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Dissolving the Dream of Empire: Fratriotism, Boswell, Byron and Moore

Murray Pittock

Both the Scots and the Irish have a long diasporic tradition as soldiers of fortune, Jacobites, servants of empire, economic and forced migrants, merchants and traders. Despite the absence of a home state of their own in the period before 1918 (after which, of course, the Irish position altered), both maintained a distinctive sense of a Scottish or Irish self abroad, and particular ways of performing and promoting the community of such selfhood. Major scholarly attention is now being paid to the distinctiveness of the Scots and Irish in the British Empire by Scottish and Irish (on the whole not British) historians, in books such as Michael Fry's *The Scottish Empire* (2001), Stephen Howe's *Ireland and Empire* (2002), Kevin Kenny's *Ireland and the British Empire* (2004), and Tom Devine's *Scotland's Empire* (2003), though these studies focus largely on involvement and participation in empire rather than its role in beliefs and attitudes. The latter is, by contrast, the subject of this essay. What was the state of mind in which a separate self was maintained without being absorbed by the international Britishness of empire? How was Scottishness or Irishness performed when its existence was a mere matter of geographical locality, not nationality, when England expected armed forces who were up to 50% Irish and well over 50% Irish and Scottish combined,[1] to respond with common purpose to the military, civil and public service commands of a state which excluded them in most cases from its very name (usually 'England'), while relying on their joint sacrifices to maintain its status and expand its power? Understanding of the personalities and functionality of the Irish and Scottish diasporas in the early modern period has (particularly in the Irish case) a scholarly history behind it, and with regard to Scotland new work is emerging rapidly: but more could often be said about mentalities, and the culture of diasporic groups, or those who served Empire's needs abroad.

This is of course a huge field of enquiry, and one which, in the Irish case in particular, is acknowledged although less often explored in detail: indeed, it has at times become almost a commonplace. As Terry Eagleton remarks:

[1] Fintan Cullen, 'Union and display in nineteenth-century Ireland'in Dana Arnold (ed.), *Cultural Identities and the aesthetics of Britishness* (Manchester, 2004), 111–33 (117–18).

> If the pre-independent Irish took a lively interest in Egypt, India and Afghanistan,it was not because they could think of no better way of frittering away their leisure time . . . a society which has suffered colonization . . . has only to consult its own 'local' experience to feel solidarity.[2]

Similarly, Tom Bryan in *Twa Tribes* (2003) argues that 'Scots . . . might feel that their own strong cultural sense, along with a troubled history of displacement and emigration, should result in tolerance and mutual respect for different cultures'.[3]

It may be objected that these readings are too positive, and too redolent of liberal wish-fulfilment which seeks postcolonial attitudes *avant la lettre* in the participation of the Scots or Irish in the British Empire. Such participation was often after all enthusiastic enough: from Culloden to Amritsar, Scottish and Irish officers evinced their share of brutality and contempt for those on whom they turned their fire. Nor, surely, could it be otherwise when they formed, as outlined above, such a large proportion for so long of the British Army's operational force abroad. Irish songs condemning those who took the 'Saxon shilling' or Scottish songs mocking Black Watch recruiting sergeants for only managing to enlist 'forty an twa' (the Black Watch were the 'fighting 42nd', so the number is a joke as well as a gibe) were at odds with the reality of the situation. An attempt to retreat to the suggestion that at least Irish Catholics were different has its own difficulties, both with the significantly Protestant nature of much developed Irish nationalism up to the death of Parnell, and also with the need to provide evidence that the operational performance of Irish Catholic privates and NCOs (and from the 1760s, officers) was markedly inferior or less enthusiastic in combat against colonial peoples on a consistent and widespread basis. This is a challenge indeed. The case for a consistent Irish and Scottish political dissent within the Imperial sphere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seems almost impossible to maintain.

And yet, and yet. Eagleton, Bryan and many others are responding to a real phenomenon: the strong engagement of Irish and Scottish theory and practice with the dispossessed in the age of Empire. Sometimes some of the views they held were held also by English radical Whigs, particularly in the Romantic era: but the strength of the connection of Scottish and Irish figures with global liberation struggles, and the very distinct talent they were held

[2] Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford, 2000), 48.

[3] Tom Bryan, *Twa Tribes: Scots Among the Native Americans* (Edinburgh, 2003), 13.

to have in sympathetic engagement with native peoples is sufficiently widespread and distinct to make us pause. The idea that Irish or Scots are always of one mind is an essentialist prejudice which disrupts the possibility of assessing real phenomena, and one of the most important reasons for studying Ireland and Scotland together is that similarities of experience have been distorted for us by competing essentialisms. Scottish Jacobitism before 1750 has tended to be underestimated because it was defeated, and Britishness triumphed; in reviewing 1798, the subsequent triumph of Irishness has arguably led to overestimating the support commanded by the Rising, and certainly led to the distortion of it as a Catholic peasant revolt, just as the '15 and '45 are distorted as Highland clan revolts.

Essentialism of this kind demands that the history of small nations should be consistent, univocal and reducible to a common denominator. Students (and indeed sometimes even critics) of Scottish literature can regard texts set outwith Scotland by Scottish authors as not really Scottish in a way they never would regard *The Plumed Serpent*, *Hamlet* or *Robinson Crusoe* as un-English. We should be asking the question why Scotland or Ireland should be required to express themselves through an essentialist cultural representation of stereotyped aboriginality, and why some of us expect this of small national cultures, while readily accepting diversity of practice in large ones. Cultural beliefs, performances and networks are complex things, not shorthand for a universal imagology of small nations as reducible to simple structures, while only large ones remain diverse. Scotland is no more an egalitarian nation now than Ireland was thirled to the Gaelic language in 1922: both are flags of convenience for cultural practices which exist and are shared but are not ubiquitous. Once we can see this clearly, it becomes easier to identify the Scottish and Irish dissenting tradition in Empire: distinctive in culture, network and expectation, seeing self in the other. That reflection itself is a recognition of something shared amid much that is different: and such is the nature of culture.

This essay can only offer a beginning in identifying one aspect of this performance of a politically dissonant Irishness or Scottishness abroad: a set of beliefs widely held among many prominent figures, spread through networks, and complicit in yet defiant of imperialism.

'Fratriotism' is the term adopted here for the adoption of colonized nations and cultures as a means of expressing reservations concerning the nature and development of empire. Fratriotism affects not only the British, but also other empires, for example that of Spain, where many expatriate Scots and Irish (often identified with Native Americans in British propaganda) took an

active role in the liberation of Latin America. In the argument which follows, I will offer some reflections on the nature of this phenomenon, outline the principle kinds of networks which supported it, and end by examining three cases in some detail: those of Lord Byron, Thomas Moore and James Boswell. These three stages will amplify what are taken here to be the deep structures of the fratriot mindset, and how they communicate themselves as what Robert Darnton, following Clifford Geertz, termed 'social dimensions of meaning'.[4]

Fratriotism is a mindset which arises from conflicting loyalties generated by inclusion in a state with which one does not fully identify. We think we have outgrown the eighteenth and nineteenth century history which pandered to the creation of a national narrative and even mythology, but the tendency to write political history according to the geography and power structures of our own day is still strong, as Jeremy Black and others have pointed out.[5] Cultural history has provided space for interpretations of culture which are hybrid, dialogic and complex, and consequently has pushed back the traditional claims of historiography both with regard to its hierarchy of sources and claims to objectivity (Chartier, 58–61): but problems remain. If we acknowledge culture to be a matter more of deep mental categories than social arrangements, why do we divorce this from national identities: why are we happier on the broad historical stage exploring past cultural moments such as episodes of well-poisoning and cat-killing than examining the performance of Scottishness in the long eighteenth century? Is it more of a threat? Or is it because nationality is perceived as a fiction, with its 'culture . . . a kind of Romantic symbol, as the infinite takes on a local incarnation' (Eagleton, 53)? Does the architecture of theory militate against the differentiation of the particular, or tend to lead (as with Ireland in Colley's thesis of Protestant Britishness) to its exclusion? Whether we overdetermine the past to serve a presentist narrative or revisit it with irony, it is at least arguable that in neither case are we likely to pay it the close and defining attention its own sense of itself deserves: and that sense of self resides in the past's material, imaginative and in the end active definitions of its own environment through the cultural performance of that self.

The cultural performances I am identifying are those of writing, speaking, singing, group dynamics, and engagement with one's own material culture, habits and practices and the material culture of others who are viewed as cognate: culture as the 'determinant' of communication. In the long eighteenth century (as indeed at other times), such a view of culture has to embrace

[4] Roger Chartier, *Cultural History* tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford, 1988), 96.

[5] V. Jeremy Black and Donald McRaild, *Studying History*, 2nd ed., (Basingstoke, 2000).

process as well as particularism, and core to fratriotism as a concept is the transmutation of patriot discourses from the first to the third person, 'neither structure nor event but the incessant conversion of one into the other'. This is not to essentialize culture as a transmissible product (the means by which it is converted into the 'straw man' of those who want to identify it with ethnic particularism, at odds with diversity), nor the space in which it occurs, but national literatures and cultures exist as such in the minds of those who perform them, although the ownership of those performances can be defined in several ways.[6] National cultures in this context are usually either adoptive or domestic: German national culture often absorbs Swiss-German and Austrian (and in the earlier nineteenth century, Hungarian) literature and culture, just as Rousseau is taken as belonging to France: domestic cultures are categorized by adoptive ones as localist and self-consciously ethnic (once again a means of marginalizing them by means of essentializing them). They respond in three main ways: active (national resistance: the Gaelic League in Ireland), defensive (imperial localism: the *locus amoenus* of Barrie or the conversion of self to the tourist gaze (Scott's Loch Katrine, Moore's Wicklow) and passive (identity surrender, becoming adopted except in the celebration of very local and particular processes (not events because of the risk of political inference): childhood, landscape, even sport. Scotland and Ireland in the long eighteenth century by and large are locales of defensive cultural performance, though of course with episodes of armed active resistance.[7]

Fratriotism is primarily defensive: the performance of nationality displaced into a reading of the other as the unachievable self; cultural alterity as a response to political defeat. At times before that defeat was certain, it took a more active form, as when in 1689 'the "Irish papists" in Saint Kitts drove out the English and handed over the English part of the island to the French',[8] or in the conspiratorial and military politics of the Jacobite era. Later, it took the form of frequent and sometimes striking demonstrations of sympathy and cultural,

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[6] Aletta Biersach, 'Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond', in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989), 72–96 (91). See also, Hunt, 'Introduction', 1–22 (7). John Smolenski, 'Introduction' to Parts I and III, in John Smolenski and Thomas J. Humphrey (eds), *New World Orders: Violence, Sanction and Authority in the Colonial Americas* (Philadelphia, 2005), 7, 131.

[7] For Scott and Moore in this context, see Murray Pittock, 'Scott and the British Tourist', in Gerard Carruthers and Alan Rawes (eds), *English Romanticism and the Celtic World* (Cambridge, 2003), 151–66; also Matthew Campbell, *Jeremiah Joseph Callanan and 'The Last Home of the Bards'* (Cork, 2004), 4.

[8] R. B. MacDowell, *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution* (Oxford, 1979), 136.

political or even military support for colonized or dispossessed nations seeking to establish a recovered or fresh autonomy for themselves, a displacement of Scottishness or Irishness (in the cases under discussion here) from the first to the third person, the conversion of domestic cultural structures by a process which domesticated disparate historical events in other national struggles as reflecting on the performance of self. As such, it could be found in surprising places. Even the apparently most loyal imperial servants could express it as a form of double-mindedness, as when General Charles Napier opined 'We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so . . . a . . . useful piece of rascality', or when Mountstuart Elphinstone, governor of Bombay, commented on the Indian peasantry's proverbial lack of honesty by saying that these 'inoffensive, amiable people' are 'often obliged to resist force with fraud'.[9] Whose force is not stated: it does not need to be, being part of what Napier termed 'the usual Anglo-Saxon process of planting civilization by robbery, oppression and murder'. In similar terms, the Madras Scottish Society linked the plight of the Indian peasantry to the Highland Clearances.[10]

The Madras and similar societies played a key role. In order to start to place fratriotism in a culturally theorized context, the risk of making a list of individual (and perhaps therefore unrepresentative) Irish and Scottish 'good guys' is one to be avoided. Thus, although the essay which follows will discuss three prominent writers, it must be understood that fratriotism was very much a matter of networks, and I hope to give a sense of this also: for only in this can its claim to a distinctive existence rely. These networks were of varied kinds. More than sentimental and not always less than radical, fratriotism depended on group dynamics as well as notable individual statements and actions. There is something profound in the collective realization of a language of sympathy and often of action among self-defining exiled groups: a deep-seated motivation arguably deriving from the position of Scottish and Irish culture in the British Empire and the need to internalize them to preserve them.

There are perhaps four enabling and indeed interconnected factors in fratriot networks. First and foremost, there is a long tradition of foreign service by Scottish and (especially after 1691) Irish officers. Leaving aside the fame of James Francis Keith (1696–1758), General Charles O'Donnell, whose Irish

[9] Napier, cited in Richard Holmes, *Sahib: The British Soldier in India 1750–1914* (London, 2006; 2005), 60; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *The History of India: The Hindú and Mahometan Periods* (Allahabad, 1966), 195, 197.

[10] H. T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and Sind* (Oxford, 1952), 32; Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh, 2001), 93.

officers mourned Keith on the field where they had killed him, Thomas Gordon, Peter the Great's admiral, Marshal MacDonald, Duke of Taranto, who served Napoleon, or even Barclay de Tolley, who masterminded his defeat, there are many forgotten figures such as the admirals Christopher O'Brien and John O'Dwyer in Russia, Admiral Lord Daniel O'Kuoney and General William de Lacy of Spain and General William Graeme of Venice.

Secondly (and this is connected to the first point), Jacobite exiles and their descendants played a significant role: particularly those who had spent their exile in Continental Europe rather than the British colonies, where many (though not all, as Washington's officers such as Hugh Mercer bore witness) inclined to the loyalist side in 1776. Jacobite Ireland also had links with radicalism abroad: as Vincent Morley has shown, Jacobite *aisling* poetry switches to American subject matter in Ireland by the beginning of the 1780s, while United Irish rhetoric draws significantly on Jacobitism.[11] Many prominent fratriots, such as Boswell, Elphinstone, Sheridan and Burke had Jacobite connections.

Thirdly, networks between both Scottish and Irish and European culture remained important. Scottish networking and emigration continued in Continental Europe long after 1707, and not only among Jacobites either: it is important to recognize this in the context of an emerging orthodoxy which identifies a direct switch from Europe to the British Empire in the post 1707 Scots diaspora. To take only one example, Adam Armstrong (1762–1818), the grandson of Robert Riccaltoun, early influence on the writings of James Thomson, emigrated to Russia in the 1780s as tutor to Samuel Greig's family: Greig had, along with other Scottish officers, enlisted in the Russian navy in 1764, after the end of the Seven Years' War, and by 1775 was a Vice-Admiral. Armstrong's own son Robert left Russia to study at Edinburgh University, but then returned to Russia, eventually serving as Lieutenant General and Director of the St Petersburg Mint. In other words, Scottish European migration and back-migration continued well into the age of Empire, both for military and technological reasons: it was a Scottish engineer who oversaw the construction of Russia's first armoured ships in the immediate aftermath of the Crimean War, and many Scots worked for him. It is hard to recover his politics, but to aid Russia militarily within months of the Crimean War is at the least an interesting decision.[12]

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[11] David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607–1785* (Athens, Georgia and London, 1994), 120; Vincent Morley, in this volume; Kevin Whelan, *Fellowship of Freedom: The United Irishmen and 1798* (Cork, 1998), 6, 26–7.

[12] Dmitry Fedosov, *The Caledonian Connection* (Aberdeen, 1996), 4, 48–9, 80.

Douglas Catterall has analysed the way in which 'Scottishness, in the form of norms and institutions' was made 'portable . . . within the diaspora' by marrying 'enclaves to highly structured kin networks' and that 'Scottishness, in the form of wanting to defend Scotland as a *patria*' was widespread:[13] there was, in Steve Murdoch's words, 'a genuine conviction that common place or nation is enough to secure an open or trusting dialogue'.[14] The question is, how far did this state of affairs disappear after 1707 or 1745? Not, perhaps, as completely as has been supposed. Douglas Hamilton has remarked on the 'clannishness' of Scots networks in the Caribbean in the later eighteenth century: the Campbells were a major 'political force' in managing Jamaican, as well as Scottish, politics, and Grenada even boasted a 'branch of the Beggar's Benison'.[15] In terms of mentalities and the performance of self (and here we are back with the Madras Scottish society) one of the most important features of Scottish experience after 1707 is that Scots were able, even when 'North Britain' dominated as a descriptor of their country at home and 'England' prevailed abroad, to be 'Scottish', and to organize themselves into formal and informal groupings which clearly expressed a persisting sense of self and (however mildly expressed) a dissonance from merging into imperial Britain. Bluntly, to be 'Scottish' outside the British Isles after 1707 was ultimately, however weakly and defensively, a political act, in that it projected a national space abroad where there was no national existence at home.

Fourthly, there were intellectual networks. Jane Rendall has pointed out the systematic adoption of pro-Hindu and pro-nativist attitudes to India by a group among the lesser figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, including Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779–1859), James Mackintosh (1765–1832), Alexander Hamilton (1762–1824) and William Erskine (1773–1852), all of whom 'had some connexion with the University of Edinburgh' and were influenced by Dugald Stewart or Alexander Fraser Tytler, son of the Marian patriot historian William who influenced Boswell.[16] Mackintosh and Erskine founded

[13] Douglas Catterall, 'The Worlds of John Rose: A Northeastern Scot's Career in the British Atlantic World, c. 1740–1800' in Angela McCarthy (ed.), *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities Since the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York, 2006), 67–94 (69); 'At Home Abroad: Ethnicity and Enclave in the World of Scots Traders in Northern Europe, c1600–1800', *Journal of Early Modern History* 854 (2004), 319–57 (322, 327, 329, 340, 353).

[14] Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 83.

[15] Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World 1750–1820* (Manchester, 2005), 5, 49, 143.

[16] The Marians were historians who favoured Mary Queen of Scots: in doing so,

the Bombay Literary Society in 1804, and Mackintosh was later responsible for arranging the settlement of Scots in newly independent Venezuela, where the existing network consisted of those who had fought for or supplied Bolivar. Elphinstone became governor of Bombay and 'maintained the influence of the Brahmans . . . opposed the general introduction of English . . . opposed direct Christian teaching' and 'argued strongly against . . . annexing Indian states' to the extent of being a 'Hindu supremacist' (ODNB), as well as looking forward to the end of Empire.[17] Gilbert Elliot was also among the pupils of Stewart who favoured native Indian ways, and Lord Cochrane, who was Boswell's cousin, himself attended Dugald Stewart's lectures at Edinburgh. Stewart was far more of a sceptic about empire than other Enlightenment figures such as William Robertson: indeed Stewart criticized Robertson's failure to look the atrocities of empire squarely in the face in a preface to the latter's *Charles V* written around the time that Cochrane was attending Stewart's lectures.[18]

Among fratriots, family, Jacobite and intellectual networks intersected and often complemented each other. Allan MacLean's 'Royal Highland Emigrants' were raised in Canada: as a British unit, they could be a law unto themselves, and MacLean wore the Jacobite white cockade to lead his men into battle, and even flaunted it to General Burgoyne's face.[19] MacLean's nephew Lachlan Macquarie (1761–1824), who fought alongside MacLean (and was also a friend of Boswell), later befriended the aborigines in New South Wales during his tenure as governor there from 1810 to 1821, as well as emancipating convicts, most intriguingly perhaps radical transportees from Scotland: 'Macquarie freely admitted that he viewed the colony as an asylum, a place of sanctuary or refuge in which he offered hope to the downtrodden by trying to raise them from subjection'.[20] Brought up in Ireland, Charles Napier's aunt was Lord Edward Fitzgerald's mother; Octavian Hume (who helped to found the Indian National Congress) was the son of Joseph Hume, a Philhellene radical from

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they adopted a quietly jacobitical reading of Scottish history in the older patriot historiographical tradition, at odds with that of Hume or Robertson, though Robertson, unlike others such as James Mill, opposed westernization of India: see Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, xxii, 89.

[17] Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', *Historical Journal* 25:1 (1982), 43–70; Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment* (London, 2003 (2001)), 338.

[18] See Dugald Stewart's introduction to William Robertson, *The History of Scotland During the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI*, 18th ed., 2 vols (London, 1809); Donald Thomas, *Cochrane: Britannia's Sea Wolf* (London, 2004; 1978), 76.

[19] Mary Beacock Fryer, *Allan MacLean: Jacobite General* (Toronto, 1987), 150–1.

[20] John Ritchie, *Lachlan Macquarie: A Biography* (Melbourne, 1986), 160.

the 1820s Greek Committee, who 'urged Britain to give up her colonies' right up to his death in 1855.[21] In Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie was the grandson of two Jacobite soldiers, and was a friend of the same Joseph Hume, who wrote him a famous letter in 1834, which looked forward to 'Canadian rights independence and freedom from the baneful domination' of Great Britain. Mackenzie replied hoping that Canada would be 'relieved of her shackles', and in 1837 led a rising to achieve just this: it was compared by his first biographer to the Irish Rising of 1798. Mackenzie cited Wallace, Charles Edward Stuart and Lord Edward Fitzgerald in his rhetoric, and later Kossuth replicated some of Mackenzie's tactics in Hungary.[22]

One of the features associated with fratriotism was what might be called defensive orientalism, whereby the experiences of the Empire in the east were described by fratriots in terms that adopted the eastern colonies as versions of self. This was apparent as early as the Warren Hastings impeachment and Burke and Sheridan's growth of interest in 'the Indian cause' in the 1780s, and is found also in Hugh Mulligan's 1788 collection of poems on *Slavery and Oppression*. Sometimes the comparison was specific: 'I think I can hardly overrate the malignity of the principles of the Protestant ascendancy, as they affect Ireland; or of Indianism, as they affect . . . Asia' as Burke wrote in 1795. Conor Cruise O'Brien and Luke Gibbons have argued that Edmund Burke's passionate interest in Indian (and, indeed, American) affairs was an indirect means of representing the hidden self, a repressed expression of the Irish cause, while Fintan O'Toole claims that for both Burke and Sheridan, the importance of Warren Hastings' impeachment lay in its status 'as a great moment in the history of international law': parity of esteem for the colonial subject was Ireland's claim advanced by other means.[23] In a retrospect on the Hastings impeachment, Byron recalled in his 'Monody' on Sheridan's death in 1816 how 'the loud cry of trampled Hindostan/Arose to heaven in her appeal from Man',[24] and Byron's own *Ostpolitik* paralleled the adoption of Easternness by Irish writers seeking a Phoenician origin for the Gael, itself a profoundly distinctive form of orientalism, an attempt to incorporate the categories of British imperial rep-

[21] Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 127–8, 353.

[22] Charles Lindsey, *William Lyon Mackenzie* (Toronto,1912; 1862), 26–7, 36, 212, 263, 290, 399, 445.

[23] Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The Great Melody* (London, 1993; 1992), 322, 356–7, 459; Luke Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2003), 167; Fintan O'Toole, *The Traitor's Kiss: A Life of Richard Brinsley Sheridan* (New York, 1998; 1997), 230.

[24] George Gordon, Lord Byron, *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann, 7 vols (Oxford, 1980-93), IV, no. 295, ll. 41–2.

resentation into the Irish formulation of self, and in so doing to repel the sneers of the British entanglement (e.g. Southey's comparison of the Irish 'to African kings notorious for their savagery' or the comparison of Catholicism to *sati*) by embracing them.[25]

Defensive Irish orientalism drew on the 'shared Gaelic culture' of Ireland and Scotland, just as the Teutonism which was opposed to Irish 'Phoenicianism' in the 1800s echoed the Germanization of Lowland Scotland by Enlightenment historiography in the preceding century.[26] The Scottish origin myth which saw the country as descending from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, was shared by the Irish, who in the early modern period drew on Scottish patriot historians such as Hector Boece to promote it. Examples of this include Charles Vallencey's (b. 1726) argument for the Irish as of Phoenician origin, the analogy of Ireland and Carthage facing imperial Rome/Britain, and texts such as William Drennan's *Letters of Orellana, an Irish Helot* (1785) or the inclusion of Hindustani music in Edward Bunting's 1796 *General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music*. This kind of interpretation, in decline by the 1830s, survived best in 'patriot circles'. Scots (whose origin myth had been exploded in the early eighteenth century) continued to use this discourse, as the Earl of Buchan did in 1787, or as Scott did in his analogy between the Afghans and Scots in a *Quarterly Review* article of 1816.[27] Byron's dedication of *The Corsair* (1814) to Thomas Moore as a patriot clearly alluded to Moore's forthcoming *Lalla Rookh* as an allegory of the Irish situation, while Byron's own *Hebrew Melodies* have been seen as exemplifying a similar trend, as did his paralleling of Scotland and Albania, and the passages in *The Island* where he links Eastern and Scottish patriotism:

> Long have I roamed through lands which are not mine,
> Adored the Alp, and loved the Apennine,
> Revered Parnassus, and beheld the steep

[25] Tim Fulford, 'Romanticism and colonialism: races, places, peoples, 1800–30', in Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson (eds), *Romanticism and Colonialism* (Cambridge, 1998), 35–47 (38).

[26] Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination* (Cork, 1996), 91ff; Murray Pittock, 'Historiography' in Alexander Broadie (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2003), 258–79.

[27] Mary Helen Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung: The United Irishmen and the Rise of Irish Literary Nationalism* (New York, 1994), 8, 35, 45; Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c1750–1800* (Cork, 2004), 13, 15, 16, 25, 41, 43, 55, 58, 183; *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott*, 28 vols, (Edinburgh, 1835/6), XX, 1–93 (10).

> Jove's Ida and Olympus crown the deep;
> But 'twas not all long ages'love, nor all
> *Their* nature held me in their thrilling thrall;
> The infant rapture still survived the boy,
> And Loch-na-gar with Ida look'd o'er Troy,
> Mix'd Celtic memories with the Phrygian mount
> And Highland linns with Castalie's clear fount.[28]

As Stephen Cheeke observes, 'Scotland won't go away, especially when Byron is furthest from its shores',[29] while Andrew Nicholson suggests that in Byron's writing 'Scotland and Greece do not merge, nor do they become interchangeable; they are distinct, and yet the same; we see Scotland *in* Greece, Greece *in* Scotland'.[30] In similar vein, Caroline Franklin argues that 'Byron's Philhellenist and proto-Zionist poetry of 1814–15 fantasized the idea of the nation by focussing on dispossessed peoples . . . a new notion of nationalism, arising out of a *reaction* to imperialism'.[31] Byron himself compared Greece to Scotland as early as 1809, when he likened both Greeks and Albanians to 'Scott's description of Branksome Castle in his lay' (*The Lay of the Last Minstrel*). This was the culmination of several years of interest in the country in which he had been bred . In 1807 alone, Byron was reading Macpherson (whom he imitated in his juvenilia), Burns, Ramsay, Scott and John Home, as well as George Buchanan and Hector Boece, a voice of the patriot historiographical tradition who had also been important to Boswell in his own understanding of the performance of self abroad. In 1808, Byron had the idea of collecting material for a book of translations from Gaelic.[32]

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[28] Jeffery W. Vail, *The Literary Relationship of Lord Byron and Thomas Moore* (Baltimore and London, 2001), 11, 60, 64, 85; see also Byron, *Poetical Works*, III, Nos 249–72, VII, 392; *The Island* II: XII. For Scotland and Albania, see *Lord Byron: Selected Poems*, ed. Susan J. Wolfson and Peter Manning (Harmondsworth, 1996), 131; for a postcolonial reading of *Hebrew Melodies*, see Caroline Franklin, '"Some samples of the finest Orientalism": Byronic Philhellenism and proto-Zionism at the time of the Congress of Vienna', in Fulford and Kitson, *Romanticism and Colonialism*, 221– 42 (240–1).

[29] Stephen Cheeke, *Byron and Place* (Basingstoke, 2003), 36.

[30] Andrew Nicholson, 'Byron and the "Ariosto of the North"', in Gerry Carruthers and Alan Rawes (eds), *English Romanticism and the Celtic World* (Cambridge, 2003), 130–50 (133).

[31] Franklin in Fulford and Kitson, *Romanticism and Colonialism*, 240–1

[32] Lord Byron, *The Complete Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. Andrew Nicholson (Oxford, 1991), 1, 3; John Galt, *The Life of Lord Byron* (London, 1830), 11; Marchand *Byron: A Biography* (London, 1957) 3 Vols, I, 42; Bernard Beatty, 'The force of "Celtic memories" in Byron's thought', in Carruthers and Rawes, *English Romanticism and the Celtic World*,

Like Boswell before him, Byron loved to dress up, both in local dress and in the kilt as the dress of liberty, in which cause he wore the Gordon tartan 'on his first expedition to Greece'. Where Boswell had appeared in public as a Corsican bandit chieftain, Byron dressed as an Albanian one, and dressed as a Greek hero for the Greek war,[33] visible signs of the eastern-ness of his sympathies, his domestication of the alien, the realization through othering himself in their garb of his sympathy with nations and nationalism not his own. In particular, the dress of the 'chieftain' adopted by both Boswell and Byron was arguably a reprise of the iconography of the Jacobite era, celebrated by Byron in his elegiac aside on the Gordons in 'Loch na Garr'. The dress of the chieftain was not now a sign of that direct resistance, but of the defensively oriental strategy of fratriotism. In Canto II of *Childe Harolde (*1813), the comparison between the Albanians (particularly the mountain Suliotes) and the Scots is made explicit, their speech even being compared to Aberdeenshire Scots: the fact that Alba was a name for Scotland 'can hardly have escaped Byron's knowledge', as Andrew Nicholson remarks. The warsong of the Albanian highlanders ends 'Ye mountains, that see us descend to the shore, /Shall view us as victors, or view us no more !': its applicability to the Scottish cause was neatly recognized by Scott, whose song of Rory Dall, edited by Flora to seduce Edward Waverley (1814), concludes 'Burst the base foreign yoke as your sires did of yore, /Or die like your sires, and endure it no more'.

In 1825, the Scottish commander Thomas Lord Cochrane, who had helped the Irish expatriate Bernardo O'Higgins liberate Chile against the wishes of the British Government, and had subsequently served in the interests of Peru and Brazil, took up the post of Admiral of Greece at the invitation of the Greek Committee, which included such supporters as George Finlay, Thomas Gordon (in 1827 brigadier and director-general of the Greek army) and Joseph Hume. Finlay had met Byron in Cephalonia in 1823, and had been with him at Missolonghi. Byron had been recommended to go to Cephalonia by James Hamilton Browne, a Scot 'dismissed from service in the Ionian islands because of his Hellenic sympathies', and Cephalonia had recently become a refuge for the Albanian Suliotes, whose 'eastern Scottishness' was already paradigmatic to Byron. Once there, the poet became friends with Henry Muir and James Kennedy, and read Scott: the Resident, with whom Byron also became friends, was at that time none

103–16 (103).

[33] John Nichol, *Byron* (London, 1880), 18; Leslie A. Marchand, *Byron: A Biography*, I: 291, III: 1078–9.

other than Charles James Napier, whose *Colonization* (1835) was to attack British imperial practice very roundly. Byron's use of eastern experience to reflect western is of a piece not only in practical terms with the significantly Scottish network of the Greek Committee and Brigadier Gordon, but also in imaginative ones with the defensive orientalism already established in Ireland, which he probably knew of through his friendship with Moore. Byron himself was adopted as an 'upholder of liberty' in Bulgaria, Georgia, Norway and Poland among others.[34]

As Moore put it in the Preface for *Lalla Rookh* in his *Works*, 'the spirit that had spoken in the melodies of Ireland soon found itself at home in the East', and it was in the east in particular that origin myths and the plight of the colonized coalesced most readily for Irish writers: Nigel Leask and others have pointed this out in Moore's case.[35] In *Lalla Rookh* itself, the orient is combined with the images of Gothic as the native repressed argued for by Luke Gibbons and others: the Gheber (Catholic) religion of ancient Iran (=Erin)[36] is signified first by the 'ruins of a strange and awful-looking tower, which seemed old enough to have been the temple of some religion no longer known, and which spoke the voice of desolation in the midst of all that bloom and loveliness' (*LR*, 143). The landscape is ruined by 'Bigoted conquerers' who have bound the 'ancient faith in chains' (*LR*, 144, 168). Moore repeatedly uses the term 'bigot' to describe the Arab conquerors in the poem, and indeed invites a double interpretation of it as referring to Ireland in a footnote. The words 'saint', 'sainted' and 'altars', are used repeatedly of the Iranians whose 'only spell-word' (surely an ironically dismissive reference to supposed Catholic superstition) is 'Liberty!' (*LR*, 170, 173, 205). The Ghebers' last stand against the Arabs is on 'that Fiery Mount . . . where Freedom stood/In her last hold of flame and blood', a locale which is more than a little reminiscent of Vinegar Hill in 1798 in the way it is presented and described, just as the torrent among crags in which Hafed and his patriots fight the Arab invader is set in a landscape which is almost exactly that of the Jacobite landscape in Chapter 22 of *Waverley*, published three years earlier (*LR*, 185, 227). Moore also seems to echo his own 'Minstrel Boy' and 'Dear Harp of my Country' in the references to chains in the poem

[34] Leslie Marchand, *Byron*, III: 1093, 1102–6, 1145; Richard Cardwell (ed.), *The Reception of Byron in Europe*, 2 vols, (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), I: 8.

[35] Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh* (London, n.d), x; cited in the text as *LR*; Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East* (Cambridge, 1992), 113.

[36] Mary Helen Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung: The United Irishmen and the Rise of Irish Literary Nationalism*, 188.

(*LR*, 168, 217).[37] The doomed romance of Hinda and Hafed parallels that of Moore's friend Sydney Owenson/MacOwen's *The Missionary*, published six years before, both suggestive of the possibility of hybrid identities between colonizer and colonized.

Much of the primary research on even the key points of Fratriotism remains to be carried out. But to take our last case in detail, that of James Boswell, the primary evidence significantly expands our understanding of the altermentality, the otherness of self preserved and propelled by the fratriot mindset. Like other figures in this group, Boswell preferred the patriot historiography of Barbour or Boece to the Enlightenment figures of his own day. His Continental network was, in addition, very different from his London one. Boswell corresponded *poste restante* with Andrew Lumisden, the private secretary to James and later Prince Charles at Rome via the Scots College in Paris, as Jacobite agents did. Lumisden, who acted as a financial agent for Alexander Runciman, brought in Scottish paintings through Leghorn, where the British consul, Sir John Dick, supported Boswell's efforts to liberate Corsica even against the express policy of the British government. Sir Alexander Dick, Boswell's close friend in Edinburgh had (after declining the Secretaryship to Prince Charles in 1745) recommended his cousin Lumisden to the post. Lumisden had a longstanding interest in not only Scottish patriot historiography (including Anderson, Abercromby, Barbour and Tytler) but also Corsican independence, to judge from his library.[38]

Boswell's 1768 *Journal of a Tour* famously opens with a quotation from the Declaration of Arbroath, which was the same passage as had been picked out in bold type by the Marian Walter Goodall in his 1759 edition of *Scotichronicon*.[39] The stress on 'libertatem' was one which belonged not to the Latin of the title-page alone, but continually echoed through the rest of Boswell's writing on Corsica. William Siebenschuh, a leading commentator on Boswell's *Account of Corsica*, not knowing this tradition, rather paradoxically identifies it as a 'party history' of pre-Enlightenment days, yet one devoted to Enlightenment concepts of liberty. In fact, both Boswell's historiography and his notion of liberty were traditional ones,[40] for Boswell relentlessly highlighted the features of Corsica which implicitly reflected on Scotland (and in *A North Briton*

[37] *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* (London and New York, 1891), 225, 235.

[38] National Library of Scotland MSS 14262 ff. 7, 38; 14265.

[39] Moray McLaren, *Corsica Boswell: Paoli, Johnson and Freedom* (London, 1966), 19–20, 27, 28.

[40] William R. Siebenschuch, *Form and Purpose in Boswell's Biographical Works* (Berkeley, 1972), 11.

Extraordinary, a piece of Boswellian apocrypha, the comparison is made very explicit). Some people got the point: the Corsican Academy described Boswell as an emissary 'of the most prosperous kingdom of the Scots' (which in fact did not exist),[41] while in England, Anna Laetitia Barbauld's poem 'Corsica' compared Pasquale Paoli, the Corsican leader, to Wallace.[42] The Scottish poet William Julius Mickle (1734–88) planned to pay tribute to the Corsican struggle and Boswell's role in it in his unfinished 'Prospects of Liberty and of Slavery', which eventually was subsumed by another fratriot project, *The Lusiad* (1776).[43] In Ireland, links were made in the press between Ireland and Corsica: 'the Irish by virtue of their own history should especially sympathize with nations struggling for freedom' noted *Exshaw's Magazine*; the same note appeared in the *Belfast News-Letter and General Advertiser*. A Corsican appeal in *Freeman's Journal* for 17–20 June 1768 was authored by a 'Free Hibernian': quite possibly a persona of Boswell's own.[44]

As the Corsican cause faded in the 1770s and 1780s, Boswell found others which satisfied this apparently unfocused, apparently disinterested, call for freedom. In 1768, Giuseppe Marc' Antonio Baretti had written to Boswell to say that

> If they [the Corsicans] prove successful (as is most probable) they will be no rebels, and this will likewise be the case, when your Americans set up for themselves; not to say that it had been likewise the case, if your Scotch had succeeded in their last rebellions.[45]

This went to the heart of Boswell's own set of political equations, as Baretti may have known.

Shortly after the Scottish commander John Paul Jones (1747–92) sailed up the Firth of Forth in a French squadron under the American flag in 1779,

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[41] *The General Correspondence of James Boswell 1766-69 Volume 1 1766–1768*, ed. Richard C. Cole with Peter S. Baker and Rachel McClellan, assisted by James J. Caudle (Edinburgh and New Haven, 1997), 270.

[42] David Fairer and Christine Gerrard (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Poetry: An Annotated Anthology*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2003).

[43] Mickle was also a man of Marian sympathies in the veiled Jacobite controversy between Mary Queen of Scots' supporters and her detractors, as his 'Mary Queen of Scots. an Elegiac Ode' indicates; National Library of Scotland MS 15934 ff.86, 97.

[44] *The General Correspondence of James Boswell 1766–69 Volume 2 1768–1769*, ed. Richard C. Cole with Peter S. Baker and Rachel McClellan, assisted by James J. Caudle (Edinburgh and New Haven, 1997), 179n.

[45] *The General Correspondence of James Boswell 1766–69, Volume 2*, 34.

Boswell, as usual rather evasively, confided to James Murray of Broughton that 'were it not for what we must feel as Britons, we might now be companions in triumph' in having prophesied American victory. On 30 November 1781 (St Andrew's Day), Boswell heard with 'joy' of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown (Boswell to Paoli 8 January 1782).[46] Boswell's pro-Volunteer and ant-Unionist sentiments concerning 1780s Ireland are also worthy of note, as is his comparison of Scotland to Corsica (and, unfavourably, to Grattan's Ireland) in his patriot *Letter to the People of Scotland* (1785), which stands in the tradition of Swift's Drapier and Scott's Malagrowther, as a document of defensive patriotism which seizes on a relatively small issue as a synecdoche for the survival of national peculiarity itself.[47] Publication of the *Letter* ruined what was left of Boswell's career: it permanently damaged him. Most extraordinary perhaps is the double correspondence Boswell carried on with Dundas and Paoli in 1794, requesting from the first the office of British minister in Corsica, while encouraging the second thus: 'shall the blood of so many heroes who have sacrificed their lives for the freedom of Corsica serve to tinge only the purple of a foreign Prince',[48] a remarkable sentiment to express about George III in the era of the French revolutionary wars, a year after Nelson had lost an eye at the siege of Calvi in Corsica while helping to make it British. Boswell goes on to implore Paoli 'never to yield . . . upon any pretence, or any specious offer'. Great Britain is tyrannical, duplicitous and specious: these are the terms used by Boswell in defence of Corsican independence.

Boswell's Corsica was a fratriot obession. Fratriotism is a significant phenomenon in defining empire and its limits in the Scottish and Irish imagination: its global reach should be evident even from the framework discussion provided by this essay. Born from Scottish and Irish traditions of professional soldiering, from Jacobite expatriate and other diasporic networks, and from the distinctive intellectual and imaginative approaches of some among the servants of empire, fratriotism carries an intellectual implication worthy of our consideration: that people from small countries incorporated into large ones may understand others in the same position, even if they themselves are part of that position. Fratriotism as a concept is likely not to be restricted to Scotland

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[46] *Boswell: Laird of Auchinleck 1778–1782,* ed. Joseph W. Reed and Frederick A. Pottle, (New York, 1977).136n1; Private Papers of James Boswell at Yale L980, 1001, 1004, 1011.

[47] James Boswell, *A Letter to the People of Scotland on the State of the Nation*, (London, 1785), 72, 91.

[48] The Private Papers of James Boswell, Yale C2181, L1025, 1026, 1027.

and Ireland but to be present where similar structures are found elsewhere, and indeed there is some evidence of this in New Spain. The British Empire was an international polity whose development was accelerated by the rapid centralization of the British state, some of whose constituent parts had independently sophisticated sets of cultural ideas, beliefs and practices which could not be incorporated overnight, which preserved and even developed distinctive public spheres, and which indeed contributed to political resistance. This empire is thus likely to be a prime candidate for discussion in a fratriot context, but is not the only candidate for such discussion. Nor, as I trust has been clear from the preceding pages, are Boswell, Byron and Moore the only writers who merit examination in fratriot terms.

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