The Anglo-Scottish Union and British National Identity in Women's Writing, 1780-1820

by

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ABSTRACT

The union between England and Scotland, which created the United Kingdom of Great Britain, generated heated discussion both before and after the Acts of Union took effect on May 1, 1707. Members of Parliament, the nobility, clergymen, pamphleteers, and authors from both nations participated in debates on the Union, in many kinds of writing, for many years after 1707. The voices of British women, however, have not been sufficiently considered in our scholarship, and are often conspicuously absent from our accounts of these polemical wars, which were still raging in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This dissertation seeks to fill this gap in the academic conversation by taking Scottish, English, and British nationalisms as its theoretical paradigm in approaching writing by female authors. The dissertation's chapters examine how the Anglo-Scottish Union figures in the works by five women writers (Jane Austen, Cassandra Cooke, Dorothy Wordsworth, Mary Brunton, and Susan Ferrier) publishing from 1780 to 1820.

I argue that, in the aftermath of the Union, these women writers often expressed specifically gendered concerns— such as the maintenance of social etiquette, better education for women, making sense of national prejudices, and the erasure of regional socio-economic differences. In doing so, they ranged beyond a typically masculine focus on parliamentary politics, international military endeavors, macro economy, and national churches. English women writers' attitudes towards the Union were more positive than those entertained by Scots authors, but compared with contemporary male writers, both sides were less optimistic about the potential for building a blanket national identity for the entire Kingdom.

Taken together, the chapters of the dissertation provide a more comprehensive view of how the Anglo-Scottish Union figured in the minds of Britons, male and female, a century after its establishment, when the Kingdom was going through the Napoleonic Wars and another union with Ireland. The dissertation enriches our research on women's use of literary genres and techniques when taking part in political debates. It also serves to point out the need for more extensive surveys of the nuances of individual women writers' national affiliations.

DEDICATION

To Grandma

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH UNION AND WOMEN WRITERS IN THE LATE ROMANTIC ERA

Halfway through her apocalyptic novel *The Last Man* (1826), Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley starts to imagine the disastrous aftermath for the English people as a plague sweeps all over the world at the end of the twenty-first century. Shelley describes how the Irish manage to turn the table on intruding refugees from America, and expands on a joint invasion of England by these victorious Irishmen allied with "the poorer natives" of Scotland. A strict line is drawn between "us" the Englishmen and "them" the Irish-Scottish army:

> There was room enough indeed in our hapless country for twice the number of invaders; but their lawless spirit instigated them to violence; they took a delight in thrusting the possessors from their houses; in seizing on some mansion of luxury, where the noble dwellers secluded themselves in fear of the plague; in forcing these of either sex to become their servants and purveyors; till, the ruin complete in one place, they removed their locust visitation to another. . . . They swept the country like a conquering army, burning—laying waste—murdering. . . . They talked of taking London, conquering England—calling to mind the long detail of injuries which had for many years been forgotten. Such vaunts displayed their weakness, rather than their strength... (2: 291-293)

This short passage makes it impossible to treat the work as pure science fiction. The idea that Shelley should choose to conceive of the undoing for England to be Irish-Scots—when the country had been united with Ireland for one-fourth of a century,

and with Scotland for almost one hundred and twenty years by the time she wrote—is disturbing. Does the choice mean that Shelley doubts the Anglo-Celtic unions? Or, is it random, nailed down only because the two countries are geographically close enough to London to render the fictional invasion more real? If it is simply a literary decision, why does Shelley hint at the "injuries" the Irish and the Scots suffered in the past, at the hands of the English? On the other hand, if it is a planned political move and Shelley's personal reflection on the colonial atrocities by her own country in the Celtic fringe, why does her narrator dismiss the justified claims by the invaders as mere "vaunts" (Ibid.)?

History of the 1707 Union

Whether a whimsical idea or an earnest warning for her fellow countrymen, the Irish-Scots invasion in Shelley's *The Last Man* adds another piece to the puzzle that has long engaged the British Isles, i.e. the existence of multiple national identities and nationalisms within the United Kingdom. The establishment of the Republic of Ireland as well as the military actions of the IRA got much coverage in both literary works and the mass media during the twentieth century, while the world is called to re-evaluate the Anglo-Scottish Union by the failed Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014. A slight majority—55 percent—voted it down. This recent direct vote is by no means the only attempt by the Scots to fight for political sovereignty to some extent. During the past century, the campaign for Scottish devolution thrived, which calls for a separate parliament for the nation inside the United Kingdom, dealing with "devolved matters," which were in the charge of "the Secretary of State

for Scotland and other UK Ministers" ("History of Devolution" par. 2). Two referendums were organized respectively in 1979 and 1997, and the latter led to the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, almost 300 years after the Union with England abolished the original parliament of the nation.

What historical factors have led to these frequent questionings of the Union on the part of Scotland, and why have the people chosen such a different route than the Irish did? Why do the Scots value limited sovereignty over complete independence even today? To answer these questions, it is necessary to review how the Acts of Union came into being in the first place.

Briefly speaking, the Anglo-Scottish Union had long been considered for historical and political reasons. It was held back by complicated economic and religious issues and was finally prompted by an almost accidental cause. The two nations were placed under the rule by the same monarch starting with the reign of King James I, and it is only natural to expect that the Scottish-raised King would favor the idea of union as his mother Mary Queen of Scots did ("The Stuart Vision of Union" par. 2-3). However, the proposals from the Stuart kings—both before and after the Interregnum—met with general opposition from both the English and the Scots sides, and its prospects seemed especially darkened when King James II was dethroned by William III. It is only when Queen Anne, who succeeded William, lost her last heir that the English began to consider seriously a union with Scotland. On the one hand, England would like to secure the succession of the throne by the protestant House of Hanover, instead of leaving it to the Catholic Old Pretender. In order to prevent the prince's landing in the British Isles with the support of the French, it was simply wise to cement the alliance with Scotland in the north; on the other hand, many Scots MPs

became inclined to accept the idea of union desiring the legal right for their nation to benefit more from commerce in the Continent and more importantly, in the English colonies in Asia and the Americas. In terms of religion, the Scots were reassured that their Presbyterian Church would retain its national authority, and that the Union would render impossible the "return of an Episcopalian church" ("Arguments for Union with England" par. 6). All of these political, economic, religious, and military factors together paved the way for the official debate over the articles of the Acts of Union, which took effect on May 1, 1707.

Though the Union was capable of satisfying the urgent needs of both sides when it was established, there were clearly issues that remained unresolved, which began to grow with the new Kingdom. Among others, the choice of an incorporating union over a confederation or a federal union alienated many Scots. Back in 1703 and 1704, the *Act of Security* was passed by the Scottish Parliament to request that the Queen "preserve Scottish economic and political interests" in the then existing "monarchical union" between the two countries ("Popular Opposition" par. 8). The Scottish people, disappointed at the abolition of their Parliament in 1707, blamed their commissioners who discussed the articles of the Treaty with their English counterparts for the diplomatic failure. From the perspective of the commoners, the commissioners were very much bribed into setting the Acts of Union in stone: many of the Scots MPs had lost their money investing in the notorious Darien venture, a scheme launched in the late 1690s that aimed at building a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Darien—or, what is now known as the Isthmus of Panama. The failure of Darien is largely attributable to the withdrawal of support from the English, which happened "at the last minute" (B. Johnson par. 4). Queen Anne's team agreed to let these Scots be

"reimbursed out of money the Scots were given for taking on their share of England's national debt" after the Union ("The Thistle and the Rose—British Union (II)" par. 6), and these 398,000 pounds were known as the Equivalent. Douglas Watt names his monograph on the cause, the details, and the aftermath of the Darien disaster *The Price of Scotland* (2007), and analyzes the immediate impact the scheme has on the 1706-7 negotiations. In Watt's opinion, the Equivalent "ensured that a majority in parliament put 'cash in hand' before sovereignty and nationalism," and that the Anglo-Scottish Union is no more than "a short-term financial bargain between two political elites" (239). In addition, unlike Wales, Scotland kept its education system, national church, and its laws after the Acts of Union came into effect. This fact, together with the academic excellence at Scottish universities, helped maintain the sense of still having a distinct national identity and allowed for the continued patriotic feelings of the Scottish people.

The debates and concerns before and following the Acts of Union thus clarified, it is not surprising that the northern country should revisit the issue of independence for so many times. Have any English and Scots authors in the past provided today's readers with any answer in their writings, as to what makes it so much more difficult for Scotland to leave the Union than it is for Ireland? Although much research has been done on nationalism and national identities in works by Irish authors after the 1800 Acts of Union, such as Maria Edgeworth, Sydney Owenson, Willam Butler Yeats, James Joyce, etc., from both the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, there is relatively less criticism available on literary responses from the same period by English and Scots writers on the Anglo-Scottish Union.

This dissertation aims to fill this gap in the current conversations, by examining moments of encounter between the English and Scottish elements in the works by five women writers from the late British Romantic period: Jane Austen, Cassandra Cooke, Dorothy Wordsworth, Mary Brunton, and Susan Ferrier. The works under consideration were all written between the late 1780s and 1810s. They are all fiction, with the exception of Wordsworth's travel writing or journals. Taken together, my work on these authors and texts as they grapple with England and Scotland shows that female authors of the era actively took part in debates on the Union, and many were careful to limit their opinions to topics and literary genres generally considered decent or safe for women. These authors, though finding the Union of pragmatic value to some extent, were less optimistic about building a blanket British national identity than their male contemporaries were.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the consolidation of Great Britain, as it prepared to merge with Ireland into the United Kingdom. A hundred years after the 1707 Acts of Union between England and Scotland, and more than half a century away from the last major Jacobite rising in 1745, how well were people in both countries adapting to the Anglo-Scottish Union? Is their feedback mirrored in the literary publications of the era, especially those by women, whose voices were less heard in social spheres other than literature? The genres of writings investigated for this project vary, including burlesque and satirical juvenilia pieces (*Juvenilia* by Austen, ca. 1787-1793), historical fiction (*Battleridge* by Cooke, 1799), travel memoir (*Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland* by Wordsworth, 1874), a self-identified moral tale (*Discipline* by Brunton, 1814), and a novel of manners (*Marriage* by Ferrier, 1818). By examining the encounter moments in these diverse works individually and

side by side, the project aims to answer the following questions: what were the women writers' attitudes towards the Anglo-Scottish Union and the relatively new political entity, Great Britain? What did they see in their social spheres as the results of the 1707 Union? How much did the Union influence their ways of perceiving themselves or approaching their writings? How did they envision British national identity? What are some features of that identity as depicted in their works? Also, considering all the questions mentioned above, is there any difference between the insights of English writers and those of their Scottish countrywomen? Are the two groups equally optimistic or pessimistic about the Union's future?

Theoretical Orientation

For its theoretical paradigm, the dissertation will turn to major works on nationalism and national identities. In his *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), Ernest Gellner clarifies that nationalism is "primarily a political principle." He is of the opinion that "the political and the national should be congruent," and believes that nationalist emotions actually are "the feeling of anger" when the aforesaid principle is violated. According to Gellner, the worst situation for nationalist persons will be when "the rulers of the political unit belong to a nation other than that of the majority of the ruled" (1), and Scotland immediately after the Acts of Union illustrates his point well. This basic rule for nationalism serves as a good lens when one analyzes Cassandra Cooke's positioning of the Anglo-Scottish relationships in an age when the Danish and the French threats still dominate. Benedict Anderson's book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, published in the same year as

Gellner's, goes one step further, defining nations as not only political but also imagined. He argues that language plays a significant role in shaping one's national identity and nationalism. This notion may shed some light on investigation into the episodes in Dorothy Wordsworth's travelogue, which foreground her confusion when faced with the Scottish Gaelic language, her mistakes of taking it to be Erse, and her reflections on the power of language in her communications with the Highlanders.

Of even more interest for this project are works by Eric Hobsbawm and Tom Nairn. The former's book, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, and Reality* (1991), corresponds well with the time span covered by the dissertation. Though agreeing with Gellner that nationalism requires the uniformity between the political and the national units, Hobsbawm, unlike Anderson, does not think a common language is necessary for the birth of nationalism. He argues that it is nationalist feelings that give rise to the modern concept of nation, not vice versa. A Scottish political theorist, Tom Nairn discusses nationalisms in Scotland and in Wales respectively in two chapters of his anthology, *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (1977). He analyzes the panorama of global nationalism, reading it as "in essence the forced reaction of one area after another to the spread of capitalism." According to Nairn, Scottish nationalism is unique because since the 1707 Acts of Union Scotland has been troubled with "a nationality which resigned Statehood but preserved an extraordinary amount of the institutional and psychological baggage" (117). Combined, the two scholars' points allow one to better understand the Anglo-Scottish social interaction episodes in the writings by Jane Austen and Mary Brunton. Working on the tension within a Scottish salon, at a London ball, or by a humble

English haberdasher's fireside, both writers challenge prevailing national prejudices and question the origins of unreasonable and narrow national feelings.

Why the Chosen Era

Of the selected writings, Austen's *Juvenilia* is the earliest in terms of the date of composition, started perhaps in 1787. Ferrier's *Marriage* came out in 1818, and is the latest completed work among the five texts. One may very well raise the following questions: why exactly choose this period? What political, cultural, or social trends were there during these three decades, that make them a significant epoch when one decides to look more deeply into the Anglo-Scottish Union and its reception by women in both countries?

Among other factors, the political climate of the decades both allows and necessitates a revision of the 1707 Union. First, it is literally impossible for writers to sincerely celebrate the shaping of British national identity during the first half of a century after the Kingdom was born. As mentioned above, the young Union bore the brunt of two major Jacobite risings respectively in 1715 and 1745. Lost alongside with the Stuarts' hope for the throne is the English people's trust in their northern neighbors. Fear and hatred prevailed as popular reactions to the rebellions, and the gap between the Lowlands and the Highlands widened as a result. In the discussion of the "aftermath of the '45" in his book on the Jacobite risings between 1689 and 1746, Bruce Lenman makes it clear that after the Forty-Five, "official English opinion tended to work on the assumption that all Scots were Jacobites," and that this forced "Lowlanders of a Whig persuasion" to eagerly seek English understanding by claiming

that "three-quarters of the Scottish population at least were bitterly hostile to the Jacobite cause" (264). Second, women's reactions to both the establishment of the Union and the above-mentioned rebellions are simply not heard in a timely manner. Even though men actively commented on the political upheavals during those years, many of their platforms—especially the Parliament—did not admit female participation. Unlike their male counterparts who can easily voice their anger or worries in pamphlets or other polemical writings, women tended to digest theirs, and managed to disguise opinions on such public events as personal reflections. In the following chapter, readers will find the teenage Jane Austen as a handy example, as she shares only with her family her criticism of the English suppression of Highland clans after the Forty-Five in her marginal comments on Oliver Goldsmith's "more serious" publication.

Last but not least, entering the latter half of the eighteenth century, the British gradually realized that the internal conflicts between England and Scotland were being replaced by international threats on both sides—the French Revolution triggered the Anglo-French Wars, which started in 1793 and would not come to an end until the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. Facing such challenges, the English and the Scots experienced a shared British identity in wartime by fighting side by side against a common enemy. Much scholarly work captures the actions of the renowned Scottish regiments and their contribution to the Kingdom's military endeavors. Relevant research extends far beyond the period of the Napoleonic Wars, going back to the Civil Wars and forward to the early twentieth century.[1] This is also a motif that all five of the women authors in this dissertation resort to in their writings: Austen, Wordsworth, and Ferrier directly address Anglo-Scottish military cooperation during

the wars in their fiction or correspondence, Brunton adds to it by mentioning the Seven Years' War as well, while Cooke incorporates it indirectly in the amicable Anglo-Scottish family connections in her historical fiction using the backdrop of the English Civil Wars.

Politics of the era naturally had an effect on people's social and cultural lives, which in turn compelled the two member nations to look more closely at each other, a step indispensable towards negotiating a shared national identity for the entire Kingdom. The Anglo-French Wars, lasting for 21 years with only a short pause during the one-year Peace of Amiens, render any cultural communication with France, or even with the Continent as a whole, suspicious. It is therefore not surprising to see the boom of "home tours," i.e. travelling inside the British Isles, rise just around the time. Instead of taking the traditional Grand Tour in France or Italy, more English would try Scotland or Wales as their destination, and as a result learn more about the local manners and social realities, as well as bring the information back to England. William Gilpin's work on picturesque beauty in the Scottish Highlands came out in 1789, and serves as the aesthetic paradigm for the trend. It is noteworthy that women are recorded as active participants in such cross-border tours, and this gives birth to plots of novels about women characters travelling back and forth between the two countries. Of the five authors selected for this project, three—Wordsworth, Brunton, and Ferrier—are known to have definitely visited the neighboring country in their lifetime. Wordsworth and Brunton describe their experiences extensively in the format of journals, and travelling is the keyword for all of Ferrier's major female characters in *Marriage*.

While the aforesaid political, cultural, and social elements together shape a historical period when women's reflections on the Anglo-Scottish Union started to appear and circulate, there is one more reason that these few decades present a fertile era for the arguments of this dissertation—for these writers, the Kingdom "was soon to expand," or "has just expanded" with its 1800 Union with Ireland. Lacking the power to voice their political preferences in public, women writing in the late Romantic period may have chosen to indicate their views on the later Union in their discussions of the former one, a possibility I consider in this dissertation. They may even have come to see the British national identity as an increasingly fluid and changing notion from its recent Union with Ireland.

Literature Review

If not limited to works examining the literary world, much scholarship is available concerning the history and efforts of building a new national identity for Great Britain. Resolutely confirming the existence of a distinct British national identity is Linda Colley with her seminal work, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (1992). Admitting that the "integration and homogenization of [the] disparate cultures" of England, Wales, and Scotland provide no rich soil for a common identity, Colley emphasizes the importance of "contact" and "conflict" with "the Other" in the process of its formation. She holds that only the historical conditions of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries could have concocted such a "superimposed" national identity (6-7). Of some interest to the dissertation is Colley's decision to devote the sixth chapter of her book to the analysis of "womanpower" as it influenced the shaping

of the identity. In her article in the *Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in the Romantic Period* (2015), Fiona Price further expands on women's contribution to the concept of a national identity through print culture in the Romantic era, attributing their importance in "reproducing the nation" to two reasons: first, that women play the "maternal role," and second, that they are responsible for the "diffusion of values through education" of the next generation (184). Both reasons resonate with my arguments in the chapters on Wordsworth, Brunton, and Ferrier, where I find the three authors emphasizing the significance of a proper education for the subjects of the Kingdom, especially for women from all its member nations, in the process of shaping its national identity.

Many other scholars have done research on political and social debates both before and after the 1707 Acts of Union. Clare Jackson, for example, analyzes in her article how different stakeholders shape the concept of a Scottish "nationhood" in the politicized polemics immediately before the two Acts of Union came into effect in the years 1706-7. Citing works such as "Two Discourses Concerning the Affairs of Scotland" and *Rights and Interests of the Two British Monarchies* respectively by Andrew Fletcher and James Hodges, Jackson manages to show that even these representative anti-Unionists "regarded attachment [of Scotland] to what was widely deemed to be one of the oldest nations in the world [i.e. England] with approbation" (65). On the other hand, Jackson reconsiders works such as *The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated* by Daniel Defoe, and suggests that though the pro-Unionist's arguments prevailed in his times, his prediction of the results of the Union can best be called "reductionist." The event did not turn out an equal "merger" between the countries, nor is it a "wholly English acquisition" (76). Near the end of her article, by calling the readers' attention to

a then existing third camp—those who proposed a "federal" or "con-federal" union between the countries, and "advocated closer dynastic, economic and military union with England . . . [while] still remaining a separate Scots Parliament to preserve the institutional integrity of Scots nationhood" (77), Jackson successfully presents the complex nature of the debates as well as the multiple outlooks held by the participants in those wars of ideas.

There are also scholars who supplement Jackson's summary of the big picture with more details, providing information as to non-conventional proposals against the general trend of the debates. Writing with the recent "pre-Referendum debate over Scottish independence" in mind, Ian Bradley in his *History Today* article addresses the interesting phenomenon of expectation and support for the Union on the Scottish side, from as early as the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, shortly after the Forty-Five. Although ending his argument with a rather radical conclusion, that the Scottish people may have felt less and less "British" because of "the ending of the British Empire" and thus their economic benefits from it, and of "the collapse of traditional industries like coal mining and ship building" in Scotland itself since the 1960s, Bradley does capture several significant moments in Scottish history, when that nation's thinkers help ease the Anglo-Scottish Union and the British national identity into being. He uses diverse examples to argue that many of the Scottish intelligentsia did view themselves as Britons instead of only Scots, both before and after the 1707 Acts of Union. He includes John Major, the "first major modern historian of Britain," who calls himself "a Scottish Briton" in his *History of Great Britain* in 1521, and David Hume of Godscroft, the Scottish historian who "argued for the full union of England and Scotland" in his 1605 tract *De Unione Insulae Britannicae*. Pointing out James

Thomson's and Tobias Smollett's enthusiasm for the new-born kingdom, as revealed respectively in the former's lyrics for the national air "Rule Britannia" and the latter's opening sentence for his novel *Roderick Random* ("Britishness: A Scottish Invention"), Bradley shows how the literary world and its reactions may have had impact on largely political and economic conversations.

Among the few works that investigate how literature figures in the establishment of the Anglo-Scottish Union and the construction of British national identity, Leith Davis's *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707-1830* (1999) stands out with its well-designed structure. In each of the five chapters, Davis describes and interprets the conversation or debate between an English and a Scottish author on topics crucial to the Union between the two nations, such as the document of the Acts of Union, the Forty-Five, and the origin for both national cultures. Like Bradley, Davis also employs the thoughts of Defoe and Smollett. Other authors included in the discussions range from novelists like Henry Fielding and Sir Walter Scott, essayists like Samuel Johnson, biographers such as James Boswell, to poets such as James Macpherson and Robert Burns. She captures the process of the literary world's fluctuating reactions to the Union by stopping shortly before the Victorian period started, thus covering nearly a hundred and thirty years.

Extending similar discussions to fine arts, Sebastian Mitchell, in his *Visions of Britain, 1730-1830: Anglo-Scottish Writing and Representation* (2013) investigates how the concept of a "united kingdom" of Britain is imagined and constructed in literary texts as well as in relevant art pieces. For Mitchell, the "pictorial qualities" of the works in question stand out. By analyzing how these "images" are used "specifically and generally, personally and publicly, favourably and unfavourably" in the texts (5), he

manages to deconstruct the vision of a self-contained and well integrated kingdom as is seen in contemporary writings. Besides analyzing textual representation of the kingdom by renowned writers such as Thomson, Smollett, and Boswell, Mitchell enriches the conversation with discussions of visual representations of Britain by artists such as Allan Ramsay and J. M. W. Turner, concentrating on the former's British portraiture and the latter's illustrations for Sir Walter Scott's poetic works.

If any element may be said to be missing from the studies by Davis and Mitchell, it is women writers' attitudes toward and opinions on the same issues, which are important because they may help reveal how the Anglo-Scottish Union was received by the female half of the Kingdom.[2] This dissertation adds this dimension to the current conversation by questioning whether there are gender differences when one compares the issues raised by the women writers with those raised by men in their writings about the Union and British national identity. As mentioned above, in the course of research for this dissertation, I find that not only do the women writers choose a variety of different topics than their male contemporaries do, they also have a far less optimistic outlook for a shared British national identity for its member nations.

Admittedly, it is near to impossible to draw a clear line between how men write and how women do it. I am by no means suggesting that women writers employ completely different methods from the major male authors engaged in the debates. Instead, my dissertation ventures to see whether when writing about such a highly politicized issue as the Anglo-Scottish Union, Romantic women writers develop any gender-associated patterns or approaches. Both linking and differentiating the two groups of writings, Anne K. Mellor in her introduction to *Mothers of the Nation: Women's Political Writings in England: 1780-1830* (2000) warns against the oversimplified

"binary" division of the public spheres for men and the private spheres for women (7). I agree and find the five writers discussed in the dissertation were aware that they were dealing with a political issue impacting the fate of their nation, a field dominated by men. Questioning Habermas's exclusion of females from the public spheres, Mellor contends that by playing important roles in the discursive and literary worlds, women in the Romantic period actually had "definable impact on the social movements, the economic relationships, and the state-regulated policies of the day" (3). Analyzing the texts by the two generations of traditionally canonical Romantic poets, Mellor proves that those male writers could write while "[stealing] from women their primary cultural authority as the experts in delicate, tender feelings and by extension, moral purity and goodness" (*Romanticism and Gender* 23). Judging from this statement, there should be certain writing techniques and patterns that were expected to have originated with women writers, and one does find the writers examined, especially Mary Brunton and Susan Ferrier, place unusual emphasis on accounting for the emotional and moral status of their characters.

Elizabeth A. Fay, for another example, highlights the possibly gender-related differences seen in the travel writings in the Romantic period. For Fay, not only does gender interfere with the "terrain covered by [travelogue] writers," it also to some extent determines the contents and styles of such writings:

> [While] men travelers tended to intrude certain kinds of analyses into their narratives—of the military structures, political governance, trade, and natural resources—the general coverage of classes of people, marketplaces, native dress and foods, architecture and the arts (especially music and dance), and religion and religious festivals were something a writer of

> either sex could provide. . . . Although men included such observations along with analysis, women writers were seen as peculiarly suited to a more intimate engagement with cultural practices, as they were often constrained by propriety and custom from political, military, or trade analysis. (74)

Fay's explanation benefits both my chapter on Dorothy Wordsworth and the entire project. Wordsworth limits her understanding of Scottish culture to interpretation of specific landmarks or incidents in her *Recollections*, instead of attempting any generally applicable analyses. As readers can see from their writings, the five chosen women writers more fully consider factors such as social etiquette, the historical imagination, gender difference, the processing of national prejudices, and the significance of women's education in their portrayals of Anglo-Scottish interactions.

All these together form a sharp contrast with the major male authors' concerns, and understanding their concerns will allow us to better recognize the women writers' decisions of including/excluding certain motifs in their writing. The negotiation between English and Scots polemicists in the early eighteenth century provides a stage for the opinions of pro-Unionists and anti-Unionists from both countries. Of the active participants in these debates on the Anglo-Scottish Union, Daniel Defoe stands out because of his unique identity as a government agent for the English side, the crucial role he plays in promoting the concept of a union in both countries, and his voluminous reflection on the results of the Union written in the decades following its establishment. Before he was sent to Scotland in 1706, Defoe had already published much pro-Union propaganda in his Tory-supporting periodical the *Review*; two of his

six *Essays at Removing National Prejudices against a Union with Scotland* came out in the same year; the renowned *History of the Union of Great Britain*, though for different reasons published only in 1709, had originally been expected to come out by the end of 1707 (McKim 29), to celebrate the Union itself.

One of the architects in charge of constructing the Kingdom from scratch, Defoe's vision of the Anglo-Scottish Union thus is representative of the English perspective. His first two *Essays*, finished before he arrived in Edinburgh and targeted mainly at the English audience, are understandably more straightforward when declaring their purposes. In the first *Essay*, for instance, the agent invites his readers to consider a union's contribution in terms of national defense: "*General National Peace* . . . is a most desirable Article, and the greatest Advantage imaginable to both Nations" (*Essay Part I* 18). To appeal especially to his fellow countrymen, he goes on to analyze the benefits for the member nations respectively, explaining that for the Scots, a union may "[recover] them from the Poverty and Decay of their Affairs: to which they want nothing but Freedom of Circumstances, and Peace," while for the English, such peace from the Union will maintain "the Security and quiet Possession of the Wealth and Improvements of [their] own Countrey [*sic*]" (*Essay Part I* 18-19; Defoe's emphasis and capitalization). It is noteworthy how determined Defoe is in drawing a line between the two sides—this gesture proves even more reassuring when he starts discussing possible economic gains for the northern nation. Inviting the English audience to imagine that their Scottish neighbors are "*to grow rich by the Union*," the essayist relieves them with the bright prospects of "[the Scots' Lands [obtaining] Improvements; and [this ending] in keeping their numerous Hands at home" (*Essay Part I* 24)!

In other words, Defoe's initial essays make it clear that the mainstream concern of the English pro-Unionists lies in keeping the Scots out of, instead of leading them into, a real union. Again one should note that this gesture is after all a rhetorical one, and when speaking to another audience, Defoe's vision of the Anglo-Scottish Union can be far more systematic and detailed. From 1724 to 1727, the English author published in three volumes his *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Journies*. In the "Introduction to the Account and Description of Scotland" in Volume Three, he enumerates the possible measures the Kingdom can take to make the Union more beneficial to Scotland:

> [Perhaps,] it would much sooner have been, if some people's engagements were made good to them, which were lustily promis'd a little before the late Union: Such as erecting manufactures there under English direction, embarking stocks from England to carry on trade, employing hands to cut down their northern woods, and make navigations to bring the fir-timber,. [*sic*] and deals to England, of which Scotland is able to furnish an exceeding quantity; encouraging their fishery, and abundance of fine things more which were much talk'd of I say, but little done… (*A Tour* n. pag.)[3]

Besides exemplifying his rhetorical skills, the two works mentioned above together outline the topics that interested men the most during the discussions preceding and shortly after the establishment of the Anglo-Scottish Union, i.e., national security, military concerns, economic development, and trading inside the Kingdom. Although strengthening Britain against foreign threat is among the women writers' concerns, the big picture of preventing the Scots from "invading" the southern nation and better distribution of trade inside the Kingdom is an idea that does not occur to them.

A survey of Defoe's rivals, the Scottish anti-Unionists, yields similar results as to the topics of concern. Mainly publishing in the few years immediately before the Acts of Union took power, key figures from this group of authors include John Hamilton, 2nd Lord Belhaven, Andrew Fletcher, James Hodges, Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath, Robert Black, Robert Wylie, and William Forbes. Their works range from speeches given in the Scottish Parliament, political tracts and pamphlets, to patriotic poetry ("Popular Opposition" par. 10), and answer or even anticipate the claims brought up by the English side. A strong rebuttal of Defoe's lecture on the Union's potential benefits for Scottish economy, for example, can be found in Fletcher's pamphlet titled *State of the Controversy betwixt United and Separate Parliaments* (1706). Warning his compatriots of commercial inequality after the introduction of "an [*sic*] united Parliament," the Scots author uses the unfair "Deportment of the English towards one another" as his evidence—citing the cases of "Cattle," "Flanders-Lace," and "Water-born Coal," Fletcher illustrates how some big English cities promote their own "Product and Manufacture" by the means of legislation, at the cost of less densely populated regions (9). The discussion anticipates Defoe's suggestions by nearly twenty years!

To visualize the heated war of words between the two nations in the 1700s, Michael Hickey singles out Defoe and Lord Belhaven as the representative leaders of the debates, labelling the latter as "a champion for Scottish independence and [the] strongest voice in the anti-union movement" (4). The Scots MP is also the only noncanonical writer included in Leith Davis's *Acts of Union*. Davis peruses the Lord's Nov. 2, 1706 speech in the Scottish Parliament, suggests its importance in achieving an "image of a homogeneous Scotland," and compares it with Defoe's emphasis on "the

conjunctive power of written language" when imagining the nation (30). Significant as the speech is, the genre of the piece of writing undoubtedly limits the breadth of its subject matter. To better investigate the Scots' perspective regarding the Union, one needs to consult texts outside the parliament as well.

Sir George Lockhart's *Memoirs Concerning the Affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne's Accession to the Throne, to the Commencement of the Union of England and Scotland*, first published in 1714, serves as a good bridge between formal parliament proceedings and pure literature. Lockhart, a steadfast opponent to the idea of union with England, remained through his life close to Lord Belhaven in spite of the latter's "tergiversations" over the issue (Szechi par. 2). After the Union was officially established in 1707, he was selected as "one of only four Scottish MPs to align themselves with the tory [*sic*] minority at Westminster," but at the same time participated both in a failed French invasion of Britain in 1708 and in the rising of the Fifteen, "was considered for a peerage [in the Pretender's court] in 1713" (Ibid. par. 3), and maintained allegiance to the Jacobite King till the end of his life.

The *Memoirs*, therefore, allows us to see what male anti-Unionists have at the stake when it comes to the impact of the 1707 Union. The work has been valued by researchers for two reasons: first, it gives a meticulous account of the process of both nations discussing the individual articles, and of the popular oppositions such as risings in Glasgow as the commissioners had the debates; second, in its famous appendix, Lockhart releases facts about the Equivalent, which he does not hesitate to term as "money . . . remitted . . . and employed in bribing members of [Scots] parliament" (389). Queen Anne's letter containing instructions and relevant

arrangements for her Treasury, together with a list of the exact amounts paid to the then-Scottish parliamentarians, is given as concrete evidence in the text.

Besides these facts and testimonies, the *Memoirs* is revealing for this project in another aspect, i.e. it emphasizes Scottish patriotism and the sense of sharing a national history, as well as these feelings' crucial roles in shaping a working national identity for the people. These clearly are not top concerns on the list of benefits from the Union offered by the English side, nor are they likely to be. As a Scots nobleman, Lockhart manages to call his readers' attention to this indispensable dimension of the Scottish mentality. Talking about May 1, 1707, when the Acts of Union took effect, he calls it "a day never to be forgot by Scotland; a day in which the Scots were stripped of what their predecessors had gallantly maintained for many hundred years, [i.e.] their independency and sovereignty" (323). This powerful but general statement is soon followed by more detailed, matter-of-fact reports of the evil changes after the Union was born: he talks about "vast numbers of surveyors, collectors, waiters" that were "sent down" from London, the real center of the new Kingdom, and points out how these "scum and canalia" from the other country "treated the natives with . . . contempt, and executed the new laws with all the rigour imaginable" (326). The sense of loss is aggravated with the timely insertion of how an intended Jacobite restoration with French assistance failed in 1708, and culminates when towards the end of the *Memoirs*, Lockhart starts a series of eulogies as to how "good," "brave," "polite," "learning," "powerful," "industrious," "loyal" a people the Scots had been, or could have continued to be, if they had not accepted the articles of Union imposed by the English (370-377).

Understandably, after this first wave of polemical war between the two member nations of the Union, the aforementioned motifs such as the newborn Kingdom's political, economic, military, religious developments continued to dominate the publications by male writers. Moreover, as communication between both sides increased, migration inside the Union also gradually caught people's eyes as a topic for consideration. This phenomenon intrigues women writers as well, but in their works they care more about the concrete effects it has on individual subjects of the Kingdom, instead of about its influences on the Kingdom as a whole.

Dr. Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) illustrates this latter way of thinking well. As a much-read work of British travel literature, the *Journey* is used in two other chapters of this dissertation to form comparisons with women author's writing. Johnson explored the then still highly wild Hebrides archipelago in the company of his Scottish friend—and later biographer James Boswell in 1773. Originally having had no intention of keeping records of his visit, he took up his pen "18 days [into]" the journey (Tisdall par. 3). The Doctor is by no means a lover of Scotland—his taunts of the northern country in front of its natives are faithfully reproduced in *The Life of Doctor Johnson, LL. D.* (1791) by Boswell, one of their victims. Even in these usually spontaneous and half-joking comments does one sense a genuine repugnance at Scottish emigration into England in search for employment. For instance, when a Scots clergyman Reverend John Ogilvie praised the wild prospects in his country in the presence of Johnson, the Doctor retorts in a sarcastic tone: "Sir, let me tell you, the noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road that leads him to England!" (1: 421). The debate between Johnson and

Boswell, about "all . . . good gardeners [in England] being Scotchmen" (2: 63), also counts as a representative moment.

These bitter ironies are replaced by serious contemplation of the harms of large-scale Scottish depopulation from emigration to the wider world—especially America—in the *Journey*. In the section subtitled "Ostig in Sky," Dr. Johnson describes how the Highlanders are persuaded to seek "fortunate islands" and "happy regions" by the first groups of settlers that "have obtained grants of American lands," and how these emigrating endeavors usually only end in "more fatigue and equal scarcity" in regions such as Nova Scotia (151-153). The English doctor even brings himself so far as to point out for his Scottish readers the particular vulnerability of the Hebrides:

> Some method to stop this epidemic desire of wandering, which spreads its contagion from valley to valley, deserves to be sought with great diligence. In more fruitful countries, the removal of one only makes room for the succession of another: but in the Hebrides, the loss of an inhabitant leaves a lasting vacuity; for nobody born in any other parts of the world will choose this country for his residence, and an Island once depopulated will remain a desert, as long as the present facility of travel gives every one, who is discontented and unsettled, the choice of his abode. (Ibid. 153-154)

The passage is worth praising for being observant and worth questioning for withholding important information at the same time: Johnson in his suggestion manages to take the particularity of the Scottish western islands into consideration, and therefore his point is constructive and beneficial for the health of the nation; however, the English author fails to mention the ultimate reasons behind the phenomenon of depopulation in the region, i.e. the clearances in the Highlands.

This again ties back to the political and economic factors—Scottish emigration started as early as in the seventeenth century, but experienced two major peaks "in the mid-eighteenth century" and "after 1815," respectively as results as of "political unrest" and "as a means of poor relief" for the Kingdom ("Scotland Emigration and Immigration" par. 3). From the perspective of the British government, to destroy the Highland clan system became a necessary step after the Forty-Five, and the 1746 Dress Act, Disarming Act, and the Heritable Jurisdictions (Scotland) Act basically achieved this goal. Many discontented Highlanders began leaving for America and other parts of the globe after these fatal Acts for their traditional society were passed. To worsen the case, the "arable and mixed farming" mode in the Highlands was superseded by the "more profitable sheep-farming" in the late eighteenth century ("Clearance" par. 1), and "'improving' landlords" in imitation of their southern counterparts helped accelerate the process of eviction and the ensuing emigration ("Highland Depopulation and Increased Urbanisation" [*sic*]). Together, these influences from the English side result in the deserted situation in the Highlands, the most distinctly Scottish part of the nation.

While one must acknowledge the usefulness of Johnson's bringing up this issue of depopulation in a part of the Kingdom, it should also be pointed out that as an English author, he does not make any concession or bother to make any apologetic gestures. Right before the cited lecture on the harms of emigration, Johnson actually puts down multiple paragraphs justifying the suppression actions on the British government's side after the Jacobite Risings. Its "disarming a people . . . broken into several tribes" is applauded as producing "more good than evil" (*A Journey* 144), while the "abolition of local jurisdictions" is excused as having "likewise its evil and its good"

(147). This stance renders the Doctor's Ethos as one thinking for the Hebrides residents rather doubtable.

Chapter Descriptions

Do women writers prefer alternatives to aspects of statecraft and government clearly favored by men in their writings, such as political, economic, religious, and military issues? Does lack of political power and rights to personal property (if married) contribute to women's focusing on domestic and social history? Are there any overlapping concerns between their and men's modes of writing? If so, ought these categories to be treated or studied in a different manner? Each of the chapters of the dissertation addresses one or more of these questions, concluding that Romantic women writers do focus more on social and cultural aspects of life within the Union, and if venturing into a topic extensively researched by men—such as economics and education, they tend to particularize instead of generalizing.

The first ideas for this project germinated as I took a graduate course titled "Jane Austen and Her Contemporaries" with Dr. Devoney Looser for the fall semester of 2013. Austenian heroines from the published novels are famous for how they do not step out of England, and re-reading the *Juvenilia* side by side with those novels easily brings out the sharp contrast in Austen's choice of setting. The European Continent, the Celtic fringe, North America, the Arabic world… All these regions have a part in the *Juvenilia* pieces, while the best known of them, "Love and Freindship," is for the most part set in Scotland. Chapter Two examines such Anglo-Scottish moments from the *Juvenilia*, and aims to account for the conspicuous absence of similar plots in

Austen's later fiction. Previous research suggests that Austen's literary and geographical decision is a deliberate transition, and symbolizes Austen's break with clichéd national prejudices and her espousal of a more realistic nationalism: instead of clinging to the almost anarchical Celtic fringe depicted in "Love and Freindship" and other stories ("Jack and Alice," "Henry and Eliza," etc.), she goes on to create the understanding and cultured Scottish social circle in "Lesley Castle," and does not hesitate to make fun of her fellow Englishmen for their hypocrisy compared with their straightforward, credulous northern neighbors.

The *Juvenilia* is central to the dissertation because in some sense it visualizes how the teenage writer Austen would come back to the same issue, "mend" her former viewpoint, and thus grow; also, the collection sheds some light on how women writers' strategies sometimes differ from their male counterparts': though Austen clearly realizes how Scottish economic disadvantage, or simply its poverty, has led to all the sense of social inferiority for the people of the country, she never calls for any measures toward addressing this obvious downside of the Union. In lieu of this, she fills the *Juvenilia* pieces with less-well-to-do English female characters who keep emigrating into the less expensive Celtic fringe (as in "Catharine, or the Bower," for instance). No one knows about quotidian expenses better than women do. The irony needs no explanation—how could people hope for a blanket British national identity or any sincere feelings of belonging to the Anglo-Scottish Union, when the two member countries are thus segregated in the social-economic aspect from each other?

Chapter Three also originates from the reading list from Dr. Looser's course. As the first work of fiction published in the Austen-Leigh family, Cassandra Cooke's only novel *Battleridge* proves intriguing because of its capability of containing multiple

contradictory features. Among other factors, although a historical novel on the surface, it insists on bringing every macro or public element down to the micro or personal level; second, finishing off the main Civil-Wars plotline with only a sentence or two concerning an unfathomably important historic event as the Restoration of Charles II, Cooke dedicates almost half of her work to a framed story about Anglo-Scottish amity in a seemingly irrelevant, tenth-century setting; last, even in her treatment of the seventeenth-century story, she challenges history itself by teaming the orthodox Republicans up with an Irish villain, while uniting the pious Royalist household with a Scottish family. These two latter points justify Cooke's seat among the women writers chosen for this dissertation, and the first point makes it possible to compare her skills as a historical fiction author with male writers such as Sir Walter Scott.

Besides functioning as a political allegory by promoting co-operation with Scotland to resist foreign invasion, *Battleridge* also softens its English readers toward this idea by invalidating the deep-rooted national prejudices the two member countries entertain against each other. In both volumes of the novel, characters frequently disguise themselves as other persons, managing to pass as people from another region, class, or profession without any difficulty, later revealing their true identities of their own volition. The only exception to the pattern, Agitha the Ethling of Cumberland, fails only because of her moral corruption. It is safe to draw the conclusion that with this mosaic of individual stories, Cooke expresses her belief that a person's identity is highly fluid and constantly in transition. Together, the two motifs illustrate the woman writer's openness to new British national identities.

At first glance, Dorothy Wordsworth seems an odd choice for the project. Her *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland* is the only non-fiction examined for the

dissertation. While the other four writers are either connected or mention each other's works or in their letters, Wordsworth gives the impression of being more at home with masterpieces by the famous "men of the era," such as her brother William, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charles Lamb, etc. In spite of all these, the *Recollections* provides an ideal linking point between the "English half" of the dissertation and the "Scottish half." Having visited the northern country twice, Wordsworth is able to supplement Austen and Cooke's writings with first-hand materials and thus a more realistic touch. Instead of imagining what a Scottish drawing room must look like, or asserting that the Scots are willing to help fight against the French as long as the English behave in a friendly way, Wordsworth has had the chance to communicate with local people and look at how the Union is received across the border, nearly a hundred years after its birth.

Chapter Four follows Dorothy Wordsworth's flux of feelings as she enters the neighboring country, visits the Lowlands, and then has a taste of the Highlands. It is best described as a process of familiarization, because as she gets deeper into the country, Wordsworth's initial effort to exoticize it, i.e. to introduce Scottish landscape and manners by comparing them to Continental counterparts, starts to fall apart. It gives in to recurring discoveries of social-economic similarities between Scotland and England—best noticed in her description of the underprivileged situations of Scots women, as well as her awareness of the role played by blind preference for industrialization over agricultural investment in causing such fates for women. In other words, through observation of her own sex in the neighboring country, Dorothy Wordsworth bases her outlook for a shared national identity for the subjects of the Anglo-Scottish Union not on their common hope for the future, but on their common

suffering from the past. The gesture of understanding leads to more productive results. The tendency culminates in her panegyric for Scottish national heroes such as the Marquis of Montrose near the end of the travelogue: the Scots' fight against the English Parliament army is skillfully compared to the Anglo-Scottish resistance against the possible French invasion, and by sympathizing with the Scottish cause in the past, Wordsworth actually wins her Scots readers' empathy towards the enterprise of the British Kingdom in near future.

From the fifth chapter on, this project turns to the Scots perspective concerning the Union and its aftermath, and selects Mary Brunton and Susan Ferrier as two representative women authors whose stances to some extent differ from each other. Known by the above-mentioned English authors, or admirers of them in turn, Brunton and Ferrier's works were well received as they came out. Though largely forgotten nowadays, they participated actively in the elite world of Scotland in their lifetime, forming friendships with better-known master minds of the nation such as Joanna Baillie and Sir Walter Scott.

Chapter Five describes Mary Brunton as a doubter of the Anglo-Scottish Union and of its claimed benefits for her country. Brunton's first novel *Self-Control*—famously sneered at by Austen—can pass for materials good enough for the dissertation, with its Scottish-raised heroine Laura Montreville transplanted to London, to shift for herself by selling her paintings. Brunton already implies her distrust in the construction of British national identity when she comes back again and again to the theme of Laura digesting the Londoners' hostile comments on Scotland and on her fellow countrymen. Instead, the project singles out her second novel, *Discipline*, as the major text examined for the chapter. Reversing the experience of Laura, *Discipline* tells the

story of a spoilt English heroine, Ellen Percy, tracing first her efforts to search for employment as a governess in Edinburgh, and then her visit to a Highland glen after regaining her inheritance. Brunton's objection to the Union is rather radical, and she even extends her disapproval to the English-tainted Lowlands, symbolized by the city of Edinburgh in the novel. The writer's private journals also help substantiate that she believes only the Highlands can be called the true haven for the Scottish national spirit.

The choice of an English protagonist both allows Brunton more room when criticizing the largely English-driven political decisions of the Kingdom, and adds a satirical flavor to the work. Presenting various scenes of social injustice and national prejudices as seen in the English eyes of Ellen Percy, Brunton brings home to her readers how the Union could be disaster to the Scottish while also backfiring on the English. For instance, the two episodes of Ellen suffering at the hands of Mrs. Boswell and Henry Murray, both happening in Edinburgh, prove how the Kingdom's commercial corruption and military expansion can destroy the moral compasses of individual families. The latter case especially strikes a noteworthy contrast with the viewpoints of the three English writers covered above—also talking about Anglo-Scottish military co-operation of the era, Brunton as a Scots writer does not join the eulogy. On the contrary, she calls her readers' attention to the negative impact the phenomenon has on her own country. It is because Captain Murray is away for the Union's cause so often that his son Henry misses a proper education from his parents, and the lack of such instructions in turn gives rise to his inappropriate behavior towards Ellen, the English protagonist. This is a dimension that the English writers fail to notice, and allows one a more rounded understanding of how the Anglo-Scottish

Union were received at the turn of the century. Besides Ellen's English identity, Brunton also makes skilful use of different perspectives such as that of a Highland woman, Cecil Graham. It is in a framed story told by Cecil that the Scots writer gives vent to her indignation at the English suppression of the Highland clans following the Forty-Five. In terms of this strategy, Brunton both resembles Cassandra Cooke in the format, and differs from her in essence by portraying the harmful aftermath of the Union.

Composed for the most part during the Napoleonic Wars and published three years after the end of the wars, Susan Ferrier's first novel *Marriage* seems the right subject for the last chapter of this dissertation because it proves to be a connecting point in two ways: considering Ferrier's literary career and social life, studying the novel proves a natural segue into research on Scottish women's literature in the Victorian era or writings by Sir Walter Scott; at the same time, her take on the Anglo-Scottish Union as well as British national identity is different enough from those of the three English women writers as well as from that of Brunton's, to render her an interesting figure for the project.

Ferrier's attitude towards the United Kingdom stands out because, rather than debate the merit of the Union itself, she is more interested in how Scotland fares within such a new political framework. Compared with the patriotic Austen, Cooke, and Wordsworth, Ferrier appears a low-key utilitarian; measured against the idealistic Brunton, she is more open to self-criticism. Scotland in the world of *Marriage* is also divided into the Highlands and the Lowlands, yet instead of lauding the former at the cost of the latter area, the writer manages to represent both the positive and negative aspects of the two regions, and works actively in search for the solutions to any existing

problems with her own culture. To the Highland military valor and the Lowland commercial prosperity portrayed in the writings by the other writers, Ferrier adds realistic facets such as the Highland agriculture in transition, the traditional Scots household crumbling, the Scottish nationalistic emotions facing abuses in the name of charity, etc. All these help enrich the big picture, allowing readers to realize how the Union has influences on various aspects of life in Scotland.

Moreover, with *Marriage* Ferrier also builds on and further develops the motifs and writing techniques by the other four writers. Following the story of a Scottish-raised Anglo-Scottish heroine Mary Douglas, the novel actually contains as many as four women travelling across the border, their cultural exchanges with people of the other nation, and their (lack of) gains from such experiences. These women come from two countries, three families, and across three generations. Among others, Ferrier's characterization of Mary's grandaunts from the Highlands directly contributes to the theme of the work. For the Scots writer, failure to switch to modernity is the Achilles's heel for her country, and the grandaunts epitomize adherence to primitive and inefficient practices in Scottish society. Their preoccupation with unproductive details of everyday life, their lack of foresight, their blind obedience to outdated rules and local authorities, and most deadly, their ignorance of the world outside the Highlands, are all obstacles to social progress for the nation. On the other hand, Ferrier does not go so far as to seal the fate of these characters—the authoritative female figures also are shown as loving, supportive, and nostalgic of the necessary etiquettes slowly disappearing from contemporary Scotland. Likewise, although also choosing to resort to male valor in the British-French wars as an answer to the issue of Anglo-Scottish relationships inside the Union, she insinuates her reservation about the solution in

episodes such as Mary's visit to the Nelson Monument in Edinburgh. It is such complexity and control in Ferrier's writings that win for her a position among the writers chosen for this dissertation.

Taken together, the five chapters of the dissertation aim to chart women writers' understandings of the elements necessary for building a working national identity. Having little control over male-dominated materials such as Parliament proceedings and polemical pamphlets, women writing in the late Romantic period take their chances with the "softer" genres deemed appropriate for female authors, and skillfully participate in the conversation on nationalisms within the British Kingdom and more specifically, on the influences of the Anglo-Scottish Union. Weaving their keen observation and insights as to everyday happenings in the format of novels or a travelogue, women supplement men's focuses with information about the popular feedback to the Union in more private space such as the drawing room and the kitchen; they visualize the huge impact such a historic event has on ordinary subjects of the Kingdom, as represented in social issues such as women's education, imposed and unbalanced industrial development, unsubstantiated national prejudices, etc. Their gender and background allow some of them to look through the British military cause, and directly at the disastrous aftermath of such vain honor for the people. Presenting the particularity of the English writers' stances side by side with those of their Scots countrywomen, the project not only explores women's literary choices when they want to comment on contemporary politics, but also reflects how the understandings of national identities vary within the complex ethnic framework of the British Kingdom. Reading the women writers along this line, therefore, will help draw

a comprehensive picture of how the Anglo-Scottish Union has contributed to British national identity in a wider frame of reference.

Notes

1. To name just a few representative works: *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* by Mark Stoyle, which helps understand Cooke's portrayal of the two sides of the Civil Wars in Chapter Two; *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* by Matthew P. Dziennik; and *Highland Soldier: A Social Study of the Highland Regiment, 1820-1920* by Diana M. Henderson.

2. Note that in Chapter Four of her book, Davis does talk about William Wordsworth, his poems commemorating Robert Burns composed during or after his 1803 tour in Scotland, as well as the possible motivation for him to write those poems. It benefits the chapter of this dissertation on Dorothy Wordsworth and her portrayal of Scotland in the travel memoirs of the same tour.

3. Besides the cited concrete advice, Defoe also includes four points as general guidelines for the Scottish people, which interestingly fits into the position held by Samuel Johnson. In Point Two, Defoe urges the Scots to restrain "from a desire of travelling abroad" and from "wandering from home." In Point Four, he questions the Scots as to their different behaviors at home and abroad ("Introduction to the Account and Description of Scotland").

CHAPTER 2

NATIONAL IDENTITIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL SETTINGS IN JANE AUSTEN'S *JUVENILIA*

In mid-July 1814, Jane Austen received the manuscript of a story written by her niece Anna Austen, who asked for some literary advice. Jane wrote back to Anna in August, commenting on the last chapter of the work: "[You] had better not leave England. Let the Portmans [her characters' names] go to Ireland, but as you know nothing of the Manners there, you had better not go with them. You will be in danger of giving false representations. Stick to Bath & the Foresters [her characters' names]. There you will be quite at home" (*Letters* 280-281). By this point in her life, Jane Austen had published three novels—*Sense and Sensibility* (1811), *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), and *Mansfield Park* (1814), and all of them illustrate well how she sticks to familiar settings for her own stories: the novels are without exception set in England. Some of the characters have been to the Mediterranean (William Price) and East as well as West Indies (Colonel Brandon, Sir Thomas, and Tom Bertram), but the narrator never follows them to a foreign country.

By contrast, Austen's *Juvenilia*, written largely between 1787 to 1793, curiously deviates from the aforesaid principle. The world established in the pieces collected in the three notebooks is simply wider: one encounters a gentleman who sails "for America" ("Henry and Eliza" 44), a young bride that flies to "the Continent" or France in particular and then returns in "a man of War of 55 Guns" (42), a "beautifull [*sic*] but affected" girl that becomes "the favourite Sultana of the great Mogul" ("Jack and Alice" 32), etc. Characters of exotic and often mixed parentage abound in the *Juvenilia*, and in some of the stories, the settings are noticeably British rather than English—such as the

mock-Irish town called "Crankhumdunberry" in "Frederic and Elfrida" and the mock-Welsh name for the village "Pammydiddle" in "Jack and Alice."

This chapter first examines these frequent, bold, and often joking references to the Celtic fringe—especially Scotland—in the *Juvenilia* stories, such as "Jack and Alice," "A Tour through Wales," "The History of England," "Love and Freindship," "Lesley Castle," and "Catharine, or the Bower." Comparing them then with passages from her later, longer works such as "The Watsons" and *Emma*, I document the gradual shift to much less frequent and much more realistic representations of the Celtic areas, in the latter pieces of the *Juvenilia* as well as in Austen's later works. I argue that this shift results from her growing awareness of British national identity, a concept that came into being as a result of the Anglo-Scottish Union in 1707. This awareness in turn influences her understanding of English identity. The valorous performances by Scottish regiments in cooperation with the English armies during the Napoleonic Wars, an even more complicated national identity derived from the union of the two nations with Ireland in 1800, and exposure to works by Scottish authors such as Sir Walter Scott, may have all helped shape such awareness. Pursuing this topic allows readers to better understand Austen's reactions to Britain's political atmosphere, as well as the socio-economic gradations inside the Union. Underlining the gap between economic prosperity in England and impoverishment in the Celtic fringe, her early work calls her readers' attention to the unequal factors behind this project of a uniform national identity for everyone inside the British Kingdom. Later, her fiction downplays differences between the English people and other subjects of the Empire, as she seems to have grown more reconciled to the concept of British identity. In later sections of this chapter, readers will see that not only is this shift evident in her

mature works such as *Emma*, it is also echoed in passages of her letters touching upon Scottish people, their culture, and their literature. The change points to her skeptical and critical reception of the government's promotion of an "ideal" identity for the entire Empire and may suggest her stronger allegiance to English identity. Unlike the following chapters of this dissertation, this chapter mainly addresses texts written several years before the 1798 Irish rebellion, which leads directly to the Union between the British Kingdom and Ireland. As a result, one is able to better detect in how powerful a manner the Anglo-Scottish Union alone shapes women writers' plans for the national identities of the characters in their works.

Many scholars, including F. R. Leavis and D. W. Harding, have commented on or tried to account for Austen's "Englishness." Holding up the Regency writer as the probable model for women writers from the mid twentieth century, Maroula Joannou enumerates "the essential components of the English national psyche" valued in Austen's novels, such as "courtesy," "politeness," "self-restraint," and "decency," just to name a few (49). Concentrating on a particular work, Brian C. Southam in his influential essay titled "Jane Austen's Englishness: *Emma* as National Tale" interprets George Knightley as the hero of Austen's own national tale, one she wrote in response to the boom in popularity of works such as Sydney Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806).

Cogent as his reading of *Emma* is, Southam does not allow the *Juvenilia* into this "war" of national identities. For Southam, Austen's *Juvenilia* is nothing more than "childhood pieces designed for family entertainment." Though noticing the ubiquitous nature of "jokes about Scotland, Ireland, and Wales" in that body of work, he believes that those serve only as "a satire on the extravagant journeys and distant places of

Gothic and sentimental fiction" (187). To be sure, parody of contemporary sentimental stories and romances is an utmost goal for young Austen, yet it is a little rash to exclude the *Juvenilia* completely from the discussion of Austen's attitude towards the Celtic fringe of the British Empire. Among other reasons, one can detect an obvious change in her treatment of the subject even within the range of the *Juvenilia* works mentioned above—young Austen the author keeps growing in those pieces. Margaret Matthews has broadened the horizon with her research on Austen and the United Kingdom, but she uses mainly *Northanger Abbey* and *Emma* as relevant texts, while touching upon "Love and Freindship." By bringing the *Juvenilia* further into our conversations about Austen, Englishness, and Britishness, and by highlighting the idiosyncrasy of individual tales therein instead of simply treating it as a one-piece work, this project will provide a fuller picture of Austen's political and national affiliations. This chapter helps explain how Austen gradually grows into a proponent for Englishness in literature, as so many people nowadays take her to be. Instead of taking such Englishness for granted, the chapter allows readers to see how Austen carefully measured English identity against other national characters inside the British Kingdom, long before she writes her famous eulogy of Englishness in *Emma*.

Because Ireland did not become part of the United Kingdom until the Acts of Union in 1800, and most of the stories from the *Juvenilia* probably were written in the 1780s and 1790s, the focus of my discussion will be on Scotland and Wales as depicted in Austen's texts. Tom Nairn takes a close look at these two countries inside the United Kingdom, and carefully distinguishes between their national characters. Nairn attributes the peculiarity of Scottish nationalism to "the lateness" with which the country was assimilated into the kingdom, and describes the 1707 Acts of Union as no

more than a "patrician bargain between two ruling classes" (117). According to the scholar, compared with Scotland, Wales bears the marks of "a forced under-development," and nationalism in that country takes the form of "a battle for the defense and revival of rural-based community and traditional identity" (196). Nonetheless, Wales may still seem to be a less loaded choice for a setting in late eighteenth century English fiction. Conquered by King Edward I in as early as the thirteenth century, the country had remained a Principality, until it was fully incorporated into the Kingdom of England under the Laws in Wales Acts in mid-sixteenth century. Although boasting a different language and culture, the principality has not been the stage for any major rebellion against England since the early fifteenth century—a road highly different from that chosen by the Scottish. For the sake of comparison, it is of interest to this dissertation to first sort out how Wales figures for young Austen in the *Juvenilia*, and then to read it side by side with the image of Scotland in the works.

For Jane Austen, Wales, instead of carrying any political connotations, seems to stand for nothing more than natural beauty. Almost every Austen scholar is familiar with her reluctance to leave Steventon for Bath, but even that wound seems healed by the thought of the Welsh landscape. In her letter to Cassandra Austen on January 3rd, 1801, she mentions in quite an excited manner the family's plan of visiting the Principality: "[There] is something interesting in the bustle of going away, and the prospect of spending future summers by the sea or in Wales is very delightful" (*Letters* 71). Although primary evidence is lacking about this journey, due to the gap between her letters written in 1801 and those written in 1804, Southam manages to reconstruct it using fragments of records by persons related to the family, such as the diary entries by

her friend and one-time neighbor Mary Lloyd (Southam 128). According to Southam, the Austens may have visited Tenby and Barmouth respectively in South and North Wales, during their journey from 1802 to 1803 (140). This could have been the woman writer's only experience of travelling outside England.

That family trip is curiously foreshadowed in the last piece of work in Volume Two of Austen's *Juvenilia*. Titled "A Tour through Wales," the scrap of writing reveals the image of Wales in the mind of the young author. The scrap appears in the form of a letter addressed to a Clara, from a young lady with the name Elizabeth Johnson, who is found to be traveling through the country in the west with her mother and her sister. Not 250 words in all, and devoid of any concrete description of the landscape of the country, the story is interesting in two ways: first, Elizabeth's definition of Wales as "a principality contiguous to England and gives the title to the Prince of Wales" captures the geographically as well as historically subjugated status of the country; second, the travelers' preoccupation with the landscape is significant. Elizabeth's sister Fanny is said to have "taken a great many Drawings of the Country" while "she ran along" (224). Wales, in the mind of young Austen, therefore, first of all gives rise to the image of picturesque beauty in a conquered land. The image is enriched with a third dimension, the socio-economic aspect, which will be further explained in a later section of this chapter, concerning "Love and Freindship" in the same volume. However, Austen does touch upon it in an interesting episode of the story "Jack and Alice" in the first volume of the *Juvenilia*.

The story, categorized as "a novel" by the author herself, is dedicated to her brother Francis William Austen, who was then serving as midshipman on the ship *Perseverance*. Since one is able to narrow this period of Francis's service down to

between December 1789 and November 1791 (*Manuscript Works* 58), the piece then was finished when Austen was in the middle of her teens, around 14 or 15 years old. A hilarious tale, the story centers on "three or four families in a country village," exactly as the author would later recommend her niece Anna as the best materials for fiction (*Letters* 287). Summoning theses families—the Johnsons, the Jones, the Simpsons, a Lady Williams, and a Charles Adams—to a country masquerade in the very first chapter, Austen shows her ability to look through human characters by assigning accurate roles to the dancers, such as presenting the "Spitefull and Malicious [*sic*]" Miss Sukey Simpson as the "Envy," her "affected" younger sister as a "reclining" flower, and the "dazzlingly" handsome Charles as the "Sun" (14). Lois A. Chaber observes a similarity between the masquerade and that in Samuel Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*, one of the novels well known by Austen and repeatedly alluded to throughout the *Juvenilia*. Chaber suggests that this Charles in Austen's piece may even be a parody of Richardson's protagonist in his novel (85). The female protagonist of the Austen story, Alice Johnson, comes from a family "a little addicted to the Bottle and the Dice" (14), and is never requited for her passion for Charles Adams even till the end of the story; while the so-called "Hero" of the novel, her brother Jack Johnson, appears in only one short paragraph, does not get a speaking part, and is said to have died without accomplishing "anything worth mentioning" (27).

The story is of interest to this project because of Lucy, a female character that does not show up until halfway through the text. Alice, burning with love for Charles, makes Lady Williams her confidante, and the latter proposes a walk all the way to the "Horsepond of Charles's" one day. On their way there, the two women descry the strange scene of a "lovely young Woman lying apparently in great pain beneath a

Citron tree." At their inquiry, the girl—whose name is given in later chapters as simply Lucy—introduces herself in the following manner:

> I am a native of North Wales and my Father is one of the most capital Taylors in it. Having a numerous family, he was easily prevailed on by a sister of my Mother's who is a widow in good circumstances and keeps an alehouse in the next Village to ours, to let her take me and breed me up at her own expence [*sic*]. . . . Under [first rate masters'] instructions I learned Dancing, Music, Drawing and various Languages, by which means I became more accomplished than any other Taylor's Daughter in Wales. Never was there a happier Creature than I was, till within the last half year—but I should have told you before that the principal Estate in our Neighbourhood belongs to Charles Adams, the owner of the brick House, you see yonder. (22-23)

The editors of *Jane Austen's Manuscript Works* find it obligatory to point out in their explanatory notes for this passage that in "rustic" North Wales back in the late 1780s, it was highly impossible to find any "capital" kind of tailor, let alone more than one of them (66). This should not be taken as a simple mistake on the author's part, for young Austen more than once shows how careful she could be when choosing loaded settings. "Catharine, or the Bower" in Volume Three, written two years or so later in 1792, comes in handy as an illustration of her particularity in this aspect. In that novella, the narrator describes the fates of the four children of a deceased country clergyman, providing today's readers with a vivid picture of life choices available to badly-off people of her times. Among the four, the second son is said to be "[put] to school somewhere in Wales" with the help of some sponsors (254). The seemingly

magnanimous deed proves at once dubious to contemporary readers, since the schools in Wales are by no means comparable to the institutions in England proper, and therefore the choice turns out to be a satire on the limitations of one's kindness. Considering the tenor of "Jack and Alice," Lucy's pompous self-introduction, about the prosperity of her aunt's business as well as about the brilliant masters she has had, functions more as Austen's parody of contemporary novels, that repeatedly emphasize the importance of worthy pedigrees and superfluous yet hardly useful education for young females. Linking all these to an improbable setting, i.e. North Wales, disqualifies Lucy as an eligible heroine for romance, and also reveals the prevalent image of the western nation to which young Austen was exposed.

The irony here is followed and intensified by the information that Charles Adams, as an Englishman, owns the major estate in the Welsh neighborhood. His dominant status is further explained when one learns that Lucy met him for the first time when he went up north to "receive the Rents of the Estate," and culminates in the fact that the Welsh girl, stalking the Englishman all the way from her nation, makes her debut caught in a "steel [trap] so common in gentlemen's grounds" (24). John C. Leffel, analyzing the reversed gender codes in the *Juvenilia* pieces, contends that Charles Adams among other characters figures more "as the contested targets of aggressive female attention and courtship" than one of the "aggressors or potential spoilers of young women's virtue" (188). Powerful as his analysis is, the trapped situation of the Welsh girl in this novella appears to symbolize the very opposite. Even though the young man is badgered by repeated bouts of Lucy's passion, he is still firmly in control and is the one with power. He possesses the largest estate in her country, while she is "seized by the leg" and treated as a trespasser the moment she

nears his English seat (24). The Englishman's socio-economic superiority is further confirmed by Lucy's recollections about life back in Wales. One notices how smug and satisfied Mrs. Susan, an old acquaintance of Lucy's aunt and therefore possibly a Welsh woman herself, feels about her position as a lower servant employed in Charles's estate in Wales. Though a brief moment in a relatively short piece, the stories of Lucy the Welsh girl and her Welsh relatives and acquaintances reveal Austen's awareness of the indigence of the neighboring nation and its reliance on the English power, though having long been more or less assimilated within England in terms of its politics.

Scotland, in sharp contrast to Wales, was in a sense politically and militarily threatening to the English people in the eighteenth century. The Acts of Union in 1707 brought the neighbors together as Great Britain. In his seminal work on nationalism in the British Isles, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, Michael Hechter accounts for the multiple Acts of Union from the perspective of the English side: for Hechter, the event comes largely "out of *raison d'etat* [that] England desired to insure its territorial integrity at all costs, rather than suffer the threat of invasion by hostile Continental neighbors" (69). The moves towards a unified British Kingdom fits well with one of the two models of national development, i.e. "internal colonialism." According to the scholar, this model differs from the natural, diffusion model in that

> [There] is crystallization of the unequal distribution of resources and power between the two groups. The superordinate group, or core, seeks to stabilize and monopolize its advantages through policies aiming at the institutionalization of the existing stratification system. . . . [Individuals]

> from the less advanced group are denied access to [the social] roles [having high prestige]. . . . At this stage, acculturation does not occur because it is not in the interest of institutions within the core. (9)

The spirit of the model, therefore, is "inequality." When it comes to the Anglo-Scottish Union in 1707 specifically, Hechter contends that it is mainly "to neutralize the possibility of an independent Scotland" that would have formed alliance with foreign powers such as France, and that after the Act came into effect, basically "there was little concern with the fate of Scotland" within the Kingdom by the English (73). Not surprisingly, by the middle of the same century, Scotland had respectively supported the Old Pretender and the Young Pretender against the English monarchy in two Jacobite Risings, which the English named after the years when they occurred, i.e. "the Fifteen" and "the Forty-Five." From the Scottish point of view, after the two risings, although there were in the latter half of the century attempts to "reorient Scottish identity along non-Celtic lines" by the so-called Picto-Gothicists, still, "the Ossianic craze and the new vogue of Highland traditions and tartanry [keep exacerbating] the Gaelic dimension of Scottishness" (Kidd 252-253). The one hundred years before Austen's literary debut, as a result, saw constant social debates and polemics over the country in the north.

The aforementioned two so-called "rebellions" are crucial in shaping the Scotland in the eyes of an average Englishman in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and it is of interest for this project to see what Jane Austen thought of them, before we move on to other important aspects of the issue. Unlike with Wales, she did not have any first-hand experiences visiting the northern neighbor, and seems to doubt her own knowledge about the country when mentioning it in her letters.

Writing to Francis Austen about their brother Henry's trip to Scotland in 1813, she expresses her wish that Henry should "have gone farther north" in order to see more of the country (*Letters* 240), and admits that she did not do the Scottish landscape justice in her imagination. Nonetheless, lack of such knowledge does not seem to have bothered her when she was younger. Her own "The History of England" in the *Juvenilia*, with colored illustrations of the major monarchs by her sister Cassandra, allows some insight into her understanding of the Anglo-Scottish relationships. Although the work itself stops short with King Charles I, the young author did leave more than a hundred separate comments in the margins of a copy of *The History of England* by Oliver Goldsmith.

The book belonged to her eldest brother James, and the family's guess is that Austen may have finished the comments by the age of fifteen, i.e. around the time when she was working on "Love and Freindship." It is noteworthy that a considerable portion of the commentary is on the Forty-Five, and instead of feeling indignant at the "revolt" as an English subject is assumed to, Austen actually shows unusual compassion for the cause of Charles Edward Stuart (the Young Pretender), as well as for his adherents, arrested and persecuted both in London and in Scotland after the failure of the rising. For instance, when Goldsmith talks about the "Fortune, which ever persecuted [the Young Pretender's] family," Austen writes in her marginal comment "Too True!" (Appendix B to *Juvenilia* 347-348). Reading the description of the rebelling army's defeat at Culloden, she writes: "But with the Just, Reason would not have pleaded for Punishment" (350). The followers of the Young Pretender, who are said to have remained constant even when faced with "scaffolds" and "gibbets" in

London, are rewarded with her praise for their "[fortitude]" and their "Just Veneration" for the House of Stuart (350).

One has to take into account that the leniency of these comments may have to do with Austen's personal admiration for the Scottish royal family—especially, her sympathy for Mary Queen of Scots is no secret. In her own version of "The History of England," the Queen is portrayed as a tragic figure "who was abandoned by her son, confined by her Cousin, Abused, reproached & vilified by all" (184). Peter Knox-Shaw points out the debt—such as similar phrases and descriptions of the scenes—Austen's portrayal of Mary owes to passages in the writings by William Russell. A Scottish historical writer, Russell was renowned as a sympathizer with the Scottish Queen and "the Stuart cause," to such an extent that he was "sometimes seen as Jacobite" (25). Espousing Russell's stance and ignoring any traditional accusation of the Queen's secret plans to overthrow Elizabeth I, Austen claims herself to be one of the poor woman's "only" friends," together with writers, neighbors and relatives such as "Mr. Whitaker, Mrs. Lefroy, [and] Mrs. Knight" (184).

Among other scholars, Mary Spongberg goes so far as to say "all that Austen holds great about English history relates specifically to the Queen of Scots" (70). The comment is not at all exaggerated if one looks through Austen's "The History of England." As a matter of fact, several important figures of the Tudor era are introduced in this *Juvenilia* piece with the Scottish Queen looming large in the background. For instance, talking about Henry VII, Austen intrigues the readers by revealing that "the elder of [his daughters was married to the King of Scotland," and that the princess thus "had the happiness of being grandmother to one of the first Characters in the World" (180). Such decision of "linking" everyone back to Mary Queen of Scots does not stop

with her linear relatives, though. For instance, in the young author's eyes, Catherine Howard, Henry VIII's fourth wife, is better remembered as "a relation of that noble Duke of Norfolk who was so warm in the Queen of Scotland's cause" (181). Mary is so perfect that she even becomes the ruler for an ideal female monarch—Lady Jane Grey is obviously "inferior" to her, let alone Mary Tudor, who won the throne "inspite [*sic*] of the superior pretentions, Merit, & Beauty" of both Jane and the Scottish Queen (183). Austen's passion for the Queen even extends to her royal descendants: the avid admirer "cannot help liking" James I even though he allowed his mother to be executed, and she half-jokingly defends King Charles I for the single fact that "he was a Stuart" (189).

Scholars have managed to account for Austen's allegiance to the Stuarts using biographical evidence. Both sides of her family were Tory, with close connections to Oxford instead of London; moreover, the maternal family—with the surname Leigh—has "a known history of loyalty to the Stuart Dynasty" (Roberts 17). Christopher Kent enriches the conversation by bringing up the Leighs' marital connection to Thomas Wentworth, "a loyal minister of Charles I," and their remote friendship with the Earl of Craven, "a devoted servant" to the same king (64). Bridget Brophy suggests that for the young author, the Austen family is like the House of Stuart, in that they have been deprived of financial rights and thus have come down the social ladder. She even proposes that Austen associates her mother with Queen Mary of Scots, an idea that sounds more convincing when one considers the highly Stuart-flavored names the couple gave to their children—James, Edward, Henry, and Charles (30-31). The assumption is carried even further, to the point that Austen herself may also have consciously behaved in the spirit of the Scottish Queen. Jocelyn Harris, for example,

joins scholars like Pamela Craig in support of the possibility. To Harris, "the features in Cassandra's three-quarter sketch of Jane Austen in her later life fit remarkably well over those in her three-quarter miniature of Mary Queen of Scots" (452). This means that in the eyes of Cassandra, undoubtedly the most intimate sibling and friend for Austen, the younger sister resembles her own heroine.

It is also in "The History of England" that Austen picks up politics as a serious topic. Interpreting the courtly vicissitudes of England from the late fifteenth century to the mid seventeenth century, the young author reflects on the bond between the monarch and his or her subjects, and provides her version of a working answer to complicated issues such as the English Civil Wars. For the first and maybe the only time in her works, she clarifies her feelings towards the Scottish nation as well as its people in a straightforward manner. One finds her attitude unusually mature for a teenager in the following passage in her account of King Charles I's reign:

> In this reign as well as in that of Elizabeth, I am obliged in spite of my Attachment to the Scotch, to consider them as equally guilty with the generality of the English, since they dared to think differently from their Sovereign, to forget the Adoration which as *Stuarts* it was their Duty to pay them, to rebel against, dethrone & imprison the unfortunate Mary; to oppose, to deceive, and to sell the no less unfortunate Charles. (188)

The guilt of which the English are accused here refers to the "disturbances, Distresses & Civil Wars" between the Royalists and the Puritan Reformers between 1642 and 1649 (Ibid.). The key to this hostility towards the Parliament men of that era lies in the explanation of her parentage above. In contrast to such feud-like feelings towards those people, the use of the word "attachment" here strengthens one's belief that

Austen is friendly towards the Scottish people, and terming them "equally guilty" as the English further proves her willingness to view the two peoples by the same standards. The young author seems to hold "obedience to the monarch" a necessary and infallible criterion for a successful and happy nation.

Austen does not base her evaluation of history completely on the blood or pedigrees of Kings and Queens, though. She reveres reasonable cultural practice. After the Forty-five, the British Parliament immediately passed two important acts concerning Scotland, i.e. the 1746 Act of Proscription, which basically aims at weakening the clans in the Scottish Highlands, and the Heritable Jurisdictions Act, which deprives the clan chiefs of their traditional judicial rights over the clan members.[1] Reading about these in Goldsmith, young Austen obviously is not impressed by these governmental moves to erase a unique culture. For instance, learning that after the defeat, the "Highland chieftains were punished by being forbidden to wear their distinctive tartans or to bear arms," she responds in a calm and objective manner: "I do not like This—Every ancient custom ought to be sacred unless prejudicial to Happiness" (350). One finds it safe to conclude that she does not join the mainstream to inveigh against the so-called treason. Taken together, her "History of England" and her marginalia in Goldsmith's *History* suggest that far from entertaining prejudices against the country in the north, Austen sympathizes with the political cause of the Scottish people, and respects their cultural habits. These beliefs render her open to the construction of an identity for an Empire including Scotland, but also make her sensitive to the unequal treatment the Scottish encounter when a British identity is imposed on them. Her choice to expose such inequality inside the Kingdom instead of ignoring it allows her a place among the women writers covered in this

dissertation, who all find their unique approaches to giving feedback to the Anglo-Scottish Union.

Two of the *Juvenilia* novellas, "Love and Freindship" and "Lesley Castle," are partly set in Scotland. Relatively better known among the *Juvenilia* works, "Love and Freindship" is an epistolary story following two sentimental girls through their married lives, their friendship with each other, and their various adventures in Scotland and England. "Lesley Castle" is likewise composed of the letters between several female characters, the main correspondents being Margaret Lesley, Charlotte Lutterell, and Susan Fitzgerald, later Lady Lesley. The Lady and her stepdaughter write respectively to Charlotte about their meeting in Scotland, while Charlotte writes back about her sister's tragedy a little, and mainly about food. Julia L. Epstein, analyzing the art of epistolary writings in the *Juvenilia*, singles this piece out as a unique example of Austen experimenting with multiple conventions of the genre, such as "salutations, closings, and reflective moments of self-criticism" (407). The comment captures the significance of the novella, though it is without a definite ending. In both pieces, the English characters end up being guests, and are left to shift for themselves among the Scottish. Moreover, even between these two stories, there is seen a gradation of power distribution: Laura and Sophia from "Love and Freindship," though visitors to the northern country, never hesitate to take over the power—they marry off the daughter of Sophia's Scottish cousin, steal his money, and improvise a moral speech when caught red-handed during the business; on the contrary, the English Lady Lesley in "Lesley Castle," though declaring her contempt for the less-developed Scotland, has to rely on the economic power of Sir George, and only secretly vents her dissatisfaction with Scottish culture in letters to Charlotte Luttrell.

This juxtaposed relationship is far more complicated in the first of the two works, "Love and Freindship," for the single reason that both protagonists share some Scottish origin. In her first letter to Marianne, Laura reveals her almost too exotic identity: "My Father was a native of Ireland and an inhabitant of Wales; my Mother was the natural Daughter of a Scotch peer by an Italian Opera-girl—I was born in Spain and received my Education at a Convent in France" (104). All the countries inside the British Isles except for England are included here, and one cannot miss the connection between the selected continental countries, either—all three of them are exemplar countries steeped in Catholicism. For Margaret Matthews, lumping these six countries together reveals a big problem for Austen. Matthews suggests that the decision shows that "Austen very firmly rejects British identity," for she obviously is "emphasizing the Romantic 'Catholic' aspects of the Celtic fringe [of the Kingdom]," and is "unwilling to look beyond [these Catholic aspects] to the Protestant elements of Scottish or Welsh identity that . . . were conducive to the construction of the Union" (126). For Matthews therefore, the character Laura epitomizes what is alien to Englishness.

Interesting as the analysis is, it verges on oversimplification. One should note that religious preference alone does not suffice to determine the young author's attitude toward the Union. Furthermore, one has seen above that Austen loved the stubbornly Catholic Mary Queen of the Scots without any problem. In fact, she does briefly share her opinion as to the religious complications involving the Queen in "The History of England." Indignant at Elizabeth I's decision to sign Mary's death warrant, the young author in turn sings the praise of the Scottish Queen's "unshaken fortitude," made possible by being "[constant] in her Religion." More surprising for the readers

may be her critique of the royal woman's "hardened & zealous [Protestant]" torturers, who she believes are of "narrow souls & prejudiced Judgements [*sic*]" for questioning the Queen's "Steadfastness in the Catholic Religion." According to the teenage writer, such religious faith cannot but give Mary "much credit" (184). Of course, one is mistaken if taking the anger against the Protestants in the cited passage as any hint for Austen's "real" religious orientation. At one moment, she is accusing them of their cruelty towards the Scottish Queen; in the next, she does not hesitate to turn the table on the Catholics. In the immediately following entry on James I in "The History," the author comes up with the following statement: "As I am myself partial to the roman catholic religion, it is with infinite regret that I am obliged to blame the Behaviour of any Member of it . . . I am necessitated to say that in this reign the roman Catholics of England did not behave like Gentlemen to the protestants" (186). Therefore, it may be safer to say that for Austen, no religious sects are innately correct or authoritative. They only become worthy after their followers present certain basic human and moral characteristics, such as leniency, faithfulness, and liberality.

As a result, it is near to impossible to nail down what Austen really thought of Catholicism—scholars' points of view are polarized. For instance, after she looks at how Catholicism is represented in *Northanger Abbey* and *Emma*, Beth Kowaleski-Wallace refutes the popular idea that "Austen is too Anglican to deal with anything Roman Catholic," in contrast to Matthews. Claire Lamont suggests that religious confrontation does not even happen in Austen's opus. Taking the background of the Austen family into account, Lamont points out how being born into a priest's household must have influenced young Jane's notion of her own country:

> One aspect of Austen's sense of her nation is the village Anglicanism which was a major part of both her life and her novels. That Anglicanism is not set against any alternative religion. Her villages have no Catholics, or Protestant dissenters, despite the fact that Catholic emancipation was an important political issue throughout her life. If Anglicanism is part of Austen's sense of her country, it is so in the novels without reference to any *other*. It is not argued for, or defended, it simply *is*. (306)

Lamont's is a reasonable point. Austen does reflect on religious issues, but the line seems to be drawn between avid believers and indifferent followers of Anglicanism, such as a Fanny Price versus a Mary Crawford. Laura Mooneyham White, while admitting that church-attendance and religious reading are major activities for the Regency author, cannot bring herself to call Austen a pious believer. She uses as her evidence the unchristian passages of "amusing malice" from the letters, and suspects that the family's testimonies of Austen's religiosity are aimed more at "whitewashing" her personality (42). Michael Giffin, though of a largely opposite opinion and holds Austen to be a strictly "Anglican author who writes Christian stories," joins White in assuming that she is "acutely aware" of her own "fallen condition" (27). Given how flexible Austen's religious outlook may have been, it is not exactly venturous to suggest that the six countries forming Laura's identity could well have been grouped together just because of their exotic attraction to the young author and her contemporaries: the Celtic fringe, as mentioned above, provides good chances for discovering picturesque beauty, while countries like Italy and France are among the top choices for young Englishmen making the "Grand Tour" for their cultural benefit. Austen's third brother, Edward Austen Knight, had his tour in the 1780s, and his sister might have this

in mind when she chose the countries for her story. If so, it would seem that she meant to imply the three countries in the Celtic fringe are independent nations proud of their unique cultures, just like Italy, Spain, and France.

Apart from religious concerns, everyday life in Scotland seems to have meant very different experiences for young Austen than days in England. It is noticeable how the plot of "Love and Freindship" takes a sharp turn when the setting is switched from Middlesex and London to Scotland: within the boundary of England, the characters are faced with problems that are realistic to some extent and are still possible to be solved. For example, Laura and her husband Edward seem to need only to appease the Bridegroom's father Sir Edward's rage at their secret marriage, while the imprisonment of Sophia's husband Augustus for debts easily recalls a whole series of examples in later, Victorian English novels. However, the moment Laura and Sophia arrive in Scotland, with the hope of finding the latter's cousin, the story begins to take on a surrealistic color and gets out of control. Elopement is accompanied with theft, and liaisons are followed by reunions. To name one of the most representative scenes of the work: Laura's grandfather shows up from nowhere, and it turns out that Sophia is his granddaughter, too, not to mention the other two cousins who make their debut at the most convenient time, answering the call of the Scottish grandfather.

In order to make sense of these odd details once the characters are in Scotland, one surely should bear in mind that this is, after all, a burlesque piece. Young Austen is making fun of similarly impossible plotlines in contemporary Gothic and sentimental novels; but still, it is not difficult to notice how all the satirizing elements explode only after the narrator gets rid of the limitation of an English and thus familiar setting. Another noteworthy aspect of her vision of the Scottish setting is that illegitimacy

plays an important role: illegitimacy in parent-child relationships culminates in the above-mentioned reunion between Lord St. Clair and the four children of his four illegitimate daughters by the same Italian opera-girl, while that in marriages is illustrated in Laura and Sophia's intervention in Janetta Macdonald's marriage plan.

The purely English element in "Love and Freindship" is largely confined to the Lindsay family, and among the members of that household, one sees a curious divergence in their attitudes towards Laura, the Irish-Scottish-Italian protagonist. Austen's depiction of her first meeting with Augusta Lindsay, the sister of her husband, reads almost like a self-mockery portrait, based on a stereotypical understanding of Englishness: "There was a Disagreable Coldness and Forbidding Reserve in her reception of me which was equally Distressing and Unexpected," and the lack of "interesting sensibility or amiable Simpathy" in Augusta's manners is immediately in contrast with the overflow of such traits in the Scottish Sophia, who is said to be "all Sensibility and Feeling" (111-114). One may also notice the surname Austen has chosen for the family here—"Lindsay" is derived from the city of Lincoln in eastern England. It is said to be of Anglo-Saxon origin, and appeared in a slightly varied form in as early as around 730, in Venerable Bede's *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (*Surname Database*), thus a symbol of unadulterated Englishness.

The stereotyping process is mutual, though, for Sophia's cousin is given the surname "MacDonald," a representative family name for Scottish Highland clans. Moreover, the English characters of the novella entertain in their minds their own version of Scotland. Toward the end of the story, every single living character is gathered in the famous stagecoach that keeps travelling between Edinburgh and Sterling. The Lindsays are among the passengers, and Augusta makes it clear that she

and her father are exploring "the Beauties of Nature," as depicted in "Gilpin's Tour to the Highlands" (136). Sterling, usually spelled as "Stirling" nowadays, is known as the "gateway to the highlands." Not only is the 37-mile journey between the Scottish capital and this city filled with historic attractions such as the Stirling Castle, the Antonine Wall, and the Linlithgow Palace, it is also endowed with natural beauties of rugged mountains and hills. Touring the North as well as the West of the Kingdom in search of such grotesque beauty was not unusual in the late eighteenth century, and it is yet another piece of evidence that Austen is appealing to the most conventional image of Scotland in her novella here.

Among the passengers in the coach travelling to Edinburgh, one finds an Isabel—the writer of the first letter in the story and mother of Laura's main correspondent Marianne. She proves to be an interesting character, in spite of her marginal role in the tale. In some sense she stands in for young Austen's understanding of the power dynamics between different countries inside Great Britain as well as Ireland, which was to become part of the Empire a few years after "Love and Freindship" was written. In Letter Four, we are told that this Isabel, who has "seen the world," has "retired into Wales on economical motives" (105). Thus, unlike the improbably prosperous northern Welsh village in "Jack and Alice," this time Austen makes it clear that Wales is correlated to poverty or at least to a more economical way of living. Likewise, in the tenth letter, Laura follows this up by mentioning Isabel's marriage, which has removed her to "a Distant part of Ireland" (119), possibly another impoverished part of the future Empire. Tracing in this way how an individual character wanders throughout the member nations inside the British Kingdom equally shows how Isabel has come down the social ladder.

Such "exiles" of female characters to the Celtic fringe actually continue in later pieces of the *Juvenilia* and in Austen's "in-between" pieces, before she published *Sense and Sensibility* in 1811. For example in "Catharine, or the Bower," Catharine, the female protagonist, talks about her two childhood friends with her new, scatter-brained acquaintance, Miss Camilla Stanley. These two friends are sisters to the young man who goes to school in Wales, as discussed above. After their father died, the elder, Miss Wynne, is left with no choice other than sailing to the East Indies to get married—a fate much similar to that of Jane Austen's aunt Philadelphia Austen. The second daughter, Miss Mary Wynne, becomes a companion to an elder lady among her relatives, and follows the Lady's family into Scotland (244). Although later one finds out that the patroness's family in question, the Halifaxes, is wealthy enough to afford to give balls once every month during the social season in London, they take no efforts to introduce Mary to the public, and do not hesitate to let others know that the Wynne girl even has to rely on them for her clothes (257). The retreat into Scotland, therefore, undoubtedly symbolizes social degradation and retreat from the fashionable world for the dependent young woman, though it may be nothing more than a vacation for her patroness. Her choice is equally miserable as her sister's journey to India.

Similarly, in her unfinished work *The Watsons*, Austen skillfully captures the public's reaction if they learn about an English female's "going to the Celtic fringe." The protagonist Emma Watson, who grows up with a well-off aunt away from a large family with many siblings, returns to her native town at the beginning of the story, because of the aunt's recent remarriage. Generally supposed to be a possible heiress of the aunt's fortune, Emma finds herself forced to bear the brunt of the lady's

remarriage. The following conversation passes between Emma and Mr. Edwards, an old neighbor and a once-admirer of her aunt, at her very first ball back home:

> [He] began with, "I think Miss Emma, I remember your Aunt very well about thirty years ago; I am pretty sure I danced with her in the old rooms at Bath, the year before I married . . . I hope she is likely to be happy in her second choice. . . . Mr. Turner had not been dead a great while I think?" – "About two years Sir." "I forget what her name is now?" –"O'brien." "Irish! Ah! I remember—and she is gone to settle in Ireland. –I do not wonder that you should not wish to go with her into *that* Country Miss Emma—but it must be a great deprivation to her, poor Lady! –After brining you up like a Child of her own." (92)

The undesirability of life in Ireland in the eyes of the Englishman, perhaps both for socio-economic and for religious reasons, is indicated in Austen's use of italics in the passage, and the gentleman is further chagrined when he learns that this Mr. O'Brien is a captain, which information substantiates his guess that the suitor is no more than an Irish fortune hunter engaged in "captivating the Ladies" (Ibid.). Later in the story, Emma's sister-in-law, Mrs. Robert Watson would join Mr. Edwards in lamenting the marriage, or more precisely, "the loss of the Aunt's fortune" (119). In other words, even a female of fortune does not have the choice of going to the Celtic fringe of her own volition—England will lose her money to the other member nations of Britain.

The character Isabel in "Love and Freindship" has another function. Austen may seem to be in the danger of moving a character purposelessly all over the fringes of the Kingdom if there were not the following passage in Letter Four as well: "Isabel had seen the world. She had passed 2 Years at one of the first Boarding-schools in

London; had spent a fortnight in Bath and had supped one night in Southampton" (105). Matthews, citing Isabel's own comments respectively on the three cities, points out that ludicrous as the passage sounds, Laura's statement is to some extent true—that Isabel has seen the world, for "the contours of London, Bath and Southampton, (East, West and South), do actually constitute 'the world' for Austen's novels." Matthews even ventures to propose that it is this small character Isabel who "manages to define the 'limits of Englishness' more succinctly than any of the mature heroines" in Austen's later works (125). She goes on to juxtapose Isabel with Laura, who represents the foreign. One may venture to add to this that maybe Isabel is a significant character worth analyzing for her own sake, too, because through the life of the woman we already see the opposition or contrast between England (London-Bath-Southampton) and the rest of the Kingdom (Wales-Ireland-Scotland). Emphasizing the lower cost and consequently lower level of living in Wales, as well as the remoteness of Ireland, young Austen is equating the countries in the Kingdom other than England with the backward and the unknown, which are thus open to the possibility of being barbaric and perilous. In works of an aspiring English writer still making experiments with her fiction, it is unsurprising to see stereotyping images of the Celtic fringe, but it is against such a backdrop that her later shift to realism stands out.

The other story partly set in Scotland in the *Juvenilia* is "Lesley Castle," and the stereotypical opposition between England and Scotland seen in "Love and Freindship" is replaced by a much more balanced and more realistic relationship. This conspicuous change may indicate that Austen the young writer has matured to such an extent as to be capable of examining the "foreign" on her own, instead of following the caricatured notions of the Scottish national character popular in English society. The

letters in "Lesley Castle" are dated 1792, and it is highly possible that Austen wrote this work on the occasion of Henry Austen's graduation from Oxford, in the spring of the same year.[2] In other words, there is a two-year gap between composition date of this story and that of "Love and Freindship," which she dated June, 1790. The humor in the letters and the contrast between the ones supposedly compiled by different characters remind one of No. 49 of the Oxford periodical, *The Loiterer*, allegedly written by Austen's eldest brother James on the prosperity of tourism inside Britain (Le Faye 127), as to the various accounts travelers may give of the same destinations. About half of the story is set in a Scottish castle, which gives the title to the work. Compared with the overly romantic and conventional picture of Scotland in "Love and Freindship," the castle here is introduced and "situated" in a much more detailed and concrete manner.

In the very first letter of the novella, Margaret Lesley tells Charlotte that she and her sister Matilda "continue secluded from Mankind in [their] old and Mouldering Castle, which is situated two miles from Perth on a bold projecting Rock, and commands an extensive view of the Town and its delightful Environs" (144). This image of their abode is further confirmed in their stepmother Lady Lesley's first visit to the place. The bride is also writing to Charlotte, and describes the seat of the Lesley family as "a dismal old Weather-beaten Castle," of a "dungeon-like form," representing a "prison in so dangerous and ridiculous a Manner" (158). Reading the two introductions of the same building side by side, one already senses a flavor of sentimentalism and tendency of exaggeration on the English lady's part—the use of words such as "dungeon" and "prison" is reminiscent of contemporary Gothic novels by writers like Radcliffe. The Scottish sisters, though similarly complaining about their

bitter insulation from a livelier social circle, at least are able to appreciate the nearby town and the natural landscape.

The depiction of Lesley Castle is reminiscent of a passage in Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland,* published in 1775. Johnson was travelling with his Scottish friend and later biographer James Boswell, and their journey lasted as long as 83 days. Both Johnson's work and Boswell's journals written during the course of the journey help draw a vivid picture of contemporary Scotland, and reflect on the contrast between the country's present situation and its past from time to time. Johnson touches upon more than one castle in that work, but his description of "Slanes Castle" reveals a striking resemblance to Austen's later creation:

> We came in the afternoon to Slanes Castle, built upon the margin of the sea, so that the walls of one of the towers seem only a continuation of a perpendicular rock, the foot of which is beaten by the waves. To walk around the house seemed impracticable. From the windows the eye wanders over the sea that separates Scotland from Norway, and when the winds beat with violence must enjoy all the terrifick grandeur of the tempestuous ocean. I would not for my amusement wish for a storm; but as storms, whether wishes or not, will sometimes happen, I may say, without violation of humanity, that I should willingly look out upon them from Slanes Castle. (27)

The location as well as the "weather-beaten" state of the castle corresponds well with the descriptions by both the stepmother and the Scottish stepdaughter. Evan Gottlieb, in his *Feeling British: Sympathy and National Identity in Scottish and English Writing, 1707-1832*, offers an interesting comparison of the Scotland in Johnson's published work and

that in Boswell's records of the same journey. According to Gottlieb, the quoted passage proves to be an excellent example of how much the English writer focuses on space and the "exoticism" of the northern country, while his Scottish biographer pays more attention to time and changes in the history of his homeland (127). Having never been to Scotland, Austen may have borrowed this description of a Scottish castle from Doctor Johnson. A castle seems a perfect setting to spice up the story with a sense of distance. Exotic as her depiction of the place sounds, her chosen setting for the short story is at least more realistic than the stagecoach that keeps commuting between Edinburgh and Sterling in "Love and Freindship." One familiar with her published novels may even recognize this historical and gloomy Lesley Castle as a model for her later creations of ancient, awe-generating English buildings, such as Northanger Abbey and Sotherton in *Mansfield Park*.

In its treatment of the power dynamics between the English and the Scottish elements, "Lesley Castle" differs from "Love and Freindship" in two main ways. First, the Scottish characters are introduced in a much more realistic manner, and are sometimes even more loveable than their English counterparts. To be sure, stereotypical passages still exist in the story, yet they have to do with the appearances of the characters, or with other superficial features, instead of their personalities or inner values. For example, the unusually tall stature of Scottish females is highlighted for several times in the narrative: the Lesley sisters are described as "Scotch Giants" (158), and are said to possess "knock-me-down figures" (162); and the families with whom they socialize are introduced by their typically Scottish, "hard-names" (159). Apart from these passages, nevertheless, the Scottish characters obviously are depicted as paying more attention to essential human feelings such as sibling love, which trait is

doubtless of much importance for Austen, given her attachment to many brothers and a most beloved sister. The Lesley sisters are not free from vanity, believing themselves to be "more lively, more agreable, [and] more witty" than any other girl they know (144). Nevertheless, they do show great sympathy for their brother's unfortunate marriage, when writing about his wife Louisa's elopement in the very first letter of the story. Lamenting for the situation of their poor abandoned little niece, they are indignant for the mother's violation of "the Maternal character and . . . the conjugal Duties" (143). Their dual respect to both motherly instincts and societal responsibilities thus is clear.

This poses a sharp contrast with whatever emotions Charlotte Lutterell, an English character from the southern shire of Sussex, entertains towards the sudden death of her future brother-in-law, who was "thrown from his Horse" and "fractured his Scull." Instead of feeling with and consoling her suffering sister, Charlotte worries more about "all the Victuals" that she has prepared for the wedding, and immediately gives meticulous directions as to who should eat what part of the food (146)! One should not draw the conclusion that Austen is making her Scottish characters more humane than the English ones, but it is obvious that they start to share reasonable feelings and ways of thinking with their English counterparts. The sudden burst of dramatic plot beyond the border, as is seen in "Love and Freindship," disappears from this story. Scotland is endowed with a more stable social environment, and thus is put on a relatively equal footing with England. Austen simply makes it clear that nationality is no convincing standard for measuring one's moral compass. This implies that whatever objections she may have against the idea of a blanket identity for the

entire British Empire, they are unlikely to have derived from discrimination against the country in the north.

Second, the Scotland as depicted in "Lesley Castle" appears to have a moral superiority over England. That "the countryside" and "the town" of England have different influences on their inhabitants is a familiar motif for Austen readers: John Willoughby, Frank Churchill, and Henry Crawford are just a few examples of characters showing how the city of London negatively affects one's morals. As a matter of fact, as early as in the *Juvenilia* story, Austen is already experimenting with such contrasts. Living in a retired manner in the dilapidated Scottish castle, the Lesley sisters are worried about their father Sir George "fluttering about the Streets of London" (144), and their prejudice against the capital of the Kingdom is espoused by the English Charlotte Lutterell. Lady Lesley, a female libertine herself, lovingly equates London and Brighthelmstone (Brighton) with "pleasures" and "haunts of Dissipation," and takes them to be the very opposite of "the melancholy tho' venerable gloom" of the Scottish castle (155). The irony here stands out: Scotland may still appear a little remote and backward, but added to the remoteness and backwardness is a desirable dimension, i.e. simplicity and purity.

The tendency of moral contrast is better seen when one peruses the characters of the story. Though flawed, the Scottish characters share a sort of straightforwardness in their personalities, while more than one of the major English characters in the story play a "double-game." Charlotte Lutterell, for example, feels "greatly entertained" reading letters from Margaret Lesley and Lady Lesley criticizing each other's looks (163); her attaching the step-mother's short letter for Margaret and thus betraying her real personality to the girl can be read as her own retaliation against their negligent,

belittling way of talking about her in the letters. The aforementioned ex-wife of Lesley, Louisa from Yorkshire, is also morally flawed, eloping with another man. It is with young Lesley and Louisa, too, that Austen's religious insinuations become a little ambiguous. Both the victim and the perpetrator of the sin of elopement "turned Roman-catholic" by the end of the story (174), and are able to go on peacefully with each other as neighbors. Instead of exploring the moral implications behind such a weird conversion episode, Peter Sabor points out that it may again only be a parody (and reversed version) of what happens in *Sir Charles Grandison*, one of the novels Austen loved during her lifetime (41). Nonetheless, Louisa's abandonment of her little daughter is hard to forgive, even if it is an instance of parody or burlesque.

Without doubt, among all the characters in the story Lady Lesley is depicted in the severest light, though in a highly comical way. Well versed in the center of the power of the Kingdom, she nevertheless has to rely on the wealth of Sir George from the "fringe," and is found determined to deprive the daughters of any wealth they could expect to inherit from their father. By contrast, the Scottish girls, though also annoyed at her goal, are more concerned about their father behaving in a manner unsuitable to his age, i.e. still "Thoughtless at the age of 57" (144), rather than worry about their own possible privation. Besides her mercenary ambition, Lady Lesley claims that she detests children—the lovely niece in the eyes of the Lesley sisters proves to be "a little humoured Brat" to her (158)! Her reflection on her stay at Lesley Castle is also thought provoking:

> I have been plagued ever since I came here with tiresome visits from a parcel of Scotch wretches, with terrible hard-names; they were so civil, gave me so many invitations, and talked of coming again so soon, that I

> could not help affronting them. . . . These girls have no Music, but Scotch Airs, no Drawings but Scotch Mountains, and no Books but Scotch poems—And I hate everything Scotch. (159)

By letting such an unreliable character as Lady Lesley voice this disparaging passage on Scottish social life and culture, Austen is purposefully undercutting its power. The English woman's professed hatred for "everything Scotch" (137), for instance, is immediately problematic since she has married the Scottish Sir George. The first half of the quoted passage further substantiates the earlier point about English characters appearing morally inferior in this novella, by pitting the hospitality of the various Scottish families against the narrow-minded way Lady Lesley interprets it. The Scottish community appears simple, open-minded, and welcoming, compared with their suspicious, snobbish, and slightly vulgar English guests. In Austen's times, "social gaucheries" are among the most popular literary clichés by which anti-Scottish writers make fun of the foreign characters in their writings—the Scottish are believed to be incapable of performing social etiquette in polite society. Thus, the seventeen-year-old author clearly says "no" to such a baseless stereotype in her "Lesley Castle."

In addition, Lady Lesley's dismissive tone when talking about Scottish arts will sound highly ironic, if one is familiar with the success of Scottish musicians, poets, and painters in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Katie Trumpener argues that during the time Johnson and Boswell travelled through the country in the north, "the Scottish Lowlands began to experience unprecedented material prosperity . . . and an intellectual, literary, and architectural renaissance" (72). This Scottish Enlightenment in some sense even overshadowed its counterpart in England, thanks to the determination to "stick together" and "advance each other" on the part of Scottish

scholars (Colley 123). Philosophy, economics, mathematics, medicine all flourished with the old universities and ancient cities as their centers, yielding a galaxy of leading figures such as David Hume and Adam Smith. When it comes to literature, Smollett had established his fame by the middle of the century, while Macpherson's Ossian poems came out in a collection in as early as 1765. One finds Robert Burns at the peak of his literary career around the time the *Juvenilia* works were written, and Walter Scott preparing to launch an entire decade of Scottish fiction after the Battle of Waterloo (Duncan 251).

These two writers, Burns and Scott, while mentioned in Austen's published novels, by no means define all that she knew about Scottish literature. Three times in her letters she mentions works by James Boswell, and her admiration for his biography of Samuel Johnson enables her to quote or allude to its contents in a "sophisticated" manner (Baker 552). Moreover, the castle in the story is "situated two miles from Perth," which is an "ancient Scottish city in Perthshire, some fifty miles north of Edinburgh and 100 miles south of Aberdeen" (*Manuscript Works* 125). Though in the middle of Scotland in a strict sense, the city is open to the cultural influences of the two larger cities without doubt. Therefore, by allowing Lady Lesley, who "never reads any thing but [Charlotte's] letters . . . and never writes anything but her answers to them" to be the judge of these artistic achievements (133), Austen is indirectly indicating her approval of them. This at least shows that the young author possesses a decent knowledge of Scotland's artistic excellence; what is more, since such achievements often help admirers to better understand the true character of the country in question, one may venture to guess that Austen might have learned about other aspects of Scotland in a sympathetic manner, too.

"Lesley Castle," unlike "Love and Freindship," lacks a definite ending. Citing Austen's pseudo-apology in the dedication of the piece, Juliet McMaster interprets her "principle of forgoing closure" to be that "[young] Jane does not want to turn her fiction into moral tales by visiting closure and poetic justice on her energetic transgressors" (182). However, even from what there is at the end of the novella, one can clearly sense the moral message. In the last few letters of the work, the Lesley sisters have in turn followed their father and stepmother into the social world of London. Anticipating this, Charlotte busies herself in recommending places of interest in the capital for the Scottish girls. Among her favorites are the "Public-places" and especially the "Vaux-hall" (164), which in her opinion prove much more agreeable than the country landscape and experiences of nature. The effects on the Scottish visitors are immediate. In her last letter to Charlotte, Margaret Lesley appears already overwhelmed by "the uncertain and unequal Amusements of this vaunted City [i.e. London]," and boasts her own popularity among the young men in the capital. One even gets a peep into the connection between the fashionable world and the printing market, for Margaret "complains" of appearing as a celebrity "both in Public, in Private, in Papers, and in Printshops" (172). The ambiguous nature of such publicity after arriving in Town for only half a month further questions the influences of a sprawling cosmopolis such as London, and nowhere can these be better displayed than in the mentality of a young girl only recently removed from her retired lifestyle in the Celtic fringe.

When looking for depictions of Scotland in Austen's published novels, most readers would inevitably think of Gretna Green. The little village near the southern border of the country serves as a convenient and the closest haven for English couples

to marry without their parents' consent. When George Wickham runs away with Lydia in *Pride and Prejudice*, the Bennets find it shocking that they have not gone to Gretna Green (*Pride and Prejudice* 303); similarly in *Mansfield Park*, Julia Bertram does end up marrying the ranting Mr. Yates there (*Mansfield Park* 512). However, Scotland takes on a much more complicated hue if one reads beyond its connection to "elopements." In Chapter Twelve, Volume One of *Emma*, Mr. John Knightley and Isabella are at Hartfield for Christmas, and the husband is already finding the conversation between his father-in-law and his wife—mainly about the relative merits of the two family doctors, Perry and Wingfield—annoying. In order to distract her brother-in-law, Emma broaches a seemingly random topic by asking: "I did not thoroughly understand what you were telling your brother . . . about your friend Mr. Graham's intending to have a bailiff from Scotland, to look after his new estate. But will it answer? Will not the old prejudice be too strong?" (111).

The "old prejudice" mentioned here triggers off a series of questions for the reader. What is the old prejudice? It could be as simple as xenophobic hatred for an outsider—indeed such "rural xenophobia" in the novel even extends to cities inside England, and the Highbury residents frequently behave in a reserved manner towards characters from big cities (Herbert 199). Seen from another perspective, it may also mean the paranoid fear on the English part for the Scottish taking over socio-economic power. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a bailiff is the "agent of the lord of a manor, who collects his rents, etc.; the steward of a landholder, who manages his estate; [or] one who superintends the husbandry of a farm for its owner or tenant," thus a position involving governance over others and a certain amount of power. It is therefore only natural that Mr. Graham's decision seems a little too brave for Emma.

The heiress's concern is echoed in anonymous works such as *Scotch Modesty Displayed, in a Series of Conversations That Lately Passed between an Englishman and a Scotchman Addressed to the Worthy Patriots of England*, published in London in 1778. The narrator, infuriated by the belief that "all the power in the kingdom, and all the employments of dignity, trust and profit have been lavishly bestowed on Scotchmen" (1), decides to seize every chance he can to convince a Scottish acquaintance that his fellow countrymen do not deserve any of the aforesaid favors. However, after a few rounds of debates, the Scottish acquaintance manages to turn the table on the narrator, by showing him several long, meticulous lists of "the Principal Employments in the State, Law, Revenue, and Publick Offices in England" (5-13), of "the numbers of English and Scotch principal officers, as . . . are taken from the Kalendar" (21-22), and of positions in "Their Majesties Households" (31-33). All three materials help prove how precarious and groundless the accusation against Scotsmen is, and the story turns out to be a sort of vindication in disguise. However, one cannot fail to see how popular the false accusation must have been in the late eighteenth-century English society, when it is described as "truths so universally known and felt, and so constantly cryed out against in the daily papers" (1). Highbury, the little town, in a sense mirrors such national prejudices throughout England.

An even more interesting question is: who is aware of the possible prejudice against the new Scottish bailiff here? Is this Emma's voice, or is this Austen speaking through Emma? In both cases the comment is noteworthy: Emma is generally held to be an exception among the heroines of Austen—her fortune and power allows her an authoritative position in the social circles she inhabits. The fact that she has been running Hartfield single-handedly—and doing it well—obviously suggests that she is

good at management. This in turn gives some credit to her ability to foresee how difficult it would be for the Scottish bailiff to fit and function well in his new position. On the other hand, the reader is also told that Emma, though queen of the household of Hartfield and first lady of the village of Highbury, lives in a relatively closed society, with little chance of going beyond her world.[3] She herself laments the fact that she has not seen the sea yet (108). Therefore, her interest in the Scottish bailiff may lead to further questions: since she lives far from the center of world, should the reader think twice before believing that such prejudices still generally exist and matter much in the Kingdom? Or is it the very opposite—that the narrator is indicating the prejudices are so universally held that even the residents at Highbury know well of them? Further, if it is Austen the writer speaking through the character Emma Woodhouse here, the fact that she decides to call the readers' attention to such old prejudices, after she has just allowed the Knightley brothers to meet and greet each other "in the true English style" only a few paragraphs before this (107), would undoubtedly be an intended irony on the clear-cut, self-contained English identity. The fluidity of the moment and the juxtaposition of the Scottish bailiff and the English brothers suggest that from her earlier to later years as a writer, Austen keeps reflecting on the English social prejudices against Scotland. The country in the north, to her, is much more than a place where eloping couples marry. It is a socio-economic entity with daily communications with her nation, and the persons inside that entity have their lives. As a mature writer, she is allowing individuals from that entity, such as Mr. Graham's new bailiff, to enter the English society, and one of her major English characters to concern herself about his life in future.

Such different treatment of the Celtic fringe does not escape the notice of Margaret Matthews, who meticulously investigates the Irish and Scottish elements in *Emma*, while comparing them with Austen's brief and ambiguous treatment of the same areas in earlier works such as *Northanger Abbey* and "Love and Freindship." Enumerating pieces of evidence such as the Irish nationality of her friend's husband Mr. Dixon, and the "set of Irish melodies" Frank Churchill sends her with the piano, Matthews argues that the character Jane Fairfax stands for a "symbolic association" with Ireland (129). Employing etymology as well as historical evidence, she further suggest that

> Jane's alliance with the Campbell family also means that on a symbolic level she connected with Scotland also. Campbell is an emphatically Scottish name, a fact that would not have been lost on the novel's early readers. This is another exemplification of Austen's tendency to group the "Celtic fringe" areas of Great Britain into one entity, treating them as an undifferentiated "other" rather than as individualized nations. . . . It is also worth acknowledging that, though the nationality of her Father is never specified in the novel, Fairfax is also a Scottish name and there is a possibility that Jane is half-Scottish herself. (129)

If one follows Matthews' argumentation here, then again it becomes highly difficult to pin down Austen's attitude towards Scotland or Ireland. Jane Fairfax is both liked and disliked by other characters in the novel, thus in a "grey" zone. Austen may have indicated her doubt of the French kind of masculinity epitomized by Frank Churchill (Kestner 147), after more than twenty years of the Anglo-French and Napoleonic Wars,

but her arrangements for Jane clearly show her sympathy if not downright love for the character.

Matthews also favors Mrs. Weston's conjecture that Mr. Knightley admires Jane considerably, and that such feelings may lead to a possible match between the two. Her point of view is that the union between the two will be suggestive of the "British 'marriage plot,'" an extremely popular notion contemporary with the Acts of Union in 1707 (129). Matthews' argument may seem overstretched to some readers: for example, she believes that the novel "offers no evidence to refute Mrs. Weston's suggestion" (130). In other words, she thinks that Mr. Knightley could be in love with Jane when Mrs. Weston points it out to Emma. It is contradictory to the end of the novel to question Mr. Knightley's constant attachment to Emma. The gentleman's concern for Jane very much resembles that entertained by his brother John, i. e. a neighborly love for a young girl who is highly accomplished but also too impoverished to enjoy her life. Nevertheless, it is still interesting to follow Matthews's line of thought and interpret Jane's being obviously out of place in Highbury as resulting partly from her ambiguous national lineage.

Besides Emma Woodhouse's comment, there is also one noticeable reference to places in *Northanger Abbey* that is important for a fuller picture of Austen's attitude towards Englishness. It occurs when the narrator introduces Catherine Morland's understanding of the impossibility of stories by Radcliffe actually happening in England. In Matthews's opinion, the "northern and western extremities" that Catherine pits against the "central part of England" "unambiguously signify Scotland and Wales and/or Ireland" (123-124). Taking into account the personality of Catherine Morland, one may venture to argue that this episode, instead of disrupting Austen's

gradually maturing and increasingly tolerant attitude towards the Celtic fringe (from *Juvenilia* pieces such as "Love and Freindship" and "Lesley Castle" to *Emma*), actually renders the process more convincing. Of all the heroines in her published novels, Catherine is the most open to other persons' opinions, be it from the virtuous but preaching Henry Tilney, or from the cunning and manipulating Isabella Thorpe.[4] From her "adventures" at Northanger Abbey in the latter half of the novel, one can easily tell that she does not believe England is totally free from melodramatic happenings. In other words, whatever Catherine Morland's feelings for the Union are, they are very unlikely to be the same as those entertained by Austen the writer. As a result, it may be safer to read Catherine's statements about the English superiority over the "extremities" as examples of popular ideas that commonly prevailed in English society.

Tracing the ways in which young Austen refers to Scottish as well as Welsh and Irish settings and cultures in her *Juvenilia* in comparison to her later novels thus allows us to see her growing awareness of British national identity. Such awareness allows her to focus only on the idiosyncratic features when portraying the Celtic fringe, instead of invoking clichéd images of those nations. Furthermore, this signifies as one step that her fiction takes in a movement away from burlesque toward realism. Letting her own melodramatic depiction of life in Wales and Scotland in *Juvenilia* pieces such as "Jack and Alice," "A Tour through Wales," and "Love and Freindship" yield to the Scottish moral superiority in "Lesley Castle," the young writer challenges stereotypical notions in English society of Scotland and Wales as uncivilized, culturally impoverished areas with nothing but the landscape to recommend them. Defending Mary Queen of the Scots and her allegiance to the Catholic religion in her "The History of England,"

Austen shows her respect for the royal history and cultural habits of the northern neighbors. Instead of caricaturing them as some of her contemporaries do, she sets them on an equal footing with the English people, showing that except for the lack of socio-economic power, the Celtic fringe is at no great disadvantage compared with England and should enjoy equal and more thoughtful treatment inside the Empire, if a working British identity is to be constructed. Before that is achieved, she employs elements of a more down-to-earth English identity, instead of eulogizing a hypocritical British one. Thus Austen's fiction demonstrates that over time such references to Scotland and Wales dwindle to the mature, thought provoking reflection on possible "old prejudices" in *Emma*. In this novel, Austen displays her knowledge of and concerns for power gradations inside the British Union. In her own manner, Austen contributes to the construction of an identity for subjects of the British Kingdom, by foregrounding problems such as economic inequality and social prejudices that were affecting contemporary versions of British identity. My work in this chapter refutes the simplistic reception of Jane Austen's "Englishness," allowing readers to re-examine the author's participation in the political conversation about national identities. It serves as a curtain raiser for future comparative studies involving other well-known authors of national tales, such as Sir Walter Scott and Maria Edgeworth, both admired by Austen.

Notes

1. Not all of the Highland clans supported Charles I during the Civil Wars. Murray G. H. Pittock attributes the British government's decision to punish the Highlands as an entirety after the Civil Wars to the "outlook and mores" of the area, that appeared "most alien" to the British eye (212).

2. For a detailed discussion on the probable composition date of "Lesley Castle," as well as on the ambiguous nature of the dedication of that story, see Peter Sabor, "Brotherly and Sisterly Dedication in Jane Austen's *Juvenilia*," p. 40.

3. For a discussion on the possible model for Austen's Highbury, see David Herbert, "Place and Society in Jane Austen's England." *Geography* 76.3 (July 1991): 193-208.

4. In her two chapters on *Northanger Abbey* and *Sense and Sensibility* in *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas,* Marilyn Butler analyzes how Austen is "reluctant to commit herself to [the] consciousness" of a simple-minded heroine such as Catherine Morland (177), as well as how the tradition of a self-examining heroine starts with Elinor Dashwood in *Sense and Sensibility* instead.

CHAPTER 3

CASSANDRA COOKE AND THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH UNION AS HISTORICAL ALLEGORY

At the end of October 1798, the then 22-year-old Jane Austen wrote to her sister Cassandra to report the general goings-on back in Steventon. After admiring the "light & pretty" color of some newly arrived gloves, Jane informs Cassandra that her letter "was chaperoned here by one from Mrs. Cooke, in which she says that *Battleridge* is not to come out before January; & she is so little satisfied with Cawthorn's dilatoriness that she never means to employ him again" (*Letters* 17). This "Mrs. Cooke," mentioned several times elsewhere in Austen's *Letters* and appearing to be of a hospitable and considerate personality, is best known nowadays as the first cousin and namesake of the Austen sisters' mother. Née Leigh, she married Rev. Samuel Cooke when she was 24, and the husband later became godfather to Jane Austen. Dabbling in pious and poetic writings from her mid-teens, Cassandra Cooke published her only novel in 1799, titled *Battleridge: An Historical Tale, Founded on Facts* ("Cassandra Cooke," *Orlando*). "Cawthorn," as mentioned in Austen's letter above, is the publisher for the book, and seems to have annoyed the woman writer with his inefficiency in bringing the work out on time.

This chapter considers the way Cooke represents the national and social identities of her characters in *Battleridge,* in order to investigate how the eighteenth-century concept of British national identity is projected into the particular genre of historical fiction on earlier eras. Firstly, the discussion follows the noteworthy fluidity of identities in the framed tale, "I Dare," in the second volume of the novel. Almost every character in the story assumes a different identity, either national or social.

Secondly, such fluidity is compared with the rigid characterization and stereotypes of puritans and reformers in the first volume, and interpreted as standing for Cooke's dismissal of the prejudiced and unreasonable notions the English and the Scottish people entertain as regards each other. The result suggests that Cooke favors the Union between England and Scotland, and that she implies her approbation in the harmonious relationships between the English and the Scotch characters in both volumes of the novel. Thirdly, readers are encouraged to look at the main storyline of the seventeenth century side by side with the ancient Scottish legend—this proves even more illuminating because the enmity between Puritans and Royalists in the former allows the amity between the English and Scottish monarchies in the tenth century to be more invaluable. Lastly, a comparison is drawn between *Battleridge* and Sir Walter Scott's historical novel *Woodstock*, with the purpose of exploring the two authors' different approaches and attitudes to the Anglo-Scottish Union.

The significance of the chapter lies in its investigation into *Battleridge* as an example of women's writing using historical fiction as an allegory for contemporary politics. It fulfills part of the dissertation's goal to find out how Romantic women writers circumvent contemporary prejudices against female participation in the public life, and how they choose the right literary genre to skillfully voice their opinions about what their country should do when faced with foreign threats. Also, by singling Sir Walter Scott's *Woodstock* out as a comparable work for *Battleridge*, one is able to see how within that novel Cooke implies in which direction history is advancing, by introducing lenient Parliamentary men who are disillusioned by the situations on their own side, and by describing one orthodox Puritanical family in crisis. The two novelists' interpretations of nationalism also vary from each other, in that the woman

writer, unlike Sir Walter Scott, does not believe in any individual's ability to stand for an entire nation. In other words, Cassandra Cooke particularizes history as well as national characters where Sir Walter Scott tends to generalize them.

Cooke claims in the preface to her two-volume novel that the religious writings by the seventeen-century clergyman John Scott as well as Daniel Defoe's *The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclosed* are her major sources. She sets the story of the first volume mainly in England, towards the end of the Interregnum years. In the novel, Dr. Scot, who used to serve King Charles I as a chaplain (1: 136), assists the royalist Sir Ralph Vesey to find an important lost deed in the family. This allows the Veseys to recover their seat, the Battleridge Castle, from Lord Aumerl, the ravenous uncle of Sir Ralph as well as a fifth monarchy man in the Protectorate government. Petitioning to Oliver Cromwell himself, the Doctor also succeeds in delivering Sir Ralph's daughter, Nora, from the imprisonment by her cousin and rejected suitor, Lord Aumerl's second son Obadiah. Cooke concludes the first volume by having Nora marry the second son of the Scottish Lord Staffa (family name Murray), and by letting all three major families in the story—the young couple, the Veseys, and the Scots—settle down in the "old castle of Cross-bow in Scotland" together (1: 253-254). This seems a happy ending on the personal level for the characters, but taking the history of England into consideration, the nation's political issues are not solved yet. The death of Cromwell towards the end of the first volume creates the chance for Charles II to return to England, as well as some suspense as to how the royalist characters would behave against such a backdrop.

The second volume of the novel does open with daily life in the Scottish castle, but it very quickly deviates into an inset tale, titled "I Dare," read by the young Lord

Staffa to the ladies of the families from a manuscript by an author named Nathan Hay, a clerk (2: 10). The tale unfolds in Cumberland, on the border between Scotland and England, back in the tenth century. Dalzell, a brave Scottish thane injured by an envious competitor for the Scottish King's favor, finds himself under the care of the forester Ralph and his daughter Ellen in the area. The family is in the employment of the Halfladen (counterpart of the English "lady") of the "late" Lord of the Marches. Her daughter, the Ethling ("heiress") Agitha, is deformed and enjoys torturing all other characters. A series of mysteries are solved as the story progresses, among which the real Ethling being Ellen's late mother Ella instead of Agitha perhaps is the most dramatic. Dalzell has his revenge in putting his attacker Macrae into the Scottish state prison, the "Bass Rock" (2:220), and falls in love with Ellen. The Scottish King himself shows up and expresses his willingness to be on friendly terms with the English side. Cook then takes readers back to the seventeenth-century plotline, as the inset tale's audience responds favorably to the tale, and before long finds out that Dr. Scot, whose behaviors have appeared suspicious recently, has had a role in bringing Charles II back to the English throne. The good doctor passes away shortly after the Restoration, but not before he uncovers the supernatural manner in which he managed to know where the Vesey family deed was concealed. At the end of the entire novel, the families are connected through the marriage of young Master Vesey, Sir Ralph's son, and Scotty Scot, Dr. Scot's daughter. This Scotland-born lady is settled in Battleridge, and gradually becomes an epitome of the virtues of the Veseys.

Cooke's *Battleridge* was reviewed at the time of its publication, including in the high-profile *Critical Review*, but the novel attracts little critical attention nowadays. Only a few scholarly works contain passages mentioning Cooke's name and her book,

and these are without exception rather brief discussions. For instance, in Carolyn D. Williams's article about literary representations of the ancient British heroine Boadicea, Cooke is entered into the list of eighteenth-century women writers who invoke the image of the queen in a positive manner (209). The novelist's admiring tone may indicate her approval of women's companionship with and support for each other. A. A. Mandal mentions Cooke, largely due to her connections with Austen, when analyzing why the latter turned to the publisher Crosby for her attempt to publish the novel *Susan* (517). Mandal identifies *Battleridge* among sixty-nine works advertised at the end of one of Crosby's books, and suggests that this may have recommended the company to the aspiring young cousin who was also looking for a reliable publisher. Concentrating on "readerly responses" to historical stories, Anne H. Stevens singles out Cooke's framed story "I Dare" in *Battleridge*, and only analyzes how the novelist depicts her characters' feedback to the recital of such a historical tale (30). The one relatively extensive discussion of *Battleridge* appears to be the Cassandra Cooke entry in the Cambridge database, *Orlando: Women's Writing in the British Isles from the Beginnings to the Present*. Providing a detailed summary of the plotline of the work, the *Orlando* entry applauds the "remarkable awareness on [Cooke's] part of women's hidden presence in history." On the other hand, it acknowledges that Cooke structures her story "disproportionately" with the inset tale taking up almost the entire second volume ("Cassandra Cooke," *Orlando*).

To be sure, Cooke herself is aware of this problem with the organization of her work. In the preface, after accounting for the origin of the Interregnum plotline in Volume One, she adds an apology for the Scottish legend in Volume Two: "At the suggestion of some friends the author of these sheets has been unwillingly prevailed

upon, by way of enlarging the book, to add an early Scottish story founded on fact. Assuredly, in works of this important nature, the *great whole* should not be intruded on even by episode" (1: vi). Concise as it is, this statement helps Cooke show her willingness to take advice from other people, her knowledge of the literary conventions, and her awareness of having compromised the structure of her work in order to cater to the standards of a contemporary publishing market. Her decision may have hurt the overall balance of the novel, yet the combination of the two volumes has also rendered possible an inquiry into her understandings of the Anglo-Scottish Union. As is clear from the discussion above, currently there is no substantial research done on Cooke's portrayal of the Scots element and its interaction with the English side in her novel, while such moments abound in both volumes of the work.

During Cooke's lifetime, British women were still largely excluded from the political world. Besides politics, other public domains, such as the commercial and the military worlds, were equally recognized as male-dominant areas. Much historical evidence shows how women's influences had been confined to the domestic space, until the Parliament passed the 1918 Representation of the People Act.[1] However, recently scholars are beginning to challenge this simplistic division, and their research help visualize the approaches women like Cooke could consider in order to join the debates on political, commercial, or military issues.[2] As mentioned in the Introduction, Anne K. Mellor contends that women in the Romantic era had "definable impact on the social movements, economic relationships, and state-regulated policies of the day," mainly through their participation in the discursive circles and the publishing market (3). Similarly a believer in women's influences in social circles, Sarah Richardson concentrates on what she terms "the political networks of elite women" in the

Romantic and early Victorian periods, and enumerates the different ways in which well educated females from the upper strata of British society chose to have their say in politics, such as to engage in letter-writing, to accommodate foreign refugees from events like the French Revolution, to organize salons with various discussions of national politics, and to keep active in the public life of their neighborhood and community ("Well-neighboured Houses").

Cassandra Cooke's life and works seem to reflect exactly what the scholars speculate above, i.e. women could make achievements by participating in the literary world as well as the well-connected neighborhood. It benefits the chapter as well as the dissertation to look into how she is involved in the public sphere—publishing or politics, in everyday life. Though relatively little is known or written about the lady apart from her possible influence on young Austen's choice of writing as "a career" (Le Faye 286), one knows for sure that as the wife of Rev. Samuel Cooke, vicar of Great Bookham, she was neighbor to Frances Burney and her husband General Alexandre d'Arblay when they lived in Surrey. In her recent article on Jane Austen and her subscription to Burney's novel *Camilla*, Jocelyn Harris investigates the work Cooke possibly did in securing her young, writing cousin's name on the long list that appears at the end of the novel. According to Harris, Cooke "could have been a direct source of information about the celebrated author" for young Jane ("Jane Austen and Fanny Burney"). Not only does Harris emphasize Cooke's vibrant participation in the literary market by calling her the "unofficial bookkeeper" for the renowned novelist Burney (Ibid.), she also suggests the possibility of the priest and his wife meeting "the fourteen other illustrious émigrés [driven from revolutionary France] who subscribed to *Camilla,*" thus allowing Cooke to witness and experience first-handedly contemporary

political issues. As is cited by Harris, Burney's letter to her father on Jun. 18th, 1795 describes one occasion when Cassandra Cooke visited her neighbor and brought her the good news that Warren Hastings had agreed to subscribe to the work: "[Mr. Hastings] will write to Anderson to engage Scotland, and [he himself] will attack the East Indies" (*Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay* 5: 266). Curiously, the letter from another perspective also reveals Cooke's awareness of her country's power and influences over colonies like India, here represented as in the power of the former Governor-General of Bengal, and a similar understanding as to the country in the north, i.e. Scotland.

Romantic women writers' interest in the concept of the nation and the national identity is no recent discovery by scholars, and many critics have specifically investigated its representation in the genre of historical novels such as *Battleridge*.[3] Among others, Fiona Price points out the genre's great impacts on how a nation perceives itself, using works by two of Cooke's contemporaries, Jane West and Elizabeth Hamilton. According to the scholar, historical fiction "invite cross-class identification with the political unit" ("National Identities and Regional Affiliations" 186). Price highlights the similarity between the "domestic unit" and the "national family" containing England and Scotland (and later, Ireland as well). If the relationship between genders is disrupted, so will the Union inside the Kingdom (Ibid. 191). Coming out almost around the same time as did the masterpieces by West and Hamilton, Cooke's *Battleridge* builds the same kind of bridge between family and nation in Britain in 1799, and in the British Isles in the tenth as well as the seventeenth century.

In the framed story "I Dare," Cooke clearly refrains from relying solely on one's nationality—in the historical context of the tale, this sometimes overlaps with the

regions from which the characters come—as a feasible explanation for the formation of his or her identity. In other words, she dismisses as unreasonable the deep-rooted idea that human beings have to behave like members of a certain nation. To show how flexible and complicated one's identity is, Cooke plays with her characters' identities in multiple ways. She explores the diverse criteria by which a person is identified, such as one's occupation, one's social position, one's gender, and one's nationality. On most occasions, she addresses at least more than one of these aspects, while avoiding nailing any of them down as the determinant factor for that character's identity. On the other hand, Cooke is very careful when accounting for the idiosyncrasy of a character's identity. As mentioned above, most characters in the inset tale would take on a different identity during the course of the story. Whenever this happens, Cooke would try to make the change reasonable, by analyzing the more tangible social contexts, or by resorting to the personal or the emotional choices by the characters themselves.

This differs much from conventional methods used in other historical fiction by her contemporaries. For instance, in *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810), Jane Porter characterizes the Scotch national character almost exclusively in her portrayal of its national hero William Wallace. Ian Dennis, perusing passages on nationalism and desire in four different groups of novels respectively about Scottish, Irish, and American national identities, defines Porter's work as "politically and psychologically that of a proto-dictatorship, a cult of personality par excellence" (38). For Dennis, Porter takes the nation to be a "Romantic" and "organicist" idea, instead of one "built on abstract justice and reason" (39). Although also dealing with the topic of national identity, Cooke seems especially unwilling to mistake it for any single character's specific behaviors. When she suspects her plotline is in danger of telling the opposite, she would even

introduce the supernatural to neutralize the importance of nationality in influencing one's identity.

The roles played by social factors in this process, such as one's rank and profession, are best illustrated by the characters Ralph (together with his wife Ella), Lord Renne, and the Scottish King Kenneth II in the story. Among the four, Ralph makes his debut in a highly "rural" manner: sending a "loud hollowing" before himself, the "[forester] to the Halfladen of Warwick" emerges from the holly-trees of the hills, and acts as a peasant father who wants to protect her daughter's virtue from the Danes. Cooke does give away some hints as to a hidden identity, by highlighting the "noble air and person" of the peasant (2: 26-27). The contrast between the performance and the manners of the character may have led to a cliché scene of secrets revealed, but Cooke obviously thinks much more can be done on the complexity of his identity. Moved by the forester's kindness to his wounded master, the servant of the injured thane, Archibald, judges it is polite to talk about who his master is. However, unwilling to tell all, he only confirms that the mysterious thane used to frequent the Scottish court. In return to this, Ralph replies in a measured and wise manner, shedding light on more aspects of his own identity. Mentioning that he is from Kent instead of being a native of Cumberland, he admits that he was once a guard in the English court. Not until the thane himself chooses to express his admiration for Ellen under his real name, Dalzell, does the father finally come up with his true pedigrees, claiming to be "Edmund Earl of Kent" (2: 62).

The maze of identities around the character Ralph—there are many more in the story—helps explain some of the standards Cooke recommends for identifying a person. During his conversation with the forester, Archibald singles out three factors

as Dalzell's and his reasons for suspecting that Ralph is "far beyond [his] seemings," i.e. his "manners," "air," and "discourse." Though talking about rank basically, the servant surprisingly leaves more worldly criteria such as birth and wealth out of the discussion, and noticeably goes for the aforesaid more innate traits. Equally liberal is the forester's answer. Attributing his own manners, air, and discourse to "good learning" (2: 39), not only does the character show Cooke's emphasis on knowledge and support for education, he also comes in handy as an example of how malleable one's identity is.

One's calling is closely related to one's rank in the world of the inset tale, and for Cooke, a character usually takes up a certain occupation for the purpose of hiding his or her real identity. Earl Edmund and Ella escape the English King "under the semblance of fisherman" (2:205). A further change in their professions occurs when they return to Chiviot, and become employed as "woodman or forester" and his wife (2: 210-211). Cooke ignores any practical hardship that may accompany this simplistic change in one's identity—for instance, Edmund's southern Kentish accent may well have stood out among the Cumberland residents. Instead, she insists that such transition in one's identity could succeed without any difficulties—once provided with "a neat and commodious cottage," a decent place for a forester, Edmund does not hesitate to live and even to think as a woodman does!

To switch to another occupation so easily without doubt suggests the fluid nature of identities in this story, so does the ability to switch back into one's original profession or rank with equal ease. The Odyssian return of Lord Renne and the unexpected visit by the Scottish King are both moments when Cooke plays with this other side of the process. The former, after five years of imprisonment by his nephew

in Normandy, reveals himself as an "old and decrepid [*sic*]" soldier following Earl Walthelolf (2: 92), who becomes the English Lord of Marches after his disappearance and assumed murder. If Lord Renne takes another identity for the sake of his own safety before arriving at his fort, the Scottish King, Kenneth II, seems to try it for no other reason but the dramatic effects. Towards the end of the tale, when almost every villain is punished and every moral awarded, two warriors enter the scene as ambassadors from King Kenneth. Archibald, the above-mentioned servant of Dalzell, is quick to recognize Kenneth II in the person of the self-claimed "Thane of Dunsinane" (2: 194). The king's own version of the story is that he does not wish to disturb the Chiviot's house, and that he would like to "spare [Lord Renne] the troublesome pageantry of court etiquette" (2:195). It functions more as an expedient rather than a working explanation, because he must have known that Archibald and Dalzell are going to call him out.

Gender, as a layer in one's identity, at first sight seems to function in a fixed and conventional manner in Cooke's tale. The men are manly, the ladies ladylike. Nevertheless, one female character, Agitha the Ethling, disrupts this balance. In her, Cooke skillfully combines traits traditionally held to be masculine as well as feminine. The readers learn about the tricky heiress from the narration of Hugo, Ellen's younger brother: "The Ethling has always been to [the Halfladen of Warwick] a naughty child. She is the ugliest woman you ever saw; she goes hopping along, and has a bunch upon her back as big as our smallest wooden bowl. Nobody loves her: she puts people in the dungeon, and in the haunted Bats tower" (2: 31). To be sure, the boy's description is highly tinted with his love for his sister Ellen, whom Agitha tortures from time to time, but still one sees how much emphasis is placed on the unwomanly features of the

Ethling: ugly instead of pretty in appearance, misshapen instead of graceful in stature, merciless instead of lenient in personality, the heiress simply defies the notion of a woman in the context of the story. On the other hand, she is repeatedly said to have a "very amorous constitution" (2: 54), and keeps falling in love with every marriageable male character that crosses her way. The sexual aggressiveness and strong free will perhaps make her a more interesting and relatable character for today's readers than the decent but reserved Ellen. Yet judging from the fate of Agitha, Cooke obviously does not commend these behaviors by a woman.

It is also with the character Agitha that nationality stands out as a shaping factor for one's identity. Cicely, the mother of Agitha and supposed mother of Ella, confesses how she exchanged the two baby girls soon after she was employed as a wet nurse for the Lord's daughter. A noteworthy fact is that Agitha's father is a "travelling pedlar" and more importantly, a Dane. Not satisfied with beating the pregnant Cicely, he also "robbed and murdered" during his "intended flight to the Danes." As a result, he was hanged before the baby was born (2:120). Earl Renne's discourse after he learns this secret almost seals the close connections between one's nature and one's ancestry:

> I have always been of opinion, that some natures are naturally evil; and that wickedness is often hereditary. . . . Learned clerks tell us of an African nation, remarkable for deceit and subterfuge, calling false promises from them Punic faith; nor are their descendants (now forming kingdoms near the Pillars of Hercules) less cruel, or false. The Danes, from their first migration southward, have filled each unhappy country which they have ravaged, with blood, cruelty, rapine; and Agitha's father was a Dane. (2:143-144)

For the earl, the Danish blood in Agitha's veins explains away the misgivings he has always entertained against this "daughter." As Ralph tells the Scottish servant when introducing the Chiviot Fort, the "father" is repulsed by the ugly, monkey-like appearances of the baby the first time he beholds her (2:50).

But does Cooke agree with the Earl as to the determinant power of one's nationality? Two supernatural anecdotes at least get into the way of such convenient logics: firstly, Agitha's resemblance of a monkey is generally attributed to an accident the Halfladen had before giving birth to her baby—during a walk, she "was assaulted by a vicious monkey" (2: 49), and everyone takes for granted that this accounts for the distorted face of the Ethling. However, the readers learn later that Ella, the actual baby surviving the accident, bears no physical flaws that derive from the attack by the animal. The second supernatural episode occurs when the pregnant Cicely attends "a kind of wake held under the gallows" on which Agitha's Danish father was hanged. Urged by "deadly hatred" for the deceased man, she actually beats the already "distorted body" with "a great stick." Cooke herself calls it "an unnatural and vehement desire" when Cicely insists and finally succeeds in climbing onto the cart and seeing the terrible face of the corpse (2: 120-121). For the mother, this explains the gradual deterioration of Agitha's appearances.[4] However, the supernatural or rather unnatural quality of beating a dead body and then looking at its face makes Earl Renne's theory about wicked Danish blood questionable. Modern science may even see a solid connection between the crazy actions on the mother's part and the distortion in the daughter's person. In other words, how can one decide which parent contributes more to the mysterious inclination for torturing other people in the daughter's personality—her Danish father, or her Cumberland mother?

Cooke's doubt of Lord Renne's discourse is also shown in the character, Macrae. Like Ralph, he is also a complicated case when it comes to the identity. He is first introduced into the story as the "stranger" and new love for the Ethling (2: 31). The immediate conflict between Agitha and all the other major characters is that Dalzell has taken up the hall-chamber she meant to keep for her "stranger." One detects some "guess-my-true-identity-game" already in play on Macrae's part, when the woman in love declares with pride to the servants that "the Paladin of Alsace no longer conceals his high rank, but returns here this evening" (2:69). The "Paladin" skillfully reiterates his own identity when the Ethling brings up the topic of the Scotch Thane, by execrating the Scottish nationality: "A Scotch Thane! I hate the very word Scotch; a faithless nation, ever inimical to France" (2: 82). This remark verges on being the most outspoken piece of national prejudice in the entire story, but Cooke shoots it down immediately, by having Archibald the servant reveal yet another hidden identity: not only is the stranger no "Paladin" of Alsace, he is the very "vile Macrae, Thane of Dumbritton, the assassinator" of Dalzell (2: 89). Therefore, Macrae as a character has assumed a different social rank, a different profession, as well as a different nationality when representing his own identity to others. Among the three categories, it is noteworthy how fluid the national identity can be under Cooke's pen: to suit his needs, the Scottish thane actually can bring himself to criticize his fellow countrymen. Furthermore, by characterizing both a Scots hero (Dalzel) and a Scots villain (Macrae), Cooke is implying her disapproval of the highly stereotyping way of looking at different national characters, i.e. the sort of prejudice Lord Renne holds against certain African nations, or against the Danes.

By sharp contrast, this highly fluid nature of one's identity is almost unseen in the first volume of *Battleridge*. The characters in the seventeenth-century story are strictly confined to their appropriate social positions (rank and occupation), behave according to the orthodox gender codes, and never play tricks with their nationalities. This tendency is best illustrated by Cooke's characterization of the Puritan reformers with their leader Oliver Cromwell, and by her emphasis on the Irish nationality when depicting the villain O'Connor.

The most stereotyped creation in the first volume is Obadiah, the second son of Lord Aumerl. Cooke herself is aware of the fact that he is more of a symbol than a character, and she invites her readers into the scheme by calling him "in mind and person the very quintessence of the times." Times are under the control of the Protector and his supporting reformers, and therefore Obadiah inevitably embodies the most representative features of a Puritan that a late eighteenth-century woman writer like Cooke could enumerate. Sir Ralph, the faithful Royalist of the story, introduces the youth to the readers, when describing his fatal first meeting with Nora Vesey: "Though not attuned to mirth, or inclined to think unfavourably of any one, her beauties were heightened by smiles—smiles at his long, lank, cropt, puritanic appearance, and that odious scriptural cant which marks our present Saints" (1:18). This portrayal fits perfectly into the author's political affiliation. Cassandra Cooke, like Jane Austen's mother, is from the Leigh family, whose sympathy for Charles I and later loyalty to the Pretenders are explained in the preceding chapter. Not only does Cooke criticize the gloomy, unfriendly side of the Puritan personality, she also points out the correlation between the realities and the appearances of this political group. The

lankiness of Obadiah is to be repeated several times more in the course of the novel, almost another way of calling him sickly.

As far as "sickliness" is concerned, the trait culminates in Cooke's characterization of the head of the Puritan group, Oliver Cromwell. Twice he shows up in the first volume, and both times he is meeting Dr. Scot, part of King Charles I's court. Later in the novel he will facilitate the restoration of Charles II. The two men's backgrounds allow readers to interpret the scenes as a symbolic dialogue between two political ideals, two eras instead of merely between two individuals. The first of these two meetings takes place in Hampton Court, and the nostalgia for the reign of the Stuart House starts as soon as the Doctor sees the palace. Waiting in "one of the long galleries," the former chaplain of the late King naturally lets off lamentations for the King's "best" art pieces that have been sold by the Reformers without any taste (I: 135-136). This ironical touch on the unpleasing trait of the Puritans is immediately followed by one of the bravest portrayals in the entire novel:

> [Out] stalked Oliver Cromwell, attended by his select friends, Ireton, old Fiennes, Lenthal, and Praise God Bare bones, the great orator of those days. *Stalked* was the proper appellation relative to Oliver; for he looked like a ghost, pale, emaciated, and stiff, probably from concealed armour. His rolling eye meeting that of Doctor Scot, sunk beneath its penetrating influence; he half-closed his eye-lids, and seated himself in a great chair, which was placed in front, within the rail. (I: 137)

Contrast is the spirit of the scene. Cromwell's stiff appearance derives from his fear or frailty inside that requires the protection of armors, while his eyes cannot stay as firm as those of the Doctor's. Furthermore, his way of speaking, though rid of "the cant of

the times," is still full of "perplexity of expression," which polarizes with the "plainest manner" of the Doctor (I: 138).

The most outstanding feature of Cromwell in Cooke's novel, however, is his superstitious fear of death. Lord Southampton describes this formerly valorous leader of the Puritans now as "the child of timid fear and black suspicion," and reports his newly developed habits of hiding where he sleeps or where he visits, to avoid assassins perhaps (I: 129). Cooke weaves into her novel a historically accepted explanation for the Protector's deterioration of health and for his fear for his life: when Doctor Scot makes his first visit to Lord Aumerl's, the claimed friend of the General reveals that he "wains both in health and spirits" after his favorite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, passed away (I: 88-89). Cromwell almost collapses emotionally when he learns that Doctor Scot is willing to pray for his salvation (I: 143); at their second meeting, the Protector in fact shows up as a "muffled person" bearing a "dark lanthorn [*sic*]," and pays the Doctor "a large sum of money" for his "prayers that [Cromwell's] life may be lengthened" (I: 146-147). Allowing the deeds of the Puritan leader to thus contradict the party's supposed beliefs in reason and distrust of superstition, Cooke finishes a satirical touch on her representation of the reformers. Compared with her second volume of the novel, the rigid portrayal here further shows how an unquestionably English leader can go wrong when espousing the wrong political and religious beliefs. In other words, one's national affiliation does not alone decide one's ideology. For Cooke, it is only one of many complicated and interactive factors that shape one's mentality.

Obadiah's servant O'Connor is another interesting example when it comes to the role nationality plays in shaping the identities of characters in Volume One of

Battleridge. Lord Aumerl's kind-hearted cook, Deborah, brings him to Doctor Scot's attention during his first visit to the family. This is a "vast ill-looking athletic man," a "promoter of all wickedness and mischief" in the eyes of the woman, and she prefers to explain all this with his "cursed" Irish identity (I: 93-94). It is intriguing to see the term "Irishman" repeated and thus emphasized when O'Connor follows Obadiah into the scene. Instead of comparing this character to an animal, as is the case of Agitha, the cook insists that the Irishman is worse than animals, for he is "cruel bloody" enough to throw the family's turnspit dog "into the fire for getting under his feet" (I: 95). The readers learn more about the other aspects of his personality when he replaces Smith as Lord Aumerl's bailiff, and is sent to Battleridge Castle to keep an eye on the Veseys. Smith's advice for Lord Ralph and his lady is to "[keep] him from liquor, and have some stout men in the house," and as a result O'Connor "was kept very quiet" indeed (I: 105-106). There is a tradition of Irish drunkards in English literature and even in the writings by Irish writers themselves, but is Cooke simply appealing to this national stereotype? The English servant's proposal to treat the Irish bailiff as a kind of animal resembles Lord Renne's discriminating tone against the African tribes, and it must have sounded jarring to the author as well.

Mrs. Prudence, the housekeeper of Lord Aumerl, further supplements details about the cruel and animal-like nature of O'Connor. Recalling the night when Nora Vesey was kidnapped into the house, she repeats the conversations that passed between Obadiah and his manservant. According to the woman, it is O'Connor who came up with the idea of carrying Nora off, and when Obadiah tried to blame him for the dilemma they were then thrown into by Nora's locking herself up, the servant simply laughed at the "coward" inside his master (I: 185). This reversed power dynamic

between the two men reaches its climax when Obadiah, holding a pistol at Prudence, actually allows O'Connor to rob his father, Lord Aumerl, of "a world of treasure" and then escapes with him (I: 188). They are found later in the novel by Nora's lover, the younger Lord Staffa as he hurries towards Battleridge, and the readers are told that O'Connor is then "beating [Obadiah] unmercifully," with the "great charge of money and jewels" scattered around them (I: 158). The narrative is taken over by Jack Jephson, a lawyer and friend of the Veseys, as he describes seeing the young Lord's "frightful distorted corpse," and then visiting the murderer in the jail of Penrith. Even the jailer cannot stand O'Connor's tendency to lie. Calling him "sulky and daring," he informs the lawyer how the prisoner insisted that Obadiah is his brother, and that he beat him to death only after "the deceased used him ill" (I: 221). One cannot but notice that Cooke keeps foregrounding O'Connor's Irish identity to the very last minute of his life—Jephson terms him "that wicked Irish O'Connor" when confronting him (I: 222); after he is sentenced to death at his trial, the man behaves with "dreadful insensibility," "[declares] himself a good Catholic," and prefers to be absolved by a "Father Kerry," i.e. "the priest of the village he came from in Ireland" (I: 256).

The emphasis on the Irish nationality of O'Connor, rather than contradict Cooke's liberal outlook on national identity in Volume Two, in a sense strengthens it—Cooke achieves this by setting the Irish and evil O'Connor as a mirror for the English but equally evil Obadiah, and the similarities between the servant and the master make nationality an unreliable criterion for measuring one's moral compass. To be sure, the introduction of the Catholic Father Kerry is a curious detail. Eamon Wright, among others, explains the impacts one's religious choice had on one's identity in the British Isles, around the times in which Cooke sets her first volume of the novel.

Enumerating legal files such as the Corporation Act (1661), the Test Act (1673), and the Parliament Act (1678), Wright suggests that all these contribute to a "cultural space and practice of dissent, based on creed," and that together they help shape "a political agency in which bonding and networking mediated a sense of identity" (110). Unlike her cousin Jane Austen, whose belief in the Anglican Church does not interfere with the fact that she espoused the Catholic Queen Mary of Scots, Cooke was less liberal in this aspect, taking the Catholic Emancipation as "mischievous & abominable" (qtd. in "Cassandra Cooke," *Orlando*). However, except for his adherence to Catholicism at the end of his life, O'Connor does not behave in a more repulsive manner than the other villains of the story. What Deborah the cook and Prudence the housekeeper tell about his cruelty and fierceness is matched perfectly in the wicked English characters—O'Connor abuses the family dog, while Lord Aumerl abuses his royalist son, Lord Scaleby; O'Connor robs, but Obadiah supervises the robbery of his own father. Much as the characters are inclined to relate his behaviors with his Irish origin, his wicked nature seems to have more to do with his affiliation to the Puritan Reformers than with the culture of his homeland.

To add to this, O'Connor as an Irish character is of greater importance in showing how unique Cooke's juxtaposition of the Anglo-Scottish and the Anglo-Irish relationships are, given the political context of her story, because he helps complete the author's interpretation of the tension among the three nations in the British Isles during the Civil War years. One familiar with the history of the English Civil Wars may find the plotline strange in several ways: the Puritan Obadiah confides in his Irish servant, while the Royalist Vesey family befriends the Scottish Lord Staffa. The opposite happened in history: it is King Charles I that sought Irish support, while the

Parliament army formed alliance with Scottish Covenanters in early 1640s. In the introduction to the her project *The English Civil War through the Restoration in Fiction: An Annotated Bibliography, 1625-1999* (2000), Roxane C. Murph captures the complicated tension between these nations during the Civil Wars years. Analyzing Cromwell and his deputies' policies in Ireland immediately following the defeat of the Royal army, Murph suggests that the Protector treated the Irish alone in a very different and cruel manner. To erase the Irish rebellion that had been since 1641, Cromwell actually led an army of "twelve thousand men" into the country. Destroying garrisons as well as killing civil populations, his trip turned out to be "a campaign of terror and carnage that was unequaled in savagery at the time" (9). As a Puritan leader, Cromwell also espoused religious repression policies in Ireland during the Protectorate, with hope "to destroy the Catholic church and subdue the natives" (Murph 11). Judging from the sufferings of the Irish people at the hands of the Reformers, O'Connor's preying on Lord Aumerl's family may be an ironic touch by Cooke—that supporters of Cromwell and his government are bogged in a symbolic retribution by an individual from the Catholic nation.

As far as the Anglo-Scottish relationship is concerned, Mark Stoyle explains the intricate formation on both sides of the Civil Wars in his *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (2005). Admitting that most Scottish soldiers were experienced mercenaries, Stoyle suggests that they chose to serve the Parliament side because of "distinct religious and political preferences" (77). As to the monarch's reaction to such Scottish intervention, the scholar observes that Charles I actually seized the chance and took advantage of the anti-Scottish feelings entertained by most of the average Englishmen, figuring as "England's national champion against Scottish

oppression" at the beginning stage of the war (83). In other words, although the King was of Scottish origin, the Royalist army gave the impression of fighting the Scots for the English people. To be sure, the English Civil Wars lasted to as late as 1649, and the Royalist as well as the Parliament sides had their ups and downs in their relationships with the Scots: Charles I did abandon himself to the mercy of his Scottish subjects after his defeat in the first Civil War, but they chose to turn him over to the Parliament soon after; escaping to France, the King started the second Civil War in 1648, only after he managed to enlist Scottish support again by promising religious benefits for Presbyterians in England after Parliament was put down. However, the Scots made no objection to a peace agreement with the Reformers after their cause with the King was frustrated in the Battle of Preston; though they took actions to name Charles II their new king in 1651, after Cromwell's invasion and the Battle of Dunbar, the Scots were again in peace with the Parliament and later the Protectorate government.

Challenging the aforesaid historical facts and building a largely harmonious relationship between the Scottish family of Lord Staffa and the English Royalists (the Vesey and the Scot families) in an almost improbable context, Cooke thus implies her optimism as to the Anglo-Scottish Union in her own times, at least on the personal level. What worked when the English and the Scottish were engaged in a nationwide warfare with each other must be able to work better at the moment the novel came out—when the Napoleonic era officially began. An acknowledged British national identity must have appeared invaluable at that time.

Of course, Cooke's justification of the Anglo-Scottish Union extends well beyond the few families in the first volume of her novel. Though repeatedly labeling "I Dare" as an "early Scottish story" (1: vi) or "AN ANCIENT TRUE SCOTTISH

HISTORY" (2: 10; Cooke's capitalization), the inset tale actually provides a historical picture of how friendly the English and the Scots could be towards each other when fighting their common enemies—the Danes in the story, as two peoples as well as two political entities. Anne Frey, among others, defines as "State Romantics" a few authors, including "Wordsworth, Coleridge, Austen, Scott, and De Quincey," who "celebrated the ability of the state to spread national identity as part of its mission to define community, forge order, and develop individual citizen's characters" (272). Cooke's extensive depiction of the government's role in "I Dare" may well qualified her as a herald for the group of late Romantic writers above. Read along this line, the tale functions as a foil for the Royalist and Puritan feud in the seventeenth-century story in Volume One. Combined, the two volumes then work as a thought provoking political allegory for Cooke's contemporary readers, as to the best status of a Union faced with foreign threats.

In "I Dare," the amity between English and Scottish characters is largely based on the friendly terms between the two countries. The tale has its own preface, which captures the complicated power dynamics between the inhabitants of the British Isles and their invaders. The alleged author, Nathan Hay, begins with a comparison of the situations in Scotland and those in England around the time of the story, i.e. the "tenth age," also known as "the leaden century," due to "its gros [*sic*] ignorance" (2: 14). When picturing the Scottish society back then, Cooke takes care that the country is set in midst of other European countries, and that its developments are measured against its neighbors. Applauding the Scottish King Kenneth II for his valorous performance against the Picts, she places more emphasis on the results of his "introducing laws, subordination, magnificence, and civilaztion [*sic*]" into the nation:

> The Prince banished from among his rude subjects the undistinguishing and confusing custom of using only patronymic names, or names deduced from personal defects or beauties. He distributed among his bravest followers their late Pictish conquests, and fixed them amid those evacuated lands, under the titles of Lairds or Thanes. Scotland, therefore, under these feudal laws, soon abated its native ferocity, and equaled its neighbours in arts, magnificence, and cultivation altho' in succeeding ages, torn by intestine wars, it became less refined than most European states. (2: 12)

The King's reformation thus addresses the economic as well as cultural needs on the part of his subjects. As an English woman writer, Cooke's attention to all these aspects of information almost puts her in line with the Scottish anti-Unionists writing immediately before the 1707 Acts of Union came into effect. Most importantly, she acknowledges the independent royal history of Scotland, and shows her respect for the achievements of the specific reign of Kenneth II. Following a brief analysis of the diverse nature of the people under the rule of England's Saxon Kings, the narrator foregrounds the "amity" between the two countries. He cannot help but add an ironic touch, admitting that such alliance is a "rare event;" nevertheless, he is quick to point out that their "mutual dread of the Danes" has led to such cooperation (2: 14). Therefore, Cooke has singled out a moment in history that highly resembles contemporary political atmospheres, i.e. Scotland and England as equals in the face of the French threats.

The equal relationship is underlined by more details about the diplomatic moves between the two nations. At the very beginning, before one learns about the true identity of Dalzell, one is told that he was originally the head of a kind of

"embassy to the English Court," by the command of his "Scottish Sovereign" (2: 20). Earl Walthelolf, the English Lord of the Marches, later clarifies the political goal of this intended visit. In a recent battle, the English King "has personally attended, and driven the Danes from East Anglia;" it is "to congratulate on that event [the] great Dalzell was leading an embassy into England" (2: 146-147). Although Macrae's attack prevents Dalzell from fulfilling his duty as an ambassador, the story in fact turns out more interesting when the official trip takes on a private flavor. On the one hand (and as is mentioned above), the Scottish King himself steps up and achieves what he originally wanted with the Embassy. He manages to have a face-to-face meeting with the English Lord of the Marches—the person that governs the borders between his country and England, expresses through this person his willingness to "greet [the English King] with the right hand of amity," and secures future alliance by proposing "a carousal" in the English palace at Coventry to celebrate the union between Dalzell and Ellen (2: 216). The political and national amity thus is closely entwined with and dependent on the personal welfare of the subjects in the two nations.

Even at the private level, the friendship between the English characters and their Scottish guests is skillfully juxtaposed with vulnerable interpersonal relationships, or even kinship, between Englishmen and continental Europeans. A most interesting example can be found in the way Cooke pairs two long monologues together, in the middle part of the tale "I Dare." In the former of the two passages Earl Renne recalls how he got seized and was imprisoned for as long as five years in the Castle of Mountmorin in Normandy. It is his nephew Pierre de Beauchamp that carried out this plot. Although the son of Lord Renne's late brother, the youth seems to have taken more after his grandfather, the evil Beauchamp or Earl of Mountmorin

from Normandy, who poisoned Lord Renne's English uncle and adoptive father, Earl Sigfrith. As his surname indicates, the youth stands for a kind of foreign influence inside an English or Saxon family. The unnaturalness of the treachery by a kin is heightened by the alien or foreign "roaring of a rushing Alpine kind of torrent" Lord Renne noticed as a prisoner in his cell in the Norman castle (2: 156).

Following this tragedy inside the family is a narration of a completely different tenor. At the request of the Earl and the Halfladen, the old servant Archibald tells the story about how his master Jemmy won the title "Dalzell." Instead of betraying and plotting against one's uncle, loyalty to one's King and bravery in battles prevail the recital. Noticeably, these traits are recognized as distinctly Scottish spirits in the narrative. Cooke plans everything very carefully. Before he even begins telling the story, Archibald invokes his country by comparing what they are doing in Chiviot Fort to similar traditions back in the north: "Methinks it is very like old Scotland: there we have bards and story-tellers, who come every day, after dinner, into our great halls." Linking what he has in store for the audience with what the Earl just recalled, however, he adds that he hopes "never to hear such a story from [the bards and story-tellers] as that of [Lord Renne's]," thus passing a moral judgment on the Norman nephew's deeds (2: 165-166). The non-malicious satire continues when the servant repeats his late old master's remarks, that his son's athletic and nimble movements render him eligible to make money as one of the "tumblers and merry-makers" in the "English fairs" (2: 167), obviously a sort of stereotyped understanding of English leisure life. Besides loyalty and valor, two other factors stand out in this incident that win the family the name "Dalzell," meaning "I Dare" in Gaelic (2: 171). First, filial love on the Scottish King's part moves the youth to his actions—it is to help Kenneth II get back

the corpse of his father King Alpin that young Jemmy volunteers. The emphasis on the bonds between relatives thus contrasts sharply with what one sees in Lord Renne's bitter experiences.

Second, nationalistic enthusiasm sets the tone of Archibald's narrative. When one looks at the Dalzell household—merely "a secondary family of that clan in Murray," Jemmy's father, Gilchrist, is already said to be "stout and brave" in "many an action against the Picts" (2: 166). Supported by many such clans and families, the Scottish nation also is actively engaged in war against the Pictish King, Brutus, and it is in one of these battles that King Alpin "was taken prisoner" and "put to a cruel death" (2: 167). Therefore, for both Kenneth II and Jemmy, the nation's cause overlaps with that of their fathers'. The readers can feel Archibald the narrator's pride for his country in the following passage summarizing Dalzell's achievements:

> From that time, during the last ten years, Dalzell attaining the highest command, is confessed by all Scotland to be the primary cause and chief executive power in the entire demolition of even the Pictish name in Scotland; thereby uniting and conquering Caledonia, from Caithness to the Roman Wall, the barrier between England and Scotland. (2: 172)

The Scottish youth's efforts to accomplish a national unity and his determination to oust foreign invaders further render ridiculous Pierre Beauchamp's plots inside the family and desire to keep Castle Mountmorin, originally Lord Renne's property, to himself.

Looking beyond these two monologues, one finds that Cooke's project of comparison and contrast of England and the other member nations of the future British Kingdom, in terms of how the states are run, still works. As early as in the

preface to the tale, after introducing Kenneth II's liberal and efficient policies in Scotland, the narrator touches upon what seems to have gone wrong in England around the time. The English King, Ethelwolph, instead of dedicating himself to affairs of the country, abandons himself under the sway of powerful churchmen and generals (2: 12). It is not until Earl Walthelolf meets Kenneth II in Chiviot Fort that one learns about the death of those "evil advisers" and the recovery of the English King's political and military abilities (2: 146). Therefore, pursuing two plotlines side by side, Cooke is able to reflect on the political situations in England as she commends the achievements by the Scottish court. Her portraits of the Anglo-Scottish relationships, either at a private level or at a national level, illustrate her respect for an independent history and an admirable culture of Scotland, as well as her willingness to urge her country England to learn from the successful political experiences of its northern neighbor.

Likewise, in the first volume of the novel, Cooke so arranges the representations of the Anglo-Scottish relationship that these amicable or at least mutually respectful relationships serve as a foil for the enmity between Royalists and Puritans in the story, in terms of politics and household issues, completing Cooke's plan of satire. Moreover, it is shown both directly in the families as well as indirectly in the national framework. Turning to the endings of both volumes of *Battleridge*, one sees how these two levels are perfectly combined and interwoven with each other: as the denouement of Volume One, young Murray or the younger Lord Staffa marries Nora Vesey, and persuades his in-laws to move to his "castle of Cross-bow, near Kirkcudbright, in Scotland." The removal is called "general" because the Aumerl household (1: 260), headed by the new Lord Aumerl or original Lord Scaleby, and the

Scots also choose to join the Veseys. The switch from England to Scotland is far more complex than just a change in geographical settings for the remaining parts of the work. There is a clear political message at the national level when Doctor Scot dissuades Sir Ralph from participating in initial attempts to restore the Stuart House on the English throne. Scotland in a sense harbors more possibilities for measured and mature decisions for England's future. In the second volume, this decision does prove fruitful as Doctor Scot, working secretly in Scotland, is found out to have facilitated Charles II's restoration. As a Royalist, the Doctor's partial feelings towards the northern country is further substantiated when he names his daughter born there "Scotia," who is widely known as "Scotty Scot" later (1: 126). The girl's future marriage with the son of Sir Ralph represents a sort of bond between nations at a personal level. Likewise, the families' fates are closely related to that of England the nation in Volume Two—their return to Battleridge Castle in Cumberland accompanies that of the Stuart King to London.

On the other hand, the interpersonal relationships between English and Scottish characters are first portrayed in the exchanges between the Vesey family and that of the older Lord Staffa, "a Scottish Earl." According to Sir Ralph, the friendship between the two families has been an old one, and reached the point of a marriage plan between Nora and Mr. Murray, the second son of the Earl. However, the birth of a male heir to the Veseys deprived Nora of her fortune, and the young people, though in love with each other, were separated by the will of the Scottish Lord, who insisted his second son should marry "in the splendor becoming a son of Murray, descended from the Scottish Kings" (1: 67). The family pride of the father proves a little tainted when later young Mr. Murray's letter arrives, explaining that he was to embark "a ship

destined to the West Indies" or to some "more northern settlements" of England (I: 68), at the command of the father. Though the mercenary intention of the Scotch Earl's decision is obvious, the eagerness to provide for an otherwise penniless second son is understandable, and commonly seen in English parent characters in contemporary novels (consider Catherine Morland's father-in-law in *Northanger Abbey*). As a result, it is unlikely that Cooke is making a moral judgment on the Scottish family here in her novel.

The personality of the old Lord is further explained later in the story by a faithful servant of the family, Mr. Macpherson, as is the history of the Murray family. This servant follows young Lord Staffa and his Moorish attendant Sancho to Battleridge, and seeing his young master "convulsed and dreadfully frantic" (I: 149), cannot help worrying about the future of this "noble family." Cooke has him speak "the broadest Scotch dialect," and enter the story as a member of a family serving the Murrays "since the days of Duncan Canmore" (I: 153). Old Macpherson's version of the Staffa family is almost a perfect satire on that of Lord Aumerl on the English side. In the eyes of the faithful servant, the old Earl, though "[loving] money and grandeur too well," is still "a good man;" and that both young Murray and his elder brother, Lord Clanrig are fine gentlemen bound in brotherly love for each other (I: 154). This young Lord, as heir of the family, supported his brother's love for Nora Vesey from the very beginning; it was he who persuaded his father to send for young Murray back from Newfoundland after two years' exile, and was drowned with his boat and men when out with the hope to rescue his younger brother in a storm (I: 156).

Though brotherly love and emphasis on family union are not unique to this Scottish household, it does seem that Cooke chooses to dwell on this episode on

purpose, in order to shape her Scottish characters into likeable persons like the English Vesey family, as well as to form a contrast with the family crisis inside the Puritan Aumerl household. The practical considerations on Lord Staffa's part for his younger son differ sharply from Lord Aumerl's unreasonable imprisonment of his eldest son, Lord Scaleby; Obadiah Vesey's cruel treatment of his elder brother appears even more repulsive compared with Lord Clanrig's impatience to welcome his brother back to Scotland. The origin for these differences in the two families is no other than the gaps in the political outlooks between the sons and the fathers. I suggest that Cooke juxtaposes these two different types of power dynamics in the two families to continue her critique of baseless national prejudices—in the world of Volume One of *Battleridge* the novel, one's moral compass is more likely to be distorted by his or her wrong political choice, rather than by his or her nationality. Cooke elaborates on the schism inside the family to symbolize that if a nation is divided from inside, the different camps can be far more alienated from each other than from people of a foreign country.

Cooke's description of Lord Aumerl's entrance room best illuminates the devastating results of such political division. To better explain how it hurts both sides, she lets Doctor Scot, the arch-Royalist character, interpret what he sees as he passes through the room. The former chaplain for King Charles I can simply call the combination of the furniture "*a coup d'oeil*:"

> Over the chimney was placed a calf's head skeleton, labeled *Charles Stewart*; attended on the right by a wolf's skull, covered with lamb's wool, bearing the name of *Laud*; whilst that of a fox presented the respectful appellation of *Strafford*, attended as a supporter on the left. The walls were

> filled with quotations from Scripture, interlarded with passages from the pamphlets of those days, calculated to subvert the church and state. (I: 92-93; Cooke's emphasis)

Besides the disrespectful manner in which the late Monarch and his supporters are "exhibited" here, the scene also echoes Cooke's critique of Puritanical enthusiasm for the superstitious in the Cromwell episodes: not only does the use of animal remains seem highly primitive, it is also reminiscent of Pagan religious rituals, thus jarring with the claimed religious purity or superiority by the Reformers.

The two Royal supporters on display here are also interesting. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography*, William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford, were among the most determined Royalists immediately before or at the starting stage of the English Civil Wars. A hard-core believer in the Anglican Church, Laud is best known for his religious policies during the reign of Charles I. Eager to "[paint] an image of church and state working in harmony" in his sermons, his ecclesiastical policy centered around "the strengthening of the powers of the church which would as a consequence reinforce ties of deference within society, as well as providing the crown with enhanced support independent of parliament" (Milton). In this sense, no wonder the Reformers would judge him to be a wolf in sheep's clothing. Strafford, on the other hand, was among the selected "opposition leaders" to the parliament (Roxane 1). Lord Aumerl's choice of a fox for the Earl may have to do with his turncoat nature in terms of politics—Strafford had been a Parliament man before he alleged allegiance to the Royal side. He was the one that "advised the king to mobilize the lords against those . . .

in the commons" when the royal intention to raise money was defied by the Short Parliament in 1640 (Asch).

Curiously, both ministers are more or less problematic when the Anglo-Scottish relationship is concerned. Laud's attempt to impose the *Book of Common Prayer* onto the Scottish people led to the establishment of the Covenant as well as to the Bishops' Wars. Anthony Milton even attributes the Archbishop's downfall largely to this Scottish crisis, and singles him out as the main reason why the Scotch believed that their King had turned away from them; as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Strafford was also over-confident and over-estimated the "popular hostility" of English people against Scotland, and "clearly advised the king to pursue an offensive war against Scotland" (Asch). All this turned the Scottish Covenanters against him too early, and in a sense quickened his sentence and execution before the Civil War actually began. To say that Cooke indicates here her disapproval of both men's foreign policies with Scotland might seem a little far-fetched at the first sight, but taking into account the aforementioned pro-Scottish tendency on the Doctor's part, one can still feel the woman writer's purposeful arrangements in having the Royalist Doctor lament for the thoughtless strategic moves by the late King's men. If Charles I had not alienated his own people back in Scotland to such a degree, the outcome of the English Civil Wars may have been different.

For Cooke, political division from inside the English nation also contributes to the failure of the Protectorate government. In the major plotline of *Battleridge*, she portrays in a subtle manner quite a few individuals that are gradually drifting out of, or stays completely aloof from the "Royalists vs. Puritans" framework. It is through these persons in the middle that she insinuates the importance of the uniting power the

Interregnum government lacks. For instance, Sir Ralph Vesey clearly understands that his family could not have "remained unmolested [at Battleridge Castle] by Covenanters, Puritans, and Independants [*sic*]," had there not been the help of his relation Lord Southampton. Though he is one of the Reformers and "ever has had great weight with the Protector" personally, the Lord is termed "the most lenient" of the group (I: 11). A similar yet more interesting character would be Sir Thomas Hazzlerig—though the hot-tempered lawyer condemns him for being a member of the notorious Rump Parliament, Jephson himself has to admit that Sir Thomas is "an excellent good man" (I: 25). Moreover, it is this Rump Parliament member that investigates into the lost family deed, puts the Veseys in touch with Doctor Scot, and provides the poor Doctor with means of travelling to Battleridge. Working together, Sir Thomas and Lord Southampton are the key persons that advise Sir Ralph to secure "an authenticated copy" of the deed before depositing the original copy (I: 72), after it is recovered with the help of Doctor Scot. Cooke obviously refrains from stereotyping when portraying these characters. An opposite example can be easily found in Sir Thomas's uncle Ireton, one of the "selected friends" of the Protector present at Doctor Scot's first meeting with Cromwell (I: 137). His surname is reminiscent of Henry Ireton, who married the General's daughter Bridget Cromwell.

Among those individuals that keep the binary political choices at bay in the novel, the character Mr. Weston is a representative example. This is a "neighbouring gentleman" of the Battleridge Castle, and is said to befriend both the Veseys and Lord Aumerl's household. Sir Thomas Hazzlerig so designs the plan that Mr. Weston will "accidentally mention the discovery" of the deed to Lord Aumerl before Sir Ralph sends his uncle "a proper and legal notification" (I: 73). The gentleman's symbolic

meaning begins to show when later Cooke decides to expound on the religious belief and political outlook of this seemingly minor character. On the point of taking Doctor Scot "on a visit of observation to Lord Aumerl's," Mr. Weston is depicted as:

> a private, independent, frugal man, and thereby enabled to be an [*sic*] hospitable gentleman. He had sat in one sessions of parliament early in King Charles's reign; and, in that too despotic and arbitrary time, had imbibed strong objections to the far stretched prerogative of monarchy, and to the strides some warm churchmen took to attain secular power: he therefore became a Presbyterian; but seeing, and with many real patriots abhorring the measures taken by Oliver's adherents, as being subversive of kingly and church government, he retired early in life to his paternal possessions; became there a private, beneficent, moderate man; and as such, was respected by all parties. (1: 85-86)

More information about Mr. Weston is available near the end of Volume Two, where he is said to be "placed in the new commission of the peace" by Charles II, and becomes "ranger of a neighbouring forest" (2: 233). This character is much more than a go-between carrying messages or guiding visits between the two households. Instead, he is the epitome of Cooke's understanding of a third way out, an ideal man that reflects on the drawbacks of both the Royalists and the Reformers and then chooses a path in the middle. Having the experience of working under the late King as well as the Protector, he disagrees with the absolutist way of ruling by Charles I, while also distrusting the extremist policies of the Puritans. A friend to both the Veseys and Lord Aumerl, he stands for an almost improbable link between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians. Also, Cooke's emphasis on privacy, independence, frugality,

beneficence, moderation, and noticeably "paternal possessions" has clearly provided an outline of the traits that she cherishes when defining a respectable man (I: 86). Obviously, both sides of the Civil Wars are lacking in certain of these characteristics, and as a result cannot pass for a totally desirable leading power for the nation. Not only is Cooke able to mildly criticize the mistakes by the Stuarts, with whom she supposedly sympathized due to her family's affiliation, she is also adding another dimension—one character as an emblem of the ideal national identity—to her use of political allegory in the novel.

In multiple aspects, Cooke's *Battleridge* forms an intriguing pair with Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Woodstock, or, the Cavalier, a Tale of the Year Sixteen Hundred and Fifty-One* (1826). When it comes to the issue of the Union, the English author Cassandra Cooke differs from the Scottish writer Sir Walter Scott both in their stands and in how the stands are shown. Cooke refrains from openly applauding or accusing the Anglo-Scottish Union, and refuses to prescribe any "national traits" to the Scottish national character. Her approval of the Union is instead found in the multiple instances of Anglo-Scottish friendship and cooperation in both volumes of *Battleridge*, and her definition of a national character epitomized in the example of Mr. Weston, a character outside the strict political framework and thus possible of standing as an ideal for any human society.

Coming out twenty-seven years later than Cooke's novel, Sir Walter Scott's work is set around the same historical period, i.e. the Interregnum of England. Both works, interestingly, are centered on the struggle between the Reformers and the Royalists as to the rights to a building or seat, originally owned by the latter camp. In Scott's novel, commissioners follow the Parliament's command to sequestrate

Woodstock, a royal lodge and park in the charge of its Knight Ranger, Sir Henry Lee. Lamenting for his murdered King and his own lack of power to protect his duty, Sir Henry enthusiastically objects to the mutual affection between Alice Lee, his daughter, and Colonel Markham Everard, his nephew as well as a valiant Puritan soldier much esteemed by Oliver Cromwell. The young man, in order to restore his uncle and beloved cousin to Woodstock, asks for the Protector's assistance, but only obtains a half promise on the condition that he captures the fugitive young Charles (Charles II), who may head to the royal park to hide himself. On the other hand, Alice's brother Albert, allegedly remaining with Charles II till the last moment of the Battle of Worcester, does show up in front of his father and sister with a stranger named Louis Kerneguy, actually the future English King in disguise. Courtship happens undercover, and misunderstandings are overcome. Cromwell does learn about Charles's being at Woodstock, but he arrives too late to catch him. With Alice Lee leading the way, the Prince manages to escape the Parliament army, and encourages Sir Henry Lee with a letter to allow the cousins to marry each other. Like Cooke's *Battleridge*, Scott's novel also closes with the restoration of the Stuart House on the English throne.

Besides the similarities between the plotlines of the two historical novels—a fight over a royalist household, restoration of Charles II, etc.—one is almost surprised to find many other details and skills in both works that resemble each other very much. First, Sir Walter Scott also lets his characters hide or change their identities to some extent, as Cooke frequently does in the second volume of her book: as the Scottish King Kenneth II enters the inset tale " I Dare" as the Thane of Dunsinane in *Battleridge*, King Charles II also keeps his identity a secret, and assumes the name of "Kerneguy" in Scott's story. Moreover, while the young prince is fleeing from the Park,

it is Albert Lee dressed like him that distracts the Reformers' army and thus makes time for him. Critic Caroline McCracken-Flesher is highly intrigued by the characterization of Charles in Scott's novel, and suggests that he represents the novelist's understanding of the Scottish character. The scholar observes that for Scott, "Scotland subsists only in performance, and that nothing exists save performance," for this is seen in the supposed epitome—the King of the country, who takes on more than one identities in the story (134-135). Not only does this accurate comment highlight Scott's critical tone when analyzing the history and character of his own country, it also allows readers to see how Cooke chooses a different approach—Kenneth II in her novel covers his royal identity out of his own volition, and he is not afraid to stop the role-playing whenever he wants. The Scottish King is of an autonomy that is denied to Charles II in *Woodstock*, which speaks for the image of a free and independent Scotland in Cooke's mentality.

Second, Sir Walter Scott also engages in depicting Oliver Cromwell in private in several episodes.[5] With the story in *Woodstock* starting a few years earlier than Cooke's major plotline, the Cromwell in the Scott's novel has not yet lost his favorite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, who in fact figures in the story herself. Nevertheless, as Cooke does, Scott also highlights the complicated psychological troubles the Lord Protector undergoes. Third, like his female predecessor, Sir Walter Scott meticulously analyzes the tension between different political camps in the upheaval of the Interregnum years. The power struggle between Parliament commissioners and Royalists guarding the royal park can be imagined of course, but more than this, Scott detects the divisions that gradually are destroying the balance of the political situation. These include Cromwell's own difficulties dealing with the Parliament.

Last, though Scott does not include as many Scottish or Irish characters in his novel, as a Scots writer, he does let his own attitude towards the Anglo-Scottish Union into the novel on several occasions. Like *Battleridge*, *Woodstock* again figures as a historical novel set in the seventeenth century but touches on a largely eighteenth-century event. In a sense, Ian Duncan's analysis of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels also applies to Cooke's work: they both "integrate" the private and the public lives, and represent "the whole of human life—social forms, institutions, manners, morals, psychology, 'culture'—as historically saturated, evolving and interconnected" (107). Fiona Price, contending that the historical value of the "fictionalized histories" by women were largely neglected by their contemporary critics, challenges their point of view that women writers failed to accomplish what Scott produced in his works, such as the "sense of the past" or of "history as progress" ("A Great Deal of History" 262). Therefore, it is of great interest for this project to read these two works side by side and in depth, to see how Cooke's methods vary from those chosen by Sir Walter Scott.

One way that *Woodstock* differs from *Battleridge* is in its straightforward discussion of the political environment and situation of the period it covers. Unlike Cooke, who introduces her thoughts about the polarization of the Reformers vs. the Royalists under the cover of the personal or family lives of her characters, Sir Walter Scott does not hesitate at all to name politics as his subject and to highlight the direct influences it has on the lives of people living through the period. Ann Rigney, in her book on "Romantic Historicism," actually emphasizes the difficulty of "any easy separation of fictional narrative and historical fact, of invention and representation" in the historical novels by Scott (16). This applies to *Woodstock* very well because in multiple episodes do its characters step out of their personal concerns and pass

judgments on contemporary topics, which are to be of historic value for future generations. Sometimes, the characters are even single-handedly responsible for crucial decisions directly influencing their countries' fates. For instance, after his first conflict with his uncle in Woodstock Lodge, young Everard spends his sleepless night reading correspondence from Puritan spectators, hoping that "public affairs" will help ease his "personal sorrow." It is here that Scott lets off his discourse on the injuries inevitable to individuals who want to survive the unstable political environment of their times:

> Gracious Providence, where is this to end? We have sacrificed the peace of our families, the warmest wishes of our young hearts, to right the country in which we were born, and to free her from oppression; yet it appears, that every step we have made towards liberty, has but brought us in view of new and more terrific perils, as he who travels in a mountainous region, is, by every step which elevates him highest, placed in a situation of more imminent hazard. (I: 153)

Such questions into the meaning of political causes could fit into any period without seeming out of place. Scott thus allows the discussion to break out of the seventeenth-century bounds and become universal.

Furthermore, the novelist applies this outspoken style to evaluation of particular historical phenomena as well. For example, he makes Cromwell himself the one to comment on the foreign policies of King Charles I, accusing the late King of having given up his power to "[rule] worlds of crouching Frenchmen, or supple Italians, or formal Spaniards" by turning his back instead on some of his English subjects (I: 219). Likewise, Colonel Everard acts as Scott's deputy when explaining his

sneer for the Rump Parliament for his Royalist friend Roger Wildrake (1: 228-229). These examples, though unavoidably tainted with the personal political affiliations of the speakers, are realistic and reasonable in that they are quick to point out the basic problems about historical phenomena such as King Charles I's flawed reign as well as the unpopular Rump Parliament. As Harry E. Shaw points out, Sir Walter Scott simply finds it "difficult indeed to conceive of human beings, good or bad, without reference to some set of social norms or beliefs" ("History as Subject" 141). To add to this, in a long passage in the form of the young Colonel's meditation, Sir Walter Scott even analyzes for his readers the possible political choices faced by people back under the rule of the Protector. Deeming the royalists in a "totally broken condition" and the current government "convulsed" by different "factions," the youth is actually working on "keeping up the becoming state of the Executive Government," and on "convoking a free Parliament" (1: 159). It is not hard to see that these are exactly what Cooke carefully avoids in her novel. No direct blame is laid on the late King Charles although one does see him exhibited in a humiliating manner together with his two supporting ministers, who both made mistakes in their advice about foreign policy; she is equally reserved about the Rump Parliament, although by dwelling on the questionable character of Ireton she achieves almost the same goal; she does not map out the exact way towards the Restoration or hail it as a better choice than a government under the Parliament.

Apart from the two authors' diverse ways of representing politics and its influences on individual human beings, their understandings of national identities also differ from each other. As mentioned above, Sir Walter Scott does not include as many Scottish characters in *Woodstock*, as are ubiquitous in both volumes of Cooke's novel, nor does he even expound on the political or military struggles between Cromwell and

the Covenanters. On the contrary, he just directly enters onto the topic, and brings up the Anglo-Scottish Union even when it is not closely connected to the plot. The best example is found in Roger Wildrake's first meeting with Oliver Cromwell. The scene is curiously parallel to Doctor Scot's interview with the Protector in *Battleridge*—both show Cromwell in the eyes of a Royalist, and both have to do with redeeming a building for the Royalists in the story; Wildrake's fear when passing "the beautiful Chapel" of the Windsor Castle, which holds "the unhonoured remains of the slaughtered King of England" (1: 182), reminds one of the Doctor's shock at display in the entrance room; after being introduced into a small cabinet to wait for the General, Wildrake cannot but notice how the "rich furniture . . . bearing the royal cypher" gets "all confused and disarranged," and how the painting collection in the room are placed in such a way that "their faces turned towards the wall" (1: 193). Although it is hard to tell whether Sir Walter Scott knew about the Cooke's novel when he was composing *Woodstock*, such pity for the late King's art collection is just too similar to that uttered by Doctor Scot. It is at this juncture that one notices the following curious passage:

> At the ascent, which passed by the Round Tower, he looked to the ensign-staff, from which the banner of England was wont to float. It was gone, with all its rich emblazonry, its gorgeous quarterings, and splendid embroidery; and in its room waved that of the Commonwealth, the cross of Saint George, in its colours of blue and red, not yet intersected by the diagonal cross of Scotland, which was soon after assumed, in evidence of England's conquest over her ancient enemy. (1: 183)

Since Wildrake as a character in 1651 cannot possibly learn about the final consummation of the Anglo-Scottish Union in 1707, and that the plotline does not

necessarily demand a comment on the historical happening, one can only assume that Sir Walter Scott is expressing his own point of view as to the event.[6] To suggest that Scotland is "assumed" into instead of "combined" with England more than enough clarifies the Scotch author's indignity as to the way the two nations united, let alone his choice of the word "conquest" here.

In addition, Scott shares his understanding of the English national characters as well, and does it through his characterization of Cromwell. Neglecting the fact that the Lord Protector should appear as the English Royalist Wildrake views him, Scott's narrator betrays his non-English identity by calling Oliver Cromwell "a [fit] representative of the democracy of England." Among the qualities he deems as necessary components of a "disposition congenial to that of [Cromwell's] countrymen" are: the "hatred of affectation," the "dislike of ceremony," "strong intrinsic qualities of sense," as well as "courage" (1: 189). Here, Cromwell fits into how Markus Bernauer defines most of the figures in Scott's historical novels, i.e. "nationally typical characters" (299).

Cassandra Cooke achieves an interactive relationship between the two volumes of her only novel *Battleridge*. Instead of hurting the balance of the work, the framed tale "I Dare" in Volume Two actually serves as a foil for the major plotline in Volume One of the book. By exploring all the possible factors that constitute one's identity, such as one's rank, occupation, and gender, Cooke purposefully downplays the importance of her characters' nationality in shaping their moral compasses as well as their personalities. Contrasting the harmonious relationships between Scottish and English characters in the story with the betrayals within a Cumberland-Normandy family, Cooke implies her favor towards the Anglo-Scottish Union, an event that occurred a

century before she wrote the story. This speaks for her confidence in the Scottish allegiance to the Union, when the Kingdom is faced with foreign threats such as from revolutionary France in her times. The fluidity of identities in Volume Two allows her rigid and stereotyped portrayals of the Puritanical Reformers, headed by a sickly and death-fearing Oliver Cromwell, to stand out in the seventeenth-century plotline in Volume One of the novel. The pro-Scottish tone likewise prevails in the other half of the work, in the comparison of father-son relationships in Puritan versus Scottish families. Together with Cooke's meticulous depiction of various individuals disappointed by the political division between the Royalists and the Puritans, this first volume functions as Cooke's warning against extremist decisions and feud between parties for contemporary English politics, as well as her call for readers to adopt a liberal understanding of nationalism and to beware of the danger of narrow regionalism. In an age when women were largely excluded from the public sphere, other than through the writing and publishing markets, Cassandra Cooke thus manages to use two historical tales to voice her political outlook and to participate in the conversation on shaping a working national identity for the subjects of Great Britain. Her methods differ from those by contemporary masters of historical fiction, such as Sir Walter Scott, in that she refuses to generalize the character of any nation, and refrains from passing summative judgments on any historical events. Instead, she insinuates her understandings as to nations and their politics only in her characterization of specific characters. A unique example among the genre of history writings during the Romantic era, *Battleridge* thus provides an example of how women writers choose to approach the political panorama through their attention to details.

Notes

1. For example, Anne Laurence examines the historical changes behind the phenomenon in the section titled "Women and Men's Worlds," which is part of her social history on English women from 1500 to 1760. According to Laurence, women had more freedom in the political world in the Middle Ages. Since they were not singled out as a specific "category of people in law or in custom," they were actually able to take up various offices without any objections from the male world (238). It was in the 1600s and 1700s that such liberal chances gradually disappeared, as a result of the increasing "prejudices against [women's] appearance in public" (241). Analyzing the satires written by major authors of the period, such as Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, Daniel Defoe, and Jonathan Swift, Hilda L. Smith concludes that although these writers criticizes men as well as women, the criteria differ: male subjects are satirized often because of their "opposing political attachment," while females are easily criticized for no other reason but their sex (144-145). Addressing the issue of gender in the English society from mid-seventeenth century to mid-nineteenth century, Robert B. Shoemaker acknowledges women's impact on "extraparliamentary politics" such as protests, riots, and various voluntary societies, but observes in an objective manner that unless one is born a queen like Anne and Victoria, a woman could have very little influence on the more formal political world. Citing S. H. Mendelsson's research on the diary entries and memoirs by women living through the Stuarts' reign, Shoemaker agrees that even in these relatively private forms of writings, women refrained from discussing any political issues (227).

2. For more discussion about the concept of the public spheres, see Matthew McCormack, who argues that though Georgian men and women are respectively

expected to display virtues such as "independence" and "dependence," these traits have more to do with their situations of life, which "did not correspond to a sharp division of (male) public and (female) private" (20-21). Also questioning the existence of any separate spheres in his book on the English feminists in the 1790s, in public categories such as the income-earning jobs, the religious practices, the everyday community life, and politics, William Stafford shows how women writers, among others, "exploits the gaps, the contradictions, the ambiguities and the open texture" of the discourse by Habermas and his followers (172). For most of his chapter on the concept of the separate spheres, Stafford engages in proving women's constant influences on the English political world, emphasizing the "interconnectedness" between the domestic life and the political (163). Acknowledging women writers' success in the literary market and the publishing industry, the scholar suggests that it is mainly this group of females that created "an enormous . . . impact on the formation of the public opinion" of their times (11). Linda Colley dedicates a chapter to women's power during the forging of the British nation, emphasizing their public roles after the Anglo-Scottish Union came into effect. Andrew McCann espouses a strict differentiation between "public spaces devoted to political debate" and the official, parliamentary political world in the eighteenth century (12-13). Also, Jennie Batchelor and Cora Kaplan warn against a complete replacement of the public/private division by other restrictive, prescriptive frameworks (5).

3. Many critics have accounted for the development of historical fiction in the British Isles. Concentrating on the genre since Sir Walter Scott began to publish his novels, Avrom Fleishman elucidates that the genre dates back to the Elizabethan period, when authors of the picaresque novels would from time to time touch upon

historical incidents in their works (20). When it comes to a working criterion for "genuine historical fiction," Fleishman proposes that for authors of such fiction, history must be the "subject matter" as well as "formal control," i.e. "both an object of study and a way of seeing" (15). Devoney Looser traces the process of History rising as a popular literary genre since the late seventeenth century, and provides an exhaustive list of women writers that engaged in "actual or embellished history" writings in the long eighteenth century (15-16). Brian Hamnett believes that the nature of the Romantic era helps widen "the breach between fact and imagination" in historical novels (36). Richard Maxwell, also with the Romantic age as his focus, highlights the unique role played by the "historical romances" during the era, and examines the contributions to the genre by writers such as Horace Walpole and William Godwin in his introductory article in the *Cambridge Companion to Fiction in the Romantic Period* (2008). Talking about the welcoming reception of historical novels by the sister writers Jane and Anna Maria Porter beginning in the early nineteenth century, Maxwell calls one's attention to a "charged relation to contemporary history" prevailing their works, which helps their readers to deal with the otherwise too wide gap between "real-life events and fictional evocations of them" (73), during the years of the Anglo-French war. Angela Keane in her *Women Writers and the English Nation in the 1790s: Romantic Belongings* (2000) investigates the representations of these issues in various genres of writings by a number of major female authors of the times, such as Ann Radcliffe, Helen Maria Williams, Charlotte Smith, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Hannah More. The texts examined range from Gothic novels, letters, poems, to tracts, and Keane approaches them with a determination to deconstruct the often-feminized concept of the nation. Curiously, historical fiction is not included in her comprehensive work, and that is

what Cooke singles out as the right genre for her novel. Though outshined first by the realistic school in the middle of the eighteenth century and then the Gothic trend in the 1790s, historical fiction itself was not unusual in the Kingdom at the time when Cooke chose to publish.

4. Cooke's depiction of Agitha's resemblance of a monkey may well serve as a good case study for the degeneration theory, which became popular and influential among biologists largely in the nineteenth century. See, among others, *Degeneration: A Chapter in Darwinism* by Ray Lankester, and *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies* by Cesare Lombroso.

5. For a perusal of Scott's portrayal of Oliver Cromwell in *Woodstock* as well as his *Tales of a Grandfather*, see D. J. Trela's CLIO article "Sir Walter Scott on Oliver Cromwell: An Evenhanded Royalist Evaluates a Usurper." Trela also investigates and summarizes the conservative and liberal views towards Cromwell in the writings by nineteenth-century men of letters in the literature review section of the article.

6. Jack Kerkering, in his analysis of *Letters of Malachi Malagrowther* by Sir Walter Scott, summarizes the author's politics as to the Anglo-Scottish Union as a kind of "defense of Scottish national autonomy within Britain." Defining Scott as basically a "supporter of the British Union," Kerkering cites Scott to show how difficult it was to "steer betwixt the natural impulse of one's National feelings . . . and the prudent regard to the interests of the empire and its internal peace" (85-86). Liz Bellamy captures this dilemma in summarizing the "two images of Scotland" in Scott's *Rob Roy*—the "heroic Jacobite outlaw" as is found in the protagonist, versus the "honest Glasgow merchant" Bailie Nichol Jarvie (70). Virgil Nemoianu also prefers to term Scott's attitude towards

the Scottish identity "conservative," as is his take on most of the contemporary historical events, such as the French Revolution (530).

CHAPTER 4

THE SEARCH FOR THE FAMILIAR ACROSS THE BORDER IN DOROTHY WORDSWORTH'S *RECOLLECTIONS OF A TOUR MADE IN SCOTLAND*

On September 16th, 1822, William Wordsworth wrote a letter to remind fellow poet Samuel Rogers that some years ago, the latter "expressed . . . a wish that [Wordsworth's] sister would publish her recollections of her Scottish tour," and that Rogers had gone so far as to "have kindly [offered] to assist in disposing of it to a publisher for her advantage." Flattering him for his "skill and experience in these matters," such as negotiating with publishers, and explaining that Dorothy Wordsworth was in need of some money for further travels in European countries, the brother asks whether Rogers "would undertake to manage the bargain" seriously. He also promises that "the MS. shall be sent [to Rogers] as soon as it is revised," if Rogers happens to still "think as favourably of the measure as heretofore" (*Letters of the Wordsworth Family* 2:187-188).

In spite of William Wordsworth's initiative and Rogers's interest, the manuscript mentioned here was not to come out in the form of a book until two decades after the death of its author, under the title *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland, A. D. 1803*. During August and September of the year in the title, the thirty-one-year-old Dorothy Wordsworth travelled through the Scottish Lowlands as well as Highlands together with two of the representative minds of the English Romantic Era, her brother William and their mutual friend Samuel Taylor Coleridge.[1] Both men wrote about this trip: William Wordsworth composed several poems during the two months and in later years. A few of these verses were collected in the section called "Poems: Written during a Trip in Scotland" of his 1807 *Poems: In Two Volumes*;

Coleridge, though unable to complete the trip and coming up with no systematic poetic work on it, recorded many relevant details in his notebooks as well as in his personal correspondence. Dorothy Wordsworth, on the other hand, wrote the group's experiences and her feelings down mainly to entertain those of the family who were unable to join the travelling party—for instance, her sister-in-law Mary, who had just given birth to a child ("Dorothy Wordsworth," *Orlando*). Dorothy started writing after returning from the trip, finishing a complete first version of the manuscript in 1805. Though a travelogue in genre, the work is of a similar style to her better-known Alfoxden and Grasmere journals.

This chapter will focus on Dorothy Wordsworth's records of her communication with the Scottish people in the *Recollections*, especially on her reflections on the lifestyle and manners of females. The argument is that Dorothy Wordsworth manages to transcend the political border between England and Scotland when dealing with the people dwelling in the Scottish Lowlands as well as Highlands, by noticing common problems existing in both countries, resulting from industrialization, inequality between different social strata, and the unequal treatments received by men and women. Such aspects in the travel memoirs matter because they emphasize the "similitudes" between English and Scottish social and domestic lives, thus constituting another strategy for women writers in the Romantic era when they want to participate in political debates about the Anglo-Scottish Union, i.e. to take advantage of their knowledge of and familiarity with domestic management, and to enter it into the debates. The discussion also answers a question that is otherwise very difficult to explain away: although at first sight correlations between Scotland and European countries on the continent may seem to indicate that Dorothy

Wordsworth finds Scotland "alien," upon further reading an opposite conclusion may be drawn—that she feels shocked at these correlations for no reason other than that she was prepared to find something similar to England before she actually sets foot in Scotland, thus revealing the image of a united "Britain" already vivid in her mind, the name of which she mentions twice throughout the *Recollections*. Her acceptance of the British Kingdom is further mirrored in the way she aligns Scotland with England in their defense against the possible French invasion in 1803.

The Alfoxden and Grasmere journals have long been Dorothy Wordsworth's most well-known writings. Originally read only as companions or references to her brother's poems, the sister's prose work is increasingly explored for its own literary value nowadays. Although few books are dedicated to analyzing only her writing, she does inspire solid chapters in works that investigate Romantic women writers as a group, such as Meena Alexander's *Women in Romanticism: Mary Wollstonecraft, Dorothy Wordsworth and Mary Shelley* (1989), and Patricia Comitini's *Vocational Philanthropy and British Women's Writing, 1790-1810: Wollstonecraft, More, Edgeworth, Wordsworth* (2005). Scholarly articles on the writer prove more numerous, yet most of these concentrate on the aforementioned Alfoxden and Grasmere journals.

Her 1803 *Recollections* figures in only a few discussions. For example, Richard G. Swartz reads the work in relation to Roland Barthes's semiotics of description, and suggests that like other Romantic tourists, Dorothy Wordsworth is caught in the "codes and protocols of descriptive practice" (5). Instead of responding in a spontaneous manner to what she sees in Scotland, she tends to digest them strictly following the aesthetic regimes of her time, for instance, immediately recognizing in the Highland landscapes the sublime and the picturesque. John Glendening joins

Swartz in acknowledging the role played by picturesque tourism in the *Recollections*, yet he also notices an authentic aspect apart from the conventional ideologies in the work. According to Glendening, Dorothy Wordsworth purposely downplays the social elements in her records because she can only cover the unpleasant, impoverished realities of Scotland at the cost of her self-image as a capable and unconventional tourist and author. By contrast, this chapter aims to show that such passages instead show how much Dorothy Wordsworth does care about the social-economic aspects of the Scottish nation.

Among other authors, Pamela Woof uses both the memoirs and the writer's 1820 continental journals as the major materials for her article "Dorothy Wordsworth and the Pleasures of Recognition: An Approach to the Travel Journals." Woof ties in William Wordsworth's poems written during the same tour as well as Coleridge's records in his notebook to form comparisons with Dorothy Wordsworth's travelogue. Enumerating several examples common to the group's works, such as the depiction of the famous highland boy, Woof suggests that while the two male poets either go for too much "meaning" in images, or simply want to "remember" a happening, the woman writer is "prepared to find the experience impressive," and enriches her prose with details (152-153). In other words, it is the woman of the group that is more receptive when faced with a foreign culture. The scholar also argues that "[securities] and recognitions [of everyday life]" is crucial to Dorothy Wordsworth's "new approach" to travel writing, as she suggests in the title of the article (154). Carol Kyros Walker prefaces the Yale edition of the *Recollections* with a highly informative introduction, explaining for the readers the route the Wordsworths and Coleridge took in 1803, the transportation method they selected ("The Irish Jaunting Car"), the threat of a possible

French invasion around the year 1803 and its influence on the author's writing, the sister's concern for Coleridge both during and after the trip, as well as some brief account of the Wordsworths' attempt to publish the memoirs with Rogers in 1822, when the sister was touring Scotland again, this time in the company of Joanna Hutchinson.

Of some importance to this dissertation is Walker's reading of the Faskally episode in the *Recollections*, where Dorothy Wordsworth confesses her frustration when the hostess of a public house twice refuses to provide any bed for either her or her brother. Walker points out that "the problem may have been the very fact that she and her brother were English and therefore the object of fear and resentment in a Highland setting," especially when "the 1746 Battle of Culloden was still fresh in the memories of people who had lost their culture, their clan ways, and their Gaelic language" (4). This proves even more thought provoking when one realizes, as Walker does, that the explanation above does not occur to Dorothy or her brother at all. Her total non-expectation for inhospitality on the part of the Scottish, her fellow British people, may in a sense speak to her trust in the Union between the two countries, which by the time she travelled had already been in existence for nearly one hundred years. Woof also highlights the moments in the travel journals, when Dorothy Wordsworth gives vent to her English prejudices when faced with foreign practices. One is thus tempted to ask the above-mentioned question: if she was positive towards the concept of an Anglo-Scottish union, why does Dorothy Wordsworth insist on invoking images of countries other than England, such as France, Italy, and America, when describing the Scottish landscape as well as the people's lives?

The *Recollections* remained in manuscript form for many years, though much circulated among and admired by friends of the family. William Wordsworth's letter cited above is the first mentioning of any practical step towards the publication of the work, and the project was obviously the only known gesture on Dorothy's part towards exposing her writings to any extent of publicity. As a matter of fact, she did not stop hesitating over the project even at this point. Answering Rogers's encouraging reply to her brother's letter, she explains her concerns and doubt about the business

> I cannot but be flattered by your thinking so well of my journal . . . I am apprehensive that, after having encountered the unpleasantness of coming before the public, I might not be assisted in attaining my object. . . . In fact, I find it next to impossible to make up my mind to sacrifice my privacy for a certain *less* than two hundred pounds—a sum which would effectually aid me in accomplishing the ramble I so much, and I hope not unwisely, wish for. . . . [It] is superfluous to trouble you with my scruples, and the fears which I have that a work of such slight pretensions will be wholly overlooked in this writing and publishing—especially *tour-writing* and *tour-publishing*—age; and when factions and parties, literary and political, are so busy in endeavouring to stifle all attempts to interest, however pure from any taint of the world, and however humble in their claims. (*Letters of the Wordsworth Family* 2: 199-200; Dorothy Wordsworth's emphases)

Besides her modest tone and her emphasis on privacy and monetary concerns, it is also interesting to see that for Dorothy Wordsworth, how literary "factions" seem as bad as schisms in politics, and that in her eyes, travel writing is among the representative genres of publication of the era. Her doubt as to the value of the genre is repeated in

her personal correspondence. For example, she believes that "unless one is interested in the Travellers, [journals of tours] are very uninteresting things" (Letter to Mrs. Clarkson; qtd. in De Selincourt 163). Judging from this comment, unlike her purpose for keeping the Alfoxden and Grasmere journals, her emphasis in the *Recollections* is placed on human concerns and communications to intrigue her readers back home.

Scholars have done extensive research on the genre of travel literature, from various perspectives and concentrating on different time periods. In the anthology on Romantic discourses on travel writings, edited by Amanda Gilroy, several critics address the role played by women writers of travel literature or women travelers. For instance, in her essay "Climates of Gender," Clare Brant points out how women from different countries are often viewed as similar to each other, and this uniformity in gender transcends "national, religious, political, linguistic, [and] even ethnic" differences for writers (137); focusing on female travelers instead of local women of the target countries, Chloe Chard suggest that they often choose to "transmute" into spectacles for other travelers, for the reason of forestalling "enquiry and appropriation" (114); reading particularly Helen Maria Williams's *Letters from France*, Chris Jones calls attention to Williams's use of a feminine sentimentalism to fulfil her political goal. Following the chronological order, Barbara Korte's monograph *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations* sets the relevant texts in English into the context of Europe as a whole, and follows the birth and development of this genre since the late Middle Ages. Korte dedicates an entire chapter to the wave of travel writings about the "Home Tour," which refers to travel within the range of the United Kingdom. Adding to John Edmund Vaughan's theory that the Anglo-French war rendered such home tours more desirable than the traditional Grand Tour on the

continent, Korte adds that the English people's growing national pride and curiosity about the Celtic fringe of their Kingdom also contributed to the boom of meticulous and exhaustive travelogues about such journeys (67-68). According to Korte, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries see travelers switch the focus of their writings from simply "topography, history, and antiquities" to "the present state of the nation, in particular, its social and economic aspects" (70). Dorothy Wordsworth's 1803 *Recollections* fits into this trend perfectly. Compared with her earlier Alfoxden and Grasmere journals, the Scottish journals cover more categories of topics than description of and insight into the landscape in the northern country. In many of the most well-known passages, natural environment is depicted as closely related to the socio-economic powers and historical reasons that have shaped it; what is more, the diarist even touches upon contemporary politics and international relationships in an outspoken manner, which phenomenon is rarely seen in the English sets of journals, if not all hidden.

Glenn Hooper joins Korte in examining English travel writings about home tours from more or less the same period. Although his chapter in the *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (2002) dwells mainly on such publications about tours in Ireland, he does look into the reasons behind the popularity of tours in Scotland within the same boom. For Hooper, both the English and the Scottish sides help give rise to this phenomenon: from the English perspective, ever since the bloody victory at Culloden, there has been a "need to secure" the defeated nation in the north; on the Scottish part, by contrast, it is the power of literature, such as works by James Macpherson, that indirectly promotes the Gaelic country to its English neighbors (176). Hooper also maps out the major travel writings that both are born from such home

tours, and in turn help further the development of similar works about visitors' experiences in Scotland. For instance, he holds Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Scotland, 1769* to be the material starting point of the genre in question, and singles out Dr. Johnson's 1775 *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, as mentioned in the discussions of Chapter Two of this dissertation, as a real landmark in Scottish travel literature (176-177). Coming out ten years later than the travelogue by Dr. Johnson, James Boswell's *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* records the same trip from a Scottish point of view. Responding to what Dr. Johnson said and did during their visit to Boswell's motherland, the *Journal* provides a vivid illustration of how the two scholars' outlook on Scottish history and social situations differ. For more than once does Dorothy Wordsworth mention reading Boswell's writings in her Grasmere journals, such his biography of Dr. Johnson (19; 22), and one may venture to guess that she is very likely to also be familiar with the two authors' travel writings. Of course, Johnson and Boswell are not the only writers that toured the islands. Focusing on the Hebridean area that figures so importantly in both Johnson and Boswell, Denis Rixson in his *The Hebridean Traveller* (2004) covers various aspects of the travelling experience in the West Highlands and the archipelago in a remarkably meticulous and informing manner. The scholar starts with the political, military, and diplomatic contexts, and recapitulates religious and commercial influences on the area's tourism, beginning slightly after the union of the crowns in 1603.

Having read works about Scottish tours by William Gilpin, John Stoddart, and Thomas Wilkinson (Bohls 184), Dorothy Wordsworth as a woman writer cuts a unique figure among authors who deal with the subject. Susan Bassnett, among others, disapproves reading travel writings by females as a radically different kind of literature

from that by male authors. She argues that women writers go after "self-expression," "reformulation of identity," and the "processes of fictionalization" in their travel writings just as their male counterparts do (239-240). Sara Mills joins Bassnett in refusing a "male vs. female" dichotomy when treating travel literature. Mills proposes that every author of the genre deals with the "socially-determined" space of the destination differently, because of his or her unique "class, race, and gender" (20). Also looking at the history of British women's travelling experiences and their publication of relevant writings, Korte singles the French Revolution out as a starting point when, influenced by the spirit of the age, females simply became more often seen among tourists both at home and abroad (112). Perusing the travel writings by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and by Mary Wollstonecraft, Korte observes that female writers have an advantage over their male counterparts when it comes to travel writing, i.e. they are let behind the curtain, and therefore are allowed to see what goes on inside a foreign household, usually run by local women instead of men.

Many scholars include Dorothy Wordsworth and her journals in their discussion when researching on the relationship between gender roles and travel writing in the context of the English society. Intrigued by the phenomenon of English travelers' love for "walking," Robin Jarvis spends an entire chapter in his *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (1997) analyzing the complicated influences the traveler's gender and class would have on this habit. For Jarvis, Dorothy Wordsworth's travel writings, such as her two sets of Scottish journals and her 1820 continental journals, prove "much less subject to harassment" targeted as her preference for walking, when compared with her journals largely set in England. Extending his discussion beyond the gender issue, Jarvis attributes such harassment the diarist encounters from

neighbors or acquaintances in her Grasmere journals to "the peculiarly English need to codify all behavior in terms of class" (167). Similarly, comparing the *Recollections* with her journals of the second tour of the same country, Susan M. Levin gears her chapter on Dorothy Wordsworth's travel writings towards a meticulous discussion of the power dynamics around the traveling persona's gender. According to Levin, the tours provide the single and writing Dorothy Wordsworth with a chance to confirm her own choice of lifestyle, and this is achieved through her repeated depiction of exchanges with Scottish women who are married and have children. Interpreting such passages from a psychoanalytical perspective, Levin suggests that "Dorothy is either unable or unwilling to see the fulfillment and joy some of these women experience in their traditional female roles" (83). To some extent, her traveling writings provide her with the chance to vent her reflection on the "appropriate" gender roles for contemporary women. Meanwhile, reading the first tour and the second tour side by side allows one to see the changed character of the travelling persona—in the 1803 *Recollections*, Dorothy Wordsworth "depends on the male members of her group," i.e. William Wordsworth and Coleridge, and follow their decisions on most occasions (85). Although the first pronoun "I" appears more and more frequently as the journals progress, indicating her growing awareness "of being the writer of her own work" (Asai 197), still the tone is not as determined or confident as in the second tour nineteen years later: during the 1822 tour, Dorothy Wordsworth is the one that takes care of the physically weak Joanna Hutchinson, and this allows her to build her image as a strong and independent woman among her own sex.

Read along this line, the *Recollections* follows the process of the English woman writer familiarizing herself with Scotland, an officially acknowledged yet largely

strange member nation of her British Kingdom. It is conventional of travel writings to record what is "exotic" about the nations or regions visited, but in order to persuade herself of the validity of the British Union, Dorothy Wordsworth has to look beyond the "different" aspects on the surface between Scotland and her England, such as their landscapes, the peoples' approaches to household managements, and the general appearances of towns and cities; and she has to search for their similitudes in deeper, more complicated, and socially significant facets such as the nations' economics and industrial developments, education policies and arrangements, national security measures and patriotic feelings, etc. Her attention to the life styles of the Scottish women she encounters during the trip manages to connect these two steps together. By contrast, in her journals from her 1820 tour of the continent—including depiction of visits to European countries such as France, Belgium, Netherland, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, this second step of moving from what is at odds with England to what is universal is conspicuously absent. Comparing this set of journals to Mary Shelley's records of her grand tour, Magdalena Ozarska reasonably describes Dorothy Wordsworth's style as "[collecting] snapshot-like images without making much effort to attempt in-depth interpretation thereof" (115). The traveling persona "I" in that set of journals is obviously satisfied with recording what is non-English and then leaving it as it is, for there is no need of looking for a possible British character among those continental countries. No bridge needs to be established.

The differences in the Scottish landscape from that in England are almost overwhelming for Dorothy Wordsworth, who is especially particular about natural environment. Readers familiar with the faithful descriptions of and sincere admiration for nature in her Alfoxden and Grasmere journals may even find her opinions as to the

Scottish Lowlands a little prescriptive: the English way of maintaining and utilizing the natural environment functions as a constant ruler in her mind, and whatever fails to meet its standards is simply not good enough. As a matter of fact, this measuring process begins even before the Wordsworths and Coleridge enter the northern nation officially. At the very beginning of her travel journals, the sister comments:

> The city and neighbourhood of Carlisle disappointed me; the banks of the river quite flat, and, though the holms are rich, there is not much beauty in the vale from the want of trees—at least to the eye of a person coming from England, and, I scarcely know how, but to me the holms had not a *natural* look; there was something townish in their appearance, a dullness in their strong deep green. (40; Dorothy Wordsworth's emphasis)

Carlisle is located in the northwestern corner of today's England, but it was in the possession of Scottish people during the brief period of 1135-1154. Though the Scottish were incapable of taking it again from the hands of the English in later centuries, they contributed greatly to its population boom in the Victorian period (Lambert). For Dorothy Wordsworth, the city on the border seems already to be of a mixed cultural flavor, and the want of green appears a foreign problem for her English eye.

The rate of green coverage remains a topmost issue in Dorothy Wordsworth's mind. Crossing the river Sark and thus on the Scottish side finally, she does not forget to note down among other discoveries that "the Scottish side" is "very green." However, there is still all the "unenclosed pasturage" that distinguishes the well-covered landscape from her England (41). Within the same week, taking a walk after dinner with her brother in Brownhill, Dorothy Wordsworth cannot resist the temptation of judging the landscape from the English point of view again. In her

opinion, "this part of Scotland", i.e. Brownhill, could have been turned into a more "delightful country" if there are more plants. T. C. Smout likewise deplores the "slow environmental degradation" that negatively impacted the Scottish standards of living in the eighteen century (210), and foregrounds the lack of woods and plants as one of the most urgent problems calling for a solution. According to Smout, although Scottish improvers gradually began to address these issues, substantial measures were not taken until the nineteenth century. Instead of the "trees" and "hedgerows" to which she is accustomed to back home in England, here in the neighboring country, Dorothy Wordsworth only detects basic forms of utilizing the land, as is shown in the popularity of "'mound' fences and tracts; or slips of corn, potatoes, clover—with hay between, and barren land" (44). In other words, everything has a use value, instead of uniformly contributing to the aesthetic effects she expected to see.

The passages above form a perfect contrast to her description of the natural environment of the Belgian town Liége, in her 1820 journals of her tour of the continent. Alluding to her brother's "Tintern Abbey," the sister is overjoyed to see how the Belgians so design their locations of living that their cottages are "green to the very door." The extensiveness of the green fields remind the travellers—including William Wordsworth, Dorothy, and Mary Hutchinson Wordsworth—of their England, and surrounded by such overflow of plants, the group are glad to see that even the farm-houses and cottages themselves appear most "English-like" (*Journal of a Tour Made on the Continent* 174). Comparing the two different kinds of reactions to a foreign landscape in the two sets of journals, one is surprised to realize how much more exotic Scotland appears to the first-time visitor from England. Though a neighboring nation and a member of the British Union, it agrees with England less than the continental

Belgium does when it comes to landscape and civil designs. Her suggestions as to improve the Scottish views may be flawless in terms of picturesque aesthetics, but Dorothy at this point of the journal has ignored the more realistic issues: the corns and potatoes that prevail in the Scottish country land provide food on which the people there depend; replacing them with the trees and hedgerows she recommends may hurt the domestic economy of Lowland households.

As she sees more of the northern nation, Dorothy Wordsworth's discoveries start to extend beyond differences in nature. How the Scottish live generally becomes an issue of interest to the journal writer, and she keeps finding the Scottish household management below the English standards. The first village the group comes across is the well-known Gretna Green. Instead of making any comments on its notoriety concerning elopement and secret marriages, Dorothy Wordsworth simply dismisses it as a "dreary place," due to the gap between its beautiful name and the shabby reality. What troubles her especially is how "dirty and miserable" the stone houses in the village all are (41). Within the same paragraph the word "dirty" is repeated, and in her records of the very next day she has to admit that "almost all Scottish houses" she has encountered during the trip are "dirty" about the doors (Ibid.). The unpleasant experience does not improve after the three travellers arrive in the Scottish Highlands—rather, it worsens. Dorothy Wordsworth's complaint about the sanitary conditions of Scottish households explodes in the following passage, written after she and her group settles down in a little country inn in Luss, during the second week of their trip:

> The roads were as dry as if no drop of rain had fallen, which added to the pure cheerfulness of the appearances of the village, and even of the distant

> prospect . . . but when we came among the houses I regretted even more than last night, because the contrast was greater, the slovenliness and dirt near the doors; and could not but remember, with pain from the contrast, the cottages of Somersetshire, covered with roses and myrtle, and their small gardens of herbs and flowers. (86)

To resort to what is better back home in England, therefore, is gradually turning into a solution to all that proves dissatisfactory: not only should the dirt be removed from the Scottish households, their residents should also take up the English way of horticulture and gardening.[2]

The Wordsworths and Coleridge interact with the local people actively, both in the Lowlands and the Highlands, and this provides Dorothy Wordsworth with a chance to "evaluate" the domestic management of the nation more closely. On their way to see the Trossachs, all three are forced to spend a night in the house of some Highlander, because the next available public lodging is yet ten miles away. Grateful as she is, Dorothy Wordsworth cannot ignore the fact that the wainscot of the room is "black with age," and laments that the room does not "look like an English room." Though admitting that it is "well-built," she finds it wanting because of the space being "so large" and "so ill-furnished" at the same time (97). The observation continues as the sister and the brother go outside, and watch the way their Highland hosts work. Compared even with the English country life style familiar to Dorothy Wordsworth, the Highlanders are doing everything quite "leisurely" (98). The woman writer also pays special attention to her Scottish hostess. Though pleased by the latter's manners and hospitality, she finds her cooking less satisfactory. A clear critique of her management of the household follows when Dorothy Wordsworth glances at the

kitchen of family—she emphasizes the contrast: "[The hostess] did not differ in appearance from an English country lady; but her kitchen, roof, walls, and floor of mud, was all black alike" (98). For Dorothy Wordsworth, therefore, the incapability of keeping one's household clean and comfortable is not a random case, but can and should be related with one's nationality to some extent—it seems to her to be a common case with Scottish women, while the English ladies are proud of being the opposite.

Because of the important role women play in the domestic sphere, household management can serve as a lens through which to examine the female and their lifestyles. An excellent manager herself, Dorothy Wordsworth in her Grasmere journals is always busy with some chores—she is either making tarts, or mending William Wordsworth's clothes, or even papering the walls of their cottage. Clearly, she favors and highlights this connection between female duty and domestic management. Her description of life at the ferry-house near Loch Creran best shows how the Scottish females are held responsible for the unsatisfying domestic situations in the *Recollections*. With Coleridge gone on his own trip, the Wordsworth siblings find themselves alone with the females at the small hut for one night. With a disgusted tone, Dorothy describes how the hostess and her female lodgers share the "most disgusting combination of laziness and coarseness" in both their "countenances" and their "manners." To illustrate her point, she visualizes how the four women eat from "the same vessel," while allowing their children to use "dirty hands" to scoop out food (141-142). For the English writer, dirty as the house is, it is more unconceivable when one asks how it could have come down to this with all the females in it. The critique of such negligence of female duties stands out even more when she asserts that "there are

few ladies who would not have been turned sick by it" (141), thus denying the Scottish women in the ferry-house the polite title of ladies.

This may seem an extreme case, but for Dorothy Wordsworth, even hospitality cannot make up for such drawbacks in household management. During their third week of the trip, the Wordsworths pass one night at the local blacksmith's on their way to Glen Coe. There, the sister has a rather heart-warming chat with a young neighbor of the blacksmith family, who talks about her hometown Leadhills—which the travelers have just visited—with fond emotions. Even when she finds herself appreciating the hostess's "benevolent, happy countenance," Dorothy Wordsworth cannot help adding that the woman has a "slovenly and lazy way of leaving all things to take care of themselves" (148). Therefore, though a kind-hearted and hospitable people, Scotland still has a long way to go catching up with the English standards in terms of domestic management. Dorothy Wordsworth is not alone here. Early nineteenth century Scottish literati are worried about the same issue. A well-known author and educationist of her times, Elizabeth Hamilton composed *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* in 1808 with the purpose to awaken her fellow countrymen to the repulsive image of Scottish households in the eyes of foreigners, and did achieve substantial success in encouraging the Scottish to improve their living conditions on their own. Pam Perkins fitly defines the story as a representative of the nineteenth-century "reformist literature" ("Introduction" 4). With Hamilton's concerns taken into account, one would say that prejudiced as she is, the English diarist Dorothy Wordsworth does point out a serious and urgent social problem in the foreign environment, and her quickness in and honesty with the phenomenon render her an even more trustworthy

observer, better prepared to analyze the socio-economic situations of Scotland in later passages.

The crescendo of differences between the two nations reaches its peak when one examines Dorothy Wordsworth's portrayal of the appearances of Scottish villages and their residents. Comparisons to and invocation of the continental are ubiquitous. Summarizing the two male poets' as well as her own feelings, she draws the following conclusion: "[Indeed] we observed, in almost every part of Scotland, except Edinburgh, that we were reminded ten times of France and Germany for once of England" (73). It does not necessarily follow that she sets these European countries against her motherland, but it definitely shows that for Dorothy Wordsworth, the English ways were what she expected to see in Scotland oftener than the exotic, continental manners. As early as in the very first week of the trip, the town of Annan already reminds her more of "France and Germany," because of the unreasonable and unnecessarily large sizes of the houses. Having lamented the poor housing conditions in Gretna Green, Dorothy Wordsworth keeps being overwhelmed by the uncomforting appearances of Scottish households. The similarities between European countries and Scotland are not always depressing, though. She notes that it delights her to see that people of various callings would put up a relevant sign to signify their trades, such as "biscuits, loaves, [and] cakes" for bakers and "horse's shoes [and] iron tools" for blacksmiths (41), a practice that she had seen in Germany. The attention to this detail also shows how much attention she pays to the basic factors of life, such as residence conditions and the status of the small-scale business.

Among the European powers alluded to in the *Recollections*, France undoubtedly stands out, because for Dorothy Wordsworth its similarity to Scotland

proves much more than that of the layout of towns and villages. To be sure, the English diarist notes that places such as Lanerk have "a sort of French face" (59), yet she senses a stronger bond between the country and France in the appearances of the people, if not in their ways of thinking. More than once does she record this impression gained from her communication with the Scottish people, especially with the women from that nation. The mining town Leadhills is the jewel of the group's first week of stay in Scotland, and one finds this concise but meticulous portrait of a Scottish lady drawn during Dorothy Wordsworth's visit to a local shop:

> There was a bookishness, a certain formality in this woman's language, which was very remarkable. She had a dark complexion, dark eyes, and wore a very white cap, much over her face, which gave her the look of a French woman, and indeed afterwards the women on the roads frequently reminded us of French women, partly from the extremely white caps of the elder women, and still more perhaps from a certain gaiety and party-colored appearance in their dress in general. (52)

One year before her Scottish trip, Dorothy had accompanied William Wordsworth to French Calais and spent four weeks (Aug. 1 to Aug. 29, 1802) with his one-time lover Annette Vallon and their daughter Caroline. This relatively long visit gives birth to a fairly short entry in her Grasmere journals, and curiously, nothing is written about the appearances of the Frenchmen, no comment is made about their manners, and Annette the French lady does not figure importantly at all.[3] The cited passage above supplements the gap, and one may even guess the "bookishness" and the "darkness" betray her recollections of the silent Annette Vallon. Compared with mere looks, the "formality" in the deportment and manners of the Scottish woman seems to have

stricken Dorothy Wordsworth more. Terming this a French trait, she may be indicating a correlation between the mentality of the Scottish women and that of the French ladies.

What is foreign about Scotland, however, is not limited to the Continental or the European for Dorothy Wordsworth. The woman writer brings up the term "Great Britain" twice in all throughout the *Recollections*, and the first time she does so, she almost "ousts" Scotland from this Union simply by further comparisons. Recalling what they saw in Loch Lomond, she writes that what she heard before the visit of the loch ("lake") or about any other places in the Kingdom "had given [her] no idea of anything like what [they] beheld"; emphasizing the various "shape and surface" types of the landscape, she cannot resist calling it "outlandish," and follows the description up with a strange remark: "[We] might have believed ourselves in North America" (87). Having never visited the American continent before, Dorothy Wordsworth's impression here may well be based upon her readings of travel literature about the region, or even upon what her brother and Coleridge felt on the spot. Either way, although she is describing the natural environment, comparing Scotland—a brother nation inside the British Union—to North America, a region closely related to the independent United States, still appears rather bold and politically suspicious. Dorothy Wordsworth, nevertheless, does not take this to be far-fetched, and keeps trying for a broader horizon in later passages of her journals. Visualizing a unique-looking cottage in the vale of Tay, which the group passes in the fourth week of the trip, she writes: "[It] fixed our attention almost as much as a Chinese or a Turk would do passing through the vale of Grasmere" (164). Later one finds out that the hut stands out because it is unlike other Scottish houses by being cleaner and more comfortable:

in other words, "a stranger . . . into the Highlands" itself (Ibid.). The invocation of the oriental images, however, helps dramatize how unusual it is to encounter a dwelling of the English—or even the Grasmere—flavor in a Highland vale. The enumeration of differences between the two neighboring nations, therefore, has reached its zenith. Scotland cannot appear any more foreign.

In spite of these immediately exotic aspects in Scottish life, such as the natural landscape, the household management, and the town appearances, the travelling persona in the *Recollections* quickly finds out that the nation is connected with England in other, deeper fields. This proves a process of familiarizing herself with the neighbor country, and it starts with the cultural elements.

Dorothy Wordsworth gradually realizes that though many Scots are at disadvantage in terms of living conditions, they actually are enjoying a tolerably high level of literacy and cultural benefits. The group's stay at the "lonely inn" in Brownhill, during the first week of their trip, proves a good example showing her mixed feelings towards this discovery. Disgusted by the dirt and smoke that cover the parlor of the inn, the Wordsworth siblings were surprised to spot "a print in a much better style." William Wordsworth's guess is that the print is "taken from a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds" (43), a possession even to be pursued back in England.[4] The print is significant for the travelers because of its artistic value, of course, yet it is equally if not more important that it should be from the English tradition. Dorothy Wordsworth records the Scottish servant girl's proud comments about this very print, that it is "more admired" than the other pieces decorating the inn (Ibid.). She does not hesitate to tell her English readers back home that all the other prints in the house "may be found in the basket of any Italian image and picture hawker," and that she and her

brother both "smile" at the girl's ignorant words (44). The priority she places upon the English arts pieces over the Italian ones is clear from such a comment, and this explains the pair's attitude towards the Scottish maid. To find an English print dominating a Scottish parlor satisfies her belief in the central role played by England within the Anglo-Scottish Union. Although the girl represents the house that owns such a print of taste, since she cannot tell between an English masterpiece from foreign, cheaper pieces, she only deserves a silent smile in response.

Dorothy Wordsworth learns more about the intersection between English and Scottish cultures as her group goes deeper into the country. In Leadhills, the aforementioned mining village, she is both thrilled and a little incredulous when told about the local library for the miners. Having noticed a highly impressive and "large mansion" on her way to the lodgings for the night, she at first took it to be "a school." Later, the three guests talk with one of the miners, and

> [He] informed us that the building which we had supposed to be a school was a library belonging to the village. He said they had got a book into it a few weeks ago, which had cost thirty pounds, and that they had all sorts of books. "What! have you Shakespeare?" "Yes, we have that." and we found, on further inquiry, that they had a large library, of long standing, that Lord Hopetoun had subscribed liberally to it . . . Each man who had the benefit of it paid a small sum monthly—I think about fourpence. (50-51)

Functioning nowadays more as a landmark than an actual library, the Leadhills Miners Library is in fact "the oldest subscription library in the British Isles," founded 17 years earlier than the first institution of the same type in England ("History"). Dorothy Wordsworth's move to confirm that Shakespeare is among the collections is thought

provoking: for the English woman writer, the Renaissance playwright serves as a criterion for an eligible library; though the collections are sponsored by the Scottish Lord Hopetoun, heir to the Hope family originating from the local city of Edinburgh ("A History of the Hope Family"), still their value lies in their respect to and submission to the English canon. With writers such as William Shakespeare, the library, instead of epitomizing the Scottish strength in enhancing the nation's general literacy, stands more for its close bond with the English center of the British Kingdom.

Literature alone does not define culture, though. Dorothy Wordsworth is equally sensitive to the use of languages among the Scottish people. Walker points out in her footnote to "Week Two" of the *Recollections* that the English woman writer cannot tell the difference between Scottish Gaelic and Erse, i.e. "a Scottish variant of Irish" (90). Indeed, the unintelligible languages used by the Scottish easily put her off—the middle-aged female guide to King's House lodging is described as of "the most horrible Guinean-hen or peacock voice," for no other obvious reason but that she "[screams] in Erse" (153). By contrary, a Scottish girl answering her questions in English sounds to her "sweetly" (109). Not only does the ability of speaking decent English become a criterion for her when comparing the literacy levels between Lowlanders and Highlanders (124), it also functions as Dorothy Wordsworth's tool for telling her British compatriots from sheer foreigners. In her introduction to a comprehensive collection of essays on the motifs of gender, genre, and identity in the travel literature by women authors, Kristi Siegel singles out this need to locate some connections between the travelers' "memory of home" and their "new surroundings" as a way to achieve "a sense of identity and place" (8). Dorothy Wordsworth's particularity about the Scottish people's usage of English language also shows her eagerness to confirm

that these northern neighbors are willing to be assimilated into the Anglo-Scottish Union, with England as its center and thus English as the popular language.

The Leadhills Library episode in the *Recollections* is interesting in another sense, i.e. it reveals the attention the Scottish people pay to working class education. In Chapter Two of this dissertation, one already learns about how the elite of the nation prove their excellence through the Scottish Enlightenment, and here in her travel journals, Dorothy Wordsworth manages to supplement some information about how the lower strata of the Scottish society behave. The miners frequenting the library are not the only ones that try to learn. Leaving Leadhills, the group of three come across a shepherd, "who was sitting upon the ground, reading, with the book on his knee" (54). The moment seems a transient one, quickly lost in the detailed description of the "not . . . so beautiful" landscape of the glen (Ibid.), but the fact that the youth is reading distinguishes him from Dorothy Wordsworth's portraits of other Scottish figures throughout the journals. Elizabeth A. Bohls terms the youth in question "a human agent in history," one that represents "the high level of literacy . . . among Scotland's laboring classes" (189). For Bohls, this moment alone is free from the "[scenic] tourism's favored jargon" popular since the second half of the eighteenth century (186), and therefore is not introduced in the *Recollections* as any sort of exotic spectacle, as the other portraits usually are.

The portrait of the reading shepherd echoes an earlier episode in the journals, when the diarist records the group's experience of encountering three Scottish boys from the village of Wanlockhead. The nature-loving Dorothy Wordsworth is fascinated by the honeysuckles the boys wear in their hats, but what proves more intriguing is the fact that these country boys are also trained in classical studies (48).

Her account of the boys fleeing after Coleridge starts inquiring them about the Virgil and Homer they have learned both amuses readers and provokes them to think: for the first time, the English visitors realize how similar elementary education is growing to be for children from both sides of the boundaries between Scotland and their own country. If two peoples are exposed to the same kind of education since they are young, does it follow that the two nations will resemble and thus understand each other more easily?

As a matter of fact, Dorothy Wordsworth's attention to the cultural aspect and her concern about the education system in Scotland are both intertwined in the passages of the *Recollections* that closely examine Scottish women's social positions. Her interest in her own sex beyond the nations' border is partly shown in the discussions on the Scottish domestic management, in previous passages of this chapter. Her thoughts deepen as she experiences more and interacts with the Scottish females more frequently. It will be farfetched to suggest that Dorothy Wordsworth is any kind of a feminist writer, but her first comment on the Scottish cultural practice in relation to women does betray her devotion to and engagement with relevant issues. The siblings and Coleridge are visiting the churchyard in Dumfries, with the purpose of paying homage to the great Romantic poet Robert Burns who is buried there.[5] For Dorothy Wordsworth, who has just set her foot on the northern country, everything about a Scottish church yard is worth noticing, and among these differences she highlights this: "Over the graves of married women the maiden name instead of that of the husband [is given], 'spouse' instead of 'wife'" (42). No admiration or objection is shown as to this foreign practice, yet the fact that only the woman among the three

visitors mentions this detail suffices to prove her care for how the Scottish females are treated in their society.

The woman writer does not hesitate to foreground the inequality between males and females in Scotland, either. The episode about her and her brother's respective visits to the Falls of the Clyde comes in handy as an illustration of her determination to criticize such unequal treatments received by the two sexes. Since the falls are enclosed in the property of a local gentleman, the brother and sister have to follow guides to the place, and then approach it only with keys to the locks. Dorothy Wordsworth finds herself in the process of establishing a friendship with her guide, a "sensible" local girl of eight years old. The English guest, keen on issues such as literacy and education, questions the child about what she learns every day, and is obviously impressed by the girl's familiarity with the hymns by "Dr. Watts" (59), i.e. Isaac Watts, an independent minister and writer born in Southampton in England, whose major collections of hymns came out in the first half of the eighteenth century and became popular materials for teaching the young (Rivers "Poet and Hymn Writer"). Coleridge's notes visualize the scene: "The little Girl sent to dog & guide us, yawning with stretching Limbs [was] a droll dissonance with Dorothy's Raptures" (qtd. in Walker 102). William Wordsworth's guide, on the contrary, is a boy of not seven years old. Learning from her brother that this otherwise very pleasing child expressed neither "surprise" nor "pleasure" at the sixpence William gave him, the sister sighs:

> My little girl was delighted with the sixpence I gave her, and said she would buy a book with it on Monday morning. What a difference between the manner of living and education of boys and girls among the lower classes of people in towns! She had never seen the Falls of the Clyde, nor had ever

> been further than the porter's lodge; the boy, I daresay, knew every hiding-place in every accessible rock, as well as the fine "slae bushes" and the nut trees. (61)

Her complaint can be interpreted in multiple ways: the girl has to stop at the porter's lodge, while the boy leads William Wordsworth all the way up a "wild path" to "the upper of the Falls" (60). The physical barrier between the two sexes is also symbolic of that between their knowledge of the world, their attitudes towards money, and even their prospects. Although the boy is not to be blamed for his indifference to the sixpence, Dorothy Wordsworth clearly prefers the girl's humility and modesty, as well as her passion for reading and learning shown in her plan as to what to do with the tip she earns.

This episode must have reminded Dorothy Wordsworth of the situations relating to gender differences back in England. One does not need to go outside the Wordsworth family for a mirroring representation of contemporary English society. If one consults De Selincourt's biography of the woman writer, one will be able to tell that she is constantly aware of the different prospects destined for herself and her brothers. Though treated in an equally cold manner in the household of their grandparents in Penrith due to their little hope of recovering their father's legacy from Lord Lonsdale, the Wordsworth boys still have far more freedom than their sister, who according to her letters to her childhood friend Jane Pollard frequently sits and works in the house all day without being spoken to once. Luckily for the girl, before she is summoned back to Penrith, she was the ward of her mother's cousin, Elizabeth Threlkeld, and received a beneficial education both at the Threlkeld household and at two different boarding schools.

De Selincourt argues that Dorothy Wordsworth must have had a very different education judging by the contemporary standards of "accomplished ladies": the aunt "[combines] a firm sense of discipline with due respect for the child's personality and inborn love of freedom" (6), while encouraging the girl to participate actively in her social circles, i.e. communicating with her cousins as well as local children such as Pollard. De Selincourt uses passages from the Alfoxden and Grasmere journals as evidence to show that instead of showy and useless skills, what Dorothy Wordsworth learnend at her aunt's and at school is more practical—for instance, she mends curtains often at Grasmere, but does no embroidery at all. Her passion is for reading, and even as a young girl, she already is covering Shakespeare, Milton, Homer, Fielding, Pope, Goldsmith, and Burns (8; 19). Besides educating her own mind with extensive reading, the only other resource she has during the Penrith years are the "French, Arithmetic, and Geography" trainings to which her kind maternal uncle William Cookson sends her, from "nine to eleven every morning" (19).[6] There is an interesting intersection between De Selincourt's records and Dorothy Wordsworth's passage above, for her friend from the Penrith years and later sister-in-law Mary Hutchinson has a great-aunt, a "Mrs. Gamage," that is a "disciple of Dr. Watts" (18). Although this Mrs. Gamage is not a particularly favorite figure of young Dorothy's, the girl is likely to have been exposed to the influences of the hymns just as the little Scottish guide is.

Dorothy Wordsworth's concern for the little Scottish girl's future is not groundless, for in more than one passage of the *Recollections* does she expound on the what female adults from the lower classes of the Scottish society are reduced to doing every day, a possible fate for girls like the sensible little guide. Between Douglas Mill

and Loch Lomond during their journey, the group more than once notices an exotic phenomenon of "women or children . . . watching a single cow while it fed upon the slips of grass between the corn" (58). She brings up a similar scene again during her visit to the Kilchurn Castle two weeks later, and terms it "a sight always painful" to her (131). Though William Wordsworth appears to her sister to have felt some "compassion" for the women thus engaged, it is Dorothy Wordsworth that speaks out: "It is indeed a melancholy thing to see a full-grown woman thus waiting, as it were, body and soul devoted to the poor beast" (58). Dorothy Wordsworth's concern is dual, i.e. besides liberating themselves from such tiring and monotonous physical employment, the women could well have contributed more to the society using their intellectual capacity, too. Not only does the issue appear to her closely related to unequal education for the female, it also has to do with the socio-economic structure of the Scottish society, for she follows her comment above with this notewrothy remark: "[Yet] even this is better than working in a manufactory the day through" (Ibid.).

As the focus of her observation switches thus from the cultural and educational aspects to the socio-economic developments of the Scottish society, Dorothy Wordsworth finishes the process of regarding Scotland merely as a touring destination, and finds herself getting more and more familiar with this member nation inside the British Kingdom. The problems resulting from industrialization resemble those in England so much that it is easier to feel the "brotherhood" between the two nations in this aspect. If during the first week, she still tends to treat the "coal-carts" that go past the group's jaunting car as elements of "the picturesque effect" (48), as she sees more, she gradually realizes the national needs behind this "British tinge of coal-smoke" (59). According to the research by Baron F. Duckham, the coal industry in

Scotland, though not to be compared with that in England and having small influences on the foreign markets in London, still forms "a traditional feature of Scotland's trade," headed by the exports to countries such as Holland (37). The year of the Wordsworths' trip falls within a "long and only slightly interrupted boom" of Scottish coal mining, which lasted from the 1790s all the way to 1810 (34). Around the turn of the century, Scotland took up about 13.3% of the overall coal output in Britain (Whatley 4). Visiting more than one mining towns on their way, the English tourists therefore manage to experience how the neighboring nation steps into the industrial era.

Nevertheless, rather than the status of industrialization in the Celtic fringe, it is the ensuing impacts on the workers or the lower class as an entirety that concern Dorothy Wordsworth. Her understanding is that inhabitants of mining towns do not benefit from the coal industry as much as the Kingdom generally does. Depicting a miner's son from Wanlockhead, she specially explains that the portrait is included inside the *Recollections* because the boy, to her, appears "a proof that there was poverty and wretchedness" among the miners (49). This encounter and random guess escalate into an informal social research when she moves on to the neighboring mining town of Leadhills. In fact, looking back at her group's experiences in the town, Dorothy Wordsworth regrets that the stay had not been longer, for they miss the chance of "[forming] an estimate . . . of the degree of knowledge, health, and comfort" among the miners (53). The evangelical tone easily reminds one of the charity works she does in her Grasmere journals. Curiously, the usually compliant travelling persona sounds almost stubbornly suspicious when it comes to the sanitary conditions of mining towns. The miner who informs her of the Miners' Library also answers her questions

about the miner community's wage, their provisions, and their working hours. Besides all these, she adds the following passage in a slightly incredulous tone:

> He said the place was healthy, that the inhabitants lived to a great age; and indeed we saw no appearance of ill-health in their countenances; but it is not common for people working in lead mines to be healthy; and I have since heard that it is not a healthy place. However this may be, they are unwilling to allow it; for the landlady the next morning, when I said to her "You have a cold climate," replied, "Ay, but it is verra halesome." (51-52)

Dorothy Wordsworth's confidence as to the usual status of mining towns reveals a possible knowledge of their English representatives. Her insistence on doubting the miners' words in a sense reflects how bad the living conditions of English mining towns were at the time the group travelled.

As a matter of fact, Dorothy Wordsworth, as well as her fellow travelers in the *Recollections*, reflects on the socio-economic situations at various moments and in multiple manners, with or without reminders such as a coal cart. For instance, for more than once does the English group show its disapproval as to how inefficiently the Scottish makes use of their lands. The diarist's records of the famous discussion on this issue when they were visiting the areas around Loch Lomond allow readers to learn how William Wordsworth and Coleridge respond to the problem. The three are passing a field that is entirely covered with grunsel (Dorothy Wordsworth's spelling), which sight completely worries the English passers-by. Describing its surroundings as regularly useful fields of crops such as potatoes, the woman writer cannot help calling the appearance of the first field "odd". She laments the waste of the "gold-like" land, and also records how her two male companions react on the occasion (58). One is told

that her brother laughs, while the more socialistic-minded Coleridge grows "melancholy upon it," and observes that the land could have been used to "rear a healthy child" (Ibid.). Once more the socio-economic issue is related to its impacts on the local people, and the gap between social strata is foregrounded.

Coalmines and waste of land, of course, are not the only linking points Dorothy Wordsworth notices between the industrialization process back home and that in the northern nation. On her way to the Falls of the Clyde, she comes across the "long range of cotton mills" that is located at the foot of the hills near Lanark. Claiming familiarity with such buildings, she defines these Scottish mills to be the "largest and loftiest" she has seen (59-60), thus acknowledging the high level of the nation's spinning and weaving industry. Back at the beginning of the nineteenth century, cotton industry in Scotland started to boom as its English counterpart did. Dorothy Wordsworth's feelings towards such industrial landmarks, though, are not simply admiring. Sarah Weiger makes an interesting point reading the Alfoxden and Grasmere journals. For the scholar, Dorothy Wordsworth has the ability to "identify" how people and nature are related to each other, and often shows how humans and things "generate and sustain one another within specialized systems of partnership, domesticity, and politeness" (660). However, with the mills, an industrial building that is out of place in the picturesque nature, the ability seems to fail her. Turning them into a component of an idyllic picture, she is more willing to ignore their real functions: "[Even] the cotton mills in the fading light of evening had somewhat of the majesty and stillness of the natural objects" (60). In other words, only when they are still and not working can the mills be accepted—the power of the "solemn" sound of the water (Ibid.), or Nature in

general, is necessary to wash away what is negative about such imposed industrial developments.

The establishment of mills indicates that there is great need for wool behind the phenomenon, and such a correlation entices Dorothy Wordsworth to point out the drawbacks in the Scottish system of lairds, as she goes deeper into the Highlands. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a laird is the Scots form of the English word "lord," and refers simply to those who are land proprietors. In her monograph on the lifestyles of the Highland gentry class in specifically the eighteenth century, Stana Nenadic explains the historical context behind the social system. According to Nenadic, all Highland clan members used to have equal rights to the land resources. It is only back in the seventeenth century that the chiefs of the Highland clans gradually became a new class, i.e. the "commercial landlords," and it was also then that they started to treat the land as well as the products from their estates as "private property and as commodities for market exchange" (4). Entering the nineteenth century, the government passed the 1801 General Enclosure Act, which acknowledged the landlord's legal right to enclose "communal grazing areas" (Polowetzky 75).

Especially intrigued by the luxurious lifestyle favored by most Scots lairds of the eighteenth century, Nenadic also proposes that commercialization of the class of lairds is actually a part of the British government's plan to commercialize and thus assimilate Scotland. She points out the close connection between concepts such as "commercial improvement," "Britishness," as well as "loyalty" to the Anglo-Scottish Union, and is observant in suggesting that in return the Highland lairds are "expected to modernize his property and his tenants" for the central government (6). In other words, the lairds would gradually copy what their English counterparts do with their

tenants, and reform the Highlands following England's example. Iain Fraser Grigor explains the historical reason giving birth to the Scottish tradition of anti-landlordism in an early chapter of his book on this phenomenon called "Highland resistance." According to Grigor's research, the significance of as well as the tensions in the Scottish landlord system in the 1970s and 1980s dates back to the eighteenth century:

> In the half century after Culloden (April 1746), the economic basis of the old Highland society was increasingly challenged on two front: first, the demand for wool from the growing manufacturing centers of the southern cities; and second, the demand for industrial products made from seaweed, import of which products had been stopped by the wars with revolutionary and, later, Bonapartist France. The booming demand for wool forced up its price to unprecedented levels at the turn of the nineteenth century, and served strongly to encourage the growth of sheep farming in the Highlands, for spectacular profits were waiting to be made by landlords and sheep farmers alike. (30-31)

Not only does Grigor go on in his chapter to analyze the complex identities and formation of the new landlord class pursuing huge profits from the sheep farm business, he also provides readers with several examples of Highland people rising in opposition to the enclosure and the privatization of lands on these landlords' part. To add to Grigor's points, Andrew Mackillop points out the contradictory results due to the two challenges cited above—landlords would try preventing emigration of population into overseas working places, because they need to relocate the labor force on their farms and to make the most reasonable use of the resources thereon (130). Focusing on the Highlands' military contribution to the British national army in

multiple international wars of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such as the Seven Years' War, the Anglo-French war starting 1793, and the later Napoleon Wars, Mackillop calls the readers' attention to the conflict between the British national policies of recruiting from (and thus depopulating) the Highland estates and the economic needs of the landlordism.

It is hard to tell whether Dorothy Wordsworth sees the big picture as clearly as Nenadic, Grigor, and Mackillop do, but the English diarist is aware of the tensions between the poor and the rich in her Grasmere journals—beggars continually steps into the tranquil and beautiful countryside under her pen, and she finds herself sighing for "these hard times" in the very first entry of the journals (1). Michael Polowetzky attributes Dorothy Wordsworth's interest in this aspect to the contrast between the social situations in urban Britain and the contemporary conditions of the Lake District, where "large elements of the earlier agrarian culture still persisted" while the other parts of the Kingdom were already entering the industrial age (70). According to Polowetzky, even for those who are lucky enough to be employed as a helping laborer in the Grasmere area, poverty seems to be the only choice as a life style, as a result of the low level of income landlords are willing to pay. In relation to this, for multiple times does one see Dorothy Wordsworth reflect on the role played by "land" in this social system. Lucy Newlyn points out how such fascination with "chronicling the lives of the dispossessed" parallels her brother's "preoccupation with ownership of property" in *Lyrical Ballads* (331). For example, in a very early passage of the Grasmere journals, Dorothy Wordsworth records her conversation with a neighbor, John Fisher, who informs her of "the alteration in the times." She learns from Fisher about the polarization of the social classes: "[In] a short time there would

be only two ranks of people, the very rich & the very poor"; the neighbor further explains the reason for such changes to that "all the land goes into one hand" (3), which phenomenon would leave yeomen such as Fisher totally dependent on the landlords.[7]

Though the woman diarist does not comment on John Fisher's words on the spot, she betrays her real feelings towards the issue in a passage written one year and a half later, describing the lack of fortune of another neighboring family. Thomas Ashburner and his wife Peggy usually provide the Wordsworth household with coal. In November, 1801, the wife informed Dorothy Wordsworth of the fact that her husband had just sold his land out of economic needs. The incident inspired William Wordsworth to compose the poem titled "Repentance," later published in 1807 in his *Poems in Two Volumes*, while the equally sympathetic sister chooses to expand on the poor couple's voice in her journals. She repeats how with "pains & industry" Thomas and his wife used to work together in raising their cattle and sheep as well as carding trouble them still, even after the land is taken away from them, and carefully notes down how their mutual neighbor Molly links the sale of the land with Peggy's deteriorating health. Her decision to refrain from drawing any conclusions catches Rachel Mayer Brownstein's attention. Defending the seemingly fragmented nature of the journals, the scholar argues that there is a sort of "fidelity to the separate, solitary experience" in the journals—a "pervasive, conflicting impulse to find unity and coherence" in the Grasmere journals that constitutes the woman writer's style (51). Details from everyday life are the materials she uses to produce meanings. In the case of the Ashburners' misfortune, her critique of the contemporary English society is implied instead of directly expressed.

In another passage of the *Recollections*, Dorothy Wordsworth also touches upon the mechanical or unreasonable aspect of the system in a seemingly unwitting manner when commenting on her experiences in a small Highland hut near Loch Achray. Describing in how considerate a manner the woman of the family treats her English guests, Dorothy Wordsworth imagines the common practices in the Cumberland counterpart of this Scots household, and suggests that such excessive hospitality may verge on being deemed "servility" in the England area. Her evaluation of this "erroneous" and "painful" experience is intriguing, for she seems to hold the Scottish woman's "servility" as a natural result "growing out of the dependence of the inferiors of the clan upon their laird" (106). The assumption evolves into a fact in the episode when the Wordsworths return to the ferry-house of Inversneyde. Coleridge, on his own way through the region after having parted with the brother and the sister, has taken unto himself to advise the woman of the house, as to improving the house, keeping rain out of its door, and making it warm and cozy. The Scottish woman's response in a sense substantiates Dorothy Wordsworth's guess about the tension between lairds and ordinary clan members, for the family refrain from improving their living conditions exactly because they fear "their laird would conclude they were growing rich," and therefore "would raise their rent" (184). Noting this anecdote down, the diarist suggests how the laird system hurts the people's mentality as well.

If the socio-economic similarities between Scotland and England gradually catch Dorothy Wordsworth's eye in forms of industrial landmarks, usage of lands, and the landlord system, the two nations' bond in national security turns out to be something Dorothy Wordsworth actively seeks, and this bond finally perfects her understanding of Scotland as an independent nation as well as a member of the

United Kingdom. Her particular attention to the British Kingdom's security originates from prevailing fears of a possible French invasion after the Truce of Amiens was broken in May 1803.

Bruce Lenman explains in detail the political attitudes on the Scottish side towards the French Revolution, the war between revolutionary France and Britain, as well as the Napoleon Wars. He holds the Scotsmen's "conservative reaction" against the continental country to be "part of a general British revulsion from the radicalism of the French Revolution," and gives examples of how Scottish men of letters, such as Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott, voluntarily joined the Scottish Corps in the last decade of the eighteenth century for resisting a possible French invasion (103-104). It is during the height of such conservatism that the English group travelled. In the course of Dorothy Wordsworth's trip recorded in the *Recollections*, the travelling persona from time to time becomes highly conscious of this threat. For example, during the group's visit to Dunglass Castle, which like the town Dumbarton is fully equipped with soldiers, she touches upon the existence of "rumors of invasion," although at the same time trying to downplay it with what she terms "the habitual old English feeling of our security as islanders" (79). The confidence at this moment is completely deconstructed when one reads her passage about a visit to the Pass of Killicrankie, during the fourth week of the trip:

> Everybody knows that this Pass is famous in military history. When we were travelling in Scotland an invasion was hourly looked for, and one could not but think with some regret of the times when from the now depopulated Highlands forty or fifty thousand men might have been poured down for the defence [*sic*] of the country, under such leaders as the

> Marquis of Montrose or the brave man who had so distinguished himself upon the ground where we were standing. (172)

This rich passage functions in multiple ways: first, the "regret" in its tone contradicts what one would expect from an English writer, when she is faced with Killicrankie, where Jacobite Highlanders led by the Scottish Viscount Dundee defeated Willam III's English army under the command of General Mackay (Walker's notes 171). Second, her admiration for the First Marquess of Montrose almost labels her as a sympathizer of the Jacobite cause like Austen in the second chapter of this dissertation. A member of Clan Graham as Viscount Dundee is, Montrose cut a legendary figure fighting for King Charles I during the English Civil Wars. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, during the two years of 1644 and 1645 alone, he won as many as six battles against the Covenanters on the Parliament side respectively at Tippermuir, Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Auldearn, Alford, and Kilsyth, and all these with a remarkably smaller army than the opposite side (Stevenson "The Year of Victories, 1644-1645"). Third, Dorothy Wordsworth's wish for more Scotsmen in defense of the country clearly shows that she views them as her fellow countrymen—in her eyes, the French invasion is directed at the Scottish as much as at the English, and had the Highlanders not been evicted, she believes that they would have joined the current defending cause voluntarily, without any hesitation.

Unlike in the first half of the *Recollections*, where Scotland and Scottish manners are freely compared to the French practices, as Dorothy Wordsworth travels on, such comparisons give way to deeper and more informed records of moments of the Highlanders' own thoughts on contemporary political and diplomatic issues. She does indicate her own feelings when the Scots' take on such topics deviates too much from

her expectation—for instance, the English woman is especially repulsed by the boatman near Rob Roy's Caves, who is defined as "a coarse hard-featured man" that "uttered the basest and most cowardly sentiments" when he speaks of the French (93). With the Killiecrankie episode above-mentioned in mind, it is not hard to tell that the boatman's failure to feel the British patriotism proves a greater offence than his rude manners for the woman writer. On the other hand, Dorothy Wordsworth can be all admiration and respect when the Highlanders are able to convince her with reasonable explanations of their affiliation and their complaints. Talking with the company at Mrs. Macfarlane's, she does not seem particularly piqued when she realizes that the party's language sounds "Jacobinical" (Dorothy Wordsworth's spelling) by contemporary standards. Instead, she records elaborately the Scotsmen's indignity at the "oppressions" the Highlanders have endured since the Forty-Five, such as their incapability to live "in any comfort" or the "many restraints on emigration" designed against these people (99). Read side by side, this passage and the Killiecrankie episode shed light on Dorothy Wordsworth's liberal viewpoints as to politics of the day: to defend the Kingdom, which is based on the Anglo-Scottish Union, from foreign invasions such as the probable French attacks, is necessary; however, her dream of the Scottish pouring themselves into the defensing cause is only possible after historical issues are solved. The group's mentioning Rob Roy, the Scottish national hero and counterpart of the English Robin Hood, may pass for a compensating move on the personal level for the unfair treatment the Highlanders have endured from the English center of the Union.

Dorothy Wordsworth's *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland* traces a process of familiarization. Foregrounding the sharp contrasts between Scottish and English

arrangements of landscapes, town layout, and household management, especially in the initial stages of the travel journals, Dorothy Wordsworth poses as a conventional travel persona and freely enumerates the northern nation's resemblance to continental European countries. As the trip progresses, however, such display of the exotic yields to her discoveries of elements reminiscent of the England with which she is familiar: these elements are closely related to contemporary industrial developments, social hierarchy, and international political dynamics, and converge in her depiction of and reflections on the life-styles, education, and career prospects of Scottish women, with whom she manages to communicate easily as a female traveler. As such discoveries increase, the traveler persona of the *Recollections* gradually shifts her perspective and tone, and actively engages the local Scots in conversations about Scottish national history, culture, and heroes. The familiarizing project culminates in her imagination of the Scottish assistance the British Kingdom could have won against the possible French invasion after the Truce of Amiens was broken in 1803, and this leads her to lament with the Scots people for the unfair treatments the Highlanders underwent during the clearance and depopulating measures by the English center of the Kingdom. The *Recollections*, therefore, showcases Dorothy Wordsworth's attitude towards the status of Scotland inside the Anglo-Scottish Union of a British Kingdom. Differences on the surface between England and Scotland, such as habits and lifestyles, appear less important when it comes to patriotism in the face of a foreign attack on the Union itself. There are of course multiple passages in the work that show her belief in English dominance within the framework of the Union, especially in her eager search for cultural identification and even gestures of submission to English superiority inside the Scottish education system. Nevertheless, this does not interfere

with her respect for the distinct contemporary Scottish national literature, represented by works by Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott. Focusing on the "national" instead of the "foreign" in the *Recollections*, this chapter hopes to invite more research on Dorothy Wordsworth's political thoughts and her interest in the public sphere, as she is an author who has long been mistakenly held up as a master only of natural beauty and private life.

Notes

1. Samuel Taylor Coleridge did not finish the trip together with the Wordsworth siblings. Dorothy Wordsworth records that he parted with the two on Aug. 29, 1803, heading to Edinburgh instead (115). It was the third week of the trip.

2. Gardening figures importantly in Dorothy Wordsworth's Grasmere journals. See, for example, Judith W. Page's ideas in her article "Dorothy Wordsworth's 'Gratitude to Insensate Things': Gardening in *The Grasmere Journals*." For Page, gardening is related to "the human and natural world beyond," and also helps outline the diarist's idea of what "home" should be like (21).

3. De Selincourt is much intrigued by Dorothy Wordsworth's silence over Annette Vallon in her entries written about the stay in Calais, in the Grasmere journals. He makes several guesses as to its reason, such as the sister's indifference to the French woman's personal charm, her disagreement with Vallon's royalist passion, and even the simple difficulty of communication due to her "imperfect knowledge of spoken French" (148).

4. Sir Joshua Reynolds served as the first President of the British Royal Academy of Art from 1768 to 1792. Sir George Beaumont actually was to commission William Wordsworth in 1811 to write the verses in on a cenotaph dedicated to the great painter and artist on his estate in Leicestershire.

5. In his article "Thinking of Burns's Place," James Treadwell analyzes the Wordsworths' mixed feelings during and after their visit to the Scottish poet's tomb as well as house. Treadwell is of the opinion that the siblings pay the visit with the purpose of "retroactively [confirming] Burns as a knowing exemplar of Wordsworthian moral certainty" (77). He also calls relevant passages in Dorothy

Wordsworth's travel journals "striking," because the diarist seems to have felt a sort of "expulsion" after realizing that Burns's place "appears instead as somewhere he could not have inhabited" (Ibid.).

6. Besides De Selincourt's biography, one can also find an exhaustive introduction of Dorothy Wordsworth's education experiences in Pamela Woof's essay "Dorothy Wordsworth as a Young Woman." Not only does Woof cover the different learning regimes young Dorothy undergoes at her aunt's, her grandparents', and with her uncle, she also expands on how the Wordsworth boys volunteer to help "extend" the sister's education by sharing books with her or instructing her in foreign languages (132).

7. For William Wordsworth's treatment of this phenomenon of early enclosure, see his poem "Michael" first published in the 1800 edition of *Lyrical Ballads*.

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION OF THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH UNION IN THE ENGLISH EYE IN MARY BRUNTON'S *DISCIPLINE*

Many readers are familiar with Jane Austen's critique of Mary Brunton's novel *Self-Control* (1811) as containing nothing "of Nature or Probability" (*Jane Austen's Letters* 244), while fewer bother to read the Scottish writer's answer to similar assaults on that novel, her first published work. In her correspondence to a close friend, Brunton upholds the "American expedition" passage in the novel—a part most ridiculed by Austen—as "the best written part of the book," and confesses that she does not "see the outrageous improbability with which [the work] has been charged" (*Memoir* xlviii). Instead, she acknowledges that there are flaws in the structure of the novel, and calling the American section an obvious "patch" to the rest of the story, lovingly compares it to a "monstrous appendage tacked to a poor little grey linnet" (Ibid.).

The same metaphor can easily be applied to her second and last complete novel, *Discipline*, which came out three years later.[1] The novel was reviewed in 1815, and was liked by Brunton's contemporaries such as Joanna Baillie ("Mary Brunton" *Orlando*). Framed as a young English woman's Bildungsroman for two thirds of its length, *Discipline* in the last volume suddenly switches to the Scottish Highlands for its setting, and the horizon of the work is much expanded with the description of the manners, the cultural history, and the present situations of the region. This decision has also cemented Brunton's comparability with Sir Walter Scott, whose *Waverley*— slightly preceding *Discipline* in its publication date— became popular in the same year.

This chapter focuses on the Highland passages of *Discipline*, and addresses Mary Brunton's treatment, or, conspicuous lack of treatment, of the Anglo-Scottish

Union. Her determination to downplay the united status of the Kingdom indicates her disapproval of, or at least her indifference to, the project of building the British national identity. Unlike in her debut work *Self-Control*, Brunton lets her narrator take on an English persona in *Discipline* in order to reveal the dark sides of the English society more thoroughly, without inviting unwanted queries against her Scottish background. England exists in the novel not as a familiar fellow member nation of the Kingdom for Scotland, but as a terribly flawed foreign country, a convenient foil set against the moral superiority of the Highlands. Its influences on Scotland are worse than those by other European countries, in that it abuses its geographical proximity to the northern neighbor by exporting into Scotland eloping couples and by corrupting the Lowlands with commercialism. Unlike the three English women writers discussed in previous chapters of this dissertation, or another Scottish woman writer (Susan Ferrier) to be addressed in the next, Mary Brunton barely mentions the exotic—mostly French—threats on British national security in contextualizing the plot of *Discipline*, although the heroine was born in 1775 and lives very much in the times of the Anglo-French Wars. Thus ignoring the cooperation between the Scottish and the English military forces against foreign enemies, Mary Brunton allows the Abolitionist Movement to play a far more important role in the story, a gesture to resolve a sin that binds Scotland and England together.

The chapter analyzes how Brunton makes use of the English nationality of Ellen Percy, the female protagonist of *Discipline*, to approach the issue of national differences within Britain. I first discuss Ellen's introduction to the Highland spirit through her friendship with Cecil Graham and Charlotte Graham, who are from that region, paving the way for perusal of her own visit to Glen Eredine, as well as her

reactions to the local people and local culture. Next, I turn to how these experiences form a contrast with those she had in England, as well as in the Scottish Lowlands, with an emphasis on her mixed feelings towards the city of Edinburgh. Third, the chapter will investigate into the curious case of the novel's hero, the brave Highland gentleman Henry Graham hidden behind the persona of the wealthy West India merchant Mr. Maitland. Interpreting Brunton's purpose for creating such a double-identity for the character will show her efforts to draw the line between the moral superiority in the Romantic Highlands and the evils pervading the other parts of the Kingdom, represented by Slavery against which Henry Graham/Maitland has been fighting for years. Last, Ellen Percy the English heroine will form a comparison with the Scottish Laura Montreville from Brunton's more straightforward project of *Self-Control*. The similarities as well as differences between their reaction to the capital city of Scotland both will reveal how skillfully the author makes use of the various personas. Throughout the chapter, Brunton's 1812 and 1815 journals, as well as the passages about her own visit to the Highlands as recorded in the memoir written by her husband, will help substantiate her disapproval of the Anglo-Scottish Union, and her attachment to the Scottish Highland culture.

Largely considered a minor author nowadays, Mary Brunton is very much understudied, with only two completed novels and some chapters of an unfinished third one, *Emmeline*, published posthumously, although she is among the first group of writers published among Richard Bentley's 1831 Standard Novels, outlining "a recognizable canon of English fiction during the nineteenth century" (Mandal, *Jane Austen and the Popular Novel* 207). Emily C. Friedman accurately defines her as one dismissed "as a minor author of overly didactic novels," having "no personal or artistic

connection" to contemporary sister writers such as Jane Austen (121); pointing out the similarities and differences between Austen's Emma in *Emma* and Brunton's Ellen in *Discipline*, Ann H. Jones uses the latter writer to show "how far [Austen] was ahead of her contemporaries in artistry" (96); attributing the preaching feature of Brunton's novels to her religious belief, Trisha Tucker labels her as one of the "scores of" popular "Evangelical novelists" writing in the Romantic and Victorian eras in Britain, like Hannah More and Elizabeth Hamilton (83); similarly comparing Brunton with More, Maxwell Richard puts both *Self-Control* and *Discipline* into the strain of fiction that either imitates or experiments further with More's anti-Jacobin writings of "moral austerity" (12), while Clayton Carlyle Tarr notices both women writers' metaphor of "novels as poison" (143); and Marian E. Fowler defines the female protagonists in Brunton's novels as courtesy-book girls (32). For these critics, Brunton helps establish a conservative and didactic literary trend in her times, not as an individual writer, but as one of a group. There are also voices like that of Andrew Monnickendam, who suggests that Brunton's highly religious image is strengthened by her husband Alexander Brunton's *Memoir* (25), but either way her Evangelical standpoint as an author is not to likely to be shaken.

Considering her nationality, it naturally follows that the criticism on Brunton more or less touches upon how she addresses the interaction between Scottish and English elements in her works. For instance, again categorizing *Self-Control* as an Evangelical story, Anthony Mandal suggests that there is "a double perspective" present in the novels, due to Brunton's "Anglo-French inheritance on her mother's side" (*Self-Control* xviii). In her "Relocating Femininity: Women and the City in Mary Brunton's Fiction," Martha Musgrove analyzes the author's understanding of a

"modern femininity" through the lens of the modern urbanity theories by Michel de Certeau, Georg Simmel, and Robert Alter (243). Musgrove believes that for Brunton, an ideal female needs to equip herself with traits and skills learned both in the countryside and in the cities. The former region doubtless helps secure one's moral integrity, but to better meet the challenges of a modern society, this will prove "insufficient." A woman will benefit from traits such as "intelligence, reserve, and pragmatism" as gained from her experiences in cities (243). Musgrove expects to prove that "women's fiction of the early nineteenth century stood in a more positive relationship to the city than generally recognized" (221). She singles out Edinburgh as an example of the city, linking "a medieval past with a modern present" (229). At the same time, though she compares the Scottish capital with London in their effects on the protagonist of the novel, she does not go further to build links between the capital cities and the two national cultures they represent. This chapter will supplement this part of the conversation, while suggesting a different understanding as to Brunton's take on Edinburgh and its meaning. Similarly examining the Scottish writer, Margaret H. Bruce introduces Brunton's publication history as well as her style of writing in a highly objective manner in her assessment of the author. Bruce admits that Brunton is weak in making "action and character" work together, going after "a lofty moral" on most occasions (3-4). On the other hand, she also points out that the author "is sensitive to the weakness and deficiencies of the Scottish character," and simply "is too much the humanist and patriot to expose them to ridicule" (6). In this dissertation, I both agree and disagree with her interpretation, and I will show how Brunton's misgivings about the flaws in Scottish culture fail to impact her fiction as much as, say, her compatriot Susan Ferrier.

Among more specific motifs in the novels, money and commerce are popular choices for scholars. In her article titled "Men, Women, and Money: The Case of Mary Brunton," Sarah W. R. Smith compares Brunton and Walter Scott in their approaches to representing Scottish lifestyles. Smith applauds Brunton for her "strength" in treating "women as fully social beings." Unlike Scott whose Highlands leave no "role that women must play," Mary Brunton is more interested in visualizing "the everyday [life], as women call on other women, engage in the work of farming together, discuss money, or make decisions about their lives" (54). Interestingly, Smith ventures to suggest that Mary Brunton outstrips Jane Austen—whose major novels came out around the same years—in making the relationships between men and women more "realistic" and "not only on the basis of 'love'" (55-56). Similarly measuring Brunton against Sir Walter Scott is Isabelle Bour, who argues that for the female writer, "moral statements are never fully distanced from the values of sensibility" ("Twilight of Sensibility" 27-28). In Bour's opinion, Brunton's works are important in that "they show the aporias of the ethical-psychological model of sensibility" of her times (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Mary Brunton par. 3). Bour describes *Discipline* as "[shifting] from a novel of manners set in a very generic England, and then in a slightly less generic Edinburgh, to regional realism" ("Twilight of Sensibility" 30-31), thus highlighting the weight Brunton places on such contrasts between different regions within the Kingdom. This chapter joins those two critics in attending to gender in relation to geographical differences in *Discipline*, and it will enrich the conversation by addressing the unconventionally brief and unequal "national marriage" episode at the end of the novel, between the English bride Ellen Percy and the Highland Bridegroom Henry Graham/Maitland. Instead of symbolizing a union between two

national cultures, the marriage episode is more like a convenient expedient that justifies Ellen Percy's stay in the Highlands. Unlike the national marriage between Lord Staffa and Nora Vesey in *Battleridge*, therefore, Brunton's design here is one-sided, indicating her distrust in the Anglo-Scottish Union as well as her belief in the strong, inclusive power of the Highland spirit.

The story in *Discipline* is told in the format of a loose autobiography by Ellen Percy, the daughter of a prosperous "West India merchant" (1: 33). Having lost her mother to a sudden illness caused by one of her own whims, she grows up to be a self-willed and spoilt young woman. The religious piety of Miss Mortimer, a friend of Ellen's mother, alienates the girl, and Ellen abandons herself to the harmful company of Miss Juliet Arnold, as well as to meaningless competitions with Miss Maria de Burgh, both her classmates from a fashionable London boarding school. In the middle of the story, she is on the verge of eloping with Miss Maria's libertine brother, but the mercenary young man gives her up learning that Mr. Percy's business fails. After her father's suicide and Miss Mortimer's death from illness, Ellen travels to Edinburgh in search of employment as a governess, incurs the jealousy of her Scottish hostess, and is for some time locked up in a local madhouse through the trick of this Mrs. Boswell. She by making trinkets and toys for sale supports herself as well as the consumptive Juliet Arnold—who is abandoned in the Scottish capital after giving birth to an illegitimate child by Miss de Burgh's future husband. The last volume of the novel sees Ellen arrive in Glen Eredine in the Scottish Highlands, only to find out that the legendary Henry Graham—a much beloved and respected young laird there turns out to be nobody other than Mr. Henry Maitland, a West India merchant like her father and an active abolitionist. In the very brief, flash-forward ending of the novel, readers

are told the two have been married for many years, and Ellen is already the mother of three sons and two daughters (275). Therefore, the narrator of the entire novel is revealed to be a mature Ellen writing about the past.

Brunton's creation of an English-born and English-raised heroine allows readers to take a different perspective when investigating the Anglo-Scottish tension in *Discipline*. As a purely English character, Ellen Percy is portrayed as starting with some very general and stereotypical ideas as to the Scottish nation. In the opening paragraph of the entire novel, Ellen the narrator confesses that of the three prerequisites for a successful autobiographical writer, i.e. "Irish humour, Scotch prudence, and English sincerity," she only fulfils the last category (1: 3). Though these are only popular stereotypes of national characters at the time the mature Ellen writes her own story, it is not difficult to see that they resemble her thoughts in her youth. Besides her narrow escape from the frequent plans of elopement with Frederick de Burgh across the border, the closest that the English girl comes to anything Scottish, before actually setting foot in the northern country, is when she is introduced to the hero of the story, Henry Maitland. Her reaction to the national identity of Maitland is worth some note: "His accent was certainly provincial; yet I believe that, without the assistance of his name, I could not decidedly have pronounced him to be a Scotchman" (1: 56). In a natural vein, Brunton captures the common standards by which an English person would judge a Scotsman in her times, namely superficial features such as one's accent or one's name. For the Scottish writer, both concepts play a crucial role in English society, but their importance is to be deconstructed during the course of the story through discussions of the Highland tongue and the alternative name for Maitland.

Nevertheless, at this early stage of her life, Ellen is only entitled to approach the Scottish national character through these two channels.

The young woman's understanding of the northern nation does not undergo a substantial change until halfway through the second volume of the novel, when she is living with Miss Mortimer after her father commits suicide. No longer an heiress to any fortune, she is reduced to very limited means. Engaged in charity deeds with the religious lady, Ellen gives a vivid description of her mixed feelings towards the poor:

> Poverty I had known only as she is exhibited in the graceful draperies of tragedy and romance; therefore I met her real form in all its squalor and loathsomeness, with more, I fear, of disgust than of pity. My imaginary poor had all been innocent and grateful. Short experience in realities corrected this belief; and . . . I found among the real poor the vices common to mankind, added to those which peculiarly belong to a state of dependence . . . I almost forgot that alms were never meant as a tribute to the virtues of man; (2: 141)

From this point, the passage drives toward an evaluation of material benefits compared with spiritual help for the impoverished, and at first sight serves well as a bridge between Ellen's prosperity in the past and her miserable prospects henceforth. After thus justifying for the existence of evil among the poor, the heroine of the novel seems more ready to embark upon a life of servitude and poverty herself. However, this query as to the questionable moral status of the poor proves immediately ironical, followed by the episode involving the Campbells from Scotland.

Ellen's encounter with this Scottish family starts in a rather random manner, but it leads to a revolution in her knowledge about the northern country and its

subjects. Taking a walk in the garden one day, she together with Miss Mortimer finds a girl with "a strong Caledonian accent" begging near the house (2: 143), and decides to visit her parents before using her limited means to help them. Danielle Spratt notes that individual philanthropic efforts by characters like Ellen are doomed to fail because of "the practical inadequacies of the Lady Bountiful model," and that with the economy of the English society transitioning rapidly away from the "agrarian, localized systems of organization," such charity attempts on the gentry's part can only keep failing (194). This interpretation fits into the passage under discussion well enough, but to Ellen's contact with the Campbells, there is a personal dimension that cannot be ignored. She finds the girl's father on his deathbed, and her mother attending to her baby boy also in a critical situation from small-pox. It is noteworthy how the little girl, as a foreigner, strikes Ellen mainly because of her "uncouth dialect and national bashfulness" (Ibid.). Such casual guesses about national characters continue when she describes the polite manners of the girl's father, who is dying of consumption, as in line with the Scottish "national courtesy to a superior" (2: 144). Her choices of terms carry with them a condescending and confident attitude towards Scottish people, which cannot be unique to one that has not yet been to the country like Ellen. One can only assume that the lack of confidence and the willingness to cater are the two labels that English society imposes on the Scottish community, resulting from the socio-economic power England has over other member nations inside the British Kingdom. The Scottish family thus is in danger of remaining a blurred "type" in the English eyes of Ellen, if she does not happen to learn their story from the wife.

It turns out that this Mr. Campbell was a gardener, and was lured down from the north by "the demand in England for Scotchmen of his trade." What is more,

through Mr. Maitland's influence, he was actually employed by Ellen's father as an "under-gardener" in the Percys' Richmond villa (2: 146). To her horror, the English young lady finds that she is further related to and responsible for the misfortune of the Scottish family, in that Mr. Campbell fell ill after spending an entire night watching over some "exotic" flowers she ordered and then travelling back home for two miles through "a thick drift of snow" (2: 147)! Having followed the girl to her home for the purpose of doing charity, therefore, Ellen is brought face to face with her own sin. Although keen on procuring medical advice on behalf of the family, she is not able to bring herself to tell the truth to Mrs. Campbell, about her real identity as "Miss Percy" and her own responsibility for their unfortunate fate.

Clearly designed as an echo to render satirical Ellen's lecture about vice among the poor, the episode of the Campbells proves more complicated when one traces Brunton's nationalistic implications in it. Compared with the death of Ellen's mother, which also results from Ellen's wantonness and unreasonable demands, the tragedy of Mr. Campbell the gardener contains another layer, i.e. the serving role he has to play in the employment of Mr. Percy the rich English merchant. The demand for men of his occupation in England makes clear the socio-economic superiority of the southern country, and the fact that he had to go through much difficulty before Mr. Maitland could secure the position for him indicates the unequal treatment that Scottish subjects were facing in the market. Brunton drives home the inequality suffered by her fellow countrymen by allowing Ellen to admit that, bogged in his own financial problems, Mr. Percy just dismissed the already sick Campbell instead of assisting him with money for any medical treatment (2: 149). Confessing that she herself was too obsessed with her own loss to care for former employees of the family like Campbell,

Ellen also helps readers see the malicious chain reaction within the economic reliance of Scotland on England. As a Scottish writer, Brunton manages to visualize the harms of such national dependence in stories of specific, individual families.

Besides her contact with the Campbells, Ellen unwittingly learns more about the situation of Scottish people in England through the recollections of the quickly declining Miss Mortimer. A confidante to Mr. Maitland about his repressed love for Ellen, and amused by Ellen's coquettish yet excited reaction to him, the lady is tempted to provide some information about the Scotsman. It turns out that Maitland is closely related to the maternal side of Ellen's family. Recalling her early days and friendship with Ellen's mother Frances Warburton, Miss Mortimer informs readers of the fact that both young women's fathers "fought side by side," and that both their mothers "became widows" from the war (2: 163). From a note left by Frances in her Bible, one finds out that Ellen the heroine was born in January, 1775. This helps narrow down the time of "the war" in question to several years before 1775, but after Frances' younger brother Edmund became old enough to attend school, therefore possibly in the early 1760s—very likely the Seven Years' War. Unable to carry on his own education due to the limited means of his family, this uncle of Ellen's went to work in a counting-house, and amidst the "cheerless labour" there formed a friendship with Henry Maitland (2: 165), a Scottish youth equally out of place in the English counting-house.

The two young men encouraged each other in saving money and time for their studies, and actually did go to Oxford together. Although Ellen's mother sacrificed herself to support young Warburton, by marrying the wealthy Mr. Percy thirty years older than herself, the brother died young of an already broken constitution (2: 169).

Forming acquaintance with Maitland thus through the Warburton siblings, Miss Mortimer remembers the Scottish youth as "a tall, vigorous, hardy mountaineer," and introduces his earlier experiences in England in a realistic manner:

> Silent and shy, he escaped the smile of vulgar scorn . . . Curiosity is feeble in the busy and the gay. No one asked, no one heard the story of Maitland's youth; and Warburton alone knew the full cost of a sacrifice too great and too painful to be made a theme with strangers. Maitland the elder [Maitland's uncle], retaining his national prejudice in favour of a liberal education, [designed] to send him at a proper age to the university. Meanwhile he required him to spend a few hours daily in attendance upon his future profession. . . . Enduring in quiet scorn the derision which his provincial accent excited in the sharers of his humbler lessons, he was pleased to find in Warburton manners more congenial with his own habits. (165-167)

In this part of *Discipline*, Brunton makes it clear that this information is recorded and re-told from the perspective of young Ellen Percy, and although she is still talking about the Scottish accent, her calling the reaction of Maitland's English colleagues and schoolmates "vulgar" shows that she no longer shares similar social prejudices. From the English young lady who immediately sneers the uncouth accent of the Campbell girl, Ellen Percy has grown to realize that behind the objection to a Scottish accent, there are deeper and hidden socio-economic factors functioning. Young Edmund Warburton is not that different from Maitland. Ellen realizes that her maternal uncle, an impoverished and thus less privileged loner in the mercenary world of the counting-house, stands as a foil for Henry Maitland—from his example, it is not

difficult to infer that economic inferiority, rather than moral or intellectual differences from the English, has sealed the fate of the Scottish in the southern country.

Having thus had some personal contact with and knowledge of Scottish people, Ellen Percy finally arrives in the capital city of the neighboring nation in person. Curiously, Edinburgh, located in the Lothian region of the Scottish Lowlands, does not impress the English young woman as being materially different from London, and her experiences therein closely resemble the miserable conditions she goes through in the English metropolis after her father's bankruptcy and suicide, and before Miss Mortimer is able to find her and takes the girl under her roof. Brunton purposefully refuses to allow Ellen any reasonably fresh feelings toward a new destination, and therefore expresses her concern as to how much the Scottish Lowlands have been corrupted by English culture.

Ellen heads for Edinburgh hoping to be employed as a governess for Mrs. Murray, the sister of Miss Mortimer's clergyman and wife of a Scottish naval officer. Even before she gets the offer from the Murrays, Ellen learns that Captain Murray is engaged in military actions at sea. During her trip on a "merchant vessel" to Scotland (2: 230), Ellen spends some time in Rotterdam, where the vessel needs some refitting. The sojourn in Holland also elicits from the narrator a brief comment on the context of her personal story: "The bloody conflict was then only beginning which has won for my country such imperishable honours" (2: 234). Judging from Ellen's date of birth, one may feel it safe to interpret this "conflict" as the Anglo-French wars, which were to end with the British as winners in 1815. From Ellen's point of view, "my country" refers specifically to England, instead of Great Britain, which she chooses to call "the kingdom" and mentions rarely in the narration (2: 206). Following this, the much

applauded "honours" for the English people here forms an immediate contrast with what it means for the Scotsmen. Ellen arrives at the Murray's house only to find the hostess away in Portsmouth, and the reason for her absence is that Captain Murray is "coming in wounded" from the war (2: 237). Instead of letting Ellen dwell long on the national honors for her own country England, therefore, Brunton cuts it short with an implication about the Scottish contribution to and suffering from the military cause. As is clear from the previous chapters, the motif of Anglo-Scottish military cooperation in the Anglo-French wars is repeatedly seen in other works considered in this dissertation, such as the writings by Cassandra Cooke and Dorothy Wordsworth, but the mentioning of and the lamentation for the injuries and the losses on the Scottish side—is unique to Brunton, the Scots writer.

That Brunton is not so positive about the Scottish involvement in the Anglo-French wars is also made clear in the aftermath of the Murray couple's absence—it backfires on the English young woman in an indirect manner: Henry Murray, the son of the family and a college student, is left in charge of the household. Attracted by Ellen's beauty at first sight, the young man invites her to spend her first night in Edinburgh as a guest under his roof, but later is found out as intending to keep this fact a secret from his parents. Already regretting having taken the inappropriate offer, Ellen later overhears young Murray talk about her as a pretty plaything with his friend (2: 248). To be sure, the young student is depicted as one with questionable principles in the beginning—Ellen finds among the family collection of books "a pocket Tibullus" and "a well-read first volume of the Nouvelle Eloise" (2: 239),[2] which further substantiates his interest in "the last new novel" as betrayed in his conversation with the guest (2: 244). The passage recalls Brunton's account of the rake character Colonel

Hargrave's similar tastes for reading in *Self-Control*. Lisa Wood notes the analogy between "wholesome" books and food inside Brunton's novel, and highlights its connection to "British anxiety around nation and nationalism during this post-Revolutionary period" (623). Ellen the mature narrator does not pass judgment on the nature of the collection of books here. Nevertheless, young Murray may have been better educated and more principled if the Captain and the mother stayed at home. It is not far-fetched to suggest that with the episode of young Henry Murray, Brunton is showcasing the possible harms Scottish households receive from their military contribution to the Anglo-Scottish Union. Her concern with the moral status of the younger generation is similar to that of Susan Ferrier, whose more comprehensive and thus more mixed attitude is to be discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation.

It is also noteworthy how Ellen's frustration at this stage is accompanied with descriptions of the city of Edinburgh. Instead of dwelling on the "beauty and the singularity" of the "romantic town" as a first-time visitor generally would do, the young Englishwoman comments exclusively on the deserted status of the city—a strange choice if one considers that she does not yet know about Mrs. Murray's absence. Noticing the lack of "bustle of business or amusement" in the Scottish capital after dark, she keeps comparing it with the English cities with the "busy multitudes" (2: 236). Her impression of the town is not completed until after a week's confinement in a rented room, she finally decides to step outside with her Scottish landlady and views its panorama:

> My landlady indeed insisted, that even women of condition might with safety and decorum traverse her native city unattended . . . We passed the singular bridge which delighted me with the strangely varied prospect of

> antique grandeur and modern regularity,—of a city cleft into a noble vista towards naked rock and cultivated plain,—seas busy with commerce, and mountains that shelter distant solitudes. (2: 258-259)

Therefore, even in Ellen's eyes Edinburgh is a city "caught in between." It is similar to the English capital in combining the modern and the ancient, but on the other hand, it is also "cleft," torn between the natural and the artificial—the "distant solitudes" of simple life in the mountains and the hustles of commerce and trade (Ibid.). This division may seem only a spectacle for the English young woman, but it takes on more connotations for Brunton the Scottish writer. Edinburgh—even the entire Lowlands—stands between England in the south and the Highlands in the north. It is a cultural mixture, and the influences from the two sides are not always balanced.

Brunton's attitude toward the struggle between these two influences are more easily understood if read side by side with the depiction of Edinburgh in her first published novel, *Self-Control*. Travelling with her father Captain Montreville from Glenalbert down to Edinburgh for the first time, the Scottish-raised heroine Laura Montreville is equally captured by the "romantic" and "glorious" sides of the capital city (1: 92). Enjoying the sight of "the castle" and "its rocks," as well as the city's "splendid line of modern buildings" (Ibid.), Laura exults in aesthetic delights until the more realistic sides of Edinburgh are brought to her attention. Touring one of the shops, she is extremely troubled to see a grown-up salesman take pains to sell her some "artificial flowers." Explaining her sympathy for the young man to her father, she makes it clear that she is sorry to watch a "[tall], robust [youth] in the very flower of his age . . . [twirl] those flowers between his fingers and thumb, and [look] so much in earnest about nothing" (*Self-Control* 1: 94-95). She imagines that only "weak" mothers

would allow their sons to work on such useless trinkets, instead of sending them onto the battlefield for their country (1: 94). Similarly surprising Laura is the sight of a male corset-maker in another shop, and the girl cannot help asking her father whether men wear corsets as women do in Edinburgh (1: 95). Combining these two incidents, one may draw the conclusion that Brunton's heroine is not so much against the commercialism in the Scottish Lowlands as against the effeminate changes it brings on the Scotsmen—lower-class men manufacture the trinkets that in turn will be purchased by wealthy or even aristocratic males. Concentrating on the role played by the art of painting and the motif of "Hercules's choice between virtue and vice" in *Self-Control*, Katrin R. Burlin even ventures to say that for Brunton, "the spirit of the age seems to preclude heroism in men" (67). In later discussions one will see that the Highland hero of *Discipline*, Henry Graham, manages to rise above this, but in the Lowlands the situation fits into Burlin's observation perfectly. Unlike the three English women writers that uphold Scottish military excellence to different extents, Brunton goes one step further in predicting the threat to such valor by a declining Scottish masculinity.

Such anxiety is seen again in *Discipline*, entangled with the writer's concern for an equally unreasonable hyper-femininity in the Lowlands. Not trusting young Murray any more, Ellen settles down as a governess for the little daughter of a Mrs. Boswell, for whom the the sister of Ellen's landlady works as a waiting-maid. The husband of the family won his fortune "in the course of a long residence in one of the African settlements" (2: 302), a fact that sets him in comparison with Maitland the abolitionist and to be discussed in later sections of this chapter. Depicted in detail, the tension between Mr. and Mrs. Boswell shows exactly the harms from a feminized

masculinity and a masculinized femininity, both resulting from indiscriminate reception of foreign cultures.

Mrs. Boswell is portrayed as having full sway over Mr. Boswell, either in choosing the proper education for their only daughter, or in preventing any (imagined) romantic feelings between her husband and Ellen. The first time the English young woman meets her, the lady is engaged in "bedizening" herself and her little daughter with "baubles" such as "necklaces," "clasps," "broaches," "rings," and "bracelets" from a large box, to the extent that Ellen dismissingly describes them as "two princesses of the South Sea Islands" (2: 303). The loaded metaphor indicates the wife's involvement in and abuse of her husband's cause in the colonies, and is substantiated in a later chapter, when she talks of "negroes, gold dust, and ivory" with the English governess (3: 7). Ironically, though depending upon Mr. Boswell's wealth, the lady is ready to contradict him in the most fundamental issues, such as insisting that their daughter learn French with Ellen, before the child could master the English language as is suggested by her father (3: 5). Her preference for the French language is reminiscent of the anxiety over the continental country's cultural invasion prevailing in Jane Austen's and Cassandra Cooke's writings, but again Brunton further extends it: accounting for Mrs. Boswell's mental "indolence," Ellen describes that her employer only reads "[six] pages a week of a novel, or the Lady's Magazine" for knowledge (3: 11-12). The *Lady's Magazine*, based in London, brings up the question whether English influences are significantly better for the Edinburgh family, compared with those from the continent. As "a typical late Georgian publication" that provides mainly "fashion notes, embroidery patterns and sheet music" ("See over the Ether" par. 1), it suits the taste of

Mrs. Boswell perfectly, and can hardly broaden her mind due to the specificity and narrowness of its topics.

Like Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth, Mrs. Boswell is unsexed more and more, in that she ignores her maternal duty of taking care of her sick daughter, and actually carries out atrocities such as poisoning to death Ellen's dog Fido. Paranoid and suspecting that her husband is in love with Ellen, she manages to outstrip him and locks up the English governess in a madhouse, when she is suffering from a fever gotten by attending to her pupil. The imprisonment, being a melodramatic climax of the Boswell episode, in turn takes on a realistic flavor in that it provides readers with an opportunity to look at an otherwise unseen aspect of the Edinburgh society—the madhouse; on the other hand, it serves as a watershed in Ellen's Scottish experience.

Having faced the worst of the Edinburgh society, Ellen is ready to explore the more original Scottish culture and manners. With her imported hyper-femininity that distorts her husband's masculinity, Mrs. Boswell serves as the foil for at least three other Scots women in the novel, that represent different types of Scottish female virtues—all three admired by Ellen the English character and recommended by the Scots writer. They are Mrs. Campbell in Edinburgh, Cecil Graham that connects Ellen's experience in the Lowlands and in the Highlands, and Charlotte Graham that stands in for the Highland gentry. Through her contact with the three women, Ellen step by step completes her insights of into the pure, traditional Scottish national spirit.

Of the three, Mrs. Campbell forms the best comparison with Mrs. Boswell in that, first, both women once undergo the situation of facing their dying child: unlike Mrs. Boswell who shuns the maternal duty, the gardener's wife lovingly holds her baby, which in Ellen's eyes "scarcely retained a trace of human likeness" from the

small-pox (2: 145). What is more, the two women differ in their attitudes toward the English nation, or generally speaking, toward foreign cultures. As is seen above, Mrs. Boswell learns about the world through the channel of the English *Lady's Magazine*, and deems it fashionable to master the French language. By sharp contrast, Mrs. Campbell has been herself in the world outside, knows too much of its evil in practice rather than in theory, and carries out her husband's dying wish in returning to Scotland (2: 148). Brunton skillfully designs the woman's meeting with Ellen in Edinburgh—everything seems to have been reversed: newly out of the madhouse and barely able to support herself by manufacturing toys and trinkets for sale, Ellen takes on the burden of taking care of Juliet Arnold, who is abandoned with an illegitimate baby. Turned out of doors by both their landladies, the two English women try to rationalize their situation with their foreign nationality: "We were in a land of strangers; and many a heart open to human sympathies was closed against us. To solicit pity was to provoke suspicion, perhaps to encounter scorn" (3: 130). Their lamentation for their own "foreignness" is, however, answered when the gardener's widow—recognizing Ellen as "the good English lady" by the hint of her daughter—assures the two English women that they "shall never be strange" to the family. Brunton spares no efforts in completing the story of the Campbells:

> The good woman seemed delighted to have an opportunity of serving me . . . Mrs. Campbell informed me, that since I had enabled her to return to her own connections, she had never known want, having obtained constant employment as a laundress; that her brother, a thriving tradesman, having lately become a widower, had invited her to superintend

> his family; and his business having for the present carried him from home, she offered Juliet the use of his apartment. (3: 135-136)

Brunton's use of the word "return" is a loaded one here: rather than the physical journey from England to Scotland, it signifies a coming-back to the Scottish social network ("connections"), and to assured socio-economic benefits ("constant employment"). The satisfaction of the widow contrasts with her late husband's frustration in searching for employment, when they first arrived in England, and the brother's offer echoes Maitland's assistance for the family in England, too. The Campbells' story on the surface may seem a tale of Ellen's virtue returned, but deep within it carries Brunton's message for Lowland Scotsmen to treasure their own social connections and resources back home, instead of setting out too hastily for hollow promises for employment in a foreign land.

The Lowlanders' reliance on their social network, highlighted in the case of Mrs. Campbell, helps bring out a different relationship Scottish Highlanders bear to their community or clan, incarnated in the character Cecil Graham. Ellen meets Cecil for the first time as pining over one of her items to be sold at an auction in Edinburgh, before she starts working as a governess at the Boswells'. Moved by Cecil's determination not to use her mother-in-law's money on the item, with her limited means Ellen purchases from the auction Cecil's treasured linen, and thus forms a friendship with the Highlander. Listening to Cecil recite legends about her Laird's family in Glen Eredine and studying the Gaelic language with her, Ellen is for the first time let into what she understands as an authentic Highland mindset and culture.

The two women's conversation at the auction—tracing and completing for readers Cecil's story before that moment—is a rich, dense passage, revealing Brunton's

emphasis on several aspects of life in the Highlands. First, readers are told that she is the "wife of a soldier," who leaves his wife and two children back in the Highlands to follow his chieftain Kenneth Graham, heir of the Laird of Eredine (2: 262). Later in the novel, Ellen learns that as the "foster-brother" of Kenneth, Cecil's husband James Graham actually chooses to join the regiment in the "South of Ireland" out of his own volition,[3] just to keep his young master company. He is the one that sees the young heir to his grave after a lethal disease, and gets infected himself when attending to the patient (3: 228-229). Compared with Dorothy Wordsworth that looks at the relationships between lairds and their tenants from the outside and with a negative note, Mary Brunton—though a Lowlander herself—attempts to romanticize the system from inside (James Graham's story is narrated by Kenneth Graham's sister Charlotte, daughter of the Laird), and underlines the brotherly love woven into the relationship. On the other hand, Brunton does put duty before kinship in her creation of the Highland world, thus modernizing it instead of leaving it as feudal and backward. The reason for Cecil's emigration is that she was not able to pay for her rent back in the Highlands. Although her ancestors were "cousins" with those of the Laird, the Highland woman deems it not right to resort to nepotism, nor does she forget to defend her Laird when Ellen the English listener raises questions as to his integrity. The Highland Laird system in Brunton's eyes, therefore, is a complicated social network run by both personal and public allegiances.

A second aspect of the Highland spirit is seen in Cecil's heated reaction to Ellen's proposal about applying for alms from the parish. Like the Campbells, Cecil is also contemplating a "return" to her native land when Ellen meets her, this time from the Lowlands back to Glen Eredine in the Highlands. However, unlike the Edinburgh

Campbell family, Cecil does not worry about her lack of money or means of transportation—she is willing to just walk carrying her infant "on [her] breast" and letting her other boy "walk on's feet a bit now and then" (2: 265). Ellen, finding her "English feelings [revolt] from the ease" with which Cecil mentions begging on the way back to the North, kindly suggests the possibilities of "the parish . . . [bestowing] somewhat towards procuring . . . a conveyance" for the three. To her surprise, Cecil is offended by the plan and excitedly refuses to consider taking advantage of what she terms the "poor's box" (2: 265-266). The obvious contrast between the Campbells' and the Grahams' attitudes to charity offered, while conspicuously pointing at a sort of Highland pride, also echoes Brunton's reflection on the virtue of the socio-economic system of her country. In her journals from 1815, one finds the following passionate passage comparing the English villas and their residents with the Scottish cottagers, and their different takes on charity seem an important criterion for Brunton to measure their morality:

> But welcome, mine own rugged Scotland! where, though all is bare and naked, every thing bespeaks improvement, industry, intelligence; independence in the poor, and enterprize in the rich. . . . [Our villas] are tenanted by their owners, and the best feelings and the best principles of human nature find exercise there; while the villas of England are either altogether deserted, or inhabited by menials and land stewards. . . . [Our] cottagers have Bibles, and can read them; they are poor, but they are not paupers. In some of the agricultural parishes of England we found more than half of the population receiving *charity* (if I may so prostitute the word!) from the remainder. (167; Brunton's emphasis)

The strong indignity behind her choice of the verb "prostitute" here suffices to show the Scottish writer's disapproval of abuse of charity, and it is also noteworthy how much credit she gives to tenants' relative independence. Distinctly different from the three English women writers covered in previous chapters of the dissertation, Mary Brunton does not deplore Scottish poverty and backwardness as an evil, but wields them as a weapon against the corrosive power of amoral modern progress, here mostly seen in the English negligence of the land and blind trust in various kinds of deputies.

Besides her respect to the Laird and the system he represents, as well as her insistence in economic independence, Cecil the Highlander's personal traits are also portrayed through the observation of the English heroine. In Ellen's eyes, Cecil is "an odd mixture" of many contradicting elements, for instance, "good sense and superstition," "minute parsimony and liberal kindness," and most importantly, down-to-earthness and an ability to make "romantic abstraction from sensible objects" (2: 283). The last tendency is best seen in her telling the story about Henry Graham, i.e. young Maitland before he was exiled from the Highlands, on which passage the chapter will expound in later discussions. Ellen's evaluation of the Highland woman is convincing, and even closely resembles the measured manner in which Jane Austen and Cassandra Cooke respectively view the Lesley sisters in "Lesley Castle" and the Murrays in *Battleridge*. More than the two English writers, however, Brunton's sympathy with and passion for the Highlands as a Scottish writer are revealed herein as well.

Inspired by Maria Edgeworth's depiction of Ireland in her publications, Brunton is said to have actively thought about introducing the Highland culture in a likewise manner (*Memoir* lix). Complaining about the "stupid plodding Lowlanders"

and instances of their "many little Celticisms" in a letter to Joanna Baillie, she describes in an excited style her trip to Scotland's Perthshire in the summer of 1813—parts of which region are in the Highlands, as well as the pleasant manners of the Highlanders she encountered. Her description of their "shrewdness, confidence . . . total ignorance" as well as their "fearless decision" when talking about maladies (*Memoir* lxiii), and her own hearty laughter when amused by their constant apologies accompanying the conversations fall in the same line as Ellen's mixed reception of Cecil's manners. Brunton's Scottish affiliation is further revealed when she sends Ellen to learn the Gaelic language with her Highland friend (2: 283-284). Though the English young woman makes fun of herself by confessing her coquettish motive behind the action, i.e. she intends to impress the Scottish hero Maitland with her newly acquired knowledge, her serious contemplation of the language, its pronunciation, and its differences from the English as well as the Lowland Scots languages is never to be seen in a work like Dorothy Wordsworth's *Recollections*, in which the very sound of the Gaelic language is jarring to the narrator's English ear.

The third and final Scottish female Brunton characterizes in a positive light is Charlotte Graham. Unlike Mrs. Campbell and Cecil Graham, both from a lower class, Charlotte is a member of a Highland laird family, thus allowing readers a taste of another dimension of Scottish society. Although Cecil introduces Ellen to Highland spirits with her tales and language tutoring, it is Charlotte, the daughter of Laird Eredine as well as sister to Kenneth and Henry Graham, that physically conducts the English heroine to the world in Glen Eredine. Thanks to her explanation, Ellen gets to understand many Highland practices from the perspective of a member of the gentry, i.e. the upper and managing class; in addition, Charlotte Graham herself also stands in

for the ideal Scottish woman for Brunton, an independent, majestic, and even feminist figure.

Charlotte Graham's function as an ideal creation rather than a realistic portrayal is clear in the way she makes her debut. Brunton quotes Canto I of Sir Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), to highlight the analogy between her character and Ellen Douglas, the "chieftain's daughter" in the highly influential Romantic poem. The Scottish writer's meticulous description of Charlotte's appearances even outshines the blazon of the mistress figure in renaissance poetry.[4] Though it is too long to be cited at full length, readers will have no difficulty capturing the commending tone of the passage from just a few keywords: as a "brunette" with high cheekbones, "black eye-brows" and "dark" eyes that looks "majestic," "finely [instead of] delicately formed," "arch," "frank," and "animated" (3: 169-170), Charlotte Graham defies the popular criteria of female beauty no less than Shakespeare's dark lady does. Ellen Percy's admiration for the Highland beauty here forms an intriguing pair with a short comment from Brunton's 1812 journal. Recording her feelings as she entered England from the north for the first time, the Scottish writer actually lists there being more "prettier" women as one of the differences she notices across the national border, among other discoveries such as the change to a "perceptibly English" accent and "universal" use of "hats and shoes" on the English side (*Memoir* 103). Not only does this detail show that Brunton does hold one's physical appearances and choice of apparel as a legitimate component of one's national identity, it also helps her draw an important conclusion in the same journal entry about the Anglo-Scottish Union: "You no sooner cross the boundary, than you are sensibly in another kingdom. Near neighbourhood and constant intercourse have effected little intercommunity of

manners, languages, or appearance" (Ibid.). Brunton's purposeful application of the term "kingdom" to England, instead of calling it a "nation" or "country" here, verges on an ironical touch on the larger United Kingdom, because the Kingdom naturally should have helped promote the kinds of intercommunications she finds lacking. From the perspective of a traveler, she implies her point that the 1707 Union has literally failed to bring the promised benefits to her country.

Besides her grand debut, Charlotte Graham also takes on the role of a mentor on the divided status of Scotland itself. Malcolm Chapman warns readers against the danger of the "long and strong tradition" of viewing Highlanders as "reckless and destructive" as opposed to the "Lowland civility" (17). Mary Brunton reverses this convention, and her version of the opposition between the Lowlands and the Highlands may have even inspired Sir Walter Scott's plan for his 1817 novel *Rob Roy* (Monnickendam 51-52), a design that is little seen in *Waverley*. Compared with Mrs. Campbell and Cecil who epitomize only certain parts of the Scottish spirits in their actions and behaviors, Charlotte the Laird's daughter engages in a more systematic and theoretical explanation for the English heroine, of both the preferable and the dark sides of her country. Her belonging to the gentry class helps provide the social resources she needs for this. Informing Ellen of the differences between the manners in the Highlands and those in the Lowlands (176), the lady also allows her to explore the hitherto neglected virtues of the city of Edinburgh:

> Our mornings were generally spent in examining the town or its environs; our evenings, in a kind of society which I had till now known only in detached specimens; a society in which there was everything to delight, though nothing to astonish, —much good manners, and therefore little

> singularity, —general information, and therefore little pedantry, —much good taste, and therefore little notoriety. I could no longer complain that the ladies were inaccessible. (3: 134)

The traits listed in this passage accounts for the pride Brunton takes in the social circles of her country. They polarize with the London drawing-rooms detested by the Scottish writer, who describes them as graves with "an established set of topics," that "efface all distinctions" (*Memoir* 140). The passage resembles the polite gathering at Lesley Castle sympathetically depicted by Jane Austen, and foreshadows the Edinburgh society admired by Alicia Malcolm in Susan Ferrier's *Marriage*. Thus attended by a well informed and in turn informative guide such as Charlotte Graham, Ellen Percy finds the Scottish capital gain an intellectual shade that she did not see, when accompanied by the local-raised landlady, who was mainly interested in the "rouping [*sic*]" (2: 259), or auctions. Brunton's message to her fellow countrymen, of trusting an intellectual and well-informed elite class in being able to bring out and make full use of the strength of her nation, is at least implied here.

More than the incarnation of a proper, liberal education, Charlotte Graham also functions as the deus ex machina to turn the plot of *Discipline* from Ellen's Bildungsroman to the case study of Highland culture and manners in Glen Eredine, the rich but out-of-proportion appendage that only takes up about one ninth of the novel. Informing Ellen that her brother Henry Graham has retrieved a 1500-pound debt a Sir William Forbes owed the late Mr. Percy, Charlotte literally delivers the penniless Ellen from the seemingly endless trials she has undergone, and financially independent again, the English young woman is ready to explore the Highland glen, the story about which she has heard told many times. In sharp contrast to her arrival in

Edinburgh, every detail about Ellen Percy's entrance into the Perthshire Highland region is described with the utmost interest behooving a first-time visitor. Ainsley McIntosh, admiring Brunton's shift in *Discipline* from the moralistic story to the national tale, enumerates several contemporary publications that can corroborate her picture of the Highland life style, such as *Graham's Sketches of Perthshire* and *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland* (55). This stylistic change further confirms the above-mentioned point that rather than an organic component of the Scottish nation, Edinburgh and its surrounding Lowland areas resemble the English cities more closely. By contrast, the first "traces of Highland human habitation" Ellen encounters in the Scottish valley are ready to contradict all her past experiences about and expectations for what is socially and culturally acceptable or appropriate.

Brunton captures these moments of culture shocks in a dense passage about the two young ladies' stay at a Highland inn. The first thing that catches Ellen's eye is how the Highland children are dressed and raised. Her highly English comments about being "prepared to expect the savage nakedness of legs and feet" from the local kids, as well as her definition that their clothes are more "ludicrous than mean" (3: 200), only make her opinion more convincing. Yet as one reads on, something more complicated than mere curiosity begins to show in the foreigner's faithful description. For instance, Ellen notices how Highland boys, though very young, are already "helmed in the martial bonnet of their countrymen" (Ibid.). Only four paragraphs earlier in the same chapter, the English young woman is seen slightly "confused" and unable to react accordingly when Charlotte bursts into a kind of "*amor patriae* [Brunton's emphasis]" about her native land's resistance to the Roman invasion (3: 198). It thus naturally

follows that her attention to the martial looks of the everyday apparel for Highland boys echoes Charlotte's passionate speech.

Ellen brings this connection between one's clothes and mentality one step further: noting the simplicity or what she terms "absurdity" of the boys' and girls' general clothing, she actively points out its effects of heightening the already existing "premature gravity" on the faces of the kids, nor does she let go of the detail that boys keep their "cap in hand" while the ladies pass by (3: 200-201). Seemingly amusing in the tone, the passage actually serves as Brunton's explanation for the source and foundation of the ideal Scottish national character. Compared with the daughter of Mrs. Boswell in Edinburgh, who without knowing is dressed up like a princess from "south-sea Islands" (2: 303), or even with young Ellen herself who grows up in fashionable boarding schools and pays to be "instructed in the art of wearing [her] clothes fashionably" (1: 42), the manners and bringing-up of these Highland children obviously are more promising for a country's future, and are thus given more credit.

More than anything, the English heroine is shocked by the fluid dividing line between social classes in the Highlands. She finds it hard to digest the fact that the landlord of the inn should address the Laird's daughter "as to a familiar acquaintance," and is further offended when he takes his seat between the ladies and talks freely about "continental politics" (3: 202-203). Learning from Charlotte that the landlord, born a gentleman of Perthshire and "third cousin" to Laird Eredine, is fully entitled to behave as he does, the snob in Ellen Percy gives in though still commenting that "Miss Graham and I affixed somewhat different ideas to the word 'gentleman'" (3: 203). Given the mercenary and eloping malignity of English gentlemen such as Miss De Burgh's brother and husband, lashed out mostly in the first and second volumes of the novel,

this complaint can only function as another of Brunton's ironies on the immorality of the English upper class.

If Ellen's introduction to Scotland and especially the Highlands are initiated by the three Scots women, her understanding of the society of Glen Eredine deepens as she learns more about the life and career of Henry Graham, or Maitland. This younger son of Laird Eredine is introduced to the readers in a highly romantic framed story, supposedly composed by the family's piper Donald MacIan—who was present when it happened, and then is recited to Ellen by Cecil Graham before she leaves Edinburgh for her native glen. The anecdote happened twenty years back in the past, and starts with a seemingly casual strife between two Highland clans: some young men from Clan Alpine "lift" or steal the cattle belonging to Glen Eredine (3: 288), and with the eldest son Kenneth then away for his studies in Edinburgh, young Henry offers to go and fight for the animals. The family piper MacIan, one of Henry's team on this mission, witnesses the bravery of the young master during his fight with men from the other clan. At the end of the story, the English sheriff interferes and would have sentenced the Alpine men to death, had the Eredine men not refused to bear witness against their Highland brothers. Henry Graham himself, partly unwilling to obey the English sheriff's order to inculpate the leader of the other clan's group and partly to follow the wish of his mother—who is a "Southron" or an English-born lady—leaves his native glen in exile (3: 293).

Cecil's tale of Henry Graham is a skillful combination of a personal portrayal, a national tale, and a political satire. First, the younger son of the Highland Laird is characterized as both a valorous warrior and a responsible future laird—his challenge to the other clan with five men against eight shows his bravery, his choice of the

strongest rival for himself during the fight proves his confidence, and his prioritizing the recovery of cows to a widow from his clan bespeaks leadership itself. With further details in later chapters, Brunton is shaping Henry Graham into the ideal Scottish man as well as lord. Second, as a national tale the framed story makes it clear that the two clans' strife is but an interior conflict, compared with the threat imposed by the outsider power, i.e. the English interference represented by the sheriff. Cecil views the "Southron sherrifs [*sic*]" mainly as meddlesome people who deprive the lairds of their rights (2: 292), and interprets their move to imprison the Alpine men in Stirling Castle and wish to "have" Henry Graham as superfluous and unwanted (2: 293). Such tension between the clans and the third party—the English—also leads to the satirical aspect of the story: the interference of the Southern sheriffs only helps cement the friendship between Clan Graham and Clan Alpine, and the latter acknowledge their gratitude for the could-be "witnesses" by stealing "four of the sheriff's cows . . . in a compliment" to Henry Graham (2: 294). It looks like Brunton uses the ending of the story to make fun of the self-righteous legal enforcement by the English government in the Highlands after the Forty-Five, and ventures to indicate the possibility of a more solid brotherhood among the clans in opposition to the alien rule—a political message that is only safe when hidden in a framed story told by self-contradictory characters like Cecil Graham.

The political implication of the story is also seen in the following detail: depicting the fighting between the two clans, Cecil touches upon the fact that they are struggling with one another bare-handed. To make the irony stand out, Brunton lets the Highland woman comment: "Ill days were then; for the red soldiers were come in long before that, and they had taken away both dirk and gun; ay, and the very claymore that Ronal Graham wagged in's hand o'er Colin Campbell's neck, was taken

and a' [*sic*]" (2: 290). The "red soldiers" clearly refer to English military input to and oppression of Scotland after the Forty-Five, and the ban on weapons is exactly what Jane Austen laments in her notes left in the margins of Goldsmith's *History*. Although Brunton has made the gesture of toning down the propaganda inside such a remark, by limiting its harms to what Cecil understands as fewer scenes of romantic bravery, her indignity still can be sensed. As if apologizing for her ignorance back then when she listened to Cecil's tale, Ellen the mature narrator admits that she was at that time "not aware how much the innovations and oppressions of twenty years had defaced the bold peculiarities of Highland character" (2: 295). As an English character, such reflection already suffices to team her with young Austen as a kind of political "dissenter," not to mention her follow-up defense of the Highlanders as a "hardy race [that] had bent beneath their fate, seeking safety in evasion, and power in deceit" (Ibid.)! It is safe to say that her English persona is almost falling apart here.

Physically absent from his beloved Highland valley, Henry Graham can only be known through different persons' narratives. Focusing on the adult and absent Henry this time, Charlotte Graham gives Ellen a most systematic introduction of the different projects he has carried out for the welfare of his clan:

> She was his almoner. Through her he transmitted many a humble comfort to his native valley; and though he had been so many years an alien, he was astonishingly minute and skiful [*sic*] in the direction of his benevolence. He appeared to be acquainted with the character and situation of an incredible number of his clansmen; and the interest and authority with which he wrote of them seemed little less than patriarchal. . . . [There] was nothing theatrical in his plans for their interest or improvement. There were minute

> and practicable, rather than magnificent. No whole communities were to be hurried into civilization, nor districts depopulated by way of improvement; but some encouragement was to be given to the schoolmaster; bibles were to be distributed to his best scholars; or Henry would account to his father for the rent of a tenant . . . or, at his expence [*sic*], the new cottages were to be plastered, and furnished with doors and sashed windows. (3: 193-194)

Once more the nation's story is interwoven with the fate and choices of an individual. Concepts like hastened "civilization" and forced depopulation in this passage recall the English policies for Scottish Highlands in the latter half of the eighteenth century too much not to mirror Mary Brunton's satire on the supposedly beneficial nature of the Anglo-Scottish Union. Christopher Duffy summarizes the English repression process as composed of "setting up chains of posts, consigning prisoners to execution or deportation, and enacting a series of repressive laws," which includes the 1746 new Disarming Act; he also points out how the emigration of the Scottish tacksmen forced by Lowland surveyors essentially depopulated and thus destroyed the Highland society (527; 541). Though holding a different point of view from this chapter as to Brunton's attitude to commerce, Sharon Alker agrees that the Scottish writer treats commerce as a power to "maintain traditional ways of living" instead of erasing them (199). Henry's more customized plans for his tenants—impossible plans if one does not know the backgrounds and needs of individual tenants—are listed here to contradict the generally held misunderstanding by English improvers aiming to better the Highlands following the Annexing Act of 1752, that clanship is "a strictly military [instead of] agricultural" system unable to thrive in modern times (Clyde 22; 27).

Henry's projects clearly show that compared with the English center of the Kingdom, the Scottish gentry are better capable of mending the lives of their men and of answering their needs, either in terms of their education, their religious instruction, or their socio-economic requests.

Though *Discipline* ends with a sort of Anglo-Scottish national marriage between this ideal Highlander and a reformed Ellen Percy, the union works more as an expedient ending for a personal love story rather than Brunton's wish for a better union between the two neighboring countries. In fact, national marriage as a motif has been repeatedly weakened through her depiction of the story of Henry's parents; on the other hand, the revelation of Henry/Maitland's double-identity serves only to further Brunton's accusation of English vices such as slavery. Rather than allowing the couple to influence each other on an equal footing, their marriage completes Ellen Percy the English heroine's experience of learning from and being assimilated into the Scottish—or, more specifically the Highland culture. Instead of creating the sense of a British family, the couple can only become more and more "Highlandish" in future. Together, these two aspects suggest Brunton's negative outlook on the fate of the United Kingdom and British national identity.

Information about the marriage between Laird Eredine and his lady is given in several places in the Highland passages of the novel. Although the husband and the wife are not in any tension with each other, their union can hardly pass for a happy one, considering the hatred it invites from the lady's side of family. Explaining why her brother has changed his name from Graham to the mercantile sounding Maitland, Charlotte Graham deplores the hard feelings the siblings' English maternal uncle bears the Eredine family. In the niece's eyes, the "old gentleman hated [the Grahams]

all as a clan of rebels," and Henry takes his surname in order to appease him (3: 263). Once more the "rebels" is an allusion to the Scottish rebellion in 1745, and the English uncle's political affiliation is clear from his use of this term. Besides this feud from the past, the difference between the two sides' national characters is seen in the career the Laird and his wife choose for young Henry respectively. Charlotte recalls that his father the Laird "intended settling Henry in a farm, or educating him for the church," but both plans to the English mother sound "little less than burying him alive" (3: 210). This ties back to Uncle Maitland's "national prejudice" when designing the more pragmatic university-plus-counting-house career for his nephew (2: 166), as mentioned in Miss Mortimer's recollections above. In a sense, the first generation of national marriage in *Discipline*, instead of healing the wound between England and Scotland left by the Forty-Five, worsens it by foregrounding the two nations' essential differences in values and outlooks for future.

By contrast, in the second generation of national marriage, Ellen Percy does achieve a mutual understanding with her husband Henry Graham/Maitland, yet the development within the couple is one-direction, and Henry Graham the Highlander has never for once stepped down from the moral high ground throughout the novel. Brunton even goes so far as to characterize Maitland as a moral mentor or leader for the English people: it is his fame from espousing the English Abolitionist Movement that first gets the attention of the yet coquettish and willful Ellen, and even as a spoilt girl she begins to feel some real respect for the serious cause of the Scotsman. How much was Scotland involved in the slave trade by the end of the eighteenth century then? According to the Scottish History Society, Scotsmen did participate much in the trade to the West Indies, and "owned some 30 per cent of estates" in Jamaica by 1800,

which colony in turn "contained nearly 40 per cent of the West Indies' slave population" ("Scotland and Black Slavery to 1833" par. 1). There is no denying that Scottish lords and merchants were profiting as much from the evil trade as their English counterparts did in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but there is also evidence showing how the Scottish mindset helps promote the development of the Anti-Slave campaigns more powerfully than the English way of thinking ever can. Iain Whyte expounds on such nurturing effects on men's free will and their contempt for "an inflexible social hierarchy" by the Scottish type of education, and uses five key figures of the London Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade as illustration of the Scottish influences—all five were educated in the northern country (137; 107). Thus informed of the possibility of a Scots leadership in such a significant social campaign, it is less surprising to see that twice in the novel, the narrator cries out against the evil practice of slavery, and that she takes special care to limit it to her own country, instead of the entire Kingdom.[5] For instance, describing Maitland's influence in the movement, the narrator mentions that "[all] England, all Europe, caught the inspiration" (2: 77); further emphasizing England's leading role in slave trade, she introduces Maitland's frustration as a starting MP: "He conquered his retiring nature, that, in the senate of his country, he might lend his testimony against this foulest of her crimes; and when that senate stilled the general cry with a poor promise of distant reform, he blushed for England and for human kind" (2: 172). Skillfully manipulating Ellen Percy's English persona, Brunton thus camouflages her critique of England's political hegemony behind the "Southron" lady's self-criticism.

Mary Brunton once laments that she has "ventured unconsciously on Waverley's own ground, by carrying [her] heroine to the Highlands!" (*Memoir* lxxvi).

Though coming out after Sir Walter Scott's masterpiece, *Discipline* has its own unique value in the depiction of the Highland manners and culture by a Scottish woman writer. Allowing her English heroine Ellen Percy to interact with Scottish Lowland and Highland female characters—from both the lower class and the gentry, Brunton shows the divided status of Scottish society as well as her own anxiety over the corrupting influences the Lowlands receive from England; portraying the national marriage between the English Ellen and the Scottish hero Henry Graham/Maitland as an unequal relationship, in which the morally superior and flawless husband reforms the originally unthoughtful, self-willed wife, she passes judgment on England's political decisions such as the oppression of the Highland clans after the Forty-Five and its slow progress in the Abolitionist Movement. Little reference to the two countries as members of the same Union is visible in the novel, while the Highland regiments' contribution to the Anglo-French wars—an element repeatedly emphasized by the pro-Union English women writers covered in the previous chapters of the dissertation—is downplayed or analyzed in terms of its negative side effects. Unlike her English contemporaries, Mary Brunton cuts a different figure in the conversation on the British national identity, one that reveals the following facts: that the Anglo-Scottish Union was by no means totally accepted or even digested by all the subjects of the Kingdom at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that it is perhaps oversimplifying to talk about any working British national identity for that era.

Notes

1. Olivia Murphy in her article "Rethinking Influence by Reading with Austen" points out the debt Austen's *Emma* owes to Brunton's *Discipline*, and suggests that the latter is exactly the kind of novel Sir Walter Scott contrasts with *Emma* in his famous review of Austen's novel (106).

2. Albius Tibullus is a Roman poet that lived in the second half of the first century BCE. The story of the first of his two extant books of poetry corresponds dramatically well with young Murray's move here in Brunton's novel—Tibullus the speaker takes advantage of a husband's "absence on military service" to form a liaison with his wife Delia, and carries on the relationship "clandestinely" after the soldier returns to Rome ("Albius Tibullus" par. 3). Brunton very likely is comparing the absent Captain Murray to Delia's husband in this passage.

3. James Graham's loyalty both to the young laird and to the regiments illustrates well Peter Womack's interpretation of the romanticizing process of the Highland regiments as an establishment highly "[hierarchical], communal, resistant to change, labour-intensive and insulated from commercial rationality" (45).

4. For Brunton's knowledge of the physiognomic theory, and for a meticulous analysis of the physical appearances and features of Laura Montreville in *Self-Control*, see Jennifer Evans's article "Physiognomy, Judgment and Art in Mary Brunton's *Self-Control*."

5. On Scottish nationality and its impact on one's understanding of the slave trade, see Corey E. Andrews's interpretation of the writings by Scottish women travelers Janet Schaw and Maria Riddell about their visits to the West Indies. Andrews argues that their "identity as Scots" actually allows the two women to feel "a sense of

community and connection" in the colonies (173). Though Brunton does not clarify whether Henry Graham/Maitland feels a fellowship towards any slaves, one may venture to guess that his Scottish identity contributes in a similar vein to his allegiance to the Abolitionist Movement.

CHAPTER 6

FEMALE SELF-CRITICISM AND MALE SALVATION IN SUSAN FERRIER'S *MARRIAGE*

As an admiring reader versed in various works by her contemporaries—including Jane Austen, Mary Brunton, Hannah More, and Elizabeth Hamilton—the Scottish writer Susan Ferrier sounds overly modest when defining her own first novel, *Marriage* (1818), as an effort exclusively to teach readers "against runaway matches" (*Memoir and Correspondence* 76). Originally, the work was to be a collaborative project between her and Miss Charlotte Clavering, a most intimate friend as well as a member of the aristocratic family that employed Ferrier's father. In the two young women's frequent exchange of letters, Ferrier manages to persuade Miss Clavering out of introducing unnatural elements into the novel, such as murders, specters, and even "men of the moon" (*Memoir and Correspondence* 86-87), meanwhile shaping the overall plot around the indispensable element of a moral lesson.

Although *Marriage* fits easily into the niche Ferrier carefully prepares for it, i.e. a book "every matron will put into the hand of her daughter" (*Memoir and Correspondence* 76), as a struggle "to balance the demands of fiction and moral instruction," it proves to be a much more ambitious and politically significant novel than its author acknowledges (Baker 154). This chapter reads the novel in close relation to the historical times in which it was conceived as well as published, and suggests that it be treated as a Scottish woman writer's answer to the mutual prejudices held by member nations inside the United Kingdom. Unlike the English writers analyzed in the previous chapters of this dissertation, Susan Ferrier spends less time in denying the accusations from the English side than in actively criticizing Scots culture. She holds a

proper education as the most important factor for shaping one's behaviors. Although the major English characters in *Marriage* are also flawed in this aspect, Ferrier believes that her fellow countrymen are impacted in a far worse manner: since Scotland underwent events like the Fifteen and the Forty-Five within the eighteenth century, its recovery calls for the efforts of more educated persons. By transplanting the Scottish female protagonist of the novel to an English setting, and by having her reflect on the different manners and pursuits of her female relations from both nations, Ferrier critiques the narrow-minded and less modern parts of her own national culture. Meanwhile, the romantic portrayal of an almost flawless Scottish military hero, who fights for the welfare of the entire British Kingdom, serves as a salvation for the female protagonist and allows her to reconcile with her motherland.

Examined through the lens of the 1707 Anglo-Scottish Union, Ferrier's arrangements in *Marriage* then speaks for her mixed reception of the concept of the United Kingdom —she is to some extent ashamed of and wants to change Scotland's inferiority to her southern neighbor, yet at the same time she feels proud of her Scottish identity because of her compatriots' contribution to the national security of Britain. It is safer to propose that compared with contemporary English women writers such as Cassandra Cooke and Dorothy Wordsworth, Susan Ferrier is more concerned with how Scotland continues to figure as an independent nation inside the British Union, rather than with how Britain as a self-contained entity fares. On the other hand, unlike Mary Brunton, Ferrier sounds more apologetic when it comes to portraying the realities of the Scottish Highlands. For her, it is the valor of Scottish soldiers that supports and helps seal the Anglo-Scottish Union, rather than the quotidian values and beliefs of the Scots females.

Marriage links the story of an English family and a Scottish household through two generations. The opening chapters see Lady Juliana, the spoilt daughter of an English earl, defy her father's plan of marrying her off for political "aggrandisement [*sic*]" of the family (2), in order to elope with her Scottish suitor Henry Douglas. Though bonded in matrimony for what she believes to be love, Lady Juliana quickly gives up any hope for happiness after arriving at Glenfern Castle, the seat of the Douglas family in the Scottish Highlands. Shocked by the shabby conditions of everyday life at the castle, annoyed by the many and prying spinster aunts of Henry's, and disappointed by her father-in-law's incapability of providing any financial assistance for the young couple, the English lady seizes the first chance to return to her "civilised [*sic*]" London when young Douglas manages to secure an annual allowance of seven hundred pounds (170). During her stay in Scotland, though, Lady Juliana gives birth to Henry's twin daughters, and entertaining no maternal feelings for the babies, she does not hesitate to leave one of the girls, later named Mary, in the care and under the instructions of Henry's hitherto childless sister-in-law Mrs. Douglas.

The latter half of the novel centers around the observations and feelings of Mary, who at the age of seventeen is sent to England to benefit from the warmer climate. Looking forward to a kind of reunion with the mother and the twin sister she has not seen for so many years, Mary is nevertheless disillusioned by a totally negligent Lady Juliana and an indifferent sister, Adelaide. The ignored young woman finds solace only in the company of her cousin Lady Emily Lindore and in her visits to Lady Lennox, the English widow of a Highland General who was a friend of the Douglas family. At the end of the novel, Mary marries the son of the family and rising military hero, Colonel Lennox, while her twin sister follows the example of Lady

Juliana in eloping with her unprincipled cousin, Lord Lindore. The Lady herself, realizing that the Continental manners agree with her temper well, settles in southern France without ever visiting Britain again in her lifetime.

In terms of the structure, this chapter of the dissertation will first examine how Ferrier skillfully brings up the motif of education by establishing a contrast between the English Lady Juliana and the Scottish Mrs. Douglas. Though both are raised in England during their childhood and adolescence, their different upbringings lay the foundation for their respective life choices later in the story. The discussion will focus on the crucial role education plays in shaping the two women's attitudes towards an alien culture, their ways of dealing with other people, and their abilities to adapt to socio-economic conditions. Second, one is to notice how the sharp contrast is continued into the next generation of the families. Brought up under Mrs. Douglas's instruction in Christian doctrine, Mary experiences the gap between the religious lady's education system and the influences by her superstitious grandaunts. The chapter also follows the girl's encounters with various persons in the Highlands, the Lowlands, Edinburgh and Bath, outlining her misgivings about the perceived inferiority of the Scottish "way of doing things." The end of the chapter attempts to account for Mary's reconciliation with her own culture, and the biographical information about the Ferrier family's involvement in numerous British military actions explains Susan Ferrier's characterization of Colonel Lennox. This strict dichotomy between a flawed female world and a perfect male world among the Scottish characters is not to be shaken until in her second novel, *Inheritance*, published six years after *Marriage*, in which the heroine shows no sympathy for the political ambition of male Highlanders, headed by her uncle and cousin.

Both gender and nationalism have served repeatedly as the keywords for existing scholarly works about Ferrier and her fiction, but very few of these writings have considered the two concepts in tandem. Douglas Gifford, among others, views Ferrier's works as representative discussions of "gender and the limitations and predicaments of women" (31), beginning a trend that would not become widespread among Scottish women writers until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Her female characters are often analyzed in meticulous case studies. For instance, critics concentrate on Ferrier's lively portraits of Lady Juliana, or her "English" daughter Adelaide, without reading relevant passages against those depicting the unbelievably perfect Colonel Lennox. Among others, Beth Kowaleski-Wallace singles out an intriguing scene from *Marriage* for her discussion of the meanings behind women characters and their love of china, frequently seen in novels by eighteenth-century British writers. According to Kowaleski-Wallace, such episodes are often meant to criticize the "imperial excesses" following the British expansion throughout the world. Since women of the era are called on to participate in appropriate consumerist activities for the prosperity of the Kingdom, the less disciplined group of them are easily endangered and, in the critic's term, "scapegoated" for unwise purchases (164). Lady Juliana, who cannot resist china trinkets even though her husband is heavily in debt, thus stands in for "the apotheosis of all that the new domestic woman must not be" (162). In this way, Kowaleski-Wallace highlights Ferrier's attention to the gender-based economic impact of society.

Approaching the female characters in *Marriage*, Laura Brown and Claire Grogan each find a different angle for their discussions. Brown is concerned about the imagery of lapdogs prevalent in British novels from the eighteenth and the beginning

of the nineteenth centuries. She suggests that this "cross-species" intimacy stands in for a serious problem for the concept of an ideal household—Lady Juliana's preference for her lapdog over her Scottish daughter Mary Douglas, as Brown argues, represents her "substitution of a nonhuman for a human intimacy" (37). Grogan, mentioning Ferrier's work only in a footnote for her article, is quick to point out the physical existence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* in the plot of *Marriage* (466), as well as the significant role it plays in eliciting Adelaide's elopement with her cousin.[1] Grogan argues that, compared with mere allusions to the French work, the physical copies of it in the hands of characters of British novels, written in the decades following its publication, reflect society's anxiety over proper female behavior. The two scholars enrich the conversation about gender in Ferrier's works by associating it with class and cultural acquisition.[2]

On the other hand, there are many critics who focus on Ferrier's depiction of national difference. Nelson S. Bushnell enumerates the binary structure of English and Scottish scenes in *Marriage*, evaluating it as a novel of manners. Situating Scotland and its capital Edinburgh in the marital crisis between King George IV and the much pitied Queen Caroline, John Charles Joseph Snodgrass even suggests that the novel can be read as Ferrier's allegory for the "unhappy 'marriage' between England and Scotland" (251). More than anything else, Ferrier's interest in the Highlands as well as the military force from those regions captures the attention of several critics. In her article, Stana Nenadic investigates the impact of large-scale military "exportation" on the Highland gentry. Nenadic is of the opinion that although choosing to serve in the British armies can solve issues such as short-term financial problems for Scottish young men, the decision may bring social, ethical, as well as cultural crises for their families in the

Highlands. Enumerating morally corrupt and "seductive" soldier characters from early nineteenth-century British novels, Nenadic points out that Susan Ferrier has created quite a few such examples, most of them resembling the character George Wickham in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813). However, Nenadic also notices the exception of Colonel Lennox, and calls the readers' attention to the fact that "the virtuous hero of *Marriage*, is an English-raised military man of Highland background" (68). She sees Ferrier's characterizations of both types of military young men as helping to illustrate the attention and renown this profession continues to enjoy even after the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815. Though Nenadic's observation about the different military characters in Ferrier's works is highly insightful, she does not further explain the uniqueness of Colonel Lennox.

Critic Juliet Shields comes the closest to reading Ferrier's stance towards a working British national identity through the characters in *Marriage*. Recognizing the novel to be a "national tale" told in the framework of Mary Douglas' "personal *Bildung*," Shields suggests that for Ferrier, the "cohesive" British national identity can only work when there are characters of "mixed Anglo-Celtic ancestry" (933). The Scottish-raised Mary fits into this role of "identity builder" since she, with a Scots father and an English mother, experiences both "cultural dislocation" and "defamiliarization" during her visit to Bath (Ibid.). According to Shields, the purely English or purely Scottish characters in the novel fail to qualify for the task because of their incapability of changing their own point of view to welcome a new national culture. In her words, the right route to Britishness for Ferrier is through "hybridization" rather than through "preservation" (933). While agreeing with most of Shields's points in the article, this chapter sees Ferrier's tone in the novel as less

confident and more apologetic, therefore indicating a more complicated solution than a simple hybridization of the English and the Scottish perspectives. Unlike Mary Brunton who, as I argue in the previous chapter of this dissertation, believes in the salvaging morals of the Highlands, Ferrier is from the beginning skeptical of their correctness.

When it comes to approaching a new national culture in the plot of *Marriage*, Lady Juliana and her sister-in-law Mrs. Douglas both contrast with and share something in common with each other. One may even venture to propose that together, the two women characters constitute the two sides of an average outsider's stance toward life and manners in the Highlands, as imagined by Ferrier: Lady Juliana's experiences in Glenfern Castle represent the possible results from superficial and involuntary contacts with foreign ways. Noticeably, the English Lady makes her debut as a character showing uncommon interest in exotic cultures. She is first introduced to the reader with her pets called Venus, Pluto, and Cupid (1). These names, while supplementing innuendo about the dubious status of her religious beliefs, also foreshadow her love for pagan and foreign influences. Satisfied with her Scottish suitor Henry Douglas, Juliana starts her journey to the Highlands without any material prejudice in her mind against the northern nation. If one can find fault with her expectations for the journey, it is perhaps that she relies on hearsay by superficial acquaintances too much as to what Scotland should be like (8). Apart from this, she can easily pass for the least opinionated protagonist on the issue of a British identity, among those created by the women writers covered in this dissertation. The change of her emotions during her first and only visit to the Highlands starts with her

disappointment in the lack of material prosperity indicated by the appearances of the Castle, an evil that can also happen in other nations inside the Kingdom.

Moreover, although she is depicted as a willful and spoilt character, Lady Juliana does not throw a tantrum completely without a good reason. Henry's three aunts and many sisters do contribute to her ill temper by interfering unreasonably with the couple's lives. Mrs. Douglas, on the contrary, stands in for success after measured and tolerant communications with an alien lifestyle. Like Juliana, she also senses the discomfort brought by the aunts, but she is capable of telling unwitting vulgarity from intended malice. Ferrier's explanation of her "apology" for the Highland aunts is worth quoting at length:

> [Mrs. Douglas] could in some degree enter into the nature of [Lady Juliana's] feelings towards the old ladies; for she too had felt how disagreeable people might contrive to render themselves without being guilty of any particular fault, and how much more difficult it is to bear with the weakness than the vices of our neighbours. . . . A person of less sense than Mrs. Douglas would have endeavoured to open the eyes of [the aunts'] understandings on what appeared to be the folly and narrow-mindedness of their ways; but she refrained from the attempt, not from want of benevolent exertion, but from an innate conviction that their foibles all originated in what was now incurable, viz. the natural weakness of their minds, together with their ignorance of the world and the illiberality and prejudices of a vulgar education. (50)

In other words, though admitting that the aunts can be unpleasant from time to time, Mrs. Douglas is active in searching for other major reasons than their personalities or

individual idiosyncrasies. Unlike Lady Juliana who treats the Highland castle as an island, the sister-in-law sees it as in relation to the world outside, i.e. larger Scottish cities or the Kingdom as a whole.

Of equal importance is Ferrier's immediate move here to resort to "education" as an explanation for the old ladies' behaviors. In this way, education and nationalism are closely intertwined with each other from the beginning of the novel. The Scottish writer favors both symbolic and straightforward ways of instructing her readers, helping them see how different upbringings influence the way the first generation of female characters treat another national culture within the British Kingdom. The first meeting between the sisters-in-law provides a handy example. After the dinner, Lady Juliana entertains her husband and the family with "a verse of the beautiful little Venetian air" (27). Upon her urging, Mrs. Douglas also comes up with a "Highland ditty," but considering how her English accent may do injustice to the song, she compromises by performing the ditty in translation, using her own English language (28). Her solution proves even more considerate, when set against Lady Juliana's reactions to Scots national music. Not only does the lady show no appreciation for the Highland ditty, she almost interrupts the final stanza with a rude question about whether there is any harp in the castle; moreover, later in the evening, when Henry's sisters and father become eager to teach her some Scottish dance steps, she embarrasses the group by appearing frightened by the sounds from the bagpipe (32-33). The symbolic touch on nationalistic ideas works when Coil, the local piper who is dressed in "the native garb" for the occasion (33), looks confounded by the English lady's shrieks, and when old Laird Douglas announces that his new daughter-in-law is "no wife for a Heelandman" (34).

Through this episode, Ferrier manages to better define the kind of "education" needed to ameliorate the tension between nations inside the British Kingdom. Lady Juliana's capability of "warbling" *La Biondina in Gondoletta* in Italian of course is a sign that she has received fashionable tutoring in exotic tongues and music (27), but such instruction does not implant any respect for a foreign culture like that of the Highlanders. For Ferrier, compared with fever for such modern accomplishments, the ability to feel for others and to actively understand their patriotic feelings is preferable.

To better illustrate how one's upbringings fit into the discussion, one can refer to the detailed descriptions of both women's early education in the novel. It had better be pointed out that the inset tale, entitled "History of Mrs. Douglas," actually is the only part of the novel written by Ferrier's friend Miss Charlotte Clavering. Acknowledging Miss Clavering's sharp acuity as a critic, John A. Doyle cannot but term the tale as "commonplace and dull" when editing Ferrier's memoir and letters (48). Insipid as the tale may be in terms of style, considering how carefully the two women debate the "right" direction for the plot in their letters, one may rely on Ferrier's acquiescence as to its content.

In the "History," the mystery about Mrs. Douglas's pedigrees is for the first time solved. There is obviously suspension working when Lady Juliana detects a difference in the deportment of her sister-in-law from that by the aunts and nieces, and when the aunts complain about Mrs. Douglas having "too many . . . English prejudices" (21). Miss Clavering's explanation is that Alicia Douglas, née Malcolm, is half Scottish and half English by birth. Like the heroine Mary Douglas from the second generation, she was sent to London as a baby and grows up there under the care of her maternal aunt, hence having an English accent. Lady Audley, the aunt, literally incarnates the

frequently seen English prejudices against the northern nation: feeling nothing but "aversion" and "contempt" for Scotland, she especially looks down upon Scots women for their "coarseness" and "vulgarity" (97; 99). According to the co-author, Mrs. Douglas only escapes the fate of becoming as Scotophobic as her aunt is with the help of a governess, who pays great attention to fostering religious feelings in her charge.

Miss Clavering's tale agrees well with the overall message in the passages by Ferrier, covered in the discussion above: a successful and liberal education functions as a force that transcends narrow-minded discordances between persons from different nations. For both writers, it does not even require strict, patriotic feelings to achieve such an understanding across the borderline—in a sense, Alicia Malcolm epitomizes this cool-headed and objective feeling towards one's native as well as exotic cultures. Falling in love with her cousin Edmund Audley, she enrages her aunt and is therefore banished from London, back to Scotland. Though her birth place, the northern nation in her eyes is not ideal: her grandfather Sir Duncan's country seat, for instance, lacks "taste and comfort" in her eyes, yet she enjoys the "picturesque" natural beauty around the house (118). Such ability to treat a new environment and culture in an open-minded and dialectical manner is further shown in her evaluation of the social circles in Edinburgh. Miss Clavering convinces the reader by having young Alicia in exile arrive in the Scottish capital with many misgivings—the young woman presumes that Edinburgh cannot possibly provide as much "varied brilliancy" or "elegant luxury" as the English metropolis does. However, as she dives into the local social circles, she makes surprising discoveries. One almost doubts Doyle's critique of the tale when one encounters the rich passage in the following:

> The circle is so confined that its members are almost universally known to each other; and those various gradations of gentility, from the cit's snug party to the duchess's most crowded assembly, all totally distinct and separate, which are to be met with in London, have no prototype in Edinburgh. There the ranks and fortunes being more on an equality, no one is able greatly to exceed his neighbor in luxury and extravagance. Great magnificence, and the consequent gratification produced by the envy of others being out of the question, the object for which a reunion of individuals was originally invented becomes less of a secondary consideration. Private parties for the actual purpose of society and conversation are frequent, and answer the destined end; and in the societies of professed amusement are to be met the learned, the studious, and the rational; not presented as shows to the company by the host and hostess, but professedly seeking their own gratification. (116)

This modest "apology" for the polite world of Edinburgh functions as a clever satire on London to some extent. Miss Clavering's keyword for this portraiture is "essence," and in her (and in Ferrier's) opinion, interpersonal relationships are left in their most natural state in the Scottish capital, rid of the English traits of snobbery, superficial tastes, as well as dilettantish and condescending interest in knowledge and arts. Miss Clavering's depiction of social life in London may be relied upon, since from Ferrier's exchange of letters with her, one learns that she frequents the English capital. Making fun of the "joy" that overflows the Lady's letters written from London, Ferrier half-jokingly calls "London balls and London beaux" the "*horrors*" (*Memoir and Correspondence* 76; Ferrier's emphasis). Complaining that Miss Clavering talks too

much about "balls . . . dances, and drinking bouts" in the Town, she points out how life in London appears to her as monotonous "at all seasons" (72). Compared with the "Londonized" city that Laura sees in Mary Brunton's *Self-Control*, the Edinburgh here in *Marriage* stands in for a unique national character, recognized by its dignity and reverence for simple virtues.

The "History" thus provides one with a chance to view Mrs. Douglas as a kind of forerunner for the character Lady Juliana: largely an English-raised lady herself, Alicia Malcolm is what Lady Juliana could have been if she were prepared with a more proper and liberal education before entering the northern nation. Like Mary Douglas from the next generation of the two families, Alicia is one of Ferrier's ideal Anglo-Scottish protagonists that "transcend the defects" of both the English and the Scottish cultures, by being a "hybrid product of transcultural marriages" (Kim 186). Unfortunately, the instructions Lady Juliana receives turn out to be the direct opposite. Introducing her background, Ferrier pictures the worst possible version of parental negligence that can happen in a polite English aristocratic family:

> Under the auspices of a fashionable mother and an obsequious governess the froward [*sic*] petulance of childhood, fostered and strengthened by indulgence and submission, had gradually ripened into that selfishness and caprice, which now, in youth, formed the prominent features of her character. The Earl was too much engrossed by affairs of importance to pay much attention to anything so perfectly insignificant as the mind of his daughter. Her *person* he had predetermined should be entirely at his disposal, and therefore contemplated with delight the uncommon beauty which already distinguished it; not with the fond partiality of parental love,

but with the heartless satisfaction of a crafty politician. (6; Ferrier's emphasis)

The merciless definition of the Earl of Courtland here as a calculating "politician" further reveals that Ferrier aims at something more than a conduct book for women. In an earlier passage, the English earl actually justifies this definition by articulating his belief about the purpose for marriage among nobles, i.e. "the aggrandisement [*sic*] of [the] family" as well as "the extending of their political influence" (2). Given the comprehensive nature of the term "aggrandisement," one may deduce that power in politics, rather than wealth, comes first among the earl's goals. However, the way he encourages Juliana to expect "the largest jointure of any woman in England" also betrays the mercenary motives behind the plan (4). Be the goal of her education the fortune in status or in money, neither is to be found in the Highland castle.

Not only does the gap between the two women's upbringings impact their attitudes toward a foreign culture, it also shapes the different ways they adapt to the local social-economic situations in the Scottish Highlands. To add to this, gender starts to figure more obviously in Ferrier's explanation of the crucial role played by land and farming for the Highlanders: she attends to the difficulty both Henry Douglas and his wife Lady Juliana have in carrying on the life-style from the older generation, the son barely able to inherit the sense of duty to his native land, the English daughter-in-law hardly feeling any love for the practice of farming.

Providing a true-to-life picture of contemporary social-economic realities, Ferrier does let Laird Douglas and his elder son manage the land of the family, and the Scottish women characters are depicted as supporters or helpers for their causes. Actually, the father enters the story after being "hastily summoned from his farming

operations" (16), a detail indicating his quotidian dedication to such business. Wendy Craik, who dismisses the hero of *Marriage*, Colonel Lennox, as "pale stuff" when compared with the females, actually holds old Laird Douglas as one of the two memorable male characters beloved for their Scots eccentricity (56). Ferrier's favor for the Laird is clear, since she characterizes him as a complete opposite to the "mere proprietor and collector of rent after the southern fashion," as David Allen chooses to call those Scottish landowners that gradually depart from their traditional roles as a "protector" and "dispenser of hospitality" for their tenants (93). In one episode where Henry Douglas comes across his father in the family dining-parlour, the Scottish laird is described as "carefully perusing" an agriculture-related pamphlet, with special instructions for the down-to-earth practice of building a "midden" (38). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a midden is the northern way of saying "a dunghill" or "a dung heap." The scene skillfully echoes a counterpart from Jane Austen's *Emma*, a novel beloved by Ferrier for its realism if not for its plotline (*Memoir and Correspondence* 128). In *Emma*, Mr. Knightley is also portrayed as keeping track of the most up-to-date developments in the field of agriculture and farming. If Austen adds such details mainly to render him an exception in or even a departure from the stereotype of average English landowner character in fiction, who usually shows no interest in what their tenants are doing, Ferrier's portraiture of Laird Douglas by contrast intends to shed some light on the long tradition of loving and relying on the land in the Highlands. Her half-joking yet ironic comment, that the definition of "midden" is not fit for the "refined feelings of [her] southern readers" (38), indicates both her knowledge of how farming is neglected and despised by the English gentry class, as well as her pride for the opposite situation among the men in Scotland.

For Ferrier, a potential crisis impinging on this traditional way of living lies in its successful continuation. In *Marriage*, this is illustrated by the conflicts between Laird Douglas and Henry, a most traditional father and a highly foreign (here, English)-tainted son. The two generations' reactions diverge when a nearby farm becomes available after its owner, a neighbor, passes away. Understanding his younger son's needs for money, the Laird quickly devises a plan for him to take over the farm, with its "three-thousand and seventy-five acres of . . . good sheepwalk," and offers to sponsor him and Juliana with the necessary "stocking and stedding [usually spelled as "steading," meaning service buildings on a farm in Scottish]" (79-80). However, the son first greets the idea with "a smile of derision" (79) without ever having treated the idea of owning a farm back home in the Highlands as a possible choice for his future. His want of passion for agriculture and farming proves damaging when coupled with his total lack of knowledge about such operations. When the father sends for the son to talk about future plans for the farm, he encourages the young man to guess the possible yield from one year's hard work on it. Used to the luxurious lifestyle and consumerism in London, Henry enrages the Laird with an improbable guess of "seven or eight hundred a year," while the optimistic father is aiming at only "twa hunder and odd pounds yearly" at the most (89). In a sense, the disagreement between the father and the son originates with Henry's choice as a second son to serve as aid-de-camp for an English aristocrat, thus cutting himself off from the chances of learning more about his forefathers' lifestyles, an education fulfilled not at universities, but literally in the field.

The English addition to the family at Glenfern, Lady Juliana, further complicates this "inheriting" crisis because of her nationality as well as her gender.

When Henry attempts to break to her the news about the available farm, Juliana, sensing some benefits on the way, predicts that it must be "a great, great quantity of money" that comes from her father-in-law (83); realizing that the gift is somehow different, the lady immediately proposes to get rid of the farm by selling it. What thrives as actual land in the eyes of the Highlanders is termed as "estate" by the Londoner (85), which fact shows how she has internalized the concept of transaction. Preferring ready money, the symbol of exchange value, over any concrete production from the farm, she simply accelerates the process of Henry losing touch with the roots of his culture. Moreover, by the standards of the Highlanders, Lady Juliana also fails to fulfil the role of a successful wife, or of the woman of the household. During the row about the farm, when Henry tries to use Juliana's refined education as an excuse to turn down the offer, Laird Douglas comes up with the following impromptu discourse about what he deems to be the proper schooling for females:

> Edicaton! what has her edication been, to mak' her different frae other women? If a woman can nurse her bairns, mak' their claes, and manage her hoose, what mair need she do? If she can play a tune on the spinet, and dance a reel, and play a rubber at whist—nae doot these are accomplishments, but they're soon learnt. Edication! pooh!—I'll be bound Leddy Jully Anie wull mak'as gude a figure by-and-by as the best edicated woman in the country. (90-91)

The Laird's views as to women are without doubt rendered highly problematic here, especially when one considers how much dignity Ferrier holds as a woman writer. It is a famous anecdote that she broke the secret of her authorship for *Marriage* to her father only after he had expressed admiration for the book ("Susan Ferrier," *Orlando*).

Nevertheless, the Laird does touch upon the significant issue of division of labor for men and women in the Highlands through this flawed observation. As farming is education in the field for Highland young men like Henry, managing the household is the necessary skill to be learned by their wives.

Both types of practical education systems converge in the visit the young couple pay to the Lochmarlie Cottage, i.e. the home of Henry's brother Archibald Douglas and Mrs. Douglas. The trip was designed as an expedient to cool down the heated conflict over the fate of the available farm between the old Laird and the couple, and it turns out to be a learning experience, at least for the husband. Thrilled at the natural beauty of the lake and surrounding woods near the cottage, he finds himself inspired with "more complacency" about the prospects of living as a Highland farmer (127). The elder brother, who is at the time "following the primitive occupation of the plough," with "his fine face glowing with health" and "lighted up with good humour and happiness," contributes to his positive imagination of this lifestyle (Ibid.). First-time readers may even venture to predict Henry's reconciliation with his father's plan from this point on, yet Ferrier clearly does not agree: it is noticeable how Henry delights more in the aesthetic rather than practical aspects of life in the Highlands—what attracts him about ploughing is not the action itself, but the masculine appearances of the farmer. His admiration for the Highland landscape is appealing, yet it derives more from a hedonist willingness to employ natural beauty for personal enjoyment, rather than a well-thought plan to engage nature for long-term projects or benefits.

A detail foreshadows the above-mentioned complication about Henry: on their way to the Cottage, the couple and their sister Miss Becky Douglas come across the lake with a "rushing" waterfall pouring into it (123). The young man is able to feel the

blessings in the "scene of unsophisticated Nature," yet a smiling Ferrier looms large when she points out in a slightly ironic tone that Henry "[concludes] his panegyrics by wondering his brother did not keep a cutter, and resolving to pass a night on board one of the herring boats, that he might eat the fish in perfection" (124). The bathos is manifest in the transition from his almost transcendent feelings for nature to the light, personal wish on the other end. Though a native Highlander, Henry behaves in this episode as if he is a first-time visitor and thus total outsider—he is there to be amazed by the sights, but he is barely one with them. The Highland lake and waterfall are no more than elements in a painting for him, and this stance forms an interesting comparison with that by Mrs. Douglas, who explains at length how the natural environments around the cottage actually have undergone a kind of "improvement" project. Recalling the original looks of the village as "nothing but wood and briers and brambles beyond it" and thus "a . . . melancholy scene of rank luxuriance," she describes in detail how she and her husband instructed local boys to shape the place into what it looks like nowadays (127-128). The realities of life in the Highlands, therefore, require much more human intervention and planning than Henry Douglas is prepared for. On the other hand, Lady Juliana's refusal to perform any managing duties literally puts a stop to any burgeoning changes on Henry's part.

Having thus set up the contrast between the women of the first generation in the families, Ferrier switches to the second generation without any hesitation. If the cold, selfish Adelaide takes on the moral lessons to be taught by *Marriage*, the travelling and learning Mary then continues this debate about education and its impact on one's nationalistic feelings.

In the latter twin's case, one sees a continuing struggle between the educational regimen by her aunt Mrs. Douglas and that by her spinster grandaunts. The former, as is clear from the discussions above, is designed from Mrs. Douglas's personal experience with and evaluation of both the English metropolis London and the Scottish capital. Similarly concentrating on religious teachings for the girl, the aunt attends to it that Mary practices the Christian spirit she learns about by "administering in some shape or other to the wants and misfortunes" of the poor in the Highlands (209). This strategy, however, elicits objections from the grandaunts, who seem to be religious and charitable characters. The narrator draws a vivid picture of the old ladies' ideal for female education, limiting their religious passion to church-going and sermon-reading at home, and their philanthropist endeavors to "[lecturing] the poor" following the example of the local grand madam, Lady Maclaughlan (210). In an ironic tone, the narrator even denies the nieces of these women the chance of accomplishing such religious and philanthropist duties. For these pupils that are still learning from their aunts, and the prospects of the so-called "education" lie in sewing "white-work," mastering bad grammar, and topping their accomplishments off by passing another two years at "a provincial boarding-school" (210-211). Accounting for the old women's distrust of Mrs. Douglas' system, Ferrier gives vent to her own understanding of the drawbacks in the Highland version of schooling for females:

> Mrs. Douglas's method of conveying instruction, it may easily be imagined, did not square with their ideas on that subject. They did nothing themselves without a bustle, and to do a thing quietly was to them the same as not doing it at all—it could not be done, for nobody had ever heard of it. In short, like many other worthy people, their ears were their only organs

> of intelligence. They believed everything they were told; but unless they were told, they believed nothing. (211)

In other words, the major harm of this Highland instruction system is not so much what one learns, but how one learns it. Mrs. Douglas emphasizes on actions, while the grandaunts are more willing to stop short with gestures at kindness; the former always thinks for Mary actively and independently, while the Glenfern women only take in information passively from their social superiors, without ever questioning its verity. The narrow and shallow social network, intertwined with the stale repertoire of customs that no longer fits into their times, forms the prison for the minds of these Highland women. Without first-hand experiences from life outside their small world, they look up to local ladies, repeating or imitating without success their life choices.

Ferrier's portraits of these grand dames almost give one the impression that there exists a kind of matriarchy in the Highlands. When the grandaunts enumerate among themselves Mrs. Douglas's failures to conform with their ideal system, they unanimously lament the fact that Mary is not to wear "the collar" in the family. Straightforwardly calling the collar in question "a galling yoke upon [the Glenfern women's] minds," the narrator explains how this gift comes from a Lady Girnachgowl, "the wisest, virtuousest [*sic*], best of women and grandmothers" (214). Although every single female in the Castle has worn it as a ritual, nobody can tell how it matters. It is clear that the collar is symbol for a burden from the superficial and sometimes superfluous interpersonal relationships in the Highland society.

Though Lady Girnachgowl only figures in the novel as the ghost haunting the collar, Ferrier does provide her readers with another female paragon impacting other women's lives, in the character of Lady Maclaughlan. In her discussion of women's

education in *Marriage*, Victoria Jan Chance relies on the biographical information of Ferrier, and suggests that the woman writer to some extent identifies herself with the Glenfern aunts as well as Lady Maclaughlan. According to Chance, Ferrier feels it is necessary to "preserve the essence of this distinct kind of pioneering and self-sufficient woman" as represented by the Lady (30). Nevertheless, it is hard to view the writer's attitude towards Lady Maclaughlan as so positive. As the wife of the Scottish MP Sir Sampson, the Lady makes her debut during Henry Douglas and Lady Juliana's stay at Glenfern Castle. Depicted as one dressed in a "ridiculous" manner, Mrs. Maclaughlan nevertheless impresses others with her "stern imperious manner" and her readiness to give directions in a condescending way (59). She calls the three spinster grandaunts at Glenfern "girls," and they prove her faithful disciples in at least two aspects, practicing medicine and carrying out charities.

As suggested by Pam Perkins in her interpretation of Brunton and Ferrier, Highland areas are presented by the two women writers not as a "precursor" of modernity, but as a "parallel and alternative" (179). Both above-mentioned fields are important criteria for evaluating the gap between Highland society in *Marriage* and the modernity outside of it. Medicine as a branch of scientific development plays an important role in the Scottish Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. Categorizing the first British editions of Scottish Enlightenment books under different subjects, Richard B. Sher finds that medicine comes only next to history as the second most popular discipline for scholars, covering about 36 percent of the publication of the era (85; 700). However, as a practical field of science, it is also vulnerable to superstitious beliefs and doings by lay people such as Lady Maclaughlan. Mr. Sampson being a longtime invalid, his Lady has the reputation of giving prescriptions like a family

physician for him. The grandaunts admire her talent for "[inventing] . . . many different medicines for Sir Sampson's complaint," and one does get a taste of how the MP relies on her self-made "cough-tincture," though without any obvious effects (40; 61). The quackery in her Ladyship is further revealed when she remains skeptical and refuses to believe that the long barren Mrs. Douglas is actually pregnant. When the future Laird of Glenfern is finally born, the grandaunts, rather than recognizing what a wrong track they have always been following, are more concerned about how to break the news to "a person of Lady Maclaughlan's skill" (217). The habit of trusting one's social superior is so deeply rooted in the old women that they will of their own volition hand it down to the younger generation—when Mary becomes ill as a result of the sudden death of old Laird Douglas, they immediately resort to their patron, recommending Lady Maclaughlan as having "the greatest experience in the diseases of old men . . . and infants" (236). No suspicion or doubt is shown of her.

Compared with medical practice, a cultural experience that is easily handed down with both its reasonable and superstitious parts from generation to generation, local philanthropy has more influences on the formation and maintenance of the community, downplaying the tension between the gentry class and their social inferiors. In *Marriage*, Ferrier expresses her concern as to the drawbacks of this system of elite leadership for charity. The grandaunts, themselves not unfrequently seen making clothes for the poverty-stricken neighbors, object to Mary Douglas's "[wasting] her time and [squandering] her money amongst the poor" when she is so young, and encourages her to spend it instead on purchasing "gowns" and "bonnets" for herself (237). Miss Grizzy, one of the spinster great-aunts and an avid devotee to Lady Maclaughlan, cites her Ladyship's example as her reason:

> [My] dear niece, I'm certain you are far from intending it—I really think it's very disrespectful to Sir Sampson and Lady Maclaughlan, in anybody, and especially such near neighbours, to give more in charity than they do; for you may be sure they give as much as they think proper, and they must be the best judges, and can afford to give what they please; for Sir Sampson could buy and sell all of us a hundred times over if he liked. (Ibid.)

Many socio-economic factors are seen at play within this complicated system of charity: respect for one's social superiors, limitations set to philanthropist deeds with no consideration of the real needs by the poor, submission to the power of riches and estates, and awareness of one's own reliance on the mercy of the wealthy couple… All these concerns in the mindset of the Highland families intervene with altruistic charity and prove to be problematic for the Scottish author.

Moreover, it is noteworthy how the MP and his wife's ownership of multiple estates is emphasized in the passage above. According to Miss Grizzy, besides the couple's seat, Lochmarlie Castle, they have also in their possession "the Birkendale property and the Glenmavis estate" (237). Among others, Rosalind Carr addresses the rising political and social power of Scottish women of the landed gentry after the 1707 Acts of Union. According to Carr, the landed females participate actively in "Jacobite rebellions," "the politics of patronage," and also influence the Highland regiments in the British army (195). Though not exactly an heiress herself, Mrs. Maclaughlan passes for this because of the invalidity of Sir Sampson, and is also seen make suggestions or even interfere with the MP's political decisions from time to time in the novel.[3]

On the other hand, the couple's possession of multiple estates also indicates their making profits from enclosures. Unlike the wool industry thriving in England, its

counterpart in the Highlands is depicted as much more primitive and less beneficial for the lower classes. Investigating the history of the Enclosure movement in the member nations of Great Britain, Michael Turner takes pains to show that the phenomenon of enclosure was carried out in England and in Scotland for very different reasons and ends. He suggests that the Scottish wave rose in the late seventeenth century, and really just "followed the fashion and interest of the wealthier landowners" (29). Ferrier touches upon this issue in a seemingly unwitting manner when, in an earlier passage introducing the three grandaunts, she portrays Miss Jacky Douglas as always lecturing the local poor against "idleness," while at the same time shuns providing any practical advice "in the way of employment" (52). Wool and textile were obviously among the most profitable industries for Scotland, with the production from which "doubled roughly every 25 years between 1750 and 1800" and also "heavily dominated" industry in Scotland (Lenman 6). Investigating the constitution of the labor force engaged in these industries, Rab Houston clarifies that during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, "three or four women and children" participated in "preparing the raw materials" as to each male worker that worked as a weaver (103). Ferrier laments that while the poor are being taught the lessons, "the bread was kept out of their mouths by the incessant carding of wool and knitting of stockings, and spinning, and reeling, and winding, and pirning, that went on amonst the ladies themselves" (52). Indicating how the better-to-do class thus intercepts the poor of available income from the thriving industry, therefore, Ferrier reveals the unreasonable and awkward situations in the Highlands—its development is not yet capitalist, but neither is it exactly feudal. The hierarchy of women "advising" and

"educating" each other functions in the manner of the blind leading the blind, further preventing Scotland from catching up with the modern world outside.

Mrs. Douglas, the incarnation in the novel of a willingness to bridge the Highlands with the rest of world, decides to send Mary to her mother and sister in England not only for a warmer climate, but also out of the concern to balance her education—instead of leaving Mary further in what the aunt terms "mountain solitudes" in the Highlands, she feels the necessity to allow the girl to learn "the ways of the world," too (254). Without any surprise, the grandaunts bring up many objections to the proposal, directed mainly at the supposed moral inferiority of the neighboring nation. By expounding on these women's reliance on their "ears," i.e. hearsay such as there being "many dissipated young men in England," and anxiety about Mary "[bringing] back any extravagant English notions with her" to the Highlands (240), Ferrier shows vividly how vulnerable uncultured and isolated minds are to baseless national prejudices. As long as the family members are confined to the Highland castle, they will naturally keep circulating such stereotyped notions of the English.

Mary's journey to Bath, to which city Lady Juliana has moved from London with her brother Lord Courtland's family for financial reasons, in a sense completes her education and deepens her understanding of her motherland as positioned within the British Kingdom. Hitherto exposed to the two extremes of religious teachings by Mrs. Douglas on the one hand and the whimsical influences by the grandaunts, the girl has no chance to reflect on the Scottish culture and civilization independently. She does entertain some instinctive doubts as to the ways of the grandaunts and their idols the Maclaughlans, but they are superficial critique of their "coarse and vulgar"

manners (258). Going through different regions of Scotland—from her native Highlands, to the Lowlands, and to the capital city Edinburgh—the girl gets to communicate with representative figures of the flaws in her culture, and in this way manages to scrutinize what she has left behind. Mary's (or, one may even venture to say Ferrier's) apology for Scotland continues as a crescendo, until her deliverance by the hero, Colonel Charles Lennox.

Ferrier ritualizes Mary and her uncle Archibald Douglas' removal from the Highlands to the Lowlands as a sort of "*coming out*" (262; Ferrier's emphasis). Curiously, the differences in nature between the picturesque landscape of the former region and the tamer views of the latter are paralleled by a change in local residents' temperaments and personalities. Hospitality seems to gradually disappear as the two enter "the low country," and unlike in the Highlands where people open their doors to welcome such travelers, Mary finds there is simply no hope "to procure rest or shelter" (262). Even if Ferrier does not mean to be especially judgmental to the Lowland style of interpersonal communication, her hints at the imbalance between the region and the Highlands are clear: even within itself, Scotland is experiencing this tension between its more modernized and its less developed areas.

At this point of the story, the writer does send a deus ex machina in the character Bob Gawffaw, an old schoolfellow of Archibald Douglas's. Being hospitality itself, he invites the Douglases to spend the night in his house. The description of the Gawffaw Mansion echoes perfectly multiple passages in Dorothy Wordsworth's *Recollections*, as well as Elizabeth Hamilton's works, mentioned in Ferrier's letters and clearly thought to be highly helpful for home management by her. Not only do the "dirty windows," "ruinous thatched offices," and "broken fences" together contribute

to the "vulgar" appearances of the mansion, they also indicate something about the hostess, Mrs. Gawffaw, finding a counterpart in her "tawdry trumpery style of dress" (263; 265). Archibald Douglas' introduction of the couple to his niece proves to be a thought-provoking portrait of social-economic tensions in the Lowland society:

> Mrs. Gawffaw was the daughter of a trader in some manufacturing town, who had lived in opulence and died insolvent. During his life his daughter had eloped with Bob Gawffaw, then a gay lieutenant in a marching regiment, who had been esteemed a very lucky fellow in getting the pretty Miss Croaker, with the prospect of ten thousand pounds. None thought more highly of her husband's good fortune than the lady herself . . . her fortune never was realized . . . At this time Mr. Gawffaw was a reduced lieutenant, living upon a small paternal property, which he pretended to farm; but the habits of a military life, joined to a naturally social disposition, were rather inimical to the pursuits of agriculture, and most of his time was spent in loitering about . . . either to pick up a guest or procure a dinner. (270)

If Mrs. Douglas ever cares to inform Mary of young Henry Douglas and Lady Juliana' story, the girl would have no difficulty sensing the surprising similarities between the Gawffaws and her parents: both couples choose to elope, both husbands are soldiers, and both wives bad managers of household. If Henry had accepted the offer of the Macglashan farm as old Laird Douglas desires him to do, the couple would have lived in a slipshod manner as the Gawffaws are doing now.

In the passage cited above, it is interesting to note how Ferrier showcases the diversity of life choices available to Scottish Lowlanders in her times. The conflict

between a racier and more chic military lifestyle (different from that by Colonel Lennox, though) and the traditional agricultural one figures in the center, with the rising, manufacturing class looming large in the background. It is hard to tell Ferrier's attitudes towards the three choices, but judging from the story of the Gawffaws, one should be able to say that the traditional way of farming and supporting one's family proves to be more reliable than the other two, more modern choices.

As the last major stop during Mary's journey to Bath, Edinburgh provides the girl with a chance to meditate on the past of Scotland, before she crosses the border into the English watering resort. However, whenever one thinks that the capital is a simple epitome of the nation's history and culture, one is to meet one or two discordant episodes about its current dilemmas. Not only does Ferrier shift back and forth between Scotland's independent royal past and its dedication to the British Kingdom, but she also underlines the tension between the capital city's prosperity and its impacts on individuals living there. Thus she makes clear her concern over the fate of the Scottish nation, faced with both socio-economic developments from inside and military threats from outside the Kingdom.

Echoing Jane Austen's "The History of England," Ferrier allows Mary Douglas to associate the Scottish capital city immediately with the memories of her namesake, Mary Queen of Scots. If hitherto downplayed, the two Marys' connection is highlighted here through the Highland girl's historical imaginations: her sense of vicissitudes rising from the sight of the "rocky battlements" of the "deserted palace," Mary Douglas emphasizes that she is viewing "the same objects" and "[touching] the [same] draperies" as the "hapless" Queen once did (274). As the last Scottish monarch before her son James VI/I combines the reigns of both Scotland and England, the

Queen stands in for the nostalgia for long tradition of the northern nation's independent royal history, before the English power could legally intervene. The epigraph of the chapter shares this nostalgic emotion—it is an excerpt from the opening stanza of Robert Burns's 1786 "Address to Edinburgh," and the "palaces and tow'rs" likewise inspire the Scottish poet to lament for the "legislation's sov'reign pow'rs" that once sat "beneath a monarch's feet" (Ibid.). In later stanzas of the poem, Burns also underscores the sense of loss of a glorious past in that "Scotia's kings of other years . . . Their royal name low in the dust! ("Address to Edinburgh").

However, the sense of longing for legislative and Royal powers, so carefully constructed by the invocation of both Mary Queen of Scots and Burns, is polarized and mitigated by the intriguing passage about the Nelson monument towards the end of the chapter. Started in 1807 and not to be finished until 1815, the monument is initiated by the Edinburgh citizens to memorize Admiral Horatio Lord Nelson, who died successfully defending Great Britain from the French and Spanish navies in the 1805 Battle of Trafalgar, part of the Napoleonic Wars ("About the Nelson Monument"). Helping therefore set the beginning of the plotline of *Marriage* somewhere near the late 1790s, the reference to such a token of Scottish gratitude to an English solider also sheds some light on how Ferrier comprehends the meaning of the Anglo-Scottish Union. Approaching the monument from a highly unique perspective, Ferrier lets the local bailie (counterpart of an English municipal magistrate) Mr. Broadfoot take on the introduction of the landmark:

> "It was erected in honour of Lord Neilson's [*sic*] memory," said he, "and is let aff to a pastrycook and confectioner, where you can always find some trifles to treat the ladies, such as pies and custards, and berries, and these

> sort of things; but we passed an order in the cooncil that there should be naething of a spirituous nature introduced; for if ance spirits got admittance there's no saying what might happen." . . . Mary could not help thinking times were improved, and that it was a better thing to eat tarts in Lord Nelson's Monument than to have been poisoned in Julius Cæsar's (279)

It is noticeable how Mary's thoughts at the end of the chapter, though bearing an ironical flavor, are not targeted at the monument itself. Instead, it is the Scottish mass's abuse of the space that appears to the girl to be inconceivable here. Similarly letting the reasonable Archibald Douglas question the propriety of having "[rest] and refreshment in a monument" (Ibid.), Ferrier in turn indicates a need for more respect to the national hero of Great Britain, who through the Battle of Trafalgar reassures the sovereignty not only of the entire Kingdom, but also of Scotland within it. Seemingly at odds with the above-mentioned allusions to Scottish national figures such as Mary Queen of Scots and Burns, the mentioning of the English Admiral actually works in the same vein of paying homage to national independence and patriotism: it is only that the notion of the "country" is expanded to the Kingdom as whole, as opposed to only the nation of Scotland. The peddlers'' indifference to the hero's endeavors proves to be more problematic for the Highland girl, since it reveals a negligence to national honors as well as duty as a member of the entire Union.

Ferrier's anxiety over the fate of her nation inside the entire Kingdom further shows in her arrangement of two incidents that happen during Mary's stay in the capital city. Curiously, one of Bailie Broadfoot's top recommendations of places of interest for the uncle and the niece is Edinburgh's Bridewell, a prison designed by the

Scottish architect Robert Adam and newly built in 1791, which models on Jeremy Bentham's concept of the "panopticon" (Tait "Public Architecture"). Michel Foucault summarizes that the power of the panopticon lies in "visibility," and that by reversing the traditional dungeons' functions to "deprive of light" and "to hide," the human society takes pleasure in "surveillance" (200; 217). As a project to cater to the increasing number of criminals in the years following the outburst of the French Revolution, the Bridewell prison in a sense reflects the unrest in the Scottish capital at the time the story takes place. The bailie's pride and delight in the building then are suspicious and even malignant. Joseph Kestner includes Ferrier into his list of writers of Romantic regional novels that use "defamiliarization" as their technique when imagining England and its social conditions, and here in the example of the Bridewell Prison, one may venture to say that she applies the same strategy to her portrayal of Edinburgh, too.

To add to the bailie's tricky choice, Mary happens to find an acquaintance recognizing her and calling her name from among the prisoners detained inside the cells. The "son of one of the tenants of Glenfern," the young man Duncan M'Free is said to have come out from the Highlands to "push his fortune as a pedlar [*sic*]" in the capital, and to have fallen under the "temptations of the low country" (278). Young Duncan thus is a member of the Scottish urbanization process—though the nation is yet far from a completely urban society, the growing rate of its urban population turned out to be the fastest throughout Europe at the end of the eighteenth century (Whyte 193). Christopher A. Whatley addresses this "pattern" of moving "after work" in the industrialization of the Scottish society, adding to the list of temptations for country dwellers opportunities "for consumption" and "carnal joys" (278), and this fits

in perfectly with Ferrier's irony in the passage. The surname of the young man jars with his complaint about there being "nae freedom" in the nation, and the fact that he used to be "a very honest lad in the Highlands" further complicates the situation (Ibid.). With this seemingly uneventful happening, Ferrier again asks the question of how to maintain and keep alive the good, old virtues of the Scottish nation across all its regions and across different generations.[4]

As opposed to the lost, younger generation represented by M'Free, the equally disoriented, elder generation of the Scottish is incarnated in the character of Mrs. Violet Macshake, the maternal grandaunt of Archibald Douglas who also lives in Edinburgh. Introduced as the "last remaining branch of the noble race of Girnachgowl" (280), i.e. the family that bestowed the famous collar to the Glenfern women in the past, she proves to be an even more complex creation of Ferrier's than Lady Maclaughlan. Pam Perkins views her as a piece of evidence that Susan Ferrier makes active use of the social stereotype in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of Scottish women being "rougher in manner and even more uncouth in appearance than their English counterparts" (32). Going on to be ninety-six years old, Mrs. Macshake is a witness to the old virtues that are gradually disappearing from the Scottish society, and is quick to observe what generally goes wrong in the new era. However, the lady's knowledge does not compensate for her ill-pleasing manners, her sharp attitudes towards other people, and her animosity towards everything that she does not understand. Even Archibald Douglas' description of her as both "ill-tempered" and "good-hearted" verges on being euphemism, when one considers how perfectly she stands in for the entire Scottish society, torn between many practical virtues and a sometimes provincial mindset.

Ferrier's mixed feelings towards such a representative of her culture are best illustrated in the old lady's theory of social "improvements" and her application of it to the change of "manners" inside Scottish households. When Mary ventures to equate "changes" with "improvements" during the course of the conversation, Mrs. Macshake denounces such a naïve way of thinking by recalling the good, old days. Her compliant against the contemporary ways of the world may seem shallow and simplistic at first sight: describing Edinburgh outside her window as a "glowrin' new toon [*sic*]," she misses the time when she could still see cows being milked, children running about, and young women doing laundry using their "tubs" (284); these "bonny green" memories are replaced nowadays with nothing "but stane an' lime, an' stoor an' dirt, an' idle cheels, an' dinket-oot madams prancin'" (Ibid.). However, fundamental problems can be detected from this contrast between the two eras. The stone and lime indicate isolation from Nature, while the individuals are less occupied with down-to-earth chores than with frequenting the stores, thus rendering the society more and more reliant on commercialism and consumerism. The old lady's aversion to these trends are also seen in her critique of the "prevailing manners" of the day. Literally denying the existence of any polite manners in Scottish society any more, she compares people's "invasion" into others' houses to wild get-togethers at a "chynge-hoose" (284), i.e. an alehouse in the Scottish language. Using her own grandfather's household as an example, she deplores that the days when "[paurents] war pauretns" were gone (285). Although her portrait of the grandfather's authority over his "wife an' servants, reteeners an' childer" sounds overly patriarchal nowadays (Ibid.), one should realize that her emphasis lies on the respect for the elder generation—her points very

likely will stay the same if the head of the family happened to be a Lady instead of a Laird.

Reasonable and deep as some of her thoughts may be, Mrs. Macshake has another side that lessens the readers' opinion of her: her own manners are bitter and biting, and in her it is hard to draw a line between the unwitting lack of sympathy and the purposeful display of malice. Learning about why the uncle and the niece are heading for England, she taunts Mary with "a sardonic smile" instead of showing any concern for her health (282); not heeding others' feelings, she does not hesitate to joke repeatedly about the belated birth of Archibald Douglas's son by Mrs. Douglas, and old Laird Douglas's death at the christening of the baby (283; 287). Having the uncle and the niece discuss and compare her with Mrs. Gawffaw after they leave the old Lady's company, Ferrier tries accounting for this complicated character. According to the uncle, the two ladies are both "specimens of Scotchwomen":

> The former, indeed, is rather a sort of weed that infests every soil; the latter, to be sure, is an indigenous plant. I question if she would have arrived at such perfection in a more cultivated field or genial clime. She was born at a time when Scotland was very different from what it is now. Female education was little attended to, even in families of the highest rank; consequently, the ladies of those days possess a *raciness* in their manners and ideas that we should vainly seek for in this age of cultivation and refinement. Had your time permitted, you could have seen much good society here; superior, perhaps, to what is to be found anywhere else, as far as mental cultivation is concerned. (291-292; Ferrier's emphasis)

This explanation serves both as an apology and accusation, with its clear emphasis on the importance of education for the females. Donald J. Withrington traces the development of the Scottish education system throughout the eighteenth century, with major cities such as Edinburgh and Glasgow as his focuses, but women do not seem to figure significantly in any part of the framework. With Mrs. Macshake going on 96 years old and Waterloo on its way in the time framework of the novel, the lady should have been born right before the Scottish revolt in 1715 occurred. Although there is no direct evidence showing that the suppressions from London had any direct impacts on women's education in Scotland immediately following the Rebellion, it is known that besides building the physical barracks to "pacify" the Highlands, the government did purge Scottish universities of academics and professors sympathetic to Episcopalian beliefs (Roberts 57), thus shaking that nature's education system to some extent. Actually any Scottish gentry households that attempted at a decent education of the young females inside the families before 1770s are considered "part of an elite (though expanding) minority" (Moore 97). Readers are encouraged to explore whether the political pressures have to do with this unnamed reason for the difference between the society back then, and the much "Britain-ized" one Mary lives in more than one hundred years after the Acts of Union were signed.

Having thus exposed herself to these various "types" of her fellow countrymen in the Highlands, Lowlands, and in Edinburgh, Mary is more prepared to deal with the social prejudices against her homeland on the parts of the English, and to look them in the face. Dealing with their highly stereotyping notions with a critical confidence, she accomplishes a psychological redemption of her national culture by identifying with and espousing Colonel Lennox's patriotism. It is the Scottish contribution to Britain's

military causes that justifies its valid status inside the Union, and also makes the leeway for the nation to catch up with England in the socio-economic and cultural aspects.

Mary's reactions to the prevailing images of Scotland in the English society are parallel to those of her grandaunts from Glenfern, headed by Miss Grizzy who later accompanies the Maclaughlans to Bath. This further pushes the readers to realize how the two generations of females, growing up under different education systems, represent their own nation to the outside world. Interestingly, Ferrier does not portray her English character as Miss Clavering's famous creation, i.e. the downright Scotto-phobic aunt of Mrs. Douglas's as seen in the "History." By contrast, she introduces them as half-indifferent to and half-interested in only certain aspects of Scottish culture—they do not even bother to be hypocritical, and this harmless attitude actually helps further marginalize and objectify the northern member nation of their Kingdom.

Dr. Redgill and Mrs. Fox epitomize this attitude from different areas of English society. The former, termed as "a sort of medical aid-de-camp" to Lady Juliana's brother Lord Courtland (309), figures in the story as a gourmand who is a parasite at his patrons' home. Sarah Moss analyzes his gluttony in great depth in her discussion of eating as connected with gender in Ferrier's novels, and proposes that devouring is the doctor's strategy against losing control when depending on Lord Courtland, as opposed to either Mary or Lady Emily, who have to rely on men for their lives (32). Besides lecturing on how to dress a turtle or a beef-steak, however, the medical professional does have his own theory about Scotland. Having "studied physic in Edinburgh," the doctor flatters Mary both by recalling the beautiful landscape of the Highlands, and by alluding to the achievements by her compatriots in the field of

science during the Scottish Enlightenment. His praise, nevertheless, sounds a little questionable when he goes on to define the Scottish as "a very searching, shrewd people" that "are not apt to let anything escape them" (308-310). Mary's mixed reception of the doctor—she is torn between giving him credit for appreciating the Highland beauty and censuring him for his appetite—is justified when in the same chapter, one sees how he caters to Lady Juliana by calling the Scottish a "dirty and greedy" people and the country "a perfect mass of rubbish" (312). In other words, he has no fixed principle when evaluating the northern nation, but only uses it as tool to ease his table-talk and please his patrons.

Mrs. Fox only outstrips Dr. Redgill in manipulating her audience for her own benefit. A professed philanthropist in Bath, she prospers by persuading her guests to pay for various trinkets in the name of donating to the poor, and even extends her influence to poor Miss Grizzy Douglas on her visit to the English city. What is outrageous is that she targets purposely at the Scottish identity of the spinster aunt—displaying some shirt-buttons made by one of her protégées, she "unwittingly" mentions that the buttons available in Scotland "are made from old materials." Miss Grizzy, caught in the dilemma between defending the "honour of her country" from such unknown accusation and purchasing the buttons to show that Scottish women also feel for the poor, finally submits when the shrewd English lady begins to tell how a Miss Grant takes thirty-six dozen of such buttons to Scotland (495). Mrs. Fox's snare on the old aunt's patriotic emotions escalates into the following speech:

> It is my specimens of Scotch pebbles; and I owe them solely to the generosity and good-will of my Scotch friends. I assure you that is a proud reflection to me. I am a perfect enthusiast in Scotch pebbles, and I may say,

> in Scotch people. In fact, I am an enthusiast in whatever I am interested in; and at present, I must own, my heart is set upon making a complete collection of Scotch pebbles. (496)

The alliteration of "pebbles" with "people" undoubtedly would have sounded jarring to Ferrier's fellow countrymen. It is as if for the English lady, individuals from the northern nation are as good as stones, as long as they donate money. That Miss Grizzy turns in the "very fine pebble brooch" she borrowed from Miss Nicky in exchange of some "painted thread-papers" shows how the trick does work (497, 499), aimed at two outstanding Scottish virtues, the pride in their nation and the willingness to trust others.[5]

Mary, though indignant and sees clearly how Mrs. Fox's deeds verge on being "civilized robbery," can only grieve for the misused aunts without the ability to actively change the situations. Such power is gained only after she identifies herself with the male protagonist of the novel, Colonel Lennox.

In spite of Lady Juliana's complaint about "Lennox" being a Scottish name (466), Ferrier actually endears the hero to her English readers by making him a half-English and half-Scottish character. His father General Lennox being a "true Scot to the very tip of his tongue," his mother turns out to be "the last of some ancient stock," with its seat Rose Hall being "perfectly English," incarnating the "antiquity" and "respectability" that have remained the same as "a hundred years before" (348-349). Unlike the soldiers one has encountered in the first half of the story, such as the loitering Mr. Gawffaw and Henry Douglas, who is removed to British India in the middle of the novel and left to die there, Charles Lennox is portrayed as constantly engaged in military actions against foreign (mainly French) threats, and Mary's

feelings for him are closely intertwined with his trajectory in the army. Susan Ferrier's personal loss of several brothers in the British army may have accounted for her doting on this character ("Susan Ferrier," *Orlando*). The first time Mary pays her visit to Mrs. Lennox at Rose Hall, she learns from the mother that the son has "lately been promoted to the command of a Highland regiment" (352), which proves that although of Anglo-Scottish parentage like Mary, he is in spirit "as brave as a real Highlander" (348); the girl's admiration for him increases when Colonel Lennox is seen to "[waver] not an instant in his resolution" when "summoned to repair to headquarters with all possible expedition," although Mrs. Lennox is in a critical situation (525); the young people have their engagement along with Lennox's "engagement with the enemy" (534), and Mary personally enjoys "the pinnacle of happiness" when he returns with "additional renown" from the Battle of Waterloo, a battle that in Ferrier's words "decided the fate of Europe" (585). The parallel between private life and the Kingdom's fate is obvious through all these stages. Only such national pride can lead the woman to return to the Highlands as she does towards the end of the novel, in total reconciliation with her otherwise imperfect national culture.

Constructing multiple layers of comparisons and contrasts both within and across different generations of an English family and a Scottish one united by marriage, Susan Ferrier accomplishes a self-evaluation of Scotland as situated inside the British Kingdom. Acknowledging the value of certain traditions such as attachment to the land, respect for one's elders, preference for simplicity over superfluities in interpersonal communications, etc., she at the same time anatomizes her homeland and enumerates its weakness in comparison with the world outside. Concentrating on important role played by Scottish women respectively in the Highland, Lowland, and

Edinburgh societies, Ferrier calls on her readers to reflect on the failure of women's education and its aftermath: in her opinion, the flaws in Scottish culture—deep-rooted superstitions, blind submission to social superiors, lack of sympathy for other people, negligence of social duties, etc.—can all be largely or partly attributed to the ignorance of the female half of nation. The Anglo-Scottish Union and the ensuing British identity for every individual inside the Kingdom serve less as an "end" for Ferrier, but as a means by which her compatriots can work towards a better Scotland. This ideal plan is also influenced by her conservative outlook on gender differences, in that her female protagonist can only experience this spiritual redemption of her homeland by identifying with her male counterpart's involvement in the hyper-masculine, patriotic cause of Britain. Of the five authors discussed in this dissertation, Ferrier stands out in her utilitarian attitudes toward national prejudices prevailing among the member nations inside the Kingdom. Unlike the three English women authors we have looked at who want to downplay these prejudices, or Mary Brunton who criticizes them, Ferrier actively makes use of parts of such notions to incite her fellow countrymen into developing Scotland into a more modern nation.

Notes

1. For further discussion of Ferrier's literary allusions in her works, see Leah Price's article titled "The Poetics of Pedantry from Thomas Bowdler to Susan Ferrier." Though not focusing on gender roles in the novels, Price does think Ferrier's insistence on excessive references to literature a move to "situate [her readers] within an emerging British public" (75).

2. In her biography for Susan Ferrier, Mary Cullinan does bring up the topic of gender differences in the novel *Marriage*, comparing Ferrier's male characters and the female ones. Cullinan also feels that the "men in this novel are in a somewhat better position than the women" (59), but she treats this singularity within the framework of the "marriage" motif of the novel, without extending to include a discussion of its link to nationalism or Britishness.

3. For an example of Lady Maclaughlan's influences on Sir Sampson's political life, see Miss Grizzy's letter in Chapter 22 about the couple's different opinions about the contents of the husband's next speech to be delivered in the Parliament.

4. It is interesting to notice that Whyte is very cautious when evaluating the changes brought by the urbanization process of Scotland. Near the end of his chapter, he suggests that further research should be done as to the exact nature of such changes (193). Also, note that according to Whyte, the service sector, in which young Duncan can be categorized, actually is not among the occupations that had obvious increases in the labor force during the course of urbanization in Edinburgh (191).

5. Professor Devoney Looser at Arizona State University kindly suggests the possibility that Mrs. Fox's "scotch pebbles" may also work as a satire on the Duchess of Portland's collection of shells. For more information as to the Duchess's collection and

its contribution to the studies in natural history, see Beth Fowkes Tobin's book *The Duchess's Shells: Natural History Collecting in the Age of Cook's Voyages*.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This project can be described as an initial survey of the representations of the Anglo-Scottish Union a century after its birth in the literary works by five out of many British women writers. Lacking the power to voice their opinions in polemical pamphlets or Parliament speeches as their male contemporaries did, these authors resort to less controversial genres such as novels and travel literature instead. Comparing their writings both inside the group and with men's publications in the era leads to the following conclusions:

First, though focusing on similar topics such as the vitality of the Union and the validity of British national identity, women writers tend to ignore many aspects of the issues favored by male authors. For example, trades, commerce, or macro economy in general fails to figure in the selected works. Unlike Defoe, Fletcher, or Dr. Johnson, who either enumerate the potential profitable industries for Scotland or see the irony of English cities trying to outstrip each other in trades, the women writers restrain from making any economy-related proposals at the national level. The closest attempt is when Dorothy Wordsworth touches upon coal-carts and mills in her *Recollections*, and she cuts it short by treating them strictly as objects incongruous with the natural environment of the Scottish towns. The national church is another issue that gets downplayed in the texts examined for the dissertation. This should not be mistaken with religious elements or feelings—both Austen and Cooke remind their readers that their Scottish characters also are suspicious of the continental and Irish Catholics, and piety dominates Brunton's portrayal of Miss Mortimer as well as Ferrier's of Mrs. Douglas. Instead, it is the lack of interest in the combination of the church and the

state power that distinguishes these works from the countless discussions by men, regarding the continuation of the Presbyterian authority in Scotland as well as the prevention of the largely Catholic restoration to England.

This latter point allows room for further research and investigation. If the absence of macro-economic analyses is attributable to women's limited life spheres in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, how should one account for their reservations when it comes to promoting the national churches, especially when three out of the five authors are either daughter or wife to a clergyman?

Second, the women writers develop their own concerns when participating in the national conversation on the Anglo-Scottish Union and its influences. These sometimes overlap with motifs of men's writings, but are approached from rather different perspectives. As is shown in the chapters of the dissertation, the female authors do attend to issues such as socio-economy, sense of (lack of) historical identification, and national prejudices, but all these are presented at a quotidian level. In other words, instead of drafting discourses on any of these topics as many male writers might do, women tend to particularize the effects of these social trends, and capture their impact on individuals in their familiar circles. The many migrating female characters in Austen's *Juvenilia* stories and Ferrier's *Marriage* illustrate women's awareness of the gradation of everyday expenses inside the Union, and the "social gaucheries" by the Highlanders as emphasized by Wordsworth's and Brunton's narrators reveal their doubt of the government's success in bridging the respective histories of England and Scotland. Cooke's *Battleridge* literally deconstructs all the social, national, and gender-related prejudices, with the noteworthy exceptions of the Norman (French) and Irish stereotypes—in turn, her exemption of her Scottish

characters from such stereotypes also justifies her figuring among the other writers chosen for this project.

Of all the motifs unique to women writers regarding the Anglo-Scottish Union, perhaps the focus on their own gender stands out the most. Change of women's "value" in the marriage market after the Union ("Lesley Castle"), their power of linking the two member nations ("Scotia" in *Battleridge*), their lack of equal chances as men do throughout the Kingdom (*Recollections*), their sacrifice and scapegoating because of wars (*Discipline*), and their want of a broader horizon (*Marriage*)... these are not exactly excluded from male authors' writings, but they are by no means important in their visions of and reflections on the 1707 Union.

Last, as there were many disagreements between the two countries' commissioners when they compiled the Treaty of the Union, there is a clear gap between the English women writers and their Scots countrywomen when it comes to interpreting the meaning of the Union, its aftermath, and its future. Judging from the five authors examined for this project, the three English women are clearly more positive about a union with the northern country, and their approval mainly originates with the need for national security against the threats from the Continent. This more or less is comparable to the English supporters for the Union at the dawn of the eighteenth century, who became proponents out of their consideration for England's safety needs in the north. Nonetheless, the two generations do differ: the misgivings these women writers have are mainly about the possibility of achieving a national identity for the entire Kingdom effectively. Their gesture towards the Scots is largely more understanding, sympathizing, and less pragmatic compared with the English designers of the Union at the beginning of the century.

The Scottish women writers, in this project represented by Brunton and Ferrier, again have a totally different take on the value of the Union. Instead of prioritizing the national security of Britain, they are utilitarian in their attitude towards the project, if not straightforwardly opposing it. Of course, like the Scottish pro-Unionists and anti-Unionists in the great debates in the 1700s, these two authors' stances are at odds with each other in minute aspects. Brunton shoots down the common military cause by the Anglo-Scottish armies in her *Discipline*, which is praised by all the other four women writers; Ferrier does express a wish for her country to catch up with England and become more modern, but there is at the same time an unquestionable nostalgia for Scottish etiquette and social order in her tone.

The key to better understand the Scots writers lies in clarifying their imagination of the Scottish nation, i.e. whether they have clearly understood what Scotland was like in their times. This dissertation has followed the issue as long as Brunton and Ferrier's distinguishing the Lowlands from the Highlands, as well as their depiction of Edinburgh at the turn of the century as a unique cultural symbol. However, as to Scottish national imagination, there should be a lot of room for further research in future.

Due to the limitation of both time for writing and the length of the dissertation, the project at its current stage only addresses five women writers in detail, and only part of their writings at that. Beside the above-mentioned two specific questions, i.e. women writers' lack of interest in the national churches within the Union and the Scots writers' concept of the Scottish nation, there are multiple ways to continue the research in different directions.

One choice is to include more women writers and thus have a larger sample of literary feedback to the Anglo-Scottish Union in the period in question. An interesting text for perusal, for instance, is Frances Burney's *Evelina or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* (1778). As a subplot of the novel, Burney's characterization of Macartney and plan of his story are as thought provoking as any of the texts included in the dissertation. Macartney makes his debut as an impoverished Scottish poet buried in heavy debt, and Evelina encounters him as sitting and brooding away in his creditor's shop. The girl helps him repay the money, and towards the end of the novel readers find out that he is actually Evelina's half-brother. With the dissolution of his Scots identity ends the insults and hostility originally directed at him by the other English characters. It is hard to believe that Burney picks the Scottish persona for Macartney randomly, and her extent of knowledge concerning the Anglo-Scottish issue is rendered further curious when she makes the youth confess to Evelina about his wish to commit armed robbery, a crime usually connected with Scottish barbarism, incarnated in the fifteenth and sixteenth myth of Sawney Bean.

Another potential of the project is to expand its scope by taking in more genres of literature. Right now with the exception of Chapter Three, the dissertation examines only fictional works, but there are more genres of writings by both English and Scottish women writers that will enrich the discussion. For instance, Catharine Macaulay's questioning of the British Parliament in her *An Address to the People of England, Scotland and Ireland on the Present Important Crisis of Affairs* (1775); the pedagogical writings and essays on education by Elizabeth Hamilton, whose tale *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808) fits into this project equally well; the plays by Joanna Baillie, with a focus on the Scottish-themed works such as *Family Legend* (1810), etc. It

should be pointed out that this potential does not stop with adding more women writers to the list—in the chapters, fiction by Sir Walter Scott and travelogue by Dr. Johnson are already employed for comparisons. To make the project more comprehensive, one may also consider allowing other relevant works by men into the conversation, such as the poems by Robert Burns and James Macpherson, and the history of the Forty-Five by Henry Fielding.

A last suggestion is that researchers extend the project beyond the early nineteenth century. For instance, while the first wave of Scottish emigration happened right before the decades covered by the dissertation, the second occurred during the Victorian era. What were the literary world's reactions then? How did the Victorian writers look at the 1707 Union and its aftermath? These can no doubt give rise to more interesting ideas for research on nationalisms inside the British Isles, women's participation in relevant debates, and the different techniques preferred by women and male authors, as well as by English and Scottish authors.

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