

Introduction

Ivanhoe and Nationalism

Introduction

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) is said to be a productive giant in the field of literature.

During his lifetime, he published at least eleven collections of poetry, numerous essays, and twenty-seven historical novels, the so-called Waverley Novels, which have had a great impact on both his contemporaries and succeeding generations.

Although he gained his reputation with the publication of *The Lay of the Last*

Minstrel, it is his historic novels that really fixed down his position in literary world.

Avrom Fleishman considers him “the first historical novelist because he is the first to create a fictional world according to . . . clear historical principles [which were]

drawn partly from Enlightenment uniformitarianism and partly from Romantic

historicism” (25) Angus and Jenni Calder praise him as “the first novelist to write

about real people and real events of the past” (95), and Marian H. Cusac believes that

“Sir Walter Scott was without doubt the most widely acclaimed novelist of his day and has been one of the most influential literary figures from 1814 to the present”

(11). However, as many have pointed out, Scott’s significance lies not only in

literature but also in the development of Scotland, especially Edinburgh. The first

chapter of the Calders’ *Scott* describes that the great influences of Scott that can be

easily spotted once you arrive in Edinburgh: because Scott’s novels attracted

hundreds of thousands of tourists to Scotland, the roads and buildings there were

improved. Stuart Kelly agrees with the Calders in his newly published *Scott-land*

that Scott’s influences are so great that the main station of Edinburgh is named

Waverley instead of being named after the city.¹ Scott’s subsequent effect on the city

¹ Besides the name of the main station, there are numerous roads, banks or buildings named after his

tells the readers the importance of Scott to Scotland and the significance of categorizing Scott as a Scot and not as an Englishman.

Sir Walter Scott

Sir Walter Scott was the third son of well-educated parents. In 1771, he was born an Edinburgher but soon moved to the countryside to live with his grandfather in a farm in Sandyknowe due to his poor health. “When [I was in my] boyhood . . . a long illness threw me back on the kingdom of fiction” (Scott, *Autobiography* 10), Scott spent all his time in countryside reading books that ranged from old romances, plays, epic poetry to histories, memoirs, and voyage. He returned to Edinburgh in 1778 and studied in the Royal High School of Edinburgh and finally entered the University of Edinburgh in 1783. He was interested in the law, and after few years of study, he became a Scottish barrister in 1792. However, the life of a barrister did not satisfy Scott; he noticed the “low ebb” of poetry in Britain (*Autobiography* 14), and turned to writing poetry. His first publication was an English translation of a German poem, but it didn’t draw much attention from the public. Nevertheless, Scott did not give up: in 1805, he published his poem “The Lay of the Last Minstrel,” a goblin story, in response to a young Countess’ request; then, in 1810 appeared “The Lady of the Lake,” a ballad that takes place in the Highlands (Loch Katrine). These two works started to win him popularity both in Scotland and England, helping the reader witness the beauty, culture and traditions of Scotland through the eyes of a Scot. After gaining such a fine reputation as a poet, Scott was eager to experiment with other genres; he decided to write novels, and soon *Waverley* was published in 1814. Scott published his first novels and poetry with the help of his friend James Ballantyne,

works.

who had founded a printing press in 1796. Persuaded by Scott, Ballantyne and Scott's brother joined him to start their printing business in Edinburgh in 1809. Unfortunately, due to the banking crisis in 1825-26, Scott's finances were severely depleted; he had no choice but to receive financial support from his admirers and supporters. But Scott did not take it for granted: he kept writing and publishing, hoping to get himself out of debt. By 1831, his health was failing, and he died at Abbotsford near the Scottish Borders the next year.

The Waverley Novels

After gaining a reputation by his poetry, Scott "felt that something might be attempted for my own country . . . , something which might introduce natives [of Scotland] to those of the sister kingdom in a more favourable light . . . and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues, and indulgence for their foibles" (*Waverley* xxi-ii). When the first novel, *Waverley*, was published in 1814, the author was anonymous. Scott explains later in his general preface that "it was an experiment on the public taste which might very probably fail, and therefore there was no occasion to take on myself the personal risk of discomfiture" (*Waverley* xxv). Surprisingly, this decision turned out to be a great strategy: the public's interest and curiosity were aroused; everyone was purchasing the novel and discussing the possible candidates for author. The novels named below were published under the name of "the *Waverley* author." The settings of the novels published before *Ivanhoe*—*Waverley* (1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815), *The Antiquary* (1816), *The Black Dwarf* (1816), *The Tale of Old Mortality* (1816), *Rob Roy* (1818), *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819) and *A Legend of Montrose* (1819)—are in Scotland or filled with Scottish characters, providing pictures of breathtaking scenery and the knowledge of the manners and

customs of the country. Take *Waverley* as an example: the story is set during the Jacobite Risings and exhibits the valor of the Scots on the battlefield through the adventure of the hero, Edward Waverley.² The first nine novels of the series are set in different times, but they are all directly related to Scotland. However, the tenth novel, *Ivanhoe*, is different; it is set completely in England. In the Dedicatory Epistle of *Ivanhoe*, Scott, under the pseudonym Laurence Templeton, claims that it is another experiment because he “could not but think it strange that no attempt has been made to excite an interest for the traditions and manners of Old England, similar to that which has been obtained in behalf of those of our poorer and less celebrated neighbours” (I: vii). It is an experiment in terms of setting and use of language: he intended to create the story with the language of his time, instead of medieval language. He explains that “[i]t is necessary, for exciting interest of any kind, that the subject assumed should be, as it were, translated into the manners, as well as the language, of the age we live in . . . [So] that the reader will not find himself, I should hope, much trammelled by the repulsive dryness of mere antiquity” (xvii).

Ivanhoe: a Twelfth-Century Chivalric Romance

Ivanhoe, published in 1819, is named after the hero, Wilfred of Ivanhoe. The story takes place in Yorkshire and Leicestershire when England was ruled by the Normans. In the beginning of the story, we learn about the ceaseless conflicts between the Saxons and the Normans from the dialogues of two Saxons: the Jester and Gurth, the swineherd. Readers are told that Ivanhoe is the son of a remaining Saxon noble family. Cedric, his father, has disinherited Ivanhoe because he chose to devote himself to the Norman king, Richard I: the king is said to be imprisoned in France, and his brother

² Edward takes part in the Battle of Prestonpans, a battle in which the Scots were the victor.

Prince John refuses to pay the ransom because he desires to crown himself King of England. Later, Prince John holds a two-day tournament, and the Saxons—Cedric, Athelstane, Rowena, and several servants—take part in the event. A masked knight, known as "Desdichado" appears in the joust and wins on the first day but is severely wounded the next. When the masked knight is about to be defeated, an unknown knight in black rushes in, saves Desdichado and leaves the place right after that. Desdichado is unmasked and is revealed to be Ivanhoe. Without being noticed, Rebecca, a beautiful Jewess heroine, takes Ivanhoe away and heals him.

On the way back home, the Saxons and the Jews are captured and imprisoned in the Castle of Torquistone. On the other side of the forest, the Black Knight befriends a cluster of outlaws, who are led, as is later revealed, by Robin Hood. The Black Knight and the outlaws besiege the castle and rescue the captives. During the rescue mission, Rebecca is taken away and hidden in the nearest Templar Preceptory. The Grand-Master of the Templars accuses Rebecca of witchcraft and decides to bring her to trial. As the trial proceeds, Rebecca demands a trial by combat. Nearly recovered Ivanhoe hears the news, hurries in as Rebecca's champion, defeats Bois-Guilbert and saves Rebecca.

In the end of the story, Richard I regains the throne, Ivanhoe marries Rowena, Cedric and Robin Hood are both promised a freer and brighter future by the king. The story closes with fairly happy smiles on their faces except for Rebecca, who has decided to leave England, a country that is unfriendly to the Jews.

Ivanhoe: a Failure or a Success?

Among Scott's Waverley Novels, *Ivanhoe* (1819) is the most controversial. On one hand, it was praised by many readers for his vivid descriptions of characters, a

merit that redeems other shortcomings. Nassau Senior (1790-1864), a lawyer and a professor, calls *Ivanhoe* a “splendid masque” which is “the most brilliant and most amusing of this whole family of novels” for it provides the reader a lively image of the public and personal life of their ancestors; however, he doubted the “antiquarian accuracy” of some details (qtd. in Hayden 235). *Monthly Magazine* (1820) argues that although the chivalric society described in the novel is not perfectly historical, the “exquisite description, and dramatic power of character, are sufficient to redeem greater faults” (qtd. in Hayden 177). Augustin Thierry, a Frenchman who was writing about the history of the Norman Conquest,³ praises Scott for his boldness in depicting the mutual hatred between the Saxons and the Normans (Ferris 224-28). On the other hand, some of his contemporaries criticized Scott’s experimental novel as a failure because his characters’ language is mixed with modern language and the book is an unqualified historical romance. An unsigned review in the *Eclectic Review* (1820) points out that *Ivanhoe* is not worth commenting on because, although it provides more details of the twelfth century, “it has less of verisimilitude, and makes a much more evanescent, if not a less vivid impression upon the reader’s fancy” (qtd. in Hayden 188). The anonymous reviewers expressed their worries of being deceived by such vivid pictures of old English life in the novel into believing that the novelist is presenting the “realities of history” (189). They called Scott a “pseudo-historian” (190): the language Scott employed in *Ivanhoe* was “foreign and antique phraseology” (189) disguised by medieval manners and customs, and, unlike Shakespeare’s plays, his historical romance treats history as mere background of his fiction (191). Moreover, they denounced *Ivanhoe* as a failed romance because the author did not write the story as a proper romance writer should do: “The writer of a

³ *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans* (1825).

romance must at least seem to be in earnest, and by this means he may succeed in soever it may be, and how foreign soever the events to his experience. . . . [It is like] a patchwork which has neither beauty, nor apparent necessity, nor correctness to recommend it” (193). Coleridge, most interestingly, found *Ivanhoe* fascinating but was unable to finish it; he said that “the pain or the perplexity or whatever it was always outweighed the curiosity” (182), but he was unsure about the direct cause of his attitude toward the work.

In the age of romanticism, the critics in Scott’s time tended to examine *Ivanhoe* as a historical romance, which should follow the examples of romance of the Middle Ages. A historical romance should “not simply as a *record* of the times to which it relates, but as a *production* of those time” (192). Hence, most of Scott’s contemporaries attacked his *Ivanhoe* for blending the ancient with the modern. Under the banner of old historicism, the critics believed that history was the record of truth, i.e. what really happened, and that all historical romance had its “fatal disadvantage [of combining] two opposite kinds of interest” (qtd. in Hayden 190). What they expected to see in historical romance is the consistency of the scenes and the diction of narrative. That is to say, *Ivanhoe* is set in the twelfth century, thus the expositor should use the language of the foresaid period. However, the narrator of *Ivanhoe* chooses to add in some modern elements: for example, in the midst of the tournament scene, the narrator asserts that:

To borrow lines from a contemporary poet, . . . —
The knights are dust,
And their good swords are rust,
Their souls are with the saints, we trust. (1: 156)

He notes that the lines are from Coleridge: a contemporary poet whose poem is put

into a twelfth-century romance is indeed a proof of Scott's anachronism.

In fact, Scott was not unprepared for such criticisms when *Ivanhoe* was first published in 1819. In the Dedicatory Epistle of *Ivanhoe*, Scott, under a pseudonym called Laurence Templeton,⁴ did make a clear statement about the issue of anachronism which he assumed would attract attacks:

Still, the severer antiquary may think that, by thus intermingling fiction with truth, I am polluting the well of history with modern inventions, and impressing upon the rising generation false ideas of the age which I describe

It is true, that I neither can nor pretend to the observation of complete accuracy, even in matters of outward costume, much less in the more important points of language and manners. But . . . [i]t is necessary, for exciting interest of any kind, that the subject assumed should be, as it were, translated into the manners, as well as the language, of the age we live in. (*Ivanhoe* xvi-vii)

And in order to bolster his attempt, an introduction and several notes were added to the new edition of *Ivanhoe* published in 1830. In Note 2 of *Ivanhoe*, it says that "I do not pretend to plead the immunities of my order so highly as this; but neither will I allow that the author of a modern antique romance is obliged to confine himself to the introduction of those manners only which can be proved to have absolutely existed in the times he is depicting, so that he restrain himself to such as are plausible and natural and contain no obvious anachronism" (2004, 412). Scott's own writing tells the reader that the anachronism in *Ivanhoe* or any other novels by Scott was designed

⁴ Scott published his novels either anonymously or under pseudonyms for, as he later claimed in 1827, he did not wish to ruin the reputation he had gained from poetry and prose writings.

on purpose for the benefit of readers of different classes and this way of writing should be allowed as long as there is no obvious contradiction between known fact and the made-up fact; thus, the accusation against such matter is pointless. Unlike Scott's contemporaries, the critics after his time notice his new invention, the so-called historical novel, and praise the "flaws" which had been argued since the publication of *Ivanhoe* as inventive designs. Such an attitude is possible because of Hegel's (1770-1831) philosophy of history. According to Georg Lukács (1885-1971), a Hungarian philosopher, Hegel's philosophy provides the basis of "show[ing] that revolution and historical development are not opposed to one another" (28), that is, human activities are part of history and revolution brings evolution of history. When Scott seemed to be debasing history, he was actually developing it.

Lukács praises Scott as the inventor of historical novels and states that "Scott's historical novel is the direct continuation of the great realistic social novel of the eighteenth century" (*History* 31). He suggests that Scott loved to depict the turbulence (class struggles, the industrial revolution, etc.) because he had learnt from English history that a better newly-awoken society always springs from violent struggles. Lukács termed this a "middle way" (32) which allows Scott to provide the reader a prospect of a bright future: the struggle of the Saxons and the Normans, for example, gave rise to the English nation. Lukács then go further argues that it was wrong for critics to consider Scott a romance writer because he was developing a genre that is more than romance. He points out that Scott created heroes that are not ideal but "mediocre, average English gentleman" (33) in order to form a more realistic fiction than conventional romance. He concludes that "[w]hat matters therefore in the historical novel is not the re-telling of great historical events, but the poetic awakening of the people who figured in those events. What matters is that we should

re-experience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act just as they did in historical reality” (42).

But what is this “historical reality”? Some, like Scott’s contemporaries, believe that history is an objective record of what happened in the past; however, some, including me, disagree. One should note that works of history, like creative works based on works of history, are the written description of certain events (such as wars, invasions, or enthronements of kings and queens, etc.) that depend on the understanding of spectators/narrators. For example, in the introduction of *Ivanhoe*, Scott explains that the idea of emphasizing the contrast between the Normans and the Saxon was inspired by Logan’s tragedy of *Runnamede*. He points out that “it was obvious [in *Runnamede*] that history was violated by introducing the Saxons still existing as a high-minded and martial race of nobles” (2004, v), but he adds that “They did, however, survive as a people, and some of the ancient Saxon families possessed wealth and power” (v). Scott’s introduction tells us that his understanding of the Saxons is distinct from Logan’s despite the fact that they both are depicting the Saxons of the twelfth century. This is to say, an event may result in different written versions by different authors. Collingwood in his *Speculum Mentis* states that “history is nothing but conceiving the object as concrete fact, fact to which its context is not irrelevant but essential” (234); thus the context of a fact can determine the judgment of figures in history by, for instance, choices of words. Likewise, Hayden White declares that “historical knowledge attempts to ‘reconstruct’ the thought behind the artifact (6), meaning that history is the interpretation or reinterpretation of the “really true” (Collingwood 234).⁵ It is fair to say that what Scott’s contemporaries expected

⁵ A term quoted from Collingwood’s footnote. This “really true” refers to the truth that cannot be obtained by science nor by history. If to explain the term by Searle’s idea, Collingwood’s “really true”

to see is actually another interpretation of history rather than what really happened. Of course, both history and historical novels are based on the “*really* true” and should not go far from the basis. History writing is considered closer to the “*really* true” than historical novels because its main purpose is to record events that happened in the past, whereas historical novels are designed to entertain the reader by making use of past events. By humanizing his historical heroes, Scott is able to draw the heroes with complex emotions closer to the reader (Lukács 46-7).

It is important to note that when Lukács says that Scott is inventing something more than romance, he is not renouncing completely the relationship between romance and Scott’s novels; rather, he believes that *Ivanhoe* and other Waverley Novels are advanced products of Romanticism. Drawing on Lukács’ widely accepted theory of the historical novel, Cusac calls attention to Scott’s narrative structures—romance and chronicle⁶—and concludes that such structures reveal Scott’s interest “in the individual as a representative of his historical environment, as a thread in the fabric of society” (105); that is, Scott makes use of his antagonists’ experiences and adventures to exhibit his concern about individuality in humankind. Like Cusac, Kenneth M. Sroka agrees with Lukács’ idea and asserts that *Ivanhoe* first appears to be a romance, but it turns out to be a “deflation of idealistic romance” (645) for the heroes in the novel are not ideal. He suggests that it is the synthetic form (romance and realistic elements) echoing with synthetic content (old and new) that displays Scott’s achievement in the field of literature.

means the brutal reality (as we all need food to keep ourselves alive) and the history the social reality (as we need shoes to walk).

⁶ “The chronicles, then, are that group of the Waverley novels whose structure is characterized by a series of episodes rather than by the casually interrelated dramatic moments found in romances” (Cusac 54).

Apart from structures and forms of *Ivanhoe*, some critics tend to focus on relating the story to religious, political and racial issues in Scott's time. Judith Wilt quotes from Frye's *The Secular Scripture*, explaining that historical novel is a "form of kidnapped romance" made for certain needs, such religious needs (18), and argues that *Ivanhoe* "has an Arthurian core" (26). She sees *Ivanhoe* as a home-coming novel which "begins with the Home Coming moment" (26) after the departure for the Holy Land. She thinks that Scott's *Ivanhoe* is "a crucial import for the English novel" in "the field of national [English] mythmaking" (19), and by representing primary English myth, Scott reminds readers of their Christian roots. Like Wilt, Avrom Fleishman believes that Scott hides English "true nature" by making use of English myth; however, the myth he is referring to is not the myth of the Holy Land but that of "the Norman yoke"⁷ (26). He points out that "it was the treatment of a sensitive racial theme that brought the issue of the historical novel to life again" (x) and "[f]rom this congeries of racial emotions, political ideas, and plain nonsense derives a major stream of historical fiction" (27). Wilt and Fleishman though suggest that the myths in *Ivanhoe* help explore the religious and racial problem of Scott's time, and discuss problems that occurred during the period as a whole instead of indicating certain events.

Focusing on the racial issue in *Ivanhoe*, Ling-Wei Meng examines *Ivanhoe* through spatial criticism. From the clothing of Isaac and his interaction with other, Meng asserts that Scott is expressing his sympathy for the Jews and his concern for the Jews living in world where Christianity is the mainstream. Although a few critics,

⁷ The idea of "Norman Yoke Thesis" is that the nobility of England are foreign usurpers who destroyed the glorious dynasty of the Saxons. See Hill notes that the extinguishment of Saxon democracy by the Norman Invasion is not Scott's invention. Please see Hill, Christopher. *The Norman Yoke*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1955. Print.

such as Meng, are inclined to think of Scott as a sympathizer of the Jews, most critics tend to believe the opposite. John Sutherland claims that Scott is responsible for introducing “consciousness of race into popular British mind” (229) and that race is the chief issue of *Ivanhoe*. He points out that there were two current theories in Scott’s time: monogeny and polygeny;⁸ and he suggests that is probably the reason why the Norman villains and the Jews in *Ivanhoe* all have darker skin, whereas the Saxons have pale complexions. In addition to the difference of skin colors, anti-Semitism is one of most popular subjects among critics. Pin Hsu takes in *Ivanhoe* as a demonstration of new historicism. Through Scott’s portrayal of Isaac, he concludes that Scott created the Jewish character under the influence deep-rooted idea of anti-Semitism which is now considered a negative attitude; however, the reader can comprehend the cause of Scott’s treatment of Isaac through the scope of new historicism.

Diverging from the critics mentioned above, Morillo and Newhouse relate the racial issue in *Ivanhoe* with a political issue of Scott’s time. They state that *Ivanhoe* is not merely a romance of the twelfth century but a representation of contemporary political issues of the Regency Period: the Peterloo Massacre. They try to explain the competing relation between history and romance by examining the sounds of the crowd in several different scenes in *Ivanhoe*, and they are convinced that “the sounds in the story of *Ivanhoe* become tentative hints of truth capable of dispelling falsehood and evil, of a knowledge not easily dismantled by skepticism” (291). The linkage they bring up is interesting, but they fail to explain what kind of truth they believe that Scott is presenting since, to Scott, “any kind of narration, historical or romantic, is

⁸ “Monogeny assumed that the human species, in all its national and social diversity, had same racial origin. . . . Polygeny, by contrast, concentrated on physical differences and assumed separate racial origins for the major ethnic group” (Sutherland 229).

inevitably a mere distortion of a true experience known only by the sense and impossible for a narrative to capture” (281). Michael Ragussis, on the other hand, reads *Ivanhoe* as a response to the conflict between European national identity and Jewish identity. As Morillo and Newhouse bring up the issue of the Jewish persecution, he relates the revival of “Christian medievalism” in Germany to anti-Semitic persecution, saying that an exploration of Jewish persecution during the twelfth century can “replicate the contemporary crisis” referring to the Hep-Hep riots in 1819 (181). Notably, instead of reading *Ivanhoe* as a representation of European turbulence like Ragussis, Joan Garden Cooper suggests that the story is referring to a domestic crisis. She agrees that *Ivanhoe* is representing an issue that happened in Scott’s time, but she turns her head to another possibility: the so-called Peterloo Massacre of 1819 in Britain. Due to the reason that the Jews, as well as the Scots, are regarded as the other, Cooper believes that Rebecca is a symbol of Scotland: “The absence of Scotland from the novel is noteworthy because Scott examines the idea of exile and belonging through Rebecca. . . . [T]he complex and layered structure of the novel suggests this interpretation through the correspondence between Rebecca’s situation and Scotland’s position within Britain in 1819” (45). Moreover, she points out that the alienation of Scotland echoes Rebecca’s exile in the end of the story; Rebecca’s searching of her homeland is presented as the “soul of the nation [Scotland]” (59) implying Scotland’s sense of isolation in Scott’s time.

The critics who are interested in racial issues tend to examine the text with postcolonial approach. Peter Schmidt, like Cooper, brings up the idea of Otherness. He suggests that, in *Ivanhoe*, “the binary oppositions run through every aspect of Saxon and Norman life, uniting while they also separate.” Indeed, the Saxons are presented as a colonized group in the beginning of the story, yet, a sense of

colonization seems to dissolve when Richard returns. Franz Fanon's *The Wretched on the Earth* is considered the ancestor of postcolonial field. Fanon argues that the colonized should reclaim their past in order to find their own national identity. He condemns European colonialism for its violation and restructuring of African culture and identity: "For colonialism, this vast continent [Africa] was a den of savages, infested with superstitions and fanaticism, destined to be despised, cursed by God, a land of cannibals, a land of 'niggers'" (150). Fanon explains the colonized intellectuals who threw themselves into Western civilization have come to realize that "the existence of a nation is not proved by culture, but in the people's struggle against the forces of occupation" (159). He concludes that Africa and the Third World⁹ must stop the attempt on catching up with the Western world and develop an innovative way of thinking. Reading Schmidt's article with Fanon's postcolonial idea in mind, the discussion on the Saxons does not explain much on their postcolonialism. Schmidt mentions the differences and confrontations between the Normans and the Saxons, but he fails to provide the passages where the Saxons try do find their voice.

Like many critics who take interest in the Jews in *Ivanhoe*, Schmidt and Cooper introduce the idea of Otherness into the discussion. Such an idea is explained in Edward Said's *Orientalism*, where he defines Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3); and to the West (we), the Orient is the "other" (they). Said states that Orientalism limits the imagination of the Orient, even Scott was "constrained in what [he] could either experience of or say about the Orient" (43). However, he proposes that writers of the nineteenth century were able to make use of the Orient as projections of events in the West or reflecting the events in the West by writing an exotic Oriental story (192-97).

⁹ The Third World includes China, the Near East, Africa, and Latin America. (Said 46)

Through postcolonial criticism, the critics have found their way to interpret Scott's treatment of Isaac and Rebecca or the Jews as a whole as representations of anti-Semitic events in Scott's time. However, this thesis focuses on the relationship between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland rather than the Orient, and attempts to read the novel through Richard I instead of the Jewish characters, thus, Orientalism is unsuited for the discussion. Moreover, since Richard announces that he is the rightful king who shall rule the nation: "Richard of England!" (III: 300) and "England and the life of every Englishman [is] deader" (II: 95) to him than to any one else in the world. In *Ivanhoe*, Richard shows no intention of colonizing England, thus, the theory of postcolonialism will not be the main concern of this paper.

To sum up, the critics have done a great job in interpreting *Ivanhoe* from various angles, but most of them, except Cooper, simply neglect the fact that Scott was born a Scot who spent most of his time living in Scotland and writing novels and poetry about the land. In Lockhart's *Memoir of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Scott is reported by saying that

It may be pertinacity, but to my eye, these grey hills, and all this wild border country, have beauties peculiar to themselves. I like the very nakedness of the land; it has something bold, and stern, and solitary about it. When I have been for some time in the rich scenery about Edinburgh, which is like ornamented garden land, I begin to wish myself back again among my own honest grey hills; and if I did not see the heather at least once a year, *I think I should die!* (italic original, 353-54)

Scott's passion for Scotland, especially for Scottish Borders, is so strong that it deserves to be put into consideration when one reads *Ivanhoe*. It is very unlikely that Scott would suddenly abandon such passionate love and shift to write a novel that

relates only to England, and then go back to write another Scottish-setting novel right after the publication of *Ivanhoe*. Keeping Scott's fervor for Scotland in mind when reading *Ivanhoe* will cast a new light on the relationship between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland, making the Waverley Novels a coherent series.

Ivanhoe, Scotland and the Process of Nationalism

The argument of the thesis is that the process of English nationalism in *Ivanhoe* can be seen as an extraction of the process of Scottish nationalism in history, and through Richard, Scott develops an advanced Scottish nationalism for the Scots. Scott announces clearly in the introduction of *Waverley*, the very first of the Waverley Novels, that he wishes to do something for his country, and the novels published before *Ivanhoe* are undoubtedly filled with Scottish characters and mostly set in various places in Scotland, decorating the novels with vivid scenery and manners of the nation. As Cooper points out,

Ivanhoe is the first of Scott's novels not set in Scotland. Prior to publishing *Ivanhoe*, Scott had spent most of his time composing novels, such as *Waverley*, *The Heart of Midlothian*, and *The Bride of Lammermoor*, which dealt precisely with the position of Scotland in relation to its place within Britain. Scott's preoccupation with the place of Scotland within Britain is unlikely to have deserted him when composing a novel about twelfth-century England. (59)

Indeed, *Ivanhoe*, with its purely English setting, is unlike any of its predecessors. After the publication of *Ivanhoe*, Scott once again turned back to fulfill his wish of introducing Scotland to other countries. I refuse to overlook the possible relationship between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland, because from my reading, what Scott aims at is not

merely to duplicate romance as Scott's contemporaries had wished to see, nor simply to represent certain political issues of his time as Morillo and Newhouse or Ragussis and Cooper suggest, but to praise the steadfast spirit the Anglo-Saxons held for preserving the culture and traditions of their ancestors in the twelfth century under the rule of the tyrannous Normans. The difficult position of the Anglo-Saxons, I'd suggest, mirrors the predicament of the Scots. By depicting the dominated Saxons, *Ivanhoe* may elicit the empathy and respect of the English for the Scots. By displaying great virtues of the oppressed Saxons and the Jews, Scott may remind his countryman of their Scottishness. And, by closing the story with a peaceful ending within the country, *Ivanhoe* sheds light on the possible harmony after the Treaty of Union.¹⁰ Since Scott announced in the General Preface of *Waverley* that he wants to do something for "his own country" (xxi) and he kept his promise by creating eight more novels with Scottish settings. I believe that *Ivanhoe* is related to Scotland like the ones before it, and by examining the relationship Scott's advanced Scottish nationalism is revealed.

First of all, what is nationalism? And where does it come from? According to *Theories of Nationalism*, "[m]ost studies of nationalism trace the origin of the nationalist doctrine generally back to German Romantic thought—roughly to the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries" (Özkirimli 11), but it was not a popular idea during the time. It was until the First World War that the "interest in nationalism was largely ethical and philosophical. The scholars of this period, predominantly historians and social philosophers, were more concerned with the 'merits and defects' of the doctrine" (12). Since then, many scholars have tried to define nationalism. For example, in *Nationalism*, Ernest Gellner draws a basic sketch

¹⁰ The Treaty of Union in 1707 is a turning point which united Kingdom of England and Kingdom Scotland and thus, created the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

for nationalism: “[n]ationalism is a political principle which maintains that similarity of culture is the basic social bond. Whatever principles of authority may exist between people depend for their legitimacy on the fact that the members of the group concerned are of the same culture (or, in nationalist idiom, of the same ‘nation’)” (3-4). This is to say, in most of the cases, nationalism rise after the birth of a nation, which is usually formed based on ethnic or cultural similarities, and it emerges when a nation tries to maintain its power and territory so as to differentiate itself from other nations. Like Gellner, George Orwell says that “When [nationalism] is used abstractly , it refers to an aspiration to united existence; in the ideal sense, it means the idea of the grouping of persons in nations or the quality of uniting the people of the same nation,” nevertheless, he suggests that there are groups of people who have the idea of nationalism without a nation: “When used concretely [nationalism] refers to a group of persons bound together by certain common attributes, or may designate an undeveloped and nonindependent national group that has not yet attained national sovereignty.” (qtd. in Snyder 57). For example, the Jews have long considered their community as a nation, and they did express a very strong sense of Judaism before the independence of Israel in 1948. They are one of exceptional cases that nationalism precedes the birth of a nation. Gellner and Orwell explain why nationalism appears whereas Anthony D. Smith tells the purpose and goal of nationalism: it not only maintains the nation as it is, but helps the nation to improve and grow. He asserts that “[n]ationalism is an ideology that places the nation at the centre of its concerns and seeks to promote its well-being” and it is “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’” (*Nationalism* 9). There are various works on the subject, yet it seems that

nationalism cannot be explained by a single definition because it is not a theory but rather conclusions made after surveying the history of nations from various aspects such as ethnicity or religion. I noticed that the works on nationalism tend to examine the development of nationalism of either the world as a whole or few certain nations that can be related together, trying to find a core doctrine that fits every nation; unfortunately, the goal of defining nationalism with single doctrine is so far unreachable.

However, I did find that Smith's assertion explains nationalism in a more concrete and comprehensive way: nationalism is not a theory but a concept or, as he puts it, a framework that "must be filled out by other idea-systems and by the particular circumstances of each community's situation at the time" (Smith 150). The idea is that nationalism is actually not purely or thoroughly based on nations as divided in an official atlas; instead, it is a complex concept that is built by faith, ethnicity, customs, geography, history, etc., and through one or more collective identity a nation might be formed. Like Smith, I believe that nationalism like a nation's machine that needs batteries to motivate it. Since a nation is normally built through the connections of race, religion, or shared history and experience among its people; without such connections, nationalism is impotent. Nationalism is different from other -isms because normally a theory can be applied to various nations or even globally, but nationalism is completely distinct from one nation to another due to the diversity of history of each nation. After discussing the formation of national identity, Smith goes on to argue that "nationalism is politically necessary" (153), "national identity is socially functional" (155) and "the nation is historically embedded" (157). He means that, first, nationalism is used politically to provide world order. Second, national identity can be regarded as a vital social device which unites the people of the

group/nation and provides its members/citizens a sense of security and belonging. Finally, a nation is formed by collective experience in history; in other words, a group of people becomes a nation because they have shared memories about the past. Smith's arguments are more valid than others, because he provides systematically explanatory aspects for readers, especially for those who are new to the field, to examine a nation's nationalism.¹¹

After studying Scottish history by taking Smith's arguments mentioned above as the basis of analysis, I suggest seeing "collective identity," "nation and nationalism", and "national identity and advanced nationalism" as a process of the formation of Scottish nationalism: the rise of collective identity (Scottish identity), during the course of history urges the formation of a nation (Scotland), and nationalism (Scottish nationalism) is the method used by the nation, initially by the kings/leaders of the nation, to provoke the national identity (Scottish national identity) of its people so that the people within the nation will together pursue their welfare and make the nation stronger by setting an advanced nationalism (advanced Scottish nationalism) as a goal for them to achieve. To clarify the terms, collective identity shows the need or eagerness of a group of people with certain common traits to become a nation; nationalism is the means of maintaining such collective identity, normally after the nation is born; and the national identity is how the people of the nation identify themselves as part of the nation.

Chapter Organization

The thesis is divided into three chapters and a conclusion. The three chapters are

¹¹ For more information, please see Huseyin Isiksal. "Two Perspectives on the Relationship of Ethnicity to Nationalism: Comparing Gellner and Smith." *Turkish Journal of International Relations*. 1:1 (2002): 1-15. Print.

set according to the process of forming nationalism: “collective identity,” “nation and nationalism,” and “national identity and advanced nationalism.” Each chapter is designed with two separate sections: the first section recounts history of Scotland, explaining the source of the title of each chapter; the second half examines *Ivanhoe* by applying the process in Scottish history discussed in the first half, demonstrating the identical process in the novel. The first chapter focuses on the building of Scottish identity in history and the building of English identity in *Ivanhoe*. It argues that the process of building Scottish identity in medieval Scotland is parallel to the way that King Richard builds up English identity in *Ivanhoe*. In medieval Scotland, the land was occupied by different races. The various races united by a sense of Scottish identity during the invasions of the Scandinavians (eighth to tenth century). In *Ivanhoe*, on the other hand, the Normans and the Saxons were, too, united by a sense of English identity under King Richard’s lead. The identical process of building up a sense of collective identity is laid out in Scottish history and *Ivanhoe*.

Chapter Two is “nation and nationalism.” It discusses Scotland as a nation, the appearance of Scottish nationalism before the Union and Scottish nationalism in *Waverley* and *Ivanhoe*. The argument of the second chapter is that while shifting his focus of novels from Scottish to English settings, the similar path of forming the nation Scotland and Scottish nationalism is represented in *Ivanhoe*. From the introduction of *Waverley* and *Ivanhoe*, Scott more than once expressed his wish of introducing Scotland to the readers. Even though *Ivanhoe* is set in England and has no Scots involved, *Ivanhoe* and Scotland are linked together by King Richard: he is one of the leading characters who claims his right to throne through Matilda, the daughter of King of Scotland, in the novel and a crucial role who restored the independence of Scotland in history. With a sense of English identity, the characters of different races

led by Richard besiege the castle and build England as a nation where everyone, or almost everyone, within the realm identifies himself/herself as a part of the nation. The reader can tell from the obedience of Robin Hood and Cedric that Richard has successfully built up a sense of English nationalism through his brave and impartial deeds and his authority just as the Scottish kings had done for their nation after the Pope's recognition of Robert I as King of Scotland: because Scotland has long been a part of the Christian world, and therefore it cannot be called a nation without the acknowledgement by the Pope.

The third chapter is "national identity and advanced nationalism." "National identity" is an advanced collective identity which is shown after a nation is formed and after the nationalism emerges. And advanced nationalism is a combination of the nationalism and national identity and a goal set and pursued by every member of the nation. Looking into evidence from historical events and Scott's deeds and writings, Chapter Three argues that while the characters exhibit their English national identity and King Richard pursues his advanced English nationalism in the novel, Scott shows his Scottish national identity and develops an advanced Scottish nationalism that, with a well-preserved Scottish national identity, consecrates to reach a harmonious peace between the Scots and the English via *Ivanhoe*. The chapter begins by introducing the Jacobite Risings when the Scots standing against the United Kingdom after the Treaty of the Union. The events are so significant that they are recorded and discussed in Scottish history and literature. The literary works like Scott's *Waverley* that talk about or use the events like the Jacobite Risings as its background not only help express Scottish national identity of the authors but also become parts of Scottish nationalism that encourage Scottish national identity of the Scots.

Then Scott's arrangements for George IV's visit to Scotland follow. "It appeared

to be very generally thought . . . that the Highlanders, their kilts, and their bagpipes, were to occupy a great deal too much space in every scene of public ceremony connected with the King's reception" (Lockhart 481), Scott used items like kilts or tartans as symbols of Scottish national identity. The symbols, too, like memorable historical events, turn into parts of Scottish nationalism that strengthen the nation by reminding the Scots of their origin, culture and glorious past. In *Ivanhoe*, as Scott shows his Scottish national identity through King Richard or items like "Sandals . . . like those of a Scottish Highlander" (*Ivanhoe* I: 9), the characters such as Athelstane and Rowena exhibit their English national identity by expressing their trust in Richard, believing England will be in peace and harmony under Richard's reign.

The advanced English nationalism displayed in the racial/ethnic conflicts and their solutions in *Ivanhoe* implies Scott's advanced Scottish nationalism. From many scenes in the novel, it is not difficult to notice that the conflicts come from hatred, pride and eagerness to restore the sovereignty and freedom of certain races. Under Richard's reign, such conflicts are resolved by justice and trust: the king praises or punishes his subjects, no matter the Normans, the Saxons or the Jews, only according to their deeds. Richard's goal of reaching a harmonious state within the nation is an advanced English nationalism for his people to pursue. The Normans, the Saxons and the Jews should learn to treat one another with benevolence while preserving their own culture and tradition. And considering the tense situation between the Scots and the English of Scott's time, I believe that the advanced English nationalism of Richard and his people can be regarded as the advanced Scottish nationalism of Scott's and his contemporaries: the goal of the preservation of Scottish national identity and a peaceful union of the Scots and the English. As the characters show their English national identity and Richard builds up an advanced English nationalism

in *Ivanhoe*, Scott expresses his Scottish national identity and develops an advanced Scottish nationalism via *Ivanhoe*. The last chapter of the thesis is the concluding chapter. It closes the thesis by showing how the process of Scottish nationalism is served in Scott's *Ivanhoe*.





Chapter One

Collective Identity

1.1 Introduction

The editor of *Scottish Literature*, David McCordick, claims that: “to appreciate Scottish literature without a knowledge of its history is nearly impossible (1:1), meaning that in order to grasp a full picture of the evolution of Scottish nationalism, looking into Scottish history and literature is essential. Smith says that “nation is historically embedded” (157-59); before becoming a nation, a collective identity is required, and such an identity is normally formed through historical events such as wars or invasions. When a certain group of people identify themselves as part of the group and defend themselves, as a group, from invasion, the collective identity rises. Like Smith, Jack Brand suggests that “to understand the substance of Scottish nationalism it is necessary to recognize the existence of such feeling at an early stage of Scottish history” (11-2). In other words, because the formation of nationalism takes centuries, the relationship between nationalism and history is inseparable, and if we want to learn more about the development of Scottish identity, looking into ancient Scottish history and literature would be the best and the only way.

A collective identity is very often based on race, ethnicity or religion and sometimes a combination of the three.¹² The Jews, for example, belong to the Jewish race; they share Jewish ethnic identity, and their religion is Judaism. Shylock in

¹² Among the three, the meaning of race and ethnicity mingle together: according OED, the word “race” signifies “any of the major groupings of mankind, having in common distinct physical features or having a similar ethnic background” and “ethnicity” denotes “pertaining to race; peculiar to a race or nation; ethnological. Also, pertaining to or having common racial, cultural, religious, or linguistic characteristics, esp. designating a racial or other group within a larger system.” The difference between “race” and “ethnicity” is that race has something to do with genetic, biological appearance, and ethnicity is more related to social traits, culture and tradition for instance.

Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* displays vivid collective identity of the Jews: he is not ashamed to be born a Jew and detests Christians for their discrimination against his people. Coincidentally, Jewish identity is also brought up in Scott's *Ivanhoe*. In the story, there are Isaac of York, a Jew, and his daughter Rebecca. Isaac is portrayed as a gentler and more humane Jew than Shylock. He obviously loves gold and treasures and dislikes Christians, the traits normally tagged on by the Christians, but when it comes to his daughter's safety, he is willing to sacrifice all his possessions and begs the Christian for help (*Ivanhoe* ch. 33). Rebecca takes pride in being a Jew and refuses to convert even when she is sentenced to death.

This chapter argues that the process of building Scottish identity in medieval Scotland is parallel to the way that King Richard builds up English identity in *Ivanhoe*. Throughout medieval Scottish history, after the union between the Picts and the Scots by King Kenneth, Webster concluded in his research that it is "the crown, with the church, that . . . represents [Scottish] identity" (94). It means that while the kings, as the head of the Scots, led their people to fight for their independence, the Scottish church, as the center of Scottish beliefs, stood fast to support its kings and its people; thus, with the church on its side, the crown was able to "maintain the credibility of the kingdom" (94). Coincidentally, Webster's conclusion made from Scottish medieval history can be found in *Ivanhoe*.

Among all the characters in the novel, King Richard I is, I'd suggest, the representation of English identity. We know from several dialogues that King Richard is beloved by the kingdom, even when the king is imprisoned in Europe, there are people who talk of his great deeds and believe that his return will save the kingdom from misery. And so he does. Without revealing his own identity, he is able to lead everyone, the Normans and the Saxons, to fight against Prince John and his allies for

their honor, freedom and the peace of the kingdom. Although Richard is also a Norman, he is willing to treat others who have different ethnicities as equals in order to reach a harmonious future for England. This equality of the Normans and the Saxons brings a stronger sense of English identity, a collective identity that compromises two different identities.

Sir Walter Scott's *History of Scotland* provides convincing evidence for the possibility that King Richard's building of English identity has something to do with the formation of Scottish identity. According to Scott, before the succession of Richard, Scotland was forced to admit that the kingdom of England is the paramount. But this condition was reversed by Richard not just because he needed money and peace in order to depart for the Holy Land, the main inducement of the act was because of "the chivalrous and generous feeling of Cœur de Lion" (*History* 1: 49).¹³ This calculation of Richard's character mentioned by Scott is explicitly depicted in *Ivanhoe*. Through Richard, the reader can see the development of English identity encouraged by a leader that mirrors the formation of Scottish identity in medieval history—different races and ethnicities, which used to go against each other from time to time, finally reconcile by one particularly brave leading figure in order to protect themselves from threats and maintain or promote the peace within the kingdom.

1.2 Kingdom, Kings, and Scottish Identity

When historical events such as invasion of other races or nations occur, the concern of national identity arises. Scotland in the Dark Ages (407-8th century),

¹³ The treaty made by King Richard demanded for ten thousand marks sterling as compensation. And in order to reconstitute Scotland's independence, the money was collected possibly in a form of "capitation tax" (*History* 49).

according to Webster's informative book, was inhabited loosely by Scots, Picts, and many different races, and they lived in forms of tribes, clans or tribal kingdoms (Webster 2).¹⁴ Of those various races, Picts, who occupied the north-east of Scotland, and Scots, who immigrated from Ireland, and occupied the south-west part of Scotland were the major groups. They fought on and on with each other during the Dark Ages, and through the means of "marriage and matrilineal succession, the Picts had ruled the Scots and vice versa" (Ross 50). According to the tradition of Scots, the law of succession was in the form of tanistry, which means that the right to the throne comes from the inheritance of the tanist's mother. The tanist, the heir presumptive, can only become the king when he is elected based on "the eldest and the worthiest" (OED); this designates that the king is from the same stock, but not necessary from the same line. In 844, Kenneth MacAlpin, the king of Scots and presumably the son of a Pictish mother, claimed his right to the Pictish throne after a massacre of Pictish tanists (Ross 50) and married a Pictish princess (McCordick 1: 1). Since then, the two races were unified and ruled by one king.

Kenneth founded a kingdom called Alba, which means Scotland in Gaelic, in order to defend themselves from the invasion of the Norse, who had already occupied the northern islands of Scotland (Scandinavian Settlements, eighth to tenth century). When Kenneth I died, his brother Donald I became the king, and the House of Alpine reigned the kingdom until 1034. However, despite the union of the Picts and Scots, Kenneth's and Donald I's official title were King of Picts, not King of Scotland; the title—King of Scotland—appeared when Donald II, grandson of Kenneth I, came to the throne in 889. And, it was "by the end of first millennium Scotland was the

¹⁴ For example, a group of Scots led by Fergus Mor MacErc established a kingdom named Dalriada. (Ross 47)

coming reality” (Ross 50). This part of the history tells us that different ethnicities dwelled on the same land brawling and ruling each other for their own benefit through political marriage; for very long time it was considered by the Picts and the Scots that they were “ruled” by others, however, when they encountered invasion from outside of Scotland, they threw away their prejudice and enmity fighting together for their kingdom, Alba. It is the sign of a collective identity, i.e. Scottish identity, springing among the Picts and the Scots.

After about four centuries since Alba was founded, Scotland was in its “Golden Age” (Ross 74) under the reign of King Alexander III (1241-1286). According to *The Scottish Chronicle*, Alexander III was a valiant wise king and was well-beloved by his people partly due to the laws he drew up: “This *Alexander* made manie healthfull and good laws, whereof most by the negligence of men, and longnesse of time are worne away; so that things so profitable by him devised, seem rather by report to have been ordained, than that they are by custome practised” (italic original, Hollinshead 1: 410). The king died in an accident due to the weather condition, he was found near the shore of Fife with a broken neck. The miserable death of Alexander left Scotland kingless. Poems such as “The Death of Alexander” display a sense of loss over the sudden death of their king and imply the prosperity in Scotland reined by Alexander. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the crown is the representation of Scottish identity: under the reign of Alexander III Scotland was thriving and so as Scottish identity, but once the crown fell, the kingdom and its people fell as well. A sense of loss shadowed Scotland, people’s strength and hope were fading and their sense of Scottish identity weakened.

The unexpected death of Alexander resulted in the takeover by King Edward of England in 1290. After the rebellions and death of the indomitable Sir William

Wallace in 1305, the Scottish identity grew stronger. Followed Wallace's revolts, Robert Bruce, descended from his grandfather a royal lineage,¹⁵ crowned himself as Robert I of Scotland through violence and murder, and he fought with English armies and struggled for recognition. The serious wars between the Scots and English during the time is called "the Wars of Scottish Independence" (1293-1314).¹⁶ In 1320, a letter titled "The Declaration of Arbroath" was sent to Pope John XXII asking for acknowledgment of Robert I as the rightful king of Scotland. The letter accuses King Edward of England, their enemy, of invading their nation in the disguise of a friend, persecuting their kingdom and the church. It exhibits a stronger sense of Scottish identity by declaring that "for so long as a hundred of us shall be left alive, we will never yield in any way to the English. We fight not for glory, wealth nor honor: but for freedom—which no good man will give up but with his life" (McCordick 10). Here, the word "we" refers to Scottish nobles who were willing to sacrifice for Scotland's independence and who would rather die than being the subjects of the English. The nobles are declaring a commitment to Scotland, glowing with Scottish identity. The letter is regarded by scholars as the "first clear affirmation of national consciousness" (8) because it says that "from the deeds and the records of our ancestors, we understand that among other renowned nations our own, Scotland, grows famous" (9). Indeed, the content of the shows the will to die for Scotland's independence from England, but I hesitate on the phrase "national consciousness" because the usage of the word "nation" in medieval time is slightly different from modern understanding. For this reason, I feel the need of clarifying the term "nation."

¹⁵ His grandfather "claimed that Alexander II had long ago named him as heir in such an eventuality" (Ross 77).

¹⁶ See *The Brus* (1376) by John Barbour (1320-1395).

1.3 The Usages of “Nation”

According to the OED, the word “nation” means “a large aggregate of communities and individuals united by factors such as common descent, language, culture, history, or occupation of the same territory, so as to form a distinct people. *Now also: such a people forming a political state; a political state*” (italics mine). From the last sentence of the definition, one should notice that the term “nation” is used much more strictly than it was in the past. Nowadays, the word “nation” tends to indicate a country or a polity instead of single community populated by people with shared custom and culture. The definitions from scholars in the field of nationalism studies reveal the same fact.

“The medieval universities all had their *nationes*, ‘nations,’” states Kumar, “which were guild-like divisions of student body mainly for the purposes of residence and social life” (28). This means that the word “nation” used to denote a group of people who lived together. In her research on kingdoms and communities between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, Susan Reynolds believes that the medieval communities should not be classified as the early stage of modern nations, instead, they could only be considered as communities with shared custom and law under regnal systems because the people of medieval kingdoms or communities were united by a sense of loyalty rather than the political ideas of modern nations (ch. 8). Yet, a year before the Reynolds’ book was published, Gellner provides makeshift definitions of nation that seem to contradict Reynolds’ idea or is simply less strict. Reynolds’ idea is concluded from her study of medieval time whereas Gellner’s notions are from his observation of the modern world:

1. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating.
2. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, nations maketh man; nations are the artifacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members. (*Nations* 6-7)

From these definitions, a nation appears to sustain when more than two men, with shared culture and a sense of belonging, regard each other as a member of the same group. But, as Gellner admits, these temporary definitions are inadequate to cope with this modern world filled with complexity. For the sake of making clear the distinction between the usages of the word “nation” in medieval time and modern time, there is a need to seek out ideas that can refine Gellner’s definitions. Smith develops a way to explain the term “nation” in modern use. He points out that “modern nations are ‘mass nations’” (*Nation* 54): this mass of people that includes all big and small groups and all strata is different from “the small elite groupings that usually pass for ‘nations’ in antiquity or the Middle Ages” and that the nation in modern days is a “legal-political,” historical and cultural community: the nation has a set of laws made by its government, shares a mutual memory of the past and common pattern of its

culture (54-55). The significance of Smith's perspectives on modern nations lies in the indication of the existence of laws established by modern government and the discrepancy in grouping. To conclude, the term "nation" used in medieval literature refers to kingdom or community rather than the "nation," which has government laws and people composed by various strata, we used today.

1.4 Christianity in Medieval Scotland

"[R]eligion helped to give to peoples that close sense of unity and cohesiveness implied in the idea of a nation," Snyder asserts in his *The Meaning of Nationalism* (23). Webster echoes Snyder's assertion when he examines the formation of Scottish identity from the aspect of faith. He states that "for the Scots, Christianity was to be a unifier, a loyalty that joined Picts and Scots" (Webster 50). Nevertheless, back in the fifth century, the time when Picts and Scots were tribes instead of a unified kingdom, the church was in the form of "parishes" (50). Until the year around 563, the arrival of Columba, the situation improved a little. After the death of King Conall of the Scots, Columba was influential enough to make his candidate the King.

During the time of Columba's mission in Scottish Dalriada, he visited King Brude of the Picts. Although "the spread of Christianity as a religion was slow and uneven" (Ross 48-9), the Picts and the Scots were influenced by Columba and the effort he had made set a foundation for the Scottish kirk. Webster says that it was the church that united different races together "with idea of a kingdom of the Scots" (55). The English church had attempted to convert the Scottish kirk for years, but was never accepted because the kirk insisted in the independence of the church of Scotland. Each time the archbishop of York sent a bull to plead or warn the Scottish church, he was rejected and the church of Scotland bonded their countrymen tighter.

1.5 Scotland and *Ivanhoe*

As pointed out in the introduction of the thesis, the link between Scotland and *Ivanhoe* is ignored or even unnoticed by critics. However, it seems to be illogical for Scott, a Scottish writer who has already written nine historical novels based on Scottish history, to turn completely away from his original intention of introducing his beloved nation to the world. Departing from the skepticism of regarding *Ivanhoe* as an only-English-related novel, the connections between Scotland and *Ivanhoe* shall uncover after a careful investigation into the novel.

The first question that appears when reading the novel is why Scott particularly chose Richard I's time as the background of his first novel set outside of Scotland. The answer is found in Scott's *History of Scotland*. According to Scott, Richard I's policy right after his succession contributed significantly to Scotland's independence. He renounced the treaties made by his forefathers, and returned the sovereignty of Scotland to the King of Scotland. There are three main reasons that Scott believed to be the explanation: first of all, due to two battles which took place under a treaty between England and Scotland, Richard "might think himself obliged in honor to relieve his ally. . . . it was calculated to affect the chivalrous and generous feelings of Cœur de Lion" (Scott, *History* 49). Second, Richard needed money so that he could carry on his expedition to the Holy Land; and third, it is considered a rather better idea to leave the border between Scotland, the "warlike neighbor" (49), and England in peace if Richard would bring his army with him to the Holy Land. All in all, Richard I seems to be the best known chivalrous English king who treated Scotland as an ally and equal throughout Scott's medieval history of Scotland and whose imprisonment and death had affected the independence of Scotland.

Not long after *Ivanhoe* starts, the absence of King Richard is informed to the reader:

The condition of the English nation was at this time sufficiently miserable. King Richard was absent a prisoner, and in the power of the perfidious and cruel Duke of Austria. Even the very place of his captivity was uncertain, and his fate but very imperfectly known to the generality of his subjects, who were, in the meantime, a prey to every species of subaltern oppression. (I: 130)

The circumstance of England described in the novel is similar to the wretched time when Scotland suddenly loses their beloved king: the collective identity falls with the crown. Like Edward I of England, who took over Scotland after the death of Alexander III, John, during the hard time for the English, secretly paves his way to usurpation. Prince John easily wins over the attachment of his people and faction for three main reasons: first, some of the people have committed crimes during Richard's absence and they fear that Richard might punish them once he returns; second, there are "numerous class of 'lawless resolute,'" whose country was destroyed and impoverished by the crusades, and they place "their hopes of harvest in civil commotion" (131); the last reason is that there are outlaws occupying the forest and practice the so-called forest laws since the absence of Richard I, and the people, especially the wealthy ones, have no choice but to yield themselves to John in order to gain protection from him. Under such apprehension and perplexity, the people's agony is cemented by "a contagious disorder of a dangerous nature spread through the land; and, render more virulent by the uncleanness, the indifferent food, and the wretched lodging of the lower class, swept off many, whose fate the survivor were tempted to envy, as exempling them from the evils which were to come" (132-33).

The land is dying, food grows no more, and the people within the country waiting to be devoured by death. Because of the terrible condition of the country and the unknown fate of their king Richard, a sense of loss overwhelms the kingdom just as the description in the anonymous Scottish poem “The Death of Alexander”:¹⁷ the people can only pray for God’s mercy. The impotent situation of England, which Scott has notified the readers of since the beginning of the story, appears to provide the same picture that “The Death of Alexander” has drawn for us.

Coincidentally, the conflicts between the Saxons and the Normans highlighted in *Ivanhoe* remind me of the hostile relationship between the Scots and the English after Edward I’s intervention in the Scottish affairs. In the first chapter of *Ivanhoe*, before the main story begins, the narrator points out for us that the Saxons and the Normans have dwelt together and the blood blended by compound language (a mix between French and Anglo-Saxon) and mutual interests,

yet the great national distinctions betwixt them and their conquerors, the recollection of what they had formally been, and to what they were now reduced, continued, down to the reign of Edward the Third, to keep open the wounds which the Conquest had inflicted, and to maintain a line of separation betwixt the descendant of the victor Normans and the vanquished Saxons. (I: 6)

For four generations since the triumph of William the Conqueror, as Scott has mentioned, the antagonistic situation between the conquerors and the defeated has not improved much. Cedric, the head of the Saxons and the father of *Ivanhoe*, has not once given up his Saxon identity: “the restoration of the independence of his race was the idol of his heart, to which he had willingly sacrificed domestic happiness and the

¹⁷ “Christ succor Scotland and remeid [remedy]/ That is staid in perplexity.” (McCordick 8)

interest of his own son” (II: 61); and with Athelstane, the descendant of Saxon royal blood, by his side, Cedric waits patiently for the opportunity of independence. His determination tells the readers one major element of the rise of a collective identity: for so many years the Normans have ruled England, and most of them, if not all, seem to play their roles as dominators instead of friends or any status that is equal to the Saxons, otherwise, Cedric’s resolution would not be so strong; in other words, oppression from the invaders brings a stronger sense of identity.

Without the king on throne, either because of the sudden death or imprisonment, the kingdom is left in agony, the sense of a collective identity falls; and with the appearance of a brave king or reappearance of the king, leading his people to fight against the oppressors, the kingdom recovers, and so does the sense of the collective identity. This is what *Ivanhoe* has in common with “The Declaration of Arbroath,” and this is also the link between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland in terms of the building of a collective identity: “In order to achieve [the restoration of the independence], . . . it was necessary that they should be united among themselves, and act under an acknowledged head” (*Ivanhoe* II: 61), and so rise the collective identity.

In fact, this sense of Saxon identity is revealed since the earlier part of story where there is a two-day festival held by Prince John. It is an annual routine that the victor of tournament in first day has the right to choose a lady as the Queen of Love and of Beauty; Lady Rowena, a Saxon heiress, is assigned the title by the disguised Ivanhoe. Prince John asks Rowena, in *French*, to join the banquet right after the event, but the invitation is, instead, answered by Cedric, Rowena’s guardian, in *native Saxon*: “The lady Rowena possesses not the language in which to reply your courtesy, or to sustain her part in your festival. I also, and the noble Athelstane of Coningsburgh, speak only the language, and practice only the manners, of our father” (I: 189). According to Scott,

French was “the language of honour, of chivalry, and even of justice” and Saxon a language “abandoned to the use of rustics and hinds” (I: 6). However, Cedric does not mind at all, he is proud of being a Saxon who speaks only Saxon and wears ancient Saxon garb to attend Prince John’s feast. Cedric is radiant with Saxon identity throughout the story.

Interestingly, the Saxon identity is not the sole collective identity appeared in the story. A sense of English identity reaches its peak when the Castle of Torquilstone is besieged. The climax of *Ivanhoe* sets in a battlement scene. As the story develops, the Saxons and the Jews are captured and imprisoned by the Normans. During the captivity, Cedric sighs with emotion:

We made these strangers our bosom friends, our confidential servants; we borrowed their artist and their arts, and despised the honest simplicity and hardihood with which our brave ancestors supported themselves; and we became enervated by Norman art long ere we fell under Norman arms. Far better was our homely diet, eaten in peace and liberty, than the luxurious dainties, the love of which hath delivered us as bondsmen to foreign conqueror!” (II: 115)

The Saxon reminisces their glorious past and laments for the present miserable condition. Yet, Cedric does not forget his pride as a Saxon. He clearly states that “tell your master that we know no reason he can have for withholding our liberty, excepting his unlawful desire to enrich himself at our expense. Tell him that we yield to his rapacity, as in similar circumstances we should do to that of a literal robber” (117). He shows his pride in being a Saxon, and will not yield to such threat.

Cedric’s Jester escapes during the process, runs into the outlaws (most of them are the Saxons) and the Black Knight (Richard I in disguise) and asks them for help. Long

before the scene takes place, Scott has built up an ambiance of resentment and hatred toward the Normans leading by Prince John for the readers:

It was a matter of public knowledge, they said, that after the conquest of King William, his Norman followers, elated by so great a victory, acknowledged no law but their own wicked pleasure, and not only despoiled the conquered Saxons of their lands and goods, but invaded the honour of their wives and of their daughters with the most unbridled license[.] (II: 156)

When once again the Normans have done wrong to the Saxon nobles, it is natural for others, who have long endured the distress and oppression brought by the Normans, to team up and fight against the Normans. As a result of revolting against the Normans, the castle is successfully besieged and the Saxons and the Jews regain their freedom. Tracing back to the root of this deed, the reason for the Saxons', the outlaws' and the Jews' determination of defeating the licentious Normans is because they all long for freeing themselves from tormentors and restoring the peace among different races within the land; it is a showing of a sense of English identity, a collective identity that is built under the lead of the disguised Richard I. Their desire for harmony and equality is actually put into practice by Richard afterward: "the King . . . gave [the Saxons] a safer and more certain prospect of attaining their just rights than they could reasonably hope from the precarious chance of a civil war" (III: 361). All of those who fight against the Normans are actually aiming for the same goal, even though the factors might vary from one another. From this point of view, we can regard the battle scene as a beginning or embryo of English identity. People with different identities develop a collective identity in order to maintain or pursue a peaceful state among them.

Building a collective identity is not easy; it normally happens when wars or invasions occur. In the face of such turbulence, people of various identities team up and fight against the opponents, and because of the shared experiences and memories, these people develop a collective identity that is suitable and acceptable for people with different identities. This is why the scene of teaming up in *Ivanhoe* is worth mentioning.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter searches for the building of Scottish identity by looking into Scottish medieval history and literature, and seeks out for the similar process of building Scottish identity in *Ivanhoe*. From the examination of Scottish history and literature, it is hard for one not to notice that the Kings and church are essential in building up Scottish identity. Without the unbendable will of the Scottish kirk, the faith of the Scottish would have been swallowed up by the English; without Alexander III, the kingdom would have been flooded by a sense of loss; and without the boldness of Robert the Bruce, Scotland would have been dominated and laid waste by the English. It is Scottish medieval history and literature that disclose Scottish identity.

The reader should not be misled by the term “nation” used in ancient literature. The word “nation,” now meaning a political state, was used differently during ancient times. The word used to indicate kingdom or simply a community with a shared culture, customs and language. Thus, the identity they expressed can only be considered as collective identity, instead of national identity: because national identity is formed after a nation is founded, whereas collective identity is the first step of the process that is built before a nation is set up. Moreover, ancient history and literature

are not the only sources that exhibit collective identity. Anatomizing Scott's historical novel *Ivanhoe* published in the nineteenth century help unfold the Saxon identity and the building of English identity. Though it would be farfetched to say that the whole story of *Ivanhoe* is actually a transformed miniature of Scotland, there are reasons why it is necessary to consider the possible relationship between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland. First of all, since Sir Walter Scott had by then written novels related to Scotland, it seems to be convincing that he chose to write a purely English with Richard I's time as its setting for a reason. In Scott's *History of Scotland*, Richard I played a significant role in the independence of Scotland. Richard returned the sovereign power to the King of Scotland, and declared Scotland as an independent kingdom, an ally, instead of a subject, to the English kingdom. Second, the kings are as important to Scotland as King Richard I is to England in *Ivanhoe*; the people of the two kingdoms suffered a sense of loss when their kings were dead or disappeared, and then recovered from it when the rightful stout king appeared or reappeared. One might argue that this happens in, perhaps, every kingdom's history, but the parallel between Scotland in medieval history and England in *Ivanhoe* is worth noticing because Richard, the king of England, is significant in Scotland history, and his imprisonment endangers not only the peaceful state of England but also the independence of Scotland. Third, Scottish identity is ubiquitous in Scottish literature and so as Saxon identity prevails throughout *Ivanhoe*. Finally, both Richard I in *Ivanhoe* and Robert the Bruce of Scotland gained or regained their power after significant battles that awakened the collective identity of their people: the siege of Torguistone precipitates English identity whereas the Wars of Scottish Independence conjures up Scottish identity. From medieval Scottish history and literature we see the building of "collective identity." Also, while King Richard builds up the English

identity in *Ivanhoe*, he is also crucial to the formation of Scottish identity in history. The parallels and links between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland suggest the possibility that the pattern of English identity is formed in the novel echoes to the building of Scottish identity in history.



Chapter Two

Nation and Nationalism

2.1 Introduction

When a collective identity, which yearns for independence or simply refuses to be ruled by foreigners or invaders, is strong enough, a nation rises, and following the establishment of the nation, nationalism emerges for the sake of maintaining the nation. The term “nation” used in this chapter is different from the one used in the last chapter. In Chapter Two, the word “nation” is defined as a group of people living together; in medieval Scotland’s case, “nation” is understood as a community or a kingdom. However, in this chapter, the definition of the term “nation” is stricter: it means a political entity instead of simply a group of people. As discussed in the last chapter, Smith indicates the significant elements in the modern nation. In terms of structure, the modern nation is formed by people from all strata instead of a small elite group; and in terms of condition, the modern nation should be a political community with established legal laws. Moreover, the modern nation must be recognized as a legitimate nation by the world, or it is considered only as a community or a kingdom.¹⁸

The definition of nation is important because it helps us to determine when a unity of people becomes a nation, a political entity as now defined, so as to understand when or how such a unity is transformed through the process of nationalism. Apart from the definition of nation, the meaning of nationalism is equally important. “Nationalism is,” as Snyder asserts, “primarily concerned with the independence and unity of the nation” (160). However, nationalism is a complex idea that has not yet been pinned down by any scholar. The difficulty of defining

¹⁸ See 1.4.2, The Usages of “Nation,” in Chapter One.

nationalism lies in the diversity of a nation's history and culture. Many scholars have put a huge effort into scrutinizing the development of different countries in certain periods or examine the world as a whole, but never find a coherent explanation that can suit every nation so far. Among all the examination and scrutiny, there is one thing that is universally agreed upon: nationalism provides a sense of belonging for the people of a nation. With a good use of nationalism in literature—by using events (such as significant battlements), myths, or legends of historic figures as parts of nationalism in literature—such sense of belonging grows stronger. To be more specific, when talking about Scottish nationalism within literature, Scott's *Waverley* Novels are good examples. Whether Scott has Scottish nationalism in mind when writing the novels or not is unsure, but the influence of Scottish nationalism on Scott has never hid itself in his novels. Although the story of *Ivanhoe* appears to be a purely English novel which seems to be totally irrelevant from Scottish nationalism, the conflicts between the conquered Saxons and the dominant Normans can be seen as a representation of the difficult situation of the English and the Scots since the union of the two kingdoms in 1707.

The main concern of this chapter is the history of Scotland as a nation, how Scottish nationalism was built up before the Union and Scottish nationalism shown in *Ivanhoe*. The chapter argues that, while shifting his focus of novels from Scottish to English settings, the similar path of forming the nation Scotland and Scottish nationalism is represented in *Ivanhoe*. Since *Waverley* was published, Scott has, through his use of Scottish history, taught his readers to appreciate the beauty of Scotland, to honor the valor of the Scots, and to see the process of the making of Scottish nationalism. In the "Introduction to *Ivanhoe*," Scott explains

the present author felt that, in confining himself to subjects purely

Scottish, he was not only likely to weary out the indulgence of his readers, but also greatly to limit his own power of affording them pleasure. In a highly polished country, where so much genius is monthly employed in catering for public amusement, a fresh topic, such as he had himself had the happiness to light upon, is the untasted spring of the desert. (*Ivanhoe*, 2004, iv)

When he decided to make an experiment of writing a novel based on the history of England rather than following the published novels on Scottish history before it, Scott chose a background that can be associated with Scotland.¹⁹ From the discussion of Scottish history before the Union in 1707, it is not hard to notice that the policies and laws made by the kings are essential to the building of Scottish nationalism. In *Ivanhoe*, although Cedric hates the Normans, he respects Richard as a knight and a king. When Richard regains his power, he brings down Cedric's hope of Saxon independence and turns England as a real nation as we now understand: a political entity that its people within identify themselves as part of the nation.²⁰ His promise of providing a saver and freer lives for the Saxons and the outlaws can be regarded as the sense of English nationalism, a domestic policy that is made for the benefit of England just like the kings of Scotland had done for their nation. This association makes the Waverley Novels a coherent series that shows the formation of Scottish nationalism.

2.2 Scotland: Factors of Becoming a Nation

While praising John Armstrong's contribution in emphasizing the borders

¹⁹ Richard was the first English king who returned the sovereignty to Scotland, announcing Scotland as a completely independent kingdom. See Chapter One, 1.5.

²⁰ See Chapter One, 1.4.2.

between “us” and “others,” Smith argues that some specific nations emerged from their ethnic root (*Ethnics* 14) before their nationalism formed and considers Scotland as one of the “fully-fledged nations” derived from its ethnic (129). But when did Scotland become a nation instead of a kingdom or a community? Normally speaking, according to Smith, when an ethnic community turns into a nation, its political and economical power should be strong enough to interact with neighboring nations or kingdoms, the people of the nation should identify themselves as members of the nation and to some extent be willing to sacrifice their lives for defending their nation.²¹ Moreover, the religious power should be able to penetrate the countryside, tying the whole nation from the highest to the lowest stratum together. In Scotland’s case, in my opinion, there is one more factor that needs to be added: as discussed before, since the crown with the church is the representative of Scottish identity,²² if the king of Scotland remain unacknowledged by the Roman church, even though the power of politics, economy and the Scottish church is strong enough, the king would not be able to interact with nearby countries under the title “King of Scotland.” Thus, Scotland should not be considered as a nation, a political entity as now defined, without the Roman church’s recognition. Now, let us dive back into Scottish history, to search for the point where all the conditions are met.

2.3 Scotland as a Nation

Chapter One introduced the significant letter titled “The Declaration of

²¹ The idea of “the other,” or Otherness, also provides a strong sense of identity for one to differentiate oneself from “the other.” For more information on national identity and “the other,” please see Anna Triandafyllidou, “National Identity and the Other” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 21:4 (1998): 593-612. Print. And Anthony D. Smith, “The Problem of National Identity: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern?” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 17:3 (1994): 375-399. Print.

²² Webster, Bruce. *Medieval Scotland: the Making of an Identity*. HK: Macmillan P, 1997. 94. Print.

Arbroath.” In the middle of the correspondence, Bernard de Linton, Robert’s chancellor, wrote “The divine providence of God, the right of succession, our laws and customs—which we are resolved to defend unto our deaths—and our own lawful consent made [Robert] our king[,]” but if Robert surrenders Scotland or its people to the English, they will treat him as their enemy and will “elect another king to defend our freedom” (McCordick 9-10). It is obvious that they choose Robert as their king not just because of the right he claims but because they believe in his ability of bringing them away from the violence of the English and regaining the sovereignty of Scotland, but if Robert turns out to be a barrier to freedom, they will replace him with another suitable candidate. Their goal is clear: they want to free their kingdom and themselves from the reign of others and they want to be ruled by their own people. From the declaration, the sense of Scottish identity seems to spread out all over Scotland—the people are ready to shift from a kingdom/community to an established nation—but that is not enough; we still have to add their political and economic power to our considerations.

On one hand, from the political aspect, let us recall that before the letter was sent out to the Pope in 1320, Robert had already slaughtered the former king set up by Edward I and crowned himself as King of Scotland in 1306 (Ross 85-88). The army on his side had gained victory in the Wars of Scottish Independence in 1314, and the war was ended by King Edward II leaving the field with his five-hundred knights. The political power within the kingdom had united, and led by Robert I, the political power of Scotland was strong enough to defend the kingdom from invasion and consolidate its territory (90-2). On the other hand, in terms of the economy, Scotland by then, according to *Scotland: History of a Nation*, was a “self-sufficient in food production” and “craft-workers [were] capable of making the arms and armour that

the Scots army required” (95). When discussing the emergence of burghs and burghesses after 1100, Barrow suggests that trade is an essential cause of “burghal origin” (85). This indicates that the trade had been increasingly active around that time within Scotland. In the mid-twelfth century, King David had put effort into trading and manufacturing. There were records on trading with neighboring areas such as England and Flanders and Edward I once tried to cut Scotland off from its commerce with Flanders. The finance of Scotland was disrupted because of the Wars of Independence, but Wallace and Robert I had tried to keep the trading activities working as usual (Philp 98). All in all, commerce of the realm seemed to prosper since the twelfth century, and the wealth of Scotland grew despite the wars in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (95-6).

Up to 1314, the king was set, the political power was firm and steady and the economic condition was improving; the only factor undone was the Papal recognition. In 1320, “the document[, the Declaration of Arbroath,] was sent to the Pope in the names of eight earls and thirty-one high officers of state, of members of the nobility, of freeholders and of the community of the realm” (Ross 97). This long list of men from all strata implies that Robert I was respected and honored by not only elite group of the society but also the common people from the community. However, according to Ross, the Pope replied to the letter with equivocation (97). It was not until 1324 that Pope John recognized Robert I as the King of Scotland, but he was still excommunicated till 1328, after a treaty that promised that “the kingdom of Scotland shall remain for ever separate in all respects from the kingdom of England, in its entirety, free and in peace” (98) was signed. The year 1328 is, in my opinion, the year that Scotland really becomes a nation. Because Scotland has always been a part of the Christian world, the recognition from the Pope is crucial for the crown of

Scotland. With the acknowledgement of the Pope, Scotland is recognized by the Rome church and the Christian world and becomes a nation, an independent political entity.

2.4 Scottish Nationalism and the Nation before the Treaty of Union (1328-1707)

Nationalism should not be considered as a theory but rather “the construction of typologies reflecting the historical and ideological diversity of the phenomenon (Kumar 30). In other words, nationalism is a phenomenon, a survey of a nation’s history, culture and custom. Freedman argues that nationalism has no meaning without the help of theories or ideology. That is to say, this world of nations contains a world of nationalisms; there exists no absolute theory that can fit every nation in the world. Nationalism is a phenomenon, a process or, as Smith suggests, a framework that needs to be filled in with something else to make it work. One might ask that what nationalism can do when it is alive. For example, in a speech delivered in 1937, Hitler (1889-1945) pronounced that “This is probably the first time and this is the first country in which people are being taught to realize that, of all the tasks which we have to face, the noblest and most sacred for mankind is that each racial species must preserve the purity of the blood which God has given it.”²³ Frederick Hertz once said that “the reason [of associating nation and race] is that most of people find it difficult to conceive a close social unity without a physical bond, and that they cannot think of common mentality without common blood. An intimate solidarity of fraternity between members of a nation seems to them imply a real relationship between members of a family” (52). Although race is not the only element that makes up a nation, it is typically the basis of a nation. To Hitler, race was the paramount and a

²³ Hitler, Adolf. “On National Socialism and World Relations.”

person of pure racial blood is superior to a person of mixed blood; therefore, he needed to remove all the impure people so that Germany could stay strong and powerful and to invade Poland in order to extend the space for the Germans.²⁴ When nationalism was filled with racism by the Nazi Party in the twentieth century, the massacres of the Jews occurred. This is what nationalism can do when taken to an extreme. Yet, when nationalism is endowed with the appropriate elements such as recollecting a nation's history and its heroes in text books for school children or things like symbols and events that remind the people of their connection with their nation, it helps the government of the nation secure its territory and protect the welfare of its people against violations from other nations.

It is quite true when Smith argues that “nationalism is politically necessary” (*Nations* 153), because once the king of Scotland tried to gain or regain the stability and peace of the nation, he would first set some rules for his officers and people to follow. These rules set up by the king, can be regarded as a showing of nationalism because they are purposely and specifically designed to maintain the order, stability and interest of Scotland. Although some rules appear to benefit the king and/or his nobles, there are some rules made for the welfare of Scotland and Scottish people. For example, in the beginning of David II's reign, the finance was said to be in a slump with unpaid debts.²⁵ Realizing this fact, the king summoned councils and parliament to reform the nation by legal and financial claims. Scotland was once again in peace; the growth of the trade and town swelled. David II changed not only the assessment of property and levy of merchants' income but also the currency. Moreover, he took the responsibility of justice over to the sheriffs and paid extra

²⁴ Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kampf*. trans. James Murphy. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1939. Print.

²⁵ David II was imprisoned by the English, and agreed to pay a large sum of money in return for his freedom. (Ross 102-03)

attention to the nobility so as to rule them before they can control him. David's domestic policy reestablished the authority of King of the Scots and mapped out a fixed regulation for people to follow. Scott wrote in his *The History of Scotland* that "The reign of David II. was as melancholy a contrast to that of his father as that of Robert I. had been brilliant when contrasted with his predecessors. Yet we recognise in it a nearer approach to civil polity, and a more absolute commixture of the different tribes by which Scotland was peopled into one general nation, obedient to a single government" (1: 207). These rules can be considered as a showing of nationalism, despite the real effect, the domestic policy of David II was made to precipitate in and maintain a stable state for Scotland.

Since the reign of James IV (1488-1513) to James VI (1567-1625), Scotland had been through a series of modifications of the policy, laws, economy, the church, etc. (130-71). However, none of these changes could compare with the one that happened in 1603 when James VI of Scots was confirmed to be James I of England (174). This means that two neighboring nations, England and Scotland, would be ruled by a single king, foreshadowing the end of Scotland's independence. Upon receiving confirmation, James VI departed for London and only once returned to Scotland in 1617 (175). The people of Scotland were facing the strange situation that they were a nation without the physical presence of a king. James VI started a campaign for uniting Scotland and England as Great Britain (188), and, finally, the Treaty of Union between two nations was signed in 1707.

From the history of Scotland we learn that every construction of burghs and castles, reformation of domestic and diplomatic policy and foundation of universities and schools established by the kings of Scotland, whether the decisions made benefited the elite groups from the upper classes or all people within the nation, their

ultimate goal was to consolidate the authority of the crown and to shield off any invasion of the foreign nations. The more authoritative the crown is the stronger the nation will be, and the sense of nationalism built up by the kings will spread more efficiently and effectively over the nation. These official reforms are the exhibition of Scottish nationalism which functions as the kings' assistance in centralizing the power of the throne, dispersing the power into every corner of Scotland and bonding the nation from top to bottom.

2.5 Scottish Nationalism in *Ivanhoe*

The kings of Scotland and every decision they made were crucial for the nation in terms of the stability and the building of Scottish nationalism. The records of every death and absence of Scottish kings and the turbulence that occurred when the crown was weak or empty help later generations see the rise or fall of Scottish nationalism. In General Preface of *Waverley*, Scott explains his motif of writing the novel based on Scottish history:

Without being so presumptuous as to hope to emulate the rich humour, pathetic tenderness and admirable tact which pervade the works of my accomplished friend I felt that something might be attempted for my own country, of the same kind with that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland, —something which might introduce her natives to those of the sister kingdom in a more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto, and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues, and indulgence for their foibles. I thought, also, that much of what I wanted in talent might be made up by the intimate acquaintance with the subject which I could lay claim to possess, as having travelled through most

parts of Scotland, both Highland and Lowland; having been familiar with the elder, as well as more modern race; and having had from my infancy free and unrestrained communication with all ranks of my countrymen, from the Scottish peer to the Scottish ploughman. Such ideas often occurred to me, and constituted an ambitious branch of my theory, however far short I may have fallen of it in practice. (12)

By using Scottish history as the background of his novels, Scott reproduces the pictures of the past and retells the process of the rise of Scottish nationalism. His reason for bringing Scottish history alive echoes the makars²⁶ before him, they all wanted to collect and retell histories that are great and worth knowing. As Scott wrote down what he had learned from the works created before him and what he had seen within the nation, he was writing, recording and passing on Scottish nationalism.

The author says in the introduction of *Waverley* that “Time and circumstances change the characters of nations, and the fate of cities; and it is some pride to a Scotchman to reflect that the independence and manly character of a country, willing to entrust its own protection to the arms of its children, after having been obscured for half a century, has during the course of his own lifetime, recovered its lustre” (72).

Waverley retells how the Jacobites, the followers of James VIII and who were against the Union, gave rise to the sense of Scottish nationalism. *Waverley*, the protagonist of Scott’s first novel of the series, is an English soldier who is sent to Scotland in 1745. The novel follows his journey from England to the Lowlands, then to the Highlands. There he meets the Chieftain of Clan Mac-Ivor, Fergus Mac-Ivor, who is preparing for the Jacobite risings. The Chieftain is said to be a “gentleman of great honour and

²⁶ Makar means poet or bard in Scottish literature. See “Lament for the Makars: When He is Sick” (McCordick 243).

consequence; the chieftain of an independent branch of a powerful Highland clan, and it much respected, both for his own power, and that of his kith, kin, and allies” (190). He is powerful enough to “preserve the peace of the Highlands” and “[preserve] great order in the country under his charge” (226). Fergus, a follower of his Scottish king, is like the ruler of the Highlands who takes responsibility in maintaining the stability of the Highland. He builds the sense of Scottish nationalism by leading his people to fight valorously for Scotland. This is what Scott’s Scottish novels look like: the historical events and characters in the novel reconstruct the rise of Scottish nationalism of the set time. Even though *Ivanhoe* is considered a purely English novel, it seems to contain a sense of Scottish nationalism.

Ivanhoe is the tenth novel of the series and it is the first novel set outside of Scotland. Apart from the connection between the plot and Scottish history after the death of Alexander III,²⁷ one might ask how such a novel finds its way to represent Scottish nationalism. In fact, through the development in the later part of the story, the readers can see the pattern identical with the rise of Scottish nationalism in history. After the Castle of Torquilstone is besieged, England becomes a true nation, a political entity that people of different ethnicities with shared experiences identify themselves as a part of English nation. Like Robert I led his people to fight for their freedom, the Saxons and the outlaws follow King Richard to confront their tormentors. The Scots expressed their thrust in Robert in the document to the Pope, whereas the outlaws present theirs by giving Richard a token of “gallant bearings” (III: 49). Locksley says to the Black Knight (Richard), “if you have aught to do, and, as happeneth oft to a gallant knight, ye chance to be hard bested in any forest between Trent and Tees, wind three mots upon the horn thus, . . . and it may well chance ye

²⁷ See 2.5, “Scotland and *Ivanhoe*,” in Chapter One.

shall find helpers and rescue” (49). By saying so, Locksley treats Richard as a trusted friend and promises to help him when he is in need. Richard thanks Locksley and takes his leave. Before his departure, Richard says to Locksley, “it maybe we shall meet hereafter with less of concealment on either side” (89), foreshadowing the revelation of true identities of both Locksley and the Black Knight. Not long after Richard’s departure, he encounters danger. As promised, Locksley comes to help Richard right after the horn was sounded. After the incident, Richard reveals his identity to Locksley, the leader of the outlaws. The latter kneels down before Richard and asks the king to call him Robin Hood of Sherwood Forest who will “be [Richard’s] good subject in future (III: 260-61). In return, Richard shows his understanding for Robin Hood’s decision of being an outlaw in the wood: “in the turbulent times to which it hath given rise, shall be remembered to disadvantage” (261). The revelation of Richard’s true identity announces the restoration of authority which is, as we learn from Scottish history, the most efficient and effective in terms of building up nationalism. Also, Robin Hood’s action in return not only creates a mutual trust between him and Richard but also acknowledges his loyalty to the king. The bond between the king and his subject outlaws helps the building of English nationalism.

Cedric, on the other hand, upon learning the Richard’s true identity and his promise of “equal protection of the Normans and the English” (III: 301), answers thus: “I have ever done justice to thy bravery and thy worth. Nor am I ignorant of thy claim to the crown through thy descent from Matilda, niece to Edgar Atheling, and daughter to Malcolm of Scotland. But Matilda, though of the royal Saxon blood, was not the heir to the monarchy” (301). From Cedric refutation, we know two things: one is that although Cedric respects and honors Richard as his savior, he cannot accept him personally as his king; another is that Richard’s claim to the throne actually proves

himself to be related to Scotland and not purely a Norman. The latter is irrelevant to the building of nationalism we are discussing now, but this confirms that *Ivanhoe* is, in a way, related to Scotland. A similar link appears in the chapter where the Saxons are imprisoned in the Torquilstone: when the narrator temporarily jumps out of the scene and turns to talk about the cruelty of the Normans that are depicted in the Saxon Chronicle, he mentions that: “[T]he Princess Matilda, though a daughter of the King of Scotland, and afterwards both Queen of England, and Empress of Germany, the daughter the wife, and the mother of monarchs, was obliged, during her early residence for education in England, to assume the veil of a nun, as the only means of escaping the licentious pursuit of the Norman nobles” (II: 156). These two excerpts tell the readers not to ignore the relationship between the novel and Scotland. Now, let us resume the discussion of the building of nationalism in *Ivanhoe*.

In the end of *Ivanhoe*, despite that Cedric refuses to admit Richard as his king, when he is summoned by Richard to York “for the purpose of quieting the counties that had been disturbed by the ambition of his brother” (III: 357), he obeys. Because the return of Richard had quenched every hope that he had entertained of restoring a Saxon dynasty in England; for, whatever head the Saxons might have made in the event of civil war, it was plain that nothing could be done under the undisputed dominion of Richard, popular as he was by his personal good qualities and military fame, although his administration was wilfully careless—now too indulgent and now allied to despotism.” (357-58)

This means that Cedric is adapting to the change within England and his “aversion to the Norman race of kings was also much undermined” (360-61) because he knows that the nation will be stable under Richard’s reign. To see from another side, Richard

has successfully established his authority throughout the nation. Though his policies and laws are not explicitly described in the novel, from the loyalty and obedience of his subjects the readers are provided a picture of England heading a brighter future.

Closing the story, the narrator concludes Richard's characteristics and performance by saying that

Novelty in society and adventure were zest of life to Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and it had its highest relish when enhanced by dangers encountered and surmounted. In the lion-hearted king, the brilliant, but useless, character of a knight of romance was in a great realized and revived; and the personal glory which he acquired by his own deeds of arms was far more dear to his excited imagination than which a course of policy and wisdom would have spread around his government.

Accordingly, his reign was like the course of a brilliant and rapid meteor, which shoots along the face of heaven, shedding around an unnecessary and portentous light, which is instantly swallowed up by universal darkness; his feats of chivalry furnishing themes for bards and minstrels, but affording none of those solid benefits to his posterity. But in his present company Richard showed to the greatest imaginable advantage. He was gay, good-humoured, and fond of manhood in every rank of life.

(III: 274-75)

Like a historian, the narrator sums up Richard's deeds as a king. It seems that Richard in history paid more attention to his acts of chivalric romance than to ruling the nation. However, Richard, like a meteor, provided England a brighter life and future with his good personality and his concern for his people. In *Ivanhoe*, Richard is depicted as a compassionate—he let Maurice de Bracy (III: 48) and Waldemar Fitzurse(260), who

are both Prince John's allies, leave England without harm; and he saves Isaac from the Friar's blow (58)—and wise: “your kingdom is threatened with dissolution and civil war; your subjects menaced with every species of evil, if deprived of their sovereign in some of those danger which it is your daily pleasure to incur, and from which you have but this moment narrowly escaped” (271). When Ivanhoe tries to persuade the king, Richard responds, “Estoteville and Bohun will not be strong enough to move forward to York for twenty-four hours. I must have news of Salisbury from the south, and of Beauchamp in Warwickshire, and of Multon and Percy in the north. The Chancellor must make sure of London. Too sudden an appearance would subject me to dangers other than my lance and sword” (272). This tells the reader that Richard already has a perfect plan for winning the war; it is just a matter of time. He asks his subjects to wait patiently for the sake of restoring peace within England.

It is after the battle of Torquilstone that the nation, where people share the same experiences and aim for the same goal, is truly formed. Before the return of the Richard, conflicts between the Normans and the Saxons happen everywhere. The Normans call the Saxons hogs or churls, looking down on the Saxons and torturing them whenever they want. The Saxons hate the Normans so much that some of them become outlaws and practice their forest laws in the woods; some of them refused to learn anything that is Norman and find opportunities to humiliate, normally verbally, the Normans. When wise and compassionate Richard is in power again, the situation changes: the nation is stable, the peace restored and the hatred and conflicts diminished. “Hath man with man in social union dwelt,/ But laws were made to draw that union closer” (III: 33), Scott's quotation from *Old Play* explains the function of laws which are established, in *Ivanhoe*, by Richard. During the reign of Richard, the

king builds a sense of English nationalism through his ruling just as the kings of Scotland had done for their nation, binding the nation into order by the sense of nationalism.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the formation of nation and the rise of nationalism. Ernest Renan denotes that “what constitutes a nation is not speaking the same tongue or belonging to the same ethnic group, but having accomplished great things in common in the past and wish to accomplish them in the future” (qtd. in Snyder 14); therefore, it is extremely important to learn the history of a nation before we talk about nationalism. In the beginning of this chapter, we have spent long paragraphs in recounting the history of Scotland from the reign of Robert I to James VI. I have pointed out that 1328 is a significant year for Scotland, because it is the year when the Pope recognized Robert I as the King of Scots and Scotland finally became a nation: though Scotland’s power in politics and economy had grown stronger and stronger since 1314, it could not be called a nation due to the reason that Robert I was excommunicated from the Roman church, and since Scotland has long been a part of the Christian World, the recognition from the Pope is an essential condition for Scotland.

After being recognized by the Roman church, Scotland became a nation. Once it becomes a nation, nationalism emerges through the means of laws and policies established by the kings for the benefit of the nation. Nationalism, as Smith suggests, is vital in politics: from chronicles, the concern for maintaining stability of Scottish nation has shown through Scottish kings’ domestic and foreign policies in legislation and economy in history; under such specific laws and rules made for the nation,

Scotland was bounded by Scottish nationalism. The process of nationalism is represented in Scott's *Waverley* Novels by using events in Scottish history as background: in the story of *Waverley*, Scott uses the rebellions of Jacobites as its background, and depicts the Highlands under the rule of the chieftain Fergus Mac-Ivor. Like a king of the Highlands, he gives rise to the sense of Scottish nationalism by leading his people to fight valorously for Scotland. Scott, after several novels set in Scotland, decided to make an experiment in writing a novel for England.

Coincidentally, although *Ivanhoe* is distinct in setting from the novels published before it, there are ways to relate to Scotland: one is that Richard I, whose significance has been introduced in Chapter One, made his claim to the English throne through Matilda, the princess of Scotland, and another is the direct mention of Matilda's persecution by the Normans when the narrator talks about the cruelty of the Normans to others. The connection between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland is joined by the use of Richard I as one of the main characters and his reign as the background. England becomes a true nation after the siege of the castle of Torquilstone because a nation, as we now define it, requires shared experiences among the people and mutual identification as members of the nation regardless of differences in race or ethnicity.²⁸ The outlaws put their trust in Richard as Richard reveals his true identity, and so does Cedric the Saxon. Although Cedric throughout the story hates the Normans, to him, Richard seems to be an exception: Cedric is reluctant to call Richard his king personally, but he obeys Richard's order because he sees Richard's good qualities as a person and a military leader, and he accepts the impossibility of restoring the Saxon dynasty under the reign of such a king. The friendly attitude of the outlaws and Cedric toward Richard indicates that what Richard has done for them and for the

²⁸ See 2.4.2, "The Usages of 'nation,'" in Chapter One.

nation has led England to a better and more stable state. The stability of the nation means a successful outcome of English nationalism built by Richard, echoing the pattern we have seen in Scottish history.





Chapter Three

National Identity and Advanced Nationalism

3.1 Introduction

“National identity” is an advanced form of identity that combines collective identity, nation and nationalism. The difference between collective and national identity is that the latter rises after the formation of a nation and the effect of nationalism when people identify themselves as a part of a nation, whereas the former emerges before a nation is set up and the people identify themselves as a part of a group or community instead of a nation. When a nation is founded, nationalism gradually forms by policies legislated by kings or the government. Smith says that “national identity is socially functional” (*Nations* 155), meaning that when nationalism provides “the sole basis for . . . social cohesion” (155) and a sense of belonging, its people notice “their dependence on the nation” (155) and express their national identity by preserving and celebrating the culture values and memories; thus, the symbols, traditions or festivals become tokens of their national identity. Nationalism enhances national identification of individuals, and a strong sense of national identity urges the people to consolidate and defend for their nation. Once national identity is nurtured in people’s minds and across the nation, an advanced nationalism is ready to be built.

This chapter put emphasis on the historical events and literary works that are affected by the idea of Scottish nationalism and bring forth Scottish national identity. It argues that while the characters exhibit their English national identity and King Richard pursues his advanced English nationalism in the novel, Scott shows his Scottish national identity and develops an advanced Scottish nationalism that, with a well-preserved Scottish national identity, consecrates a harmonious peace between

the Scots and the English via *Ivanhoe*. Webster states that “[Scott] played a part in reviving the sense of a living Scottish identity. Scott was very aware of the danger to [Scottish] identity and felt strongly the need to keep it alive” (6). By “a living Scottish identity,” I believe he means an advanced Scottish identity—Scottish national identity, or Scottishness, that appears after the nation is founded. Indeed, it is not by chance that Scott spent years of his life in writing poetry and novels related to Scotland. Like many Scottish writers, Scott used his literary works to display his Scottish national identity to the public.

The Jacobite risings in 1715 and 1745 are two notable events that display a great sense of Scottish national identity after the Union in 1707. There are numerous literary works that praise the courageous deeds the Jacobites did for Scotland, and others tend to recall the sadness brought by the loss of independence. These works, which express Scottish national identity of their authors, become a part of advanced Scottish nationalism that helps bind the nation even though Scotland is no longer an independent nation. Scott, too, has done the same for his nation. As Scott introduces Scotland’s past and beauty to readers by including symbols like kilts and tartans and by using the memorable historical periods or events in Scottish history as backgrounds of his Waverley Novels, he reminds the Scots of their past and the efforts their predecessors devoted to the stability and liberty of their nation. Scott’s Scottishness flourishes in the novels and turns into a part of advanced Scottish nationalism that is passed down for generations.

In the previous chapter, I discussed nationalism that is built and raised by kings’ policies. In this chapter, the advanced nationalism is the combination of nationalism and national identity. It is a goal that is pursued by the nation, including the crown and its people, and a force that binds the nation together. When two or more nations

are, or going to be, united into a new nation, the people of each nation will figure out a way to adapt to or change the situation while protecting their own tradition and culture from fading, and the crown of the newly formed nation will find a method that brings peace to its nation. Both of the goals are advanced nationalisms that aim to stabilize the newly united nation. If we turn our focus on the interwoven conflicts among the Saxons, the Normans and the Jews and the resolution of these confrontations, the advanced nationalism becomes clear. In *Ivanhoe*, as the characters exhibit their English national identity by expressing their faith in England under Richard's rule, Richard's wish of a harmonious union between the Saxons, the Normans and the Jews shows an advanced English nationalism. Through *Ivanhoe*, Scott, while laying out his Scottish national identity, conveys an advanced Scottish nationalism: the Scots should learn to accept the values of the English while preserving their priceless tradition, culture and their Scottish national identity.

3.2 The Jacobite Risings in 1715 and 1745

In the years following the Union, the abolition of the Scottish Privy Council and Scots currency, the replacement of English customs system and restoration of lay patronage, which affronted the freedom of the Kirk, gradually increased the resentment of the Scots against the English (Ross 222-25). The Jacobites were the supporters of the Stewart legitimacy, and when Queen Anne of the House of Stewart was succeeded by King George I of the House of Hanover, the heir settled on by the English Parliament but not by the Scottish,²⁹ the Jacobites were outraged and decided to rebel against him (Ross 225). The rebellion started in 1715, led by the Earl of Mar

²⁹ See Buchanan, George. *The History of Scotland*. London: Fisher, Son, and P. Jackson, 1831. 636. Print.

on behalf of James VIII, and eventually was defeated by the government, but the uprising seems to have opened the possibility of ensuing actions (226-28). In 1719, the Jacobites tried again, including Rob Roy MacGregor,³⁰ but failed. The power of the Jacobites seemed to be decaying while some military arrangements were made to control the Highlands after the riot in 1719 (228-32).

However, in 1745, the Jacobites rose again, led by Bonnie Prince Charles³¹ of the exiled House of Stewart. The Bonnie Prince sailed to Scotland with French troops and confronted the Royal Navy. After the confrontation, the French troops returned to France while the Prince continued his voyage to Scotland. The Prince finally landed on the shore of Scotland with only seven companions.³² The Bonnie Prince soon was supported by several clans and set the standard at Glenfinnan of Scotland in August. In September of the same year, Prince Charles had gained power in Scotland. He successfully persuaded the clan chieftains to strike England but eventually retreated back to the Highlands because of the well-prepared English and Scottish army (Ross 233-35). The climax of the uprising is the battle of Culloden (1746) where Prince Charles led his some five thousand clansmen against the government army: “the Prince [...] was very well pleased to see them in so good spirits, though they had eaten nothing that day but one single biscuit a man, provisions being very scarce, and money too” (Forbes 138). The clansmen, though tired and hungry, fought for nothing but for the dream of restoring the House of Stewart to the Scottish and English throne. Unfortunately, the dream was unable to be fulfilled: the Highlanders were completely defeated—it is said that there were “[o]ne hundred and twenty men were executed

³⁰ Scott published *Rob Roy*, which takes place in 1715 just before the Jacobite Rising, in 1817.

³¹ Prince Charles Edward Stewart, the Young Pretender.

³² Please see Forbes, Robert. *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*. Robert Chambers. Ed. Edinburgh: William & Robert Chambers, 1834. 2. Print.

after some form of trial; more were shot out of hand” (Ross 237);³³ The Bonnie Prince escaped and was protected by several Highlanders until he sailed away from Scotland, marking the end of Jacobite campaign (237). When the Bonnie Prince passed away in 1788, Jacobitism died with him (246). The Jacobites and their affairs became a part of Scottish history, a subject used by writers like Scott and a token of Scottish national identity.

3.3 Scottish National Identity in Literature

Literary works that convey a strong sense of Scottish national identity are not difficult to find, especially during and after the Jacobite risings. When talking about Scottish national identity, it is impossible to leave out Robert Burns (1759-1826), who is recognized as “the most ‘Scottish’ of poets” (McCordick 1: 78). In his “It Was A’ for Our Rightfu’ King” (1794), Burn was inspired by the Jacobite rising in 1745:

It was a’ for our rightfu’ King

We left fair Scotland’s strand;

It was a’ for our rightfu’ King

We e’er saw Irish land, my dear,

We e’er saw Irish land.

Now a’ is done that men can do,

And a’ is done in vain;

My love and native land fareweel,

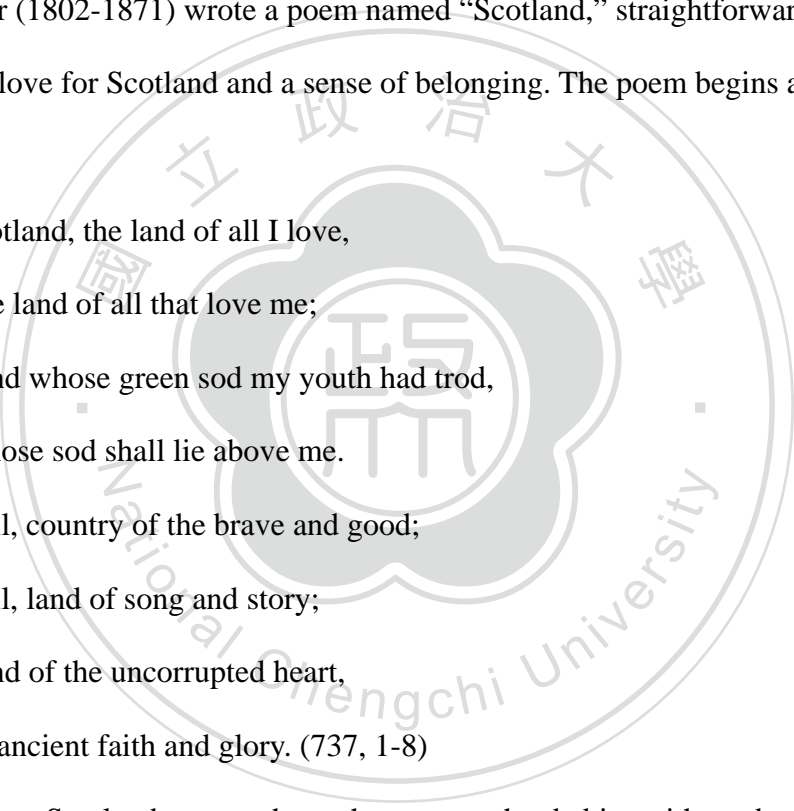
For I maun cross the main, my dear,

For I main cross the main. (122, 1-10)

³³ See also “Barbarities after Colluden” (Forbes 231-347).

The poem depicts the lamentation of the failure of the uprising and the reluctance of parting from Scotland. Poems like these, on one hand, aid the poets in expressing their feelings and Scottish national identity; on the other hand, the poems function as expressions of Scottish nationalism which lure national identity out of the Scots so as to cement the idea that Scotland is their nation and homeland.

Although it has been more than a century after the union of Scotland and England, such love for Scotland has not faded or collapsed. In 1826, for example, Robert Chambers (1802-1871) wrote a poem named “Scotland,” straightforwardly announcing his love for Scotland and a sense of belonging. The poem begins as follows:



Scotland, the land of all I love,
The land of all that love me;
Land whose green sod my youth had trod,
Whose sod shall lie above me.
Hail, country of the brave and good;
Hail, land of song and story;
Land of the uncorrupted heart,
Of ancient faith and glory. (737, 1-8)

Chambers portrays Scotland as a mother, who nurtures her babies with tenderness and care, and praises her greatness by recollecting everything he has seen and learned within the nation. These works are not rare in Scottish literature: very often, Scottish authors tend to produce poetry or novels related to historical events or simply provide vivid descriptions of natural beauty of the nation. Through literature, Scottish writers convey their love for their motherland, showing Scottish national identity between the lines. As the works are read and circulated by the public from one generation to

another, the writings transform into a part of Scottish nationalism that reminds the Scots of their origin and wakens a sense of Scottish national identity within them.

3.4 Scott's symbols of Scottish national identity: The Visit of George IV in 1822

Scotland, after the Treaty of Union, had developed gradually in every aspect (Ross 255-72). Although the Scots had experienced shortages of food and all kinds of sufferings, "in the late eighteenth century, nobody argued that the Union of Parliaments had brought no advantages to Scotland" (246), and many Scots, especially the nobility, had become Unionist, who turned to learn English practices and ideas (269). A year after his coronation in 1821, George IV decided to pay Scotland a visit³⁴ and Sir Walter Scott took charge as host to receive him. The event is worth mentioning because it is an occasion that helps us to visualize what Scottishness meant to Scott, since he was trying to show Scottishness to the King. In the biography of Walter Scott by John Gibson Lockhart, a Scottish writer and the son-in-law of Scott, the intentions behind the reception are described as follows:

It appeared to be very generally thought, when the first programmes were issued, that the Highlanders, their kilts, and their bagpipes, were to occupy a great deal too much space in every scene of public ceremony connected with the King's reception. With all respect and admiration for the noble and generous qualities which our countrymen of the Highland clans have so often exhibited a small, and almost always constituted a small, and almost always an unimportant part of the Scottish population; and when one reflected how miserably their numbers had of late years

³⁴ This jaunt was important because George IV was the first King to set foot in Scotland after the Union. King George's decision was made due to his unpopularity and the adultery committed by his Queen Caroline, who tactically avoided a divorce after a trial.

been reduced in consequence of the selfish and hard-hearted policy of their landlords, it almost seemed as if there was a cruel mockery in giving so much prominence to their pretensions. But there could be no question that they were picturesque[.] (Lockhart 481)

Lockhart points out that although the Highlanders were few in number and their traditions were not so popular among the Scots, when it comes to experiencing Scottishness the bagpipes, kilts and tartans took up most of the work under Scott's design.³⁵ Kelly says that "Scott's masterstroke in the organisation of the King's visit was to have a lasting effect on 'Scottish identity.'" ³⁶Indeed, it precipitated a permanent change in the very idea of Scottishness" (197). It was then the bagpipes, kilts and tartans really became recognized as presentations of Scottish national identity.

3.5 Scottish and English National Identity in *Ivanhoe*

His arrangements for George IV's visit are not the only way to scrutinize Scott's idea of Scottish national identity. Scott's admiration for Scotland appears frequently in his Scottish-setting novels. Apart from the discussion of authoritative leadership in the previous chapter, the use of the Jacobite Risings as background of *Waverley*, and Princess Matilda's ancestry as well as the persecution of the princess in *Ivanhoe*, there are other places for readers to see Scott's expression of Scottish national identity

³⁵ According to Ross, bagpipes were "one of the links that united Highlands and Lowlands" (Ross 183) and the patterns of tartan were different from clan to clan as a symbol of identification. In fact, the kilt and its distinctive patterns of tartans were both invented symbols in eighteenth and nineteenth century (Kelly 278-80).

³⁶ In my understanding, the "Scottish identity" here refers to Scottish national identity instead of Scottish identity which appeared before the nation was formed.

in his experimental English novel *Ivanhoe*. For example, when delineating the figure of an unknown person in the beginning of the story, the narrator provides a detailed description of the figure's clothing: "Sandals, bound with thongs made of boar's hide . . . like those of a Scottish Highlander" (I: 9). The sentence first seems to be ordinary; nonetheless, why do sandals have to be like ones belonging to "the Scottish Highlanders" instead of the Saxons who actually play important roles in the novel? It is likely because Scott, influenced by Scottish nationalism built since the nation was formed, had Scotland or Scottish traditional outfits in mind when writing his English novel. Moreover, in the Dedicatory Epistle of *Ivanhoe*, the author mentions the contrast between the Scots and the English by Dr. Dryasdust. Dr. Dryasdust argues that

All those minute circumstances belonging to private life and domestic character, all that gives verisimilitude to a narrative and individuality to the persons introduced, is still known and remembered in Scotland; whereas in England civilisation has been so long complete, that our ideas of our ancestors are only to be gleaned from musty records and chronicles, the authors of which seem perversely to have conspired to suppress in their narratives all interesting details, in order to find room for flowers of monkish eloquence, or trite reflections upon morals. To match an English and a Scottish author in the rival task of embodying and reviving the traditions of their respective countries would be . . . in the highest degree unequal and unjust. (I: ix)

The claim is objected to by Laurence Templeton, one of the pseudonyms of Scott, but since Dryasdust is also an invented literary authority of Scott, the contrast of the English and the Scots should not be diminished. It is not clear whether Dryasdust's

complimentary opinion about the Scottish is Scott's opinion or not, but the frequent use of Scotland and symbols of Scotland within the novel reveals Scott's Scottish national identity just as his arrangements for King George IV's visit do.

While Scott shows Scottish national identity through *Ivanhoe*, the characters of the novel display their English national identity. After English nationalism is built by Richard as discussed in last chapter, a sense of English national identity rises. In the last chapter of *Ivanhoe*, Rebecca, after being rescued by Ivanhoe, comes to meet Rowena before her departure. Rowena asks Rebecca to stay, because since it is Rebecca who saved the injured Ivanhoe and since "the King himself is just and generous" (365), she believes that "England . . . will contend who shall most do her honour" (366). In her dialogue with Rebecca, Rowena reveals her confidence in England as a nation, even though the ruler is not of Saxon blood. It is a sense of English national identity that Rowena is showing to readers. Moreover, in the scene of besieging the castle, Athelstane, the sole remaining heir to the Saxon throne, is struck dead; however, in the funeral scene, he is miraculously resurrected. When he meets Richard, he yields—an act of a wiser man, he claims, by saying that "by my faith . . . and my duty as a subject besides, for I here tender him my allegiance, heart and hand" (III: 314). Having been through so many things, Athelstane gives up the Saxons' ambition of restoring the dynasty and decides to be a true English man ruled by Richard. But, "I will be king in my own domains, and nowhere else" (315), he says. This short announcement of Athelstane shows a sense of English national identity because Athelstane identified himself as an English subject to Richard, believing the nation will be stable and in peace under the reign of Richard. In the close of the novel, nearly all the main characters show faith in Richard, including

Cedric, who reluctantly obeys Richard's summons.³⁷ A strong sense of English national identity is expressed by the characters of *Ivanhoe*.

3.6 *Ivanhoe*: Advanced Nationalism

The best way to understand Richard's advanced English nationalism and that of Scott's underlay in *Ivanhoe* is to read closely the conflicts and the results of these confrontations in the novel. *Ivanhoe*, is complicated because it shows readers the confrontation between the Normans and the Saxons woven with the conflict of the former two and the Jews. Due to such complications, it will be easier to separate it into two distinct sets of conflicts: the Normans vs. the Saxons and the Saxons vs. the Jews.³⁸ In the previous chapters, several scenes of the conflicts between the Normans and the Saxons are laid out; however it seems necessary to extract more details on the matter in order to get a full picture of the opposing positions.

3.6.1 Conflicts Between the Normans and the Saxons

Chapter II of the first volume gives a clear impression of the arrogance and rudeness of the Normans: the Prior and his companions are lost when looking for Cedric's mansion; they stop two servants and demand directions. The servants are unwilling to help and make excuses by saying things such as Cedric's family go to bed very early, trying to stop the Normans from intruding the mansion of Cedric.

³⁷ See 2.5, "Scottish Nationalism," of Chapter Two or *Ivanhoe*.vol. 3, p. 357.

³⁸ According to the story, the Jews are at the bottom of the society whereas the Normans are on the top; and because the reason that the Jews are unable and unwilling to rival the Normans, and the Normans always treat the Jews worse than the Saxons, I find no need to discuss the unchangeable positions between obviously the weakest and the strongest. In other words, what I am interested in is the relationship between two kinds of oppressors (the Normans and the Saxons), two kinds of the oppressed (the Saxons and the Jews) and the outcome of these relationships.

Upon hearing the excuses, one of the Normans replies: “Tush, tell not me, fellow! . . . ’tis easy for them to arise and supply the wants of travelers such as we are, who will not stoop to beg the hospitality which we have a right to command” (I: 33-4). From the dialogue in this part of the story, it is easy to see the Normans recognize themselves as dominant rulers, and the Saxons are expected to do what they are told: they often refer to the Saxons as slaves, dogs or Saxon churls. The Normans are so proud that Wamba, the jester of Cedric, makes fun of them when conversing with his friend by saying that: “pork, I think, is good Norman-French; and so when brute lives, and is in the charge of a Saxon slave, she goes by her Saxon name; but becomes a Norman, and is called pork, when she is carried to the castle hall to feast among the nobles” (16). Here, Wamba is not only mocking the Normans for their bumptiousness but also hinting at the disdain that the Saxons have received from the Normans. From these two excerpts, we know that the Normans and the Saxons resent each other so much that the situation seems tense and strained.

Furthermore, when Cedric and Athelstane attend Prince John’s banquet after the tournament is over, a fiery quarrel occurs when Prince John hints that Front-de-Bœuf should take over Ivanhoe’s fief. Front-de-Bœuf answers the Prince in front of Cedric that “I will consent that your Highness shall hold me a Saxon, if either Cedric or Wilfred, or the best that ever bore English blood, shall wrench from me the gift with which your Highness had graced me.” Upon hearing this answer, Cedric feels “offended at the mode of expression by which the Normans frequently expressed their habitual contempt of the English” and replies “[w]hoever shall call thee Saxon . . . will do thee an honour as great as it is undeserved” (I: 289). Before Front-de-Bœuf can utter a word, the tetchy Prince and other Norman barons in turns mock sarcastically at the traditional outfits, barbarous manners and intemperance of

the Saxons. Cedric is so irritated and responds with passion thus: “Whatever . . . have been the follies and vices of our race, a Saxon would have been held *nidering*³⁹ . . . who should in his own hall, and while his own wine-cup passed, have treated, or suffered to be treated, an unoffending guest as you Highness has this day held me used” (italic original, 290-91). This kind of ironic responses is repeated in the conversation between the Normans and the Saxons over the feasting table. The climax of this banquet scene is where Prince John asks Cedric to name a Norman who “may least sully [his] mouth” (293). Cedric replies:

This, perchance, is a hard task, since it calls on the slave to sing the praises of the master—upon the vanquished, while pressed by all the evils of conquest, to sing the praises of the conqueror. Yet, I *will* name a Norman—the first in arms and in place—the best and the noblest of his race. And the lips that shall refuse to pledge, to his well-earned fame, I term false and dishonoured, and will so maintain then with my life. I quaff this goblet to the health of Richard the Lion-hearted! (294)

This response stuns Prince John and his followers but encourages some others, who sincerely expect Richard’s return, to toast their King. This situation is interesting not just because the reader can imagine the dumb face of the speechless John but also because it reveals that, even though Cedric hates the Normans, King Richard is the only acceptable choice for him if the Saxons shall be ruled by the Normans, and he expresses such opinion to the King himself in the latter part of the story: “Sir King—for King I own you art, and wilt be, despite of my feeble opposition” (III: 302). As a Saxon, Cedric will never bend to the Norman blood, but he knows that King Richard is a worthy king and England will be more fortunate under his reign rather

³⁹ The word “nidering” means coward (nt, 291).

than under Prince John's.

Cedric's consideration proves to be right. Throughout the novel, Richard, though as a Norman, befriends whoever he believes to be a true and valiant fellow. The King sees everyone as an equal; he is willing to learn from others and extol them in public when he thinks they are worthy of his praise. After the Castle of Torquilstone is besieged, Richard uncovers his identity to Robin Hood and his Saxon gang and promises to try his best to ensure them a secure life; he trusts Robin Hood so much that he asks Robin Hood to take a part in his court helping him rule England, despite the fact that Robin Hood is a Saxon and an outlaw. Moreover, Richard praises Cedric by saying "Cedric has already made me rich, . . . he has taught me the value of Saxon virtue" (III: 44): the King is impressed and respects the Saxons for their Saxon virtues. Richard not only values the characteristics shown by in Robin Hood, Cedric and everyone who bravely takes part in besieging the castle, but he also cherishes the knights who serve him. When Richard the Lion-hearted goes to Cedric's castle to attend Athelstane's funeral, he brings Ivanhoe with him, hoping the father-son relationship between Cedric and Ivanhoe can be mended again; eventually, Cedric does forgive and receive Ivanhoe. Richard, known by Cedric as the Black Knight, reveals his true identity. Cedric is shocked and calls Richard "Richard of Anjou," but King corrects him by calling himself "Richard of England! whose deepest interest—whose deepest wish—is to see her sons united with each other" (III: 300). Richard is eager to make peace between the Saxons and the Normans, and he achieves it by accepting others just as the way they are, and views them as equals: "You can speak to no one . . . to whom England and the life of every Englishman, can be dearer than me" (II: 95). The King cherishes his people and is regarded by the Friar as "a friend to the weaker party" (94). The complete union between the

Normans and the Saxons is a goal which Richard has tried to achieve throughout the story; it is an advanced English nationalism created and built by the king, and hopefully his nation will find its way to reach his goal. What Richard performs here echoes the scene of the union between *Ivanhoe* and Rowena near the end of the novel:

besides this domestic retinue these distinguished nuptials were celebrated by the attendance of the high-born Normans, as well as Saxons, joined with the universal jubilee of the lower orders, that marked the marriage of two individuals as a pledge of the future peace and harmony betwixt two races, which since that period, have been so completely mingled that the distinction has become wholly invisible. . . . [F]or, as the two nations mixed in society and formed intermarriages with each other, the Normans abated their scorn, and the Saxons were refined from their rusticity. (III: 362)

The happy ending of the hero and the heroine signifies the union of the Normans and the Saxons. The denouement drawn by Scott, probably from his observation from history, teaches readers that the obstacles the two nations encountered will, however gradually, disappear. As long as the two nations are willing to accept and respect each other's cultures and traditions, reaching a harmonious union will not be just a dream. This is the advanced Scottish nationalism suggested by Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and the resolution of the confrontation between the Normans and the Saxons is not the only reason that urges me to make this conclusion.

3.6.2 Conflicts between the Saxons and the Jews

The appearance of the Jewish characters in *Ivanhoe* is always a wonder and a popular subject for scholars. A. N. Wilson suggests that "[i]t was as natural for [Scott]

to be anti-semitic as it was for Shakespeare” (157). Scott indeed wrote in a letter that “I think Miss Edgeworths last work delightful though Jews will always be to me Jews” (*Letters* IV: 478). However, when he decided to write the Jews into *Ivanhoe*, it seems that he tended to describe the Jews as gently as possible: e.g. Isaac of York, though a usurer, is willing to sacrifice everything he has in exchange for his daughter’s safety, and he provides Ivanhoe a horse and armor so that he can take part in the tournament. Isaac’s daughter Rebecca, a Jewess who is the cleverest character and the most beautiful heroine in the novel, helps whoever is in need, even Catholics like Ivanhoe.

The confrontation between the Saxons and the Jews is actually much milder than the confrontation between the Normans and the Saxons: for one, this is because the Saxons are not ruthless as the Normans are, so they show their mercy to those who are in need; for another, the Jews in *Ivanhoe* do not resent the Christians as Shylock does in *The Merchant of Venice*, and most of the time tolerate their ill treatment, but they defend their innocence bravely when it is necessary. In the novel, it is clear that the Saxons dislike the Jews: for example, Isaac begs for shelter in Cedric’s mansion on a stormy night. Cedric admits him and orders a servant to look after him.⁴⁰ When Isaac enters the banqueting-hall, he is asked to sit with the Saxon domestics, but no one is willing to make room for him, except for a Pilgrim. Rebecca encounters similar treatment. She takes care of Ivanhoe voluntarily after he is injured in the tournament. When Ivanhoe regains consciousness, opens his eyes and sees Rebecca, he thanks her for healing him and inquires kindly of her identity. As Rebecca tells him that she is a Jewess, Ivanhoe’s attitude becomes cold and careless. He does not utter anything

⁴⁰ “[B]e he who or what he may; a night like that which roars without compels even wild animals to herd with tame, and to seek the protection of man, their mortal foe, rather than perish by the elements” (I: 79-80)

insulting for he knows it is Rebecca who has saved him, but he expresses his wish to be transferred to the nearby houses of Saxons, a wish implying his unwillingness to stay in the house of the Jews and his disdain toward them.

Indeed, it is more than obvious that the Jews are unwelcome to the Saxons, yet the Saxons are considered by Isaac as sympathizers: “[t]hey scorned me as a Jew, yet they pitied my desolation, and because they tarried to aid me by the way a share of my evil hath come up them; moreover, they may contribute in some sort to my ransom” (II: 134). His opinion comes from his own experience—when he and his daughter ask the Saxons to accompany them through the forest occupied by outlaws, the Saxons allow them to follow their train—and it proves to be right when Rebecca is brought to trial on the charge of witchcraft. The Jewess calls for trial by combat, but no one is willing to stand on the side of a Jewess. When Ivanhoe hears the news, he hurries to the scene and, disregarding his unhealed wounds, fights Bois-Guilbert as Rebecca’s champion. The reason why Ivanhoe decides to do this is left unexplained; perhaps he wants to return a favor to Rebecca or it is simply because Ivanhoe is a chivalric knight who follows the order of aiding whoever is in need.

The Saxons may not treat the Jews as their equals (some try to insult or hurt them), but they never refuse to assist the Jews when they are helpless in *Ivanhoe*. Richard I displays the same attitude as the Saxons toward the Jews: when Isaac is captured by the Friar, a member of the outlaws, Richard stops him from abusing Isaac by persuading that “End now all unkindness. Let us put the Jew to ransom, since the leopard will not change his spots, and a Jew he will continue to be” (III: 60). In the conflict betwixt the Saxons and the Jews, Scott shows readers that only if the conquerors respect the vanquished and the latter accept the former can the defeated be convinced that they will live in peace with the victors. Scott asserts in his

autobiography that

a glance picture of life will show, that the duties of self-denial, and the sacrifice of passion to principle, are seldom thus remunerated; and that the internal consciousness of their high-minded discharge of duty, produces on their own reflections a more adequate recompense, in the form of that peace which the world cannot give or take away.

(*Autobiography* 117)

In *Ivanhoe*, Richard's advanced English nationalism teaches that if the stronger party continues to oppress the weaker party, they will never be accepted by the latter, and if the weaker party keeps on rising against and resists the union with the stronger party, the nation will never be in harmony. This advanced nationalism is surprisingly well-suited to the age of Scott. The relationship between the Scots and the English during Scott's time was as tight as the relationship between the weaker and the stronger parties in *Ivanhoe*. To untie the unpleasant knot of the Scots and the English, some sacrifice and tolerance are required. Scott builds up an advanced Scottish nationalism via *Ivanhoe*. It is a goal for the Scots to achieve: the tradition and culture of Scotland should be preserved, but a great nation like Scotland should be lenient to respect and learn the values of other nations. In that case, the Scots, with their well-preserved traditions and culture, will be able to develop a peaceful union with the English.

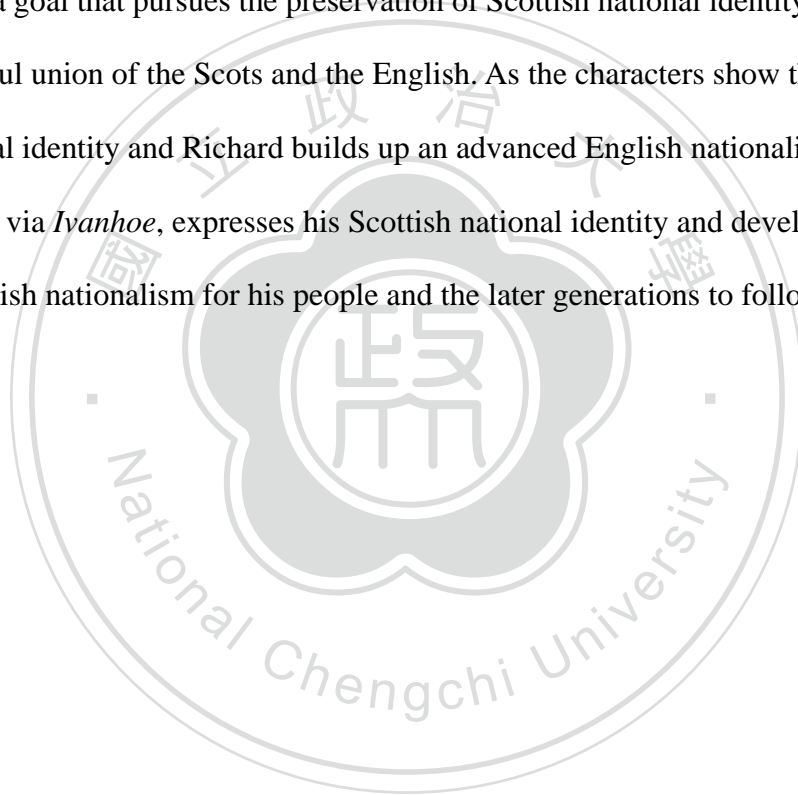
3.7 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the idea of national identity and advanced nationalism. National identity is an advanced form of collective identity, and it is a product of combining collective identity, nation and nationalism. A nation develops its

nationalism, and uses it to encourage national identity of its people. Once people are influenced by nationalism, they express their national identity through action like rebellions or through writings. In the beginning of the chapter, the historical events of the Jacobites are described. The Jacobites wanted to restore the House of Stewart, and once again be ruled by the Scottish King. These risings against the English are examples of how Scottish people display their Scottish national identity to an extreme and become a part of Scottish nationalism that influences the later generations. While some choose to express their national identity through violence, others prefer to fight with their pens. Authors such as Burns and Scott wove their Scottish national identity in poetry and novels, depicting the natural beauty of Scotland, and the glory of Scottish history and gallantry of their ancestors.

Scott's arrangement for King George IV can also be regarded as an exhibition of Scottish national identity. He showed symbols like bagpipes, tartans and kilts, which he believed are the best representatives of Scotland, to the King. Such arrangements not only allowed the King to understand more about Scotland and its people, but also convinced the Scots that the King is suitable to be their king because he values their traditions and culture. This event is only the tip of the iceberg of what Scott has done for Scotland. There is no doubt that the Waverley Novels help promote Scotland and Scottish nationalism. Yet there is more than Scottish nationalism in *Ivanhoe*: from Saxon-Norman and Saxon-Jew conflicts, as well as Richard's impartial attitude toward Englishmen and the union of *Ivanhoe* and Rowena, an advanced Scottish nationalism comes into view allegorically. Turbulences resulting from the union of two or more nations is very common in history. Peace will eventually come, but it always needs time. In order to achieve harmony between two nations bound together, people of each nation have to learn to respect and accept the other's while preserving

their own traditions and culture. In the novel, Richard clearly states his hope of uniting the Saxons and the Normans; he treats them as equals, and respects the beliefs and traditions of each race. A peaceful and stable England is Richard's goal, and typifies the advanced English nationalism developed by the king. Seeing the conflicts resolved by Richard and how the Saxons finally befriend and unite harmoniously with the Normans without losing their Saxon identity, I believe that the advanced Scottish nationalism is conveyed in *Ivanhoe* as well. This advanced Scottish nationalism is a goal that pursues the preservation of Scottish national identity and a friendly peaceful union of the Scots and the English. As the characters show their English national identity and Richard builds up an advanced English nationalism in *Ivanhoe*, Scott, via *Ivanhoe*, expresses his Scottish national identity and develops an advanced Scottish nationalism for his people and the later generations to follow.



Conclusion

The Process of Scottish Nationalism in *Ivanhoe*

This thesis deals with the process of Scottish nationalism reflected in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. It argues that the process of English nationalism in *Ivanhoe* can be seen as an extraction of the process of Scottish nationalism in history, and through Richard, Scott develops an advanced Scottish nationalism for the Scots. With a perfect use of history as background, Scott shows the building of Scottish identity and the rise of Scottish nationalism, displays his Scottish national identity, and develops an advanced Scottish nationalism for readers to uncover. The process starts with a collective identity, which is built on things such as ethnicity, religion, etc. As a collective identity reaches a peak—normally because of invasions of neighbouring kingdoms or races—a nation is born. Following the birth of a nation, a specific nationalism belonging only to the nation emerges. Scottish nationalism is initially built by the kings of the nation. Through the authority of kings, nationalism forms effectively and efficiently by policies established by kings. Under the effect of nationalism, people of the nation display their national identity by defending their nation when needed or by expressing their love for the nation in literary works. Through the exhibition of national identity, an advanced nationalism, a goal set for a better future of the nation by its people, is developed.

Scottish identity, a collective identity, is found in the history and literature of Scotland. When historical events such as invasions of other races or nations occur, concerns of identity arise. Scotland was constituted by various races in the medieval period—the Picts and the Scots were the two main races among others—that once occupied the land in different areas, living their own lives until the invasion of the Scandinavians (eighth to tenth century). The races soon founded a kingdom named

Alba in order to defend themselves from these threats. But “by the end of first millennium Scotland was the coming reality” (Ross 50): before the kingdom of Alba, the kings were titled King of Picts instead of Scotland, indicating the differences between the races living within the land.

Since it is “the crown, with the church, that . . . represents [Scottish] identity” (Webster 94), extra attention should be paid to the deeds of Scottish kings and kirk. While the Scottish kirk assisted in the union of different races by taking a strong stance on the independence of the kirk against the English church, the kings tried their best to stabilize their domain. The sudden death of Alexander III put the kingdom into a chaotic situation, drowning the land with a sense of loss. Following William Wallace’s rebellious example, Robert the Bruce boldly claimed the title of King of Scotland, leading the Scots to fight against the English. The Scottish identity once again surged. The letter, “The Declaration of Arbroath,” to the Pope by Bruce’s supporters reveals the love the people had toward Scotland: they chose to die if that was the only way to free the nation, a term that means a kingdom instead of the political entity we refer to today. This letter is proof of the successful union between various races in the Middle Ages; the people by then were people of Scotland, not just Picts or Scots.

Coincidentally, although Sir Walter Scott’s *Ivanhoe* is said to be a pure English historical novel, connections between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland can be found through the main character of Richard I. In Scott’s *History of Scotland*, Richard is the first English king to return sovereignty to Scotland; thus, Richard played an important role in the independence of Scotland. Also, in *Ivanhoe*, the absence of King Richard leads the kingdom in the same direction as Scotland after the death of Alexander III; the kingdoms are left in despair and chaos. Like the appearance of Robert the Bruce,

Richard's return has brought back the hope of his people. With the rise of collective identity, Richard leads his people of different races to fight for the restoration of the king and the peace within the kingdom. His action resembles the brave deed that King Robert did for Scotland's freedom described in "The Declaration of Arbroath." Moreover, the conflicts and differences of the people of Saxon identity, Norman identity and Jewish identity exhibited in *Ivanhoe* are overcome by a greater wish of recovering the kingdom in peace and harmony. The siege scene in the novel provides a vivid picture of the building of a collective identity, a portrayal that mirrors the cooperation between the Picts and the Scots in defending their kingdom during the Scandinavian Settlements and after the death of Alexander III. "Under an acknowledged head" (*Ivanhoe* II: 61), a collective identity is built: Scottish identity in history and English identity in *Ivanhoe*.

It is essential to learn about Scottish history before saying anything about Scottish nationalism because "what constitutes a nation is not speaking the same tongue or belonging to the same ethnic group, but having accomplished great things in common in the past and wish to accomplish them in the future" (Ernest Renan, qtd. in Snyder 14). In 1328, the Pope finally recognized Robert I as the King of Scotland, marking the start of Scotland as a nation. Before this significant year, Scotland's political and economic power was relatively stable; however it was not yet to be called a nation because, as a part of Christendom, Scotland required the identification of the king by the Pope.

Once Scotland became a nation, nationalism emerged. Nationalism is a framework, and others ideas (such as ethnicity, faith, etc.) have to be filled in in order to make it work. Indeed, nationalism is so complicated that there is, so far, no single definition or theory that can explain the nationalism of every nation in the world.

Nonetheless, according to Smith, whose ideas fit the discussion of Scottish nationalism, the existence of nationalism is politically important: it helps a people identify themselves as part of the nation and protect it when it is in danger. Thus, it seems necessary to examine Scottish kings' domestic and foreign policies in legislation and their nations' economies in historical records like chronicles. By carefully, if not selfishly, planning for their nation, the kings not only retained or improved the stability and prosperity of the nation but also showed how Scottish nationalism bound the whole nation together.

Apart from policies established by the kings, legends or myths of Wallace and Robert the Bruce that appear in literature remind the readers of the glorious past of their ancestors. In the General Preface of *Waverley*, Scott expresses his attempt to do something for his own country. His use of historical events as the background of all his *Waverley* Novels redraws the pictures of the past and retells the process of the rise of Scottish nationalism. The Chieftain of Clan Mac-Ivor, Fergus Mac-Ivor, in *Waverley*, for instance, teaches the readers of the important role a ruler or leader played in the process of the building of Scottish nationalism. Such a sense of Scottish nationalism seems to pervade *Ivanhoe* as well.

Although *Ivanhoe* is set in twelfth-century England and concerns only Englishmen, we can still find ways to relate the novel to Scotland through Richard. It is after the Castle of Torquilstone is besieged that England truly becomes a nation, a united political entity, as we now understand it. Before the siege, the kingdom was full of hatred and confrontations; but after the return of Richard and an experience shared between the Saxons and the Normans, the kingdom gradually headed toward peace under the reign of Richard; thus, a united nation was born and a sense of English nationalism was built by the king. The revelation of disguised identity of

Richard and others seems to be an essential symbol that signifies the unity of the nation. When Richard announces his true identity to Robin Hood, the latter proclaims his respect and loyalty; when Cedric realizes the true identity of the Black Knight, he obeys, though reluctantly, the order of the King because he believes that England will be more stable and better in Richard's hands. The trusting attitude Robin Hood and Cedric have toward the King proves that Richard has successfully built up a sense of English nationalism. Through the scenes after the siege of Torquilstone in *Ivanhoe*, the readers behold the development from the birth of a nation to the formation of nationalism just as Scottish kings built up Scottish nationalism through policies designed for the benefit of Scotland.

National identity is the combination of collective identity, nation and nationalism. Affected by Scottish nationalism, Scott shows his Scottish national identity in *Ivanhoe*. Nationalism emerges when a kingdom or community becomes a nation, and it encourages the national identity of their people. The Jacobite uprisings are perfect for demonstrating the power of Scottish nationalism. While the Jacobites showed their Scottish identity through rebellions against the English, the events and the records of them turned into a part of Scottish nationalism that influenced later generations. While some chose to express their national identity through violence, others such as Smollett and Burns preferred to display theirs in literary works by celebrating the beauty of Scotland, and the glory of Scottish history and gallantry of their ancestors. Containing Scottish national identity, these poems and novels became another mechanism of Scottish nationalism that wakes the Scottish national identity within the readers. Besides weaving Scottish national identity in literary works, Scott's arrangement which was filled with Scottish symbols like kilts, tartans and bagpipes for King George IV's visit, too, exhibits his national identity and his love

for his country. Of course, a national event like this that shows a sense of Scottish national identity would soon change into a part of Scottish nationalism and will always be remembered. Through his arrangement, Scott allowed King George to learn more about his northern domain, and helped the king to rebuild the trust that the Scots had in the King of the United Kingdom.

This event is not the only thing that Scott has done for Scotland. His *Waverley* Novels no doubt promote Scotland and Scottish nationalism both within Scotland and throughout the United Kingdom. Yet, *Ivanhoe* seems to convey more than just Scottish nationalism. Scott shows his national identity by adding Scottish elements in his purely English novel. When Richard I made his claim to the English throne, he made it through Matilda, “niece to Edgar Atheling, and daughter to Malcolm of Scotland” (*Ivanhoe* III: 301). Another example that is also about Matilda is the narrator’s description of the persecutions of the Normans: “[T]he Princess Matilda, though a daughter of the King of Scotland . . . was obliged, . . . to assume the veil of a nun, as the only means of escaping the licentious pursuit of the Norman nobles” (II: 156). These are the proofs of Scott’s Scottish national identity woven into the novel and direct evidence for the links between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland. While Scott displays his national identity, the characters show their English national identity by putting trust in Richard. After English nationalism is built by Richard, a sense of English national identity rises. Besides Robin Hood and Cedric, both Athelstane and Rowena, the descendants of the royal Saxons, accept Richard willingly as their sovereign, believing Richard will govern the nation with justice. Richard, in return, treats his subjects equally.

Following the appearance of national identity, an advanced nationalism is developed. This advanced nationalism is a goal set by the king and/or the people in

order to achieve a better and stronger nation. In *Ivanhoe*, the conflicts of Saxon vs. Norman and Saxon vs. Jew, as well as Richard's resolution of the confrontations reveal Richard's advanced English nationalism, and, at the same time, uncover the advanced Scottish nationalism developed by Scott. The conflicts between the Normans and the Saxons, as the readers are informed at the beginning of the story, have not stopped since the Norman Conquest. The conquered resent the victors and the latter humiliate and torture the former whenever they are in the mood. The confrontations between the Saxons and the Jew, on the other hand, are brought up in a milder way. The Saxons dislike the Jews but are willing to help when the Jews are in need, and vice versa. Perceiving all these conflicts, Richard's solution is to view them as equals: he praises anyone who has done well, and punishes the ones who have done wrong. He doesn't mind if the Saxons or the Jews want to preserve their own culture and traditions as long as they are peaceful and obey his orders. To him, the Saxons, the Normans and the Jews are all his English subjects, and he does not consider racial distinctions. To treat everyone equally and justly is the goal of Richard and his subjects, and it is the advanced English nationalism that all people within the nation should and will try to reach.

Similarly, Scott's advanced Scottish nationalism in *Ivanhoe*, in my opinion, teaches the readers that it is common that the union of two races or nations might bring confrontations, but peace always comes after a period of time. If the two bound-together nations of Scotland and England wish to achieve harmony, the people of each nation have to learn to respect and accept the other while preserving their own traditions and culture. Also, as in Richard's expression of his hope of uniting the Saxons and the Normans, the King of the United Kingdom has to treat his people as equals in order to achieve a stable and strong nation: to view them all as people under

his sovereignty and respect the beliefs and traditions of each race. I believe that the advanced Scottish nationalism is conveyed in such an attitude as King Richard's.

The process of nationalism in *Ivanhoe* reflects the process of Scottish nationalism. Although many contemporaries of Scott's time chose to criticize the anachronisms in *Ivanhoe*, critics after his time have learnt to appreciate Scott's blend of antiquity and his own age, praising him as the inventor of the historical novel. However, very few seem to notice the possible link between *Ivanhoe* and Scotland. Through scrutinizing *Ivanhoe* carefully with the development of Scottish nationalism, the connection between this purely English-setting novel and Scott's beloved Scotland is disclosed. Read in this way, *Ivanhoe*, while expressing his Scottish national identity, not only fulfilled his dream of introducing Scotland's "natives to those of the sister kingdom in a more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto, and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues, and indulgence for their foibles" (*Waverley* xxi-ii), but also brought about an advanced Scottish nationalism fit for his own time.

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