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Barnaby Rudge *as A Historical Novel and Sir Walter Scott's Influence*

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Özet:

Dickens, Sir Walter Scott'tan bir hayli etkilenerek yazmış olduğu tarihi roman *Barnaby Rudge*'da Scott'un kullandığı tarihi roman özelliklerini kullanmıştır. Scott gibi Dickens da romanını yazmadan önce eserinin konusu olan Gordon Ayaklanması hakkında titiz bir tarihi araştırma yapmıştır. Dickens sadece tarihi olayın geçtiği zamanı ve yeri tam ve doğru olarak vermekle kalmamış, aynı zamanda tıpkı Scott gibi geçmişi doğru sosyal ve politik tanımlamalarla canlı bir şekilde yansıtmıştır. Dickens'ın Scott'a olan hayranlığı ve onu örnek alması ayrıca tarihi olayları günün olaylarına bağlamasına da neden olmuştur. Dickens'ın Gordon ayaklanması ile kendi döneminin olaylarından Chartist hareketi birbirine bağlamasının temel nedeni toplumun isteklerinin farkında olmayan Chartist hareketi liderlerine üstü kapalı bir mesaj vermek istemesidir. Bu iki roman yazarı arasındaki temel fark, roman yazma amaçlarında gizlidir. Scott okuyucusunu eğlendirmek için yazarken, Dickens bir mesaj vermek ister.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Charles Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge,* Sir Walter Scott, tarihi roman, Gordon ayaklanması, Chartist hareketi

Abstract:

Being highly influenced by Sir Walter Scott, Dickens practised some of the Scottian principles in his historical novel *Barnaby Rudge*. Like Scott, before writing his novel, Dickens carried out a detailed historical research on the Gordon Riots, that was the subject of his novel. Dickens not only gave the precise time and place of the historical event but also made the past vivid through accurate social and political descriptions in the manner of Scott. Dickens's admiration and imitation of Scott's techniques also led him to relate the historical events to contemporary ones. Dickens's major aim in this resemblance between the Gordon Riots and the historical event of his time was to give an implicit message to the Chartist Movement leaders who were really unaware of the demands of the society. The major difference between these two novelists lies in their aim of writing. While the former wants to entertain the reader, the latter tries to give a message.

Key Words: Charles Dickens*, Barnaby Rudge*, Sir Walter Scott, historical novel, Gordon riots, Chartist movement

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Charles Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), which is not widely known by his readers, is the first of his two historical novels. As J.C McNulty defines it, it could not unfortunately be as popular as his *A Tale of Two Cities*. (1859):

> *Barnaby Rudge* cannot be reckoned among the greatest works of Dickens- compared with them it seems quite a minor affair. It is, however, no real disparagement of any book to say it is less great than *David Copperfield* or *Bleak House*.

Moreover, McNulty states that:

> The story is not so great as *A Tale of Two Cities.* The subject is smaller and of far less importance. The French Revolution was an epoch-making event, as its effects were felt in civilised country. The Gordon Riots were a mere local revolt, the effects of which were not felt outside England, and scarcely outside London. (222)

In the light of this quotation it is clear that *Barnaby Rudge* did not receive much extensive consideration and appreciation by the critics of its time even in Britain. Moreover, a negative consideration came from abroad, from the United States as well. It was Edgar Allan Poe (1809-49), who in some of his articles glorified Dickens, in his article titled "Charles Dickens", he not only severely criticised Dickens's use of complex plot structure especially in *Barnaby Rudge* but also accused him of self-deception:

> Mr. Dickens has already deceived himself- that the soul of the plot, as originally conceived, was the murder of Haredale with the subsequent discovery of the murderer in Rudge- but that this idea was afterwards abandoned, or rather suffered to be merged in that of the Popish Riots. The result has been unfavorable. (238)

Poe did not understand the reason why Dickens "forcibly introduced" (236) the Gordon Riots into the plot structure of *Barnaby Rudge*. For Poe, it would have been enough to deal with the mysterious murder of Mr. Reuben Haredale and its consequences. In this case, the novel would not have been labelled as historical but a detective story. On the other hand, Dickens in a letter written to S. Laman Blanchard, dated 9 February 1839 clearly stated that "*Barnaby Rudge* ... is a tale of the riots of Eighty" (507), that is, it carries the traces of this historical incident.

As a matter of fact, Dickens had decided to write a historical novel as early as 1834; yet, he could not accomplish his desire until 1836. (Letters 38). In the May of 1836, Dickens was working on *Barnaby Rudge*'s prototype, *Gabriel Vardon: The Locksmith of London.* He mentions this in his letter written to his publisher John Macrone dated 9 May 1836:

> I shall have great pleasure in accepting from you, the sum of *Two Hundred Pounds* [sic] or the first Edition [sic] of Fiction [sic] (in Three Volumes of the usual size) to be written by me, and to be entitled *Gabriel*

> *Vardon: The Locksmith of London,* of which, not more than one Thousand Copies [sic] are to be printed. (150)

However, the novel did not appear until February 1841 mainly due to Dickens's dissatisfaction with his contracts. (Letters 369, Hollington 429) The writing of *Gabriel Vardon: The Locksmith of London*, renamed as *Barnaby Rudge* gave rise to some financial problems with Dickens's publishers; first with Macrone, then with Bentley (Letters 369). Yet, later on, Chapman and Hall published it in 1841 in *Master Humpries Clock* which was a " weekly periodical edited and written by Dickens" (Davis 238) and Dickens received 107.10 pounds for this particular piece of work, which was, as it seems, less than his expectations (Letters 652).

It is a well-known fact that a great deal of Victorian literature, verse or prose, was first published in periodicals or in monthly magazines independently and then published in individual volumes. The publication of almost all the novels of Dickens was no exception to the rule.

In the process of writing this particular work, Dickens, for the first time in his career, as he himself explains, "had departed from his own way" (1965 589). Until *Barnaby Rudge*, Dickens, in general deals with social abuses in his novels and stories which he enumerates as "child-labour, the police force, the Courts of Law, Government offices, inns, nursing, parliamentary elections, and education" (House 10). That is why, *Barnaby Rudge* can be considered unique. Newbury Read underlines this fact:

> *Barnaby Rudge* is Dickens's first serious departure from the contemporary scene. Before the appearance of the novel he had published some sixty-nine separate stories, four long books (*Sketches By Boz* (1836), *Pickwick Papers* (1836), *Oliver Twist* (1837), *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838), *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840), and three plays (*Public Life of Mr. Tulrumble, once Mayor of Mudfog* (1837), *The Village Coquettes* (1837), *Is She his Wife? Or Something Singular* (1838) ... , but here he was antedating his story- sixty-six years. This has always struck me as one of the examples- among many- of Dickens's character and courage. (55-56)

Another critic McNulty, who is known for his studies on Dickens, while sharing the same idea with Newbury Read, also brings forward Dickens's unique practice in *Barnaby Rudge*.

> Though *Barnaby Rudge* is in an unusual form it possesses Dickens's usual characteristics; his love of the poor, his tenderness to weak-minded, and his hatred of cant, injustice and persecution. It is a novel of which, if written by another, would be considered a masterpiece. Overshadowed by his greater works, it is still a great and noble work. (102-103)

It can easily be deduced from the quotations above that Dickens, without giving up his prominent features, had started to use some of the characteristics of the historical novel.

The publication of *Barnaby Rudge* in three-volume form which was popularised by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) (Case 129) seems to reflect Dickens's great admiration for this particular British novelist. Scott " influenced Dickens ... to write historical novels and to include a broad social panorama of his time in his works" (Davis 348). Being a devoted follower of Scott, Dickens admired his forerunner so much that he even stated that he was very proud of marrying a "daughter of a gentleman who was the most intimate friend and companion of Sir Walter Scott, one of the most eminent among the Literati of Edinburgh" (Letters 144).

Moreover, having read almost all of Scott's works and being highly influenced by them (Letters 66), Dickens seems to have decided to try his hand in writing a historical novel with *Barnaby Rudge* which, according to Case, "owes a great deal to Scott" (128). Additionally, Case furthers his argument by saying that Scott's *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), which is about the Porteous Riot of 1736, and high treason had actually given Dickens the inspiration for *Barnaby Rudge* (128) which in its turn depicts the Gordon Riots of 1780 and the concept of high treason (Walters 145). Like Scott, Dickens had also done research on the events of the period and the subject he was dealing with. In a letter written to Mrs. Dickens dated 5 March 1839, Dickens informs his wife as follows: "... I [was] reading a book of celebrated trials for High Treason, which I bought to-day [sic] which has interested me deeply" (Letters 523). The editors of *The Letters of Charles Dickens* make the issue clear that the book that Charles Dickens mentioned in this particular letter was most probably *Trials at the Old Bailey, 1779-1780*, including The Gordon Riots, and therefore quite relevant to *Barnaby Rudge*. At Charles Dickens's death, this, with other volumes of books, was in the Gad's Hill Library where most of Dickens's books were donated (Letters 523). It is evident from this fact that taking Scott as a model, Dickens undertakes the necessary research in order not to distort historical facts, which "did not yield easily to fictional treatment" (Orel 8).

Thomas Rice in his article "The Politics of *Barnaby Rudge*" explains Dickens's interest in the Gordon Riots as follows:

> Dickens's interest in the Gordon Riots may have been stimulated by any number of factors, including the periodic anti-Catholicism which punctuated public opinion during his youth, especially whenever the Catholic Emancipation Act was debated in Parliament. (428)

Being a sharp observer of the social and political events in the middle of which he was living, Dickens could not be indifferent to the religious controversies in Britain at that time. It seems that the Gordon Riots of 1780 arose because of the Protestant-Catholic conflict that had always endangered Britain since the reign of Henry VIII. This long-lasting religious conflict culminated in a riot known as the Gordon Riots with the first Catholic Relief Act of 1778.

In order to understand how successfully Dickens gave the social and historical panorama of the age with which he was dealing and to what extent he followed in the footsteps of Scott in his historical novel writing process, especially in *Barnaby Rudge*, it would be best to look at the causes and effects of the Gordon Riots of 1780.

The Gordon Riots of 1780 which "did not spread beyond London" (Porter 119) can be evaluated as the outcome of the first Catholic Relief Act of 1778 (Haydon 355)

which had removed some disabilities imposed on Roman Catholics. Christopher Hibbert explains these disabilities as follows:

> The English Catholics had until recently been subject to severe and unmerited restrictions not only as a proscribed religion but also as citizens. So severe, in fact, were many of these restrictions and so outdated, that the laws in which they were contained had been, by tacit agreement, largely ignored. And this was so, even the more enlightened Members of a Protestant Parliament, and neither expected nor requested by the Catholics themselves did not contemplate relief for Catholics. (16)

The Relief Act of 1778 granted Catholics only limited relief:

> Catholics were now able, openly and without restrictions, to purchase and inherit land, which had previously not been possible except by legal trickery and conspiracy, their bishops, priests and schoolmasters were no longer liable to be imprisoned for life and the offer of a reward 100 pound to an informer who obtained the conviction of a priest was withdrawn. ... All the other disabilities imposed upon Catholics and their complete exclusion from the political life and places of trust remained as before. (Hibbert 19)

Although, the Catholics were granted very few reliefs, this still caused a reaction in the Protestants. With the fear of losing religious privileges, various Protestant associations, both in England and Scotland, were formed for the defence of the Protestant faith. The major aim of the Associations was to put pressure on the Parliament "into repealing the Relief Act by drawing up petitions" (Haydon 355). The refusal of the Parliament, though thousands of signatures were collected, caused upheaval among the Protestants (Porter 39). It was a Scottish man called Lord George Gordon, the head of the London Protestant Association, who "came to the public notice as a champion of Protestantism" (Hibbert 22) with his speeches in the Parliament on the Catholics as a lower class of people and the Protestants as the nobles (Hibbert 23-24). Moreover, he organised the Protestants against the Relief Act.

Although the major reason behind the Parliament's refusal of the Protestant demands seems to be social, it is actually religious. As McNulty states:

> The Government was in a difficulty. The war in America was going badly, General Burgoyne had just been defeated at Saratoga, and there was danger of war with France. Soldiers were wanted, and it was hoped that by removing the disabilities concerning the holding of land and by amending the Attestation Oath and making it one of fidelity to the Sovereign, Catholic recruits might be attracted to the Army. (97)

However, though the Parliament seemed to be giving civil rights to Catholics, its real aim was religious discrimination in disguise. In other words, the Parliament was in reality trying to use the Catholics for its own advantage.

The refusal of their demands by the Parliament, angered the Protestants and they rioted between 2-9th June 1780 under the command of Lord George Gordon (Rude 67) with the famous slogan "No Popery". The first attacks were made on the chapels which were used by the Catholics as parish churches. Then on 7th June which was called 'Black Wednesday', Newgate Prison was stormed with the purpose of releasing the Protestant rioteers (Darvall 81), and not only the houses which belonged to the Catholics but also the houses which belonged to the government officers were burnt down by the uncontrollably angry and at the same time drunken mob (Brush 28 Hibbert 53).

A Susan Burney who eye-witnessed the horror of the Gordon Riots presented her feelings in a letter to her friend Fanny in June 1780:

> ... there was terrible rioting about the streets, and that the Mob were breaking several windows in Queen Street, and threatning to set fire to some of the Houses because they were inhabited by Roman Catholics- The Eveg. before they burnt down a Chapel in Moor Fields, and several poor Catholic's Houses- ... we heard violent shouts and huzza's from Leicester Fields ... the windows and even the window Frames are however almost all demolished, and it cuts a terrible figure. I was terrified and shocked extremely at the rage. (1-2)

The important thing that should be especially mentioned here is the anger of the mob and the inefficiency of the government in controlling the situation. Historians and history books bring forward the name of the Lord Mayor of London, Brackley Kennett, who was incapable of the protection of the city and its inhabitants (Babington 23 Hibbert 48). Due to his inefficiency in controlling the riot, there occurred a harsh battle between the military forces and the rioteers as stated by Castro:

> The military, freed from submission to the civil power, had no hesitation in using their muskets and sabres or in going in with the bayonet. They repulsed attacks on the Bank, broke up a mob at Black Friars with a Bayonet charge, cleared the streets of Holborn, and fought a violent battle with the rioters in the Strand. (44)

As can be seen, the authorities were determined to bring the rioters under control. "The Riot Act was read, and troops were brought in from Wells and Devizes, which had the effect of subduing the mob" (Darvall 88). By Saturday 10th June, peace had been restored in London by force.

The historical causes and effects of the Gordon Riots will shed light on Dickens's technique in the depiction of the riot and will clarify to what extent Dickens followed Sir Walter Scott in the process of historical novel writing. Even the very first paragraph of *Barnaby Rudge* "suggests that what follows will be a historical novel in the tradition of Sir Walter Scott developed" (Case 127); that is "the precise evocation of time and place" (Pearson 84) is of importance. Hence, Dickens, following Scott's technique, also prefers to establish the precise time and place of the historical action that he uses in his novel:

> In the year 1775, there stood upon the borders of Epping Forest, at a distance of about twelve miles from London- measuring from the Standard in Cornhill, or rather from the spot on or near to which the Standard used to be in days of yore- a house of public entertainment called the Maypole; which fact was demonstrated to all such travellers as could neither read nor write (and at that time a vast number both the travellers and stay-at-homes were in this condition) by the emblem reared on the roadside over against the house, which, if not of those goodly proportions that Maypoles were wont to present in olden times, was a fair young ash, thirty feet in height, and straight as any arrow that ever English yeoman drew. (9)

Here, Dickens draws his first detailed picture of the place where the main action is going to take place. That is why, Maypole Inn preserves its importance throughout the novel since it is depicted as the place where the private and public lives of the characters are presented. First, the Maypole is used as the medium in which the main characters of the novel are introduced to the reader and later on, its burning down by the Protestant rioters is used to depict the destruction of the upheaval. As Barbara Stuart states:

> The first half of the novel focuses on the private lives of those who live in and around the Maypole Inn. Dickens reserves until later the historical or political elements which will disrupt those private lives... In *Barnaby Rudge*, Dickens links private lives to public events to show that individual moral errors is at the heart of social and political upheaval. (29)

At this point, it should be noted that the response to Edgar Allan Poe's criticism of Dickens's introduction of the Gordon Riots to the plot structure of the novel, comes from a twentieth century critic. According to Stuart, Dickens especially puts emphasis on the individual moral errors in the first half of the novel in order to underline the fact that in a society, if individuals cannot preserve their moral values, social and political upheavals are inevitable.

Starting from the very first paragraph in the first chapter of *Barnaby Rudge,* Dickens's continuous description of the Maypole Inn in detail by referring to the historical background of Britain can be considered as an implicit reference to the religious controversies of the past.:

> [The] Maypole was an old building, ... The place was said to have been built in the days of King Henry VIII; and there was a legend, not only that Queen Elizabeth had slept there one night ... upon a hunting excursion ... [Moreover] Maypole was a very old house, perhaps as old as it claimed to be, and perhaps older, which will happen with houses of an uncertain, as with ladies of a certain age... the old house looked as if were nodding in its sleep. Indeed, it needed no very great stretch of fancy to detect in it other resemblances to humanity. (9-10)

Here, if the Maypole can be taken as suggestive of the Protestant-Catholic conflict, its significance becomes clearer. In other words, while depicting the Maypole, Dickens was

implicitly giving the outline of this conflict which began during the reign of Henry VIII who "made England politically a Protestant country" (Schultz 89), and during the reign of Elizabeth I, there were efforts to solve this conflict (Schultz 102). Hence, it would not be wrong to state that the Maypole Inn witnessed this religious conflict long ago and is likely to witness it again.

After establishing the time and setting, Dickens, in his historical novels, tries to place the story within a social and cultural context similar to Scott who created a kind of "literary expression of the modern historical consciousness" (Brown 195). In this respect, George Lucaks in his book entitled *The Historical Novel (1962)* makes the meaning of Scott's historical consciousness clear and explains Scott's difference from his predecessors:

> What is lacking in the so-called historical novel before Sir Walter Scott is precisely the specifically historical, that is, derivation of the individuality of character from the historical peculiarity of their age. (19)

As G. M. Young explains, what makes Scott important and different from his contemporaries "was his ability to make the past vivid" (98) through "an original and powerful cultural and intellectual force ... "(Raleigh 49). Thus, following Scott's technique Dickens, in *Barnaby Rudge*, continues to build up the social and political panorama of the age through his vivid description of Lord George Gordon, the leader of the Gordon Riots, and his importance in society:

> By forty thousand men of this our island in the wave (exclusive of women and children) rivet their eyes and thoughts on Lord George Gordon: and every day, from the rising up of the sun to the going down of the same, pray for his health and vigour. (243)

With this quotation above, for the first time, Dickens introduces the leader of the London Protestant Association and tries to establish his significance among Protestants. Going one step further, Dickens sets the religious situation through his protagonist's point of view. Lord George Gordon talks to his secretary John Grueby;

> You surprise me, Grueby,' said the gentleman. ' At a crisis like the present, when Queen Elizabeth, that maiden monarch, weeps within her tomb, and Bloody Mary, with a brow of gloom and shadow, stalks triumphant- (244)

Therefore, like Scott, Dickens was able to make the past vivid through accurate social and political descriptions of the age he was interested in (Chesterton 66). Thus, both Dickens and Scott "excelled at description, in other words, at [historical] scene drawing" (Orel 19). At this point, it would not be wrong to state that Dickens's powerful and vivid descriptions are the result of his admiration and imitation of Scott's descriptions. Most probably, the more Dickens takes Scott's accurate social depictions as a model, the more he gets used to it and makes this characteristic a major quality of his novel writing. In order to attain accuracy and create the true historical

circumstances, both Scott and Dickens did research on the characteristics of the decades with which they were dealing (Lukacs 108).

Following Scott in relating historical events to contemporary ones, Dickens particularly relates the Gordon Riots to the Chartist Movement of his own day. The aim of this practice is to give a message. In the failure of Chartism, the role of the leaders was undeniable. Similar to the role of Lord George Gordon in the Gordon Riots, William Lovett and Feargus O'Connor were the leading figures of the Chartist Movement which began in England in 1837 (Finn 4). Contrary to reality, Dickens depicts the leader of the Gordon Riots, Lord George Gordon, as a little distant to the mob, and as insecure. When Gordon talks to his secretary, his insecurity is very apparent:

> Did I move them Gashford' said Lord George.
>
> Move them my Lord! Move them! They cried to be led on against the Papists, they vowed a dreadful vengeance on their heads, they roared like men possessed –'
>
> 'But not by devils,' said his lord.
>
> 'By devils! My lord! By angels.'
>
> 'Yes – oh surely- by angels, no doubt,' said Lord George, thrusting his hands into his pockets, taking them out again to bite his nails, and looking uncomfortably at the fire. 'Of course by angels - eh, Gashford?'
>
> 'You do not doubt it, my lord?' said the secretary.
>
> 'No- No,' returned the lord. 'No. Why should I? It would be decidedly irreligious to doubt it- wouldn't it Gashford? (248)

At this point, by depicting Lord George Gordon as an isolated leader who did not know the needs of his supporters like the leaders of the Chartist Movement, Dickens tries to give another message, that is, if the leaders cannot manipulate the event and his followers successfully, they will be left alone in the future. When Lord Gordon is arrested and put in jail, after the Gordon Riots is over, he questions the events and becomes aware of the fact that he is all alone.

> Of all forty thousand men, not one remained to bear him company. Friends, dependents, followers – none were there. His fawning secretary had played the traitor; and he whose weakness had been goaded and urged on by so many for their own purposes, was desolate and alone. (512)

In the Chartist Movement, just like the Protestants did before the Gordon Riots, a petition was drafted to the Parliament demanding six major political issues to be changed. They were "universal manhood suffrage; annual parliaments; equal electoral districts; secret ballot; payment for MP's; the abolition of property qualifications of MPs " (Filson 29). The same process was repeated three more times in the years of 1839, 1842, 1848 with an increasing number of signatures (Finn 6). Unfortunately, not a great success was achieved in either the Gordon Riots or the Chartist Movement. The petitions were refused by the Parliament and both of the events turned to be failures, and before 1858 the Chartist Movement died (Finn 29).

Though both the Gordon Riots and the Chartist Movement were considered to be failures, they preserved their significance historically: "[the Chartist Movement] was a mass movement comprising a large proportion of the working classes, supported more in the manufacturing communities than in the urban centres, and stronger in the provinces than in capital" (Finn 5), and "[i]n the 1830s, the growth in population in Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Glasgow, the inadequateness of the working places in accordance with this population and ... the mechanisation of the production had a serious impact on the lives of the labouring classes" (Cole 222). By the 1840s, the conditions of the working class got worse and they were forced to work longer hours with lower wages; this meant that:

> the working class had been robbed for the fruits of its labour and was undergoing a diminution in its quality of life. It appeared to many workers that the grievances could be redressed only by their securing influence over the political system. (Finn 5)

The Gordon Riots influenced a great number of people in Britain and tnhrough which it is understood that "a sense of belonging to a class, a sect or a culture with a history and a future" (Case 145) is of importance to people.

Up to this point, the resemblances between Scott's and Dickens's approaches to their material has been analysed in the process of historical novel writing. Although Dickens's writing reflects many elements of Scott's novel writing, he also differs from him in some aspects. The most important difference that should be clarified between these authors is in the sequence of depicting the historical scenes. Scott generally introduces the historical event in the beginnings of his novels and later pays special attention to the developments of the characters, whereas Dickens, especially in *Barnaby Rudge*, prefers to introduce the mob scene in the last third of the novel, approximately five years after the narrative opens (Pearson 59). By contrast, Dickens makes his major characters like Hugh, Dennis, Sim Tappertit and Barnaby Rudge known to his readers in the first half of the novel and later especially focuses on the riot and the mob scenes.

In *Barnaby Rudge*, Dickens uses an eclectic method practising Ranke's, and especially Tocqueville's and Michelet's ideas intuitively in order to enhance the effect of the Gordon Riots. Dickens prefers to give the causes and effects of this particular incident by dealing with the psychology of both the Catholics and Protestants. Here, Dickens, practises the idea of Tocqueville who believes that in order to apprehend the importance of a historical event, the spirit of a society should be understood (Mitchell 32).

Dickens follows not only Scott's, Michelet's and Tocqueville's principles to a great extent in this particular novel, but he also practises Ranke's principles. Ranke was quite against Scott's views. Despite widespread recognition of Scott's genius as a storyteller, the reaction against Scott as a theorist and as a practitioner of the historical novel came from Leopold Von Ranke whose reaction to Scott was "taken to heart in England as well as Germany" (Orel 15). For Ranke:

> Historians thought it possible to recapture the past through careful research; an artist no less than a historian was obliged to real life, and a

> historical novelist, if he were to be too seriously, had to respect the basic materials that he shared with historians. (Krieger 51)

What Ranke severely criticises in Scott's historical novel writing is Scott's use of imagination in history. The following statement by Avroms Fleishman clearly explains Scott's concept of the meaning and the function of a historical novel:

> The historical novel is an exercise of the imagination on a particular kind of object. It is an imaginative portrayal of history. The historical novelist provokes an d conveys, by imaginative sympathy, the feeling of how it was to be alive in another age. (Fleishmann 4)

At this point, the tasks of a historical novelist and a historian should clearly be identified. The responsibility of a historical novelist is to depict a "coherent picture that makes sense" (Fleishman 5) but, on the other hand, the task of a historian is to "construct a picture of things as they really were and of events as they really happened" (Fleishman 5). In his preface to *Ivanhoe* (1817), Scott brings forward an explanation to his understanding of the historical novel indicating that:

> Still severe antiquary may think that, by intermingling fiction with truth, I am polluting the well of history with modern inventions, and impressing upon the rising generation with false ideas of the age which I describe.
>
> It is true that I neither can nor do pretend to the observation of complete accuracy, even in matters of outward costume, much less in the more important points of language and manners. (x)

Scott is not concerned with the true reflection of the historical details in his novels. What Scott does is to use those details only as medium to analyse the customs and manners of the people with whom he is dealing. As his main concern is not history but how these historical facts influence the personal lives of the individuals, the accurateness of the details is of no importance to Scott.

In *Barnaby Rudge*, Dickens does not approve of Scott's use of fictional details and prefers to use factual details in his fiction, most probably, with the aim of placing his sources into a historical context which is an important Rankean principle. Another important Rankean principle, which Dickens practised, is his insistence on the systematic research of the facts in his fiction. In other words, it can be said that, Dickens eagerly works out the actual events and characters and portrays them as true to reality as possible in *Barnaby Rudge*.

Dickens not only uses the actual dates of the riot, 2-10 June 1780, in *Barnaby Rudge* but also pays special attention to use the actual date of the other historical event, that is Lord George Gordon's being invited to be the president of the Protestant Associations, in order to preserve some of the realistic details of his work**.** As he writes "in this month of March, 1780, Lord George Gordon, [was] the Association's president" (257). The history books reflect that Lord Gordon "was invited by James Fisher, the secretary of the London Protestant Association to become its President... on March 1780" (Hibbert 23) Dickens's providing the exact dates of even the minor events shows

his devotion to the systematic research on his subject, and unlike Scott, his giving importance to the truthfulness of the details.

Dickens also uses the actual symbols of the riot. In reality, the blue cockade was used in order to make the Protestant rioters recognise each other. Christopher Hibbert narrates the actual event as:

> On the morning of Friday, 2 June 1780, about 60,000 members of the Protestant Associations, many of them wearing their adopted symbol, a blue cockade, in their hats, assembled in St. George's Fields with the object of presenting a petition to Parliament. (Babington 21)

The symbol of the blue cockade is systematically repeated throughout the novel whenever it is thought to be necessary, and an imaginary character John Grueby "(who had a great blue cockade in his hat, which he appeared to despise mightily) brought in the portmanteau he had carried on his horse..." (247), is presented as a devoted Protestant who wears this blue cockade. While Dickens is depicting the mob's march to the Parliament in order to present the petition, he again uses this particular symbol to differentiate between the rioters and the ordinary people "for the proportion of those who wore blue cockades, to those who were dressed as usual was at least forty or fifty to one..." (331). Dickens's major aim in using the actual details in his fiction is most probably to catch the attention of the readers and at the same time to give information about the historical event that he is dealing with.

Another incident in which Dickens reflects the Rankean principle is the time when the mob marches to the House of Commons in the delivery of the Protestant Petition. Dickens lets "the Mob [be] divided from its first assemblage into four divisions: the London, the Westminster, the Southwark, and the Scotch" (337). Strangely enough, in reality, through the advertisement which appeared in several newspapers, the Protestants were called to be with the mob which would march in four different divisions:

> For the sake of good order and regularity, that this Associations, on coming to the ground, do separate themselves into 4 distinct divisions, viz. the London division, the Westminster division, the Southwark division, and the Scotch division. (Hibbert 31)

What is important here is that Dickens is faithful to the presentation of the event and he does not let the sequence of the divisions be changed. This also shows that Dickens did a well organised research on the facts, and, following the Rankean principle, used the details accurately without changing a single point. Thus, Dickens, unlike Scott, pays special attention to presenting the details precisely.

The most outstanding factual detail Dickens uses is related to the petition. Dickens makes known the rejection of the Protestant petition which asks the repeal of the Relief Act by the Parliament as "the petition is rejected by a hundred and ninety-two, to six. It's quite final' (348); When the result is checked from historical sources, it can be found that Dickens is, once more, loyal to the facts. Christopher Hibbert conveys this historical fact as "of the one hundred and ninety-eight Members who had managed to get to Parliament that day only six voted with Lord George" (46). At this point, it can

straightforwardly be claimed that while he was writing *Barnaby Rudge*, Dickens partly following the Rankean principles, did a serious and systematic research on his subject; he not only used the known facts and details in his fiction but also the details which could hardly be remembered by the public and which needed efficient research to be known.

The last important factual detail that Dickens uses is about Lord George Gordon who " was charged with high treason but was acquitted on the grounds that there was insufficient proof of his treasonable intent" (Babington 27) after the Gordon Riots. In *Barnaby Rudge*, Dickens depicts the same event by using the actual date of Lord George Gordon's trial:

> Lord George Gordon, remaining in his prison in the Tower until Monday the fifth of February in the following year, was on that solemnly tried at Westminster for high treason. Of this crime was, after a patient investigation, declared not guilty; upon the ground that there was no proof of having called the multitude together with any traitors or unlawful intentions. (568)

In the light of all these issues which Dickens tries to depict and analyse in B*arnaby Rudge*, it would not be wrong to assume that in order to convey important messages to his readers through fiction, Dickens not only takes Scott's technique as a model to follow in his historical novel writing process, but also develops his own eclectic method in the manner of mainly Tocqueville and Michelet, and to a certain extent, Ranke. Hence, Dickens did not hesitate to use fiction and his own interpretation within historical facts with the aim of depicting the social causes and effects of these facts and analyse a historical event both from social and historical points of view while reflecting the psychology of the society and by paying special attention to factual details.

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