

Imagined Histories: The Novels of Walter Scott

Manfred Malzahn

United Arab Emirates University

Abstract: *This article examines the historical fiction of Sir Walter Scott, in its dual function not only as a reflection of history, but likewise as an active influence on the shaping of 19th century historical consciousness. This dual role is analysed with particular regard to the special position of Scotland in Great Britain and in the wider world before, during, and after Scott's lifetime. The main focus of analysis is on the dialectic of attraction and revulsion that permits readers to indulge in the author's imaginative recreation of a colourful and adventurous past, while at the same time retaining or reinforcing a belief in the superiority of the present. Walter Scott is thus defended against accusations of mere literary escapism or of promoting sentimental nostalgia for an idealised lost world of romance, and rather portrayed as a literary advocate for the overcoming of divisions within Scotland and within Britain, through a healing process based on an ultimate recognition of the pastness of the past, and of the inevitability of progress. Finally, a parallel is drawn between divergent uses and perceptions of the historical imagination in western literature and in the Arab world.*

1. Scott's oeuvre in context

Among the canonical names which help students of English literature navigate their way through its major periods, that of Walter Scott is surely one of the most useful; or in other words, he is one of those authors most evidently identifiable with a certain epoch. The years of Scott's birth and death can be taken to bracket the rise and fall of the Romantic era, and by the same token, to accentuate the difference between the legacy and the duration of this so-called Age of Romanticism which was evidently shorter than a human lifetime, and yet made an impact of quite disproportionate magnitude.

In 1771, when Scott was born in Edinburgh, George III reigned over his North American colonies and Louis XVI over France, though the writing was already on the wall for the landmark events of 1776, when America declared its independence, and of 1789, when France dethroned its monarch. When Scott died in 1832, just over sixty years old, some major changes had been wrought, others undone, and yet others apparently averted. To wit, Andrew Jackson was now the seventh President of the USA; Louis-Philippe's July Monarchy held sway in post-revolutionary Paris; and William IV continued the Hanoverian dynasty in Britain.

Anyone alive during those years would have felt not only the force of historical change, but likewise the importance of human agency in actualising, or indeed in resisting change. The revolutionary and the conservative emerged as characters who could make a difference in a world where neither alteration nor stability came without human volition or intervention. In Scott's work, and especially in the historical novel which he more than any other individual writer developed and established as a literary genre, we can see a dramatisation of history that features the abovementioned as well as other types, from the famous

passive hero to the buffoon, in a variety frequently and fittingly compared to that of Shakespeare's plays. Lidia Garbin (1997), for instance, suggests that "Scott's ... novels and their immediate acclaim depend on his use of Shakespearean allusion and scale."

If the likeliest choice of successor to Shakespeare was thus not primarily a writer for the stage, this indicates that neither English theatre nor English drama had ever again equalled their broad appeal to the different classes and factions of Shakespeare's times. If the new Bard was not English, this relates to a process of cultural devolution begun during the Enlightenment, to which Scotland contributed more than its fair share, with 18th-century Edinburgh in particular becoming a seat of learning that challenged the supremacy of London: "In the classical parlance of the day, it was her Augustan Age, and she the Modern Athens" (Scott-Moncrieff 1947:81).

But likewise from Scotland came utterances that helped to undermine neoclassicism and rationalism. In Edinburgh, Henry Mackenzie composed *The Man of Feeling*, and in Ayrshire, Robert Burns his *Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*. Even earlier, in the Highlands, James Macpherson had given an English voice to the legendary Gaelic poet Ossian, creating a debate not only about the authenticity of his productions, but also about the relative merits and potentials of cultural traditions. The heated nature of this debate showed that something far greater than a case of suspected fraud was at stake; what had occurred was, as Peter McCarey (1987:2) put it, an attack on "the assumption that history is European history, that culture comes from Greece, civilisation from Rome, and religion from Jerusalem."

In August 1770, and thus shortly after the start of the Ossian controversy and shortly before Scott's birth, the philosopher David Hume had declared in a letter to William Strahan, "I believe this is the historical age and this the historical nation" (Hill 1888:117). His 1888 editor's footnote "Hume is speaking only of the Scotch" (Hill 1888:118) highlights the ambivalence of the term 'nation' in a Scottish context, for since the Union of Parliaments in 1707, Scotland had all but submerged into Great Britain, ceasing to be a distinct player on the historical stage. In a Europe where the normative ideal was the nation-state, Scotland now figured as an anomaly not unlike Germany: "a nation which is not a state" (McCrone 1992:33), with an intellectual and cultural productivity achieved in spite or because of the lack of independence or unity. Germans and Scots seeking to assert their national identity were consequently inclined to focus on their cultural heritage.

2. From poetry to fiction

It is thus highly significant that Scott's first ever literary publication should have consisted of translations from German, and that his first major one should have been a collection of Scottish balladry. Scott then progressed from collecting and editing folk ballads to authoring long verse narratives that won him an immense popularity well before he had published any full-length fiction. When his novels began to appear in print, he tried, for reasons still subject to much conjecture, to

hide the identity of the writer. Thomas Crawford (1982:13-14) offers the following range of possible explanations:

Scott's motives were certainly mixed: the remnants of a snobbish feeling that novel-writing was not a suitable occupation for a gentleman; an apparent diffidence masking a morbid sensitivity to criticism; appreciation of the value of mystery as a publicity device; a shrewd estimate that if all the novels were unequivocally presented to the public as the work of a single man, they would be immediately dismissed as hurriedly produced pot-boilers; a mischievous love of anonymity for its own sake; and finally, the psychological need for a *persona* and the artistic desirability of a formal frame within which the narrative could be enclosed.

That Scott's secret was not entirely safe is shown in the following reaction by fellow-author Jane Austen to the publication of his first novel, *Waverley*, in 1814 (Kemp 1988:324):

Walter Scott has no business to write novels, especially good ones—It is not fair.—He has fame and profit enough as a poet, and should not be taking the bread out of other people's mouths.—I do not like him, and do not mean to like *Waverley* if I can help it—but fear I must.

With *Waverley*, Scott commenced a series of books that set the standards and shaped the conventions of a literary genre which is still productive today. The formula he hit upon allowed him to steer a middle course between the novelist's freedom to create character and incident, and the historian's duty to be faithful to acknowledged or perceived fact. Scott would simply make up his main characters, but then let these fictional characters cohabit or interact with selected historical personages, against a background drawn with sufficient and sufficiently realistic detail to give the effect of verisimilitude. This practice has informed descriptive genre definitions such as the following (Fleishman 1971:4):

When life is seen in the context of history we have a novel; when the novel's characters live in the same world with historical persons, we have a historical novel.

Scott's historical novels began at home, with events that lay just within the scope of living memory. The subtitle of *Waverley* is *'Tis Sixty Years Since*; its fictional plot is interwoven with the story of the 1745 Jacobite campaign, the second military attempt to re-establish the Stuart dynasty, exiled since 1688. A more divisive issue could hardly have been found in Scottish history, with its key figure Prince Charles Edward Stuart as a kind of touchstone for unionist or anti-unionist sentiment. Those who happily envisaged Scotland's future in British terms were inclined to see Charles as the Young Pretender who had jeopardised progress and prosperity; those who disliked the prospect of Scotland's becoming a thoroughly anglicised North Britain were likely to see Charles as Bonnie Prince Charlie who had pitched Scottish pride against English prejudice.

That Scott managed to write a book which in more than one sense contains all and excludes none of the above, was surely no small feat. The particular quality of his product can be read as a mediation between conflicting emotions of his own, with a British head firmly in favour of one party, and a Scottish heart drawn towards the other, as in the following comment by Michael Gardiner (2005:32):

The point to be made here ... is that there grew up a cultural duality able to retain 'Scottishness' as an everyday lived national identity *within Britain*. Early nineteenth-century literary figures like Walter Scott exemplify this by seeing Britain as the sensible part of a Scottish individual - the 'head' - while the 'heart' is portrayed increasingly nostalgically as a wistful form of memory which can never be realised as a state again.

The same quality, however, can likewise be seen as evidence of what Keats called negative capability, that is, the dissolution of the poetic ego in dramatic characterisation. Once again, one may cite Shakespeare as a reference, and quote Hazlitt's dictum that the aggregate of Scott's works is "almost like a new edition of human nature" (Hazlitt 1825), in which Scott's personal nature is felt only as the vague presence of a creator.

Waverley appears in yet a different light if seen in juxtaposition to *Paradise Lost* as another story of rebellion. Like Milton's Satan, so does Charles Edward Stuart feature "somewhat attractively" (Carruthers 2003:125) in a narrative which shows the potentially fatal consequences of such attraction. Ultimately, Scott was as little of a Jacobite as Milton was of the Devil's party. To Milton, the Devil could not be in the right simply because he violated the *pax divina* that benefited all creatures; to Scott, Charles Edward Stuart could not be in the right simply because he violated the *pax britannica* that benefited all citizens. Milton's fallen angels and Scott's Jacobites are "figures of passion and disorder" (Gifford; Dunnigan; & MacGillivray 2002:243), alluring but dangerous. The eponymous English hero of *Waverley* is rather like Adam, who allows himself to be seduced but whose fall does not put him beyond redemption, while those who belong to a different order of being are irrevocably damned. In contrast to them, Edward Waverley is allowed to escape and to end his adventures with (Scott 1978:463).

that pleasure which almost all feel who return to a verdant, populous, and highly cultivated country, from scenes of waste desolation, or of solitary and melancholy grandeur.

3. From fiction to fact

Thus ends the journey of the 18th-century hero, as does the imaginative journey of Scott's implied 19th-century reader, in the safety of civilisation. In his fictional foray into the past, the author gets maximum mileage out of romantic settings, heroic adventures, or barbaric lawlessness: all these are for the reader to experience vicariously, and from a secure distance in time. Scott's imagined

history is not meant to be a place where one would like to live, but it does make for an exciting place to visit, and here is where the real and the virtual intertwine. In 1822, George IV crossed the border from England to act his part in a carefully arranged tableau incorporating a sanitised version of the Scottish past into the present. The icing on the cake was dressing up the Hanoverian monarch in the regalia of the arch-enemy (Young 1965:144-145):

Some of the Highland chiefs appeared with "tails" of men at arms in tartan kilts; and Sir Walter Scott, who stage-managed the visit, wore a kilt himself, of Campbell tartan for some female ancestress, and persuaded George IV to appear, twice, in a kilt of Stewart tartan.

Accounts like this illustrate why Scott should be accused of "having invented a Scotland which displaced the real Scotland in favour of his romantic illusions" (Craig 1999:117). What grew into the iconography of the shortbread tin, representing Scotland in visual images of mostly Highland origin, began thus at a time when the Gaelic-speaking Highlands with their warlike clans had ceased to be a genuine threat to Lowland Scotland. Tartan and bagpipes, once outlawed, were now welcome picturesque adornments in the streets of the capital, as welcome as their bearers were to fight for British interests on foreign battlefields. Meanwhile, the traditional social organisation of the Highlands was disintegrating, and traditional culture suffering.

There were presumably not so many Scottish people who regarded this process with entirely unmixed regret. In the verdict of a 20th-century historian, Highland society had been "inefficient, and in material terms unrewarding to the great majority of its members" (Smout 1972:318), and the last decades of the 18th century brought "a hopefulness without parallel in Highland experience" (Smout 1972:324), based on expectations of material improvement. While milking Highland scenery and savagery for popular effect, Scott nonetheless portrayed heroic-barbaric society as moribund, and hence the heavy narcotic of nostalgia in his narratives is mixed with poignant doses of antidote. Consider the following observations of Frank Osbaldistone, first-person narrator of *Rob Roy*, on his entry into MacGregor's village (Scott 1976:278):

The little children also, who began to crawl forth, some quite naked, and others very imperfectly covered with tatters of tartan stuff, clapped their tiny hands, and grinned at the English soldiers, with an expression of national hate and malignity which seemed beyond their years.

Disorder, destitution, filth and enmity mark this vignette, included in a tale set about a hundred years before its publication on the last day of 1817. In an author's footnote to the ostensible manuscript of Frank Osbaldistone, the reader is addressed as a potential visitor, who is assured that the same place "now affords a very comfortable little inn" (Scott 1976:277). This remark is doubly significant, for it signals that not only facilities, but likewise attitudes have changed; and it consequently saves the author, interlocutor between past and present, from any need to mention possible remnants of resentment.

The footnote reference to the new inn is matched by the mention of an old "hospitable wigwam" (Scott 1976:327) in Osbaldistone's story. The latter phrase constitutes one of the many parallels drawn in Scott's writing between the Highlanders and the Indians of North America. There, Scott found not only a massive readership, but also one of the most successful contemporary followers of his method, and then in the next generation of American writers, one of his fiercest critics. The imitator was James Fenimore Cooper, whose so-called Leatherstocking novels came to enjoy a status similar to that of Scott's productions. The critic, who derided Cooper but despised Scott, was Samuel Langhorne Clemens alias Mark Twain. This is how he saw Scott's influence on the American public (Twain 1883:467):

Then comes Sir Walter Scott with his enchantments, and by his single might checks this wave of progress, and even turns it back; sets the world in love with dreams and phantoms; with decayed and swinish forms of religion; with decayed and degraded systems of government; with the sillinesses and emptinesses, sham grandeurs, sham gauds, and sham chivalries of a brainless and worthless long-vanished society.

4. From Scotland to England

It seems that what Twain had in mind here was not so much the Scottish fiction of Scott, but rather tales such as *Ivanhoe*, Scott's first novelistic venture into a medieval English setting. Going farther afield in terms of place and time, the author of *Waverley* felt the need to construct yet another protective framework in the form of an Introduction and a "Dedicatory Epistle to the Rev. Dr. Dryasdust", in which the geographical range of the venture is explained by reference to the exhaustion of Scottish subject matter: a rather curious claim in view of the richness of Scottish history, which Scott could hardly claim to have exhausted less than six years after his first novel. The reason given for the simultaneous backward leap to the High Middle Ages is the perception of history by the contemporary English reader, who may be "fully prepared to believe the strangest things" of the "wild and extravagant" Scottish people, while being "not half as much disposed to believe that his ancestors led a very different life from himself" (Scott 1975:16).

This marks one of the intended messages of the novel as a warning against forgetfulness. Scott clearly wanted to emphasise that civilised nations differed only with regard to their historical distance from a less civilised past which was nonetheless common to all. The feudal version of this past is sketched in the following enumeration of facts of which the average Englishman needs to be reminded (Scott 1975:16):

that the shattered tower, which now forms a vista from his window, once held a baron who would have hung him up at his own door without any form of trial; that the hinds, by whom his own little pet-farm is managed, a few centuries ago would have been his slaves; and that the complete influence of feudal tyranny once extended over the neighbouring village,

where the attorney is now a man of more importance than the lord of the manor.

This is hardly an idealisation of the kind perceived by Twain, though it rather invites the question whether the story itself bears out the intention. In any case, *Ivanhoe* asks to be read as a fable of conquest and reconciliation, a tale which patently mirrors some key issues dramatised in the Scottish novels. A structural irony in *Ivanhoe* lies in the fact that the conquered Saxons of England are cast in a role which should have reminded at least some of Scott's readers of the conquered Gaels of Scotland. There is once again a contrast between a rightful king and a pretender or usurper; and as in *Waverley*, there is a dark lady who represents a group that remains marginalised in the peaceful ending of the plot. The fictional resolution embraces primarily the sort of people Scott that summed up in his journal entry of 20 January 1826 in the phrase "the well disposed on each side" (Hewitt 1981:170), that is, those whose common sense, decency and moderation seemed to guarantee the future of the union.

That Scott genuinely believed in such values is beyond any reasonable doubt; and in this, he can be seen as a child of the Enlightenment, a man whose attitudes "reflect the 18th Century admiration for compromise and toleration," and who "could not quite forgive his ancestors for not practising these virtues" (Anderson 1981:23). That he kept raising the ghost of this imperfect past, however, shows him as a man of the 19th century, with a firm belief in progress, but likewise with a deep-seated and quasi pre-Darwinian anxiety about the possible failure of mankind to live up to its civilised ideals. The Scott-hater Twain knew these mixed feelings, too, as shown in his attempt to write a kind of anti-*Ivanhoe*. By a crude form of time travel, Twain sent a Connecticut man back to King Arthur's court, and thus created a direct face-off between medieval and 19th century knowledge and mores that was meant to prove the superiority of the latter over the former; the story, however, ends with the superior knowledge of the modern man causing unprecedented havoc and carnage.

On the whole, Scott's novels managed rather better to contain the dark and destructive forces which they conjured up. Scott's efforts at giving literary shape not only to his own, but also to his native country's emotions, were aimed at taming the hopes and fears thus fettered in prose. If he had lived to see the American Civil War, however, and to hear the accusations Twain brought against him for having fuelled a Quixotic spirit that helped drive 19th century Americans to battle, Scott might have felt just like the Triple Fool of John Donne's eponymous poem: a poet seeing his literary efforts appropriated by others who unleash the powers seemingly controlled through art, and who thus renew the pain which the writer had sought to alleviate by the production of literary artefacts.

5. The pastness of the past

If Scott's historical fiction is apostrophised as making "multicultural" (Crawford, R. 1992:130) or other projections of "different, differing, deferring

possibilities” (McCracken-Flesher 2005:164) for the future of Scotland, I would suggest that it may also contain enough material that is quite properly designed to remain in the realm of narrative. The conciliatory function of Scott’s narrative is, I would submit, ultimately to be seen in the reconciliation of the reader with the fact that the past is past, in spite of hopes or fears that it might not be. The resurrection of the past at the beginning of each novel is followed by its inevitable reburial at the end, when the intended reader is released into 19th century civilisation. It is evident that both Scott and Twain believed in the superiority of this civilisation; it is likewise evident that they had their doubts about the progress of mankind and human society.

In a domestic context, Scott’s novels were a step towards the integration of the Scotland’s past into a British master narrative. This explains the presence of traditionally divisive figures in Scottish history, such as the Jacobites, the Covenanters, or Mary Queen of Scots, as well it explains the simultaneous absence of figures traditionally unifying at the Scottish, but divisive at the British level. It is surely significant that Scott did not write an early version of *Braveheart*, nor fictionalised the battle of Bannockburn. The last thing he wanted was to stir up the anti-English sentiments that characters such as William Wallace and King Robert the Bruce still focus today. It would have been a much harder job to write a conciliatory or noncommittal novel about their campaigns than it was to do so about those of the Jacobites, concerning which Scottish opinions had ever differed.

By giving Scotland imagined histories that dramatise the fault lines within the country, and by not going for the facile option to make these fault lines coincide with a clear-cut good guys/bad guys division, Scott’s fiction presents considerable challenges to readers who want stark and simple contrasts in their world picture. More congenial readings will give a conscious response to those challenges, as in the following judgment by Colin Milton (2007:117), who evaluates Scott’s portrayal of Scotland’s divided heritage in the following passage:

In Scott’s view, this dual inheritance equipped the Scots to make a unique contribution to an evolving British identity, one in which the creative tension between ‘Highland’ and ‘Lowland’ values would act as a dynamic principle. The idea of such an inheritance, at once dynamic and difficult, was one of Scott’s abiding legacies to his literary successors....

It seems fitting that Scott’s work has itself become part and parcel of such a difficult heirloom, whose dynamic tension Thomas Docherty (2004) sees as resulting from the contrast between reality and image, or between actuality and possibility. The potential effect of historical fiction is not limited to the mutual illumination of past and present, for this operation will in turn engender a juxtaposition of what is, and what could or should be. If historical fiction is perceived as mere escapism, the blame could perhaps as easily be laid at the reader’s door as at the writer’s. Nonetheless, the affinity between a nostalgic backward orientation and a sentimental and stifling cultural climate was detected

and criticised not only in Scotland, but likewise in the Arab world. Consider these lines by the Syrian poet Nizar Qabbani (Renard 1999:10):

In my land,
In the land of the simple,
Where we slowly chew on our unending songs—
A form of consumption is destroying the east—
Our east is chewing on its history,
Its lethargic dreams,
Its empty legends

In contrast to this opinion, critics such as Mohammad Shaheen see legendary characters as legitimate prototypes for the production of modern Arab literature, a process in which such borrowings may “help the writer manipulate the normal gap between author and his subject-matter” (Shaheen 2002:154). In view of this divergence of judgments which parallels that between some of the aforementioned verdicts on Scott, it would seem an interesting task to explore the full range of correspondences between Scottish and Arab writers’ attitudes to the historical past, to present-day realities, and to foreseeable or desirable options for the future. However, this is of course too big a topic to get more than this brief mention in the present context, where I shall simply have to leave it standing as a suggestion for further investigation.

References

- Anderson, James.** (1981). *Sir Walter Scott and History*. Edinburgh: Edina Press.
- Carruthers, Gerrard.** (2003). ‘Lewis Grassie Gibbon and the Scottish Enlightenment.’ In Margery Palmer McCulloch & Sarah M. Dunnigan (eds.), *A Flame in the Mearns. Lewis Grassie Gibbon: A Centenary Celebration*. Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies. 124-135.
- Craig, Cairns.** (1999). *The Modern Scottish Novel: Narrative and the National Imagination*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Crawford, Robert.** (1992). *Devolving English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Crawford, Thomas.** (1982). *Walter Scott*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1982. Scottish Writers Series. Ed. David Daiches.
- Docherty, Thomas.** (2004). ‘The Existence of Scotland.’ In Eleanor Bell & Gavin Miller (eds.), *Scotland in Theory*. Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2004. 231-48.
- Fleishman, Avrom.** (1971). *The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Garbin, Lidia.** (1997). ‘The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck: Walter Scott in the Writings of Mary Shelley.’ *Romanticism on the Net* 6 (May). <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat0385/warbeck.html>

- Gardiner, Michael.** (2005). *Modern Scottish Culture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Gifford, Douglas, Sarah Dunnigan and Alan MacGillivray (eds).** (2002). *Scottish Literature*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Hazlitt, William.** (1825). *The Spirit of the Age*. <http://www.fullbooks.com/The-Spirit-of-the-Age2.html>
- Hewitt, David (ed.)** (1981). *Scott on Himself*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1981. The Association for Scottish Literary Studies. Gen. ed. Douglas S. Mack.
- Hill, G. Birkbeck (ed.)** (1888). *Letters of David Hume to William Strahan*. Clarendon Press. The Online Library of Liberty. http://oll.libertyfund.org/EBooks/Hume_0223.pdf
- Kemp, Peter.** (1998). *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Quotations*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- McCarey, Peter.** (1987). *Hugh MacDiarmid and the Russians*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- McCracken-Flesher, Caroline.** (2005). *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McCrone, David.** (1992). *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*. London and New York: Routledge. International Library of Sociology. Ed. John Urry.
- Milton, Colin.** (2007). 'Past and Present: Modern Scottish Historical Fiction.' In Ian Brown et al. (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature. Volume Three. Modern Transformations: New Identities (from 1918)*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Renard, John.** (1999). *Islam and the Heroic Image: Themes in Literature and the Visual Arts*. Macon: Mercer University Press.
- Scott, Sir Walter.** (1975). *Ivanhoe*. Pref. and Gloss. W.M. Parker. London: Dent. Everyman's Library.
- _____. (1976). *Rob Roy*. Pref. and Gloss. W.M. Parker. London: Dent. Everyman's Library.
- _____. (1978). *Waverley*. Pref. James C. Corson. London: Dent. Everyman's Library.
- Scott-Moncrieff, George.** (1947) *Edinburgh*. London: B.T. Batsford.
- Shaheen, Mohammad.** (2002). *The Modern Arabic Short Story: Shahrazad Returns* (Second Edition). Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smout, T.C.** (1972). *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*. London: Collins/Fontana.
- Twain, Mark.** (1883). *Life on the Mississippi*. Boston: James R. Osgood. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/twainlife/twain.html>
- Young, Douglas.** (1965). *Edinburgh in the Age of Sir Walter Scott*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965. Centers of Civilization Series.