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**Affiliation and Filiation: The Nation-Family in Scott's
Ivanhoe and *Anne of Geierstein***

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Abstract

This article studies Sir Walter Scott's use of the family-as-nation trope in *Ivanhoe* and *Anne of Geierstein*. The importance of this trope in his figuration of nationhood is discerned by carrying out a close reading of the texts and placing them in their historical context, which primarily consists of a comparison with Edmund Burke and Maria Edgeworth. Consequently, his position is revealed as being between that of Burke and Edgeworth and the significance of his status as a non-English British writer is seen as a source of his opinions. His use of father-son and father(-figure)-daughter couples allows him to examine the existence of multi-lateral ethnicities as well as to express his attachment to a patriarchal view of descent and filiation, whilst simultaneously permitting hybridization through marriage to foreign women. By comparing the manner in which he uses the trope in the two novels, it is seen that his opinion on hybridization changes from one that permits men to be hybrids to one that restricts it to women. Thus Scott permits filiation to both men and women, but limits affiliation to women.

Keywords: nation-family trope, father-son pairs, father-daughter pairs, filiation, affiliation, hybridity, patriarchal

1. Introduction

The novel has frequently been seen as a genre that deals with questions of nationhood.¹ Indeed, its engagement with national concerns and being, whether explicit or implicit, whether of the cultural-nation or the nation-state,² is so great that possession of a national literature has been seen as an essential pre-requisite to nation formation (Anderson, 2006). Both *Ivanhoe* and *Anne of Geierstein* engage readers in national histories, allowing them to enter into the world of past compatriots and therefore conceive of the nation as a continuity over time. In these two works, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) widens his exploration of the nation in geographical terms from Scotland to England and the Continent. In addition, he also travels further back in time than he had done in the Scotch Novels, in order to investigate the processes of national formation during the Mediaeval Period when the communities that would become the modern nations of Switzerland and England were being formed. In his survey, he uses the family as a metaphor for national filiation and affiliation by using the “national marriage plot”³ which allows him to express his opinion that nations are hybrid formations based on blood that absorb extraneous elements. Indeed, by dealing with both nations and lateral ethnicities, the Continental novel illustrates Scott’s conception of nationhood as a relationship between those born into a national community and those who join it of their own free will.

Scott draws on the trope of the nation as family that had been put forward in the eighteenth century both by novelists such as Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) and political thinkers, particularly Edmund Burke (1729-97). Both of these writers draw on eighteenth century ideas of local attachment and philosophical cosmopolitanism, but they draw different conclusions from their contemplations. Born and educated in Ireland, Burke was a career politician determined to integrate himself into the British Establishment. Consequently, he was anxious not to be regarded as an Irish outsider, particularly as he was, contrary to popular belief, not a recent Anglo-Irish settler, but of old Irish stock and both his mother and father-in-law, as well as other relatives, were Roman

Catholics (Cruise O'Brien, 2004). As a result, rather than shocking the Establishment with new-fangled ideas on nationhood, he famously posits the nation as a large extended family embodied in the relationship between its royal rulers and the people. For him the nation has impermeable borders because it is something that is inherited from the past. Edgeworth, on the other hand, being a pedagogue unconcerned about her place in the Establishment, posits "national difference as anchored in education ('culture' rather than 'nature')", allowing her to cross national borders and redefine nationness in terms of hybridity (Wohlgemut, 1999, pp. 645, 647). Thus, she considers the nation to be an inclusive community founded on culture and education, while allowing descent to combine with culture to give rise to multiple national allegiances.

Like Edgeworth, Scott uses the nation-as-family trope in order to examine the relative importance of descent, miscegenation and education (or culture) in national belonging. Consequently, an analysis of it is essential to the understanding of his conception of nationhood which is itself of great significance. Given that literature plays such an important role in the formation of modern national identities and that Scott profoundly influenced every nineteenth century European literature, both major and minor, the possibility that his thinking on national configuration and development influenced those European national identities that were emerging in their modern form during his lifetime is extremely high. Indeed, it is well known that his treatment of Scottish national identity is of fundamental importance to the development of its modern form. This particular issue, however, does not lie within the scope of this article because the Scotch Novels rather than his English and Continental ones constitute the site of his analysis, whereas this paper studies the nation-as-family trope in *Ivanhoe* and *Anne of Geierstein* which are about English and Swiss history respectively.

A close reading of the novels set in the context of other late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century texts reveals that Scott occupies a position located between the traditional one classically

formulated by Burke and one that emerged in the late eighteenth century and is to be seen clearly in the works of Edgeworth. Scott's concept of nationhood can, like those of the two other writers, be traced in part to his own personal circumstances. Born and educated in Scotland, he became a leading Edinburgh lawyer and figure of the Scottish and British Establishment. Naturally conservative by temperament, his love of tradition did not blinker him to the necessity of change. Instead, his study of history led him to the great topic of his fiction, to use David Daiches' (1971) words, "tradition versus change". His work shows that his love of tradition was tempered by the belief that it should be discarded once it outlives its usefulness. This was an opinion that he put into practice in his daily life. He crammed his beloved Abbotsford full with antiquities and spent his life studying the past, yet he was not averse to innovation; indeed Abbotsford was the first private house in Scotland to be lit by gas. At the same time, his contemplation of Scotland's position as part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain rather than an independent kingdom led him to realize the importance of miscegenation and hybridization as well as descent to national belonging.

2. The Conservative, Patriarchal Concept of Nationhood

Scott's novels clearly uphold the traditional patriarchal system with their (usually) male protagonists being rewarded at the end with marriage in typical eighteenth century fashion. Likewise, his conception of the nation is based on the traditional one of blood as defined by Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary and classically formulated by Burke. The word "nation" is derived from the Latin *nasci*, to be born. Johnson (1979) is fully aware of the word's etymology and defines it as "a people distinguished from another people; generally by their language, origin, or government" (No page.). Although he adds the ideas of language and government to his definition, origin, or put more loosely, race, is clearly an important part of his understanding in which nation, race and family are words with similar meanings. A "race", he further writes, is "a family ascending ... A family descending ... A generation; a collective family... A particular

breed.” While a “family” is somewhat more wide-ranging: “those who live in the same house; household... Those that descend from one common progenitor; a race; a tribe; a generation...” (*ibid.*). In this context it is hardly surprising that many nineteenth and early twentieth century writers used the two words “race” and “nation” as synonyms (Connor, 1994).

Burke’s conservative interpretation of the nation very clearly draws on the same concepts. In *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, first published in November, 1790, he sees national feelings as “a patrimony derived from [our] forefathers”, with people “begin[ning their] public affections in [their] families” (Burke, 1981, p. 244). In other words, the family is the point at which national feeling starts with the sentiments of attachment extending outwards in concentric circles of family, locality, province and country (p. 84). The king is the nation’s father, the queen, its mother, and the population, their children. Put succinctly, Burke uses the idea of inheritance to come up with a tightly bordered, exclusive nation based on blood.

In keeping with Johnson’s definition of both words and Burke’s understanding, Scott also uses the terms “race” and “nation” more or less interchangeably in *Ivanhoe*: both the Normans and the Saxons are “races” (e.g. pp. 16, 31, 127) and their differences are described as “national” (p. 17). Furthermore, at the Passage of Arms he explicitly uses the word “race” to mean “family” (pp. 79, 90). In the English novel, the greater the stress on descent and family history at the beginning, the more family identity is associated with the national (Parrinder, 2006). Scott does this by constantly stressing Cedric and Rowena’s Saxonness, as well as their membership of Saxon royal and noble families, with Cedric’s “uninterrupted descent from Hereward, a renowned champion of the Heptarchy” and Rowena “the descendant of Alfred” (pp. 30, 39). Furthermore, this conflation of the terms also results in his use of physical appearance to indicate both national and family filiation. Descriptions of the principal characters uniformly include their colouring. Thus the English and those who are potentially English have

colourings that are invariably variations on Cedric's "large blue eyes [and] long yellow hair" (p. 34). Rowena is also blue-eyed and possesses "profuse hair, of a colour betwixt brown and flaxen", Gurth has red hair and a yellow beard, while the historically red-headed Richard of England has curly "yellow hair [and] blue eyes" (pp. 44, 143). Genetic manifestations of nationality are not, however, limited to the English characters for those foreigners who are not able to be absorbed into the English nation, such as the "sable" tressed Rebecca and the "almost Negro black" Templar, are dark (pp. 24, 72).

Scott also employs the family trope to indicate national evolution along cultural lines. In this case he uses father-son pairings to uphold the patriarchal foundation of nationhood by ensuring that the male line is the fount of nationality. In *Ivanhoe*, Cedric and Ivanhoe both represent Englishness: the father, the old-fashioned Saxon, pre-Norman Conquest variety and his son, the new, Norman-Saxon hybrid, post-Conquest type. Scott constantly stresses Cedric's Saxoness (or old-fashioned Englishness) through his lifestyle, behaviour and opinions. Indeed, the reader is first introduced to him as:

stand[ing] up so sternly for the privileges of his race, and is so proud of his uninterrupted descent from Hereward, a renowned champion of the Heptarchy, that he is universally called Cedric the Saxon; and makes a boast of his belonging to a people from whom many others endeavour to hide their descent. (p. 30).

His dogged devotion to the ways of his forefathers blinds him, however, to his son's essential Englishness. Thus, for instance, Cedric is an accomplished fighter with traditional weapons, while Ivanhoe has mastered the new, Norman fighting techniques (Scott, 1998). Ivanhoe's heraldic device, "a young oak-tree pulled up by the roots, with the Spanish word *Desdichado* signifying Disinherited" (p. 82) draws on the oak-tree imagery that is constantly associated with the English (both Old English Saxons and the new hybrid Saxon-Normans) throughout the

novel.⁴ Here, however, the oak is uprooted, not dead, implying that a new mode of being Saxon (that of the modern, hybrid Saxon-Norman Englishman) is being undertaken by the bearer.

The same sort of father-son pairing can also be found in *Anne of Geierstein*. Here the Philipsons' devotion to the House of Lancaster causes them to peregrinate in disguise throughout Europe, trying to drum up support for the dethroned Queen Margaret and her family. As in the former novel, the two Englishmen represent the evolution of Englishness with the father being old-fashioned and his son more modern. Nevertheless, in this work, the differences between them can be more explicitly put down to the generation-gap common to all cultures, rather than a profound alteration in the conditions of English filiation. Scott pays little attention to this aspect of the Philipsons' relationship because his main interest is in the novel's eponymous heroine whose relationship with the younger Philipson allows Scott to consider the issues of hybridity and lateral ethnicities.

3. The Looser, Hybrid Concept

Maria Edgeworth was primarily a pedagogue who popularised her father's more academic work and ideas on pedagogy. Although she was a member of the Anglo-Irish landowning class, she was not interested in her status within the Establishment and conceived of her novels as didactic works. This was as true of her Irish Novels as it was of the fiction she wrote for children. Based in Ireland and at pains to administer their estate properly, the Edgeworths condemned Anglo-Irish absentee landlords who simply milked their Irish lands for their own profit. Consequently, novels such as *Castle Rackrent* and *The Absentee*, first published in 1801 and 1809 respectively, were written with the explicit aim of instructing them to treat the Irish peasants on their land better.

Whilst she considers that education will ameliorate the Irish condition, it also has another function in her novels. In effect, for Edgeworth, education, or culture, is the cornerstone of national identity and thus national identity is not an exclusive space, but an open one

(Wohlgemut, 1999, p. 647). She had been born in England and only moved to Ireland when her father inherited an estate in County Longford in 1782. Thus, English-born and educated, but resident in Ireland, she was able to conceive overwhelmingly of the nation as a community with permeable borders that relied more on culture and education than descent in order integrate its members. In other words, affiliation is more important than filiation in the construction of national identity.⁵

Edgeworth's *The Absentee*, which of course inspired Scott (Scott, n.d.),⁶ treats the (inter)national implications of marriage by dealing with the nation allegorically by using the "national marriage plot". However, Regency verse tales also made use of the nation-family trope. These poems present as a paradigm the plight of an only daughter of a (widowed) father, portrayed as "a venerable but vulnerable patriarch", "often tied to that of her father, often a representative of traditional loyalties, now in the process of being superseded" (Franklin, 1989, p. 275). Moreover, in these tales, the threat of a family dying-out is explicitly assimilated to "a struggle for the preservation of nationhood" (*ibid.*). Scott further elaborates on the trope by having his heroines usually marry their fathers' allies (Franklin, 1989).

When Scott turned from poetry-writing to novel-writing, he changed genres, but was concerned with the same issues which he was able to develop in greater detail in the longer narrative space afforded by the novel. In those under discussion, Scott adds sophistication to the family-nation trope in two ways. Firstly, he introduces father-son pairs. Secondly, he complicates the father-daughter relationship by varying the successful suitors' nationalities and presenting the reader with a number of couples within one work. Such complexity parallels the development of his treatment of nationality whereby he extends his thought from the narrow, if for him vitally important, field of Scottish nationality to that of national (af)iliation in general. Through the evolution of the father-daughter model he contemplates the issue of hybridity and, while adhering to a Burkian notion of a hereditary nation, complements it with what he sees as the necessary infusion of new, foreign blood.

Whilst the idea of a family explicitly includes the idea of descent, families can incorporate foreigners into the national body through marriage. Moreover, Scott's use of noble and royal families allows him to indicate his awareness that national or ethnic groups can take different forms from that of the territorial or blood communities, for the nobility and royalty of mediaeval Europe formed what is today called a lateral ethnicity. Admittedly his understanding of this particular sort of ethnicity is not the same as that of twenty-first century theoreticians, nevertheless, he is deeply aware of it. Furthermore, he was acutely aware of the possibility of belonging to more than one community. Although Edgeworth was English and British by birth and education, she was Irish by adoption which leads her to give more weight to the cultural elements in the formation of national allegiance than Scott who was both Scottish and British by birth but did not have any adopted national affiliations. Thus, his sense of national belonging includes both multiple national loyalties and a strong idea of descent, in contrast to Edgeworth's multiple allegiances that arise from an educational and cultural matrix that leaves a relatively small place for the concept of descent.

Of the two novels it is *Ivanhoe* that gives the most importance to descent. Here the family-as-nation trope takes a relatively straightforward form with two obvious father(-figure)/daughter couples, namely Cedric and Rowena and Isaac and Rebecca and a very minor, and less obvious, pair in Ulfreid and her father Torquil Wolfgang. The latter couple do not contribute to Scott's discussion of (af)iliation. Rather Ulfreid functions as a living paradigm of the fate that awaits Rebecca should she succumb to the Templar's advances.

Cedric and Rowena are the most important of these father-daughter pairs. From the opening pages onwards Cedric is constantly identified as a die-hard Saxon, the "champion of his race" who doggedly resists the Normans and cherishes plans to continue the Saxon royal house by marrying Rowena, his ward and the hereditary Saxon queen, off to the highest-born Saxon, Athelstane. His son Ivanhoe, however, is the fly in the ointment. Not only is he, in Cedric's eyes, horribly Normanised, but

he has also sinned by daring to love Rowena and so has been banished. Rowena “is as dear to [Cedric] as if she were his own child”. (p. 30). Cedric’s love for her may well stem in part from the natural affection between a child and the person who brings her up, for even though he stifles his love for his son, the text does not present any pressing reason for us to believe that he is devoid of affection for either of the children he has raised. Nevertheless, Rowena’s role as the personification of Saxon culture constitutes the underlying cause of his love and concern for her. The way in which she concretises the hostility between Saxon Cedric and the lustful Norman Templar in the opening scenes indicates this role. Despite Prior Aymer’s warning to the Templar that Cedric guards his ward “with the most jealous care”, (p. 31), the soldier-monk cannot keep his eyes off her, drawing down an admonishment from her guardian.

In *Anne of Geierstein*, however, Scott complicates the trope by giving his heroines two fathers, each of whom is identified with a different country. Anne is brought up by her uncle, the stolidly Swiss Arnold Beiederman, while her biological father, Arnold’s younger brother Albert, has gone off to his estates in Germany. In this situation, Scott debates the respective importance of culture and descent to nationhood and clearly reiterates the importance of patriarchy to his thinking. Anne and Arnold’s lineage is explained at length in the opening chapters, thus firmly establishing the link between family and national identities. As in *Ivanhoe*, the dynasty’s survival depends on the marriage of its one surviving daughter. However, while Rowena marries the representative of the new English nation, Anne marries a foreigner, thus ensuring that her family dies out in the direct line. Since Arnold has renounced his noble status in order to take part in Swiss republicanism, the family’s extinction clearly represents the replacement of monarchical, Austrian government in Switzerland by an indigenous republic that does not rely on a nobility to enforce its law. Anne, on the other hand, despite being raised in the democratic environment of her guardian’s family, places much more importance on her aristocratic heritage, just like her

biological father. From the moment that he reappears she obeys him unquestioningly, even if doing so means going against Arnold's wishes.

Whilst the nature of the relationships between Anne and her biological and adopted fathers certainly expresses Scott's belief in patriarchy and the greater significance of descent than culture, Scott's position is not the simple Burkian one that this would seem to imply. Rather, the situation is complicated by her mother's national (af)filiations and her own marriage to the younger Philipson which reveal the existence of the hybridization that takes place on a national level in lateral ethnicities that ensure the continuity and exclusivity of social classes in a multi-national context. Both Anne and her maternal grandmother marry foreigners from their own social class and go to live in their husbands' countries. The respect that Anne, and Scott, have for lineage is clearly reflected in her refusal to even consider Arthur as a prospective husband, although attracted to him, until his noble birth has been proved. Thus, Scott establishes the hybrid nature of the mediaeval European nobility and royalty as a lateral ethnicity. Anne and Arthur's marriage, allows the nobility of different countries to hybridize in national terms, while maintaining a strong patriarchal element, for she accompanies her husband back to his own country. Thus hybridization, which appears to go against the Burkian patriarchal concept of nationhood, occurs through the male line of the family-nation absorbing extraneous females. In other words, the patriarchal nature of western descent is upheld.

The importance of hybridization in Scott's thought is further reinforced by the story of Anne's grandmother who is left in Germany by her father. The story of the fair Persian who becomes the Countess of Arnheim, is thought to be a jinn and to have passed her magical powers down to her granddaughter plays the practical role of creating mystery and suspense in the novel. Nevertheless, it is also a device that intrudes the subject of hybridity into the narrative, for the Persian-German-Swiss Anne is a walking embodiment of hybridity. Thus, it reveals Scott's opinion on international marriages and their place in national

construction: miscegenation and the hybridization of blood subsequent to it are only allowed through the absorption of foreign females into a patriarchal community in which national belonging is passed down through the male line.⁷ In other words, national filiation is permitted to both men and women, but affiliation only to women.

By taking *Anne of Geierstein*'s depiction of national belonging into consideration, the problems that arise from Scott's apparent assertion that Ivanhoe and Rowena's marriage is interracial can be explicated. Their

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 type of the future peace and harmony betwixt two races, which, since that period, have been so completely mingled, that the distinction has become utterly invisible. (p. 398).

Many critics unquestioningly agree that the wedding represents the reconciliation of Saxon and Normans, (e.g. Wilson, 1984) but this begs the question of how the union of two individuals of Saxon blood can be posited as an interracial marriage.

One answer is of course the very wording of the passage which has the first half of the sentence specifically emphasize the wedding guests' racial origins, not Ivanhoe and Rowena's, with the two national communities "celebrat[ing]" the "nuptials", which means the wedding ceremony not the union of bride and groom. Nevertheless, it is "the marriage" that is "a type of the future peace and harmony betwixt two races" and "marriage" means the state of being married, not the wedding ceremony. While this is perfectly true, it is unsatisfying and does not address the fundamental problem of how two fully Saxon-blooded individuals give rise to a hybrid Saxon-Norman nation.

Here, the patriarchally-minded Scott faced a problem brought about by the very historical period in which the novel is set, a time when Norman men married Saxon women, but Saxon men did not marry

Norman women: that of showing that the modern Englishman is both a linear descendant of the Saxons through the male line, yet is also descended from the Normans. This difficulty was exacerbated by his use of the well-worn father-daughter trope for the endangered national culture. In fact, through Rowena's marriage to Ivanhoe Scott is trying to foreground patriarchal descent while allowing for cultural hybridization through the male line.

Ivanhoe forms part of a long tradition of English historiography in which the Norman victory over the English at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 is acknowledged, but English particularity and pride is retained by having the defeated population absorb the Normans and turn them, eventually, into Englishmen. Given that Rowena personifies old-fashioned Saxon culture and Ivanhoe its new form that has been modified by Normanization, their marriage can be seen as an instance of intercultural, if not international, reconciliation. Furthermore, it can be seen as reflecting the tradition that, as Ragussis (1993) so succinctly puts it, "in English history the Normans conquered the Saxons, in English historiography the Saxons conquered the Normans" (pp. 197-198).⁸ Thus, Scott makes the modern English the linear descendants of Saxons by blood and of Normans only through cultural hybridization. This is his attempt to preserve patriarchal descent patterns while allowing for cultural hybridization in the male members of the family. Unfortunately, however, his attempted resolution of the problem remains unsatisfying and problematic. The most that can be said for the passage is that the actual wedding itself is "a type of peace and harmony betwixt two races" because it brings the warring parties together in joyful celebration of the union of the hereditary Saxon queen with the Norman king's devoted companion.

Anne of Geierstein and the other Continental novels, all of which were published after *Ivanhoe*, show that Scott himself ultimately found this resolution of the latter novel's discussion of descent and hybridization inadequate and unsustainable. As a result, he abandons plots that include the marriage of foster-siblings or near relatives and

limits hybridization to female characters. Consequently, Anne marries a foreigner rather than her distant relative, the Bernese Rudolph Donnerhugel who can be regarded as the novel's only male hybrid. Rudolph's hybrid nature is cultural like *Ivanhoe*'s: he wears clothes made in the "German manner" and has been taught German fighting skills (p. 36). However, the evolution of Scott's views on hybridization is reflected in Rudolph's early death. Not only is a male cultural hybrid killed, but he is unmarried and childless. The narrative therefore forecloses any possibility of further hybridization through the male line.

Anne's marriage further emphasizes the importance that Scott accords to descent because it takes her to England. Over the previous century or so Switzerland had become the Helvetic Confederacy, a union of small, self governing democracies where an individual's lineage is unimportant. Given her attachment to her noble blood line, it is, therefore, highly significant that she marries another aristocrat who takes her to his own country where the system is still very much a monarchical one and thus where lineage is still of great importance. In this novel, therefore, we have a reversal of the situation in *Ivanhoe*. In the latter, a woman representing "pure" Saxon descent and culture marries a male hybrid, whereas in *Anne of Geierstein* a man representing "pure" English blood marries a female hybrid. This stresses Scott's renunciation of the position he takes in *Ivanhoe* and his attachment to a belief in the importance of descent through the male line which, in turn, leads to his refusal of male hybridity while, at the same time, allowing foreign blood and culture to be absorbed into a bloodline through marriage to foreign women.

After *Ivanhoe* Scott abandons the device whereby the bride and groom are either closely related or have been raised as siblings. Up until then, the many of the marriages contracted by Scott's heroes are almost incestuous in nature (Parrinder, 2006). Like many of the protagonists and their brides in Scott's verse romances, Rowena and *Ivanhoe* have been brought up more or less as sister and brother. Franklin (1989) sees this foster sibling relationship in the poetry as "a doubling of filial piety for

the patriarch" that, coupled with "domestic" love, leads to a desexualised marriage. (p. 276). Scott certainly pays only cursory attention to courtship. Indeed, he does not give us any love scenes between the two and we only learn of their feelings at second hand. By desexualising the relationship Scott emphasizes the female role as producers of national subjects. Rowena and Ivanhoe have formed a "mutual attachment" (p. 157), not a passionate relationship. Such an apparent lack of sexual attraction would seem to indicate that physical passion will not form an important part of their marriage. Rather, it will be used to ensure the continuation of the line. This view is reinforced both by the concern with which Cedric regards Rowena's marriage as being important because she will supply the nation with new generations. In the context of national figuration, the general absence of mothers in Scott's works is pertinent. All the brides and grooms in these novels have lost their mothers. The reason behind such a disproportionate mortality is simple: they have fulfilled their function of providing the nation with new members and so are no longer needed.

True as this is, the unease that the virtually incestuous nature of Rowena and Ivanhoe's relationship creates in readers serves another purpose: that of stressing the unhealthiness of a nation that relies totally on descent and refuses hybridity. In this regard, Scott's thinking on the matter developed over a period of years. In the poetry, all the young women who represent cultures and nations end up by marrying a near relation, often their guardian's son (Franklin, 1989). In contrast, in the mediaeval novels, of which *Ivanhoe* was the earliest, only one girl, Rowena, does so.

In the same novel, Rebecca's fate illustrates Scott's growing belief in the unhealthy nature of a nation that relies totally on endogamy. Isaac and Rebecca constitute a father-daughter couple that balances the Cedric-Rowena pair in the novel's narrative structure. In reply to contemporary criticism of his decision to marry Ivanhoe to Rowena rather than Rebecca, Scott (1978) justified himself on both historical and moral grounds, the former stressing the impossibility of a Christian marrying a

Jew in mediaeval England. The text itself, therefore, always foregrounds the love interest between Ivanhoe and Rowena and refuses to countenance a similar interest between the gallant knight and Rebecca. Thus, it stresses Rebecca's struggle with her love for Ivanhoe and his refusal to think of her in any other terms than that of a fellow human being. So, for example, on learning of the attack on Torquilstone in which they are all held captive, Ivanhoe only worries about "protect[ing] Rowena and her father" and Rebecca interprets his lack of concern for herself as a just punishment from Heaven for "letting[her] thoughts dwell upon him" (p. 242). That Rebecca is in love with the novel's hero is not in doubt. Nevertheless, she constantly condemns her feelings for him on religious grounds. Finally, she and her father flee to Spain where she ends her days unmarried. Her unrequited and self-censured love condemns her to a life of solitude in which she is unable to fulfil her function of producing new members of the nation: Scott clearly judges the nation that relies solely on descent for generation.

4. Conclusion

Scott's divergence from the classic Burkian national model has been seen as arising directly from the different relationship between Britain and France that pertained in their lifetimes. In other words, Burke's tightly-bordered nation is a consequence of the threat posed by the French Revolution in the Irishman's old age, whereas by the time Scott wrote *Ivanhoe* France had been decisively defeated so such exclusiveness was not necessary to national survival (Parrinder, 2006). While this view is partly true, it neglects the fact that Scott first used the family-as-nation trope in his verse romances that were written during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The historical context certainly influenced their thinking deeply, but Burke, Edgeworth and Scott's status as writers from non-English parts of the United Kingdom plays a much greater role in the development of their conceptions of the nation than their positions vis-a-vis the French. While Burke, the anxious outsider, saw the nation as an exclusive community, Edgeworth, the moral Anglo-

Irish landowner saw it as an inclusive one. Scott combines both standpoints and formulates a position in between the two. In *Ivanhoe*, he attempts to combine patriarchal descent and hybridization in the male line, but the issue's unsatisfactory resolution leads him to modify his opinion in *Anne of Geierstein* from one that accepts hybridization in men to one that restricts it to women. Nevertheless, in both novels he occupies a half-way house between the mutually exclusive views of Burke and Edgeworth and this allows him to retain a traditional patriarchal view of descent while allowing for miscegenation and cultural evolution through hybridization. Through his use of the father-son and "father"-daughter pairs he foregrounds descent in national belonging, but permits miscegenation by allowing the nation's sons to marry foreign women. Thus, he is able to uphold the patriarchal descent and the paternal conception of national form, while simultaneously allowing hybridization.

Notes:

1. Patrick Parrinder (2006) deals with some of the theoretical implications of the novel's engagement with nationhood in his survey of the novel and English nationhood (Chapter 1).
2. Krishnan Kumar (2003) discusses the relationship between the two in his discussion of the formation of English national identity (pp. 22-23), while Parrinder points out that "the novel's affiliations are with the cultural nation", (p. 17).
3. This paper follows Edward Said's (1983) use of the term "filiation" to refer to national belonging arising from descent and "affiliation" to refer to national belonging arising from cultural and educational sources (p.17). For the term "national marriage plot" see Parrinder (2006, p. 32), and Trumpener (1997, p. 137).
4. Graham Tulloch's endnote (1998) explains that the Spanish word actually "unhappy or suffering misfortune" which, of course, aptly describes the indigenous Saxons' political position (p. 528).
5. Thus, Said's generalisation that the shift from filiation to affiliation took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is clearly refuted by her work, written at least three-quarters of a century earlier.
6. See also Brian Hollingworth's short discussion (1993) of Edgeworth's influence on *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*.
7. In this context, it is interesting that Scott himself was married to an upper class French woman who had fled the French Revolution.
8. The tradition of the "Norman Yoke" which posits the idea that Anglo-Saxon society gave its members various liberties that were suppressed by the Normans goes back until at least the 1650s. See Christopher Hill's (1958) important seminal discussion of this phenomenon (pp. 58-122).

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