, replaces his earlier hunting horn, synechdotal totem for medieval community.

This scene, I maintain, takes on additional thematic resonance when read alongside the scene where Edie reclaims the cornucopia from Oldenbuck’s account of the “progress of civilization.” I return to Monkbarns’s haunted chamber in the section that follows where I discuss how Scott represents an emerging culture of reading in The Antiquary.

The Antiquary re-imagines privatized, post-Enlightenment reading as a dangerously ungrounded endeavor. This is a novel that, quite literally, suspends the accoutrements of the private library over “a raging abyss” (p. 80). In the much-celebrated

set piece from chapter eight, Sir Arthur Wardour and his daughter are stranded on the precipice “Bessy’s Apron,” hemmed in by the tides rising against Halket-head. Their sole means of escape devised by their rescue party is an arm chair, the embodiment of domestic comfort and amateur study, like, perhaps, the one in Oldenbuck’s study, “leathern-covered . . . [and] worn smooth by constant use” (p. 32); the chair is lowered from an “extempore crane” fashioned from a ship’s mast (p. 80). A highly “precarious vehicle,” the arm chair “swung out about a yard free of the spot which they occupied, obeying each impulse of the tempest, the empty air all around it, and depending upon the scarcity of a rope which, in the increasing darkness, had dwindled to an almost imperceptible thread” (p. 80). The image deftly undercuts Guy Mannering’s central contention, that the trappings of private life and reading are a refuge from a “history-as-nightmare” world where—as The Antiquary keeps reminding us—“time and tide tarry for no man” (p. 20).

Scott suggests here that post-Enlightenment reading is staring into an abyss. “Armchair” reading is the condition of life outside of the public sphere. The Antiquary, moreover, connects private reading to the effacement of Scottish local specificity that accompanied pan-British assimilation and the expansion of the print market within an increasingly urban, homogenous Britain. In The Antiquary, the tides that menace solitary strollers—the same tides that carried Oldenbuck and Lovel away from the world of eighteenth-century Edinburgh—are harbingers of foreign invasion and assimilation. The novel’s ominous French forces promise a universal culture, what The Monthly Review, in its discussion of the novel, calls “the monotony which an equalizing and widely diffused civilization always tends to produce.”⁴³⁸ What the reviewer describes here might be the

promise represented by the ghost of Aldobrand at Monkbarne: a “disembodied printer,” a vision of the ultimate “diffusion of knowledge” (p. 86).⁴³⁹

Where Guy Mannering practically anticipates Jorge Luis Borges in envisioning (domestic) paradise as a kind of library, The Antiquary finds in private reading spaces no refuge from terror. Sir Arthur’s library, after all, comes to remind him of his Halket-head predicament—“hanging over a precipice, and without the means of retreat” (p. 387). With Lovel’s celebrated visit to the Green Room, Scott depicts an anxious, modern sensibility defined by solipsistic estrangement and alienation; the room’s spectral phantoms reflect a denuded, overextended culture. The chapter recounting Lovel’s night in the reportedly haunted apartment opens with a W. R. Spenser epigraph where the narrator’s private, melancholic musings are at a remove from the conventional tropes of the Gothic:

When midnight o’er the moonless skies

Her pall of transient death has spread,

When mortals sleep, when spectres rise,

And none are wakeful but the dead;

No bloodless shape my way pursues,

No sheeted ghost my couch annoys,

Visions more sad my fancy views,—

Visions of long-departed joys.

(qtd. on p. 95)

It is a sentiment both Oldenbuck and Lovel share. On the threshold of the Green Room, the Laird of Monkbarns notes that he cannot enter the apartment “without yielding to a melancholy feeling—not, of course, on account of the childish nonsense that Grizel was telling you”—i.e., his sister’s account of the room’s various haunting—“but owing to circumstances of an early and unhappy attachment” (p. 95). Caught in his remembrances of things past, Oldenbuck quotes, approvingly, Wordsworth’s “The Fountain” (1800), its elegy “less for what time takes away, / Than what he leaves behind” (qtd on p. 96). As in Guy Mannering’s citation of Samuel Taylor Coleridge to signal Mannering’s radical break from a communal mindset, canonical British Romanticism here marks a divorce from the “old-fashioned faith” in publicly reiterated superstitions and is an emblem of modern rootlessness. Lovel is also unable to appreciate the venerable perils of the Green Room. Rebuffed by Isabella Wardour, “he found it so difficult to fix his mind upon the stories which had been told him of an apartment, with which they seemed so singularly to correspond, that he almost regretted the absence of those agitated feelings, half fear half curiosity, which sympathize with the old legends of awe and wonder, from which the anxious reality of his own hopeless passion at present *detached him*” (p. 97, emphasis added).

Lovel’s dreams in the chamber, the “thousand baseless and confused visions” that disturb his sleep, reveal a restless, ungrounded imagination (p. 99). His fancy veers

wildly, vertiginously, from the depths of the sea, to midair: “He was a bird—he was a fish—or he flew like the one, and swam like the other” (p. 99). The very air, we are told, “refused to bear the visionary, the water seemed to burn him—the rocks felt like down-pillows as he was dashed against them” (p. 99). Scott describes an unmoored—i.e., visionary—sensitivity, adrift in a world where all that is solid melts into air. In his dreams, “Miss Wardour was a siren, or a bird of Paradise; her father a triton, or a seagull; and Oldbuck alternately a porpoise and a cormorant” (p. 99). The imagery could be out of Wordsworth’s “The World is too Much with Us” (1804), where the yearn to see “Proteus coming from the sea; / Or [to] hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn” is a lament for the old-fashioned faith of a “Pagan suckled in a creed outworn,” a feeling of alienation in a world of getting and spending.⁴⁴⁰

The crowning episode of Lovel’s night in the Green Room is his vision of the tapestry and the “disembodied printer,” where a spectral emblem of individualism and modern print technology obviates and replaces an idea of medieval sociability. In the Green Room chapter more generally, we see newer material productions *overwrite* older ones. The room’s furniture, we are told, was “wrought to correspond with the tapestry, but by a more modern and less skillful hand” (p. 97). The Flemish tapestry, “which the looms of Arras had produced in the sixteenth century,” is framed by a newly added border with embroidered lines of poetry Oldenbuck had added and, mistakenly, attributed to Chaucer.

In the Green Room chapter, haunting, paradoxically, emerges as a marker of modernity: ghosts, in their phantom insubstantiability, denote the deprivations of a widely diffused culture. The ostensible author of lines that he, in fact, never wrote,

Chaucer lives on in the chamber as an Aldobrand-like spectral presence. The narrator remarks of the tapestry, “It seemed as if the prolific and rich invention of old Chaucer had animated the Flemish artist” (p. 96). The Chaucer Scott describes here as an immaterial animating force, a literary Holy Spirit, is, in Deidre Lynch’s formulation, the canonized Chaucer of literary history. His presence shares the Green Room with the Wordsworth who wrote the quoted “The Fountain,” a juxtaposition that “bear[s] witness to Wordsworth’s and Chaucer’s kinship as national poets”; the phantom Chaucer is an agent within the British canon’s “series of fantastically parthenogenetic genealogies that . . . make it seem as if Chaucer begat Spenser, who begat Milton, and so forth.”⁴⁴¹ It is this model of literary history—one immaculate conception after another—that, for Lynch, “could accommodate with particular ease the identity politics of a new age of nations.” Within the rapidly expanding, urban Britain of the nineteenth century, the Green Room’s disembodied Chaucer, she notes, has “the animating power to bring Britain to life and to imaginary community,” she writes.⁴⁴² Scott’s insight is to stress the erasures, omissions, mystifications, and occasional inaccuracies that accompany the formation of a pan-British canon (and, by extension, imagined communities more generally).

Scott’s successors among the Victorian novelists, of course, were themselves haunted by the canonized Scott of literary history: a “Green-Room” Scott, rendered hollow and spectral within an alien print culture. In his later years and after his death in 1832, Scott, progenitor of the three-volume novel, would come to be seen “at the centre of another publishing innovation,” namely, the “rash of cheap reprinting schemes during the late twenties and early thirties” that J. G. Lockhart, Scott’s son-in-law and biographer, characterized as “nothing less than a total revolution in the art and traffic of

bookselling.”⁴⁴³ One such venture was Robert Cadell’s plan in 1829 for a “cheap-reprint” run of the Waveley Novels as a series of one-volume novels. As Royal Gettmann observes, “In short, Sir Walter Scott, whose influence is everywhere in the history of nineteenth-century fiction, was responsible not only for the three-volume novel priced at 31s 6d but [also] for the inexpensive one-volume reprint as well.”⁴⁴⁴ Another such scheme was the projected Constable’s Miscellany, which would have offered cheap reprints of Scott’s fiction alongside volumes of history and biography. On the one hand, the project reflects what had become a commonplace of Scott’s reception in the 1820s and 1830s: his fiction’s contributions to “knowledge.” Thus, the Edinburgh Review of April 1832 (a few months before Scott’s death) writes, “[W]e have, since the appearance of Waverley, seen the fruits of varied learning and experience displayed in that agreeable form [i.e., the novel]; and we have even received from works of fiction what it would once have been thought preposterous to expect—information . . . We have learnt, too, how greatly the sphere of the Novel may be extended, and how capable it is of becoming the vehicle almost of every species of popular knowledge.”⁴⁴⁵ On a broader level, Archibald Constable’s vision, as Kathryn Chittick notes, “gives the typical flavor of bookselling at this time, when the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was its most notorious example of success,” one that stresses “printing and bookselling, as instruments for *enlightening* and entertaining mankind.”⁴⁴⁶ The implication is that the erstwhile Enlightenment goals of disseminating useful knowledge feel not to the seats of learning, as in eighteenth-century Edinburgh, but rather to printers and booksellers who might be realizing The Antiquary’s own “disembodied printer’s” vision of “the diffusion of Christian and political knowledge” (p. 108): Aldobrand Oldenbuck lives. In the

chapter that follows, I take up Dickens, whose early career was haunted by an Aldobrand-like version of Scott.

The Antiquary's subversion of its predecessor is, again, best encapsulated in its opening, where the journey away from eighteenth-century Edinburgh becomes a journey from light to darkness, an inversion of Guy Mannering's opening quest for hearth and home. When Guy Mannering critiques the production of knowledge, its targets are the communal, sociable circles of Enlightenment-era Scotland (the parodic version of which is the Gordon Arms); The Antiquary's satire is extended to the material text, reflective of the shift that saw "the vaunted Modern Athens . . . dwindling away into a mere spelling-book and primer manufactory."⁴⁴⁷ Taken together, the two novels constitute a rich dialectic: a reminder that Scott's house of fiction has many mansions. In his efforts to craft a literary, textual solution to the problematics of Scotland's post-Union identity—one that would fill the void left by the passing of the Scottish Enlightenment's public sphere—Scott, intentionally or not, produced something far more ambiguous in his two immediate successors to Waverley. They are Scottish novels that, together, limn the nation's involvement with England, France, and India. They are nineteenth-century "triple-deckers" intercalated with eighteenth-century historicisms and epigraphs. Each one is a home built upon ruins.

CHAPTER 4. PUBLIC HOUSES AND PRIVATE HOMES: THE TWO PASTS OF DICKENS'S

BARNABY RUDGE

The little neighbouring islands, which are so small upon the Map as to be mere dots, are chiefly little bits of Scotland,—broken off, I dare say, in the course of a great length of time, by the power of the restless water.

—Dickens, A Child's History of England (1851–53)⁴⁴⁸

We have seen how Scott's first foray into novel-writing finds him using the three-volume novel as the structural, formal corollary of a retreat from the stage of history into private life: Waverley's material format expresses Scott's need to reach an increasingly domestic, privatized culture of reading in the wake of the decline of the Scottish Enlightenment's material cultures (themselves distinguished by singular notions of the study of history). In the two loosely connected novels that follow, Scott explores the connections between the material book, domesticity, and pan-British identity with an even greater degree of self-reflexivity. Taken together, these two works after Waverley retrace the larger cultural turn away from the Edinburgh-based Scottish Enlightenment, depicting a movement toward a culture of knowledge production that is at once materialistic (i.e., centered on the material book) and ungrounded. In this regard, Dickens's self-reflective Barnaby Rudge represents a logical next step, a continuation of what Scott traced from Waverley through The Antiquary. A London-based historical novel devised in the 1830s, Barnaby Rudge, among other things, offers an extended reflection of what Chittick calls the "collapse of the Edinburgh publishing scene," an

event of 1826 that was “perhaps symptomatic of the yielding of the provinces to the metropolis”; where fiction was concerned, it, overall, “increased the focus on London life.”⁴⁴⁹

Dickens, that is to say, was writing when Scotland’s cultural centrality had eroded—had broken off in the course of a great length of time, to paraphrase the (curiously Antiquary-like) terminology from A Child’s History of England, Dickens’s decidedly post-Enlightenment, unsystematic attempt at historiography, regarding which even G. K. Chesterton admitted, “Of the actual nature of its philosophical and technical limitations it is, I suppose, unnecessary to speak.”⁴⁵⁰ Moreover, by the time of Dickens’s formative years as a writer, Scott’s corpus, it could be argued, had been reduced to *little bits* as well, a fact with significant implications for Dickens, whose rise to the Scott-like status of “master of a national reading public” was based on the fragmentary format of serialization, rather than the three-volume novel. As I discuss at the end of the preceding chapter, by the 1830s, Scott (after Cadell’s cheap-reprint series of the Waverley Novels and the ill-fated Constable’s Miscellany) had become associated with a range of ventures marked by “cheapness allied to regular, generally monthly publication.”⁴⁵¹ Scott’s sheer inescapability is one of the subtexts of Barnaby Rudge, a serialized historical novel about the stubborn, posthumous influence of the father.

Simply put, with Barnaby Rudge, a novel of riot and misrule, Dickens models and then *overthrows* both Scots history and Scott’s histories. The dual thrust of Dickens’s critique is a major strain of this chapter. Of Dickens’s novels, Barnaby Rudge remains the least familiar and least read—even when it appeared in 1841, it was met with critical neglect, reviewers’ indifference, and sales figures that, while hardly contemptible, were

nevertheless lackluster by Dickens's standards. As such, I precede my discussion with a summary of the novel's plot, one that clarifies the work's recurring interest in burning down houses.

INTRODUCTION: DICKENS'S *UNHEIMLICHE* DARK HISTORY

Charles Dickens's Barnaby Rudge (1841) opens near Epping Forest (some twelve miles outside of London) in 1775 and immediately begins looking back even further into the historical past—to Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and the (less precise) “olden times” of maypoles and yeomen.⁴⁵² Such a dualistic perspective is apt for a novel that sees Dickens looking not only to the world of eighteenth-century regionalism (a world also situated outside of London) but also, more recently, to Scott, his powerful, post-Enlightenment precursor. A strange, anxious sense of *double belatedness* is established from the very start. In his early description of the environs near “the borders of Epping Forest” (p. 43), Dickens could be rendering his own sense of being at a remove from the erstwhile center of philosophical and historical certainty. Dickens establishes his setting's distance from London by “measuring from the Standard in Cornhill, or rather from the spot on or near to which the Standard used to be in days of yore” (p. 43): we are in a world that has lost its standard(s). Meanwhile, as the former haunt of notorious highwaymen Dick Turpin (immortalized in Dickens's lifetime in fashionable novelist William Harrison Ainsworth's Rookwood [1834]), Epping Forest itself seems to suggest that any attempt to make a novel out of England's historical past—any attempt to be the English Scott—is

doomed to descend into riot and lawlessness. The novel's first chapter will give us the Maypole tavern, a beautifully realized evocation of hale and hearty Englishness, but, alas, Scott was here first. The Elizabethan-era Kenilworth (1821) was Scott's own jaunt into English history, and it, too, opens at an "excellent inn of the old stamp": "It is the privilege of tale-tellers to open their story in an inn, the free rendezvous of all travelers, and where the humour of each displays itself without ceremony or restraint. This is specially [*sic*] suitable when the scene is laid during the old days of merry England."⁴⁵³ It is as if Dickens cannot help but find Scott speaking through him: a suitable state for a novel that will ultimately give us parroting madmen and a talking raven.

The novel opens on a stormy night at the Maypole Inn, as John Willet, the Maypole's alternately lazy and domineering proprietor, joins his regular cronies at the tavern hearth: Solomon Daisy, the parish-clerk and bell-ringer for Chigwell; Tom Cobb, local Chandler and post-office keeper; and Phil Parkes, the ranger. In addition to Joe Willet, John's long-suffering son, a Maypole employee, the quartet is joined by two other figures. One is a man of roughly twenty-eight years of age, eventually revealed as Edward Chester; the opening number finds him decked out gallantly in riding dress as if for a journey and clearly brooding over something. The other is a middle-aged stranger clad "in a loose riding-coat with huge cuffs ornamented with tarnished silver lace and large metal buttons," deliberately obscuring his scarred face under a large hat (to the unease of his fellow patrons). Chafing under the intense scrutiny in the tavern, the stranger starts asking questions about The Warren, a nearby manor house, and its denizens, Geoffrey Haredale, the Willets' landlord, and his niece Emma, daughter of the late Reuben Haredale, former master of The Warren. The subject of the Haredales clearly

makes Edward uncomfortable, and he leaves the Maypole over Joe Willet's protests, intending to walk the twelve miles to London; we learn that he is in love with Emma and wishes to see her at a masquerade she is attending in the city.

The stranger's queries about the late Reuben Haredale inspire Solomon Daisy to relate the mysterious account of Reuben's murder, evidently a popular tale for recitation around the pub fireplace ("[I]t is a Maypole story") (p. 54). One night in 1753, Reuben was found murdered in his bedroom; a cash-box was missing, as was Reuben's gardener and steward. The latter, one Mr. Rudge, was found months later, drowned, his body recognizable only by his clothes, as public suspicion was divided between the missing gardener and Geoffrey Haredale, now owner of The Warren. During his re-telling, Solomon realizes that the current date is March 19, 1775, twenty-two years to the day after the murders. (Incidentally, it is also a period of twenty-two years that passes before Guy Mannering returns to Scotland, entering the Gordon Arms tavern on the twenty-second anniversary of Harry Bertram's auspicious birth.) Every March 19 sees the murder mystery retold at the Maypole, and popular conviction has it that the killer will be apprehended on a future March 19.

After hearing this narrative, the Maypole stranger prepares to ride to London (angrily rebuffing Joe's advice against it). Early on his way, he encounters Gabriel Varden, a locksmith returning home to London after a day's work at The Warren. Criticizing the stranger's rough treatment of his horse and reckless riding, the locksmith, a tolerant, good-humored character, decides to stop by the Maypole before continuing home. At the Maypole, Gabriel joins the other patrons in speculating about the sinister stranger ("a madman? a highwayman? a cut-throat?") (p. 66). Resuming his journey to

London, Gabriel comes across Edward Chester, lying bloodied and unconscious on the road, the apparent victim of highway robbery. He is attended by the titular Barnaby Rudge (son of The Warren's missing steward). A young man in his early twenties, Barnaby is mentally incapacitated; the narrator notes that his mind's "noblest powers were wanting" (p. 74). He is memorably clad in lace-trimmed green and bedizened in peacock feathers, ribbons, and glass ornaments. With Barnaby's reluctant help, Gabriel takes the wounded Edward to Southwark, near London Bridge, where Barnaby lives with his mother Mary Rudge.

We are introduced to Gabriel's household in the London suburb of Clerkenwell. His house/business is the Golden Key, appropriately marked by the sign of a large, wooden key. Gabriel's family includes his wife Martha, a puritanical shrew forever consulting the two-volume Protestant Manual, and his comely daughter Dolly. Also in the household are Miggs, Martha's man-hating personal servant, and Simon Tappertit. The latter is Gabriel's scheming, resentful apprentice, who nurses an unrequited passion for Dolly. A class-conscious apprentice, Simon (or Sim) is given to reflecting wistfully on the days when "the 'prentices . . . carried clubs wherewith to mace the citizens" (p. 80). At Clerkenwell, we learn that Dolly (as well as Joe and, occasionally, Barnaby) often acts as a go-between in Edward's pursuit of Emma, while Dolly is far from indifferent to the attentions of her would-be suitor, Joe Willet.

During his trip to the Rudges' to check on Edward's recovery, Gabriel's visit with Mary Rudge is interrupted by a mysterious rapping at the window. This heralds a strange visit from none other than the Maypole stranger, who seems to be in some sort of odd, secretive collusion with Mary. In this scene we first encounter perhaps the novel's most

memorable character, Grip, Barnaby's precocious pet raven. Throughout, his utterances comment, Lear's-Fool-style, on the novel's events. When Edward regains consciousness, he recounts how he was accosted on the road by a stranger asking the way to London, immediately before his attack. He insists that the voice was identical to that of the stranger from the Maypole, and Gabriel, a former suitor of Mary, leaves Southwark fearing her involvement in criminal affairs ("What dark history is this?") (p. 98).

The night after the robbery, the novel's mysteries deepen when Simon pockets a duplicate key he has for his home and workplace and, while all the Vardens are asleep, sneaks off to the Barbican. At a public house identified by the sign of a wooden bottle, Sim is led underground by the blind servant Stagg to a moldy cellar for one of the regular meetings of the 'Prentice Knights. As "Captain," Sim presides over this gathering of London apprentices, all united by visions of restoring the "good old English customs" that, through the Constitution, secured their class's rights, privileges, and public esteem. (Former "'prentices had, in times gone by, had frequent holidays of right, broken people's heads by scores, defied their masters, . . . [and] even achieved some glorious murders in the streets") (p. 115). At the meeting, new apprentices are initiated into the cabal, and various masters are named as subjects of revenge—Simon nominates Joe Willet, his rival for Dolly's affection.

Back at the Maypole, John Willet is awakened one day by a traveler from London, elegant in dress and manner. This is one John Chester, Edward's ne'er-do-well father. Leaving his horse in the care of Hugh, the Maypole's coarse, bestial hosteler, John settles into the inn's best room and arranges for a message to be sent to The Warren, requesting a meeting with Haredale. (This comes as a surprise throughout the inn, as the

patrons allude to some long-standing enmity between the two and speculate that a duel may be in progress.) In a tense conversation between the two enemies, John appeals to Haredale for help in preventing any marriage between his son and Haredale's niece: the Protestant John Chester will not support a marriage to the Catholic Emma, but he also hopes, as a cash-poor aristocrat, for a wealthier match for his son. The two agree on separating the lovers, John Chester expressing his willingness to employ deceit and subterfuge if necessary.

Mobilized after his discussion with Haredale, John Chester summons his son to his lodgings in the Temple Bar to warn him away from Emma, urging him to marry for money as he did in courting Edward's late mother, the daughter of a basely born but wealthy lawyer. Soon after, the elder Chester forms an alliance with Hugh, who brings him a stolen letter from Emma to Edward, with the promise of future thefts to come. Similarly, Simon later advises John Chester to target some of the young lovers' accomplices, such as Gabriel, Dolly, and Barnaby. Later, to Haredale and Gabriel's chagrin, John finances Mary and Barnaby's move out of their Southwark home: part of his larger plan of eliminating any go-betweens, the move is Mary's attempt to escape the Maypole stranger, who regularly visits the Rudge home demanding food and money.

All this time at the Maypole, John Willet is becoming even more tyrannical in his treatment of his son—especially when egged on by his hearthside cronies. After violently lashing out at Tom Cobb the chandler, Joe quits the Maypole, ostensibly for good. En route to London to say good bye to Dolly, he encounters a recruiting sergeant and joins the military. Meanwhile, Edward confronts his own father about his recent conspiracies

and, like Joe, decides to “take [his] own course” and renounce all contact with his parent. These two parallel ruptures precede a five-year gap in the narrative.

When the novel resumes in 1780, it opens, suitably, on another stormy March 19 at the Maypole. An uncharacteristically late Solomon joins his companions to deliver the news that earlier that evening he passed The Warren’s apparently murdered steward, Rudge, on the street. John Willet, accompanied by Hugh, goes to The Warren to relate the story to Haredale. (The latter disdains both the story and Hugh.) On their way back to the inn, they encounter three horsemen seeking lodging: the fanatical Lord George Gordon, instigator of the real-life Gordon Riots; Gashford, Gordon’s conniving secretary, the novel’s true force behind the eventual violence; and Grueby, the pair’s manservant. In a guest room at the Maypole, Gordon and Gashford discuss their plans for opposing Catholic emancipation in England: we learn that their so-called Great Protestant Association has the support of the United Bulldogs (formerly the ’Prentice Knights) and that Martha Varden and Miggs are numbered among their financial donors.

The three then embark on a journey to London, where Gordon has a house in Welbeck Street. On the way, they drum up support and pass out handbills. At Gordon’s house, they are joined by Hugh, attracted to the cause for the chance to avenge the slights and insults of the Catholic Haredale, and Dennis, a hangman who enlists as a legal defender of the establishment and the Constitution. They all relocate to a public house, The Boot, where they are joined by Simon and a few of his United Bulldog associates. We learn that their current plan is a marched demonstration at the House of Commons to protest the Catholic relief bill. At this point, Simon, enjoying his exalted rank within the United Bulldogs, plans to claim Dolly as his own in the aftermath of Protestant victory.

Hugh, meanwhile, continues to work for John Chester (now Sir John, an MP) so as to avenge himself on Haredale.

The Vardens and their neighborhood have also been caught up in the events of 1780. In opposition to his wife, Miggs, and Sim, Gabriel has joined the Royal East London Volunteers to protect the status quo against the Great Protestant Association's chaos. In nearby Southwark, meanwhile, Haredale keeps a regular vigil at the Rudes' now-abandoned home, suspecting that the mystery of the elder Rude's alleged re-appearance after twenty-two years may lie there. Walking through Westminster one day, Haredale encounters a mob outside the House of Commons. He has a testy run-in with Sir John, as well as Gashford, who was a contemporary of the two enemies at St. Omer's school (where, we learn, Gashford was formerly a Catholic). Soon after, Lord Gordon arrives, delivering a petition against the Catholic Relief Act. Rumors of a nearby gathering of Life Guards scatter the demonstrators, as Hugh, Dennis, and Gashford expressly discuss acts of violent retribution against Haredale. During this time, Mary and Barnaby's country refuge becomes compromised: the Maypole stranger has discovered their hiding place and arrives demanding more money. This prompts them to return to London where they, too, cross paths with Gordon's followers, and Barnaby eagerly joins Hugh in the mob despite his mother's protests.

By this time, the mob is quickly gaining followers across London—a heterogeneous mass of criminal and disaffected elements of the city. When Gordon's petition is defeated in Parliament, the mob begins turning increasingly to rioting and violence, first ransacking a Catholic house of worship and moving on to target Catholic homes. At the Varden household, Sim and Gabriel clash, as the latter rejects Simon's

offer of a signed letter from Gordon attesting to the house's loyalty or his suggestion that they paint "No Popery" on the house front. As attacks on Catholic churches and neighborhoods increase rapidly, The Warren is designated as the next site of destruction. On their way to Haredale's manor, a mob led by Simon, Hugh, and Dennis stop by the Maypole, binding and gagging John Willet and destroying the tavern. Shortly after, the stranger comes by the pub, seeking the mob, now on its way to The Warren. Haredale, returning from London, goes to the Maypole before going to survey the destruction of his home. John, reduced to dementia by the traumatic assault on his tavern, insists on having seen a dead man (i.e., the stranger). At the smoking ruins of The Warren, Haredale finds and apprehends the Maypole stranger—whom he identifies as Rudge, Sr., Barnaby's long-absent father and Mary's estranged husband: twenty-two years earlier he had murdered the gardener and Reuben Haredale, dressing the gardener in his own clothing to cover his tracks.

Back at The Boot, a detachment of Foot Guards arrests Barnaby. Outside his holding cell, Barnaby overhears a one-armed soldier discussing military action against the mob. Simon, Hugh, and Dennis escape apprehension and are near Epping Forest, with the kidnapped Emma and Dolly Varden in tow. Depositing the girls at a nearby cottage, they go to meet other Gordon followers at a Fleet Market tavern. There, a one-armed man announces that Barnaby is now an inmate of Newgate (where he is reunited with his father, incarcerated for murder), and the rioters decide to free Barnaby and raze Newgate (along with all the other city prisons if possible). As military reinforcements pour in across London, the mob goes, first, to the Varden house to secure Gabriel's assistance in unlocking Newgate's massive portal. He defies them both at his home and before the

prison (where the one-armed man manages to distract the angry rioters and spirit him away to safety). The mob, then, sets fire to the prison and releases the prisoners.

At this time, Haredale seeks shelter from the mob with a local vintner; he is joined by Grueby, who has left Gordon's service. The rioters, however, assault the vintner's home, forcing the refugees to escape through the cellar. In their escape they encounter Edward, just back from time spent abroad, and the one-armed man, revealed to be Joe Willet, who lost an arm in battle in America. Setting fire to the vintner's distillery, many of the rioters perish from drinking inflamed spirits—an appropriately fiery, apocalyptic climax to the riots. Meanwhile, the military reinforcements have been reinvigorated with the authority to fire upon the anti-Catholic mobs, and the general chaos looks to be coming to an end.

At their new hiding place in Smithfield, Hugh, Barnaby, and Rudge, Sr. find themselves betrayed by Dennis the hangman—determined to support the Constitution at all costs. Gashford, similarly, had betrayed Lord Gordon to the authorities. As some semblance of calm returns to the city, Edward and Joe lead an expedition to rescue Emma and Dolly from the cottage in which they are imprisoned; there, they discover Simon (now crippled, a victim of mob violence). Rudge, Sr. is eventually hanged, as are Dennis and Hugh, after it is revealed that the latter is the illegitimate son of Sir John and a gypsy woman whom Dennis once executed. Meanwhile, Gabriel's tireless efforts manage to release Barnaby from the gallows.

In the aftermath of the riots of 1780, Haredale blesses the union of Emma and Edward, while planning his own permanent departure from Britain. On the eve of his

journey to the Continent, he runs into Sir John near the ruins of The Warren. A long-imminent duel breaks out, in which Haredale slays his old nemesis before fleeing to Europe (where he eventually dies). Happier fates await Dolly and Joe, the married proprietors of the (new) Maypole; Gabriel, enjoying his newly humbled wife and Miggs-free home; and Barnaby, living idyllically near the Maypole with his mother. Grip, the logorrheic raven, will outlive them all, defying linear time and human rationality alike.

INTRODUCTION, CONT.: DICKENS, HOUSES, FICTION

In my beginning is my end. In succession
 Houses rise and fall, crumble, are extended,
 Are removed, destroyed, restored . . .

 Houses live and die: there is a time for building
 And a time for living and for generation[.]

—T. S. Eliot⁴⁵⁴

[T]he man led a mob.

—Chesterton on Dickens⁴⁵⁵

Throughout the excessively protracted development of Barnaby Rudge, a work of historical fiction initially intended and contracted for three volumes, Scott and *houses* were very much on Dickens's mind, central terms in a cluster of associations involving

authorship, domesticity, and publication formats. As early as May of 1836, we find Dickens entering into an agreement with his publisher John Macrone for “Gabriel Vardon [sic], the Locksmith of London” in “Three Volumes of the usual size.”⁴⁵⁶ The publication specifics situate the project within the material format made paradigmatic by the *Waverley Novels*. The projected subtitle alludes to a memorable incident from London’s Gordon Riots of (roughly) sixty years since (i.e., a locksmith’s heroic refusal to unlock the entrance of Newgate for a mob of anti-Catholic rioters). In addition to promising a vivid, historical set-piece to rival the famous razing of the Tolbooth in Scott’s *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), the germinal scene suggests an epic struggle between containment and the leveling forces of historical flux—a theme well-suited for the three-volume novel, Scott’s material-formal vehicle for closure and private life beyond history. The Manchester-born Macrone, meanwhile, had published Dickens’s first book: in issuing his collected periodical essays, short stories, and assorted journalistic ephemera as 1836’s *Sketches by Boz*, Macrone helped effect Dickens’s development toward one of those paragons later celebrated at Mrs. Leo Hunter’s *déjeune* in *The Pickwick Papers* (1836–37): “real authors, who had written whole books, and printed them afterwards.”⁴⁵⁷ This soon after his first appearance in volume form, Dickens, it would seem, looked to “a three-volume historical novel in the mode of Sir Walter Scott” as the “work that was to have made his reputation as a successful author.”⁴⁵⁸ As Chittick notes in her study of Dickens’s early career, “Scott is always to be found at the centre of early nineteenth century literary life: to understand Dickens’s ambitions in his early manhood is to come round inevitably to Scott.”⁴⁵⁹

Five years later, in 1841, Dickens would receive what Duncan has called his “official ceremony of succession” to Scott’s status as “master of a national reading public.”⁴⁶⁰ Shortly after Francis Jeffrey, the formidable Edinburgh Review critic, a friend and contemporary of Scott’s, was publicly received in London, Dickens began planning his own trip to Scotland. (He had learned that Jeffrey deemed Nell’s death in The Old Curiosity Shop a tragedy rivaling Cordelia’s demise in King Lear) (Dickens to John Forster, 18 March 1841, Letters, 2:238–9, 238). Dickens’s trip, as John Forster notes in The Life of Charles Dickens, was “to be initiated by the splendid welcome of a public dinner in Edinburgh.”⁴⁶¹ The Edinburgh reception confirmed Dickens’s popularity in Scott’s homeland and reinforced the sense that the latter’s mantle had in fact been passed down to Dickens. The event was to have been presided over by Jeffrey himself, whose recent illness prevented his attendance. Master-of-ceremony duties fell on John Wilson, Edinburgh professor of moral philosophy, who (with Lockhart) co-founded Blackwood’s as the Tory answer to the Whiggish Edinburgh Review and contributed to its pages as “Christopher North.” The event was ultimately attended by over 250 eminent Scots, many of them from Scott’s circle. Dickens would later tell Forster, “I felt it was very remarkable to see such a number of grey-headed men gathered about my brown flowing locks,” a vivid illustration of the gradual passing of the Edinburgh literati (Dickens to Forster, [30 June 1841], Letters, 2:313–8, 315). At the banquet, the advocate Peter Robertson “proposed the health of Scott” and mused aloud on “with what delight and cordiality would the author of Waverley have hailed the advent of the author of the Pickwick Papers” and went on to imagine a fanciful, friendly meeting between Barnaby

Rudge and Davie Gellatley⁴⁶² and—rather less probably—Dominie Sampson and Wackford Squeers (see Letters, 2:308n1).⁴⁶³

In the five years that had elapsed since the initial agreement with Macrone, Dickens's attitudes toward Scott—and what I have come to think of as Scott's model of masculine-domestic retirement instantiated in the three-volume novel—may understandably have altered. At the time of the Edinburgh public reception, of course, Dickens was the renowned author of the serialized fictions The Pickwick Papers, Oliver Twist (1837–39), Nicholas Nickleby, and The Old Curiosity Shop (1840–41), a literary celebrity in a print culture indelibly transformed by Pickwick's serial run. Meanwhile, Dickens's “own, long-meditated imitation of the Scott historical romance” was—*finally*—well underway, but it was appearing in weekly parts for Master Humphrey's Clock and Chapman and Hall and not in Macrone's projected three volumes.⁴⁶⁴ It is, indeed, entirely apt that the new novel is ultimately named after Barnaby Rudge—the mentally and literally adrift, dispossessed son, hazily and imperfectly registering his father's influence—and not, as planned, for Gabriel Varden—the steadfast, gatekeeping paterfamilias standing Abdiel-like athwart history.

In the summer of 1841, Dickens encountered a Scotland that was Scott-haunted. In a letter to Forster, he describes Wilson as a quintessential Scottish figure, “*if you could divest your mind of the actual Scott*” (Dickens to Forster, [23 June 1841], Letters 2:307–9, 308, emphasis added). For Dickens at this time, the figure of Scott was ambivalent and dualistic: his influence was at once ennobling and stifling. Functioning as example and cautionary tale alike, Scott, the Laird of Abbotsford, represented, simultaneously, the leisurely comforts of private life (i.e., the preconditions and rewards of authorship) and

crippling confinement. Thus, shortly before his departure, Dickens received a letter from Jeffrey, urging him, “[S]ecure as near as you can, a full *independence*” (qtd in Letters, 2:320n2). Such advice, from the friend of Scott and early champion of Waverley, reaffirmed for Dickens the conventional association between domestic stability and the gentlemanly leisure necessary for writing a three-volume novel⁴⁶⁵—though Dickens was aware (as, no doubt, was Jeffrey) that Scott did not enjoy such comforts for long. Once in Scotland, Dickens’s letters pay particular attention to Scott’s own various homes. In one letter from the tour, Dickens boasts to Forster how he “breakfasted . . . in the house where Scott lived seven-and-twenty years.”⁴⁶⁶ Later in the trip, he takes the requisite pilgrimage to Abbotsford, designating “a whole day for Scott’s house and tomb.”⁴⁶⁷

The new/old hybrid of Abbotsford, of course, is the material emblem of Scott’s fame and fall: it is *both* house and tomb. Its effect on Dickens was powerful and unsettling.⁴⁶⁸ In the same letter recording the trip to Scott’s unhomey home, Dickens takes note of the scenery: “I don’t bore you with accounts of Ben this and that, and Lochs of all sorts of names, but this is a wonderful region. The way the mists were stalking about to-day, and the clouds lying down upon the hills; the deep glens, the high rocks, the rushing waterfalls, and the roaring rivers down in deep gulfs below; were all stupendous” (Dickens to Forster, [5 July 1841], Letters 2:322–3, 323). The rhetoric could be right out of one of the epistolary sections of Guy Mannering, as Dickens copes with an unreadably alien landscape (“Ben this and that”)—domesticates it—through the familiar language of aesthetic appreciation. Summarizing his time spent in “Rob Roy’s country”⁴⁶⁹ (a metonymic Scott allusion), Dickens, interestingly, concludes, “The moral of all this is, that there is no place like home.”⁴⁷⁰ The cultural commonplace anticipates the Dickens

remembered culturally as “the purveyor of cozy domestic bliss”⁴⁷¹: the author who, through the democratizing format of serialization, “earned the right to sit on the hobs of thousands of households,” whose “books have promoted the value of cozy fireside activities, including of course the reading of his books.”⁴⁷² A riposte to the foreign and unfamiliar, Dickens’s idea of home is an alternative to the compromised, sepulchral space of *Abbotsford*. Duncan has read Dickens’s career arc as a domestic, generically English rewriting of Scott’s, one with a happier outcome: “In contrast to the example of the Author of *Waverley*, wasting his substance on fantastic romance-ancestral estates . . . Dickens would rehearse a simple democratic fable of the conquest of class boundaries: the author buys the big house his father showed him when he was a little boy.”⁴⁷³ Accordingly, *Barnaby Rudge*, Dickens’s conscious engagement with the formidable presence of Scott, depicts an at-times violent antipathy for *Abbotsford*-like sites of masculine domestic retirement, a critique that can be extended to the three-volume novel.

Dickens’s correspondence during the composition of *Barnaby Rudge* reveals an intriguing dualism in his idea of domestic spaces. A letter of November 1839 attests to his concerns with his own domestic stability. Referring to one of the many interruptions that dogged the work, he writes, “*Barnaby* [i.e., the novel] has suffered so much from the house hunting” (Dickens to Forster, [? November 1839], *Letters* 1:598). This letter reconfirms the novel’s intended place in Dickens’s early career: his first explicit foray into the Scott mode would accompany his settling into a house of his own. An additional letter describing his progress on *Barnaby Rudge* is more revealingly worded: “I wrote four slips last night [and] . . . *should get on like a house on fire* this forenoon” (Dickens to Forster, [4 January 1839], *Letters* 1: 490–1, 491, emphasis added). The cliché becomes

significant here, applied to a novel where London—its houses, both private and public—keeps going up in flames. It cannot help but suggest that for Dickens the disintegration of houses was a vital source of his creativity. In his discussion of Dickens's early career, Robert L. Patten notes that—right around the time of the serial run of Nicholas Nickleby—Dickens's imaginative impulses “centered around homes—figured as economic as well as domestic centers—*and their breaking up.*”⁴⁷⁴ Such impulses are at the heart of Dickens's efforts to locate himself within a literary market formerly dominated by Scott and a print culture at a far remove from the Enlightenment; they represent the singular insights of a serial novelist.

In a significant letter written toward the conclusion of Nicholas Nickleby in 1839, Dickens tells Forster, “I have now only to break up Dotheboys Hall and the book together. I have had a good notion for Barnaby, of which more anon” (Dickens to Forster, [18 September 1839], Letters 1:581–2, 581). Dickens's remarks express the tensions between containment and liberation, closings and openings, that underlie his serial fiction. The passage invokes an association between an edifice and a book that is familiar to readers of Guy Mannering (i.e., the book will end along with Dotheboys Hall), but Dickens's conceit here does not conclude with an appeal to architectural fixity, but rather with an image of entropy—the vigorous disintegration of the Squeers' oppressive institution. Nickleby's projected conclusion captures the porousness conventionally ascribed to serial fiction when compared to volume publication. Indeed, in Nicholas Nickleby's libratory ending is a new beginning in more than one sense: according to the letter, after all, the novel's winding down begets “a good notion for Barnaby.”

An oft-quoted bit from William Makepeace Thackeray's The Newcomes (1853–55) finds one character declaring, “You gentlemen who write books . . . and stop at the third volume, know very well that the real story often begins afterwards.”⁴⁷⁵ With the breaking up of Dotheboys Hall, indeed, the prevailing impression is of a fecund, chaotic proliferation of new narratives freed from confinement. The action leaves the “neighbouring country . . . overrun with boys,” of whom some (who had known “no other home” than Dotheboys “and had formed for it a sort of attachment”)⁴⁷⁶ “were found crying under hedges and in such places, frightened at the solitude” (p. 774). Of these, one “had a dead bird in a little cage; he had wandered nearly twenty miles, and when his poor favourite died, lost courage, and lay down beside him” (p. 774). Yet another “was discovered in a yard hard by the school, sleeping with a dog, who bit at those who came to remove him, and licked the sleeping child’s pale face” (p. 774). These fugitives, we learn, “were taken back” while still others “were claimed” or else “lost again” (p. 774). The prose gestures widely toward multiple possibilities, any one of which might furnish a future, Oliver Twist-like account of a foundling’s progress.

The breaking up of the Yorkshire school is, among other things, a comedic/parodic recasting of the sort of Tolbooth-style set-piece that inspired Dickens’s initial conception of his first historical novel. Nickleby and John Browdie—acting on the latter’s hunch that news of Wackford Squeers’s impending transportation for possession of a stolen will may inspire “sike a revolution and rebel” at Dotheboys—travel to the school to find that “the rebellion had just broken out” (pp. 770, 772). Finding the schoolroom locked from the inside, they hear a “tremendous noise and riot . . . from within” (p. 770). Inside, it “was one of the brimstone-and-treacle mornings,” and the

rioters force Mrs. Squeers to drink her own foul concoction after repeatedly dunking young Wackford's head in it. The scene is a burlesque of Scott, one that dissipates The Heart of Midlothian's apocalyptic force into slapstick. It occurs within a material format that attests to how *the real story* occurs outside the endpoints of the three-volume novel. In sum, it attests to how in Dickens's handling serialization was a material format poised to dismantle Scott's house of fiction.

* * *

In studies of Barnaby Rudge, it has become something of a truism to note how the novel that sees Dickens involved in a quasi-Oedipal wrangling with Scott should dwell so conspicuously on agonistic, troubled father-son relationships. Thus, Kim Ian Michasiw writes, "[T]he novel is obsessed with the violence done by fathers to sons, by the past to the present, and by anterior texts to originality. In Rudge the tyrannical threatening father has many avatars: John Willet, innkeeper and keeper in; John, later Sir John, Chester, archpupil to the letter-writing Lord Chesterfield; Gabriel Vardon [*sic*], locksmith of (or to) London; Geoffrey Haredale, gothicized guardian to his niece [*sic*], and the paternal Rudge, supposed victim and actual murderer who stalks the text as a ghost."⁴⁷⁷ As Dickens's efforts to locate his art in a generation after Scott (and, thus, long after the eighteenth century), Barnaby Rudge suggests that the Enlightenment produces bad fathers—look no further than the Chesterfield-quoting Sir John Chester—and bad fathers, in turn, leave empty legacies. Having long since squandered his wife's fortune, Sir John looks to Edward's marrying well as their sole means of support. John Willet, meanwhile, may deem Joe his "son and heir" (p. 152), but when the son inherits the Maypole, it is not on the terms either had in mind.⁴⁷⁸ Certainly, Dickens's trip to Abbotsford, of course,

impressed on his mind the potential for literary labor to end in empty legacies, and two years earlier, an encounter with William Wordsworth, Jr., the poet's youngest and, to Dickens, "decidedly *lumpish*" son, exposed him to the uncertainty of literary inheritance: writing in his diary on 5 February 1839, Dickens quipped of "Wordsworth (*films*)," "Copyrights need be hereditary, for genius isn't" ("Appendix A: Dickens's Diary," in Letters 1:629–43, 639). Literary transmission is imperfect, rather like the scar on Barnaby Rudge's wrist, a faint legacy from Rudge, Sr. for his own Idiot Boy, like the one—or perhaps two?—that Wordsworth, Sr. bequeathed to posterity.

Dickens evokes Scott perhaps most overtly early on in the novel's third weekly number when he designates Barnaby Rudge's time period as "only six-and-sixty years ago" (p. 75). This alludes, of course, to Waverley's famous subtitle ('Tis Sixty Years Since)—even as the pedantic, introductory "six-and" interjects a note of "me too" belatedness, while six, as the tenth part of sixty, suggests a part-to-whole relationship (a chip off the old block) appropriate for the numbered iteration of serialization. (The novel appeared in ten monthly parts.) Curiously, little attention has been paid to the remainder of the passage, which describes the Vardens' London suburb of Clerkenwell: "each tenement [was] quietly vegetating like an ancient citizen who long ago retired from business, and [was] dozing on in its infirmity until in course of time it tumbles down, and is replaced by some extravagant young heir, flaunting in stucco and ornamental work, and all the vanities of modern days" (p. 75). It is significant that—in the passage where Dickens evokes (and amends) the first Waverley Novel and where he leaves behind the old-fashioned, rural world of the Maypole and its environs for the world of urban London—Dickens should make living quarters the focus for an intergenerational struggle

between “ancient citizen[s]” and “young heir[s].” In Barnaby Rudge, Dickens’s anxious engagement with Scott amounts largely to an engagement with Scott’s vision of (highly masculinized) domestic retirement as developed in Waverley, Guy Mannering, and The Antiquary.

In Dickens’s description of the “Maypole’s best apartment” (p. 128), we detect, at once, shades of Scott and Dickens’s criticism of Scott’s model of private life. We are told that the room “was spacious enough in all conscience, occupying the whole depth of the house, and having at either end a great bay window, as large as many modern rooms; in which some few panes of stained glass emblazoned with fragments of armorial bearings, though cracked, and patched, and shattered, yet remained; attesting, by their presence, that the former owner had made the very light subservient to his state, and pressed the sun itself into his list of flatterers; bidding it, when it shone into his chamber, reflect the badges of his ancient family, and take new hues and colours from their pride” (p. 128). The passage hearkens back to the study at Waverley-Honour, which was similarly illuminated by a stained-glass window, and invokes the many architectural monuments to heraldry and pedigree that populate the Waverley Novels (themselves emblems of the time when Scott fairly pressed the sun into his list of flatterers).⁴⁷⁹ In the succeeding paragraph, Dickens’s high style gives way to sober critique:

But those were old days, and now every little ray came and went as it would; telling the plain, bare, searching truth. Although the best room of the inn, it had the melancholy aspect of grandeur in decay, and was much

too vast for comfort. Rich rustling hangings, waving on the walls; and, better far, the rustling of youth and beauty's dress; the light of women's eyes, outshining the tapers and their own rich jewels; the sound of gentle tongues, and music, and the tread of maiden feet, had once been there, and filled it with delight. But they were gone, and with them all its gladness. It was no longer a home; children were never born and bred there; the fireside had become mercenary—a something to be bought and sold—a very courtesan: let who would die, or sit beside, or leave it, it was still the same—it missed nobody, cared for nobody, had equal warmth and smiles for all. God help the man whose heart ever changes with the world, as an old mansion when it becomes an inn.

(p. 128)

In Dickens's description of a space "too vast for comfort" and bereft of women and children alike, we see his efforts to situate his own emerging model of domesticity. In his lament for an old mansion that has become an inn⁴⁸⁰—"It was no longer a home"—we see, perhaps, a lament for the similarly hybridized, *unheimliche* space of Abbotsford—that sinister amalgamation of ancestral seat, bourgeois home, museum, and tourist trap that stood for Victorian writers as the ultimate monument to "grandeur in decay."

Throughout Barnaby Rudge, the spaces that for Scott offered a private refuge from history are recast as menacing, claustrophobic, and oppressively masculine. Dickens typically achieves this through his use of The Warren, the diminished but still imposing family seat of the Haredales and the site of the Chigwell murder of the 1750s that figures

prominently in the first half of the novel. The Warren is a space devoid of the conventional—and, eventually, Dickensian—pleasures of home: “It would have been difficult to imagine a bright fire blazing in the dull and darkened rooms, or to picture any gaiety of heart or revelry that the frowning walls shut in” (p. 154). Bereft of domestic charms, it is a space both hollow and confining—“the very ghost of a house, haunting the old spot in its old outward form” (p. 154). Our first exposure to The Warren’s interior comes when Edward Chester enters to visit his beloved Emma Haredale, currently unaware that her uncle and guardian is newly devoted to preventing their union. Edward, we learn, “hurried along the terrace-walk, and darted up a flight of broad steps leading into an old and gloomy hall, whose walls were ornamented with rusty suits of armour, antlers, weapons of the chase, and suchlike garniture. Here he paused, but not long; for as he looked round . . . a lovely girl appeared, whose dark hair next moment rested on his breast. Almost at the same instant a heavy hand was laid upon her arm” (p. 163). Armor, a disembodied hand, a trapped and menaced woman: the passage could be a distillation of The Castle of Otranto (1764), the originary Gothic by Horace Walpole (whose own Strawberry Hill anticipated Scott’s Abbotsford as an unruly domestic space).

Dickens’s handling of The Warren’s library, in particular, emerges as a critique of Scott’s model of private life (for which, as we have seen, the private library so often functions as an emblem). When Barnaby and his mother Mary Rudge go to visit Geoffrey Haredale, the latter’s library is described as the epitome of the murder-haunted mansion: “hard by the very chamber where the act was done,” the library itself is “dull, dark, and sombre; heavy with worm-eaten books” and wearing “beyond all others [i.e., rooms] in the house, a ghostly, gloomy air” (p. 254). Solely accessible by a private staircase, the

room's solitude becomes cramped claustrophobia; we learn that it is "deadened and shut in by faded hangings, muffling every sound; shadowed mournfully by trees whose rustling boughs gave ever and anon a spectral knocking at the glass" (p. 254). In this scene, Dickens playfully uses Grip the raven to mark the library as a Gothic space: "the very raven . . . had hopped upon the table and with the air of some old necromancer appeared to be profoundly studying a great folio volume that lay open on a desk . . . and looked like the embodied spirit of evil biding his time of mischief" (p. 254).⁴⁸¹ In an earlier instance, Dickens uses the library in a manner that exposes Scott's model of domestic retirement as a drearily masculinist one. When Dolly Varden, a friend of Emma Haredale's and a frequent guest at The Warren, is visiting Emma, her freedom and ease at the manor do not extend to the library: "holding her breath and walking on tiptoe as she passed the library door, she went straight to Emma's room as a privileged visitor" (p. 210). This latter feminized space stands in marked contrast to the library: "It was the liveliest room in the building. The chamber was sombre like the rest for the matter of that, but the presence of youth and beauty would make a prison cheerful (saving alas! that confinement withers them), and lend some charms of their own to the gloomiest scene. Birds, flowers, books, drawings, music, and a hundred such graceful tokens of feminine loves and cares, filled it with more of life and human sympathy than the whole house besides seemed made to hold" (p. 211).

It was, as we have seen, the singular hypothesis of Scott's Guy Mannering that, rather than "youth and beauty," it is a book—preferably of the three-volume variety—that "would make a prison cheerful."⁴⁸² This is a contention that Barnaby Rudge is bent on refuting. In George Cattermole's striking illustration of Lord George Gordon in his

cell in the Tower, the “unhappy author” of the riots takes no comfort from his book and writing-desk as he sits “in a dreary room whose thick stone walls shut out the hum of life” (p. 661). Throughout the novel, Dickens troubles the site of reading, finding in the act of private retirement a neurotic, potentially dangerous compulsion. Haredale—to the amazement of just about everyone—selects for his personal study the very room where his brother was murdered, a room reportedly marked by a bloody stain that resists all efforts to remove it. In Solomon Daisy’s breathless account at the Maypole’s hearth, “Mr Geoffrey made that room his study, and sits there, always, with his foot (as I have heard) upon [the stain]; and he believes, through thinking of it long and very much, that it will never fade until he finds the man who did the deed” (p. 142). The study becomes a shrine to anti-social obsessiveness, a place for nursing old grievances and where old wounds never heal. Haredale makes of the Rudges’ abandoned London home a similar space. Convinced that Barnaby and Mary’s strange disappearance and their visits from “the Maypole highwayman” (p. 395) may be clues for the apprehension of his brother’s killer, Haredale embarks on a series of sinister vigils: “haggard and careworn, listening in the solitary house to every sound that stirred, with the taper shining through the chinks until the day should turn it pale and end his lonely watching” (p. 398). On these occasions he is armed with a sword and two pistols; moreover, “[h]e usually had a book with him” (p. 399). For Dickens in Barnaby Rudge, the solitary reader is a vengeful monomaniac.

Indeed, with his slain brother Reuben and the haunted, desperate Rudge, Sr., Haredale is part of a triad bound by a cord of furtive violence: victim, killer, and avenger. Their bond, indicatively, is marked by *reading*. Reuben Haredale, we learn, “had been sitting up reading in his own room” when he is murdered (p. 58). The narrative, then,

takes pains early on to establish that Rudge, the Maypole highwayman, can, in fact, read. When Gabriel Varden is surprised at Rudge's knowing the former's name, the latter declares, "I have not gained the information from any confidence of yours, but from the inscription on your cart which tells it to all the town" (p. 64). Rudge's literacy—which seems to come as something of a surprise to Varden—becomes a mark of distinction in a time when, as Barnaby Rudge's opening paragraph declares, "a vast number both of travellers and stay-at-homes" "could neither read nor write" (and relied on ash maypoles and wooden keys to locate a pub or a locksmith) (p. 43). Rudge's literacy is an emblem of estrangement,⁴⁸³ of a piece with his general alienation from human society, even among some of the more criminal denizens of the city, where he is "a something in the midst of their revelry and riot that chilled and haunted them" (p. 180). Hence the mystery plot in Dickens's self-conscious Scott pastiche is dominated by a triad of male readers, a triad bookended by two spectral figures that, ghost-like, haunt houses.

* * *

In pointedly revising Scott's private reading spaces, Dickens, in Barnaby Rudge, is in the process of defining an early version of his own model of domesticity, the vision that Catherine Waters describes as the "characterization of the home as an enclave of family warmth and harmony and its superintendence by a woman who embodies the domestic ideal."⁴⁸⁴ Serialization, I maintain, is very much a part of Dickens's critique of the earlier Scott tradition, the material expression of an ambivalence toward structures of containment that we see throughout Dickens's early career. Serial publication, by its very nature, has conventionally been discussed as a riposte to the fixity of volume publication, the fixity that, for Scott, so accorded with his notion of private life as sequestered retreat.

Thus, Duncan writes, “Rather than the bound volume of a book, [serial] fiction is a fluid circulation of affective energies.”⁴⁸⁵ Similarly, Linda K. Hughes and Michael Lund note that with serialization “[r]eading did not occur in an enclosed realm of contemplation possible with a single-volume text.”⁴⁸⁶ Serialization takes reading out of the private libraries of an Oldenbuck or Waverley. It was the material vehicle for what could be a fitting encapsulation of Dickens’s, eventual, mission: “to domesticate a Victorian audience, creating a family by the hearth stretching across all England”⁴⁸⁷—a vision particularly suited to an assimilated, post-Enlightenment Britain. As a format that can uniquely “extend, augment, and influence the perception of domestic themes,”⁴⁸⁸ serialization can instantiate an idea of domesticity that is both provisional and dynamic, one that potentially resists rigid categorization or being collapsed into an *a priori* definition. Hughes and Lund have described the correspondence between “the virtues that sustain a home and the traits required of serial readers.”⁴⁸⁹ The implication is that serialization can reveal domesticity as an active process, one unfolding across time.

Barnaby Rudge, it must be noted, reveals a Dickens who is still early in his career, one who had only recently come to realize that “his literary career did not lie in becoming the second Sir Walter Scott.”⁴⁹⁰ In this regard, he is not unlike the Wordsworth of An Evening Walk, recasting the regional-descriptive poem for a literary culture distinct from Thomson’s, or the Scott of the early Waverley Novels, registering pan-British assimilation and the corresponding loss of the Scottish Enlightenment public sphere. As I have argued throughout this project, these figures frequently return to the image of purblind, benighted wanderings to express their liminality. We find this as well, early on, in Barnaby Rudge. Its opening numbers establish a heightened tension between, on the

one hand, the Maypole—the antique and convivial pub near Epping Forest, a site for communal storytelling that evokes Guy Mannering's Gordon Arms (Scott's own parody of Enlightenment interpretive communities) or the Black Bear in Kenilworth (Scott's evocation of merry olde England during Elizabeth's reign, the tone of which frequently influences Barnaby Rudge)—and, on the other hand, the miry, treacherous roads between Chigwell and London: the realm of the stranger eventually revealed as Rudge, Sr., the decidedly ungallant highwayman and guilt-haunted murderer. The conflict is between an older, comfortably familiar world (redolent with Scott associations) and a newer, more uncertain terrain.⁴⁹¹

In 1841, Dickens would publicly claim the “cold, wet, shelterless midnight streets” as his particular province, as he defended Oliver Twist (in the introduction to that novel's third edition) in the wake of the so-called Newgate-Novel controversy, distinguishing his work from John Gay's The Beggar's Opera (1728) and the then-contemporary works of (the unnamed) Ainsworth.⁴⁹² Here, nocturnal streets, along with criminals “for ever skulking uneasily through the dirtiest paths of life”⁴⁹³ mark Dickens's engagement with a fickle reading public and his declaration of independence from prior or contemporary literary models. In Barnaby Rudge, they express Dickens's sense of his liminality, his sense of belonging to a still-amorphous, post-Scott literary marketplace. As a liminal work, then, Barnaby Rudge reflects some ambiguity in Dickens's efforts to craft, through serialization, an alternative to Scott's model of masculine domestic retirement. This has, as I see it, two main implications, both affecting Dickens's rendering of domesticity and relevant to his awareness of the novel's publication format: first, the novel frequently depicts a fraught dialectic between containment and

porousness, a dialectic centered, again, on Barnaby Rudge's domestic spaces; second, the novel—as if irrevocably marked by the Oedipal struggle with Scott—reveals a Dickens reluctant to fully reject Scott's peculiarly masculinist domesticity.

In turning increasingly to London and the Gordon Riots, Barnaby Rudge finds Dickens questioning the far-reaching, demotic format of serialization—his material vehicle for a fluid, free-floating model of domesticity. In the novel's fifth weekly number, Dickens celebrates the singular benefits of the serial novelist prior to limning the Varden home: "Chroniclers are privileged to enter where they list, to come and go through keyholes, to ride upon the wind, to overcome, in their soarings up and down, all obstacles of distance, time, and place" (p. 119). The presumption is that of the domestic writer who, as a monthly or weekly visitor, "has earned the right to sit on the hobs of thousands of households."⁴⁹⁴ In its evocation of a narrative perspective both godlike and intimate, it anticipates Dombey and Son's (1846–48) famous yearning "for a good spirit who would take the housetops off."⁴⁹⁵ In Barnaby Rudge, however, the chronicler's keyhole-peeping privilege is uncomfortably akin to Simon Tappertit's vision for the 'Prentice Knights. Varden's malcontent apprentice, we learn, has fashioned "secret door-keys for the whole society" before dispatching them back to "their several homes" (p. 118): a whole substratum of British houses threatened with exposure and infiltration.

Throughout the novel, Dickens confronts the possibility of a domestic sphere grown dangerously porous. After encountering the Maypole stranger (i.e., Rudge, Sr.) at the Rudges' house, Gabriel questions Mary Rudge about the "ill-favoured man" who "haunt[s] this house, *whispering through chinks and crevices*" (p. 92, emphasis added). When John Chester, snug in his residence in the Temple Bar, muses contentedly on the

plot he has devised for separating Edward and Emma, he is interrupted by “a strange voice” “at the outer door” (p. 280). Opening the door reveals no one: was this the stranger, whispering at crevices? Or the chronicler, claiming his right and prerogative? (As the conclusion to the weekly number, the moment is even more dramatic and meaningful.) As the riots gain momentum, domestic space is even more compromised. When the anti-Catholic mobs’ first public assembly is repulsed by nearby Life Guards, the rioters “proceeded to giving Protestant knocks at the doors of private homes” (p. 410). (The mobs’ civilian opponents, the Royal East London Volunteers, are little better: after one of their marches, a few “un-soliderlike” corporals “broke several windows with their bayonets”) (p. 393). A high point of the mob’s devastation (which eventually includes the destruction of 72 private homes) comes with the razing of The Warren, a cataclysmic action marked particularly by “the exposure to the coarse, common gaze of every little nook which usages of home had made a sacred place” (p. 507). The Warren’s imposing thresholds are thus violated, and the novel’s chief emblem of Scott-like domestic seclusion is forcibly erased.⁴⁹⁶

Barnaby Rudge connects the escalating mob violence to the proliferation and distribution of ephemeral, piecemeal texts within a modern, industrial-strength print culture. These texts themselves, we are told, threaten the very sanctity of the private home: the cheap, mass-produced invitations to join Lord Gordon’s Great Protestant Association are “thrust under the house-doors [and] tossed in at windows” (p. 348). These handbills are part of the same print networks responsible for the weekly paper The Thunderer (a “pamphlet . . . which espoused [the rioters’] own opinions, and was supposed at that time to emanate directly from the Association”) and are figured

throughout as a fast-spreading, incendiary contagion (“a dread fever . . . an infectious madness”) (p. 371): readers of each pamphlet are encouraged to pass it on to someone else, making the handbills largely responsible for the “moral plague [that] ran through the city” (p. 484).

Such passages see Dickens leveling a provocative critique of the print culture in which his serial fictions attained their popularity. Discussing the growing mob activity and the pernicious allure of the Great Protestant Association, Barnaby Rudge’s narrator remarks, “Curiosity is, and has been from the creation of the world, a master-passion. To awaken it, to gratify it by slight degrees, and yet leave something always in suspense, is to establish the surest hold that can be had, in wrong, on the unthinking portion of mankind” (p. 347). In certain ways, we have a generally accurate description of serial fiction at its most rudimentary—interest awakened and maintained by the gradual gratification of curiosity, even as “something” remains “always in suspense.” We might have sensation novelist Wilkie Collins’s famous formula for serial fiction: “Make ’em laugh, make ’em cry, make ’em wait.”⁴⁹⁷ The corrosive elitism against the “unthinking portion of mankind,” however, points to a deep divide in the early Dickens; he associates his serial readership with the mob—the destroyer of houses.

In Barnaby Rudge, we see a complicated ambivalence toward structures of containment. Typical of Dickens’s formative years as an author, this ambivalence expresses the tensions between volume and serial publication; it is inscribed within the components of the novel’s germinal story—Gabriel Varden’s refusal (as locksmith of London) to open the portal of Newgate for Gordon’s riotous followers. Indeed, Gabriel, the novel’s once-nominal hero, seems to embody the complications and contradictions in

Dickens's efforts to develop an alternative to Scott's three-volume model of privatized insularity. In a typical passage celebrating Varden, he is toiling away, busily yet merrily, in his workshop, and we are told: "The very locks that hung around had something jovial in their rust, and seemed like gouty gentlemen of hearty natures, disposed to joke on their infirmities. There was nothing surly or severe in the whole scene. It seemed impossible that any one of the innumerable keys could fit a churlish strong-box or a prison-door. Cellars of beer and wine, rooms where there were fires, books, gossip, and cheering laughter—these were their proper sphere of action. Places of distrust and cruelty, and restraint, they would have left quadruple-locked for ever" (p. 382). We recognize here Dickens's vision of hearty, convivial domesticity, one purged of menace or claustrophobia. (Books, significantly, are made the companions of fire, gossip, and laughter; they are freed from the library.) At the same time, the central conceit—*happy locks*—expresses the difficulty of the project before him: even happy locks, that is, work through confinement.

Gabriel, throughout the novel, is a staunch defender of the structural integrity of the home—or the prison. When a group of rioters led by Hugh goes to Clerkenwell to press Varden into service, he polices the "threshold of his house," resting his gun on a shoulder said to be "as steady as the house itself" (p. 570). As a stalwart member of the Royal East London Volunteers, he is clearly willing to use violence to protect domestic space—literal or idealized—from outside contagion. He tells his Gordon-sympathetic wife that his volunteering is "done to defend you and all the other women, and our own fireside and everybody else's, in case of need": "Which would be most unchristian, Martha," he asks, "to sit quietly down and let our houses be sacked by a foreign army, or

to turn out like men and drive 'em off?" (p. 383). (Indicatively, in this same scene he discourages Dolly's queries about Haredale's recent mysterious behavior with a pointed recommendation to "[r]ead Blue Beard"—the *ur*-Gothic text of masculine secrecy, domestic containment, and confined and endangered femininity) (p. 386). At the same time, however, Varden steadfastly refuses to resort to the measures Simon Tappertit presses on him for keeping the house safe: chalking "No Popery" on the outside of the house, a sinister mock-Passover gesture of Protestant solidarity, or accepting a letter signed by Lord Gordon vouching that "the proprietor of this house is a staunch and worthy friend to the cause" (p. 471). In his rejection, Varden frankly invites the violent dissolution of his house: "Let them come and pull the roof about our ears; let them burn us out of house and home" (p. 474). He goes on to mark his utter defiance of the Great Protestant Association with an equally significant gesture: seizing Martha's donation box for the cause (which is "painted in imitation of a very red-brick dwelling-house, with a yellow roof; having at top a real chimney"), "he dropped the red-brick dwelling-house on the floor, and setting his heel upon it, crushed it into pieces. The halfpence, and sixpences, and other voluntary contributions, rolled about in all directions" (p. 474). Here, Dickens seems to be confronting the possibility that his task, as a post-Scott serial novelist, lies not in attempting to make happy locks, but perhaps in scattering the dwelling-house.

With Newgate prison, of course, we get the novel's chief signifier of confinement, and it becomes, in Dickens's handling here, a focal point for Barnaby Rudge's heightened tension between containment and porousness. The London prison often interfaces with the private home in interesting ways.⁴⁹⁸ Thus, Varden's securing of the

“threshold of his house” against the mob is immediately followed by his similar defiance at the very walls of Newgate. Such walls, we are told, are fronted by the “governor’s house” (p. 576), a literalization of Dickens’s conceit throughout that the home can be a confining prison. This home is claimed in the flames that ultimately engulf the prison, fires that “shone upon the opposite houses, and lighted up not only the pale and wondering faces at the windows, but the inmost corners of each habitation”: once again, the mob’s actions make private space public.

As John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson describe, Newgate seems to have been in some ways ordinary for Barnaby Rudge in its earliest conceptions,⁴⁹⁹ evincing an apparent interest in depicting the famous prison discernible as early as Sketches by Boz. In the latter case, Dickens wrote his scenic sketch “A Visit to Newgate” expressly for volume publication in the so-called “First Series” (1836) of Sketches: considered along with Newgate’s significance to the historical novel originally posited for three volumes, this suggests that the prison may be complexly yoked in Dickens’s mind with the issues raised by volume publication. In “A Visit to Newgate,” the titular locale becomes a site for the tensions inherent in the whole Sketches project, i.e., the re-issuing of Dickens’s ephemeral, piecemeal journalism in book form. Read as a whole, Sketches by Boz reveals a desire for permanency—the permanency offered by volume publication, something that could transform the sketch writer into a “real autho[r]” of “whole books,”⁵⁰⁰—at odds with a more fluid, transient publication format. Individually and collectively, Dickens’s sketches depict the metropolis of London as a teeming, protean totality during a time of especially rapid change and development. Thus has Patten described the historical background of Dickens’s first book: “The explosive growth of London during and after

the Napoleonic wars and the thousands of workers who immigrated to the metropolis in search of jobs and a new identity produced a kind of dizzying dislocation for old and new inhabitants. Streets were torn down and rebuilt, fields converted to tenements, rivers bridged over, and shops opened and closed, seemingly overnight.”⁵⁰¹ In this context, the contained fixity of volume publication may, indeed, be inadequate. In the sketch “Shops and Their Tenants,” Dickens remarks enthusiastically, “What *inexhaustible* food for speculation do the streets of London afford!”⁵⁰² The sketch sees Dickens’s “speculative pedestrian” attempting to stay abreast of the repeated flux and overturn of a series of shops in London; we see that *writing*—specifically shop signs and windows—struggles to keep up with this transience. The implication is that only writing at its most fleeting and ephemeral—the newspaper sketch—has a chance of keeping up, and the periodical sketch writer is best suited to capturing the city’s sheer inexhaustibility.

“A Visit to Newgate” expresses the curious hybridity of Sketches by Boz, its involution of containment and porousness. For all its seamless solidity, the Newgate of Dickens’s sketch is an image of pluralism and copiousness, a “depository of the guilt and misery in London” (p. 234). The piece opens with an emphasis on the “perpetual stream of life and bustle” that daily, cyclically will “pass and repass” the prison (all utterly “unmindful of the throng of wretched creatures pent up within it”) (p. 234). We are told that Newgate itself is a textual, discursive phenomenon, the subject of multiple “statistical accounts” (p. 235) and other fragmentary texts. A “maze of confusion” (p. 236), it frustrates Dickens’s efforts to encapsulate it in writing: “Turning to the right, then, down the passage to which we just now adverted, omitting any mention of intervening gates—for if we noticed every gate that was unlocked for us to pass through,

and looked again as soon as we had passed, we should require a gate at every comma” (p. 237). Dickens’s sketch makes of Newgate a strangely permeable space (as its narrator limns its deepest interiors). From this prison, a porous and textualized site, we can trace a through line down to the Newgate of Barnaby Rudge, the solidity of which is very much in question: “when [Haredale] had left the jail, and stood in the free street, without, he felt the iron plates upon the doors, with his hands, and drew them over the stone wall, to assure himself that it was real” (Barnaby Rudge, p. 557). This Newgate is razed in the destruction that ultimately claims five other prisons and seventy-two houses, an apocalyptic pattern of aggression aimed at structures of containment. In the destruction of the novel’s strangely porous Newgate, we see the ambivalence of Dickens’s position at this point in his career, torn between the potential claustrophobia of Scott’s model of domestic retirement and a vision of free-floating—“houseless” (p. 195)—anarchy.

The second major corollary of Dickens’s liminality in Barnaby Rudge is his curious reluctance to fully relinquish Scott’s pattern of a highly masculine domesticity. Put simply, the author often considered the laureate of an idealized home “suitably superintended by an Angel in the House” cannot—in the Varden household, the novel’s center of bourgeois family life—depict a positive model of domesticity that is also female-dominated. For the tolerantly suffering Gabriel, jointly dominated by Martha and Miggs (the Vardens’ “single domestic servant”), the Clerkenwell home is oppressive and confining—a “mantrap,” to adapt the term Martha employs to derogate the Maypole tavern. Indeed, on his occasional, work-related trips to Epping Forest, Gabriel is tempted, against his wife’s shrewish prohibitions, to patronize the Maypole: he—like the Dickens of 1841?—is drawn back to a rural, pre-modern world of male sociability. In Barnaby

Rudge, the female-oriented home and hearth is not a picture of domestic bliss. (For the 1868 “Charles Dickens” edition of the novel, Dickens added the ironic running title “Domestic Bliss” to the page that finds Martha and Miggs chiding Gabriel for his late return from the Rudges’.)

In his depiction of the Varden household, we can again see Dickens arguing in favor of an open-ended, provisional domesticity and away from a static, confining sense of the term: a movement toward a serialized notion of the domestic and away from a bookish model. Indicatively, Martha Varden’s guide for moral conduct and household management is the venerable “Protestant Manual in two volumes post octavo” (p. 85). (As a sign of her narrow, bigoted religiosity, her reliance on this book is of a piece with her later cash donations to the Great Protestant Association, stored in her house-shaped bank, the latter an emblem of jealously guarded domestic and cultural insularity.) When Sir John Chester, his plotting underway, pays a visit to the Varden home, he approvingly brandishes the Protestant Manual (“My favourite book”) as he praises the household for its “tokens of female care and superintendence” (pp. 268, 271). It is worth remembering that Chester, like Martha, is a disciple of a book as well, the two volumes of Lord Chesterfield’s letters to his son. For Dickens, the implication seems to be that “by-the-book” domesticity, whether feminized or masculinized, is mere form and observance, as hollow as Chester’s praise or Martha’s bank.

Over the course of the novel’s serial run, we see the Varden home transformed into a happy one—of which even spoilsport Miggs can declare, “[H]ere’s blessedness among relations, sir! Here’s forgiveness of injuries, here’s amicableness!” (p. 717). By the story’s end, the Vardens’ has been, for one, blessedly purged of the threatening,

subversive energies of Simon and Miggs, both mired in what Judith Wilt calls their shared “sex-class frustration.”⁵⁰³ In Simon’s case, his final expulsion from the novel’s site of domesticity is marked by the grisly, emasculating destruction of “his perfect legs” (p. 647), the grotesquely phallic emblems that Stagg portentously calls “these twin *invaders of domestic peace*” (p. 111, emphasis added). In the case of Miggs, expelled alike from the Vardens’ and her sister’s residence at Golden Lion Court, she finds a new outlet for her feminine-carceral tendencies: as “female turnkey for the County Bridewell” (p. 734). More importantly, we learn that by the novel’s conclusion, Mrs. Varden is “quite an altered woman” (p. 648). This, and the improvement of the Varden home more generally, is a process that must unfold over time, all part of the novel’s faith that “[a]ll good ends can be worked out by good means” (p. 708), a profoundly temporal philosophy, one particularly suited to the serial medium. In Barnaby Rudge’s formulation, the Gordon Riots themselves “had done that good,” i.e., had effected that change in Martha and her home (p. 648). Early on, it is predicted of Martha that “a tumble down some half-dozen rounds in the world’s ladder—such as *the breaking of the bank* in which her husband kept his money, or some little fall of that kind—would be the making of her, and could hardly fail to render her one of the most agreeable companions in existence” (p. 102, emphasis added). Here, the “breaking of the bank” anticipates Gabriel’s destruction of the house-shaped cash box, as he fairly invites the rioters to demolish his home. The implication is that a home is, in fact, *improved* when its fixity is challenged, when it is made porous, piecemeal, and recyclable. As peace is restored to London, we are told that the Varden house “had been pulled down by the rioters, and roughly trampled under foot. But, now, it was hoisted up again in all the glory of a new

coat of paint, and shewed more bravely even than in days of yore” (p. 705). Here, the rebuilt, newly happy Varden home can join the other “extravagant” houses of Clerkenwell, “flaunting in stucco and ornamental work” (p. 75), the homes that are supplanting the more venerable houses of “six-and-sixty years ago”—just as Dickens’s serial novels were reshaping the literary landscape.

And yet, the full account of the Vardens’ domestic restoration is bound to make us uneasy. The new and improved home leaves Gabriel free to assume his place as “the rosiest, coziest, merriest, heartiest, best-contented old buck, in Great Britain or out of it” (p. 714).⁵⁰⁴ Alpha and omega, he keeps Martha informed “on everything that had happened, was happening, or about to happen, within the sphere of their domestic concern” (p. 714). Among the house’s denizens and facets, he is “the sun that shone upon them all: the centre of the system: the source of light, heat, life, and frank enjoyment in the bright household world” (p. 714). Even within the delimited space of domestic concerns, it would appear, the women of Barnaby Rudge are subordinated. Has Dickens, at this early point in his career, been so decisively marked by his Oedipal engagement with Scott that he is unable to fully engage with the lives of his female characters, forced to depict (with dreary repetitiousness) father-son conflict, elevated, here, to what Duncan calls “the inevitability of a universal psychic structure”?⁵⁰⁵ In the Clerkenwell scenes, Dickens seems destined to repeat—in urban, middle-class terms—a Scott-like vision of masculine domestic contentment undermined by women—one that recalls Guy Mannering’s presiding over a household of silly, romance-reading girls, or Jonathan Oldenbuck’s enduring the gypsy-like invasions of his study by his sister and niece. Dickens, like Barnaby Rudge himself, seems fated to assume and repeat the negative

tendencies of his forefather. History—*his story?*—repeats itself. In this pivotal work of Dickens's early career, the Angel in the House is named Gabriel.

In the sections that follow, I turn to discussing Barnaby Rudge as Dickens's post-Enlightenment novel. I draw attention, again, to how the novel's publication format—its serial structure—enacts a critique of Enlightenment notions of time and space. What consistently troubles this endeavor is Dickens's coinciding need to contend with Scott. The novel, after all, opens with two evocative settings in Clerkenwell—the Maypole and The Warren, respectively, a public house and a private home. In the one, we have a version of eighteenth-century rural, communal life (albeit filtered through Guy Mannering); in the other, as we have seen, we have Dickens's own sour caricature of a Scott-like vision of private life. Barnaby Rudge repeatedly registers Dickens's awareness throughout that Scott anticipated him here in finding an alternative to the Enlightenment public sphere (albeit with the three-volume novel). In Barnaby Rudge, after all, Barnaby's chief moment of *anagnorisis* comes in Newgate prison, when he realizes he has been his father's son all along. As Bloom reminds us, however, the rhetorical maneuverings generated by the “anxiety of influence” are seldom fair: all too often, the young author/poet will seize on “what he believes to be a power in the parent-poem that does not belong to the parent proper, but to a range of being just beyond that precursor.”⁵⁰⁶ (Indeed, many critics have followed Dickens's lead in this regard, such as Patrick Brantlinger, who declares that, compared to the Dickens of Barnaby Rudge, “Scott usually presents history as a relatively straightforward, linear narrative of progress,” an assertion that makes of him an adherent of Scottish Enlightenment notions

of history.)⁵⁰⁷ If Barnaby Rudge sees Dickens contending both with Scott's model of domestic retirement from history (instantiated in the three-volume novel) and the Enlightenment milieu that preceded Scott, it is through anachronistically conflating the two.⁵⁰⁸ As Michasiw notes, for Dickens, Scott stands "as the sign of two pasts, two histories. The first is the past of the Scottish novels, not so much a specific history as a historiography, a way of comprehending and representing the past. The second is the age of which Scott was the pre-eminent popular novelist, an age he typifies."⁵⁰⁹ It is this conflation, perhaps, that undergirds the novel's singular outlook, where the comparatively recent historical keeps collapsing into distant, atavistic history: the Riots of '80 are the emanations of Queen Elizabeth and Bloody Mary; Lord Gordon's drive for a primitive (i.e., pre-Roman) Christianity eventually leads him back to Judaism; Barnaby, whose middle-aged biological father is nightmarish enough, has regular, ominous nightmares of white-bearded men gathered at the foot of his bed.

I begin my discussion by addressing, first, how in the novel Dickens resists quasi-Enlightenment time as a linear, progressive force. In this manner, he depicts Barnaby Rudge's own troubled entrance into seriality. From there, I pay particular attention to the novel's Maypole Inn. A rich, polysemous image, the space of the Maypole public house becomes, in his deft handling of the weekly serial structure, Dickens's means of depicting the erasure of rural eighteenth-century sociability and the coming of the urban, homogenous readership that his own serial entertainments reached.

“OLD TIME LAY SNORING”

Befitting a novel marked by a Hamlet-like cluster of murder most foul (the symptom of a thoroughly rotten body politic), revenge, suspected fratricide, and (outwardly) a murder victim's ghost, Barnaby Rudge depicts a world where time is out of joint. From the very outset, Dickens places us in a world where the past continues to intrude upon and trouble the present. In the evocative opening paragraph, we are told that the Maypole public house, a Tudor artifact, is marked by a mounting block as evidence of Queen Elizabeth's stay at the inn and, specifically, how "with one foot in the stirrup, the virgin monarch had then and there boxed and cuffed an unlucky page for some neglect of duty" (p. 43). For the hapless Joe Willet, browbeaten by his father and abused by Rudge, Sr. and Sir John Chester while helping them to mount their respective horses, history repeats itself. Elizabeth's afterlife is just as unquiet for Gashford, Lord Gordon's treacherous associate, for whom contemporary England is a world where "Queen Elizabeth, that maiden monarch, weeps within her tomb, and Bloody Mary, with a brow of gloom and shadow, stalks triumphant" (p. 333). Typical of Gothic-tinged literature, Barnaby Rudge suggests that the past is not even past⁵¹⁰—a riposte to Enlightenment notions of linear time and historical progress. Thus, John Bowen writes, "Modern history rests on our sense that the past is safely over and can become the subject of disinterested knowledge; the Gothic elements of Barnaby Rudge ensure that this novel carries no such reassurance. For in this novel, history is a repetitive and strangely doubled business. Instead of safely progressing, here things repeat and repeat."⁵¹¹

Rather than conforming to a universal, calendrical structure, time in this novel is both malleable and arrhythmic. Thus, Barnaby, observing his mother's anguish after a

meeting with her estranged husband, concludes that it must be his birthday, since he has always noticed her “on the evening of that day grow very sad” (p. 191). This flies in the face of his mother’s rational explanation: “Don’t you recollect it was but a week or so ago, and that summer, autumn, and winter have to pass before it comes again?” (p. 191). Nevertheless, he persists in thinking “to-day must be my birthday too” (p. 191). Time, in Barnaby’s formulation, is displaced from the dictates of the calendar; one could have an arbitrary number of birthdays within a year. We see the same logic at work when the narrator declares (shortly before the full conflagration of the riots breaks forth), “[E]vents so crowd upon each other in convulsed and distracted times, that more than the stirring incidents of a whole life often become compressed into the compass of four-and-twenty hours” (p. 551). Time itself is subject to compressions and expansions. For the benevolent, emotionally healthy Gabriel, time is not an impersonal, universalizing force. At the locksmith’s first appearance, the narrator says of him, “He was past the prime of life, but Father Time is not always a hard parent, and, though he tarries for none of his children, often lays his hand lightly upon those who have used him well; making them old men and women inexorably enough, but leaving their hearts and spirits young and in full vigour” (p. 63). Later, in a conversation with Geoffrey Haredale, Varden remarks, “Time does his work honestly, and I don’t mind him. A fig for Time, sir. Use him well, and he’s a hearty fellow, and scorns to have you at a disadvantage. But care and suffering . . . are devils, sir—secret, stealthy, undermining devils—who tread down the brightest flowers in Eden, and do more havoc in a month than Time does in a year” (p. 261). In such moments of temporal philosophizing, time (a personified force) is fundamentally flexible, adaptable to individual will and subjectivity.

With the Maypole public house, Dickens creates a physical space that, temporally speaking, plays by its own rules. Early on in the first weekly number, the stingy proprietor John Willet assures the tavern guests sitting out a torrential storm that the “night would certainly clear at eleven o’ clock precisely,—which by a remarkable coincidence was the hour at which he always closed his house” (p. 45). Clock time and seasonal time give way to Maypole time. John P. McGowan has called the Maypole “a world which exists outside linear time.”⁵¹² Much is made of the tavern’s sleepy stasis. The Maypole is home to hordes of pigeons whose “monotonous cooing . . . seemed to lull it to rest” (p. 44). We are told that “the old house looked as if it were nodding in its sleep” (p. 44). The pub stands “in denial of all change.”⁵¹³ (Indeed, when the Gordon rioters utterly destroy the Maypole, the violent obsolescence of the site is described as the *culmination* of the tavern’s death-in-life: after it is razed, the narrator remarks that it was as if “old Time lay snoring, and the world stood still”) (p. 500).

From a narrative standpoint, it is at the Maypole that we are introduced to the mystery of The Warren murders: the account, indeed, “is a Maypole story . . . It belongs to the house” (p. 54). As a Maypole story, it shares the odd, resistant temporality of its environs. In the novel’s opening number, the pub’s choric group of Solomon Daisy, Tom Cobb, and Phil Parkes find themselves on March 19 inevitably compelled to tell, yet again, the story of March 19, 1753. As Daisy notes, “[W]e have always, in some strange way or other, been brought back to the subject on that day ever since” (p. 58). McGowan has written that the Maypole story’s very “existence [is] within the circular and repetitive framework characteristic of ritual”⁵¹⁴—rather than the framework of linear, progressive time. As he prepares to retell the story, Solomon Daisy observes, “It was just such a night

like this” (p. 56). March 19, 1753, like Barnaby’s birthday, refuses to stay safely in the past. In the first number, The Warren murder mystery is a story hanging in abeyance; it is waiting for the day—a future March 19—when the murderer is apprehended. The implication, according to McGowan, is that the pub itself “exists in the eternal present of a suspended story, a place history seems to have forgotten in its refusal to supply an ending to the tale.”⁵¹⁵

Put simply, in Barnaby Rudge, Dickens subjects linear time to drastic manipulation and creates, with the Maypole, a site devoted to the periodic retelling of piecemeal stories, a space that embodies this particular aim. In doing so, I maintain, Dickens has produced a sophisticated commentary on serialization. As handled here, in his first historical novel, the serial format itself emerges as a riposte to Enlightenment notions of historical progress. This is a proposition that prompts us to re-examine certain influential interpretations of the serial format. In their seminal study of the Victorian serial, Hughes and Lund assert that serial publication could offer the material corollary of a certain model of history, insofar as “serialization imparted literal history to fiction during the many months of serial publication”: “Victorian explorations of history,” they write, “took on additional resonance when they were embodied in serial publication.”⁵¹⁶ In their formulation, however, serialization is the vehicle for a linear, developmental understanding of history. They write, “[T]o understand history in the Victorian era meant to find oneself on a line running from the past through the present to the future; this sense of the linearity of time and its forward-moving nature was embedded in the serial form, in which readers repeatedly found themselves in the middle of a story whose past was earlier installments and whose future was ‘to be continued.’”⁵¹⁷ Later, in their reading of

A Tale of Two Cities (1859), they assert, “In the view of Dickens and his age, there is a fixed, linear order to time and progress.”⁵¹⁸ Patten, meanwhile, suggests that we need “[t]o complement these views of Victorian serials as forward-looking” by considering “looking backward” as at least equally endemic to the serial-reading experience.⁵¹⁹ Such an interpretation can more readily accommodate Barnaby Rudge (written nearly twenty years before A Tale of Two Cities) with its frequently recursive story, the way many of its characters find themselves borne back into the past. At one point, the narrator, taking stock of seasonal change notes, “It was one of those mornings, common in early spring, when the year, fickle and changeable in its youth like all other created things, is undecided whether to step backward into winter or forward into summer” (p. 125). In this conceit, the seasons of the year are arrayed on a linear axis, the linearity of which implies regression as much as progression. Similarly, the linear unfolding of a serial novel, Dickens implies here, is such that “looking backwards” is as much a possibility as looking forward.

Indeed, it is well worth remembering how much about Dickens’s own experience of his serial and periodical projects, in the period leading up to and including Barnaby Rudge, seems suited to counter any easy certainties about time (where serial writing was concerned) as a neat, progressive “line running from the past through the present to the future.” As an author of serialized fiction, Dickens was, no doubt, acutely aware of time as a concept and a variable. But the *time of serial novels* is prone to reversals, compressions, and expansions. It is deeply out of joint. The serial novels of his early career overlapped to a degree that challenges notions of linear development; as Steven Marcus notes, discussing Oliver Twist’s ten-month overlay with The Pickwick Papers,

“Dickens is that unique instance—a novelist whose first book might be said to have been influenced by his second.”⁵²⁰ The case of Sketches by Boz is particularly instructive. Between 1836 and 1839, Dickens’s first published book “had gone through five editions of two Series”:⁵²¹ this points to the recursiveness of the early Dickens, the sheer inescapability of his ostensibly first book. For its second-to-last appearance in the 1830s, Sketches “was issued in twenty monthly numbers” from November 1837 through June 1839.⁵²² This was Macrone’s fairly transparent attempt at “cashing in on the success of Pickwick,” and the undertaking was occasionally a slapdash one: Patten writes, “To accommodate the letterpress, the text was run on from month to month without any concern for stopping at a natural division like a chapter end.”⁵²³ Significantly, the serialized Sketches dispensed with what has long been regarded as one of Pickwick’s most notable features: the topicality produced by the well-timed seasonal references incorporated in Pickwick’s monthly parts.⁵²⁴ In the twenty-part Sketches by Boz, for example, the sketches “Thoughts about Christmas” and “A Christmas Dinner” re-appear in *August* 1838: we might anachronistically allow for Christmas in July, but August? “The New Year,” meanwhile, appears in two parts in August and September of the same year.⁵²⁵ The effect—so soon after the mythic, transcendent Pickwick—is a serial temporality that is autonomous, freed from the dictates of the calendar.

With Barnaby Rudge, then, we have a novel, planned initially for three volumes, the serial publication of which amounted to entering a world of temporal confusion. Discussing the work’s troubled publication history, Bowen writes, “Barnaby Rudge is the most untimely of historical novels. It was untimely in its birth, its publishers, its subject matter, its title and its initial reception . . . The novel of Dickens most concerned with

time and what appears in time consistently refused to appear on time.”⁵²⁶ As a work that appeared in both weekly parts and monthly parts, it has the quality of a novel divided against itself—a suggestion of the sheer arbitrariness of *serial time*. In his influential reading of the novel in Other Dickens: Pickwick to Chuzzlewit, Bowen briefly considers Barnaby Rudge in the context of Master Humphrey’s Clock, the periodical miscellany in which the novel and its bestselling predecessor The Old Curiosity Shop first appeared. For Bowen, the vehicle of Master Humphrey’s Clock is a “chaotic lumber room,” a “group of little stories, set in a variety of past times, told by various odd narrators, with no regulating idea or central point of view, seized fragments, narrative part-objects, junk. They are set,” he writes, “for the most part in the past, but not one that could be called historical in any modern sense. Instead, they belong to a world of temporal allegory, for Master Humphrey’s Clock’s founding idea is of an old clock-case in which the stories which comprise the journal are discovered, an explicit allegory of Time and Narration.”⁵²⁷ He concludes with a rhetorical question: “How far does Barnaby Rudge belong to this world of temporal allegory, the world of [The Old Curiosity Shop’s] Nell and [Master] Humphrey? Or is it more like a novel by Scott or a text by Carlyle, wanting to tell a coherent story in a systematic way, to bring fragments together into an architectural whole, related to a wider conceptual understanding of ‘History’?”⁵²⁸ The intimation is that Barnaby Rudge, as a work forged within the “chaotic lumber room” of the Master Humphrey periodical undertaking is a work that, for all its generalized awareness of time (“temporal allegory”), resists historical master-narratives—which Bowen represents here through two Scottish students of conjectural history.

Barnaby Rudge's narrative has, of course, a famously severed internal chronology: the novel's seventeenth weekly part opens, we are told, five years after events recounted in the sixteenth: "And the world went on turning round, as usual, for five years, concerning which this Narrative is silent," Dickens writes at the end of chapter 32, the last chapter before the rupture (p. 314). Corresponding to a gap between serial parts, the break marks the climax of two subplots, as number 16 ends with both Joe Willet and Edward Chester renouncing their respective unworthy fathers—Joe leaves the Maypole for military service while Edward resolves "to take [his] own course" rather than that laid out by John Chester (p. 313). Typically, the chronological gap is seen as signaling the novel's entrance into history, as it leaves behind the private, familial intrigue of the first half for matters of public history and record. Bowen calls Barnaby Rudge "a tale which . . . has an apparently 'private' first part . . . which then passes over five years in silence before being swept up in a 'public' historical event."⁵²⁹ Passing from 1775 to 1780 brings the narrative up to the time of the Gordon Riots, and, indeed, the first weekly number set in 1780 introduces Lord Gordon, who, we learn, "had come . . . upon the public . . . as suddenly as he appears in these pages, after a blank of five long years" (p. 348). Politics is the subject throughout the "coffee-houses of the better sort" (p. 314)—a far cry from the fireside gossip of the early Maypole chapters. I contend that with this temporal lacuna Dickens is, in fact, recording his historical novel's entrance into seriality. He is depicting the anxious genesis of Barnaby Rudge with the aim, again, of depicting serial time as time that is deeply out of joint.

1775–1780 is a period of five years. Another period of five years divides 1836 from 1841. This was the time of the novel's troubled gestation, the period between its

conception (in 1836, Dickens first makes arrangements with Macrone for a work of historical fiction in three volumes) and its eventual publication in weekly parts. The sheer duration from concept to execution has invited commentary. Butt and Tillotson note that the novel “was affected . . . by its exceptionally long period of incubation.”⁵³⁰ In this time, as has often been observed, the overall nature of the projected novel had altered. Butt and Tillotson write, “The five years’ delay between design and publication has increased the novel’s topicality”⁵³¹—moving its focus, as it were, away from the historical past. They go on to note that “the events of 1836–41 made the novel almost journalistically apt.”⁵³² It now had headline immediacy: “The Poor Law riots, the Chartist risings at Denizes, Birmingham, and Sheffield, the mass meetings on Kersal Moor and Kennington Common, and most pointed of all, the Newport rising of 1839 with its attempt to release Chartist prisoners—all these, with their aftermath of trials, convictions, and petitions against the punishment of death, gave special point in 1841 to ‘a tale of the Riots of ’80.’”⁵³³ The implication is that the project—now touching on the daily lives of its projected readers—had evolved beyond the imagined-temporal and material, textual boundaries of a three-volume historical novel, and it would soon appear in an appropriate publication format.

In Chittick’s account of Barnaby Rudge’s complex development, the novel shifted away from “the historically researched novel . . . contracted for in 1836”⁵³⁴ as Dickens found himself caught up in a contemporary controversy—one involving popular (chiefly periodical) literature and an expanding reading public. She refers here to the controversial popularity of Ainsworth’s Jack Sheppard (1839–40), a novel concerning the infamous eighteenth-century London thief and jail breaker that was serialized in Bentley’s

Miscellany right on the heels of Dickens's Oliver Twist. A popular bestseller, it became a cultural phenomenon as its multiple stage adaptations (as well as George Cruikshank's memorable illustrations for the volume reprint) "inspired a mania that went beyond the literary pages of the newspaper."⁵³⁵ For many reviewers and cultural commentators, its success was worrying, prompting fears that the account of the urbane, gentlemanly thief was glamorizing crime. (One newspaper blamed a citywide rise in vandalism on "Jack Sheppardism.")⁵³⁶ Periodicals of the day saw the trend, more generally, as a sign of the times, an index of the London reading public of the 1830s. Chittick describes an urban populace "oscillating between greed and guilt, between the increasing rise in industrial money-making and the accompanying rise of religious enthusiasm . . . [M]en, beset by the uncertainties of making a living and crowded together into cities resort to the extremes of indulgence and fanaticism. Both contribute to a debased literary appetite."⁵³⁷ For Dickens, the Jack Sheppard controversy "caused a retrospective reclassification of . . . his own 'Newgate' novel [i.e., Oliver Twist]"⁵³⁸—leading, as I mention earlier, to the new preface he wrote for Oliver Twist in 1841 (the year he was writing Barnaby Rudge). Put simply, Dickens had found, in the five years that separated his projected novel's concept from its execution, that he "could no longer write about Newgate or mass uprisings in the Sir Walter Scott mode of nostalgia," Chittick writes.⁵³⁹ Contemporaneity had been thrust upon him.

With the five-year gap within the novel, Dickens recounts Barnaby Rudge's torturous development, a history he boils down here to the novel's belated reinvention as a work of serial fiction. The fiction's five-year break corresponds to the time that saw the novel enter serial time, but it also provides a vivid analogue for the serial-reading

experience, as a temporal break between crisis points in the narrative. For the serial reader of Barnaby Rudge, the temporal dislocation between weekly numbers 16 and 17 are dizzying: we have been abruptly transported forward five years in time, even as the narrative itself, resuming on the fateful day of March 19, *looks back* some twenty-seven years to the Chigwell murders. Suitably for this period of temporal chaos, the very “earth [is] troubled” (p. 314), and even the static fireside group at the Maypole (its members had been “sitting together in the same place and the same relative positions, and doing exactly the same things for a great many years”) (p. 316) is affected. The ordinarily punctual Solomon Daisy is running late (and curiously oblivious as to the date). Indicatively, he eventually tells his Maypole cronies that he “forgot to wind up the church-clock” (p. 321), an apt emblem for a world where time is thrown into such confusion. With 1780, the year of the Gordon Riots, Dickens finds an analogue for 1841, the year Barnaby Rudge made its untimely entrance into seriality. He brings his experience of the reading public he encountered during the novel’s development to bear on the early descriptions of 1780. The period after the novel’s five-year break sees a world of mass literacy expunging an older world. Thus, the John Willet of 1780 keeps a placard offering a five-pound reward for the return of his absent son, a placard inaccurately “decorated at the top with a woodcut representing a youth of tender years,” despite Joe Willet’s being several years older and roughly eighteen inches taller than the depiction (p. 316). Barnaby Rudge’s vision of modernity sees a culture of visual, pictographic signs rendered obsolete. Early in number 17, we are told that, in the wake of a “bitter storm of sleet,” “[s]ignboards, shaken past endurance in their creaking frames, fell crashing on the pavement” (p. 314). Throughout the novel’s 1775 scenes, signs (e.g., the Maypole,

Gabriel's wooden key, etc.) denoted an older, pre-literate world. Here they are swept aside: the sign of the times is that the time of the signs is ending. In the novel's accelerated period of historical change, these trappings of a world before mass literacy yield to Lord Gordon's rabble-rousing handbills and The Thunderer—and thus, by extension, serial fiction. Those 1780 readers devouring the Great Protestant Association's missives mirror the readers of Dickens's early career who were also wavering between “the extremes of indulgence and fanaticism”⁵⁴⁰ as they devoured Jack Sheppard.

It remains curious to me that Barnaby Rudge's troubled, five-year gestation (informing the narrative's gap from 1775–80) should have largely evaded comparisons to Waverley's similar hybridity, as its opening seven chapters were composed nearly ten years before the remainder of the novel. In Scott's case, I argued that this quality of the novel materially replicates the Heraclitian shifts in print culture and knowledge production that accompanied pan-British assimilation. Here Dickens records a similar movement by rendering his historical novel's entrance into seriality. The implication is that Barnaby Rudge reveals a Dickens who is far from a careless and slavish reader of Scott. In 1841 he was already, to paraphrase T. S. Eliot, a strong author and capable of outright theft.

Barnaby Rudge's Maypole Inn is a complexly Janus-faced symbol. Dickens's entry point into the world of 1775, the public house looks back to Elizabeth and forward to Scott, particularly Guy Mannering's Gordon Arms, where Scott satirizes Enlightenment sociability. As the opening paragraph insistently tells us, the Maypole is both a house and a sign—both grounded referent and free-floating signifier. Moreover, it is a space for oral-communal storytelling that also looks ahead to the serial fiction of an ascendant culture of print. (As such, the Maypole seems to foretell its own obsolescence.) In Dickens's treatment of the Maypole in the novel—that is, within the novel's parts structure—we see his version of a history told elsewhere by Scott: the coming of post-Enlightenment print culture.

The Maypole's resonance in Barnaby Rudge—its sheer prominence in the novel—is in no small part dependent on Dickens's serial structure. An exasperated Simon Tappertit tells John Chester of all manner of “people go[ing] backwards and forwards, to and fro, up and down, to that there jolly old Maypole, lettering and messaging, and fetching and carrying” (pp. 246–7), and this impression is often reinforced through the novel's parts divisions. Dickens repeatedly ends weekly numbers with a description of or reference to the Chigwell tavern: thus, the twelfth weekly part ends with the image of Miggs retiring for bed “with an aspect as grim and gloomy as that of the Maypole's own state couch” (p. 232). The narrative's five-year break—corresponding to a break between weekly parts—is bookended by the Maypole: the 1775 half ends with Joe leaving the Maypole, and the 1780 half opens at the tavern. On many occasions, a serial installment concludes with a character leaving the Maypole, thus structurally reinforcing the standing tension between the convivial, rural tavern and the murky, amorphous roads to the city—

the binary is embedded in the serial structure. We see this at the end of the eighth weekly part, when Edward abandons his projected trip to the pub upon learning that his father is there. With the Maypole's climactic destruction marking the end of weekly part 28, the impression is that one can trace the Maypole's changing fortunes alongside Barnaby Rudge's parts divisions.

Harnessing the Maypole to the novel's serial structure has the curious effect of undermining the tavern's solidity. Poised at the gap between weekly installments, it lingers in readers' minds as a disembodied presence, as it so often does for the characters. On the eve of his permanent departure from England, Haredale pauses near the tavern to reflect, "I shall be glad to have one picture of life and cheerfulness to turn to, in my mind!" (p. 725). (Aptly, he is contemplating the ruined Maypole, which can exist only as a picture in the mind.) Dickens uses the serialization to displace the Maypole from any local habitation. Throughout the novel, the pub's virtues are fundamentally rootless; Dickens renders the Maypole largely as a roseate glow. On his first trip there in the novel, Gabriel encounters "a delicious perspective of warmth and brightness—when the ruddy gleam of the fire, streaming through the old red curtains of the common room, seemed to bring with it, as part of itself, a pleasant hum of voices, and a frequent odour of steaming grog and rare tobacco, all steeped as it were in the cheerful glow" (p. 66). The narrator goes on to describe how "when, superadded to these enticements, there stole upon him from the distant kitchen a gentle sound of frying, with a musical clatter of plates and dishes, and a savoury smell that made even the boisterous wind a perfume—*Gabriel felt his firmness oozing rapidly away*" (p. 67, emphasis added). The Maypole is ready to melt into air.

As an ungrounded mélange of sensory hearthside pleasures, the Maypole anticipates the amorphous, expanded reading public that will eventually supplant it. When the novel's narrative resumes in 1780, we learn that the Maypole's glimmering hearth—as a site for oral storytelling—is giving way to the *domestic* fireside: “In *private dwellings*, children clustered near the blaze; listening with timid pleasure to tales of ghosts and goblins, and tall figures clad in white standing by bedsides, and people who had gone to sleep in old churches and being overlooked had found themselves alone there at the dead hour of night: until they shuddered at the thought of the dark rooms upstairs, and yet loved to hear the wind moan too, and hoped it would continue bravely” (p. 314, emphasis added). Thus, the Maypole is yielding ground to what Hughes and Lund might call “a family by the hearth stretching across all England,” which was for them the singular vision of nineteenth-century serial fiction. During this time, we see the Maypole being eclipsed by, fittingly, another tavern, the urban public house called The Boot. The tavern denizens here, unlike the fireside cronies of the Maypole, take in *printed* narratives, as they pore over issues of The Thunderer or the latest incendiary handbill printed for the Great Protestant Association. With The Boot, we have moved to a *reading culture*, and Dickens takes pains to establish the shift as a movement away from the Maypole's eighteenth-century-style sociability:

It was not all noise and jest, however, at The Boot . . . There were some men at the other end of the room . . . *These persons whispered very much among themselves, and kept aloof, and often looked round, as jealous of their speech being overheard*; some two or three among them entered in

books what seemed to be reports from the others; when they were not thus employed, one of them would turn to the newspapers which were strewn upon the table, and from the St James's Chronicle, the Herald, Chronicle, or Public Advertiser, would read to the rest in a low voice some passage having reference to the topic in which they were all so deeply interested. But the great attraction was a pamphlet called *The Thunderer* . . . This was always in request; and whether read aloud, to an eager knot of listeners, or by some solitary man, was certain to be followed by stormy talking and excited looks . . . *It was impossible to discard a sense that something serious was going on, and that under the noisy revel of the public-house, there lurked unseen and dangerous matter.*

(pp. 370–1, emphasis added)

From its first appearance, of course, the Maypole is established as a site for storytelling. Its core patrons are given to retelling open-ended tales of mystery (e.g., the unsolved murders of 1753) or criminal intrigue (e.g., according to Edward, “marvelous tales of my friend the highwayman” are among the pub’s stock-in-trade, the sort of late-night story bound to deter “[s]ome horseman wending his way towards London”) (p. 163). As such, it anticipates the serialized publications of post-Enlightenment print culture. The tavern’s chief story, after all, is the account of The Warren murders. The “Maypole story” shares many general features with serial fiction. It is a story unfolding across time. It is a tale that recurs (with development and embellishments) according to a regular schedule (i.e., every March 19, the date that is also slated for the eventual

solution). As a protracted murder mystery, it looks to the temporal future for its resolution, ramping up the readers'/listeners' curiosity in the process. In this latter regard, it recalls Dickens's discussion of curiosity as a "master-passion" in a passage I mention earlier, one that seems to comment self-reflectively on the art of serial fiction: "To awaken [curiosity], to gratify it by slight degrees, and yet leave something always in suspense, is to establish the surest hold that can be had . . . on the unthinking portion of mankind" (p. 347).

As Barnaby Rudge unfolds, we quickly see the narrative—that is, the serial structure—*take over* the Maypole's function of generating mystery and awakening curiosity. After the first number, the novel follows Edward and Rudge, Sr. *away from the Maypole* and deeper into mystery. The second weekly number nearly ends with another March 19 murder mystery and suggestions of a highwayman's sinister activity with the discovery of the robbed, bloody Edward along the road. One week later, the mystery deepens: the third installment concludes with Gabriel recognizing the Maypole stranger's voice outside Mary Rudge's house ("What riddle is this?" he asks rhetorically at the end of the number) (p. 92). Set in the Vardens' Clerkenwell, the fourth number ends with Simon Tappertit sneaking out of the Golden Key for a late-night, as-yet-unspecified errand. (The subterranean rites he presides over with the 'Prentice Knights themselves signal a further move into mystery, as the gathering has many of the features of a *mystery* religion.) The next week's number ends as the smitten Miggs catches Sim returning home from the Barbican. Contemplating his strange behavior, she reflects, "Here's *mysterries!* . . . Oh, gracious, here's *mysterries*" (p. 120, emphasis added) and later realizes she is now "in his confidence" (p. 125). (This is one of the many furtive, secretive alliances between

characters that will occur in the novel, as Dickens exploits the mechanics of serial publication to foreground an idea of mystery.) When Haredale arrives at the Maypole for a strange meeting with John Chester, the inn's patrons end the novel's sixth weekly number by musing, "Here was a good, dark-looking *mystery* progressing under that very roof" (p. 137, emphasis added). Weekly number 10, which sees Rudge, Sr. seeking shelter with the 'Prentice Knights, ends with the blind Stagg seeking "some inkling of [Rudge's] *mystery*" (p. 200, emphasis added).

As John Chester embarks on his elaborate, secretive schemes for separating Edward and Emma, Dickens finds further opportunities to connect a larger sense of mystery to the novel's serial structure. At the end of the thirteenth installment, Simon finds, in his alliance with John Chester, that he is acting "after the manner of those *mysterious* warners of whom he had read in cheap story-books"—a remark that explicitly aligns mysteriousness with popular literature (p. 248, emphasis added). In the weekly numbers that follow, John's curious behavior arouses suspicion. His appearance at the Rudges' empty house at the end of number 14 is a mystery for both Gabriel and Haredale, and Chester himself hints at further secrets, as the number ends: on the Rudges' departure, he declares, "[T]hey have their hidden reasons, but upon that point I have pledged myself to secrecy" (p. 264). Reflecting appreciably on his intrigue, John sounds at times like a serial novelist: "*the plot thickens*; I have thrown the shell; it will explode, I think, in eight-and-forty hours, and should scatter these good folks amazingly" (p. 280, emphasis added).⁵⁴¹ (As I discuss above, his reverie is interrupted by a mysterious presence outside his door, suggesting the keyhole-peeping chronicler, Dickens's image of the serial novelist.) Throughout Barnaby Rudge's serial run, we see Dickens commenting

self-reflectively on serialization, using the weekly parts divisions to reflect on serial fiction as a vehicle for propagating mystery (defined broadly). This, again, is a function the novel's seriality takes over from the Maypole Inn, even as the serial structure undermines the tavern's solidity.

In Barnaby Rudge, Dickens explores the implications of knowledge production displaced from any local habitation or referent. After her near assault by Hugh near Epping Forest, Dolly finds her account of what happened gradually made over into a Maypole-style highwayman's tale: under cross-examination, her attacker becomes a figure "wrapped in a loose coat and . . . [with] his face hidden by a handkerchief" (p. 223). It is as if Maypole storytelling has drifted from its original material locale to infect the world at large. Dickens is depicting a world where all stories, all discourse become a Maypole story. Dolly's experience here, after all, is not unlike Dickens's own during the development of Barnaby Rudge, as he found that in the post-Enlightenment, post-Scott print culture his historical novel would inevitably be recast as a Newgate Novel, an Ainsworth-like story of criminals and highwaymen.

It is well worth recalling that Barnaby Rudge began in Master Humphrey's Clock, Dickens's weekly journal that appeared from April 1840 through December 1841 as a vehicle for journalistic sketches, stories, essays, mock-correspondence, and other *amusettes*, generally eighteenth-century or otherwise historical in tone or subject matter. The periodical's frame—a group of men meeting regularly at the fireside of Master Humphrey, sharing manuscripts housed in his grandfather clock—suggests the world of Enlightenment clubs, institutions, and general sociability but is also undeniably akin to the Maypole: Robert Tracy writes that Dickens's early, 1836–39 conception of Rudge's

fireside quartet at the Maypole “was perhaps transmuted . . . into the four-man club that listens to Master Humphrey’s stories.”⁵⁴² Like the Maypole community, Master Humphrey’s group meetings are not long for the world. Lack of public interest in its periodical-miscellany format and the corresponding unprecedented success of The Old Curiosity Shop in its pages prompted Dickens to reduce it to a mere forum for Barnaby Rudge’s uninterrupted serial run before scrapping it entirely. (Here, too, we see nineteenth-century serialization obviating an eighteenth-century undertaking.) The closing lines of the last number wistfully bid the whole enterprise adieu: “My task is done. The chamber in which we have whiled away so many hours, not, I hope, without some pleasure and some profit is deserted; our happy hour of meeting strikes no more; the chimney-corner has grown cold; and MASTER HUMPHREY’S CLOCK has stopped for ever.”⁵⁴³ Even from the periodical’s beginnings, however, Dickens erases Master Humphrey’s establishment from any local specificity, much as he does with the Maypole: the first installment of Master Humphrey’s Clock opens with Master Humphrey declaring, “The reader must not expect to know where I live.”⁵⁴⁴

The whole brief Master Humphrey’s Clock episode foregrounds how Dickens’s idea of eighteenth-century literature and knowledge production was fundamentally adrift from its material contexts. In publications of the 1700s, Dickens finds precedent for what has long been identified as the consummate achievement of his nineteenth-century serial entertainments: the construction of an authorial personal through a process where, as Duncan notes, “[l]ove . . . binds author and reader together in the text.”⁵⁴⁵ Master Humphrey’s Clock saw Dickens “reverting to a format of the previous century,” yet in describing the project to Forster, he “invokes the Tatler and Spectator, and one thinks of a

small boy sitting on his bed at twilight, ‘reading as if for life’ these books from another era.”⁵⁴⁶ The urbane, public world of the eighteenth-century is subsumed by the Dickensian image of a reading child. As Duncan notes, in an interesting assessment of Dickens’s childhood reading, “The classic eighteenth-century English novels and the chapbook nursery tales, The Arabian Nights and The Terrific Register, melodrama and pantomime and comic song: all of these comprised for Dickens, by their very status as the stuff of childhood imagination, a naïve-romance register of comic-pathetic and sensational effects . . . Paul Schlicke notes that this popular culture too was changing, so that for Dickens its familiar forms signified an imaginative origin located not in an ancient past but in childhood.”⁵⁴⁷ In the case of Master Humphrey’s Clock, the faux-eighteenth-century miscellany offered Dickens what Chittick calls a “vehicle by which [he] sought to achieve his power, and the establishment of a public ‘philosophy’ which is termed ‘Dickensian.’”⁵⁴⁸ This ambition was realized in large part through the careful construction of an authorial persona; Dickens’s art “demanded the confirmation that there was a real person behind it.”⁵⁴⁹ The eventual abandonment of the clubbish, eighteenth-century frame of Master Humphrey and his circle reflected Dickens’s growing awareness that “the subsuming identity of . . . ‘Charles Dickens’ carried its own very recognizable . . . attraction.”⁵⁵⁰

During this time, we see yet again how Dickens’s recasting of eighteenth-century print culture is mediated through an equally pressing engagement with Scott. Chittick sees in Dickens’s original preface for Nicholas Nickleby a valuable expression of his vision for Master Humphrey’s Clock. Composed during a time when reviewers were regularly praising Dickens for being a “hearty friend” in his serial installments, the

preface appeared in the novel's final number along with Daniel Maclise's famous portrait of the young author: this latter gesture was contrasted unfavorably in some quarters with Scott's patrician anonymity as the Author of Waverley. Adopting an "air of intimacy and informality,"⁵⁵¹ Dickens bids his readers of the preceding eighteen months a heartfelt farewell as he launches into what Chittick calls a "romanticism about the periodical format."⁵⁵² He appeals here to the authority of Henry Mackenzie, who declares that the "author of a periodical performance . . . has indeed a claim to the attention and regard of his readers, more interesting than that of any other writer."⁵⁵³ Mackenzie, of course, also figured prominently in Waverley's deeply ambivalent closing dedication (which Patten cites as a precedent for serial fiction's placement of prefatory and paratextual matters in the concluding number, as we see here with Nicholas Nickleby).⁵⁵⁴ For Scott, as we have seen, the eighteenth-century novelist represented the heyday of the Scottish Enlightenment, the heady days "when there were giants in the land."⁵⁵⁵ For Dickens, the "man of feeling" becomes a key precursor for the "freedom of intimacy and the cordiality of friendship" the serial writer shares with his readers, something a Scott-like author of books cannot share: "He who has followed Horace's rule, of keeping his *book nine years in the study*, must have withdrawn many an idea which in the warmth of composition he has conceived, and altered many an expression which in the hurry of writing he had set down."⁵⁵⁶ Thus in Mackenzie, Dickens finds not only a precedent for the free intimacy of serial circulation but also the antithesis to the privatized reading of a library or a study.

We might stop here to ask what, ultimately, Barnaby Rudge is about. In recounting the story of the Riots of '80, Dickens is telling the story of a doomed

undertaking in England *that worked in Scotland*. Thus, the narrator refers to “certain successful disturbances . . . which had occurred in Scotland in the previous year” (p. 339), and Lord Gordon, himself a Scot, praises Gashford’s handbills in that they “did service in Scotland” (p. 339). (Indeed, it was north of the border where Gashford renounced his Catholicism and joined Gordon’s cause.) In England, the movement is foolhardy and desperate, the refuge of criminals and madmen. In writing Barnaby Rudge, Dickens was encountering the difficulties of trying to sustain a Scott-style historical novel outside Scotland, where the whole enterprise is menaced by Ainsworth’s urban bandits. As the crusade drums up followers for the march on Parliament, Gordon stops by his London house to don a kilt. In Welbeck Street, it makes him an odd, unrooted sight, and it is fitting that Dickens should use the same weekly number to introduce Dennis the hangman. Decked out in the cast-off clothing of his hanged victims, he is a grim artisan of second-hand aesthetics.⁵⁵⁷ With the tartan-clad Gordon, the artistically minded executioner is a key component of Dickens’s self-consciousness here, his awareness that Barnaby Rudge itself is faded, second-hand finery, an English novel in Scottish drag. This same weekly number ends at The Boot tavern with Dennis and Hugh breaking into a grotesque, utterly random dance (an “extemporaneous No-Popery Dance”) to the tune of a Scotch Reel. Hablot K. Browne’s illustration captures their manic *danse macabre*, a moment chilling in its arbitrariness (pp. 364, 363).

It was during the composition of Barnaby Rudge, of course, that Dickens made his official visit to Edinburgh where he may very well have felt like the representative of a rootless, deracinated culture. Throughout his trip, he heard his Barnaby likened to Scott’s Davie Gellatley. The comparison became a commonplace of early reviews of

Barnaby Rudge, yet for Dickens it may have prompted recollections of Edward Waverley's trip to Tully-Veolan, where, as we saw, the English tourist proves himself inexpert at Scottish-style sociological thought, as he interprets the Scottish "innocent" as "not much unlike one of Shakespeare's roynish clowns" (p. 39). For some of Barnaby Rudge's detractors, the titular character remains a weakness, one that compares unfavorably to Davie as nothing more than a purely literary conceit, a Scott-Wordsworth pastiche that comes up short when compared to Scott's celebrated "derivation of the individuality of characters from the historical peculiarity of their age."⁵⁵⁸ This overlooks the possibility that Barnaby, like Dennis, was a deliberate part of Dickens's expression of national and historical estrangement. (Like Dennis, Barnaby artistically arranges other people's clothing, as when he sees garments on a clothesline and stops to "mark how they whisper in each other's ears; then dance and leap, to make believe they are in sport," imploring others, "Do you see how they stop for a moment, when they think there is no one looking, and mutter among themselves again; and then how they roll and gambol, delighted with the mischief they've been plotting?") The scene gives the lie to the dimwitted John Willet's subsequent declaration that Barnaby "wants imagination") (p. 133). Edward Waverley's other major misreading of Scottish culture comes when he designates Francis MacIvor a "sort of Highland Jonathan Wild" (p. 71). It is a moment of literary cartography, an early intimation that, compared to Scotland, England was long the home of fashionable, occasionally disreputable genres. As Bill Bell records, "James Bertram witnessed the excitement in London as the Leith smack bearing 'the precious bales' of one of Walter Scott's novels hove into view: 'the London agents had men waiting . . . to get out the books, which were always shipped in unbound sheets' and

quickly taken off to the binders. As the same writer censoriously noted, there was a reciprocal enthusiasm for reading matter arriving by return: ‘up from London came such penny trash as the Calendar of Horrors, the Penny Police Gazette and Lives of the Highwaymen, all of which had a certain circulation.’”⁵⁵⁹ In light of Dickens’s professionally formative trip to Scotland, Barnaby Rudge becomes an extended expression of national-cultural inadequacy.

Indeed, it was while he was on the Scottish tour that Dickens began composing the most celebrated sections of Barnaby Rudge, i.e., the riots themselves: Dickens’s attempt to essay the achievement of Scott’s Porteous riots from The Heart of Midlothian were drafted as he toured Scott’s homeland; the novel’s (delayed) engagement with public history was undertaken while Dickens toured the erstwhile capitol of historical methodology. These momentous, cataclysmic eruptions of 1780 would seem to have provided Dickens with the opportunity to use his fiction for what McGowan calls the aim “of deducing causes for a certain given effect,”⁵⁶⁰ an objective that would have resonated with many of those “grey-headed men” Dickens encountered on his visit to Edinburgh. Yet in Dickens’s handling, the riots throughout the novel are a hazy, impressionistic affair, as in this oft-cited passage: “Thus—a vision of coarse faces, with here and there a blot of flaring, smoky light; a dream of demon heads and savage eyes, and sticks and iron bars uplifted in the air, and whirled about; a bewildering horror, in which so much was seen, and yet so little, which seemed so long, and yet so short, in which there were so many phantoms, not to be forgotten all through life, and yet so many things that could not be observed in one distracting glimpse—it flitted onward, and was gone” (p. 465). As Alison Case writes, “Dickens’s account of the Gordon riots portrays the mob as . . . more

shapeless and undirected in itself . . . than Scott's Porteous mob."⁵⁶¹ (She scrupulously traces how in the novel Dickens strives to "de-emphasize the relationship between the riots and the historical circumstances which gave rise to them.")⁵⁶² When public history enters the novel, it does so in an irruptive, unmotivated manner. Thus, Lord Gordon, we are told, "had come, from time to time, upon the public," "[j]ust as he has come upon the reader": "as suddenly as he appears in these pages, after a blank of five long years" (p. 348). For the original reader, his appearance was particularly ungrounded, coming as it did toward the end of a piecemeal weekly installment: his sudden, rootless appearance would be followed by a week-long gap in the narrative. By the end of its weekly serial run, Barnaby Rudge may ultimately give us an image of British domesticity arising Phoenix-like from the ashes of the Riots' devastation, but it is hard to overlook the sense that publication in parts expresses both the disintegration of Scott's house of fiction and the reduction of Scotland's cultural prominence, figurally speaking, to "mere dots."

CONCLUSION. “A POSTSCRIPT, WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN A PREFACE”

EPILOGUE: SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH AND THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF
BOMBAY

This project began with a Scottish-Enlightenment learned society in a literal (i.e., my discussion of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the introduction) and conceptual sense (i.e., my interest in Edinburgh’s Royal Society generated the questions that led to this dissertation). I end here by discussing another Enlightenment-era Scottish institution to suggest additional contexts for examining the material construction of knowledge.

The process by which the specific culture of the Scottish Enlightenment was absorbed and overwritten by pan-British assimilation was a phenomenon observable outside Britain—across the empire. Cultural theorist Stuart Hall sees British imperialism as an extension of the “internal colonization” that began within Britain with “the excluding or absorbing [of] all the differences that constituted Englishness, the multitude of different regions, peoples, classes, genders that composed the people gathered together in the Act of Union,” a process by which “Englishness could stand for everybody in the British Isles.”⁵⁶³ The nature and sheer prominence of Scotland’s involvement in British imperial interests in the eighteenth century⁵⁶⁴ provides another context in which we can see the distinctiveness of Enlightenment-era Scotland. Colley writes that throughout the empire, Scots excelled at “devising new and efficient forms of centralized control”⁵⁶⁵—a

testament to eighteenth-century Scotland's organizational zeal and institutional genius. The disproportionately high representation of eighteenth-century Scots has long been noted. Colley writes that the Scottish "made [India] their own" in the 1700s, and Watt notes, "By the mid-eighteenth century, Scots were prominent in the [East India Company's] armies, and at different levels of Indian administration."⁵⁶⁶ Medical personnel in India and elsewhere were overwhelmingly Scottish; this is a reflection of the popularity and efficiency of medical training in the Scottish universities, which, as Colley records, produced 10,000 doctors for the 500 produced in English universities.⁵⁶⁷ In his account of Scottish contributions outside of Scotland, R. A. Cage credits the institutional rigor of the Scottish educational system.⁵⁶⁸ Thus, the profoundly *Scottish* character of the eighteenth-century British empire was an extension of the Scottish Enlightenment's institutional arrangements.

Once overseas, influential Scots encountered sites for testing and refining theses about cultural development and spaces into which they could import Edinburgh- or Aberdeen-style Enlightenment institutions. Michael Fry, discussing eighteenth-century Scottish scholars across the empire, notes that "the knowledge they transmitted home [i.e., regarding indigenous peoples and societies] was lapped up by philosophical countrymen," but the larger implication is that India and other overseas locales seemed to offer further proof of theories of philosophic history: "the [Scottish] literati," Fry writes, "started to fit empirical observation of India into their general intellectual inquiry."⁵⁶⁹ Similarly, Kitty Datta has written that Scottish ideas of British India "have links with the kind of education [overseas Scots] received in Scotland, with a bias toward comparative cultural studies and 'conjectural' history."⁵⁷⁰ As in eighteenth-century Scotland, these

particular deductions about distinct cultures and societies were shaped largely by the organizations and institutions Scots established in distant locales. C. A. Bayly describes an empire-wide phenomenon where “[n]ew maps of mankind and the natural world flowed outwards from Britain’s universities and learned societies” that were established on distant shores (often, Bayly argues, alongside “the great military posts”).⁵⁷¹ A representative institution was the Literary Society of Bombay, founded by the Scottish jurist, philosopher, and man-of-letters Sir James Mackintosh. Datta has called Mackintosh’s society “a natural formation for [the sort of] men who . . . had been members of student societies in the Scottish universities.”⁵⁷² Among the Society’s many discursive projects was a statistical survey of India (inspired by Sir John Sinclair’s pioneering Statistical Account of Scotland [1791–99]) as well as a “Comparative Vocabulary” of various Indian dialects, intended for military use.⁵⁷³ The Society’s research was expressly intended to “provide the kind of information which could be used to influence government, form public opinion, and see that justice is done”.⁵⁷⁴ the same practical thrust one would observe in Edinburgh’s learned societies, universities, and institutions.

Mackintosh, in his involvement with the Society, had a vision of British India’s destiny and a very specific sense of the part the Literary Society of Bombay would play in realizing that destiny. In his “Discourse Read at the Opening of the Literary Society of Bombay” (1804), he places India within an implicit developmental framework. Referring to the country’s extant literary tradition, he writes, “[T]he feeblest efforts of infant Literature in barren and inhospitable regions are in some respects more interesting than the most elaborate works and the most successful exertions of the human mind.”⁵⁷⁵ The

“Discourse,” meanwhile, is replete with praise for other, earlier institutions and learned organizations in British India, such as the Asiatic Society of Bombay (founded by Sir William Jones as an organ for “arranging and communicating his knowledge”) or the “College at Calcutta,” established “for the promotion of learning in the East.”⁵⁷⁶ Such praise is of a piece with a typically Scottish-Enlightenment faith in institutions, part of Mackintosh’s belief that “[t]he smallest *society*, brought together by the love of knowledge is respectable in the eye of Reason.”⁵⁷⁷ For Mackintosh, these Enlightenment-style institutions were crucial to India’s cultural development. He maintained that “knowledge should be imparted to the Natives through Colleges and other Seminaries of instruction and learning and their minds should be gradually enlightened.”⁵⁷⁸ The implication here is that, as Fry puts it, “with a helping hand from sympathetic Scots, these peoples and lands might be induced to develop . . . and so proceed along the stages of civilization revealed by conjectural history.”⁵⁷⁹ What is striking in Mackintosh’s conviction, his faith in institutions, is its circularity: through exposure to learned societies and similar “Seminaries of instruction,” indigenous cultures will progress according to historical theories that were developed in those same learned institutions in the first place. With the prominent, distinctive contributions of Enlightenment-era Scots, the British empire of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries comes to resemble a perpetual-motion machine.

Perhaps a future, larger version of this project would follow *the shift* I identify in British poetics out into the empire, so as to trace how “the displacement of Scottish philosophy by English literature”⁵⁸⁰ affected and revised the cultural work of British imperialism. Elsewhere I have suggested that the centrifugal expansion of the British

empire accompanied a shift away from a metonymic poetics of localized, incremental extension to the more sweeping, transcendent logic of metaphor.⁵⁸¹ Later, post-Enlightenment ideas of empire had different assumptions and proceeded from different materialities. Sir James Mackintosh, a scion of the Scottish Enlightenment, praised the “feeblest efforts of infant Literature in barren and inhospitable regions” in the knowledge that they would blossom under the guidance of “Seminaries of instruction and learning.” One of Mackintosh’s future admirers, Thomas Babington Macaulay—a *Victorian* Scot, whose ideas of historical progress bore only the faintest family resemblance to conjectural history—declared instead, “[A] single shelf of a good European library [is] worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia,”⁵⁸² a sentiment redolent with the rise of the private library and the modular book. Even as Wordsworth emerged as the central figure in academic models of British Romanticism, he became as well “a fixed feature of English colonial education” and thus “deeply implicated in the project of curricular indoctrination.”⁵⁸³ Reid argues that with the canonical Wordsworth we see “an author’s personal voice, experience and cast of mind . . . all placed in relation to the core values of English culture”—values that, freed from any local habitation, can be endlessly exported. Dickens, the inheritor, I suggest, of both Scott and Wordsworth’s acts of redefinition, worked within a publication format even more liberated in time and space. He employed serialization toward the end of “creating a family by the hearth stretching across all England.”⁵⁸⁴ A future project might follow this mission to the farthest reaches of the empire.

¹Quoted in Sandro Jung, William Collins and “The Poetical Character”: Originality, Original Genius, and the Poems of William Collins (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000), p. 7.

²Harold Bloom, The Visionary Company: A Reading of English Romantic Poetry, rev. edn. (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1961), p. 7.

³Samuel Johnson, “William Collins (1720–1759),” in “Lives of the English Poets” in Two Volumes: Volume Two, Congreve to Gray, introduction by L. Archer Hind, Everyman’s Library, vol. 2 of Lives of the English Poets (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1953), 2:313–6, 314.

⁴Bloom, The Visionary Company, p. 8.

⁵This description of William Collins’s poem is from Norman Callan, “Augustan Reflective Poetry,” in From Dryden to Johnson, ed. Boris Ford, vol. 4 of The New Pelican Guide to English Literature, 9 vols. (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1982), 4:338–61, 344.

⁶Deborah Elise White, Romantic Returns: Superstition, Imagination, History (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2000), p. 30.

⁷The poem had gone unpublished during Collins’s lifetime when it circulated in manuscript form until presumed lost. Samuel Johnson’s chance reference to it in his biographical sketch of Collins prompted its rediscovery by Rev. Alexander Carlyle, who in turn pressed for its publication in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

⁸Yoon Sun Lee, “Giants in the North: Douglas, the Scottish Enlightenment, and Scott’s Redgauntlet,” in “Scott, Scotland, and Romantic Nationalism,” ed. Ian Duncan, Ann

Rowland, and Charles Snodgrass, special issue, Studies in Romanticism 40, 1 (Spring 2001): 109–21, 109.

⁹William Collins, “An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland, Considered as the Subject of Poetry. Written by the Late Mr William Collins: And communicated to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, by Alexander Carlyle, D. D. F. R. S. Edin. Minister of Inveresk, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty,” Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1, Part II (Papers of the Literary Class) (1788): 67–75, lines 5–6, 10. Subsequent citations will be to this edition, cited parenthetically by line numbers.

¹⁰As Charles D. Waterston recounts, the Royal Society’s charter “defined the Society’s objectives as the advancement of learning and useful knowledge in Scotland” (Collections in Context: The Museum of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Inception of a National Museum for Scotland [Edinburgh: NMS Publishing, 1997], p. 1). Similarly, in his account of the Royal Society of Edinburgh’s founding, Steven Shapin asserts that the institution was of a piece with “the improving thrust of Edinburgh Enlightenment culture as a whole” (“Property, Patronage, and the Politics of Science: The Founding of the Royal Society of Edinburgh,” British Journal for the History of Science 7, 1 [March 1974]: 1–41, 18)

¹¹“History of the Society,” Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1, Part I (1788): 3–45, 4.

¹²Thomas Sprat, The History of the Royal Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge, ed. Jackson I. Cope and Harold Whitmore Jones (St. Louis: Washington Univ. Studies, 1958), pp. 9, 19.

¹³OED, 2d edn., s.v. “communication,” emphasis added.

¹⁴Claire Lamont, “William Collins’s ‘Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland’—A Newly Discovered Manuscript,” Review of English Studies, n.s., 19, 74 (May 1968): 137–47, 147.

¹⁵Waterston, p. 18.

¹⁶Quoted in White, p. 33.

¹⁷“Introduction to the Poem,” Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1, Part II (1788): 63–6, 63.

¹⁸“Introduction to the Poem,” pp. 65–6.

¹⁹See The Poems of Thomas Gray, William Collins, and Oliver Goldsmith, ed. Roger Lonsdale (London: Longman, 1969), p. 504n.

²⁰Jon P. Klancher, The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832 (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1987), p. 150.

²¹Alvin Kernan, Printing Technology, Letters & Samuel Johnson (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1987), p. 283.

²²Lee Erickson, The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800–1850 (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1996), p. 50.

²³Jane Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 4.

²⁴Quoted in Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 5. Dorothy Wordsworth remarked of Scott, “His local attachments . . . are more strong than those of

any person I ever saw”—presumably including, as Stephen Gill notes, her brother (quoted in William Wordsworth: A Life [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989], p. 217).

²⁵Ian Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel: The Gothic, Scott, Dickens (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), p. 53.

²⁶Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 15.

²⁷Paul D. Sheats, The Making of Wordsworth's Poetry, 1785–1798 (Cambridge MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1973), p. 58.

²⁸Quoted in James Averill, introduction to “An Evening Walk” by William Wordsworth, ed. Averill, The Cornell Wordsworth (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1984), pp. 3–19, 16.

²⁹Erickson, p. 69.

³⁰John L. Mahoney, Wordsworth and the Critics: The Development of a Critical Reputation, Studies in English and American Literature, Linguistics, and Culture: Literary Criticism in Perspective (Rochester: Camden House, 2001), p. 4.

³¹Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 187.

³²See also David Chandler, “Dickens on Wordsworth: Nicholas Nickleby and the Copyright Question,” English Language Notes 41, 1 (September 2003): 62–9. In addition to detailing Dickens's (ambivalent) feelings toward Wordsworth, Chandler describes how Wordsworth was “at the center of the copyright question” raised by Talfourd's Bill, a bill proposed by the MP Thomas Noon Talfourd that would extend an author's copyright on his or her work from 28 years or the terms of the author's life to 60 years after the author's death. This was a proposal Dickens wholly supported, and he frequently interjected his opinion on the subject into the pages of Nicholas Nickleby. Chandler's article suggests overall how for Dickens and many writers of the 1830s and '40s,

Wordsworth was fundamental to questions of the author's relationship to his or her work or audience.

³³William Wordsworth, "Home at Grasmere," in William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, ed. Gill, Oxford Authors (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1984), pp. 174–99, lines 969–70.

³⁴J. G. A. Pocock, "Clergy and Commerce: The Conservative Enlightenment in England," in L'Eta' dei lumi : studi storici sul Settecento europeo in onore di Franco Venturi, ed. Raffaele Ajelo et al. (Naples: Jovene, 1985), pp. 523–62, 523.

³⁵Considering the universities alone of eighteenth-century Scotland, Robert Crawford notes that the "practice[s] in the ancient universities north of the border [were] significantly different from [those] in the ancient universities of England" (Introduction to The Scottish Invention of English Literature, ed. Crawford [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998], pp. 1–21, 1). See also his Devolving English Literature (2d edn. [Edinburgh: Univ. of Edinburgh Press, 2000]), where he discusses Scotland's universities in the context of the densely institutionalized Scottish Enlightenment: "But the Scottish universities matter most because they were *universities*, the dominant, established, mainstream . . . channels of higher education" (p. 22). In this work, Crawford discusses the singular irony by which "the Scots in particular were crucially instrumental in constructing the university subject of English Literature itself"—that is, a discipline that would marginalize Scottish literature: "The best way to begin to understand how the Anglocentric notion of English Literature achieved such formidable cultural power, *being disseminated through our institutions of higher education whose influence indirectly pervades the whole community*, is to attend to the sense in which the subject of English

Literature was, ironically, a Scottish invention” (pp. 3, 15, emphasis added). Clifford Siskin, meanwhile, writes that the typically Scottish Enlightenment channeling of intellectual work into practical, civic-minded improvements “did not occur on *the university level* in England” (The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain, 1700–1830 [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1998], p. 90).

³⁶In his study of the Royal Society of Edinburgh as an instance of the “institutionalization of natural knowledge in the form of a scientific society,” Shapin distinguishes the Scottish Royal Society from something like the Royal Society of London, where “the scientific enterprise” is understood as autonomous from its “institutional modes”: with the Royal Society of Edinburgh, such independence from institutional embodiment “is extremely difficult to document” (pp. 1, 2). Moreover, he goes on to distinguish typical Scottish institutions and societies from *English* organizations, chiefly the so-called “‘lit and phils’ [i.e., literary and philosophical societies] of the Midlands and North of England” cropping up in response to industry and urbanization: “Indeed, the most superficial glance at late-eighteenth-century Edinburgh reveals that the Scottish metropolis provided a strikingly different cultural environment from the new industrial towns” of England (p. 3).

³⁷Quoted in Pocock, p. 523, emphasis added.

³⁸Mary Poovey writes, “After the battle of Culloden in 1746, most of the traces of ‘savage virtues and barbarous grandeur’ were forcibly eradicated from the Highland clans . . . After the pict’s defeat, English laws were used to undermine the clan system by prohibiting clan tartans, forbidding chieftains to carry weapons, and launching initiatives to replace ancient Erse with English” (A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of

Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society [Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1998], p. 251). The passage suggests the pressing need for sociability in response to the organized assault on Scottish communality.

³⁹Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992), p. 123. Studies of Scottish immigration to and employment in England, and, later, the British Empire, reinforce Colley’s claim. R. H. Campbell’s analysis of Scottish migration south of the border notes that the “direction of movement was frequently the consequence of personal or family links with a particular area”; such links “provided personal but no less potent encouragement to others to follow, and even more so to go to a specific location” (“Scotland,” in The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750–1914, ed. R. A. Cage [London: Croon Helm, 1985], pp. 1–28, 15, 17). Similarly, James G. Parker writes, “Scots who had established themselves in lucrative niches gave helping hands to their countrymen who had just arrived” (“Scottish Enterprise in India, 1750–1914,” in The Scots Abroad, pp. 191–219, 195).

⁴⁰Campbell, p. 3, emphasis added.

⁴¹Siskin, p. 86.

⁴²The interdisciplinary vastness of the so-called Scottish Science of Man (a result, in part, of institutional arrangements) is a commonplace. Susan Manning calls it “the universal inquiry that brought together all the fields of learning” (“Antiquarianism, the Scottish Science of Man, and the Emergence of Modern Disciplinarity,” in Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism, ed. Leith Davis, Duncan, and Janet Sorensen [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004], pp. 57–76, 61). The history of the Royal Society of Edinburgh notes that the institution based itself “after the model of some of the foreign

Academies which have for their object the cultivation of *every branch of science, erudition and taste*” (“History of the Society,” pp. 6–7, emphasis added). As Shapin remarks of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, “Narrow specialization was not acceptable” (p. 18).

⁴³Manning, p. 60.

⁴⁴James Watt, “Scott, the Scottish Enlightenment, and Romantic Orientalism,” in Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism, pp. 94–113, 95.

⁴⁵Manning, p. 61.

⁴⁶Siskin, p. 80.

⁴⁷Poovey, p. 227.

⁴⁸As Siskin notes, the Scottish Science of Man would begin to require “particularly as the century nears its end, more and more discursive effort” (p. 94).

⁴⁹See also Duncan, who has recounted how Scotland (and Britain more generally) over time witnessed a gradual “tur[n] away from [the once] traditional goals of inculcating civic virtue . . . toward an emphasis on the stylistic formation of public discourse and the cultivation of sensibility in modern civil society—‘literary’ values, in short” (“Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, and the Institutions of English,” in The Scottish Invention of English Literature, pp. 37–54, 37). His formulation sees the whole milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment giving way to literature, understood in its modern, contemporary sense.

⁵⁰My logic in claiming these arrangements for *materiality* is similar to Siskin’s, who notes that the “*materiality* of [such] sites” resides in their status “as physical locations” (p. 17, emphasis added).

⁵¹It is, indeed, hardly insignificant that Samuel Johnson, from England, would produce an influential version of William Collins antithetical to the Royal Society of Edinburgh's competing account. Johnson's mad Collins, a type of the tragic, precocious Romantic poet, appears in Lives of the Poets, a seminal document in canon-formation, taste-making, and the rise of what Kernan calls the "print-based romantic literary system centering on the individual creative self" (p. 7). Kernan says of the Lives of the Poets that the work "to some degree anticipates romantic poetry and its visionary poets with creative imaginations" (p. 273).

⁵²Duncan, "Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, and the Institutions of English," p. 38, emphasis added.

⁵³Shapin, p. 1.

⁵⁴Klancher, p. 19.

⁵⁵Among the many such studies I consulted, Scott Hess's (Authoring the Self: Self-Representation, Authorship, and the Print Market in British Poetry from Pope through Wordsworth, Literary Criticism and Cultural Theory [New York: Routledge, 2005]) and Klancher's were particularly useful. Hess traces the development of a British poetry culminating in "Wordsworth's poetics of authorial self-representation" as a response to "radically new socio-economic contexts for writing" (pp. 9, 7). Klancher explores the formation of a new print audience in Britain, one embodied in the idea of a "sovereign 'reader' without visible ground" (p. 15).

⁵⁶See also Duncan, who discusses "the proliferation of periodicals and other literary commodities in an industrializing print culture" at the time of Anglo-Scottish assimilation ("Blackwood's and Romantic Nationalism," in Print Culture and the Blackwood's

Tradition, 1805–1930, ed. David Finkelstein [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2006], pp. 70–89, 73).

⁵⁷George Bornstein, Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), p. 1.

⁵⁸By doing so, I contend that here I am addressing what I see as a lack in materially oriented studies of literature. Where there are many seminal readings of nineteenth-century novels that attend to the respective works' serial structures (see Linda K. Hughes and Michael Lund, The Victorian Serial, Victorian Literature and Culture Series [Charlottesville and London: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1991] for a comprehensive example), the three-volume novel has generally not been subjected to such scrutiny. To the degree that a work's status as a "triple decker" is invoked as a relevant component of the novel's content or theme, it is typically as a generalized assessment of the imagined reader's class or ideological affiliations. For one example, see N. N. Feltes, who writes, "[T]he 'beliefs,' the ideology of the consumer of the borrowed, three-volume commodity-book, were distinct from those of the consumer of the serialized or part-issue commodity text." He goes on to note that the three-volume "commodity-*book* interpellates in general the sense of an exclusive collectivity, as is implied by the 'prestige' and 'grandeur' associated with the three-decker" (Modes of Production of Victorian Novels [Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986], p. 27). In his Marxist analysis, however, Feltes does not examine the three-volume structure within representative works.

⁵⁹Thomas Carlyle, Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History, in The Best Known Works of Thomas Carlyle: Including “Sartor Resartus,” “Heroes and Hero-Worship,” and “Characteristics” (New York: Book League of America, 1942), pp. 157–309, 258.

⁶⁰Robert Crawford, Scotland’s Books: A History of Scottish Literature (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), p. 1.

⁶¹Crawford, Scotland’s Books, n.p.

⁶²Bill Bell, introduction to Ambition and Industry, 1800–1880, ed. Bell, vol. 3 of The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2007), 3:1–14, 6.

⁶³Wordsworth, “Home at Grasmere,” lines 1014, 1006–11. See also Ian Reid, who writes, “[W]hen we invoke such notions as literature, imagination, creativity, expressiveness, or personal development, ‘we have joined Wordsworth in taking the “mind of Man” to be the “main haunt and region” of our “song”’”—thus invoking the most famous lines of the “Prospectus” (Wordsworth and the Formation of English Studies, Nineteenth Century Series [Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2004], p. 13.

⁶⁴Wordsworth, “Home at Grasmere,” lines 978–9, 984, and 982–3.

⁶⁵Nancy Moore Goslee, Scott the Rhymer (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1988), p. 2.

⁶⁶M. H. Abrams, preface to Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1971), pp. 11–6, 13. Anne K. Mellor writes that Abrams’s “failure to discuss . . . Byron’s Don Juan, should alert us to what Abrams left out of his description of ‘the spirit of the age’” (English Romantic Irony [Cambridge MA and London: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980], pp. 5–6).

⁶⁷Abrams, p. 14. For a recent examination of Wordsworth's prominence to institutionalized, academic studies of literature, see Reid, who examines "how the poet William Wordsworth has been appropriated again and again in efforts to establish the nature and purpose of English" (p. 2). Reid describes his study as interested in how "Wordsworth becomes resituated centrally under the sign of nationalized literary study" (p. 37).

⁶⁸Wordsworth, "Home at Grasmere," lines 137–40.

⁶⁹Wordsworth, "Home at Grasmere," lines 164–6, 36–42, emphasis added.

⁷⁰Klancher, p. 5; Duncan, with Leith Davis, and Janet Sorensen, introduction to Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism, pp. 1–19, 5.

⁷¹See, for example, Erickson, who, among other things, discusses Wordsworth's construction of authorship within a changing literary marketplace, where, for instance, poetry was yielding to prose. Accordingly, he writes, "Wordsworth did not think of his work as transcending the world but as intimately involved in its daily business and as belonging to the literary marketplace" (p. 49). Thomas Pfau, as cited by Reid, makes a similar charge in asserting that Wordsworth made the "interiority of the middle-class subject into a commodity purveyed through a chain of production and consumption—writing, reading, printing, publishing, and reviewing"—material processes, in short (qtd. in Reid, pp. 44–5). Reid's study, with its focus on Wordsworth within English studies as an academic, institutional structure, is also of use here; Reid reminds us, "Although it is obvious that the early nineteenth century in Britain was a time of great productivity on the part of individual artists, the continuing significance of what they produced can be

appreciated only with reference to public structures” (p. 37). Reid calls Romanticism, generally, “an ensemble of material practices” (p. 37).

⁷²Hess, p. 6, emphasis added. Later, he calls the “emergence of the authorial self . . . central to Wordsworth’s poetics . . . a kind of *significant detour or side effect* of his need to authorize his vocational relationship with the print market public” (p. 25, emphasis added).

⁷³Duncan, Davis, and Sorensen, pp. 2, 1.

⁷⁴Hess, p. 13.

⁷⁵Kernan, pp. 287–8.

⁷⁶Hess, p. 13.

⁷⁷And in turning from poetry to prose, Scott, as Goslee suggests, in essence became “a male writer anonymously taking on the female role of novel writing” (p. 284).

⁷⁸John Sutherland, The Life of Sir Walter Scott: A Critical Biography, Blackwell Critical Biographies 6 (Oxford and Cambridge MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), p. 8.

⁷⁹Sutherland, The Life of Sir Walter Scott, p. 19.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Jane Austen, Northanger Abbey, in Jane Austen: The Complete Novels, Oxford Paperbacks (Oxford and New York:, 1994), pp. 1068–1217, 1133.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Austen, pp. 1133–4.

⁸⁴Sacvan Bercovitch, “The Question of Literary History,” Common Knowledge 4, 2 (Fall 1995): 1–8, 1, 2.

⁸⁵Bercovitch, pp. 5, 3.

⁸⁶Sir Walter Scott, The Lay of the Last Minstrel, in The Works of Sir Walter Scott, with an Introduction and Bibliography, Wordsworth Poetry Library (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1995), pp. 1–43, VI.ii.14–20. Future references to the Lay will be to this edition, cited parenthetically in the text by canto, stanza, and line numbers.

⁸⁷Wordsworth, Yarrow Revisited, in William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, pp. 365–8, lines 52–3.

⁸⁸Wordsworth, Yarrow Revisited, line 51.

⁸⁹Wordsworth, Yarrow Revisited, lines 8, 59. See also Wordsworth’s 1833 sonnet “On the Departure of Sir Walter Scott from Abbotsford, for Naples,” which sees Scott off “to soft Parthenope” (i.e., Naples) (“On the Departure of Sir Walter Scott from Abbotsford, for Naples,” in William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 368, line 14).

⁹⁰Wordsworth, Yarrow Revisited, line 89.

⁹¹Wordsworth, Yarrow Revisited, lines 87–8.

⁹²Qtd. in Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 725n365, emphasis added.

⁹³Carlyle, “Sir Walter Scott,” in Critical and Miscellaneous Essays: Collected and Republished, vol. 16 of The Works of Thomas Carlyle (Complete), 16 vols. (New York: Peter and Fendon Collier, 1897), 16:104–70, 116.

⁹⁴William Hazlitt, “From Lectures on the English Poets, 1818,” in William Wordsworth: The Critical Heritage, Volume I: 1793–1820, ed. Robert Woof, Critical Heritage Series, 2 vols. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 1:887–94, 891.

⁹⁵Katie Trumpener, Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire, Literature in History (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997), p. 6. What Trumpener

calls the “late-eighteenth-century bardic revival” places “emphasis [on] the social rootedness and political function of literature, as [on] the inescapability of literary performance from specific institutions and audiences”; contrarily, “English writers,” she writes, “insist . . . on literature’s social and political autonomy” (p. 6).

⁹⁶Wordsworth, “Home at Grasmere,” lines 989–90.

⁹⁷Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 15.

⁹⁸They met toward the end of a tour of Scotland that Wordsworth embarked on with his sister Dorothy and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the basis for Dorothy’s Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland A. D. 1803 (1805). With Scott as guide, they explored the eastern border region during the week of 17–23 September; this same week, Scott read the first four cantos of his yet-unpublished Lay of the Last Minstrel (Gill, William Wordsworth: A Life, pp. 214–5).

⁹⁹Quoted in Markham L. Peacock, Jr., The Critical Opinions of William Wordsworth (1950; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1969), s.v. “Scott, Walter (General Criticism),” pp. 338–40, 340.

¹⁰⁰Ibid. Henry Crabb Robinson recorded the observation.

¹⁰¹Ibid. Christopher Wordsworth, Jr. records William opining, “[Scott] is not a careful composer. He allows himself many liberties, which betray a want of respect for his reader” (quoted in Peacock, Jr., s.v. “Scott, Walter [General Criticism],” p. 339).

¹⁰²Gill, William Wordsworth: A Life, pp. 217, 218.

¹⁰³Gill, William Wordsworth: A Life, p. 218.

¹⁰⁴Qtd in Bell, 3:5, emphasis added.

¹⁰⁵Qtd. in Peacock, Jr., s.v. “Scotch Writers,” pp. 336–7, 336.

¹⁰⁶See his “British Literature,” chapter 2 of Devolving English Literature, pp. 45–110, especially pp. 45–6, where he sees, among English poets and novelists, little indication of “any profound confrontation with the issue of being British as opposed to English”: “The Union of Parliaments in 1707, and its consequences,” he writes, “had very little effect on literature written in England” (p. 45).

¹⁰⁷Trumpener, p. 15. For Trumpener, England, in many ways, envies Britain’s “bardic fringes.”

¹⁰⁸Qtd in Mary Jane W. Scott, James Thomson, Anglo-Scott (Athens and London: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1988), p. 10.

¹⁰⁹Ralph Cohen, The Art of Discrimination: Thomson’s “The Seasons” and the Language of Criticism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1964), p. 115.

¹¹⁰Kernan, p. 7; Duncan, “Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, and the Institutions of English,” p. 38.

¹¹¹Tim Fulford, “‘Nature’ Poetry,” in The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry, ed. John Sitter, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), pp. 109–31, 114. The first major comprehensive study of such poetry, a study that addresses the veritable “glut” of such works, was R. A. Aubin, Topographical Poetry in Eighteenth-Century England, Modern Language Association of America: Revolving Fund Series 4 (New York: Modern Language Association, 1936).

¹¹²Qtd. in Averill, p. 9.

¹¹³Klancher, p. 39.

¹¹⁴W. Scott, pp. 8, 14, 63.

¹¹⁵W. Scott, p. 94.

¹¹⁶W. Scott, p. 39.

¹¹⁷W. Scott, p. 104, emphasis added.

¹¹⁸W. Scott, p. 37.

¹¹⁹W. Scott, p. 57.

¹²⁰Qtd. in W. Scott, p. 154.

¹²¹James Thomson, "Summer," from The Seasons, in James Thomson: "The Seasons" and "The Castle of Indolence", ed. James Sambrook, Oxford Paperback English Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 1–162, lines 1560–2. Subsequent references will be to this edition of The Seasons, cited parenthetically by book title and line numbers. In 1727, the same year these lines were composed, Thomson had written A Poem Sacred to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton. Samuel Johnson called the latter a work that Thomson "was enabled to perform as an exact philosopher" ("Thomson," in Swift-Lyttelton, vol. 3 of Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, D. C. L., 3 vols. [New York: Octagon Books, 1967], 3:281–301, 286).

¹²²W. Scott, p. 39.

¹²³John MacQueen, Progress and Poetry, vol. 1 of The Enlightenment and Scottish Literature, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1982), 1:58.

¹²⁴See James Thomson: "The Seasons" and "The Castle of Indolence," lines 79–89n (p. 215).

¹²⁵Dr. John Walker, "Experiments on the Motion of the Sap in Trees," Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1, Part II (1788): 3–40.

¹²⁶MacQueen, p. 56.

¹²⁷The passage is indebted to Sir Isaac Newton's Opticks (1704), and the scene is a distillation of Thomson's scientific-moral worldview. Newton's rationalistic rainbow, emerging in the wake of a storm, is the emblem of a new, Newtonian/Judeo-Christian covenant with fallen, post-deluge humanity.

¹²⁸Poovey, p. 223. Adam Smith's "invisible hand" could be an example of such an abstraction, an "invisible (but consistent) agent whose agenda was realized in phenomena both observed and yet to be seen" (p. 216).

¹²⁹Crawford, Devolving English Literature, p. 49. Earlier he writes, "Thomson asserts a Britishness which is not (as it is in Pope) the equivalent of Englishness" (p. 47).

¹³⁰Crawford, Devolving English Literature, p. 53.

¹³¹This invocation of Virgil, a commonplace in loco-descriptive poetry, is, as W. Scott notes, "that which might be expected of an eighteenth-century Scot who grew up in the unimproved, isolated, and in many ways primitive Border country and who loved it, and who, too, had 'progressed' to the cities of Edinburgh and London to practice his art" (p. 169).

¹³²Simon Dentith, Epic and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006), p. 1.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Dentith, p. 17.

¹³⁵Dentith, p. 5.

¹³⁶Dentith, pp. 8, 7.

¹³⁷Dentith, p. 6.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹Dentith, p. 12.

¹⁴⁰Thomas Love Peacock, "The Four Ages of Poetry," in The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism, ed. Vincent B. Leitch, William E. Cain, Laurie Finke, Barbara Johnson, John McGowan, and Jeffrey J. Williams (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), pp. 684–95, 691.

¹⁴¹Siskin, p. 94.

¹⁴²Dentith, p. 9.

¹⁴³Dentith, p. 8, emphasis added.

¹⁴⁴Trumpener, p. 6. In her introduction to Bardic Nationalism, she discusses the bardic theory of poetry in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland as an explicitly political expression: "bardic composition not only bears witness to but [also] resists English cultural violence" (p. 5).

¹⁴⁵Trumpener, p. 4, emphasis added.

¹⁴⁶Dentith, pp. 10, 8.

¹⁴⁷Trumpener, p. 6.

¹⁴⁸Collins, "Ode Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. Thomson," in The Works of William Collins, ed. Richard Wendorf and Charles Ryskamp, Oxford English Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 53–5, lines 1, 27.

¹⁴⁹Collins, "Ode Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. Thomson," lines 8, 6.

¹⁵⁰Trumpener, p. 3.

¹⁵¹Collins, "Ode Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. Thomson," lines 2, 41–2.

¹⁵²Cohen, p. 105.

¹⁵³Cohen, p. 98.

¹⁵⁴Cohen, pp. 3, 82.

¹⁵⁵Cohen, p. 382.

¹⁵⁶W. Scott, pp. 4, 7.

¹⁵⁷Qtd. in Sambrook, introduction to James Thomson: “The Seasons” and “The Castle of Indolence.” pp. ix–xix, xiv.

¹⁵⁸Cohen, p. 84.

¹⁵⁹Samuel Johnson, “Thomson,” p. 297.

¹⁶⁰W. Scott, p. 145.

¹⁶¹In an unintentionally suggestive passage, Johnson says of The Seasons and the many revisions its individual sections underwent, “They [i.e., the respective four books] are, I think, improved in general; yet I know not whether they have lost part of what Temple calls their *race*, a word which, applied to wines, in its primitive sense, means *the flavor of the soil*” (“Thomson,” pp. 300–1, latter emphasis added). The history of The Seasons is an account of how it would become *deracinated*, losing the flavor of its own native soil.

¹⁶²Cohen, p. 98.

¹⁶³Cohen, p. 119.

¹⁶⁴Cohen, p. 109.

¹⁶⁵W. Scott, p. 96.

¹⁶⁶Cohen, pp. 111, 105.

¹⁶⁷Cohen, p. 115.

¹⁶⁸Cohen, p. 98.

¹⁶⁹Cohen, pp. 85, 103.

¹⁷⁰Johnson, “Thomson,” p. 297.

¹⁷¹Reflecting on The Seasons in 1841, Allan Cunningham observed, “A general love of literature was not so diffused in Thomson’s time as in ours” (qtd. in Cohen, p. 424). The assertion suggests that changing ideas of the poem (i.e., more purely literary ideas of it) are indeed linked to material processes (“diffus[ion]”).

¹⁷²Kernan, pp. 5–6, emphasis added.

¹⁷³Kernan, p. 7.

¹⁷⁴Kernan, p. 108.

¹⁷⁵Duncan, “Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, and the Institutions of English,” p. 38, emphasis added.

¹⁷⁶Poovey, p. 251.

¹⁷⁷Poovey, p. 249.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

¹⁷⁹Poovey, p. 256. Earlier she writes, “[T]he Scottish historians typically did not call attention to the role their own hopes and fears might have played in generating knowledge” (p. 254).

¹⁸⁰Qtd. in Peacock, Jr., s.v. “Thomson, James (Works),” pp. 368–70, 369, emphasis added.

¹⁸¹Geoffrey H. Hartman, Wordsworth’s Poetry, 1787–1814 (1964; rpt. New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1977), p. 93. As Averill recounts in his discussion of An Evening Walk, Virgil’s Georgics would have been among the young Wordsworth’s school translation exercises, undoubtedly furnishing “a model for the kind of rural poetry he wished to write” in something like An Evening Walk (p. 4).

¹⁸²Averill, p. 3.

¹⁸³Averill, p. 4.

¹⁸⁴Averill, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵Qtd. in William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 683n1.

¹⁸⁶Wordsworth, An Evening Walk, in William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, pp. 1–12, lines 2, 9, 10, and 12. Subsequent references will be to this edition, cited parenthetically by page number.

¹⁸⁷Hartman, p. 90. Elsewhere he calls it “an anthology of purely natural images” (p. 92).

¹⁸⁸Gill, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 683n1.

¹⁸⁹Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n1.

¹⁹⁰Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n7.

¹⁹¹Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n3.

¹⁹²Ibid.

¹⁹³Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n9, emphasis added.

¹⁹⁴See Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n6.

¹⁹⁵Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n3.

¹⁹⁶Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n4.

¹⁹⁷Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n5.

¹⁹⁸Wordsworth, William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n6.

¹⁹⁹Mahoney, p. 1, emphasis added.

²⁰⁰Ibid. A memorable case of this is a review by Francis Jeffrey, who complains about the poet’s populating his works with “certain moody and capricious personages, made after the poet’s own heart and fancy,” “instead of the men and women of ordinary humanity.”

He goes on to note, “The sports of childhood and the untimely death of promising youth, is . . . a common topic of poetry. Mr Wordsworth had made some blank verse about it; but instead of the delightful and picturesque sketches with which so many authors of moderate talents have presented us on this inviting subject, all that he is pleased to communicate . . . is . . . that *the author* has frequently stood mute and gazed on [the Boy of Winander’s] grave for half an hour together!” (qtd. in Erickson, p. 52).

²⁰¹Sheats, p. 58.

²⁰²Hartman, p. 85, emphasis added.

²⁰³Hartman, p. 94.

²⁰⁴Hartman, p. 97.

²⁰⁵Gerald P. Tyson, preface to Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1979), pp. xi–xii, xi.

²⁰⁶Klancher, p. 39.

²⁰⁷Tyson, p. 21. In his introduction, Tyson writes, “Johnson followed a ‘liberal’ path. This meant that the books he issued tended consistently to oppose the status quo, to challenge the established givens, and to dissent from received opinions. Instead there was an emphasis on innovation and experimentation [i.e., in his work as a publisher]” (Introduction to Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher, pp. xiii–xix, xvii).

²⁰⁸Tyson, pp. 18, 38.

²⁰⁹Qtd. in Klancher, p. 39.

²¹⁰Tyson, pp. 60–1.

²¹¹Tyson, introduction to Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher, p. xviii.

²¹²Tyson, introduction to Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher, p. xvii.

²¹³Tyson, p. 211.

²¹⁴Qtd. in Tyson, p. 33.

²¹⁵Tyson, p. 196.

²¹⁶As Tyson sees it, Johnson's work in periodicals is further evidence of both his liberalism and his innovativeness (see p. 27). At a later point in this study, I discuss how the emergence of periodicals, especially in Scotland, signaled an erosion of the public sphere. As Klancher notes, "[B]y 1790, the public sphere had become an image to be consumed by readers who did not frequent it. *The journal displaces the public gathering place*" (p. 23, emphasis added).

²¹⁷Qtd. in Tyson, p. 27.

²¹⁸Ibid.

²¹⁹Tyson, p. 76.

²²⁰Tyson, p. 56.

²²¹Tyson, p. 97. Klancher asserts that the expansion of the booksellers' trade during this period meant, in turn, that "[a] whole cultural machinery had to be formed to channel books to their readers"; the periodical review was a key component of this machinery (p. 19).

²²²Ibid.

²²³Klancher, pp. 40, 39.

²²⁴Qtd. in Klancher, p. 40, emphasis added.

²²⁵Qtd. in William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n1.

²²⁶Mahoney, p. 4.

²²⁷See Tyson, pp. 171–5.

²²⁸Qtd. in Averill, p. 8.

²²⁹Qtd. in Averill, p. 16.

²³⁰Ibid.

²³¹Qtd. in Averill, p. 3.

²³²Averill, p. 6.

²³³See William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 684n5.

²³⁴Averill, p. 7.

²³⁵Qtd. in Peacock, Jr., s.v. "Thomson, James (General Criticism)," pp. 367–8, 368.

²³⁶Qtd. in Peacock, Jr., s.v. "Thomson, James (Works)," p. 368.

²³⁷Ibid., emphasis added.

²³⁸George Gordon, Lord Byron, "From English Bards and Scotch Reviewers: A Satire," in Byron: The Oxford Authors, ed. Jerome McGann, The Oxford Authors (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), pp. 2–13, lines 111–24.

²³⁹Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, pp. 3, 193n1. In Scott's discussion of "Romantic Poetry" within the preface to his Bridal of Triermain, it is assumed he refers to Byron when mentioning how "the popularity [of Romantic poetry] has been revived in the present day, under the auspices, and by the unparalleled success of one individual" (p. 267).

²⁴⁰Qtd. in Crawford, Devolving English Literature, pp. 120–1.

²⁴¹Scott, Marmion, in The Works of Sir Walter Scott, pp. 47–119, I.x.12, 9–10, 17–8. Future references to Marmion will be to this edition, cited parenthetically by canto, stanza, and line number.

²⁴²Byron, lines 64–6.

²⁴³Byron, lines 31–2.

²⁴⁴Peter D. Garside, “Scott and the ‘Philosophical’ Historians,” Journal of the History of Ideas 36, 3 (July–September 1975): 497–512, 499.

²⁴⁵Sutherland, The Life of Sir Walter Scott, pp. 41–2.

²⁴⁶Duncan Forbes, “The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott,” The Cambridge Journal 7 (1953): 20–35, 22.

²⁴⁷Garside, “Scott and the ‘Philosophical’ Historians,” pp. 497, 504.

²⁴⁸Garside, “Scott and the ‘Philosophical’ Historians,” p. 505.

²⁴⁹Forbes, p. 27.

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*

²⁵¹Qtd. in Forbes, p. 26.

²⁵²Scott, “The Culloden Papers,” rpt. in The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, 28 vols. (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1835), 20:1–93, 10.

²⁵³Sutherland, The Life of Sir Walter Scott, p. 4.

²⁵⁴Garside, “Scott and the ‘Philosophical’ Historians,” p. 508.

²⁵⁵Dentith, p. 33.

²⁵⁶Scott, “Preface to the First Edition” of The Bridal of Triermain, or, The Vale of St. John. A Lover’s Tale, in The Works of Sir Walter Scott, pp. 267–9, 267.

²⁵⁷Scott, “Preface to the First Edition” of The Lay of the Last Minstrel, in The Works of Sir Walter Scott, p. 2.

²⁵⁸*Ibid.*, emphasis added. Indeed, insofar as poetic meter, in this preface, is a marker of historical fidelity, prose, the language of Scott’s novels, becomes the vehicle for a retreat from historical particularity.

²⁵⁹Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 8.

²⁶⁰Scott, “Advertisement to the First Edition” of Marmion, in The Works of Sir Walter Scott, p. 46, emphasis added.

²⁶¹Ibid, emphasis added.

²⁶²Dentith, p. 43.

²⁶³Dentith, p. 42.

²⁶⁴Scott, The Lady of the Lake, in The Works of Sir Walter Scott, pp. 123–82, III.i.1–5.

Future references to this poem will be to this edition, cited parenthetically by canto, stanza, and line numbers.

²⁶⁵Scott, “Preface to the First Edition” of The Lay of the Last Minstrel, p. 2. We see the sentiment echoed in Scott’s homage, from Marmion, to his “Border sires of old, [who] / Waked *a wild measure* rude and bold” (“Introduction to Canto Fifth” of Marmion, pp. 88–90, emphasis added).

²⁶⁶Dentith, p. 9.

²⁶⁷Goslee, p. 32.

²⁶⁸Goslee, p. 21.

²⁶⁹Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 18.

²⁷⁰Dentith, p. 10.

²⁷¹Dentith, p. 33.

²⁷²Goslee, p. 20.

²⁷³Ibid.

- ²⁷⁴Scott, Rokeby, in The Works of Sir Walter Scott, pp. 207–65, I.xii.13. Future references to the poem will be to this edition, cited parenthetically by canto, stanza, and line numbers.
- ²⁷⁵Qtd. in Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 21.
- ²⁷⁶See Scott, “L’Envoy,” in The Works of Sir Walter Scott, p. 119, line 6.
- ²⁷⁷Scott, “Introduction to Canto Second” of Marmion, pp. 57–60, 58.
- ²⁷⁸Scott, “Introduction to Canto Second” of Marmion, p. 59.
- ²⁷⁹Scott, “Introduction to Canto First” of Marmion, pp. 47–51, 50.
- ²⁸⁰Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 22.
- ²⁸¹*Ibid.*
- ²⁸²Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 21.
- ²⁸³Scott, “Advertisement to the First Edition” of Marmion, p. 46, emphasis added.
- ²⁸⁴Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 41.
- ²⁸⁵Millgate, Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 43.
- ²⁸⁶Scott, “Advertisement” to Rokeby, in The Works of Sir Walter Scott, p. 206, emphasis added.
- ²⁸⁷Edgar Johnson, Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 1:522.
- ²⁸⁸Scott, Waverley; or, ’Tis Sixty Years Since, ed. Lamont, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), p. 32. All subsequent citations will be to this edition, noted parenthetically by page number. The general precedent for considering these chapters as a unit comes from Scott’s disputed account in the “General Preface” of 1829, where he notes, “Having proceeded as far, I think, as the Seventh

Chapter, I showed my work to a critical friend [William Erskine], whose opinion was unfavourable . . . I therefore threw aside the work I had commenced, without either reluctance or remonstrance” (“General Preface [1829],” in Waverley; or 'Tis Sixty Years Since, pp. 349–61, 352). The surviving manuscript, however, suggests that more had been completed than these first seven chapters of the first volume; see Lamont, “Note on the Text,” in Waverley; or 'Tis Sixty Years Since, pp. xxi–xxiv, especially xxi–xxii, and Garside, “Waverley and the National Fiction Revolution,” in Ambition and Industry: 1800–1880, 3:222–31, especially 223–5. In “Scott, the Eighteenth Century, and the New Man of Sentiment” (Anglia 103 [1985]: 71–89), Garside discusses the novel’s composition, noting that “the early chapters . . . were written, of course, almost ten years before the main body of the work” in his study of Scott’s nineteenth-century updating of the “man of sentiment” (p. 79). Garside traces how Scott’s additions to the initial manuscript ultimately mitigate the “familiar parody” of sentimentality in the early chapters (p. 79). For Garside, Waverley’s two successors, Guy Mannering and The Antiquary, also move out of anti-sentimentalism and structurally replicate the temporal lapse in the first novel’s composition.

While my reading differs from Garside’s here, I ultimately share his interest in reading Scott’s novels (especially his first three) over time to consider their progression and interrelations. Millgate, for one, has argued for viewing “Scott’s career as a novelist as an historical phenomenon taking place over a period of time” so as “to throw light on the dialogue Scott was conducting with himself and with his first readers about the conventions . . . he was in the process of creating” (Millgate, preface to Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, pp. vii–xii, viii). In my discussion, I will draw attention to how

Waverley's reviews, themselves reflective of an evolution in British print culture, precipitated its two successors' self-conscious depictions of the Scottish Enlightenment.

²⁸⁹The phrase is from Forbes, p. 32.

²⁹⁰Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 13.

²⁹¹See, for example, Millgate, Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 89, 90. Thus, Kathryn Chittick writes, "It is a matter of common knowledge that the publishing history of the Waverley novels marks the settling down of the multi-volumed eighteenth-century novel into the nineteenth-century three-decker, the leveling-off of a rise in the price of novels to 31s 6d, and the shift from 12mo [duodecimo] to 8vo [octavo]" (Dickens and the 1830s [Cambridge and New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990], p. 66).

²⁹²Garside, "Scott, the Eighteenth Century, and the New Man of Sentiment," p. 71. For more on Scott's Enlightenment education, activities, and points of contact, see Garside, "Scott and the 'Philosophical' Historians," and Forbes.

²⁹³Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 13.

²⁹⁴Duncan, "Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, and the Institutions of English," p. 37.

²⁹⁵Ibid.

²⁹⁶Ina Ferris, The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels (Ithaca and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1991), p. 93.

²⁹⁷Ibid.

²⁹⁸Forbes, p. 26.

²⁹⁹Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 13.

³⁰⁰Goslee, p. 21.

³⁰¹Sutherland, Victorian Novelists and Publishers (Univ. of London: Athlone Press, 1976), p. 12.

³⁰²Robert P. Irvine, "Enlightenment, Agency, and Romance: The Case of Scott's Guy Mannering," Journal of Narrative Theory 30, 1 (2000): 29–54, 49.

³⁰³Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 13. See also Isabelle Bour, who discusses the novel's "questioning of the ethics of romance" and its advocacy of "accepting social responsibility and social change" ("Sensibility as Epistemology in Caleb Williams, Waverley, and Frankenstein," SEL 45, 4 [Autumn 2005]: 813–27, 823).

³⁰⁴Typical here is James Kerr, who writes, "In Waverley, [Scott] removes the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 from the historical narrative of dynastic politics in which it occupies a central position and sets it in the romance plot of the hero's career, in which it can only have a subordinate role" (Fiction Against History: Scott as a Storyteller [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989], p. 5). Kerr notes that "[r]omance serves in Waverley as both a way of escaping history and of domesticating a threatening past" (p. 30). Such discussions have been useful to my study, particularly in my next chapter, since these discussions of genre, particularly romance, become a way of discussing agency, the individual's relationship to historical process. See Irvine who usefully synthesizes (albeit to refute) a long tradition that celebrates romance as realism's "opposite and antidote" in individualistic, liberatory terms (p. 30): "Coming from their respective positions as Blakean romantic and romantic-inflected Marxist, [Northrop] Frye and, after him, [Fredric] Jameson both understand history as a nightmare from which humankind struggles to awake: in particular, as a force outside human control by which we find it impossible to realise our human essence. Romance then appears as the lucid dream in

which human desires are ultimately realized in spite of everything. Both [Frye and Jameson] equate romance with narrative form, and then posit this form as embodying an apocalyptic or utopian promise of free will in the face of a historical reality that denies it” (p. 30).

³⁰⁵Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 180.

³⁰⁶Garside, “Waverley and the National Fiction Revolution,” 3:229.

³⁰⁷For a discussion of the individualized author and reader as parallel developments, see Hess, who writes, “The individual self of the author . . . developed together as a focus of attention with [the] individual self of the reader” (p. 19). Hess’s work discusses how a “poetics of authorial self-representation” (p. 9) (at its apex with Romanticism) stemmed from “eighteenth-century poets’ attempts to come to terms with the radically new socio-economic contexts for writing” (p. 7).

³⁰⁸For more on Waverley as “a first configuring, of the thematic and the dynamics of the novel of education,” see Bour, p. 823.

³⁰⁹Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 58.

³¹⁰Such descriptions accord with Scott’s commentary on his own “course of ‘desultory’ omnivorous reading”: “A respectable subscription library, a circulating library of ancient standing and some private bookshelves,” he writes, “were open to my random perusal and I waded into the stream like a blind man into a ford without the power of searching my way by groping for it. My appetite for books was as ample and indiscriminating as it

was indefatigable and I since have had too frequently reason to repent that few ever read so much, and to so little purpose” (qtd. in Sutherland, Life of Sir Walter Scott, p. 24).

³¹¹Thus, the condition that Peter Brooks has famously described as the “necessary retrospectivity of narrative” becomes in Scott’s handling an emblem of authorial agency in the new author-and-reader-centered print milieu (Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative [New York: Vintage Books, 1985], p. 22).

³¹²The phrase is Bour’s (p. 813).

³¹³See also Klancher, who discusses how during this period “the individual writer’s” vocation “guarantees, by the multiplication of innumerable solitary reading acts, the greater good of the collective public” (p. 46).

³¹⁴Hartman, p. 85, emphasis added.

³¹⁵Klancher, p. 39.

³¹⁶See also Hess, who captures this sense when he writes, “The sense of experimentation and uncertainty in much mid to late eighteenth-century poetry can be seen as emerging out of an incompatibility between inherited poetic practices and an altered social and economic environment for writing, generating poets’ attempts to adapt old forms to emergent print culture conditions” (p. 9).

³¹⁷After Rose’s initial explanation of the *creagh* and her description of Fergus MacIvor, *Waverley* designates the latter as a “sort of Highland Jonathan Wild”—evidence of

Waverley's interpretation of Highland culture and his predilection for popular, occasionally disreputable reading (p. 71).

³¹⁸Martin Martin, "Dedication," in "A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland" ca 1695 and "A Late Voyage to St. Kilda" (Martin Martin) with "A Description of the Occidental (i.e. Western) Islands of Scotland" (Donald Monro), ed. Charles W. J. Withers (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 1999), p. 235.

³¹⁹For a discussion of the "discourse of civic *virtue*" as a Scottish Enlightenment phenomenon, see Yoon Sun Lee, "Giants in the North," pp. 109–10, emphasis added. According to Lee, "virtue" among the Scottish literati amounted to a "Stoic negation of private pleasure" in favor of an "active participation in public affairs" (p. 111). Among its most eloquent spokesmen was Adam Ferguson (author of An Essay on the History of Civil Society), who called it "that habit of the soul by which we consider ourselves as but a part of some beloved community, and as but individual members of some society, whose general welfare is to us the supreme object of our zeal" (qtd. in Lee, "Giants in the North," p. 112).

³²⁰Again, see Bour on the *Bildungsroman*, which she discusses as an emergence from "the disintegration of a literary model, that of the novel of sensibility" (p. 818). Her article, however, tends to conflate romance (defined by Waverley's early reading) with the novel of sensibility, something that I believe can be problematized.

³²¹See also Brooks's discussion of narrative as "always . . . on the verge of premature discharge, of short-circuit." For Brooks, such a short-circuit "most commonly takes the

form of temptation to the mistaken erotic object choice, who may be of the ‘Belle Dame sans merci’ variety” (p. 109). Flora certainly fits this latter description. I am interested in how the temptation represents an alternate generic possibility within Scott’s idea of the novel and, later, in how that concept is instantiated in the three-volume format. For more on the “Belle Dame sans merci” trope in Scott (as a vehicle for generic and narrative diversion), see Goslee, whose study, however, is concerned exclusively with Scott’s poetry.

³²²Fergus, quite obviously, remains unmarried at the novel’s end. Early on, Flora remarks of him that he “wooded no bride but Honour” (p. 129). His marital aspirations are, themselves, anti-domestic, grounded solely on political and inheritance ambitions.

³²³Ferris, p. 93. Garside also finds literary precedent for Mr. Morton, calling him an “elder man of feeling” (one placed in a “typical eighteenth-century dualism with Major Melville, the latter a ‘distrustful man of the world’”) (“Scott, the Eighteenth Century, and the New Man of Sentiment,” pp. 80, 79–80). Garside cites Donald Davie to the effect that the “influx of ‘sentiment’ serves to demonstrate a cultural change in Scotland,” such that “‘the intensity of one’s own emotional reaction’ becomes the criterion of behavior” (p. 79).

³²⁴Ibid.

³²⁵Morton’s biography also includes marriage (“for love”) to “an amiable young woman . . . who was quickly followed to the grave by an only child” (p. 162). According to the narrator, this love and loss “served . . . to soften and enhance a disposition naturally mild

and contemplative” (p. 162). As I see it, Morton’s marriage is a necessary part of his inclusive, novelistic sensibility, part of Scott’s emphasis on domesticity as a component of the novel, something distinguishing it from the other textual genres with which it is contending.

³²⁶Srinivas Aravamudan, “The Return of Anachronism,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 62, 4 (December 2001): 331–53, 349. As I discuss in the introduction, this recalls, of course, Scott’s own grounds for rejecting the central tenets of Scottish conjectural history, namely, his awareness that any reasonable observation would reveal “not a four-part [cultural] progression, but the overlap of one stage by another” (Poovey, p. 227).

³²⁷Aravamudan, p. 351.

³²⁸Irvine, p. 49.

³²⁹Scott, “General Preface [1829],” in *Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, pp. 349–61, 349.

³³⁰Scott, “Advertisement. [1829],” in *Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, pp. 347–8, 347. The multiple collected reissues of the Waverley Novels under Scott’s name did much to establish the individualized author as a powerful force in nineteenth-century print culture. Garside writes, “Through the identification of a series of works with a celebrated individual, Scott and his publishers had transformed the idea of the author as it was understood in the public mind” (“*Waverley* and the National Fiction Revolution,” 3:229).

³³¹One of the singular ironies of literary history is how in this regard Scott shaped and influenced future discourse on the three-volume novel: what for him was a forward-looking format represented, for, say, the Charles Dickens of Sketches by Boz or Pickwick, a stifling bookishness or, for the William Makepeace Thackeray of Henry Esmond (1852), the imprecisely antiquated. In a later chapter, I will explore how in Barnaby Rudge, Dickens's meditation on Scott's legacy and the historical novel is played out self-consciously in a *serial* format.

³³²Garside writes, "Whatever 'eighteenth-century' elements might be traceable there, the Waverley Novels fitted all too easily into the Victorian dress of their post-Magnum revivals" ("Scott, the Eighteenth Century, and the New Man of Sentiment," pp. 87–8).

³³³Millgate, Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History, p. 106.

³³⁴Ibid. See the entirety of this chapter ("Publishing Context and Later Influence," pp. 89–107) for Millgate's discussion of how fiction was outselling various Enlightenment genres at this time. She also describes the failure of recurring attempts to reprint any series of eighteenth-century novels with biographical introductions by Scott. (A plan that was also troubled by copyright issues). Publishers and readers wanted Scott's introductions "unencumbered by the novels," an interesting sign of a revolution in literary taste (p. 103).

³³⁵Ibid. Millgate is quoting J. G. Lockhart.

³³⁶Qtd. in Garside, "Scott and the 'Philosophical' Historians," p. 498.

³³⁷Temporal and historical origins that, as generations of bibliographers have established, were always indeterminate.

³³⁸Scott, rev. of John Home's Works (ed. Henry Mackenzie), Quarterly Review (1827); qtd. in Garside, "Scott, the Eighteenth Century and the New Man of Sentiment," p. 77.

³³⁹Ferris, p. 23.

³⁴⁰Ibid. See also Duncan, who attributes to the "proliferation of periodicals . . . in an industrializing print culture" nothing less than a "spirit of metaphysical restlessness," the print-culture condition in Scott and Wordsworth I have discussed, that of being trapped between two worlds ("Blackwood's and Romantic Nationalism," pp. 73, 70).

³⁴¹Ibid.

³⁴²Klancher, p. 15. Klancher's discussion is useful in this context. He accounts for how the "political and economic dislocations" of the time "generated experiments in periodical writing that nineteenth-century writers would take up with the most telling effect" (p. 39). In the absence of the reading contexts of the Enlightenment, such periodicals individualized both readers and writer through "the making and cultivating of 'mind'" and by developing a notion of "style" as a "pliable concept" that could denote "the signature of an individual writer" and thus "anticipate John Stuart Mill's poet who talks to himself" (pp. 40, 45).

³⁴³Siskin, pp. 81, 86.

³⁴⁴Siskin, p. 96.

³⁴⁵Unsigned rev. of Waverley, British Critic, n.s., 2 (August 1814): 189–211; rpt. in Scott: The Critical Heritage, ed. John O. Hayden, Critical Heritage Series (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 67–74, 67.

³⁴⁶Ibid.

³⁴⁷Unsigned rev. of Waverley, p. 69.

³⁴⁸Unsigned rev. of Waverley, p. 71.

³⁴⁹Unsigned rev. of Waverley, p. 68.

³⁵⁰Unsigned rev. of Waverley, p. 72.

³⁵¹Unsigned rev. of Waverley, p. 68.

³⁵²Ibid. Garside has discussed Waverley as a product of this “restoration of peace.” See “Scott, the Eighteenth Century, and the New Man of Sentiment,” where he notes, “The main portion of Waverley was dashed off shortly after the allies had entered Napoleon’s capital: a time of national euphoria, when even the Edinburgh Review, notorious for its earlier bad-mouthing of the war, gloried in the universality of ‘feeling’ in the country and its victory over ‘universal domination’” (p. 87). More recently he has written, “Scott can be considered to have completed the greater part of his novel at a highly exhilarating moment at the end of the long Napoleonic War.” He goes on to assert that “[m]uch of this new confidence can be sensed in the final phase of narrative, which works hard to suggest the efficacy of a new Anglo-Scottish alliance, as symbolised in the ‘union’ between

Waverley and Rose Bradwardine, and the restoration of Tully-Veolan through the good graces of the English officer-gentleman Colonel Talbot” (“Waverley and the National Fiction Revolution,” 3:225).

³⁵³Unsigned rev. of Waverley, pp. 68–9.

³⁵⁴Unsigned rev. of Waverley, p. 69.

³⁵⁵Garside, “Scott and the ‘Philosophical’ Historians,” p. 507. See also Shapin, who discusses Jeffrey as part of “the Edinburgh review [sic] circle” that “stimulated” the “rise of young, middle-class Whigs to cultural eminence” in the early years of the nineteenth century (p. 39). Such figures, Shapin notes, “had their criticisms of the [Royal Society of Edinburgh] and of incorporated culture in general” (p. 39).

³⁵⁶Garside, “Scott, the Eighteenth Century, and the New Man of Sentiment,” p. 74.

³⁵⁷Appearing in the Review’s first issue, the article noted, “Events are always produced by the cooperation of complicated causes; and the theories that would refer them to extraordinary and mysterious agents, may infallibly be regarded as erroneous” (qtd. in Garside, “Scott and the ‘Philosophical’ Historians,” pp. 507–8).

³⁵⁸Francis Jeffrey, rev. of Waverley, Edinburgh Review 24 (November 1814): 208–43; rpt. in Scott: The Critical Heritage, pp. 79–84, 80.

³⁵⁹Jeffrey, p. 79.

³⁶⁰*Ibid.*

³⁶¹Jeffrey, p. 84.

³⁶²Klancher, p. 39.

³⁶³Scott, The Antiquary, ed. Nicola J. Watson, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), pp. 97, 108. All future references to The Antiquary will be to this edition, cited parenthetically by page number.

³⁶⁴Scott, The Antiquary, p. 13.

³⁶⁵Scott, "Advertisement," in The Antiquary, pp. 3–11, 3.

³⁶⁶Ibid.

³⁶⁷Unsigned review of The Antiquary, Quarterly Review, 15, 29 (April 1816): 125–39, 125, 126.

³⁶⁸Ibid.

³⁶⁹Indeed, a future plan to write a series of short, one-volume novels each concerned with a specific Scottish region and historical epoch was quickly abandoned.

³⁷⁰A course that never has run smooth. The assertion comes as a reminder of the literally violent process of assimilation and development underlying the telic plots of Scottish conjectural history, something *the novel*—the consolations of fiction—could elide. This is another instance validating the novel as a corrective to an unwieldy model of historical process.

³⁷¹OED, 2d edn., s.v. “Manners.” Interestingly, for this last definition, the OED cites Scott’s The Fair Maid of Perth (1828) for an example: “Our manners would have taught us to tarry till your lordship had invited us.”

³⁷²The “Advertisement’s” emphasis on manners is, moreover, at odds with Waverley’s famous declaration (in its first chapter) “the object of my tale is more a description of men than manners,” as Scott distinguishes his work from that of the “painter of antique or of fashionable manners,” one concerned with historical or modish particulars and ephemera (p. 5). As Ferris discusses, Scott’s claim here is a complicated echo of Henry Fielding’s Joseph Andrews (1742): “[Scott’s] point in the opening chapter is indeed the Fieldingesque one that the novelist concentrates on what is common (the human nature of ‘men’) rather than on what is particular (the cultural variable of ‘manners’). His wording, however, inverts that of Fielding, who had written that ‘I describe not men, but manners; not an individual, but a species.’ The generic point is ostensibly the same, but the formulation turns Fielding on his head, prefiguring the way in which Scott’s nineteenth-century historical mode of fiction will overturn the hierarchy of men and manners” (p. 96). The multiple definitions of “manners” here (and the vexed genealogy of its literary depiction), I argue, further attests to a discourse in flux.

³⁷³Aravamudan, p. 351.

³⁷⁴Bercovitch, p. 5.

³⁷⁵Scott, “Advertisement to The Antiquary,” in The Antiquary, pp. 3–11, 3.

³⁷⁶Robert C. Gordon, Under Which King? A Study of the Scottish Waverley Novels (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1969), p. 42.

³⁷⁷My assertion here is, of course influenced, by Benedict Anderson. For Anderson, the novel, working in “silent privacy in the lair of the skull” of each private reader is the genre and medium best suited to “re-presenting the kind of imagined community that is the nation” (Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalisms, rev. edn. [1983; rpt. London: Verso, 1991], p. 35). I bring this up to distinguish the scene of private (novel) reading from a scene of highly localized particularity.

³⁷⁸Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 13.

³⁷⁹Millgate, preface to Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. viii.

³⁸⁰Carlyle, Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History, p. 258.

³⁸¹Quoted in Chittick, p. 41.

³⁸²George Crabbe, The Library (1808), lines 145–50; quoted in Scott, Guy Mannering; or, The Astrologer, ed. Garside, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 109.

Subsequent references to Guy Mannering will be to this edition, noted parenthetically by page number.

³⁸³Scott’s description was in a letter of 19 January 1815 to his friend John Bacon Sawrey Morritt. Quoted in Millgate, introduction to Guy Mannering; or The Astrologer, pp. xi–xxvii, xiv.

³⁸⁴Scott, “Introduction to Guy Mannering,” in “Guy Mannering” and “Anne of Geierstein,” vol. 4 of Waverley Novels, Aldine Edition, 11 vols. (New York: International Books Co., [191?]), 4:9–20, 9. Henceforth “Introduction to Guy Mannering,” cited parenthetically by page number.

³⁸⁵Irvine, p. 30. Irvine later notes that “the very possibility of successful individual action is questioned by a world understood as historically and economically determined. This model of history excludes human *intention* as a possible cause of cultures [and] subjectivity in this science is . . . an effect of ‘natural’ processes over which it has no control” (p. 37).

³⁸⁶Aravamudan, p. 351.

³⁸⁷This is, of course, a self-referential joke: Guy Mannering is alternately titled The Astrologer, and Mannering’s declaration is the novel’s last sentence, thus it literally “ends THE ASTROLOGER.” This device reasserts how Scott’s idea of the novel, which in Waverley and Guy Mannering is founded on notions of renunciation and retirement, is realized materially and formally.

³⁸⁸Millgate has noted, “[I]t was the writing of Guy Mannering that can properly be said to have made [Scott] a novelist” (Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 62). She sees this attribution on the book’s title page as “projecting an active future for the novelist he had now so securely become” (p. 84).

³⁸⁹Millgate hints at the Waverley Novels’ collective materiality as a component of their cultural work and imposing reputation: “There they sit, ranged on the shelves, as many as forty-eight volumes, affirming by their uniform bindings an inescapable kinship one with another” (preface to Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. vii). Her study does not develop this theme, however.

³⁹⁰Thus, David Brown holds the work in slight regard for its apparent lack of any historical sense: “[I]t is not primarily an historical novel at all,” he writes (Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979], p. 31).

Similarly, Millgate asserts that the novel “makes hardly any reference to public history” (Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist, p. 67). For a typically sophisticated response to such readings, see Duncan, who writes, “The narrative of Guy Mannering is relatively unembarrassed by a chronology of public events. Instead, history is troped in terms of place or setting. One of the delights of the novel is its ‘regional’ mimesis of landscape, speech and custom across an extended historical community, accommodating not only the gypsies and smugglers of the Dumfrieshire coast, and the rough georgic scenery of Liddesdale, but polite Georgian Edinburgh itself” (Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 111).

³⁹¹Quoted in Edgar Johnson, 1:466.

³⁹²Scott makes the Othello parallels explicit. Recounting this painful episode in his life to his friend Arthur Mervyn, Mannering writes, “If you read over —what I never dare open—the play of Othello, you will have some idea of what followed” (p. 70).

³⁹³Alyson Bardsley, “In and Around the Borders of the Nation in Scott’s Guy Mannering,” Nineteenth-Century Contexts 24, 4 (2002): 397–415, 401.

³⁹⁴Bardsley, p. 400.

³⁹⁵Compare this description, where a Scottish landscape is recuperated by a Wordsworthian reverie, to the unreadably alien Kippletringan Mannering encounters in the novel’s first chapter, or the Kaim of Kerncleugh that Dominie Sampson visits late in the novel:

The tradition of the country added ghostly terrors to the natural
awe inspired by the situation of this place, which terrors the gypsies who

so long inhabited the vicinity had probably invented, or at least propitiated, for their own advantage. It was said that, during the times of Galwegian independence, one Hanlon Mac-Dingawaie, brother to the reigning chief, Knarth Mac-Dingawaie, murdered his brother and sovereign in order to usurp the principality from his infant nephew, and that being pursued for vengeance by the faithful allies and retainers of the house, who espoused the cause of the lawful heir, he was compelled to retreat, with a few followers whom he had involved in his crime, to this impregnable tower called the Kaim of Kerncleugh, where he defended himself until nearly reduced by famine, when, setting fire to the place, he and the small garrison desperately perished by their own swords rather than fall into the hands of their suspected enemies. This tragedy, which, considering the wild times wherein it was placed, might have some foundation in truth, was larded with many legends of superstition and diablerie, so that most of the peasants in the neighbourhood, if benighted, would rather have chosen to make a considerable circuit than pass those haunted walls.

(p. 277)

The Kaim is a veritable palimpsest of historical and folk associations. The implication is that landscapes are threatening if they are steeped in regional particularity.

³⁹⁶Andrew Lincoln, "Scott's *Guy Mannering*: The Limits and Limitations of Anglo-British Identity," *Scottish Literary Journal* 26, 1 (1999): 48–61, 49.

³⁹⁷Bardsley, p. 408.

³⁹⁸As he describes Godfrey Bertram's repressive reforms as justice of peace, the narrator uses the following analogy: "New brooms, it is said, sweep clean; and I myself can bear witness, that, upon the arrival of a new housemaid, the ancient, hereditary, and domestic spiders, who have spun their webs over the lower division of my book-shelves, (consisting chiefly of law and divinity), during the peaceful reign of her predecessor, fly at full speed before the unexpected inroads of the new mercenary" (pp. 32–3). The conceit depicts the domestic library as the site of violent territorial displacement.

³⁹⁹The phrase is from Gérard Genette, Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation, trans. Jane E. Lewin, *Literature, Culture, Theory* 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), p. 144.

⁴⁰⁰My discussion of epigraphs here is greatly indebted to Genette's study, where he reveals how increasingly archaic they became, a practice running in many ways counter to a nineteenth-century novel such as Guy Mannering. In Genette's account, epigraphs grew in popularity during the eighteenth century, where they were generally, however, a "little more typical of works of ideas than of poetry or the novel" (p. 146). Among the major British and European novels of the period, he finds "scarcely any epigraphs except the ones at the head of Tom Jones . . . and Tristram Shandy" (p. 146). It is the Gothic novel, which he calls a "genre simultaneously popular (in its themes) and erudite (in its settings)" that led "epigraphs in large number [to] get into prose narratives" (p. 146). In the later-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Genette locates the start of a tendency to "repudiate the epigraph," as the "great modern realistic tradition" comes to supplant the "fantastic, or 'philosophical' narrative" (p. 148). From this standpoint, the epigraphs in

Guy Mannering are a vestigial, pre-novelistic tradition; their presence in a work of 1815 amounts to an antiquarian haunting.

Some have countered Genette's arguments by pointing to the epigraphs in George Eliot's Middlemarch (1871–72) to disprove their absence from the “great modern realistic tradition,” but that novel (the “classical realist” status of which, incidentally, has been influentially challenged—see David Lodge, “Middlemarch and the Idea of the Classic Realist Text,” in “Middlemarch”: New Casebooks, ed. John Peck [Houndsmills: Macmillan, 1992], pp. 45–64) may in fact be the exception that makes the rule: spanning the years of the first Reform Bill (1829–32) as commentary on the second Reform Bill roughly contemporary with the novel's composition, it is a work suggesting the past's uncanny persistence in the present.

⁴⁰¹Ibid.

⁴⁰²Lincoln, p. 50.

⁴⁰³Kerr, p. 9.

⁴⁰⁴Kerr, p. 10. For more on Scott and Abbotsford, see Shawn Malley, who writes, “Critics and biographers since Lockhart have embraced a quasi-mythic intermingling of Abbotsford, Scott, the Border, [and] Scotland” (“Walter Scott's Romantic Archaeology: New/Old Abbotsford and The Antiquary” Studies in Romanticism 40, 2 [Summer 2001]: 233–51, 238). Like Kerr, Malley discusses Scott's “sensitivity to his own role as a bourgeois latecomer buying up his inheritance in piecemeal fashion” (p. 239).

⁴⁰⁵Forbes, p. 26.

⁴⁰⁶Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, “A Thousand Plateaus (1980) [excerpt],” in Literary Theory: An Anthology, rev. edn., ed. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (Malden: Blackwell,

1998), pp. 514–23, 514; Michel Foucault, “The Archeology of Knowledge (1969) [excerpt],” in Literary Theory: An Anthology, pp. 421–8, 422.

⁴⁰⁷Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 58.

⁴⁰⁸Poovey, pp. 215–21.

⁴⁰⁹Poovey, p. 218.

⁴¹⁰Describing the astrological elements of the “three or four first chapters of the work,” Scott remarks, “It appears that Astrology though its influence was once received and admitted by [Francis] Bacon himself, does not now retain influence over the general mind sufficient event to constitute the mainspring of a romance” (“Introduction to Guy Mannering,” p. 14).

⁴¹¹Garside, “Scott and the ‘Philosophical’ Historians,” p. 498.

⁴¹²Qtd in Garside, “Scott and the ‘Philosophical’ Historians,” p. 498.

⁴¹³Scott’s narrator uses the lines of “a modern poet” to express Mannering’s new-found skepticism in this scene, quoting a passage from Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s 1800 translation of Friedrich Schiller’s Piccolomini. The verses describe how

The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
 The fair humanities of old religion,
 The power, the beauty, and the majesty,
 That had their haunts in dale, or piny mountain,
 Or forest by slow stream, or pebbly spring . . .

 . . . live no longer.

This is one of many instances in Scott where the canonical British Romanticism associated with the Lake School is made to signify a modern sensibility divorced from communal structures of belief or local specificity. We will see this again in the Green Room set piece in The Antiquary, where lines from Wordsworth express a rootless alienation.

⁴¹⁴The narrator notes, “The desire of room, of air, and of decent accommodation, had not as yet made very much progress in the capital of Scotland. Some efforts had been made upon the south side of the town towards building houses *within themselves*, as they are so emphatically termed; and the New Town on the north, since so much extended, was then just commenced” (p. 201).

⁴¹⁵Indeed, this section of the novel’s second volume, present in Scott’s manuscript and in transcript form, was long absent from editions of Guy Mannering; Garside notes that “a concern that this volume was over-extending offers the most likely explanation for its removal.” See Garside, “Essay on the Text,” in Guy Mannering, ed. Garside, Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels 2 (Edinburgh: Univ. of Edinburgh Press, 1999), pp. 357–443, 434. This edition, the basis for the Penguin edition cited elsewhere, was the first to restore this section to the narrative.

⁴¹⁶Karl Marx, Grundrisse: Foundation of the Critique of Political Economy, trans. Martin Nicolas (Harmondsworth UK: Penguin, 1973), p. 3; qtd. in Dentith, p. 1. In Oldenbuck’s account of his German ancestor, meanwhile, the printer’s trade becomes an occasion for Homeric heroism. Aldobrand’s courtship of one Bertha is threatened by “two or three

gallant young suitors,” but fortunately Bertha, a printer’s daughter, “would only marry that man who could work her father’s press” (p. 109). A contest is arranged, and “when the rest of the suitors had either declined the contest, or made such work as the devil could not read if his pardon depended on it . . . Aldobrand stepped gracefully forward, arranged the types without omission of a single letter, hyphen, or comma, imposed them without deranging a single space, and pulled off the first proof as clear and free from errors, as if it had been a triple revise” (p. 110). The scene’s parodic homage to Odysseus’s besting of Penelope’s suitors encapsulates the idea of a comic epic for an era of prose and print.

⁴¹⁷Joan S. Elbers, “Isolation and Community in The Antiquary,” Nineteenth-Century Fiction 27, 4 (March 1973): 405–23, 406, 418.

⁴¹⁸I am inspired here by Siskin’s discussion of the “recasting” that characterizes Scotland’s experience of the Act of Union. During this process, concepts and concerns that developed within the specific material contexts of the Scottish Enlightenment were appropriated and re-oriented for a British and European readership. The Antiquary constitutes Scott’s self-conscious meditation on this process, on the disorientation produced as Scottish-Enlightenment notions of localism, community, and “commonness” lived on in alien contexts (see Siskin, pp. 96, 97).

⁴¹⁹For more on this point, see Miranda J. Burgess, who also sees the relationship between the local and the global as more than simple, unproblematic opposition: within nineteenth-century Britain, “Scotland’s distinctness and history thrive precisely in their cosmopolitan consumption,” she writes (“Scott, History, and the Augustan Public Sphere,” in “Scott, Scotland, and Romantic Nationalism,” pp. 123–35, 124).

⁴²⁰For a recent discussion of these associations, see Sarah Wall-Randell, “Doctor Faustus and the Printer’s Devil,” SEL 48, 2 (Spring 2008): 259–81. Wall-Randell traces the connection between the German Joan Faustus, printing press inventor and “associate of Gutenberg” and Doctor Faustus, “the spectacularly doomed sorcerer” of early-modern literature and folklore, a connection that “appears persistently throughout the early history of the technology of printing” (p. 260). The association marks “the beginning of the transition from manuscript culture to print culture” as “a transforming experience of magic and sorcery” (p. 261).

⁴²¹Thus, Scott elsewhere deploys the conventional notion of a textual (i.e., scriptural), print-based Protestantism uprooting an oral, communal Catholicism as an analogue of his vision of Anglo-British history marked by the emergence of privatized reading. We see this literalized in how the Protestant Oldenbuck’s home at Monkbarns—his home/library/museum—was monastic property, emptied for private domesticity during the Reformation: the nearby ruins at St. Ruth’s—the monastic *libraries*—are a synecdoche of this historical shift. It is noteworthy that Aldobrand Oldenbuck’s influential Reformation tract is the Augsburg *Confession*, suggesting that the very term is shifting away from the oral Catholic sacrament, changing its meaning in an age of print and the material book. When Oldenbuck goes to Elspeth Mucklebackit to confront her about Eveline Neville and her lost son, she initially thinks that he is with the Church, there to hear her confession: he is, in fact, there to transcribe her oral testimony, to make of her “confession” a textual-material record.

⁴²²Efforts to make of Scott and his collapsing fortunes a morality tale are manifold, but Victorian novelist Charles Kingsley’s remarks are especially memorable:

[Scott] was an honest man at heart—none honester, but the sense of power, the love of fame, and the love of money, allowed him to play with truth—to write historical novels which he ought to have known were untrue pictures; and the mischief which Kenilworth, the Abbot, and one or two more have done is incalculable. But it did not pay him . . . The heavens are just—you may laugh at me as superstitious: but if you ask me—why did God let that noble soul end in ruin and decrepitude—I must answer because he fancied that the great Walter Scott was great enough to play with impunity with the things which *are*, because God has done them, and falsify God’s dealings with His people. Mind, Scott was not a bad man: if he had been he would probably have escaped with impunity: but because God loved him (as who would not?) he chastened him, that he might be saved in the day of the Lord.

(qtd. in Sutherland, Victorian Novelists and Publishers, pp. 121–2).

⁴²³Thus, Lincoln writes of Mannering’s early travels in Scotland, “He soon loses his way, and as night falls he loses both his gentlemanly appearance and the respect it commands” (p. 49).

⁴²⁴Lee, “A Divided Inheritance: Scott’s Antiquarian Novel and the British Nation,” ELH 64, 2 (Summer 1997): 537–67, 543.

⁴²⁵Lee, “A Divided Inheritance,” p. 545.

⁴²⁶Lee, “A Divided Inheritance,” p. 554.

⁴²⁷Such passages invite comparison to Scott’s *Abbotsford*—for which Oldenbuck’s *Monks-barn* is a punning surrogate—which Sutherland describes as “a national history

told in stones, armorial relics, old books, and such memorial bric-a-brac as Robert Bruce's skull and Rob Roy's long gun (as likely to be spurious, one guesses, as medieval splinters of the Cross)" (Life of Sir Walter Scott, p. 3).

⁴²⁸Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 58.

⁴²⁹Lee, "A Divided Inheritance," p. 545.

⁴³⁰In Sutherland's biographical account, Scott's decision to join, as it were, the "cult of the bibliophile" (i.e., those who "valued and preserved literature as a set of beautiful and curious objects") similarly marked his departure from Scottish Enlightenment culture: "he cut himself off from the egalitarian university circle, and its club . . . life" (Life of Sir Walter Scott, p. 74).

⁴³¹Manning, p. 68.

⁴³²Trumpener, p. 70.

⁴³³Bercovitch, p. 5. Indeed, it is entirely fitting that The Antiquary should be the intertext for Virginia Woolf's high-modernist To the Lighthouse (1927), a novel shot through with remembrances of things past, one that rejects linear progress and ever going "from A to Z accurately in order" (To the Lighthouse, foreword by Eudora Welty [San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1981], p. 35).

⁴³⁴Poovey, p. 214.

⁴³⁵Lee, "A Divided Inheritance," p. 538. Lee's study is of interest along these lines, in that it describes antiquarianism as a privatized, amateur discipline that "produces and disseminates knowledge that demystifies fraudulent forms of veneration" (p. 540). Lee, however, is opposing antiquarianism to "the *patriotic historicism* that reached its height during the French invasion scare of 1803–4, the historical setting of The Antiquary," a

form of “historical discourse” espoused by figures such as Edmund Burke and others who styled themselves as “crucial to the formation of a British national sensibility” (p. 538, emphasis added).

⁴³⁶For a discussion of Ossian’s relevance to conjectural historians and Scott’s own skepticism regarding Ossian, see “Homer, Ossian, and Modernity” and “Walter Scott and Heroic Minstrelsy,” chaps. 1 and 2, respectively, of Dentith, pp. 16–25 and 26–47.

Dentith suggests that a skepticism toward the Ossian poems generally accompanied a skepticism toward conjectural history as well, insofar as the poetry “appeared to provide a striking confirmation of the notion of human society passing through several stages on its way to modernity” (p. 25). Indeed, in many circles it was even “argued that Ferguson himself might have been influenced by the poetry of Ossian” (p. 23). As the poems’ authenticity fell under serious scrutiny, however, some alleged that “Macpherson’s fabrications [were] *produced* in response to the promptings of Hugh Blair and Adam Ferguson” (p. 23).

⁴³⁷Bercovitch, p. 5.

⁴³⁸Unsigned rev. of The Antiquary, The Monthly Review 82 (1817): 38–52, 39. Indeed, the Wardours’ harrowing experience on the sands opens with a passage connecting the surroundings to the collapse of the *ancien regime*: “The sun was now resting his huge disk upon the edge of the level ocean, and gilded the accumulation of towering clouds through which he had traveled the livelong day, and which now assembled on all sides, like misfortunes and disasters around a sinking empire, and falling monarch” (p. 71).

⁴³⁹In the previous chapter I described how Waverley, a novel depicting a heterogeneous, internally divided Britain, was commonly reviewed as an expression of British unity

during the period of the Napoleonic Wars; I saw such readings as symptomatic of Waverley's recasting for an international readership. I contend that The Antiquary's backdrop of French invasion is mediated by Scott's experience of his novels' mass-distribution: post-Revolutionary France's leveling spirit is of a piece with Waverley's forced assimilation to a larger, British-European narrative. The Antiquary's French-invasion subtext—which, however comically, culminates in an image of internal British harmony like the one celebrated by Waverley's early British reviews—is an emblem of the Waverley Novels' dissemination beyond Scotland.

⁴⁴⁰Wordsworth, "The World is Too Much with Us," in William Wordsworth: The Oxford Authors, p. 270, lines 13–4, 10.

⁴⁴¹Deidre Lynch, "Gothic Libraries and National Subjects," in "Scott, Scotland, and Romantic Nationalism," pp. 29–48, 37, 38.

⁴⁴²Lynch, pp. 38, 39.

⁴⁴³Chittick, p. 28.

⁴⁴⁴Qtd. in Chittick, p. 29.

⁴⁴⁵Qtd. in Chittick, p. 22.

⁴⁴⁶Chittick, p. 28, emphasis added.

⁴⁴⁷Quoted in Chittick, p. 41.

⁴⁴⁸Charles Dickens, A Child's History of England, in "Master Humphrey's Clock" and "A Child's History of England," introduction by Derek Hudson, The Oxford Illustrated Dickens (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 119–531, 129.

⁴⁴⁹Chittick, p. 41.

⁴⁵⁰G. K. Chesterton, Appreciations and Criticisms of the Works of Charles Dickens (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1911), p. 162.

⁴⁵¹Chittick, p. 29.

⁴⁵²Dickens, Barnaby Rudge, ed. Gordon Spence, Penguin English Library (Harmondsworth UK: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 43. Subsequent references will be to this edition, cited parenthetically.

⁴⁵³Scott, Kenilworth, in “Quentin Durward,” “Ivanhoe,” “Kenilworth,” Modern Library of the World’s Best Books (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), pp. 771–1135, 773.

⁴⁵⁴T. S. Eliot, “East Coker,” in Four Quartets, in T. S. Eliot: The Complete Poems and Plays, 1909–1950 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1952), pp. 123–9, 1.1–10.

⁴⁵⁵Chesterton, Charles Dickens, 10th edn., Methuen’s Shilling Library (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1914), p. 79.

⁴⁵⁶Dickens to John Macrone, [9] May 1836, in The Letters of Charles Dickens, ed. Madeline House and Graham Storey, associate eds. W. J. Carlton, Philip Collins, K. J. Fielding, and Kathleen Tillotson, Pilgrim Edition, 12 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965–2002), 1:150. Future references to Dickens’s letters will be to this edition, cited parenthetically as Letters.

⁴⁵⁷Dickens, The Pickwick Papers, ed. James Kinsley, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford and New York: 1998), p. 182.

⁴⁵⁸Chittick, Preface to Dickens and the 1830s, pp. ix–xi, ix.

⁴⁵⁹Chittick, Dickens and the 1830s, p. 18.

⁴⁶⁰Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, pp. 190, 187.

⁴⁶¹John Forster, The Life of Charles Dickens, 3 vols in 2 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1889), 1–2:252.

⁴⁶²The “innocent” who resides at Tully-Veolan in Waverley (an example of the eighteenth-century Scottish custom of “keeping fools”), often considered a prototype for Barnaby.

⁴⁶³A contemporary caricature commemorating the dinner, “Boz’s Introduction to Christopher North and the Caledonian Youth” (1841), depicts the two pseudonymous writers meeting, attended by Dominic Sampson, book in hand and uttering his signature exclamation (“Prodigious!”) (See Dickens, Letters, 2:frontispiece).

⁴⁶⁴Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 190.

⁴⁶⁵Robert L. Patten has described Dickens’s early “striving to be at once a professional author, writing for pay, and a gentleman and amateur, working for the love of it” (“From Sketches to Nickleby,” in The Cambridge Companion to Dickens, ed. John O. Jordan, Cambridge Companions to Literature [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001], pp. 16–33, 17). Chittick notes that Dickens “never had the leisure to write a Walter Lorraine [Arthur Pendennis’s debut novel in Pendennis (1848–50), Thackeray’s *Bildungsroman* set in the literary scene of the 1830s]—or any three-volume novel” (p. 7). Chittick maintains that it was Dickens’s necessary involvement in multiple, remunerative serial projects that deprived him of such leisure. For a further connection between the three-volume format and leisure, see John Sutherland’s account of Thackeray’s Henry Esmond, his sole work of three-volume historical fiction: Thackeray’s contract with his publisher George Smith stipulated that he would confine himself exclusively to writing Esmond, rather than spreading himself thin with overlapping serial and periodical commitments

(“Henry Esmond: The Shaping Power of Contract,” in Victorian Novelists and Publishers, pp. 101–16).

⁴⁶⁶Quoted in Forster, 1–2:261.

⁴⁶⁷Quoted in Forster, 1–2:267.

⁴⁶⁸Duncan reports that Dickens, during his American tour, once remarked to Richard Henry Dana, “And to think of a man’s killing himself for such a miserable place as Abbotsford” (qtd. in Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 198).

⁴⁶⁹Quoted in Forster, 1–2:251.

⁴⁷⁰Quoted in Forster, 1–2:260.

⁴⁷¹Catherine Waters, “Gender, Family, and Domestic Ideology,” in The Cambridge Companion to Charles Dickens, pp. 120–35, 120.

⁴⁷²Frances Armstrong, Dickens and the Concept of Home, *Nineteenth-Century Studies* (Ann Arbor and London: UMI Research Press, 1990), p. 44. As Patten notes, with serialization, “[f]iction became, not a luxury item, but a household one” (“Publishing in Parts,” in Palgrave Advances in Charles Dickens Studies, ed. Bowen and Patten, Palgrave Advances [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001], pp. 16–33, 19).

⁴⁷³Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, pp. 198–9. What troubles this vision is the recurring, uncanny sense that Scott had gotten here first as well: as we saw in the last chapter, Guy Mannering’s story of an Englishman’s search for a nice home in the country overwrites the quasi-Jacobite narrative of a Scottish heir’s triumphant return to the estate of his ancestors.

⁴⁷⁴Patten, “From Sketches to Nickleby,” p. 26, emphasis added.

⁴⁷⁵Thackeray, The Newcomes: Memoirs of a Most Respectable Family, ed. Andrew Sanders, World's Classics (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), p. 286.

⁴⁷⁶Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby, ed. Mark Ford, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 773. Subsequent references will be to this edition, cited parenthetically by page number.

⁴⁷⁷Kim Ian Michasiw, "Barnaby Rudge: The Since of the Fathers," ELH 56, 3 (Autumn 1989): 571–92, 577. She goes on to "consider their relations to their mutilated children . . . after considering . . . Barnaby Rudge's ties to the textual father: Walter, later Sir Walter, Scott" (p. 577).

⁴⁷⁸This point regarding legacies and inheritances occurred to me after reading Anna Dodson's fine unpublished manuscript, "'Hurrah for the Madhouse': Madness and Containment in the Early Dickens." Her phrase "the inheritance of form" made me realize that traditional economic inheritance was virtually absent from this novel otherwise so concerned with father-son relations.

⁴⁷⁹The description may also reflect Dickens's recent visit to Abbotsford. Sutherland writes, "In the hall of Abbotsford (the room where [Scott] was brought to die) Scott had emblazoned the ceiling with the heraldic devices of every house or clan to which he could claim familial connection" (Life of Sir Walter Scott, p. 3).

⁴⁸⁰See also Judith Wilt, who sees in the Maypole what she calls "its promiscuous and equivocal domesticity as [both] house and inn" ("Masques of the English in Barnaby Rudge," Dickens Studies Annual 30 [2001]: 75–94, 90).

⁴⁸¹The scene is a reminder of the novel's oft-mentioned influence on "The Raven," by Edgar Allen Poe, who reviewed the American edition of Barnaby Rudge. Poe's poem is

also a meditation on the obsessiveness of the solitary masculine reader: grieving for “lost Lenore,” the insomniac narrator turns “vainly” to his books for “surcease of sorrow” (Poe, “The Raven,” in The Oxford Book of American Poetry, ed. David Lehman [Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006], pp. 67–9, lines 3–4).

⁴⁸²When Harry Bertram finds himself imprisoned as part of Giles Glossin’s scheme, he longs for a novel with which to while away the time in his prison cell. He is forced, however, to make do with the two volumes of the Newgate Kalendar (see Guy Mannering, pp. 267–8).

⁴⁸³Reading distinguishes him from the novel’s two other characters that are also at a remove from human society, the mentally adrift Barnaby and the animal-like hosteler Hugh. In both cases, the text takes pains to stress their *illiteracy*.

⁴⁸⁴Waters, p. 121.

⁴⁸⁵Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 196.

⁴⁸⁶Hughes and Lund, p. 8.

⁴⁸⁷Hughes and Lund, p. 58.

⁴⁸⁸Hughes and Lund, p. 18.

⁴⁸⁹Hughes and Lund, p. 16.

⁴⁹⁰Chittick, p. 166.

⁴⁹¹Indeed, as Chittick traces, the period of Dickens’s early career also coincided with the culmination of the “collapse of the Edinburgh publishing scene” and a corresponding, emerging “focus on London life” (part and parcel, she argues, of a larger movement defining the novel as a genre “written peculiarly for the present day”) (p. 41), as the English capital became the new center of British publishing. As I see it, then, Barnaby

Rudge completes the arc Scott traces through Guy Mannering and The Antiquary (i.e., the gradual obsolescence of the Athens of the North) and the early, tentative shift to London. London, throughout Dickens's novel, is rendered as uncharted territory, a case of darkness visible, as in this early example, as Gabriel discerns the metropolis on the horizon: "And, now, he approached the great city, which lay outstretched before him like a dark shadow on the ground, reddening the sluggish air with a deep dull light, that told of labyrinths of public ways and shops, and swarms of busy people. Approaching nearer and nearer yet, this halo began to fade, and the causes which produced it slowly to develop themselves. Long lines of poorly lighted streets might be faintly traced, with here and there a lighter spot, where lamps were clustered round a square or market, or round some great building; after a time these grew more distinct, and the lamps themselves were visible; slight yellow specks, that seemed to be rapidly snuffed out, one by one, as intervening obstacles hid them from the sights" (p. 71). Noticeably, London in this description frustrates efforts to immediately suss out causal connections (i.e., the halo of light is adrift from its source); it is a city that defies Enlightenment explication.

⁴⁹²Dickens, "The Author's Introduction to the Third Edition (1841)," in Oliver Twist, ed. Philip Horne, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 2002), pp. 456–60, 458.

⁴⁹³Dickens, "The Author's Introduction to the Third Edition (1841)," p. 457.

⁴⁹⁴Armstrong, p. 44.

⁴⁹⁵Dickens, Dombey and Son, ed. Peter Fairclough, with an introduction by Raymond Williams, Penguin English Library (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980), p. 738.

⁴⁹⁶Indicatively, one of the mob's other noteworthy actions involves the (historically accurate) destruction of Chief Justice Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury, including "the

rarest collection of manuscripts ever possessed by any one private person in the world” and the judge’s “great Law Library, on almost every page of which were notes in [his] own hand, of inestimable value,—being the results of the study and experience of his whole life” (p. 599). The apocalyptic assault on a library—one owned by an antiquarian bibliophile with legal training—amounts to the violent desecration of an Abbotsford-like version of private life.

⁴⁹⁷Qtd. in Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 18: Victorian Novelists After 1885, s.v. “Wilkie Collins,” accessed 8 May 2011, <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/servlet/GLD/hits?r=d&origSearch=true&o=DataType&n=10&l=d&c=3&locID=txshracd2542&secondary=false&u=DLB&t=KW&s=4&NA=collins%2C+wilkie>.

⁴⁹⁸As John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson point out, the historical figure that provided the model for Dennis the hangman was sentenced to death for his involvement in burning down a private home; Dickens has him sentenced for participating in the burning of Newgate. This alteration, I contend, suggests how the home and the prison may have been conjoined in Dickens’s imagination (Dickens at Work [Fair Lawn NJ: Essential Books, 1958], p. 86).

⁴⁹⁹They call the prison a “direct inspiration,” “both as place and symbol,” and note how “[i]n contemporary accounts [of the Gordon Riots], the burning of Newgate appears more terrifying than all the attacks upon Catholic chapels and property in its expression of the lawlessness of the mob” (Butt and Tillotson, p. 78).

⁵⁰⁰Dickens, The Pickwick Papers, p. 182.

⁵⁰¹Patten, “From Sketches to Nickleby,” p. 22.

⁵⁰²Dickens, Sketches by Boz, ed. Dennis Walder, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 80. Subsequent references will be to this edition, indicated parenthetically by page number.

⁵⁰³Wilt, p. 89.

⁵⁰⁴ See also Paul Stigant and Peter Widdowson, who, in fact, see Gabriel as central to “certain elements in the book which cross and complicate its pattern internally and therefore affect its significance as a complete ‘statement’” (“Barnaby Rudge—A Historical Novel?,” Literature and History 2 [1975]: 2–44). Considering Gabriel alongside some figures with similar characteristics and tendencies, including John Willet and the brutal “country gentleman of the true school” that the Rudes encounter on their return to London (Dickens, Barnaby Rudge, p. 435), they see the locksmith as pointing to “a very real split in the novel between Dickens’ [*sic*] two views of ‘Old England’” (p. 23).

⁵⁰⁵Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 225.

⁵⁰⁶Bloom, The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry, 2d edn. (New York and Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), p. 15. For a reading of Barnaby Rudge wholly indebted to Bloom, see Michasiw.

⁵⁰⁷Patrick Brantlinger, “Did Dickens Have a Philosophy of History? The Case of Barnaby Rudge,” Dickens Studies Annual 30 [2001]: 59–74, 69.

⁵⁰⁸In 1852, we see a similar anachronism with Henry Esmond, Thackeray’s painstakingly written novel set during eighteenth century. The famous first edition was set in Queen Anne period type and published in three volumes (Thackeray’s only novel to debut as

such). The assumption is that the three-volume format is, somehow, essential to an eighteenth-century pastiche.

⁵⁰⁹Michasiw, p. 577. See also Alison Case, who sees in Dickens's rejection of Scott in Barnaby Rudge a "rejection of history itself" ("Against Scott: The Antihistory of Dickens's Barnaby Rudge," Clio 19, 2 [1990]: 127–45, 130).

⁵¹⁰Indeed, Thomas J. Rice has persuasively argued that Dickens's whole impetus in writing Barnaby Rudge was his awareness that recent political events were hearkening back to 1780: "By late 1840 the Riots had become a literal and totally appropriate metaphor for the [then-recent] English political situation. *History had repeated itself with extraordinary fidelity*" ("The Politics of Barnaby Rudge," in The Changing World of Charles Dickens, ed. Robert Giddings, Critical Studies Series [London: Vision, 1986], pp. 51–74, 60, emphasis added). Rice reads the novel as Dickens's commentary on the worrying alliance between Ultra-Radical Chartists and anti-Catholic Ultra-Tories that accompanied the collapse of the Melbourne ministry, a commentary employing the Riots of 1780 as a newly apt analogy: "As the politically moderate Whigs and liberals sought to dissociate themselves from the Ultra-Radical Chartists and to differentiate themselves from the anti-Catholic Ultra-Tories, they resorted more frequently to the metaphor of the Gordon Riots as the occasion, and the target of their attack, suited. Charles Dickens was exceptional, however, in recognizing early the full appropriateness of the Gordon Riots as a political metaphor for the contemporary situation and among the first to alert the public to the most unlikely alliance that was developing between the Ultra-Tories and the Ultra-Radicals" (p. 57). Rice interprets the burgeoning agreement between the anti-Catholic,

aristocratic John Chester and the anarchic Hugh (“No Property, brother!”) (Dickens, Barnaby Rudge, p. 359) as a representation of this larger political union.

⁵¹¹Bowen, introduction to Barnaby Rudge, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003), pp. xiii–xxxiv, xvi. See also Brantlinger, who observes that in Barnaby Rudge, Dickens seems to “suggest that time and history do not automatically follow a linear, straightforward march from past to present, with a better future in the offing” (p. 69). Later, Brantlinger invokes terminology from eighteenth-century Scotland (i.e., Adam Smith) as he notes, “Dickens was no believer in an ‘invisible hand,’ capitalist or other, harmonizing the private with the public” (p. 70).

⁵¹²John P. McGowan, “Mystery and History in Barnaby Rudge,” Dickens Studies Annual 9 (1981): 33–52, 34.

⁵¹³*Ibid.*

⁵¹⁴*Ibid.*

⁵¹⁵*Ibid.*

⁵¹⁶Hughes and Lund, pp. 7, 60.

⁵¹⁷Hughes and Lund, pp. 60–1.

⁵¹⁸Hughes and Lund, p. 72.

⁵¹⁹Patten, “Serialized Retrospection in The Pickwick Papers,” in Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices, ed. John O. Jordan and Patten, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 123–42, 124.

⁵²⁰Quoted in Horne, introduction to Oliver Twist, pp. xiii–xliv, xxv.

⁵²¹Patten, Charles Dickens and His Publishers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 43.

⁵²²Patten, Charles Dickens and His Publishers, p. 42.

⁵²³Patten, Charles Dickens and His Publishers, pp. 38, 42.

⁵²⁴For the seminal discussion of this feature, see David M. Bevington, “Seasonal Relevance in The Pickwick Papers,” Nineteenth-Century Fiction 16 (1961): 219–30.

Patten, as noted, provides a useful corrective in “Serialized Retrospection in The Pickwick Papers.” This was, it must be added, not necessarily a universal quality of serialization.

⁵²⁵See “The First Publication of the Sketches in Periodical, Volume, and Number Form,” Appendix A in Sketches by Boz, pp. 567–73, 572.

⁵²⁶Bowen, introduction to Barnaby Rudge, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

⁵²⁷Bowen, Other Dickens: Pickwick to Chuzzlewit (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), p. 162.

⁵²⁸*Ibid.* Bowen’s discussion of Barnaby Rudge in the pages of Master Humphrey’s Clock is informed by Stephen Bann’s account of key changes in the study and practice of history during “the decades of Dickens’s youth and early manhood,” a time that saw the rise of a “newly professionalizing historicism [that] sought to loosen itself from the taint of the amateur and the literary” (Bowen, Other Dickens, p. 161). Bann reportedly focuses on the reorganization of the Cluny Museum in Paris in the 1830s, which amounted to a “change from a collection of ‘part-objects . . . disjointed from each other and from any transcendent value’ to its re-creation in a more modern form as a collection of ‘part-objects . . . linked sympathetically both to an architectural whole and to the mythic system of ‘History’” (see Bann, The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press,

1984], p. 108, qtd. in Bowen, Other Dickens, p. 161). Wrought, as it were, in Master Humphrey's Clock, the one-time “space for Little Nell and her antiquarian grandfather,” Barnaby Rudge is more akin to what Bowen, following Bann, would call “the old *ēpistemē*” (p. 162). It is of interest to me, of course, how, in this regard, Master Humphrey's Clock could be seen as akin to Scott's deployment of antiquarianism as a riposte to Scottish Enlightenment master narratives in The Antiquary.

⁵²⁹Bowen, Other Dickens, p. 167.

⁵³⁰Butt and Tillotson, p. 77.

⁵³¹Butt and Tillotson, p. 82. See also Rice, who discusses how in the course of its development, the novel “had become deeply involved with, in fact dependent on, contemporary party politics” (p. 52).

⁵³²*Ibid.*

⁵³³*Ibid.*

⁵³⁴Chittick, p. 165.

⁵³⁵Chittick, p. 154.

⁵³⁶*Ibid.*

⁵³⁷Chittick, p. 155. Her description accords interestingly with Barnaby Rudge's descriptions of a volatile London. For my purposes, such discussions of the reading public that the Jack Sheppard craze helped reveal underscores how far we are, at this point, from the orderly world of the Scottish Enlightenment. Indeed, for Chittick, contemporary discussions of the novel's demotic following highlight the remoteness of quintessentially Enlightenment models of the social order: “The eighteenth century's idealism preferred to see social distinctions as no more than accidents attending a

common humanity; nineteenth-century materialism was forced to acknowledge that humanity had been overwhelmed by substantive circumstances” (p. 156).

⁵³⁸Chittick, p. 154.

⁵³⁹Chittick, p. 165.

⁵⁴⁰Chittick, p. 155.

⁵⁴¹See Robert Tracy, who discusses the novel’s trope of secretive manipulation as something that “allows Dickens to query a novelist’s manipulation of characters and plot” (“Clock Work: The Old Curiosity Shop and Barnaby Rudge,” Dickens Studies Annual 30 [2001]: 23–43. 23).

⁵⁴²Tracy, p. 34.

⁵⁴³Dickens, Master Humphrey’s Clock, in “Master Humphrey’s Clock” and “A Child’s Illustrated History of England,” pp. 1–119, 118.

⁵⁴⁴Dickens, Master Humphrey’s Clock, p. 5.

⁵⁴⁵Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 195. He goes on to discuss how this process relies on the “fluid circulation” of serial fiction, “broadcasting the author as a speaking presence—particularly if he is being read aloud at the hearthside” (p. 196).

⁵⁴⁶Chittick, pp. 140, 139–40.

⁵⁴⁷Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel, p. 210.

⁵⁴⁸Chittick, p. 139.

⁵⁴⁹Chittick, p. 138.

⁵⁵⁰Chittick, p. 151.

⁵⁵¹Chittick, p. 134.

⁵⁵²Ibid.

⁵⁵³Quoted in Dickens, “Preface to the Original Edition, 1839,” in Nicholas Nickleby, pp. 3–5, 4.

⁵⁵⁴See Patten, “Publishing in Parts,” p. 16.

⁵⁵⁵Quoted in Garside, “Scott and the ‘Philosophical’ Historians,” p. 498.

⁵⁵⁶Dickens, “Preface to the Original Edition, 1839,” p. 4, emphasis added.

⁵⁵⁷For more on Dennis’s aesthetics, see Goldie Morgentaler, “Executing Beauty: Dickens and the Aesthetics of Death,” Dickens Studies Annual 30 (2001): 45–57.

⁵⁵⁸György Lukács, The Historical Novel, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (London: Merlin Press, 1962), p. 19.

⁵⁵⁹Quoted in Bell, 3:4.

⁵⁶⁰McGowan, p. 39. McGowan also calls history a “narrative vision which stresses the interdependence of successive events in time” (p. 36), a version of history mediated through the Enlightenment’s notion of the term. For McGowan, the novel’s pervasive mystery plot undermines such a model of history, given that “it is the nature of mystery to disrupt the sequence of cause and effect” (p. 37). It is my contention, again, that the novel’s investment in mystery is a function of its serial structure, so here we have a further way of considering how the novel’s seriality itself offers a riposte to Enlightenment models.

⁵⁶¹Case, p. 131.

⁵⁶²Case, p. 132.

⁵⁶³Stuart Hall, “The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity,” in Culture, Globalization, and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representations

of Identity, ed. Anthony D. King (Minnesota: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 19–39, 22. Similarly, in a study emphasizing “Britishness” as a “fragile and contested ideology of power,” C. A. Bayly notes that the expanding and absorbing dynamics of the British empire helped to absorb the “‘indigenous peoples’ of the British Isles themselves” (“The British and Indigenous Peoples, 1760–1860: Power, Perception, and Identity,” in Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850, ed. Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern, *Critical Histories* [Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1999], pp. 19–41, 19, 20). On the issue of Scotland within an imperial framework, the editors of Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism write, “Scotland itself occupies an anomalous position in the topology of post-colonialism—shifting between the coordinates of colonized and colonizer, the producer as much as recipient of a ‘global English’ . . . Scotland itself reproduced the split condition both of an imperial Great Britain and of the nascent world-system of which Britain was the political economic core” (Duncan, Davis, and Sorensen, p. 2).

⁵⁶⁴Financial incentives are typically seen as the motivation for Scottish enlistments in the British empire, and Robert James Mackintosh (son of Sir James Mackintosh, the Aberdeen-born founder of the Literary Society of Bombay) paints the following fanciful picture: “All over the Highlands of Scotland may be observed, here and there, the effects of a little stream of East or West Indian gold, running side by side with the mountain torrent, spreading cultivation, and fertility, and plenty along its narrow valley, and carrying away before it silently all those signs of rocky sterility, over which its elder companion has tumbled ‘brawling’ since ‘creation’s morn’” (qtd. in Sir James

Mackintosh, Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, ed. Robert James Mackintosh, Esq., 2d edn., 2 vols. [London: Edward Moxon, 1836], 1:169).

⁵⁶⁵Colley, p. 132. Bayly identifies in British India a growing need for “more methodical and statistical methods of government,” a need spurring “the diffusion of new social and intellectual techniques” (pp. 26, 28). I maintain that the response to the former need points to the growing overseas influence of Enlightenment-era Scots.

⁵⁶⁶Colley, p. 124; Watt, p. 95.

⁵⁶⁷Colley, p. 124.

⁵⁶⁸R. A. Cage, “The Scots in England,” in The Scots Abroad, p. 31.

⁵⁶⁹Michael Fry, “A Commercial Empire: Scotland and British Expansion in the Eighteenth Century,” in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives, ed. T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 53–69, 58, 59. Fry goes on to postulate that “the literati” selectively saw in India an analogue of Scottish-Enlightenment society at its most urbane and progressive: “Enjoying a recognised status in their own hierarchical society, in others they were inclined to seek and admire a caste like themselves. Such they supposed Indian brahmans to be, men of enlarged minds and sympathies benevolently guiding humanity, drawing on the resources of classical language and philosophy embodied in Sanskrit learning” (p. 59).

⁵⁷⁰Kitty Datta, “James Mackintosh, Learned Societies in India, and Enlightenment Ideas,” in Aberdeen and the Enlightenment: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of Aberdeen, ed. Jennifer J. Carter and Joan H. Pittock (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 40–51, 46.

⁵⁷¹Bayly, pp. 31, 28. Bayly argues at length that the “styles of knowledge which the British constructed about indigenous peoples,” styles of knowledge that were the fruits of said universities and learned societies, were also influenced by what he calls “the imperial garrison state” (p. 31). This interface of knowledge and power recalls a famous passage from Edward Said’s Orientalism where he asserts that it was “within the umbrella of Western hegemony over the Orient during the period from the end of the eighteenth century” that “there emerged a complex Orient suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theoretical illustration in anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial, and historical theses about mankind and the universe, for instances of economic and sociological theories of development, revolution, cultural personality, national or religious character” (Orientalism [New York: Vintage Books, 1979], pp. 7–8). I maintain that Said’s notion of Britain is overly monolithic; his description here suggests discursive work that is demonstrably Scottish in character (e.g., “anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial, and historical theses about mankind and the universe,” “economic and sociological theories of development”).

⁵⁷²Datta, pp. 42–3.

⁵⁷³See Datta, p. 45. Chief among those involved in the “Comparative Vocabulary” was Sir John Leyden, whose recommendation was owing to “his own Scottish Border heritage, his collection and editing of works in the Scottish tongue, and his appreciation of Gaelic” (p. 45).

⁵⁷⁴*Ibid.* The emphasis on justice here reflects Mackintosh’s experience as Recorder of Bombay where he first saw “an opportunity for bringing about penal reform and

imposing judicial fairness in a Benthamite spirit,” ideals that would become tenets of the Literary Society of Bombay (Datta, p. 42). For more on Mackintosh, see Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, as well as Patrick O’Leary, Sir James Mackintosh: The Whig Cicero (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1989).

⁵⁷⁵Mackintosh, “Discourse Read at the Opening of the Literary Society of Bombay,” in The Miscellaneous Works of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh: Three Volumes, Complete in One, *The Modern British Essayists* (Boston: Philips, Sampson, and Co., 1857), pp. 398–403, 398.

⁵⁷⁶Mackintosh, “Discourse Read at the Opening of the Literary Society of Bombay,” p. 399.

⁵⁷⁷Mackintosh, “Discourse Read at the Opening of the Literary Society of Bombay,” p. 398, emphasis added.

⁵⁷⁸Quoted in Datta, p. 46. Datta goes on to note that in establishing such “[s]eminaries of instruction” toward the end of “effecting social progress,” the “Scots were everywhere in the early educational schemes of British India” (p. 46).

⁵⁷⁹Fry, p. 62.

⁵⁸⁰Siskin, p. 81.

⁵⁸¹See my “The Once and Future Sword: Excalibur and the Poetics of Imperial Heroism in *Idylls of the King*,” Victorian Poetry 46, 2 (Summer 2008): 207–29.

⁵⁸²Thomas Babington Macaulay, “Minute on Indian Education,” in Thomas Babington Macaulay: Selected Writings, ed. John Clive and Thomas Pinney, *Classics of British Historical Literature* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 235–51, 241.

⁵⁸³Ian Smith, “Misusing Canonical Intertexts: Jamaica Kincaid, Wordsworth, and Colonialism’s ‘absent things’ [sic],” *Callaloo* 25, 3 (Summer 2002): 801–20, 801.

Smith’s article is concerned largely with Jamaica Kincaid’s semi-autobiographical novel *Lucy* (1990), which dramatically uses Wordsworth to illustrate “literature’s political role in the work of empire” (Smith, p. 802). After a conversation with her employer Mariah about the blooming daffodils in spring, Lucy, an Antiguan *au pair* in North America, reflects on her forced childhood memorization of Wordsworth’s “I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud” (1807):

I remembered an old poem I had been made to memorize when I was ten years old and a pupil at Queen Victoria’s Girls’ School. I had been made to memorize it, verse after verse and then had recited the whole poem to an auditorium full of parents, teachers, and my fellow pupils. After I was done, everybody stood up and applauded with an enthusiasm that surprised me, and later they told me how nicely I had pronounced every word, how I had placed just the right amount of special emphasis in places where that was needed, and how proud the poet, now long dead, would have been to hear his words ringing out of my mouth. I was then at the height of my two-facedness: that is, outside I seemed one way, inside I was another; outside false, inside true. And so I made pleasant little noises that showed both modesty and appreciation, but inside I was making a vow to erase from my mind, line by line, every word of that poem. The night after I had recited the poem, I dreamt, continuously it seemed, that I

was being chased down a narrow cobbled street by bunches and bunches of those same daffodils that I had vowed to forget, and when finally I fell down from exhaustion they all piled on top of me, until I was buried deep underneath them and was never seen again. I had forgotten all of this until Mariah mentioned daffodils, and now I told it to her with such an amount of anger I surprised both of us.

(See Kincaid, Lucy, *Plume Contemporary Fiction* [New York: Penguin Books, 1991], pp. 17–9.)

Later, Lucy explains to her employer, after Mariah's well-meaning attempt to show her an actual host of golden daffodils, "Mariah, do you realize that at ten years of age I had to learn by heart a long poem about some flowers I would not see in real life until I was nineteen?" (p. 30). The whole scene gives the lie to Wordsworth's universal interiority, any hope that he "speaks of the commonality of our privacy" (qtd. in Reid, p. 2): in place of the Romantic poet's sincerity, Lucy feels herself "at the height of my two-facedness: that is, outside I seemed one way, inside I was another; outside false, inside true." Moreover, it speaks to the less attractive side of nationalized academic literary study; for Lucy, the daffodil garden amounts to "a scene of conquered and conquests; a scene of brutes masquerading as angels and angels portrayed as brutes" (p. 30). Indeed, as Helen Tiffin writes, "The gap between the lived colonial or post-colonial experience and the imported/exported world of the Anglo-written . . . has often been referred to by Commonwealth post-colonial writers and critics as 'the daffodil gap'" (qtd. in Smith, p. 806).

⁵⁸⁴Hughes and Lund, p. 58.

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