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Supplementary Notes to Chapter One

Imagining Great Britain: Union, Empire, and the burden of history: 1800-1830

Note to Reader: These supplementary notes consist primarily of extended references and explanations that were cut from the original book manuscript for reasons of space. In a few instances, however, they constitute more extended subordinate narratives (with accompanying references), which are related to the book's themes, but were left out because they would have deflected from the central argument and analysis of the volume. These supplementary notes are coordinated to the footnote numbers for chapter one of *Liberalism, Imperialism and the Historical Imagination: Nineteenth Century Visions of a Greater Britain*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011).

2. For Maria, this Catholic uprising likely activated memories of a previous episode, during the uprising of 1641, when her great, great, grandmother had been stripped naked, and thrown out of the house. *The Black Book of Edgeworthstown and other Edgeworth Memories, 1585-1817*, ed., Harriet Jessie Butler and Harold Edgeworth Butler, (Faber and Gwyer, London, 1927), 12.

3. The case for envisioning 1798 as a potentially revolutionary moment in British history is forcefully made in E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (Vintage, New York, 1963), and more recently in Roger Wells, *Insurrection: The British Experience, 1795-1803*, (Sutton, Gloucester, 1983), as well as some of the essays in Terry Brotherstone, Anna Clark and Kevin Whelan, *These Fissured Isles: Ireland, Scotland and British History, 1798-1848*, (John Donald, Edinburgh, 2005). The strength of popular loyalism is emphasized in Malcolm Thomis and Peter Holt, *Threats to Revolution in Britain, 1789-1848*, (Archon, Hamden, 1977); Linda Colley, *Britons: Making the Nation*, (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992), and some of the essays in Mark Philip ed., *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991). Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution*, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1979) stakes out a middle ground.

4. William Pitt's arrogant conviction that he could personally solve the Irish Question deserves some extended explanation. It was the outgrowth of a sense of

entitlement and presumption which had followed him from birth. As the favorite son and namesake of eighteenth century Britain's greatest Empire builder, the younger Pitt seemed predestined to complete his father's work. Born, in 1759, amidst the bonfires of victory, he spent his early childhood in the precincts of power. He learned to walk, talk, read, and write while the glories of Plassey and Quebec were still exhilarating and fresh. By the time he entered his teens, however, it became clear that the Empire could not be managed in his father's way. The American revolt indicated that mercantilist policies could no longer be imposed on distant colonies, a point reinforced by the Irish Volunteer movement between 1779 and 1782. Reading Adam Smith as an undergraduate, the younger Pitt became convinced that the Empire could be reorganized on free trade principles. In fairly short order, he got the chance to put these ideas into practice as he became Prime Minister in 1784, just short of his twenty-fifth birthday. Stanley Ayling, *The Elder Pitt: Earl of Chatham*, (London, Collins, 1976); J. Holland Rose, *William Pitt and the National Revival*, (Gill and Bell, London, 1912), 1-112; John Ehrman, *The Younger: The Years of Acclaim*, (Dutton, New York, 1969), 1-187, 217-328.

After making his mark with a burst of ambitious domestic fiscal reforms, Pitt turned to imperial matters. His India Regulating Act – passed during his first year as Prime Minister – was a milestone in transforming the East India Company from a mercantilist commercial monopoly into a rationalistic colonial administration, centrally controlled along utilitarian lines, and subject to periodic Parliamentary oversight. Seven years later, the Constitution of Canada was correspondingly transformed. Here, the aim was not to create another India, but to avoid another United States. The French and English speaking territories were disjoined, and limited Home Rule was given, separately, to each. At the same time, efforts were made to create two colonial aristocracies, as checks on American style democracy, and to attach the colonies more firmly to the British Crown. Rose, *Pitt and the National Revival*, 216-40, 432-53; Ehrman, *Pitt: Years of Acclaim*, 188-216, 355-466; Vincent Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-93*; vol. II, *New Continents and Changing Values*, (Longmans, London, 1964), 7-224, 662-781.

When it came to Ireland, Pitt recognized that the situation was more complicated. Between 1779 and 1802, Ireland's "Patriots" had risen up to demand their nation's independence. Chastened by the debacle which had just occurred across the Atlantic, the Westminster politicians could scarcely object. Still, important questions remained: could the British authorities exert their habitual executive authority through the military and civilian officials in Dublin Castle? Could these genteel, pampered, Protestant revolutionaries plausibly claim to represent Ireland's Catholics, who constituted three quarters of the population? Vincent Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-93*: vol. I, *Discovery and Revolution*, 493-649; James Kelley, *Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish Politics in the 1780s*, (Cork University Press, Cork, 1992).

Pitt's first impulse on taking office was to approach the problem of Anglo-Ireland from his economic, Adam Smithian frame. Since Irish elites complained of their

exclusion from British and colonial markets, he proposed to integrate them fully into the British economy through a free-trade treaty. Though the idea was promising, the timing was not right. English manufacturers blanched at the prospect of competition from a country where labor was deemed to be so cheap. Clearly, the integration of Ireland into Britain would be no easy task. Harlow, *Second British Empire*, I, 558-649; Rose, *Pitt and the National Revival*, 241-66; Ehrman, *Pitt: Years of Acclaim*, 188-216.

For the rest of the 1780s, Pitt turned his attention to other matters. The free trade treaty, which had eluded him in Ireland, was successfully negotiated with Britain's historic enemy, France. A new era of peace and prosperity, it seemed, was at hand. Under the Smithian banner of free enterprise, ancient rivals could bury the hatchet, and open up their internal markets to the mutual benefits of all. In the end, of course, this eirenic vision was shattered by the radical phase of the French Revolution. The Republic, which executed the King and instituted the Terror, also repudiated a foreign policy based on peace and free trade. Ehrman, *Pitt: Years of Acclaim*, 467-571; John Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt: The Reluctant Transition*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1983), 3-260; Rose, *Pitt and the National Revival*, 321-43; J. Holland Rose, *William Pitt and the Great War*, (Bell, London, 1911), 1-117. Yet, as late as 1792, when Britain and France were on the brink of war, Talleyrand could still urge Pitt to maintain neutrality, so that these "two free powers" could march hand in hand, and "and become the arbiters of peace or war for the whole world." Rose, *Pitt and the Great War*, 47. When Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* was first published, in 1791, Pitt was dismissive. Ehrman, *Pitt: Reluctant Transition*, 80. Only during the following two years did he (like so many other propertied Englishmen) become implacably hostile. Particularly alarming to British officials like Pitt was the fear that this radical infection might spread across the Channel. When the French armies began exporting Revolution to the continent, Britain's client, the Netherlands, was quickly overrun. Under these circumstances, Pitt and his ministers concluded that there was no alternative to war. Thompson, *English Working Class*, 17-25; Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, 99-202.

As many historians have noted, the entire tenor of Pitt's administration underwent a sharp change after the War commenced. From being proactive and progressive, it became reactive and retrograde. All thought of constitutional reform went out the window, as did the dream of free trade, and the prospect of reducing the national debt. Suddenly, strategic considerations and the resources of Empire became important for a nation which now depended for its very survival on overseas trade. Pitt himself acknowledged the new reality only grudgingly. Once he understood that the War would be long and that the Revolution had strengthened (rather than weakened) France, his own approach became increasingly draconian: harsh repression at home and mobilization abroad became the order of the day. As the French *levée en masse* transformed the nature of warfare during the 1793-98 period, Pitt's Government struggled to mount an effective response. The challenge was to adapt French methods of resource mobilization without the radicalization of the social structure that accompanied these methods across the Channel. Ehrman, *Pitt:*

The Reluctant Transition, 207-542; Rose, *Pitt and the Great War*, 118-281; Goodwin, *Friends of Liberty*, Thompson, *English Working Class*, 172-5, 478-84

It is in this context that we must understand Pitt's response to the events of 1798. The initial retort to insurrection was brutal repression, but Pitt recognized that, over the long run, repression was not enough. Ireland had become too essential to the British state and society to be treated as a colony. Somehow, the Irish Parliament would have to be made to consent to its own abolition, and Ireland would have to be incorporated directly into an expanded United Kingdom. Here, of course, the Scottish precedent was crucial: The Union of 1707 had turned a weak, impoverished, fractious and politically disloyal border region into an integral and dynamic constituent of Britain – an arsenal of empire and an engine of economic growth. *Parliamentary History*, XXXV, 1800-01, (Hansard, London), 40. See also Rose, *Pitt and the Great War*, 365-430; Geoghegan, *Act of Union*, 1-76, 10-11, 29-30, 75; Bolton, *Irish Act of Union; Parliamentary History*, XXXIV, 261-6, as well as Pitt's Adam Smithian answer to those who feared that free trade would endanger local industries. "It was indifferent," he contended, "in what part of the empire any given manufacture was likely to flourish," *Parliamentary History*, XXXIV, 467. The relevance of the Scottish precedent for understanding the prospects for Anglo-Irish Union was a central element in the parliamentary debate. See Pitt's opening speech, *Parliamentary History*, XXXIV, 242-91, especially, 287. See also comments by Dundas, 346, Hawkesbury, 304, and especially, the long speech by Sylvester Douglas, 827-935, which centered almost entirely on this theme. For a modern formulation of this analysis, see Colley, *Britons*, 105-31, 321-3.

In Pitt's view, there was no reason why a similar scenario could not play itself out in Ireland, with similar results. "We must look to this," he argued, "as the only measure . . . which can calm the dissensions, allay the animosities, and dissipate the jealousies which have unfortunately existed between Ireland and Britain." Only through complete political unification would it be possible to "communicate to the sister kingdom the skill, the capital, and the industry which have raised this country to such a pitch of opulence." Since England was now becoming an industrial nation, she needed grain, wool, and cattle, which Ireland could profitably provide. Political unification would "give her [Ireland] a full participation of the commerce and Constitution of England." It would "unite the affections and resources of two powerful nations" and thereby "place under one public will the direction of the whole force of the Empire." *Parliamentary History*, XXXV, 39. In order to obtain the benefits of Union, Pitt acknowledged, much suspicion and mistrust would have to be overcome. It would be necessary to demonstrate that this "union of a great nation with a less" was not itself merely colonialism under a different name: "We must show that we are not grasping at financial advantages, that we are not looking for commercial monopoly; and we must show that we wish to make the Empire more powerful and more secure by making Ireland more free and more happy." *Parliamentary History*, XXXV, 40.

It does not seem to have occurred to Pitt that this desire “to make Ireland more free and more happy” might require some acknowledgement of the sad history of her unfree condition under centuries of English rule. All of Pitt’s speeches on unification were upbeat and forward looking: Let bygones be bygones: Focus on the future, or (if history must be brought in) on the reassuring Scottish precedent. Pitt’s speeches in the House of Commons on the Anglo Irish Union are in *Parliamentary History*, XXXIV, 242-91, and XXXV, 39-50. Other leading speeches in the House of Commons in favor of Union are those of French Laurence, Henry Addington, Benjamin Hobhouse, Earl Temple, and Sylvester Douglas, *Parliamentary History* XXXIV, pgs, 411-443, 449-467, 467-76, 482-511, and 827-935, respectively.

Of course, the one difference, which even Pitt could not ignore, was the question of religious diversity. In Scotland, as in England, Protestantism was well established as the national religion, and Roman Catholics were a tiny minority. In Ireland, by contrast, the overwhelming majority of the population was Roman Catholic. In much of the countryside (outside Ulster) Protestantism was limited to the landlord elite. Even Pitt had to recognize that Ireland and Scotland were not the same. Where pre-union Scotland was Protestant and (at least in the Lowlands) already substantially integrated into mercantile capitalism, Ireland, even a century later, was (excepting Ulster) overwhelmingly Catholic and agrarian. Subsisting in a social structure distorted by generations of violence and conquest, the typical Irish peasant continued to eke by a bare survival. Whatever surplus could be squeezed from him was handed over immediately to the grasping tenant, who was himself then squeezed by the rapacious and grasping Protestant landlord. Rural Ireland, in other words, had not only a different culture and religion, but also a different and far less capitalist economic and social structure than existed anywhere else in the British Isles. To bring Scotland within the constitutional compass of an anglocentric Britain was to include within the larger geo-political structure a region that was culturally and socio-economically similar, if not exactly the same. By contrast, any constitutional measure of inclusion which genuinely aimed to create a British Ireland, would also have produced a Great Britain that was itself fundamentally changed. Louis M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660*, (Batsford, London, 1972), 26-133; Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation, The Catholic Question, 1690-1830*, (Barnes and Noble, Savage, Maryland, 1992); Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1760-1830*, (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, 1996); Geoghegan, *Act of Union*, 4, 77-155, 162-4; Oliver MacDonagh, *Ireland*, (Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), 5.

Pitt’s solution to this dilemma was to argue that Anglo-Irish unification should be accompanied by ‘Catholic Emancipation’ the granting of full civic and electoral rights to the property-owning Catholic middle class. It is hard to say how deeply Pitt was committed to the principle of Catholic Emancipation. While the Act of Union was being shepherded through the Irish Parliament neither he nor his cabinet colleagues breathed a word about it in public. Pitt had indeed made promises in private to leading Irish Catholics. When the King absolutely refused to endorse

Catholic Emancipation, after the Act of Union had been safely passed, Pitt considered it sufficiently a matter of honor to resign his post. Geoghegan, *Act of Union*, 130-226; Rose, *Pitt and the Great War*, 411-53; Ehrman, *Younger Pitt*, III, 495-533.

Two years later, however, when he returned to power to lead a new war effort, the matter of Catholic Emancipation was quietly dropped. Rose, *Pitt and the Great War*, 454-570. Ehrman, *Younger Pitt*, III, 604-64. It was not hard for many of the Irish (especially those who were Catholic) to believe that they had been duped, and given the worst of all possible worlds: direct, authoritarian rule from the soldiers and bureaucrats in Dublin Castle, without even the pretence of a legislature that could express the nation's will. Under the promise of multi-national inclusion, Ireland had been excluded from self-determination more completely than ever before. MacDonagh, *Ireland*, 1-42.

5. For Richard and Maria Edgeworth's analysis of the dysfunctions of Irish society see *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Begun by Himself, and Concluded by his Daughter, Maria Edgeworth*, 2 vols, (Irish University Press, Shannon, [1820], 1969), especially II, 1-42. According to Maria, "wherever he [the landlord] turned his eyes, in or out of his house, damp, dilapidation, waste! appeared," II, 2. "Alternately as landlord and magistrate, the proprietor of an estate had to listen to perpetual complaints, petty wrangling, and equivocations, in which no human sagacity could discover truth, or award justice. Then came the widows and orphans," II, 2-3. In the end, she concluded that "little can be done by any private individual to alleviate the misery necessary in the passage from one state of civilization to another. But whatever any one proprietor can do, he ought to attempt," because many private experiments would, when aggregated, lead to significant results. II, 18-9.

7. Given his strong belief in the underlying premises of Lockean psychology, Mr. Edgeworth envisioned his role as providing the requisite rewards and incentives to encourage thrift, productivity, and market maximization among what he perceived as a backward and dissolute Catholic tenantry: subdivision of plots would be discouraged, scientific farming would be promoted, and exemplary workers would be granted tenant right. By treating these simple and impetuous people with kindness and firmness -- refusing to submit to their prevarications, while simultaneously demonstrating sympathetic concern -- it would be possible to prepare the Irish peasant to compete in the modern market world. Marilyn Butler, *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972), 78-145; Tom Dunn, "A Gentleman's Estate Should be a Moral School': Edgeworthstown in Fact and Fiction, 1760-1840," in Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran eds., *Longford: Essays in County History*, (Lilliput, Dublin, 1991), 95-122.

9. The starting point for any study of Maria Edgeworth is Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*. Other useful introductions to eighteenth and early nineteenth century Irish literature and its social context can be found in Terry Eagleton, *Crazy John and the Bishop, and Other Essays on Irish Culture*, (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, 1998); *Heathcliffe and the Great Hunger*, (Verso, London, 1995) W.J. McCormack, *Ascendancy and Tradition in Anglo-Irish Literary History from 1789 to 1985*, (Oxford University Press, 1985), 1-96; Norman Vance, *Irish Literature: A Social History*, (Blackwell, Oxford, 1990), 1-117; and Julian Moynihan, *Anglo-Irish, the Literary Imagination in a Hyphenated Culture*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995), 4-135; and Barry Sloan, *The Pioneers of Anglo-Irish Fiction, 1800-1850*, (Barnes and Noble, 1986), 1-50. See also, Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 45-145, especially 85-7; and Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *The Memoir*, I, 331-92.

10. Like many of the other women fiction writers who were emerging during this period Maria Edgeworth got her start in writing didactic stories for children. This work began as a collaboration with her father: a story well told in Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 1-174. Butler shows how the death of Maria's mother, when she was six, and her father's re-marriage turned both she and her elder brother into difficult, angry children. If the brother was never able to surmount these feelings, Maria took advantage of an opening that occurred fortuitously, in 1780, when her stepmother died. Impressing her father with her diligence and intelligence, she interested herself in his theories and became an increasingly indispensable partner in his educational work. Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 176-398.

In 1782, the family's removal back to Ireland gave Maria further opportunities for working with her father. On the estate, she accompanied him on his visits to the tenants, keeping the rentbooks and serving as *de facto* agent. In the library, she helped with the instruction of the thirteen younger children that her irrepressible father (now on his fourth wife) had produced. From teaching it was a natural progression to writing. Initially, she devoted her energies to turning out a string of instructional tales about the adventures of two fictional children, Henry and Lucy. Then she wrote two textbooks, *The Parent's Assistant*, and *Practical Education*, in collaboration with her father. As her two spoiled elder brothers sank into sullen dereliction, Maria's star in the family correspondingly rose. "You have become every year more agreeable to me," her father exclaimed. "I am not more than a little elated by the success of our joint endeavors to turn the vivacity of genius to the sober certainty of useful improvement." Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 56-8, 76, 145-74, quote on 92. This account mentions only the live children in the family, younger than Maria. Richard Edgeworth produced a total twenty-two children, *Black Book*. See insert after page 259.

11. The Catholic skeleton in the Edgeworth closet was Maria's great, great, great, great grandmother, who was born a Catholic and, after converting, reverted back to her original faith. So zealous did she become, that she cursed her own Protestant

children. Another distant cousin of Maria's converted to Catholicism and became the priest who administered last rites to Louis XVI, at the scaffold, *Black Book*, pp. 9-10, 73-121.

13. Notwithstanding his utter simplicity on the subject of the Rackrents, Edgeworth makes it clear that Thady is not stupid. Not only does he possess a vast reserve of local folklore and popular culture, he also exhibits knowledge of Irish law that would make a barrister proud. Thady's low class characters always preface their statements with the expression "Please Your Honor," when that is the last thing they actually have in mind.

14. And yet, the "good humored smile" that Edgeworth hoped to put on her readers depends on their conviction that these were, indeed, "tales of other times." Safely consigned to the nostalgia of history, the atavistic, dysfunctional characters that populate *Castle Rackrent* could be enjoyed innocently as harmless figures of fun: hence Edgeworth's haste to reassure the reader that "the race of Rackrents has long been extinct in Ireland." This, however, is unpersuasive. Her own notes make it clear that in 1800, on the eve of the Union, many Thadys, Sir Kits, Sir Condys, and even Sir Murtaghs still abounded. Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*, "Notes". So, far from explaining how a society like that of Ireland could be united with England, *Castle Rackrent* merely re-poses the question in a more pointed form. Clearly, Edgeworth and her father believed that what Ireland needed was more landlords like themselves -- enlightened, well educated, well endowed, and well intentioned -- who would remake the country to resemble what was best in England, without sacrificing her indigenous peoples' more attractive features. Somehow, the people of Ireland ought to be set on a more progressive course of British integration without losing the warmth, the vivacity, the hospitality, the gift for language, and the poetic feeling, which made them more sympathetic characters than their colder counterparts across the Irish Sea: hence the *Essay on Irish Bulls* as a sequel to *Castle Rackrent*.

16. As Maria makes clear from the opening pages of her preface, her own aim in *Castle Rackrent* is to justify the ways of the Irish to the British novel reading public. Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*, "Notes." The innovative structure of the book, with its racy dialect narrative, followed by sober, explicatory notes, testifies to the centrality of this purpose. As the sales figures would indicate, in this regard, the novel was a great success. "A very pleasant, good humored and successful representation of the eccentricities of our Irish neighbors," the *British Critic* proclaimed. Quoted in Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 338. For the reaction in the midlands, see Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 188. *Castle Rackrent* went into five editions before its final inclusion in Edgeworth's *Collected Works*. Pitt was an admirer, but many Irish readers did not like it. Since publishers and booksellers did not generally keep data on their customers, it is very difficult to obtain accurate information on the socio-economic

profile of Edgeworth's readers, or on the way in which they understood the material that they read. Nevertheless, some intriguing hints can be obtained from reviews. Thus, in 1804, *The Edinburgh Review* differentiated Edgeworth's readers from the "millinery misses and apprentices of our country towns," describing them as "the great and respectable multitude of English tradesmen, yeomen, and manufacturers The well educated in the lower and middling orders of the people." *Edinburgh Review*, 4, (1804), 329-30.

20. Edgeworth's novel can be read on several levels. In her own mind, it was first and foremost a moral tale (based on Lockean associational psychology) about the importance of experience and education in the formation of character. Glenthorn's indolence and passivity is the result of a faulty upbringing, which has fitted him only for a life of idleness and incapacity. When his circumstances change, and he becomes self-dependent, his energies and abilities are dramatically aroused. Glenthorn is thus transformed, by dint of enterprise and application, into a man who finally earns the right of power and wealth into which he had erroneously assumed he had been born. Once again, the unspoken usurpation of conquest is deflected, by making the usurper legitimately earn his ill-gotten gains. Butler, "Introduction" to *Ennui*, 1-56, emphasises this point.

At the same time, *Ennui* is a novel about the prospects for educating the Irish people. Precisely because they do not suffer from any hereditary taint of racial inferiority, their backwardness must be attributed to defective social arrangements. It is therefore reasonable, on Lockean grounds, to demand their re-education in less dysfunctional ways. Yet, it is precisely when she turns to the question of social arrangements, that Edgeworth loses control of her plot. Throughout most of the book, the main exponent of popular moral and behavioral reform is Glenthorn's Scottish Presbyterian agent Mr. McLeod. McLeod is a "hard-featured, strong-built, perpendicular man," whose cool demeanor and quiet self-possession initially elicits Glenthorne's distrust. When the landlord showers gifts and gratuities on his tenants, the dour Scotsman disapproves: "I doubt whether the best way of encouraging industriousness is to give premiums to the idle."

I did not in the least understand what Mr. McLeod meant: but I was soon made to comprehend it, by crowds of eloquent beggars who soon surrounded me: many who had been resolutely struggling with their difficulties, slackened their exertions, and left their labour for the easier trade of imposing on my credulity. The money I had bestowed was wasted at the dram shop, or it became the subject of family quarrels; and those whom I had relieved returned to my honour, with fresh and insatiable expectations. All this time my industrious tenants grumbled because no encouragement was given to them; and, looking upon me as a weak, good natured fool, they combined in a resolution to ask me for long leases, or reduction of rent. Edgeworth, *Ennui*, 180-1, 190.

The Earl of Glenthorn is placed in a bind. His tenants want him to "reign over them" in paternalistic fashion, but when he tries to oblige them, the results are similar to the Rackrent case. What these people need, Edgeworth suggests, is an educator and an improver like her father -- a leader who, by subjecting them to the rigors of market competition, will teach them to discipline and "reign over" themselves. Since the landlord, Glenthorn himself, has not yet internalized this lesson, he is hardly capable of instructing his people. By default then, this task falls to the solidly bourgeois agent McLeod. Again and again, this methodical Scotsman tries to show these Irish peasants the virtues of Adam Smith. He attempts to inculcate honesty, industriousness, and self-reliance into a population which has eked by for centuries through a combination of temporizing, blind traditionalism, double-dealing, and debt. Edgeworth, *Ennui*, 179-84, 189-201, 214-17

Since McCleod's program for reform is that of Edgeworth and her father, it is worth considering why, in her novel, he cannot make it work. The first and most obvious problem is that of religion. In McLeod's model school (as in Mr. Edgeworth's), Catholic and Protestant children sit side by side, and the curriculum steers clear of all controversial questions of doctrine and theology. But this is an anomaly -- a rather forced and artificial cohabitation -- which all the surrounding circumstances seem to belie. For the Edgeworths, as for Pitt, the answer to Ireland's religious divisions was to grant Catholic emancipation and civic equality. Unlike Pitt, however, they were fully cognizant that this would be no panacea for all the ills and inequalities of Irish life. Maria placed a great deal of hope on Catholic emancipation to cure Ireland's problems by redressing the legitimate grievances of its religious majority. "We may hope," she wrote to an American friend, "that we are at this moment (1825) on the eve of a great national benefit. We hope that what is called Catholic emancipation will be granted this session by the English Parliament." Nevertheless, the real benefits of Catholic emancipation would be social and economic, rather than political and religious, in her view. "If this be done, the people will be contented and quiet. English capital, now overflowing will flow over here, set industry in motion all over this country, and induce habits of punctuality, order and economy -- virtues and happiness which have for centuries been unknown to the despairing oppressed Irish population," Maria Edgeworth to Rachel Lazarus, May 2, 1825, in Edgar E. MacDonald, *The Education of the Heart: The Correspondence of Rachel Mordecai Lazarus and Maria Edgeworth*, (UNC Press, 1977), 74-5.

Far more intractable are the social, economic, and cultural class divisions between the Glenthorns and the vast mass of impoverished peasants over whom they rule. The Irish peasant as s/he appears in Edgeworth's pages is a strangely timeless, impervious creature. At his/her best, like Thady or Elinor (the nurse) s/he can be infinitely self-sacrificing and obstinately loyal. Like Joe Kelly, however, s/he is an inveterate performer and dissembler -- unreliable, duplicitous, and capable of the darkest treachery. Long accustomed to being "reigned over" by an alien and arbitrary caste, this crafty, mercurial, and infantilized populace reveals itself again

and again, as temperamentally unsuited to the self-discipline that McLeod wants to inculcate. Edgeworth, *Ennui*, 155-60, 184-88, 243-8, 253-83.

McLeod himself, of course, suggests one possible solution: the transformation of Irish society from within, by the rise of an autonomous entrepreneurial bourgeoisie. This, however, is precisely the solution which Edgeworth will not allow. Again and again, she makes it clear, McLeod can accomplish little until he can enlist Glenthorn in support of his schemes. Indeed, tenants, subtenants, and landlords are all initially suspicious of McLeod. They prefer the more familiar agent, Mr. Hardcastle, who humors the tenants and subtenants by playing to their prevarications, even as he lines his own and the landlord's pockets by racking up their rents. Edgeworth, *Ennui*, 184-201.

McLeod's problem is that he is operating in an anti-entrepreneurial culture. Until that culture is changed, he has no chance of success. Given Edgeworth's unwillingness even to consider the possible rise of an indigenous, improving Catholic bourgeoisie, it is not surprising that McLeod stands alone as the sole representative of his class. There are presumably some other middle class improvers in Dublin or Belfast, but we are not introduced to them. The only other character of this type is a Mr. Devereaux, who finds opportunities in Ireland to be so limited and discouraging that he is forced to seek employment overseas, in India or the West Indies. It is as though these distant colonies are to be infused with the ardent energies of Irish improvers, while Ireland itself is to be left to stagnate in a morass of decadent dysfunctionality. Edgeworth, *Ennui*, 201-43.

22. Owenson's next Irish novel, *O'Donnel: A National Tale*, 3 vols., (Garland, New York, 1979), originally published in 1814, is an interesting case study in the impossibility of giving the romance of Anglo-Irish reconciliation historical depth. When Owenson began, she intended to set her story in the tumultuous times of Elizabeth. However, she quickly realized that this would not work, as it was likely to inflame rather than mollify one or the other religious party. "When I fondly thought to send forth a dove bearing the olive of peace, I found I was on the point of flinging an arrow winged with discord." Quoted in Sloan, *Pioneers of Anglo-Irish Fiction*, 25. The historical romance that we shall soon see Walter Scott adopting in the Anglo-Scottish was simply not available to Owenson. As a result, she had to recast the entire story of reconciliation as a modern (and therefore largely implausible) fantasy.

24. It is perhaps symptomatic of the mindset of Edgeworth's readership, both in Britain and in Ireland, that she steered clear of any detailed account of her family's pioneering experiments in popular education, bogland reclamation, tenant right, and improvement incentives on their Edgeworthstown estates. These were briefly outlined in her *Memoir*, II, 1-42, but any detailed discussion was left out of the novels, except where it could be made the occasion for humor. Perhaps Edgeworth

thought that such technical matters would bore her readers. (See, *Ennui*, 254, for what might be interpreted as a gentle dig at her readers, via Glenthorn, along these lines). In the *Memoir*, Edgeworth depicts her father's policies as benefitting tenants and landlord alike. It would be interesting to know what the tenants thought about this system, which did offer them greater economic value and security, but only if they abandoned their traditional customs and mores. See also, Dunn "A Gentleman's Estate," 103-4; Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 85-7; Michael Hurst, *Maria Edgeworth and the Public Scene*, (University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, 1969), 29-32.

25. The plot of *The Absentee*, as well as its cast of characters, are very similar to that of *Ennui*. Nevertheless, there are certain significant differences. Whereas most of *Ennui* takes place in Ireland that of *The Absentee* unfolds in England, (particularly in London). Unlike Glenthorn, who makes his own way into Ireland, Lord Colambre must be chaperoned and coaxed. Moreover, the Ireland to which he returns is a more heterogeneous, but by no means a more progressive place. Unlike Glenthorn, who goes directly to his estates, Colambre enters Ireland through Dublin. This city, he discovers, is dominated by a coterie of upstart tradesmen (and women) who have made themselves ludicrous by attempting to ape what they take to be the manners and fashions of aristocratic high society. Here is a middle class, both Protestant and Catholic, which can offer no alternative to his own class hegemony. Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 505. Edgeworth's parody of Lady Clonbrony and her hopeless English aristocratic pretensions is the most interesting and entertaining features of this novel. As elsewhere, Edgeworth adroitly uses her characters' tendency to go into and out of dialect as tokens of their failure or success at assimilation. See Brian Hollingworth, *Maria Edgeworth's Irish Writing*, (St. Martin's, New York, 1997), esp. 148-81.

Edgeworth keeps Colambre in Dublin just long enough to be disgusted by its *parvenu* manners. Then she dispatches him into the rural interior, where the heart of landlord dominated Anglo-Ireland subsists. Here, he encounters the now familiar good and bad estate agents, as well as an antiquarian count who piques his interest in Irish history. Unlike Mortimer, who descends into Gaelomania and Ossianism, Colambre remains businesslike, utilitarian, and fundamentally Anglocentric in his point of view. Travelling through his and his father's estates *incognito*, he sees how the people have been oppressed and the properties have been mismanaged. Absenteeism, he now understands, necessitates putting a landlord's properties into the hands of corrupt and oppressive agents. It is only once he hits upon this realization that Colambre's energies are activated. Now he knows that it is his job to bring his family back to preside over their ancestral lands. Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, (Penguin, London, 1999).

This task, however, turns out to be easier said than done. Due to his mother's addiction to London high society, his father has become debt-ridden, and has mortgaged the family estates. To pay off the creditors, Colambre offers to sacrifice much of his inheritance, if only his mother will be persuaded to return to Ireland,

where they belong. At great expense, Lady Clonbrony (his mother) has tried to climb her way into London's most aristocratic cliques, where she is despised for her Irish background and *parvenu* pretensions. "We have forced our way into their frozen circles. . . . We have vied with those whom we could never equal," her son eloquently implores:

At what expence have we done all this? For a single season, the last winter (I will go no farther), at the expence of a great part of your timber, the growth of a century -- swallowed in the entertainments of one winter in London! Our hills to be bare for another half-century to come! But let the trees go: I think more of your tenants -- of those left under the tyranny of a bad agent, at the expence of every comfort, every hope they enjoyed. Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, 192-3

"Consider my father, your husband," Colambre expostulates: "Has he not been unmanned by this change?"

Did he not formerly live with gentlemen, his equals, in his own country; his contemporaries? . . . but when he was forced away from that home, deprived of his objects and his occupations, compelled to live in London, or at watering places, where he could find no employments that were suitable to him -- set down, late in life, in the midst of strangers, to him cold and reserved -- himself too proud to bend to those who disdained him as an Irishman -- is he not more to be pitied than blamed for -- yes, I his son must say the word -- the degradation which has ensued? Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, 193-4.

The return to Ireland is an act of repossession, returning both women and men to their proper roles and activities.

Restore my father to himself! Should such feelings be wasted? -- No; give them again to expand in benevolent, in kind, useful actions; give him again to his tenantry, his duties, his country, his home; return to that home yourself, dear mother! leave all the nonsense of high life -- scorn the impertinence of these dictators of fashion. . . . Scorn them -- quit them! Return to an unsophisticated people -- to poor, but grateful hearts, still warm with the remembrance of your kindness, still blessing you for favors long conferred, ever praying to see you once more. Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, 194

It is a striking indication of the difference between *Ennui* and *The Absentee*, that where men are the active agents in the first, in the second, it is women (e.g. Lady Clonbrony and Grace Nugent) whose agency is most decisive. The Edgeworth family dynamic may also be at work on this point. Mr. Edgeworth had many other friends and connections. Only in Ireland (where he was more isolated) could Maria be assured of her status as his adjutant and partner for life: hence, her impassioned speeches on the evils of absenteeism. But, if Maria Edgeworth's Anglo-Irish men are

all in thrall to *ennui*, can her Anglo-Irish women do any better? Judging by *The Absentee*, it seems not. For here, their agency is presented entirely in negative terms. Their choice is either to keep their families in thrall to a snobbish aristocratic society which rejects them, or to return their families to the native Irish land. Edgeworth may have thought that, with Colambre, she had created a male character who was no longer immobilized by Glenthorn's *ennui*. Yet, because he is an heir, and (for most of the novel) a minor, he too is deprived of his capacity to act.

28. For O'Connell, see Oliver MacDonagh's two volume biography, *Daniel O'Connell, The Hereditary Bondsman: 1775-1829*, (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1988) and *The Emancipist: 1830-1847*, (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989). Kevin Whelan argues that this was a more widespread phenomenon, as the descendants of dispossessed, indigenous landholders re-emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a Catholic middle class, *Tree of Liberty*, 3-56.

29. On O'Connell's place within Irish nationalism see Tom Garvin, *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics*, (Holmes and Meier, New York, 1981), 43-52; D. George Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, (Routledge, London, 1995), 123-53; and Brian Jenkins, *Irish Nationalism and the British State: From Repeal to Revolutionary Nationalism*, (McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal, 2006), 29-46. There are grounds for skepticism about O'Connell's willingness to embrace Britishness as an option for Ireland. "British!!! I am not British" he complained to Paul Cullen, in 1842, "You are not British." (Jenkins, *Irish Nationalism*, 43). By this time, however, O'Connell had grown weary and disillusioned after repeated efforts to work within the framework of Westminster politics. "You have injured us too deeply, too cruelly ever to forgive us" he reproached an English correspondent (Jenkins, *Irish Nationalism*, 45). During the mid-1830s, however, when O'Connell forged an alliance with the Whigs, his attitude towards Britishness had been more open. Indeed, on February 26, 1835, he had gone so far as to "suspend" his Repeal campaign, pending the prospect of Irish tithe, parliamentary and municipal reform. He was willing "to give them [the Whigs] a fair trial, to see if they will amend the condition of Ireland and, if they fail, then again to resort to Repeal; but if they succeed, then to give it up forever." Quoted in MacDonagh, *Emancipist*, 121. In the end, of course, the Whigs failed. When they were replaced by the Tories in 1841, O'Connell gave up Britishness forever.

30. Maria Edgeworth's later opinions about events in Ireland are examined in Michael Hurst, *Maria Edgeworth and the Public Scene*, especially 141-73. Maria's deepening pessimism about the prospects for Anglo-Ireland also had personal roots. During the post-war agricultural recession, there was a precipitous decline in her family's income, compounded, during the 1820s, by her brother's mismanagement of the estate. Thereafter, it fell to Maria to clean up the mess. Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 420-9. There can be no doubt but that the family's straightened

circumstances contributed to the edge of acrimony which marked Maria's attitudes towards her tenants in her last two decades.

31. Scott's reactions to Maria Edgeworth are discussed in Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 418-20; J. G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, (Crowell, New York, n.d.), I, 132-3, 237-45, and Edgar Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown*, (Macmillan, New York, 1970), II, 810-5, 837-44, 851-7, 899-915.

32. Scott's attitudes towards the Union of 1707 were ambivalent. Indeed they were similar to the attitudes expressed by the Edgeworths to the Anglo-Irish Union of 1800. Here again, however, the fact that Scott wrote over a century after the Anglo-Scottish Union had been (more or less) successfully consummated made all the difference. As he himself put it in his *Child's History of Scotland*;

Now as these two nations [England and Scotland] live in different ends of the same island, and are separated by large and stormy seas from all other parts of the world, it seems natural that they should have been friendly to each other, and that they should have lived as one people under the same government. Accordingly, about two hundred years ago, the King of Scotland became the King of England . . . the two nations have ever since then been joined in one great kingdom, which is called Great Britain. Walter Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, First Series, (Black, Edinburgh, [1827] 1869), 3.

"But before this happy union," Scott continues, "there were many long, cruel and bloody wars between the two nations." The *History* then goes on to chronicle these turns in Anglo-Scottish affairs. For a sensitive discussion of Scott's reservations about the actual terms of the 1707 Act of Union, see P.H. Scott, *Scott and Scotland*, (Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1981), chapter 7.

33. Another way to encounter the life of Scott is through the *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed., H.J. C. Grierson, in twelve volumes, (Constable, London, 1932-1937), and the *Journal* Scott kept in the last seven years of his life, edited by W.E.K. Anderson, (Cannongate, Edinburgh, 1998).

34. Since this book went to press, I have had a chance to 'catch up' on some of the most recent critical literature on Scott, which expands substantially with every passing year. Among the recent works that I have found most useful are Ian Duncan's *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2007); Andrew Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity*, (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2007); Evan Gottlieb, "'To be at Once Another and the Same': Walter Scott and the End(s) of Sympathetic Britishness," *Studies in Romanticism*, 43/4, (Summer, 2004), 187-207; Liz Bellamy, "Regionalism and

Nationalism: Maria Edgeworth, Walter Scott and the Definition of Britishness,” in K.D.M. Snell, ed., *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1990*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 54-77; and Yoon Sun Lee, “A Divided Inheritance: Scott’s Antiquarian Novel and the British Nation,” *ELH*, 64/2, (Summer, 1997), 537-67, which I somehow missed the first time around. These and other materials have been taken into account in my “The Bard of Britishness: Walter Scott and the Vicissitudes of National Identity: 1814-32,” (in progress).

36. Although the point cannot be developed here, it would be a grave mistake to underestimate the place of Scottish Law in the development of Scott’s character and in the thrust of his literary work. The protestations of antipathy to apprenticeship in his father’s law office that he expressed in his autobiographical fragment, Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, I, 1-43, must be taken with a grain of salt. They are partly contradicted by the quasi-autobiographical early chapters of *Redgauntlet*, where a more nuanced picture is presented. Certainly, Scott was to spend virtually his entire career with a near-full time job as a high-level clerk in Scotland’s highest court. Long after literary success might have allowed him to abandon this vocation, he continued to reside in Edinburgh six months out of the year, spending six hours a day in court, and often several hours more at home, redacting judicial documents and putting judgments into technical form, Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, I, 145-8. Legal technicalities make their way into virtually all of Scott’s novels. In *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, they provide the pivot for the story, although they are more often imposed on the minor characters as objects of satire. Nevertheless, Scott felt passionately about the distinctive character of Scots Law and the centrality of its institutions to the maintenance of some sense of Scottish nationality in the context of the Union after the Scottish Parliament had been dissolved (see supplementary note to pg. 55).

37. “I must own,” Scott avowed, “that to one who has, like myself, *la tête un peu exaltée*, the ‘pomp and circumstance of war’ gives for a time, a very poignant and pleasing sensation.” Quoted in Johnson, *Great Unknown*, I, 213, 219-20. The invasion scare with which Scott concludes *The Antiquary*, (Penguin, London, 1995), 348-56, was probably drawn from this personal experience. Somewhat later, in 1812, Scott registered his uneasiness about the extent to which his ideal of manly patriotic sacrifice had survived his decision to transfer it from soldiering into literature. “I would were it in my power, blow up the ruins of Melrose Abbey and burn all the nonsensical rhymes I ever wrote if I thought either the one or the other could survive the independence of my country. My only ambition is to be remembered, if remembered at all, as one who knew and valued national independence and would maintain it in the present struggle to the last man and the last guinea though the last guinea were my own property and the last man my own son.” Quoted in Johnson, *Great Unknown*, I, 395-6.

42. Scott's recognition that women would constitute a large part of his modern bardic audience was both novel and astute. No small part of his motive in establishing a friendship with Maria Edgeworth was his desire to gain access to her feminine literary sensibility. "Women," he wrote "do this better – Edgeworth, Ferrier, Austen have all their portraits of real society far superior to anything Man vain Man has produced of the like nature." *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, ed., W.E.K Anderson, (Cannongate, Edinburgh, (1972), March 28, 1826, 141. See also Dec. 5, 1827, 439; and Feb. 19, 1828, 485. These were not the only female writers who contributed to the making of Walter Scott. There was Sydney Owenson, whose Celtic harp he appropriated for his own Scottish ends. Walter Scott, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, (Ballantyne, Edinburgh, 1806); Jane Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1984), analyzes Scott's early poetry perceptively, and considers its role in making him the romantic novelist he became.

There were also many others on whom Scott drew: Ann Radcliffe's *The Castles of Atlin and Dunbayne* (1789); Charlotte Smith's *Desmond* (1792); Elizabeth Hamilton's *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808), and Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810), as well as Christian Isobel Johnstone's *Clan-Albin*. From these women, Scott learned the art of translating the traditional folk into modern literary idioms, which he could then transpose into more masculine (i.e. more commercialized) forms. Scott drew directly on Glorvina for Flora, the Highland chieftain's sister, in *Waverley*. In general, he frequently expressed his (sometimes qualified) admiration for forceful, intellectual women, such as Lydia White, "a lioness of the first order, with stockings nineteen times nine, dyed blue, very lively, very good humored, and extremely absurd." *Letters of Scott*, II, 5. For other examples, see *Journal*, 10/9, 1826, 208-9; and 7-8/12, 1827, 440-1; 20/2, 1828, 485; and 23/2, 1828, 487.

Scott's determination to re-masculinize literary genres such as the novel, romantic poetry, and the national tale was matched by his recognition that women would constitute one of the primary audiences for his work. Indeed, through his twenties, he had assiduously cultivated a series of female writers and readers, who gave him feed-back on his yet unpublished works. Both the poet Anna Seward and the dramatist Joanna Baillie provided him much needed early encouragement and advice. Perhaps even more important was the assortment of aristocratic women -- Lady Dalkeith, Lady Abercorn, Lady Louisa Stuart, Lady Anne Hamilton, and even the Princess of Wales -- with whom Scott regularly corresponded, and periodically visited. For Baillie, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, (Macmillan, London, 1908). I, 88; *Letters of Scott*, II, (1808), 56-8, 64-5, 90-3, 115-9, (1809), 196-7, 217-21, 253-5, 257-60, (1810), 287-9, 290-6, 300-4, 313-16, 318-21, 331-4, 349-52, 358-62, 401-6, 418-20, (1811), 523-9; *Journal*, 5/12, 1827, 439. For Seward see, *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVIII, 1218-20, *Letters of Scott*, I, (1802), 144-7, 154-5, 162-6, (1803), 179-82, 188-9, 192-5, (1805), 242-3, (1806), 286-89, 319-28, for a long discussion of Ossian, (1807), 345-58, 373-5, *Letters of Scott*, II, (1808) 49-52, (1809), 180-2.

For early correspondence with Lady Abercorn see, *Letters of Scott*, I, 301-4, 310-13, 315-8, 350-1, 361-3, 366-70, 381-3, 384-5, 394-6, 404-7; *Letters of Scott*, II, (1808), 5-7, 9-13, 16-7, 25-6, 3-3, 34-6, 58-61, 69-71, 94-6, 109-11, 132-4, (1809), 179-80, 215-17, 237-41, 273-76, (1810), 284-7, 311-3, 324-7, 354-6, 376-8, 390-2, 394-6, 413-5, (1811), 431-4, 435-9, 443-6, 450-3, 457-8, 460-1, 477-9, 495-6, 498-500, 515-23. For Lady Dalkeith, see, *Letters of Scott*, I, 234, 299, 200, 299-301; *Letters of Scott*, II, 330-1; (1810), 370-2. For Lady Louisa Stuart see, *Letters of Scott*, I, 391-4; *Letters of Scott*, II, (1808), 3-5, 2727-9, 39-42, 71-4, (1809), 193-4, 209, 269-71. For Lady Anne Hamilton see, *Letters of Scott*, I, 126, 129-32, 134-7, 149, 150-2.

Scott's relationship with Lady Dalkeith was particularly significant, for he claimed a theoretical kinship with her husband, the Earl of Dalkeith, and his father, the Duke of Buccleuch, whom he regarded as the titular head of the Scott clan. Walter repeatedly sought to excite the romantic interest of these powerful distant relations in what they could all believe was their common ancestry. Scott's genius, of course, was to take these materials, in which others could see merely local or antiquarian interest, and transform them into epic romances of bygone heroism and chivalry which could appeal to readers of any family, nationality, or ethnic group.

In the most general sense then, Scott always maintained a freighted but powerful sense of his own bardic mission to re-empower and re-invent an epic tradition that he saw as either disappearing or becoming feminized. The art of storytelling he later compared with womens' work, such as spinning or weaving. He lamented his own difficulty in "stitching together his own yarns and threads." It could be argued that his genius lay precisely in stitching together the threads initially spun out by other writers (especially women), and weaving them into a fabric uniquely his own. See Robert A. Colby, *Fiction with a Purpose*, (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1967), 28-31; and Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*, (Princeton University Press, 1997), 133-57. In addition to the abovementioned women, and the romantic poets, Scott was also influenced by Jane West, Charles Maturin, and Peter Darling. See Colby, *Fiction with a Purpose*, 30; and Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 133-57.

44. Somewhat insensitively, Scott bragged to the impecunious Wordsworth that "he was sure he could, if he chose, get more money than he should ever wish from the booksellers." Johnson, *Great Unknown*, I, 214. See also, I, 731, and II, 903, where Scott jokingly proposes to form "A joint stock company to turn out future *Waverleys* by machinery."

45. Late in life, Scott recalled "the delight of waking in the morning with bright ideas in my mind, haste to commit them to paper, and count them monthly as the means of planting such groves, and purchasing such wastes." *Journal*, Dec. 18, 1825, 48-9. "Three pages a day," he wrote six months later, "will come at Constable's rate to about £12,000 to £15,000 per year." *Journal*, June 10, 1826, 180; see also Dec. 7, 1827, 440.

At an earlier time, Scott described his work habits in the following terms; "I am a pretty hard worker when once I set about [it] & in fact my literary life resembles the natural life of a savage absolute indolence interchanged with hard work," *Letters of Scott*, I, 399. To an outside observer, the indolence is hard to see. Indeed, it is hard to understand how Scott fitted all his activities into a twenty-four hour day, given the fact that, for half the year, he had a full-time job in Edinburgh as a Principal Clerk of the Court of Session. During the remainder of the year, which he spent at his rural estates (first Ashestiel, then Abbotsford) he devoted most of the afternoon to planting, hunting, or other recreations and the evenings entertaining, often with late-night parties, in which the liquor freely flowed. Writing (usually about 500,000 published words per year) had to be squeezed into the early morning hours, when hang-overs must have more than an occasional challenge. Many of those who doubted that Scott was the author of *Waverley*, and its many successors, justified their skepticism on the grounds that it was humanly impossible for the heavily engaged Sir Walter to have written so many books.

46. The motivation towards entrepreneurial speculation which Scott attributes to Mr. Osbaldistone Sr. in *Rob Roy*, (Penguin, London, [1817], 1995), 9-10, perhaps expresses his own. "Impetuous in his schemes, as well as skillful and daring, each new adventure, when successful, became at once the incentive, and furnished the means, for further speculation. It seemed to be necessary to him, as to an ambitious conqueror, to push on from achievement to achievement, without stopping to secure, far less to enjoy, the acquisitions which he made. Accustomed to see his whole fortune trembling on the scales of chance, and desirous at adopting expedients for casting the balance in his favor, his health and spirits and activity seemed ever to increase with the animating hazards on which he staked his wealth."

Late in life, Scott assessed his own career in the following terms: "What a life mine has been! – half educated, almost wholly neglected or left to myself, stuffing my head with most nonsensical trash, and undervalued in society for a time by most of my companions – getting forward and held a bold and clever fellow contrary to the opinion of all who thought me a mere dreamer – Broken-hearted for two years – My heart handsomely pieced again – but the crack will remain till my dying day. Rich and poor four or five times, once at the verge of ruin, yet opened new sources of wealth – now taken in my pitch of pride and nearly winged (unless the good news hold), because London chuses to be in an uproar, and in the tumult of bulls and bears, a poor inoffensive lion like myself is pushed to the wall. And what is to be the end of it? God knows." Quoted in Johnson, *Great Unknown*, II, 956.

47. The reception of *Waverley* is examined in Amy Cruse, *The Englishman and his Books in the Early Nineteenth Century*, (Benjamin Blom, New York, 1968), 224-39. Statistics on sales of Scott's novels are compiled in William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), 632-44, Some of the contemporary reviews and reactions to *Waverley*, including the

important *Edinburgh Review* notice by Francis Jeffrey, and the reactions of Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen, are usefully collected in John O. Hayden, *Scott: The Critical Heritage*, (Barnes and Noble, 1970), 67-84. See also James T. Hillhouse, *The Waverley Novels and their Critics*, (Octagon Books, New York, 1968).

48. Sari Makdesi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998), 70-99, reads the novel as a colonialist discourse of dispossession, yet it is the effort to transfer Scotland from colonial to metropolitan status that provides the driving energy of the book. See my article, "The Bard of Britishness: Walter Scott and the Vicissitudes of National Identity," (in progress).

49. Scott's reliance on the eighteenth century Scottish historians was profound. He studied at Edinburgh University with Dugald Stewart, and he was close friends with Adam Ferguson, the son and namesake of the author of the seminal *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, (Cadell, London, 1782) In addition to Stewart, Scott's course of legal study at the University brought him in contact with Alexander Tytler, author of *Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern*, and David Hume (son of the philosopher) who further deepened his understanding of philosophical history. Under these influences, Scott wrote a series of student essays, "On the Origins of the Feudal System," "On the Manners of the Northern Nations," and "On the authenticity of Ossian's Poems," which indicate that he could easily have become adept at this line of work. In the end, of course, Scott became a good deal more ambitious, demonstrating skills as a poet and fiction writer that the philosophical historians did not possess. Scott may have been educated in the structuralist analysis of enlightenment rationalism, but he himself was unmistakably a product of the subjectivizing, romantic age. See Duncan Forbes, "The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott," *Cambridge Journal*, 7, (1953), 20-35; Avrom Fleishman, *The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf*, (Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, Baltimore, 1971), 16-36; Peter D. Garside, "Scott and the Philosophical Historians," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 36, (1975), 497-512.

Scott's ability to juxtapose a succession of geographical, political, and philosophical antinomies along a single plot line, and to resolve them in an intellectually imaginative but still historically plausible way, however, reveals skills which the eighteenth century enlightenment historians did not possess. Lockhart, *Memoir of Scott*, I, 218-318; Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, I, 66-107; Johnson, *Great Unknown*, I, 53-124; Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography*, (Blackwell, Oxford, 1995), 69-87

50. As Scott wrote in the postscript to *Waverley*. "It was my accidental lot, though not born a Highlander, to reside, during my childhood and youth, among persons of the above description; and now for purposes of preserving some idea of the ancient

manners of which I have witnessed the almost total extinction, I have embodied in imaginary scenes and ascribed to fictitious characters, a part of the incidents which I then received from those who were actors in them." *Waverley*, 492-3.

51. At the end of *Waverley*, chapter five, Scott compares his book to a touring coach, and acknowledges the reader's eagerness to get underway. Though no magical "flying chariot," his will be "a humble English post-chaise." Those who stick with this conveyance may be "exposed to the dullness inseparable from heavy roads, but . . . I engage to get them as soon as possible into a more picturesque and romantic country," *Waverley*, 63.

52. I examine Scott's role in the creation of a new and distinctively modern (re-masculinized) bardship in "Bard of Britishness." Here it will be sufficient to note that, among its other features, modern bardship is intrinsically reflexive, constantly reflecting on the terms in which imagined communities (Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (Verso, London, 1991)) are constituted and reconstituted through collectively purveyed narratives of various types. It is therefore not surprising that *Waverley* introduces the reader to the Scottish Highlands through a bardic performance *in media res*. In a striking scene that could have come out of Homer, *Waverley* hears a bard relate the deeds of MacIvor's illustrious ancestors, to the rapt attention and enthusiastic cheers of the assembled warrior host. Fergus listens to this recital of the heroism of his forebears with a studied mixture of cynicism and family pride. This tribal chief (notwithstanding his bizarre costumes and recondite rituals) turns out to be a canny politician, who supports the restoration of the Stuarts because he believes that this will bring him military glory, while augmenting his personal wealth and power. Scott, *Waverley*, 144-241.

54, When one of his retainers, Evan Dhu Maccombich, insists in court on dying with his Chief, the judge admonishes "you . . . have this day given us a striking example of how the loyalty due to the king and the state alone, is from your unhappy ideas of clanship, transferred to some ambitious individual who ends by making you the tools of his crimes." Scott, *Waverley*, 466.

55, Henceforth, his romantic adventures will be relived only in stories told by the hearthside. He will undertake them only in the realm of fantasy. "The plumed troops and the big war used to enchant me in poetry; but the night marches, vigils, couches under the wintry sky, and such accompaniments of the glorious trade are not at all to my taste in practice." Scott, *Waverley*, 425.

56. This connection was noted by a reviewer in *The British Critic*, who observed that "the mighty machine of national strength," whose origins *Waverley* had delineated,

was now liberated from the need to struggle against external foes. Would the return of peace induce Britons “to turn inwardly” upon one another? Would “the same energies, which blessed us with victory . . . inflame us with the ardour of [internal] contention?” Reprinted in Hayden ed., *Scott, the Critical Heritage*, 67-74, quote on 68.

57. T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*; T.M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofter's War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands*, (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1994), 1-250. In Ireland, O'Connell had understood this connection between sacrifice and citizenship perfectly well. In an age when Irishmen were bleeding and dying for Britain, they deserved a Britain that could include them too. Scotland, of course, was a very different place from Ireland, but it too was divided within. The Highlands had been substantially emptied out, and opened up for the British tourism that *Waverley* was doing even more to promote. The land-dispossessed, however, were being transformed into impoverished cottiers, subject to an increasingly 'Irish' fate. As their crofts were subdivided into economically untenable holdings, they were obliged to emigrate to the growing industrial cities of Clydeside, or to ship out to a new life in the colonies.

59. Scott's literary and historiographical importance is not merely that he created, in *Waverley*, an historical romance of Anglo-Scottish Union. It is rather that, from *Guy Mannering* onward, he questioned and re-problematized his earlier narratives of Union in each subsequent Anglo-Scottish novel.

60. Scott's depictions of the Covenanter leaders are among the most memorable he ever wrote. The professional revolutionary, Burley of Balfour, is a ferocious, but supremely self-confident saint, capable of the most appalling brutalities because he knows that he has God on his side. In contrast to this icy-veined Jacobin-before-his-time, is the charismatic, fire-and-brimstone preacher Habakkuk Meiklewrath -- a gaunt, rag-covered, fever-eyed figure, whose “long beard, as white as snow, hung down on his bosom, and mingled with bushy uncombed grizzled hair, which hung down in elf-locks around his wild and staring visage.” Walter Scott, *The Tale of Old Mortality*, (Penguin, 1999), especially 14-26, 51-73, 110, 180-3, quote on 43. Scott's caustic portrayal of the Covenanters did not go unanswered in early nineteenth century Scotland. The Rev. Thomas McCrie, a noted Presbyterian minister, wrote a scathing review of *Old Mortality*, and two rival (and much more celebratory) Covenanter novels were published in rapid succession, by James Hogg, and John Galt. Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History and the Waverley Novels*, (Cornell University Press, 1991), 130-94, has thoroughly analyzed these works.

Jacob Price, *Tobacco Atlantic Trade: The Chesapeake, London and Glasgow*,

(Variorum, Brookfield, Vermont, 1995); The relationship between this transatlantic trade and the expansion of new world slavery passes unmentioned in Scott's panygeric. For an analysis of this relationship see Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, (Putnam, New York, 1966), 51-107, 127-77; Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800*, (Verso, London, 1997), 217-76, 371-580.

Jarvie is shrewd and calculating, but he is also loyal and warm-hearted. Recognizing that he can succeed only by working with a large London clearing house, he sees that it is in his own self-interest to help the Osbaldistones extricate themselves from their tight predicament, even as he develops a warm, paternal affection for the vulnerable young Frank.

69. As I hope the foregoing analysis has demonstrated, Scott's retelling the story of Anglo-Scottish Union in the course of several novels, written from various perspectives and set at different moments in time, was not some redundant exercise in mining a lucrative literary vein. It was rather the vehicle for a multi-dimensional exploration. It was the mark of an active mind, which was constantly growing, developing and rethinking conclusions that were successively arrived at in increasingly nuanced and sophisticated ways. Moreover, this re-thinking not only refined Scott's steadily deepening understanding, it also reflected many of the corresponding transformations in the post-war environment in which he wrote. The cumulative effect of this process of incessant change and revision was a remarkable grasp of historical flux. History, Scott recognized, offered no definitive resolutions. The reconciliation of oppositions in society had to be constantly negotiated and renegotiated in shifting ways. The transcendence of contradictions was a momentary achievement – a limited, human accomplishment – that had to be repeatedly, won, lost, and reconstituted in altered terms. No single, specific British Union, Scott now realized, could provide a permanent solution to the problem of social inclusion and stabilization. In a globalizing capitalist world, he finally understood, the stakes of Britishness were being perpetually raised.

71. The novel's opening scenes are built on a real-life incident, in which an Edinburgh mob lynched a British officer, Captain Porteous, for his brutal suppression of protests at the execution of a popular smuggler a few weeks earlier. Taking this Porteous riot as emblematic of the weakness and unevenness of the Anglo-Scottish Union, Scott weaves its consequences into a novelistic exploration of the ways in which Britishness was subsequently endowed with greater weight and bi-national equality.

Scott's dramatic account of the lynching of Porteous -- substantially based on actual oral and documentary evidence he collected -- is itself something of an historiographical *tour de force*. A century and a half before the work of George Rudé, Eric Hobsbawm, and E.P. Thompson, he grasped the logic of the "moral

economy” of the crowd: The people had risen up to implement the “Scottish” moral justice that had been abdicated by the authorities of the British state. Scott, *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 39-48, 56-74. E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (New York, Vintage, 1963; E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels, Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (Norton, New York, 1959).

72. David looks back to the glory days of true religion in the seventeenth century, and worships the memory of the saints who fell at Bothwell Brigg. For all his efforts to keep alive their radical Presbyterian enthusiasm, however, David is a falling off from this ancient, heroic stock. Where Burley and Meiklewrath, fifty years earlier, had been deranged and dangerous, David Deans is merely pathetic and absurd. Deprived of the persecution from which his predecessors had drawn their moral sustenance, he has lost his bearings in a secular, pluralistic age. To remain spiritually pure amidst this sink of earthly perdition, David has been obliged to turn inward on himself. He has enclosed his family in a solipsistic moral universe, which categorically refuses all compromise (and therefore all contact) with the vanities and snares of a licentious, carnal world. Scott, *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 10-133

73. The lynching of Porteous, which Scott depicts as a spontaneous expression of popular justice, has set the stage for Effie’s unjust condemnation. Now the backwardness of Scottish law, rather than the arrogance of English judgment, becomes the source of inequity. At the same time, the backfire of the illegitimate pardon of the murderer Porteous, renders inadmissible and impolitic the more legitimate effort to obtain a pardon for Effie, who is innocent. Jeanie’s heroism consists in her refusal to accept this definition of the limits of what is possible, and in her determination that the case must be resolved in a more satisfactory way. By insisting on right and truth in the matter of her sister, she expands moral space for the novel as a whole.

74. Contrast Jeanie’s descent into England with that of the Jacobites in *Waverley*. It is almost as though Scott intends the success of the first to explain the failure of the second. Because Jeanie, who represents all that is best in Scotland has (at least symbolically) already had her British triumph, the Jacobites, twenty years later, who represent all that is retrograde, can be handed their defeat, with no real injury to national pride.

75. When Rev. Staunton and other English elites misconstrue her purpose, and treat her as a low class tart, she pulls them up short with her plainspoken self-possession that will brook no condescension and abide no indignity. Scott, *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, 315-59.

76. Eric Creegan, "The Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the Scottish Highlands," in N.T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison eds., *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, (Edinburgh, 1970), 24-46. Creegan's analysis of Argyll's role in the modernization of the Highlands reveals just how prescient and sophisticated Scott's treatment was. Creegan, however, is rather more critical of the ultimate results of the Argyll improvement schemes.

81. Scott's profuse recourse dialogue in *Scots* was carefully crafted to maximize comprehensibility for the English language reader. As P.H. Scott notes, "he achieves this by the device of having at least one of the speakers in each conversation speak English, even when this does violence to probability. If you could understand one side of the conversation, you could make a pretty good guess at the other." *Scott and Scotland*, (Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1981), 34.

82. For an account of the King's 1822 visit to Scotland, and his "Jacobitization by Scott, see Johnson, *Great Unknown*, II, 788-95. However, even at their first meeting, five years earlier, Scott sensed the (then) Prince Regent's romantic fascination with the Jacobites. Johnson, *Great Unknown*, I, 491.

84. Ian Duncan speaks of Scott and Jeffrey as two leaders of a "neomoderate consensus" that dominated Edinburgh politics at the turn of the nineteenth century, against reactionaries of the right and radicals of the left. Only under the pressure of renewed war did this consensus break down, as Scott withdrew from collaboration with the *Edinburgh Review* in protest against what he regarded as its unpatriotic editorial line. It was only then (in 1809) that he helped to launch the *Quarterly Review*, to articulate a Tory position. *Scott's Shadow*, 25-8, 50-5. Even so, Scott and the Scottish Whigs remained personally on cordial terms. As late as 1826, Scott wrote in his *Journal*:

I do not know why it is that when I am with a party of my opposition friends the day is often merrier than with our own set. Is it because they are cleverer? Jeffrey and Harry Cockburn are to be sure very extraordinary men, yet it is not owing to that entirely. I believe both parties meet with the feeling of something like novelty – we have not worn out our jests in daily contact. There is also a disposition on such occasions to be courteous and of course to be pleased. Scott, *Journal*, Dec, 12, 1826, 285. See also July 21, 1827, p. 375.

Scott expected that his *Life of Napoleon* would "offend the highfliers of both Whigs and Tories" but he "did not care a d___ so [long as] they let me have fair play with the public," quoted in Johnson *Great Unknown*, II, 1018. Although he opposed the Reform Bill in the last few years of his life, Scott never degenerated into arch-

reactionary Toryism, and his public support for Catholic emancipation signaled a desire to remain in the moderate camp. Johnson, *Great Unknown*, II, 1002, 1157-8, 1165-7, For less complimentary comments on the Whigs see Scott's *Journal*, Nov. 12, 1825, 16.

85. As Walther Bagehot noted, Scott's Toryism was largely emotional and romantic, rather than politically reactionary. Review in *National Review*, 1858, reprinted in Hayden ed., Scott, *The Critical Heritage*, 394-420, especially 400-2. A similar point was made by Goldwin Smith, *Lectures and Essays*, (Hunter, Toronto, 1881), 69-88.

Page 55, last paragraph: It is important to keep in mind that Scott's commitment to Britishness always co-existed with a strong sense of Scottish nationality. This came out most clearly in the realm of culture. In a sense, virtually his entire opus was dedicated to delineating a distinctively Scottish character and culture, and to show its rootedness in the nation's history. However, at key moments when he was feeling personally beleaguered (e.g. 1826-8) Scott could articulate a degree of political nationalism as well. See my "Bard of Britishness." Even earlier, Scott had a strong sense of the importance of retaining those uniquely Scottish political institutions that had survived into the Union (such as the Court of Sessions, which employed him). In 1807, when the London Government proposed a reform of Scottish Law, Scott vigorously protested: "No, No - tis no laughing matter; little by little, whatever your wishes may be, you will destroy and undermine, until nothing of what makes Scotland Scotland shall remain." Quoted in Johnson, *Great Unknown*, I, 265. This sentiment became more pronounced in 1826-8. See my "Bard of Britishness", and P.H.. Scott, Scott and Scotland. In his Journal, for March 14, 1826, Scott wrote:

They [the London Ministry] are gradually destroying what remains of nationality [in Scotland] and making the country *tabula rasa* for doctrines of bold innovation. Their lowering and grinding down of those peculiarities which distinguished us as Scotsmen will throw the country into a state in which it will be universally turned to democracy and instead of canny Saunders they will have a very dangerous North British neighbourhood, 131.