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Narrating National Selves:

The Construction of an English National Character Through the French Other in Post-Napoleonic England

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Introduction

Ah, Monsieur Jean Bull, since one great while ago,
We taught you to fence, dance, and such things, you know,
And now we will shew a new way to be free,
Spick and span new from France *à-la-mode de Paris*.
(from "Lewis Baboon, and John Bull", 1793)[1]

No one is going to deny that, historically, France has enhanced civilisation. European culture would be a thin thing without [them]. The problem is that it is all long past […]. In the centuries-long struggle between English and French there is one victor […]
(Jeremy Paxman, 2016)[2]

In the following thesis, I investigate the English discourses of the Post-Napoleonic Age, taking a look at how they try to construct an English national identity through the French Other.[3] Among many other primary sources of the time, four long-forgotten novels in particular will be the primary objects of my analysis: *Six Weeks in Paris*[4], written by William Jerdan in 1817, *The Englishman in Paris*[5], anonymously published in 1819, *Six Weeks at Long's*[6] by Eaton Stannard Barret and printed in 1817, and *John Bull's Bible*[7], published under the pseudonym of Demodocus Poplicola in 1817. Not only is it true that the novels I will discuss have received little to no scholarly attention, but also that the way in which narratives in general can configure a sense of national self has not been analysed properly. Few attempts have been made to identify exact narrative structures that help to shape national

[1] "Lewis Baboon, and John Bull". *The Anti-Levelling Songster*. London, 1793, p. 5

[2] Paxman, Jeremy. "Voilá, English wins in the battle of global tongues". *Financial Times*, 7 April 2016.
<https://www.ft.com/content/6a9c9872-bae2-11e5-b151-8e15c9a029fb>

[3] This thesis is based on my first state examination thesis, in which I took a brief glance at the Post-Napoleonic discourse. Some chapters of the present thesis contain revised and extended versions of my earlier findings.

[4] Jerdan, William. *Six Weeks in Paris; Or, A Cure for the Gallomania*. 3 vols. London, 1817. In the following I will often abbreviate this novel as *SWP*.

[5] *The Englishman in Paris; A Satirical Novel*. 3 vols. London, 1819 [Abbreviation: *TEP*]
This novel is not to be confused with the play of the same name by Samuel Foote (Foote, Samuel. *The Englishman in Paris; A Comedy in Two Acts*. London, 1753).

[6] Barrett, Eaton Stannard. *Six Weeks at Long's*. 3 vols. London, 1817 [Abbreviation: *SWL*]

[7] Poplicola, Demodocus (pseud.). *John Bull's bible; or, memoirs of the stewardship and stewards of John Bull's manor of Great Albion, from the earliest times to the present*. 2 vols. London, 1816-1817 [Abbreviation: *JBB*]

identities.[8] In my approach to national identities I will attempt to provide a coherent framework for the analysis of those discourses that makes it possible to identify the structures in which discursive phenomena manifest in individual narrative voices. Especially since identities are always constructed through the Other, it is with respect to the construction of the French Other that I want to conduct my research, as the French are the one group through which the English conceptualised their own identity most extensively.

There are many similarities between the four novels but also many differences. The ways in which they stage encounters between ideas of Englishness and of Frenchness will make them very powerful texts in my discussion of national narratives. Each of those texts establishes a slightly different approach to constructing a relationship between the nation, its members, its history and the French Other, which is portrayed as a natural mirror image to the English. *SWP* and *TEP* narrate young Englishmen's journeys to France in the tradition of the Grand Tour. *SWL* imports the French spirit to the English home soil and into Englishmen themselves. And finally, *JBB* attempts to construct the nation as a unified character that acts throughout history. The characters in those texts that I will analyse are all personifications of an underlying national character that is embodied in individual forms but always relates back to the abstract notion behind it. A key difference lies in the ways in which these texts personify the nation and in how that personification relates to individual members of the nation, on the one hand, and to an underlying national character, on the other hand.

In order to discuss national characters, I will rely on a rather complex structure of concepts that I will take a closer look at in the first part of my thesis. For the time being, it can be said that one of the main discursive markers in the configuration of national identities is national stereotyping, including both autostereotypes held towards the group one identifies with, and heterostereotypes held towards the Other. Those stereotypes will prove

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[8] One of the few attempts to offer a comprehensive and systematic approach to analysing the narrative structures of national discourses has been laid out by a group of scholars in a thorough analysis of the construction of an Austrian identity: Wodal, Ruth et al. *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. 2nd ed. Angelika Hirsch, Richard Mitten and J. W. Unger (trans.). Edinburg: Edinburg UP, 2009.

to be at the core in the configuration of national narratives, as they serve (sometimes implicitly) as explanations for narrative structures in which stories told about national characters unfold. As national stereotypes will be the backbone of my analysis, I will dedicate the first part of my thesis to identifying structures of stereotypes that traverse the discourse of the Post-Napoleonic Age. In order to do that, I will provide a 'thick description'[9] of those stereotypes, identifying some of the most widely spread stereotypical constructions. In the next step, I will look at individual personifications of those national stereotypes in the structures of specific narrative setups. Some of the broader questions that I will focus on are: What are the main stereotypes used to contrast English and French identities? What role do they play in the representation of national characters? What are the ways in which those stereotypes are embedded in narratives? On what traditions are those stereotypical narratives based?

Up until the present day, stereotyping the French has been a deeply rooted part of English everyday culture. In a thorough *Survey of National Stereotyping in English Slang*, Christian Peer identifies an exhaustive list of slang terms which contain stereotypes held towards the French. Almost all terms he lists have negative or derogative connotations and most of them relate to the semantic fields of sexuality, diseases, or socially unacceptable behaviour.[10] In my analysis of Post-Napoleonic discourses, these semantic fields will also play a key role.

Most of the stereotypes held towards the French in Post-Napoleonic discourse, to a certain degree have roots in 18th century traditions, while at the same time they are redacted and adapted to the specific context of the Post-Napoleonic Age. According to Lawrence James, "[t]he French wars had reinvigorated British patriotism and laid the foundations of that assertive superiority which was manifest throughout the nineteenth century and beyond"[11]. Paxman's article, quoted above, is a case in point. On the surface

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[9] See Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973

[10] See Peer, Christian. *Stereotypes and Slang: A Survey of National Stereotyping in English Slang*. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2012, pp. 61-68

[11] James, Lawrence. *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1995, pp. 163-164

his argument specifically targets the French language, which is allegedly no longer a useful tool for communication in the global economy. English, as he goes on, has become the new "language of science, technology, travel, entertainment and sport", carefully yet conspicuously omitting 'warfare'. However, his argument is not purely language related. Part of his argument works on the basis that French culture itself "is a thing of the past", no longer relevant to the modern world. He further invites his readers to "block [their] ears to the middle-class English and their forelock-tugging deference to France's highly subsidised rural living, high-speed trains and 'marvellous food'". While he cautiously admits that "[t]here is really no reason for the British to gloat about this victory", as it is only past imperialist ventures that led to the status quo, to him it does not change the fact that "the new world is anglophone"[12].

Considering the quotation just preceding Paxman's at the beginning of this introduction, one may get a sense of continuity. This very first quote is from a song published in the early years following the French Revolution. In this song, two characters have a conversation about the cultural history of Anglo-French relations. The lines in my quotation are from the mouth of Lewis Baboon, a common eighteenth-century English personification of France. His opponent is his English counterpart John Bull, a character who does not feature prominently anymore since the First World War but was invented and extensively used in writing and prints alike throughout the Long Eighteenth Century. In this excerpt, Lewis Baboon boasts about the past cultural accomplishments of France, which were copied by the English in an attempt to become a civilised nation themselves. Apart from those matters of fashion, such as fencing and dancing, Lewis Baboon now advertises a new Parisian 'trend' in politics, that of liberty. The supposed accomplishments of France are ultimately reduced to trivial forms of fashion and after the French Revolution become more and more pushed into the past, which indicates a significant cultural rupture between the France of the *Ancien Regime* and the France after the Revolution. When reading Paxman in the present time, he

[12] Paxman 2016

merely represents a relatively recent voice in that tradition of neglecting the importance of France in the present, without much novelty to add to it.

After juxtaposing both of these texts, the line of arguments he presents raises a number of points that will be of profound interest to the present thesis: his argument, that all achievements the French ever had are located in the past, his identification of the English middle-class as hopelessly Francophile, and his casual conflation of the terms 'English' and 'British'. The fact that this tradition can be traced back to the time after Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo is quite interesting. It is this time that I would like to consider as the 'Post-Napoleonic Age', which marks a significant juncture point in European history, especially with regards to Anglo-French relationships.[13] A kind of antagonism between the two countries that had lasted for centuries now reached a point where one of them had been completely ruined, leaving the other only with memories of a past foe, and a former model of cultural imitation. In this respect, any feeling of cultural inferiority in comparison to the French had given way to a feeling of superiority over the now culturally and economically ruined French. Above all, these phenomena are discursive constructions, which feature prominently in numerous texts of the time. Without a doubt, the ways in which specific English texts portray the French, tell us a lot more about how those texts would like to see the English rather than that they tell us anything substantial about the French. The same is true for Paxman's rant, which does not actually say anything substantial about France, but indeed about the ways in which he would like to construct a sense of Englishness/Britishness. It is with that principle in mind, that I want approach those texts and navigate through the vast discourse.

As far as its discursive relevance is concerned, Paxman's position is not a fringe phenomenon, but one that still occupies a significant place in the

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[13] While the concept of a 'Post-Napoleonic era' is not used by the mainstream of literary scholars, a few Romanticists have sometimes tackled the concept to provide a rough context for their analysis. Cf..: Tuite, Clara. *Lord Byron and Scandalous Celebrity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015; Duffy, Edward. *Rousseau in England: The Context for Shelley's Critique of the Enlightenment*. Berkeley et al: University of California Press, 1979; or Peterfreund, Stuart. *Shelley Among Others: The Play of the Intertext and the Idea of Language*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2002.
Typically, phenomena of Post-Napoleonic Europe are contextualised as part of the Romantic or Regency Eras in an English context.

popular mainstream. Indeed, Nigel Farage's success is a prime example of that kind of national sentiment. UKIP's Brexit campaign to a large extend mobilised voters by relying on nationalist and anti-globalist views. All over the western world similar tendencies can be observed, as political figures such as Donald Trump, Sebastian Kurz or Viktor Orban came to power during an apparent mainstream disillusionment with the agendas of the political elites. Even in Germany, where a historical self-consciousness would have rendered it unthinkable in the minds of many, with the rise of the AfD a nationalist party has moved into the parliament once again.

Less than a decade prior to these developments, nationalism had been deemed dead by scholars and popular voices alike. Writing for the *Financial Times*, in 2012 Simon Kuper concluded that "[t]he nation-state is shrinking to just a flag, some sports teams and a pile of debts". He begins this article by making fun of Artur Mas, then President of the Government of Catalonia, who called his people to a vote on a Catalonian independence. In Kuper's view he sounds "like a 19th-century statue of a nationalist hero on horseback". It is hard to miss the somewhat patronising tone of his evaluation, speaking of secessionist nationalist movements as not a sign for the resurrection of nationalism but as the last kicks of a dying horse that "betoken […] the waning of the nation-state" [14].

By the same token, scholars have moved their attention from considerations of national identities towards new phenomena and into new fields. The rise of postcolonial studies and of imagology, for instance, are closely tied to a declining interest in and disdain for the nation. Both of these fields, even though from different perspectives, are scholarly attempts to deconstruct the idea of the nation and of nationalism.[15] Admittedly, being suspicious of national categories is not an outlandish idea at all, but one that has become mainstream among scholars across various disciplines. This view has most prominently been popularised by Benedict Anderson when he

[14] Kuper, Simon. "A question of identity". *Financial Times*, 23 November 2012. <https://www.ft.com/content/34783668-3370-11e2-aa83-00144feabdc0>

[15] Indeed, both fields are firmly rooted in the postmodernist and poststructuralist traditions, at the core of which lies the deconstruction of established categorisations and grand narratives.

proclaimed that nations are *Imagined Communities*[16], a label which has since become almost a mantra in the academia. Indeed, it seems to be the case that there is no empirically verifiable equivalent of what is commonly referred to as a nation. As Anderson argues, it is not even an empirical category, because nations are supposed to establish a sense of community among complete strangers who will always remain strangers – admittedly an oxymoronic notion.[17]

In the words of Baudrillard, many would conclude that national identities are nothing more than "son propre simulacre pur", that is to say, a purely symbolic construction without any external signified, rendering it ultimately self-referential[18]. However, a recent global re-emergence of nationalist movements should at any rate give reasons to pause, as it to some extend goes against those scholarly and popular claims, which at least suggests that national identities should not be completely ignored or waved off. Indeed, taking seriously Anderson's thesis does not even require that. Just because the nation is an imagined community as far as its empirical usefulness as a social group is concerned, it can still be one of extreme discursive weight, and ignoring it will only result in turning a blind eye to what could be a potentially decisive force in the world.[19] In addition to that, as cultural scholars do not have to concern themselves solely with mimetic representations of reality, the missing signified in empirical reality does not necessarily have to pose a severe problem.

Nevertheless, the notion that nations are imagined rather than being 'real' groups may make it a particularly hard thing to grasp for scholars. Indeed, even the popular voices that support nationalism rarely ever try to define what they mean by 'nation' or 'national culture'. Yet even though it is hardly ever spelled out, it can be assumed that it means more than "just a flag, some sports teams and a pile of debts", as Simon Kuper asserts. The nation

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[16] Which is the title of his seminal work: Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso, 1991 [1983]

[17] See ibid, p. 6

[18] Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacres et simulation*. Paris: Galilée, 1981, p. 17

[19] As a side note, Anderson himself does not think that nations are 'imagined' in the sense of *creatio ex nihilo* but dedicates a major part of his work to point out on what exact traditions and in what precise contexts the nation naturally found its place.

has always been and will remain a vague notion that nonetheless provides an umbrella term for a variety of historical imaginations, social emotions and teleological aspirations. If anything, matters of security and stability are perceived to be inherent parts of this concept. Thus, it is that Nigel Farage can claim his own agenda to represent "honesty, decency and belief in nation", in a way that all of them seem to be causally connected sentiments[20]. Yet if it is true, as Kuper asserts, that modern nationalists sound like nineteenth-century nationalists, then it is probably a good idea to try and find out what nineteenth-century nationalists sound like.

With respect to the nation as an imaginary concept, it is especially scholarship done in the fields of cultural and literary studies that would seem especially well-equipped to discuss that phenomenon. Imaginaries of any kind, if not defined in psychological terms, are predominantly maintained through discourse. Cultural studies are largely dedicated to analysing cultural phenomena that transcend socio-political realities and help to elucidate the world in ways that studies of more pragmatic discourses cannot. As Anthony Easthope points out:

> National cultures are material in that they are produced through institutions, practices and traditions which historians and sociologists can describe. But national cultures are also reproduced through narratives and discourses about which those social sciences feel inhibited but which recent work in theory makes a matter of coherent analysis.[21]

A major aspect of my analysis will be a rethinking of the idea of the nation and of national identity. Indeed, for decades scholars spent a considerable amount of time and energy in discussing what the nation is and what it is not, spawning a variety of different approaches to filling that concept with content. While I will closely consider the scholarship on nationalism that has been done in different schools of thought, I will also rely on recent notions that have moved away from the concept of the nation. Transnationalism, for instance, is a quite recently developed conceptual framework that does away with the rigid and hermetically sealed containers of nations. To some extent,

[20] Farage, Nigel. "Victory speech". 24 June 2016. Qtd. in the *Independent*. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-nigel-farage-4am-victory-speech-the-text-in-full-a7099156.html>

[21] Easthope, Anthony. *Englishness and National Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1999, p. 12

my thesis might seem to rely on what are considered outdated concepts of nationalism. Yet that is not at all the case, since I subsume them under a more complex transnationalist understanding, which will also be the foundation of my analysis.

Other than the vast body of scholarship that has been dedicated to the nation as a concept, little academic interest has gone into the material that I want to discuss. None of the novels that are in the centre of my analysis has been belaboured in detail by literary and cultural scholars. In fact, both *TEP* and *JBB* have been completely ignored. Only *SWP* and *SWL* have been mentioned in scholarship, and only marginally so.[22] For that reason alone, my analysis can provide new insights into the discourses of the early nineteenth century.[23]

Also, the greater nationalist discourse of the time has not gained much attention in the fields of literary and cultural studies. While it may seem that so much has been said about the English and the French that any further work on it could only hope to be redundant at worst, or illustrative at best, surprisingly little work has been done on the actual material and whatever there is, is predominantly scholarship by historians and not literary and cultural scholars. Linda Colley has written one of the best-known monographs on this in the field of history: *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*[24]. Some time has passed since her study was originally published in 1992, and in spite of the many praises it received, it has also met criticism, mostly due to its supposed neglect of other identities in Britain, such as Irish

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[22] For *SWP*: cf. Pointner, Frank Erik. "Constructing Englishnesses: Thomas Moore's *The Fudge Family in Paris*". *British and European Romanticisms*. Christoph Bode and Sebastian Domsch (eds.). Trier: WVT, 2007, pp. 257-272; and Colbert, Benjamin. *Shelley's Eye: Travel Writing and Aesthetic Vision*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
For *SWL*: cf. Joukovsky, Nicholas A. "Peacock's Sir Oran Haut-ton: Byron's Bear or Shelley's Ape?". *Keats-Shelley Journal XXIX,* 1980, pp. 173-190

[23] That scholarly neglect most certainly is due to the limited availability of those texts, rather than due to a conscious disregard. It is very much owed to the digital availability of much of that textual material, which has only been established in recent times, that my study can rely on a vaster body of material than had been possible in past decades.

[24] Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. London: Pimlico, 2003 [1992]

or Jewish[25], or due to the more general postmodern suspicions of objective facts[26]. That type of criticism is symptomatic for any study done in the field of nationalism, which has been increasingly held under scrutiny against the backdrop of notions of cultural diversity and relativism.

Other critiques of her work have been raised due to the scholarly perspective of her work supposedly being allied with a political motivation of her own time, and very much writing against E.P. Thompson's seminal thesis on the formation of an English working class.[27] In terms of literary and cultural studies, however, work on this area of interest is surprisingly thin on the ground. Most of the work on subjects of this kind is done by postcolonial studies, predominantly focussing on empire, both at its centre and in its peripheries. My thesis aims to provide a literary and cultural analysis of the construction of an English identity in Post-Napoleonic times, using Colley's study as a point of departure for my altogether different approach.

As Colley is a historian, she treats primary sources in a different way than a cultural scholar would. Her aim is to explain facts in the empirical world, using the texts to corroborate and elucidate her findings, while a cultural studies approach specifically engages with the possible worlds created by texts for their own sake. My aim is to show how discursive webs of stereotypes and narrative configurations construct a sense of national identity, independent of whether or not it has any grounding in empirical reality. One might say, a cultural studies approach is the inverse of the historian's approach, as I am using historical facts only if they serve to directly contextualise my findings in the texts. And for that purpose, I will limit my study to those historical contexts that have any effect on the validity of my arguments rather than drawing extensive historical threads thickened by an overwhelming multitude of contextual fibres. Those would not

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[25] Cf. Loughlin, James. "Review of Britons". *Fortnight*, 319 (July–August 1993), p. 50; Endelman, Todd M. "Writing English Jewish History". *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*. (Winter 1995), 27:4, pp. 623–636; Koditschek, Theodore. "The Making of British Nationality". *Victorian Studies*. (Spring 2002), 44:3, pp. 389-398

[26] Cf. Easthope 1999, p. 11

[27] Colley's work could be considered an anthesis to: Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage, 1966. Thompson sees the eighteenth century as an age of class formation in England. Colley, however, stresses the making of a class-independent national identity during that time.

corroborate but rather distract from my arguments. Yet it is undeniable that cultural studies do always have a historical dimension, as even a synchronic approach to the material cannot do without a diachronic perspective to back it up.

One important point Colley made will be a significant point of departure for my study. Concerning the relationship between British[28] identity and the French, she writes:

> It was an invention forged above all by war. Time and time again, war with France brought Britons, whether they hailed from Wales or Scotland or England, into confrontation with an obviously hostile Other and encouraged them to define themselves collectively against it […] They defined themselves against the French as they imagined them to be, superstitious, militarist, decadent and unfree.[29]

Colley's focus on war as a unifying force is placed in a long history of national rivalries that brought the French into the focus of an English self-conception. "As France's wealth, power and influence had eclipsed those of other prominent nations such as Spain, this attention was fed by rivalry in trade and empire and by war, as well as by travel and the attraction of French fashions and culture"[30]. If war was the driving force behind the construction of Britishness, one would assume that very identity to fall into crisis after France lost the war and no longer posed any military threat to Britain. Indeed, the Post-Napoleonic discourse suggests as much, lacking any of the compelling images of war that had marked the earlier decades. Yet the French threat is far from gone. The military threat posed by the French had given way to a focus on the old cultural threat that allegedly is on the verge of undermining English national identity itself. Indeed, as Colley explicitly talks about a British identity rather than an English one, the fact that the unifying force of the political unit of Britain would be somewhat less relevant after their common foe had been defeated, is in itself a factor that may have helped to give rise to a stronger notion of an English identity, which was to fill an idea of Britishness with cultural content.

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[28] It may seem that, like Paxman, I am casually conflating the terms 'English' and 'British' myself, but I will give a detailed account of how I use these concepts in the chapter 1.2.2 of my thesis.

[29] Colley 2003, p. 5

[30] Moores, John Richard. *Representations of France in English Satirical Prints 1740-1832*. New York: Palgrave, 2015, p. 207

However, I will not completely ignore E.P. Thompson's thesis in my analysis. While Linda Colley disregards class relations completely in her version of English history, I argue there are important bits in the material that cannot be made sense of without addressing considerations of class. Recalling Paxman's vicious vilification of the English middle-class as Francophile, there are many indications in the primary texts I will consider that this is one of the main driving forces that endangers English identity. This notion at the time was often referred to as 'Gallomania', insinuating a type of disease rather than just a lifestyle. And Gallomania is constructed as a class-dependent phenomenon in the discourse.

As both the idea of the nation and the question of identity have been hotly debated by scholars across various disciplines, it seems that there are few areas of agreement when it comes to questions such as 'what is the nation?' and 'what constitutes human identities?'. In the next chapter I will give a detailed discussion of these concepts. For the time being, I will start with an important point of departure. There have been significant advances in identity scholarship that strongly link human identities to narratives. The narrative dimension of human identities has been thoroughly established by scholars such as Paul Ricœur, Marya Schechtman and David DeGrazia, to mention a few[31]. And it is the structures of narrative that will form the very backbone of my concept of the nation.

In practical terms, my take on the nation is that of a heuristic device, which may not have much grounding in the empirical world but helps to make better sense of discursive trends. For that analysis, I will rely on a model that was established by Leszek Kolakowski, in which he constructs national identity to be analogous to personal identities. Here, the idea of the nation, like the idea of a person, is firmly rooted in the notions of spirit, body, and a

[31] See Ricœur, Paul. *Temps et récit*. 3 vols. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1983-1985.; Schlechtman, Marya. *The Constitution of Selves*. New York: Cornell UP, 1996; DeGrazia, David. *Human Identity and Bioethics*. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2005. These works constitute some of the most influential texts for the narrative turn in the study of human identities. John Niles even goes as far as to declare storytelling the constitutive factor in the evolution of human civilisation (Niles, John D. *Homo Narrans: The Poetics and Anthropology of Oral Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

sense of past and future orientation.[32] While in the case of the nation, past and future orientation are widely accepted, the ideas of body and spirit are very much contested. However, as I will show in my thesis, with a coherent notion of narrative identity, the wildly elusive concepts of body and spirit can be tamed and help to make better sense of textual structures in national discourses. In this respect, questions such as 'what is the narrative relationship between a nation and its members' will be at the very centre of my enquiry. The first part of my thesis will concern itself with establishing Kolakowski's model for the analysis of national narratives, which in the third part of this thesis, I will employ to make sense of nationalist narratives in Post-Napoleonic England. To make Kolakowski's somewhat concise hypothesis work, I will rely greatly on Paul Ricœur's work, which can explain many of the otherwise esoteric ideas in Kolakowski's model. Through this, I will show how a nation is constructed to have a 'spirit' and a 'body' and 'memory' in a very similar sense in which individual human beings are said to have.

After discussing the theoretical ramifications of my approach and before embarking on narrative analyses in the first part of this thesis, I will concern myself with the context of Post-Napoleonic discourse in the second part, mainly focusing on networks of stereotypes that form the very foundations of national narratives. Even though these stereotypes are often embedded in narratives, I would like to separate that discursive analysis from the narrative analysis for pragmatic reasons. Narrative combines and exercises interpretative power over specific discursive elements, without which it would not be comprehensible in the first place.[33] Stereotypes are one such discursive feature, which are constructed, not so much by their being embedd in narrative, but by their widespread occurrence in discourse. The more often a specific stereotype occurs, the 'thicker' it becomes. And the more central its place in a particular narrative it occupies, the more meaning is ascribed to it.

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[32] See Kolakowski, Leszek. "On collective identity". *Partisan Review*, 2003, pp. 7-15

[33] This assumption goes back to Roland Barthes' claim that a "text is a tissue of quotations" [Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author". *Image-Music-Text*. Stephen Heath (ed. & trans.). London: Fontana Press, 1977, pp. 142-148, p. 146].

PART 1: Concepts, Methods and Material

1.1. National Selves

> Die kollektive Identität der Gemeinschaft bot dem freigesetzten und unruhigen Selbst einen festen und unüberbietbaren Stand.[34]

Recapitulating the ideas, I proposed in my introduction, my analysis is based on several premises, some of which are mainstream scholarly consensus, while others are located slightly more on the fringe. My first premise is that English national identity has been primarily constructed through the French Other. Secondly, the historical context of the Post-Napoleonic Age challenges old notions underlying an English national identity. Thirdly, the construction of national identity is based on a notion of national character that is analogous to individual characters. And my fourth premise is that all human identities, which are based on the notion of character, are primarily conceived through narrative. The conjunction of these premises leads to my overall thesis that reconfigurations of national narratives are used to negotiate an anthropomorphic notion of an English national self that is mediated through the French Other.

In the following part of my dissertation I will discuss my conceptual framework, my methodology and the materials I am using. The idea of a national self constitutes the biggest stumbling block in my conceptual framework. Not only is it dependent on a careful exposition of many other problematic terms, such as personal and collective identities, but it also seems that the notion of a self, which is strongly tied to individual agents cannot possibly be applied to the nation. Before I go into a thorough discussion of these issues, however, I will briefly position the nature of my thesis in the landscape of diverse scholarly disciplines in order to avoid confusions that might render my analyses problematic.

Judging by the general aim of my thesis to juxtapose national imaginaries concerned with the English and the French, it would seem that my thesis is firmly positioned in the field of imagology. Imagology is a comparative approach that juxtaposes supposedly different national discourses to point out that these discourses overlap and influence each other's constructions of national images, granting insights into transnational discourses. Indeed, it has become almost a

[34] Gießen, Bernhard. *Kollektive Identität: Die Intellektuellen und die Nation*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999, p. 11

cliché, especially in the German academia, that a thesis such as this must in some way operate within the conceptual framework of imagology. Yet, there are some incongruities and discrepancies in imagology, especially with respect to my research questions that do not allow my analysis to be firmly positioned in that field.

Before turning my attention to the theory and methodology of imagologist research, however, I will begin with a more general suspicion. To quote Siniša Malešević, who, even though for another discipline, writes that academics are often "the victims of fashion"[35]. In his field of sociology, he argues that

> The academic equivalent of a mullet is the concept of ideology. Whereas in the 1970s and 1980s this was an almost requisite idiom in any analyst's toolbox, since the 1990s the term has been relegated to the third division, suddenly replaced by the proliferation of new hip analytical concepts – 'discourse', 'meta-narrative', 'simulacra', and most of all 'identity'.[36]

While studies of national identities and nationalism, just like earlier the study of ideologies, have become unfashionable and given way for later trends in the relentless march of postmodernism, this does by no means mean that the concept of national identity cannot yield any insights anymore. As such, refraining from using terms like national identity, only to reintroduce them under a different umbrella term, would turn the whole enterprise into a scholarly charade. Part of the argument for imagology and against nationalism is without a doubt politically motivated insofar as there is a wish to conclude that nationalism is dead. As I have tried to hint at in my introduction, though, this is far from reality. And it is even farther from the realities of historically distant pasts. At this point, my argument against imagology might seem to be on the verge of committing the genetic fallacy, where a method is falsely rejected because others have come to use it for unjustified reasons. However, there are indeed very good arguments against imagology as a methodological framework for my particular thesis.

There are certain methodological implications of imagology – common enough to be considered at its core – that my study will not commit itself to. One of those key aspects is that imagology is deeply rooted in comparative studies.

[35] Siniša Malešević. *Identity as Ideology: Understanding Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2006, p. 1

[36] Ibid, p. 2

Imagology was "originally established as a specialism in Comparative Literature", and even though it has since moved into new fields, it has largely retained this tradition[37]. This comparative approach is mainly seen in its attempt to reconstruct transnational perspectives. Hugo Dyserinck sees one of the foundations of imagology to lie in understanding reciprocal views across different nations[38]. For my study that would imply examining both the English and the French discourses simultaneously in order to reconstruct reciprocal national perspectives: how the French see the English and how the English see the French. Yet this approach would have a different focus than my analysis insofar as it does not seem to reconstruct where national borders are drawn but rather to try and blur if not completely deconstruct them. As Joep Leerssen, allegedly the most distinguished expert of imagology, observes:

> It was taken as a given that English people should have a different character, temperament and/or mode of behaviour than Spanish, German or French ones; and the literary representation of that state of affairs was seen as a straightforwardly mimetic derivative of real-world facts[39]

It is hardly noteworthy to mention that no literary scholar today would argue that literary representations of the empirical world are essentially mimetic in nature. Yet Leerssen's criticism goes further than that in that he argues that national differences themselves may not necessarily exist. Studies on matters such as these, for instance Ruth Florack's work on *Tiefsinnige Deutsche, frivole Franzosen*, aim at juxtaposing national stereotypes only to deem them false on the basis of transnational realities and social similarities.[40] While this might in fact be the case, this is also where one of the fundamental problems with imagology lies: an underlying circularity. Since to make the argument complete, one would have to start with the premise that national differences probably do not exist and then that literature, therefore, does not represent them either, which again leads to the confirmation that they are nowhere to be found. However, this is not something that could be proven to any degree by imagologist efforts, and

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[37] Ton Hoenselaars and Joep Leerssen. "The Rhetoric of National Character: Introduction" *European Journal of English Studies*, 13:3, 2009, pp. 251-255, p. 251

[38] See Dyserinck, Hugo. "Zur Entwicklung der komparatistischen Imagologie," *Colloquium Helveticum*, 7, 1988, pp.19-42, p. 23

[39] Leerssen, Joep. "Imagology: On using ethnicity to make sense of the word". *Imagology*, 10, Autumn, 2016, pp. 13-31, pp. 13-14

[40] See Florack, Ruth. *Tiefsinnige Deutsche, frivole Franzosen: Nationale Stereotype in deutscher und französischer Literatur*. Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2001

neither is it what they attempt to do. Rather, imagology is firmly rooted in the tradition of the deconstructivist movement, as it too tries to deconstruct concepts in literary texts.[41]

Unfortunately, however, even imagologists are not always consistent in that undertaking. It has been observed by Claudia Perner that there is an inherent self-contradiction in their methodology that makes any such attempt a failure to begin with. In her dissertation on *US-American Inoutside Perspectives in Globalized Anglophone Literatures*, she writes that "[i]magology's first and possibly most fundamental problem is its implicit reliance on national and cultural 'containers' and on the existence of separate 'national literatures'", which in turn they have made their aim to deconstruct entirely[42]. If so, this would be the *reductio ad absurdum* to many imagologist studies, rendering them potentially Sisyphean tasks.[43] For instance, Ruth Wodak's study, quoted above, does appear to be committed to different national literatures, thus building itself on a premise that imagologists frequently deny. Perhaps it is exactly the unnecessary implicit reliance on the non-existence of certain empirical entities that could lie at the very heart of that problem. Currently, imagologist are picking

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[41] See Leerssen, Joep. "Imagology: History and Method". *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters*. Manfed Beller and Joep Leerssen (eds.). Amsetrdam: Rodopi, 2007, pp. 17-32, p. 17

[42] Perner, Claudia. *US-American Inoutside Perspectives in Globalized Anglophone Literatures*. 2013. University of Duisburg-Essen. PhD dissertation, p. 14. <http://duepublico.uni-duisburg-essen.de/servlets/DerivateServlet/Derivate-33509/Claudia_Perner.pdf>;
See also her article: Perner, Claudia. "Dislocating Imagology – And: How Much of It Can (or Should) Be Retrieved". P*ostcolonial Translocations: Cultural Representations and Critical Space Thinking*. Marga Munkelt, Mark Sein and Markus Schmitz (eds.). Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013, pp. 29-44
Leersen fired back at her criticism, by reviewing her work as "strident" but not very "convincing", possibly due to the fact that she, unlike others who have had similar issues with imagology, is not an imagologist but a Post-Colonialist. His assessment of Ruth Florack, who saw similar problems with imagology, but is a fellow imagologist, is much more benign (Leersen 2016, p. 21).

[43] As early as 1985, Jürgen Habermas issued a similar critique towards the whole movement of philosophical postmodernism, in particular Derrida and Foucault, since they use reason in an attempt to discredit reason itself, which is a "performative contradiction" (See Habermas, Jürgen. *Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne: Zwölf Vorlesungen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1985).

up on this problem, trying to develop new perspectives and frameworks for their field.[44]

Yet not all scholarship concerned with national categories has to comment on the empirical social reality that they might represent – which would be the task of a sociological study – any more than Shakespeare scholars will have to concern themselves with the existence of a historical Hamlet – a historian's concern. To unnecessarily take sides in this debate, apart from being potential targets of scholars from those disciplines one casually trespasses into, might have the negative side-effect of closing possible heuristic windows, as certain concepts are neglected right from the very beginning. And this is exactly how I want to treat the nation in my analysis: not as an empirical entity that I want to uncover in the texts I analyse, but as a heuristic paradigm that allows me to make observations in the text that I otherwise could not make. Without a doubt, there are still problems with the term of the nation that I did not yet relate to. I will return to these issues in my subchapter on the nation, where I will critically evaluate the concept in more detail.

Another methodological consensus among imagologists that will not be suitable to be used in my analysis is a fundamental reliance on their specific conception of 'images'. Manfred Beller, one of the major scholars of imagology, has defined the image as "the mental silhouette of the other, who appears to be determined by the characteristics of family, group, tribe, people or race. Such an 'image' rules our opinion of others and controls our behavior towards them"[45]. This definition may appear incredibly close to a definition of 'stereotypes', yet some early scholars in that field have tried to argue that images and stereotypes are categorically different concepts.[46] While this radical distinction could not hold ground, as other imagologists have treated them more or less synonymously,[47] there is some merit to the claim that they are not entirely the

[44] A conference hosted by the University of Vienna on "New Perspectives on Imagology" held earlier in 2018 picks up on those issues to bring imagology out of its methodological adolescence.

[45] Beller, Manfred. "Perception, Image, Imagology". *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters – A Critical Survey*. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (eds.). Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007, pp. 3-16, p. 4.

[46] Cf. Fischer, Manfred S. *National Images als Gegenstand vergleichender Literaturgeschichte*. Bonn: Bouvier, 1981

[47] Cf. Zacharasiewicz, Waldemar. *Imagology Revisited*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010

same, as has also been observed by Birgit Neumann[48]. Granting that 'images' seem to entail a more complex mental model than 'stereotypes' seem to do, as stereotypes are at times considered to be rather simple formulas, one could think of them as synecdochally connected concepts. In this view, the 'image' is to the 'stereotype' that which the 'allegory' is to the 'metaphor', an extended rendition that contains the smaller parts, but puts them together to form a total picture, a silhouette, so to speak. However, this approach to the issue, even though it does make sense in theory, does not make it much easier to differentiate between images and stereotypes for all practical purposes. It is hard to say where a stereotype ends and an image begins. As a heuristic device, this conceptual framework is vague at best.

For that reason, I will take a slightly different view, using the concept of the 'image' in its more basic form. In my analysis, I will shift the relationship between stereotypes and images from a synecdochal to a more metaphorical approach. Images are not primarily verbal in the sense that stereotypes are, but visual. Here the image becomes a potential substitute for the stereotype in the sense that both categories are cognitively linked. This idea can be traced back to Structuralism and Post-Structuralism, where signified and signifier can temporally become linked so that the one will imply the other. Through this metaphorical relationship, both acquire semantic surplus value that modifies the overall construction. It should be stressed, though, that for my analysis I am not merely relying on visualisations of stereotypes on the one hand, and not only on ekphrases of images on the other. Indeed, I consider the difference between visual and verbal dimension not to be one of absolute categories but located on a spectrum. Semantically, I will consider images and stereotypes to be distinct in their individual meanings, yet mutually connected. Images, in this sense, are those concepts that are more likely to summon up a visual dimension, while stereotypes are more easily conceived of in abstract verbal terms. Yet that does not mean that stereotypes can never be visual, nor that images can never be verbal.

To make this more comprehensible, in my chapter 2.2 for instance, I will take a closer look at an image that has often been connected with stereotypes

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[48] See Neumann, Birgit. *Die Rhetorik der Nation in britischer Literatur und anderen Medien des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Trier: WVT, 2009, p. 38

held towards the French: the image of an ape. Images of apes do not visualise those stereotypes mimetically, yet they lend a visually imaginable metaphorical dimension to those stereotypes by means of analogy. Even if this visual dimension is not visually depicted but only presented in verbal form, it serves the very same function. Sometimes the connection is drawn by relating to stories of apes in popular fables, sometimes by telling stories of French that literally are apes, sometimes by depicting the French as apes in satirical prints, and sometimes by portraying images of the French that share features with apes. The totality of those intertexts constructs an idea of a French national character with a specific type of 'mental silhouette'.

My approach, which explicitly uses the concept of a 'national self' goes a little further than that though. Essentially, that notion seems to bear certain anthropomorphic baggage, insofar as it is typically individual persons and not groups of people that are said to have a self. Just like the nation, the self is a controversial concept that is more often than not said to have no empirical foundation. And more so than it is the case with the nation, it proves an extremely difficult concept to define. Hardly ever does it seem that whoever uses the term has anything specific in mind, potentially reducing it to nothing more than a semantically void filler word.

For the sake of laying out my basic methodological framework I will ignore the dangerous grounds on which the idea of a 'self' stands and postpone my critical discussion of the issue for a moment. For now, I will take the self for granted and lay out my use of what I deem to be a valid model for the analysis of national characters. In my introduction I already mentioned that the basic framework of my analysis will derive from Kolakowski's model of national identities. According to Kolakowski, national identities are constructed in the same ways that personal identities are. Even though the nation may exceed the kind of empirical reality in which individual people are placed, there seems to be a human tendency to anthropomorphise otherwise non-human entities. This is true as a matter of simple linguistic convenience, when, for example, nations are referred to as having certain feelings – an individual human quality. Yet this is also true as a cognitive bias that leads humans to really infer human-like characteristics behind non-human entities. As the British Empiricist David Hume famously observed:

> There is an universal tendency among mankind to conceive all beings like themselves, and to transfer to every object, those qualities, with which they are familiarly acquainted, and of which they are intimately conscious. We find human faces in the moon, armies in the clouds; and by a natural propensity, if not corrected by experience and reflection, ascribe malice and good-will to every thing, that hurts or pleases us.[49]

Hume's assertion points out a human tendency to find their own likeness in inanimate objects. Partly it is concerned with entities that are experienced visually, about which a human likeness is perceived. However, Hume goes further than that by including non-corporeal ones as well, as long as intention can be read into phenomena in the world, which is the basic ingredient of modern conspiracy theories. It might not necessarily be the case that entities such as the nation are perceived to have a human face, but it may very well be the case that they are perceived as having a much more fundamentally human quality, that of agency. If nations are considered as having agency in the sense that they act like a unified being, then one could very well call this a type of anthropomorphism, even though in rarefied rather than in strictly embodied form.

The idea that this anthropomorphism, especially in a metaphorical sense, could go as far as one using a type of language in a national context that is usually used to describe human beings. And this is where Kolakowski's framework comes into play. In his view, the nation is constructed in a way that resembles human minds and bodies. To Kolakowski, personal identities and collective identities are cut out of the same cloth, claiming that personal identities are conceived as being constituted by "[s]ubstance, memory, anticipation, body and an identifiable beginning"[50]. When applied to group identities, Kolakowski only slightly changes these concepts, proposing "national spirit or Volksgeist" instead of substance and "historical memory" instead of just memory[51]. Leaving aside the idea of a national spirit, which just like that of a substance is extremely evasive, in fact it is identical to the notion of the 'self', Kolakowski's model sounds plausible enough. However, it is not at all obvious why he would simply go with the claim that nations, just like persons should have bodies. Indeed, he himself starts his essay by admitting that any definition of a national body will

[49] Hume, David. *Natural History of Religion*. London, 1757, p. 17
[50] Kolakowski 2003, p. 9
[51] Ibid, pp. 9-10

"inevitably be shaky and imprecise"[52]. Further, it is not at all clear why the nation should in any way be considered to have a body only because while contemplating personal and collective identities, "it is impossible to talk of one without considering the other"[53]. It appears that Kolakowski is committing the fallacy of composition, where it is assumed that whatever is true for a member of the group must be true for the group itself as well. Yet his argument is much more subtle than that.

It does not seem that Kolakowski is arguing that a national body will in any way resemble a human body. To him, the corporeality of the nation is simply that of putting together all of its parts, in which all members of the nation together constitute the body of the nation irrespective of its imagined 'anatomy'. It is for that reason that Kolakowski's model has not been taken as seriously as it could have been. Wodak et al see a problem in the fact that Kolakowski's model "allows the nation to act as a personified actor, which is not compatible with Anderson's characterisation of a 'nation' which we have adopted"[54]. Imagined things typically have no body in any meaningful sense of the word, as they are only abstractions. Again, the problem only arises when one tries to map the nation in empirical reality. Wodak et al thus decide to treat the idea of a national body "in a purely metaphorical sense", where it "manifests itself in discussions of national territories, landscapes and nature as well as the physical artefacts which shape those elements"[55]. To include national territories seems to be a plausible approach. Yet it is odd that Wodak et al would not include the members of the nation to be part of the national body. The problem with individual human bodies, at least so it seems, is that they are individual and thus they can act independently of any greater whole of which they might be a part. Landscapes and territories are fixed and therefore do not pose a problem to the idea of a unified body.

To take a little step back, Stuart Hall has offered a similar model for the discursive construction of national identities. Unlike Kolakowski, however, he does not embrace problematic categories such as body and spirit. Hall's enumeration includes the "narrative of a nation", the "continuity and

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[52] Ibid, p. 7
[53] Ibid
[54] Wodak et al. 2009, p. 25
[55] Ibid, p. 26

timelessness of the national character", the "invention of traditions", a "foundational myth" and a notion of a "pure, original people, or 'folk'"[56]. Hall's framework includes many of the key ideas that arguably constitute a sense of national identity. However, the way he juxtaposes his five pillars suggests a circularity at the core of his model. Indeed, one may argue that each of his other four pillars, is not only in a metonymic but rather a synecdochial relationship with the "narrative of a nation". One may even go as far as to say that these are the necessary constituents of any narrative of a nation.

Leaving that aside, Hall's discursive framework almost inevitably leads to Kolakowski's character-based model of the nation. Since Hall stresses the narrative of the nation to be core element in the construction of national identities and as that is inextricably tied to the idea of a continuous national character, the question is what that type of narrative would be. One thing that narratives cannot do without is agency, which is required to add an element of indeterminism to an otherwise predictable deterministic chain of reactions. And agency in its narrow sense is only conceived of in the context of humanoid actors, as it necessitates free decision-making. If Hall is taken by his word, then, the narrative of the nation requires the nation to have a type of agency. If it only referred to narratives of particular members of a nation, then it could hardly be said to be *the* narrative of the nation, unless the fallacy of composition is voluntarily committed.

For a narrative of the nation to make sense, there needs to be a type of national actor that is not only part of the nation but in a significant way identical to the nation. Actors of any kind require a kind of bodily existence, at least in the sense that they are supposed to interact with the world around them. However, the metaphorical sense of a national body cannot do without its members, as the nation is primarily defined through its members, which puts a type of deadlock around the issue. As a first step, it would be ideal to find any precedents to a national body that could provide a direct context for my discussion of a national body in Post-Napoleonic England. And there is indeed such a precedent.

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[56] Hall, Stuart. 'The Question of Cultural Identity'. *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*. Stuart Hall, et al (eds). Cambridge, Mass. and Oxford: Wiley, 1996, pp. 595–634, pp. 613-615.

In fact, the precedent is as much a legal one as it is metaphysical. Edmund Plowden, a legal scholar of the late middle ages, famously laid out a concept in which a state could have a corporeal body consisting of the king and his subjects:

> [T]he king has two Capacities, for he has two Bodies, the one whereof is a Body natural, consisting of natural Members as every other Man has, and in this he is subject to Passions and to Death as other Men are; the other is a Body politic, and the Members thereof are his Subjects, and he and his Subjects together compose the Corporation […] and he is incorporated with them, and they with him[57]

In this utterly esoteric explanation of royal capacities, Plowden points out that while the king may have the same frail mortal body that any human being has, he also has a second body: the Body Politic. Through this second body, which joins together the king and his subjects, the state is held together in a sublime corporeal form. In his seminal work on *The King's Two Bodies*, Ernst Kantorowicz calls this the king's "superbody", which lends the king a form of immortality, as he is an incarnation of the principle of kingship[58].

Indeed, this concept has always been a legal fiction that is used to explain the capacities of the state. The early modern judge Edward Coke lays out that "a corporation aggregate of many is invisible, immortal, and rests only in intendment and consideration of the law"[59] Yet even though fictitious in principle, "the idea of the *persona ficta* gave legal *reality* to a corporate person"[60]. As such, the Body Politic enjoyed the same legal status that any individual body of a person could have. However, the fiction was far from abstract in the minds of some people. In the early eighteenth century, an anonymous legal scholar pointed out that "[a] Body Politick is framed in similitude as a natural Body; with a Capacity to take, hold, and enjoy, and act as a natural Body"[61]. In this description it seems that the Body Politic is not only

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[57] Plowden, Edmund. *The Commentaries, Or Reports of Edmund Plowden*., vol. 1. London, 1816, p. 233

[58] Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1957, p. 13

[59] Coke, Edward. "Report on the Case of Sutton's Hospital", 1612. *The English Reports*. Vol. 77, p. 973

[60] Halliday, Paul D. *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns, 1650-1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998, p. 31

[61] *The Law of Corporations: Containing the Laws and Customs of All the Inferior Courts of Record in England*. London, 1702, p. 2

legally treated as such, but in principle does have the same capacities that a natural body has, being able to act exactly like one.

Probably the best-known visualisation of the Body Politic is found on the cover of Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*. Even before turning a single page of his treatise in political philosophy the reader is struck with the omnipresence of the king's second body:

Figure 1 "Leviathan title-page" [62]

[62] Bosse, Abraham. "Leviathan title-page / print". London, 1651
All images referenced in this thesis are available on the website of the British Museum's digital collection:
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx>

To a modern audience, the image might seem incredibly grotesque, as a giant king composed of the bodies of thousands is half stuck in the ground. If anything, one would think it to be straight out of a second-rate horror film, as the threatening monster absorbs everyone who dares to cross its path. A reader of Milton might feel reminded of a scene in *Paradise Lost* where out of the earth was born "[t]he Tawnie Lion, pawing to get free / His hinder parts"[63]. The medieval idea of an entire people forming a sublime body is utterly foreign to a modern audience. Yet in the late medieval and early modern periods, where theological concerns were a major inspiration for legal and political thought, the idea of a transcendental body of the state was not at all an outlandish one.

However, even in that specific context, the notion was not as secure as the law would have tried to make it. Especially with the growth of partisan politics throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Body Politic was permanently threatened, as polarising party politics of the Whigs and Tories made it increasingly difficult to view a state as a unified whole. Paul Halliday points out that

> [t]he great political sin was not disagreement, but continuous, 'contrived' division, maintained by the secret whisperings of small groups outside of formal meetings. Small parts of the whole body, meeting separately to concert their political activities, were no better than political conventicles[64].

Here we have the idea of an indivisible body being divided, as parts of it start living separate lives much to the deterioration of the whole.[65] To make matters worse, the execution of Charles I during the English Revolution set a legal precedent that helped to doubt the continuity of the king's second body. Against the backdrop of those concerns, William Blackstone established a legal framework in which the Body Politic could survive the natural death of any particular king by rendering kingship quasi-immortal, a principle that stands until the present day.[66]

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[63] Milton, John. *Paradise Lost*. Barbara Lewalski (ed.). Malden et al: Blackwell, 2007 [1674], ll. 7.464-465
[64] Halliday 1998, p. 4
[65] My chapter 3.7 provides a case study of exactly that problem being used in *JBB*.
[66] See Blackstone, William. *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. 1. London, 1765, p. 196

As far as the Body Politic as a representation of the nation is concerned, it seems to provide a perfect illustration of how Kolakowski's model in national imaginations of the time, increasing the prior probability of the premise that similar structures can be found in Post-Napoleonic national discourses. Taking the Body Politic as a model for my analysis of the macrostructure of national discourses, I will discuss how this particular type of national personification is modified to fit into the context of a Post-Napoleonic nationalist agenda in chapter 1.3, after laying out a more detailed distinction of the ideas of the state and the nation in chapter 1.2.

From the perspective of a literary and cultural scholar, the Body Politic constitutes a possible literary character that could be used in narrative setups. In essence, the concept of the Body Politic is a personification of an abstract idea. For my thesis, the personification trope will be of great analytical importance, as it is primarily by using that device that national identities are constructed. Yet a Body Politic, such as portrayed on Hobbes' cover could not directly be transferred to a narrative scenario, unless it was in the bluntest of allegories. Much of it depends on the notion of the narrative self, which I have not yet explained. For that purpose, I will lay out a consistent and plausible approach to narrative identity before I will again turn my attention to the personification trope as an analytical concept.

1.1.1. Narrative Identity

In order to establish how it is that national identities are narratively constructed, it is an essential first step to postulate a consistent model of narrative identity that makes full use of the narratological devices through which texts establish national identities. As a starting point, I will take up Ricœur's model of narrative identity, which he famously established in his major work *Soi-même comme un autre*.[67] His approach is concerned with personal identities, which are commonly

[67] Ricœur, Paul. *Oneself as Another*. Trans. Kathleen Blamey. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1990].
Due to the matter being highly technical, I will not use Ricœur's original *Soi-même comme un autre*, but a translated version for this discussion, as it would otherwise be detrimental to the flow of reading.

perceived to be vastly different from national identities. This traditional separation has been a major source of problems whenever scholars tried to transfer his model of narrative identities to the national level. However, I will attempt to show that most of these problems can be solved by revaluating some of the fundamental concepts in Ricœur's model.

In the following, I will provide a brief outline of Ricœur's model of narrative identity. Right from the outset of his book, he lists three main philosophical intentions underlying his work:

> The first intention was to indicate the primacy of reflective meditation over the immediate positing of the subject, as this is expressed in the first person singlular: 'I think,' 'I am' […] The second philosophical intention, implicitly present in the title in the word 'self' is to distinguish two major meanings of 'identity' […] depending on whether one understands by 'identical' the equivalent of the Latin *ipse* or *idem* […] The third […] is related to the preceding one, in the sense that *ipse*-identity involves a dialectic complementary to that of selfhood and sameness, namely the dialectic of *self* and *other than self.* [68]

His basic premise is that there is an irreducible distinction between identity of sameness, which he calls *idem*-identity, and identity of selfhood, which he refers to as *ipse*-identity. Personal identity can only be conceived by referring to both of these, lest one should commit the same fallacies that the Lockean tradition of personal identity as an identity of mere sameness has been suffering from[69]. Locke's equation of personal identity with consciousness mediated by memory has been exposed to stark criticism right from the beginning[70]. According to Ricœur, it is only through the concept of selfhood that one can seriously try and find an answer to the question 'Who'[71].

Idem-identity, as an identity of sameness, corresponds to 'What'-questions in the form of criteria that determine sameness. Sameness can be conceived in two different forms, which are irreducible to one another:

In this work, Ricœur provides an extended version of his notion of narrative identity that he originally made in *Temps et Récit*.

[68] Ricœur 1992, pp. 1-3

[69] See ibid, p. 125

[70] The Clarke-Collins correspondence has always been considered to be the prime example of that debate. Clarke, who represented the Scholastic tradition, criticised Locke's approach by introducing fission-cases, which render the core of Locke's concept of personal identity a fiction at best (see Martin, Raymond and Barresi, John. *Naturalization of the Soul: Self and Personal Identity in the Eighteenth Century*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 33-38)

[71] Ricœur 1992, p. 118

quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative or numerical identity finds its expression in the phrase ‘one and the same’. Qualitative identity describes concepts that are similar to one another to some degree but are still perceived to be diverse. Two exact copies, for instance, would be qualitatively similar but cannot be described as one and the same. Quantitative identity is permanently under threat by the workings of time, which always creates doubt between several occurrences of one and the same thing. A person that leaves the room and immediately comes back in may be easy to identify, but this certainty fades when a person disappears for a long period of time[72]. As is usually the problem with identity over time, one needs to find criteria that help to determine a temporal continuity of one and the same thing. However, Ricœur elaborates that this determination of personal identity via means of sameness is not enough to account for one’s experience of what it means to be the same person throughout one’s life. In his view, this would lead to a completely arbitrary and fictitious view of personal identities, such as the view expressed by David Hume. In his *Treatise of Human Nature*, Hume famously observed: "For my part, when I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch *myself* at any time without a perception, and never can observe any thing but the perception”[73]. Ricœur considers selfhood to fill that gap and make sense of what it means to be the same person over time, even if all criteria of sameness (the Humean perceptions) may have changed in the course. Selfhood does not find its expression in verification as it is the case with the objectifiable criteria of sameness. Rather, it is found in attestation, which responds to the question of ‘Who?’ as opposed to the question of ‘What?’. Attestation, in this respect, is “the *assurance of being oneself acting and suffering*”[74]. Through attestation, a person may identify with criteria of sameness by attributing those criteria to oneself.

In order to overcome the temporal discontinuity, sameness and selfhood are transcended by two modes of permanence in time: character and keeping one’s word, each of which establishes a relationship between *idem* and *ipse*. The

[72] See ibid, pp. 116-117
[73] Hume, David. *A Treatise of Human Nature*. David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton (eds.). Oxford: Clarendon, 2007 [1738], p. 165
[74] Ricœur 1992, p. 22

notion of character assumes that there is a set of core characteristics, which are quite stable throughout a person's life. Ricœur further subdivides character into two notions: habits, which "become a lasting disposition . . . a distinctive sign by which a person is recognized, reidentified as the same"; and acquired identifications, which include "values, norms, ideals, models and heroes, in which the person or the community recognizes itself". He argues that "character is able to constitute the limit point where the problematic of ipse becomes indiscernible from that of idem, and where one is inclined not to distinguish them from one another"[75]. At the other pole of the continuum, the notion of 'promising' creates a gap between selfhood and sameness, in which selfhood is seemingly liberated from criteria of sameness. Even if all character traits were to change in the course of time, Ricœur argues, the promise would still stand and the self would hold firm[76]. Therefore, "faithfulness to oneself in keeping one's word marks the extreme gap between the permanence of the self and that of the same and so attests fully to the irreducibility of the two problematics one to the other"[77]. Ricœur has thus found a basis for his fundamental separation between sameness and selfhood.

The self, which according to Ricœur is established in the dialectic of selfhood and sameness and in the dialectic of self and other than self, is narratively constructed through emplotment. He argues that "emplotment allows us to integrate with permanence in time what seems to be its contrary in the domain of sameness-identity, namely diversity, variability, discontinuity, and instability"[78]. Narrative identity, via a means of emplotment, becomes the true transcendental of permanence in time, as within it, character and commitment are established and bound up in a life's story in which temporal disparity is overcome by a continuous narrative. This is not achieved by mere causality but by "the notion of the synthesis of the heterogenous", which he terms "discordant concordance"[79]. The question here is not which cause lead to what effect in empirical terms but only how narrative gives meaning to events, actions and characters. Narrative identity is thus established on the basis of trying to find

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[75] Ibid, p. 121
[76] See Ibid, p. 124
[77] Ibid, p. 118
[78] Ibid, p. 140
[79] Ibid, p. 141

meaning in a sequence of actions performed by characters who develop in the course of time. In all of this, the self is always expressed through attestation, in which the dialectic between selfhood and sameness and the dialectic between self and other are resolved[80]. Through attestation, a person may attribute character traits to the self and embark on long-term projects of commitment.

There are two main problems with Ricœur's model: one is internal to his system and the other occurs whenever one tries to apply it to collective identities. I would argue that the latter stems from the former: his irreducible separation of sameness and selfhood as two forms of identity. So, the question is if there is not an unwarrantable extension in Ricœur's model that prevents it from making sense of how identity construction works on different spheres of enquiry. Additionally, it must be stated that Ricœur's approach, which is based on validation via first-person experience, makes it difficult to apply it to the analysis of identity construction *in* narrative, which defies a strict first-person view. I will try to clarify those problems in turn and then modify Ricœur's model to make it applicable to the work required for my thesis.

There is something peculiar about Ricœur's irreducible distinction between selfhood and sameness, which may not be that obvious at first glance. It should be much easier to identify the problem when considering his modes of permanence that give rise to the two concepts. Character, as a collection of criteria that are usually perceived to prevail throughout long distances in time, seems indubitable as a constituent of personal identity. Personal identity is inconceivable, both intrinsically and in terms of its relations, without the idea of a core set of characteristics that accompany persons throughout their life. As Ricœur notices, it is not necessarily the case that every individual member of that set remains unchanged, indeed changes in character are commonly expected throughout the course of a person's life. Yet a continuous (hi)story, which is constructed through emplotment and explains and validates twists and turns via concordance of discordances, makes it possible to conceive of a character that is subject to change but still one and the same throughout the entire story[81]. Commitment, on the other hand, is much more problematic to maintain as a separate issue. Ricœur's claim that it is divorced from all the other criteria that

[80] Ibid, p. 21
[81] Ibid, p. 141

constitute character may be justified in some way or another, yet it cannot reasonably be taken out of the set of character as a whole. In order to keep one's word, faithfulness to one's commitments needs to be among a person's characteristics. No one would expect a compulsive liar to keep his word, for being a liar part of his character. Nevertheless, no one would reasonably try to argue that such a person has no selfhood, if there is to be any such thing at all, just because that person cannot establish meaningful long-term commitments. Commitment, then, has to be based on a person's character. One may object that even an entirely truthful person may tell a lie at some point, but the question is whether or not this is to be seen as an act completely independent from one's character. If not, this merely indicates that the assumed character of that person has to be reconsidered according to the context in which it is revealed and how it may change through circumstances outside of their control. Ricœur's certainty in the former explanation does not seem justified, even from the highly subjective perspective he assumes. Without basing commitment on character, any act of commitment would be rendered completely random, which makes it more plausible to subsume commitment under the notion of character, especially in the way that Ricœur uses it to explain long-term projects such as friendship.

In short, commitment is not an expression of anything outside a person's character but a vital constituent of the same (pun intended). Ricœur's separation of character and commitment is, therefore, an artificial one, a problem that severely damages his fundamental separation of sameness and selfhood, of which the two modes are thought to be expressions. Also finding character and commitment to be closely interconnected for similar reasons, Joan McCarthy concludes that "[t]he two relations of identity, *idem* and *ipse*, cannot be peeled apart; the latter is parasitic on and reducible to the former"[82].

If Ricœur's independent notion of selfhood ultimately reduces to sameness, one is immediately thrown back to the Humean position: identity as a random fiction. McCarthy tries to solve the problem Ricœur's account faces by proposing narrative identity to be a form of ipse-identity[83]. However, this does not solve the problem at all, since this reduction generates the need for a criterion

[82] McCarthy, Joan. *Dennett and Ricoeur on the Narrative Self*. New York: Humanity Books, 2007, p. 127

[83] Ibid, p. 143

of selfhood in sameness. However, 'to be oneself' does not strike as a genuine criterion. If anything, the notion of selfhood can be described in terms of reflexivity, which in hermeneutic terms always mediates between parts and wholes. Ricœur explicitly points out that his 'self' is a nominalised form of the reflexive pronoun.[84] This type of linguistic substantiation may be milder than the hard immaterialism of the Cartesian cogito, yet it easily invites a sense of irreducibility, which makes it difficult to even consider its construction. As it has already been pointed out before, this alleged irreducibility is fallacious. Nevertheless, trying to identify selfhood with any criterion of sameness, such as a specific character trait, would be equally dissatisfactory. Yet, if there is no clear and distinct centre in the hermeneutics of the self, the question opens up whether or not it is not completely arbitrary without any (real or imagined) permanence in time whatsoever.

Likewise, the strictly first-person view on narrative identity that Ricœur proposes does not seem to enable one to apply his concept to the construction of identity *in* narratives, as such an evaluation always requires a third-person stance (even if indeed the narrative makes use of a first-person narrator). As Ricœur's dialectic is built on the idea that the self is intimately connected to another, a strict first-person view, even of the self, is impossible to begin with. Therefore, one needs to postulate a concept of selfhood that goes beyond the boundaries of a first-person perspective and thus allows a view of the self that can be explained outside the realm of first-hand experience, such as via a narrative text.

Ricœur's model of narrative identity helps to make sense of how identities are constructed in narrative terms, yet without the Archimedean Point of selfhood, this narrative would prove to be completely instable, and identities merely momentary fictions without the type of permanence in time he tries to establish. Such a view would be a throwback to the Humean position that Ricœur tries to counter. In order to avoid that radical position without anything to bring order to narrative, the gap of selfhood as the concept that establishes order needs to be filled.

In her elaboration of Ricœur's model, McCarthy juxtaposes it with a different model of the narrative self, which was proposed by Daniel Dennett.

[84] See Ricœur 1992, p. 2

According to Dennett, "[the self] is a purely abstract object . . . a theorist's fiction" which he metaphorically terms "a Center of Narrative Gravity”[85]. Dennett chose this metaphor to create an analogy with the ‘centre of gravity’ familiar from the field of physics. While the centre of gravity is used to explain the behaviour of objects with respect to the gravitational field, it nevertheless is not an identifiable part of any object. It is only through the way in which an object as a whole interacts with its environment that a centre of gravity can be implied, without really identifying it with any specific particle. Dennett argues that the same is true for the self as a centre of narrative gravity insofar as a self can be identified in the overall composition of a character, but it is not any specific aspect of that character with which the self can be identified.[86] McCarthy sees epistemological and ontological shortcomings in Dennett’s arguments, which does not have the explanatory power to make sense of the human condition from a what-it-is-like-to-be perspective, where narrative is seen as purposeful and self-referential.[87] It is my contention that McCarthy is right in pointing out the epistemological and ontological failures of Dennett’s model. However, this is not due to the evasiveness of his self as a centre of narrative gravity, but rather to the lack of a narratological framework that would allow making sense of narratives in that way; a theory of narrative gravity, so to speak.

Dennett’s metaphor makes it conceivable how to break free from the deadlock of substantiation of the self, which when seen as a centre of narrative gravity, does not require a substantial (even in the weak sense of the word) but structural explanation. Consequently, the self does not have to be explained intrinsically, but as a relation of criteria. Just like the centre of gravity that is proposed for material objects, a centre of narrative gravity as an abstract narrative object arises from complex interactions between narrative ‘particles’ but it is never actually required to identify it with any single one of them. In this

[85] Dennett, Daniel. “The Self as a Center of Narrative Gravity”. *Self and Consciousness: Multiple Perspectives*. Frank S. Kessel, Pamela M. Cole, and Dale L. Johnson (eds.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1992, pp. 103-115, p. 105

[86] See Ibid

[87] See McCarthy 2007, pp. 73-99
Thomas Nagel famously framed the notion of personal identity around the question of what it would be like to be a certain creature. His argument is that to each sentient being there must be some sense of what it is like for that creature to exist in the world, which is the basis for constructing its identity (See Nagel, Thomas. “What Is It Like to Be a Bat?”. *The Philosophical Review*, 83:4, October, 1974, pp. 435-450).

respect, there it would be a mistake to assume its entirely arbitrary nature. Just as the centre of gravity is only used for its explanatory power, the same can be assumed for the centre of narrative gravity. In order to establish that, I will focus on the narrative interactions that make such an abstraction possible with regards to how much it contributes to the explanatory power of narrative identity. Moreover, it is exactly those narrative interactions which put some necessity into the way the narrative is spun. I would argue along with Ricœur that in any narrative, there is an underlying play with coherence that is inherent to narrative identity. Readers will widely attempt, sometimes more or less successfully, to make sense of narrative in a coherent way, which is the attempt to establish narrative identity. Anything that is narratively constructed will have a form of narrative identity: a character, a text, or even an entire nation. Likewise, I will treat attestation not as a first-person act of acceptance, but as something that is established by the narrative circumstances in which the narrative self is constructed.

As mentioned above, traditional attempts at using Ricœur's model to explain the construction of national identities have stumbled over diverse problems. In their application of the narrative concept of identities to a discursive analysis of Austrian identity, Ruth Wodak et al argue that "the primarily individual-related category of 'selfhood' cannot be applied to concepts such as 'nation' and 'national identity'"[88]. As mentioned before, it is a crucial starting point to deny Ricœur's ontological justification of selfhood before applying narrative identity to national identity. Yet, as the whole concept of narrative identity requires the dialectic of sameness and selfhood, which may be termed a recursive relationship of criteria in a narratological framework, it would be premature to simply exclude the notion of selfhood from the discussion. This is the case since it would threaten to make the whole idea of narrative identity redundant. Instead of using Ricœur's concept of selfhood, Wodak et al prefer to use the term "uniqueness"[89]. On the one hand, this switching of terms seems to provide a better understanding of the basis on which collective identities such as national ones are formed and avoids the quasi-metaphysical concept of the self. On the other hand, it slightly shifts the focus from an intrinsic understanding of

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[88] Wodak et al 2009, p. 26
[89] Ibid, p. 27

identities to their extrinsic relations. While this does not necessarily violate the identity formation process of Ricœur, in which the idea of a self is always pervaded by relations to another, there is another problem arising from that change in terminology. The term ‘uniqueness’ does not imply the reflexive dimension that is inherent in Ricœur's ‘self’, as it is by and large a relation of qualitative sameness. Ricœur might challenge that rephrasing on the grounds that it lays too much stress on an objectifying language, which does not provide a good basis for the type of phenomenological hermeneutics he is interested in and also does not make sense the attestation of criteria. Additionally, it should be noted that in the above-mentioned remark, Wodak et al virtually take it for granted that national identity is a type of qualitative identity. They deny the possibility of viewing national identity as quantitative identity (in terms of a “personified actor”), since it “is not compatible with Anderson’s characterisation of a nation, which [they] have adopted”[90].

Ricœur's model, however, is framed on the idea that narrative identity mediates quantitative identity over time rather than qualitative identity. His Archimedean point of the narrative self only makes sense in terms of quantitative identity, since qualitative identity never requires permanence in time due to its non-spatiotemporal character. Consequently, Wodak et all conclude that “national identity cannot be reduced to narrative identity”. In order to further support that claim they assert that “[a]nticipation and future orientation” just as much as “the temporal dimension of the present cannot be treated from the narrative standpoint,” since narrative “primarily refers to the past”. Yet all of these are essential parts of national identity, which always has a historical and a teleological dimension. Instead of focusing on narrative, they prefer dealing with the “discursive construction of national identity,” which “revolves around the three temporal axes of the past, the present and the future”[91]. The conclusion that narrative is only set in the past and cannot treat future orientation or the present state seems to rely on an unnecessarily narrow understanding of narrative. At least since St. Augustine, the understanding of time has defied a strictly linear view, as past, present and future are always perceived simultaneously. Things past are always perceived within the present, both as they lead to a current status

[90] Ibid, p. 25
[91] Ibid. p. 26

quo and can still be accessed by some form of memory. Likewise, the future only makes sense as a necessary or at least possible outcome of the present, which manifests in anticipation[92]. Over time, through recollection and anticipation, the hermeneutic process will always change the understanding of a story, but the understanding of time must still rely on this simultaneity, which is the basis for any hermeneutic understanding of narrative. Further, if the ‘narrative’ in narrative identity is regarded as being the adjective form of the noun ‘narrativity’ rather than its more categorial equivalent ‘narrative’, an overly narrow understanding of narrative identity based in traditional forms of texts can be avoided. Narrative could not be conceived without a historical dimension in which the story is set or without a teleological axis, a purpose towards which the narrative strives. Hence, both Wodak et al’s strict division of the temporal axis and their conclusion on the purely past-tense nature of narrative does not appear too convincing.

Keeping that in mind, a very problematic question to turn back to is whether national identity is to be conceived as qualitative or numerical identity. Most contemporary scholars, as Wodak et al do, would argue for the former without hesitation, locating national identity on the level of a criterion, or a collection of criteria, which are only to be found in individual members of the group. The problem with that view is that qualitative identity, even though it is also constructed in narrative, is not a key pole in the dialectic of narrative identity. Qualitative identity, due to its non-spatiotemporal nature, does not require the type of permanence in time that narrative identity seeks to establish. It might prove extremely helpful to consider the second case as well: national identity as numerical identity. This may at first seem counter-intuitive, as there is no such 'thing' as 'the nation', throwing us back to Benedict Anderson who strictly argues for the imaginary nature of nations. However, nationalists struggle, just as Ricoeur did, to give more substance to the relative and instable concept of identity as sameness, and this is achieved in narrative. This must not necessarily involve any metaphysical *doxa*, but it certainly may influence the way that the nation is perceived, and indeed constructed, by its members.

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[92] See Russell, Bertrand. *History of Western Philosophy*. London: Routledge, 2004 [1946], pp. 390-391

If national identity might also be considered numerical, then there must be some meaning to the sentence 'the nation has existed for hundreds of years', which implies that a nation itself could have quantitative identity rather than just being part of somebody else's identity. The continuance of a nation, in this view, cannot rely on its individual members, just as the continuance of a body cannot rely on each individual particle unless one is willing to give up the notion of identity entirely[93], and therefore, of making sense of any phenomenon at all. Grammatically there does not seem to be any problem with the substantive use of the word 'nation', it even seems a natural thing to do. Neither does it seem absurd to apply the concept of attestation to any specific nation. Almost from the beginning of the age of nationalism, it has been commonly stated that nations have specific 'characters', which implies a numerical rather than a qualitative idea of the nation, allowing a form of attestation to be applied to the nation as a personified actor. The only question that remains is how a 'national self' that makes such a view possible is to be established in narrative, which will be the central question of my next subchapter. However, whenever one speaks of individual members of the nation, those notions are posed as qualitative traits of the individual person. For example the sentence: 'John is typically English' bears witness to such a qualitative use of the nation. Attestation, in this latter case, is the inverse of attestation in the former ('the nation has existed for hundreds of years'), as character traits of an individual are generalised onto a national scale. Nevertheless, both cases are not mutually exclusive but interdependent in the discourse. In the following subchapter I will again pick up that almost schizophrenic nature of national identities as both quantitative and qualitative, as there are specific tropes that raise exactly that issue and in so doing try to resolve it.

Concluding it can be said that in a nation's narrative identity, criteria that determine sameness are discursively constructed to constitute the national character. National selfhood, on the other hand, finds its expression in specific narratological devices that allow for the construction of a national self that works

[93] John Locke, in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, has famously proposed the notion that identity depends on a psychological sense of continuity over time, starting as a blank slate that is filled by experience [Locke, John. *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Peter H. Nidditch (ed.) Oxford: Clarendon, 1975 (1689), pp. 328-348].

both on the grounds of individuation and generalisation. In the following subchapter I will argue that there are specific tropes with very strong dialectical implications that make the notion of a national self graspable as one that is just as much constructed through embodiment as it is through emplotment.

1.1.2. Positing the National Self

> While the narrative view of identity is necessitated by the constitutive role of the first-personal perspective, it is also necessitated by the constitutive role of embodiment in the first-personal perspective.[94]

In their study, Wodak et al identify three main devices in the discursive construction of national identites: "Synecdoche, metonymy and personification or metaphor are employed to create sameness between people and are primarily used in connection with constructive discursive strategies"[95]. While I would strongly agree that these devices are particularly powerful in the construction of national identities, through their substitution of selfhood by uniqueness, Wodak et al do not fully realise the dialectic potential these devices bear. I would argue that those devices do not only "create sameness between people" but also sameness between individuals and the nation as a narratively substantiated category. If in this case, as I have argued before, national identity is conceived as being numerical identity, these devices do not solely create qualitative sameness between members of the nation but a form of numerical sameness that makes it possible to establish a form of national selfhood. Along those lines, it would seem that the objection that "the primarily individual-related category of 'selfhood' cannot be applied to concepts such as 'nation' and 'national identity'" does not seem as obvious anymore[96].

Additionally, through my treatment of selfhood as a composition of narratological devices that form a centre of narrative gravity, the notion of selfhood can easily be applied to national identities. If, through these devices, the nation and its members are constructed as being one and the same, the same

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[94] Atkins, Kim. *Narrative Identity and Moral Identity: A Practical Perspective*. New York and London: Routledge, 2008, p. 64.
[95] Wodak et al 2009, p. 43
[96] Ibid, p. 26

that is true of those individuals must also be true of the nation, at least within the narrative instance in which those devices are embedded[97]. Therefore, it is my contention that these narratological devices at least make it conceivable how a collective concept such as the nation could have a 'self' that is extrinsically constructed by uniqueness and intrinsically constituted by a reflexive function. In order to make this trick work, there needs to be a dialectic framework that oscillates between sameness and selfhood, just as Ricœur demanded. I argue that to make the idea of a 'national self' graspable, texts tend to merge personal and national identities, where the sameness of national identity is merged with an individual self on the level of character. This, through the reflexive nature of its underlying dialectic, makes it possible to transform the qualitative criterion into a quantitative criterion, if at least for a moment, and in turn enables one to conceive of a national self that transcends the individual self as a timeless core of the national character. The personal self, here, is identical with the national self as a centre of narrative gravity that configures a narrative of the nation by focusing on an individual: turning the nation into a personified actor. In the following, I will elaborate more on personification, a trope that is extremely powerful and extensively used in the narrative construction of national identities.

In his work *The Poetics of Personification*, James J. Paxson defines personification as the "figural translation of a non-human quantity into a human being"[98], where it is due to "the faculty of human intelligence coupled with the power of speech . . . that we have a real personification character"[99]. The importance of speech cannot be stressed enough, since a 'character' who only appears by name without a face or voice would not be termed a genuine personification but a case of anthropomorphism. Only through speaking and interacting with the world do these characters acquire a form of personal identity, which is compatible with Ricœur's concept, since he also puts great stress on what McCarthy calls "the capable self"[100].

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[97] This may seem to be a clear case of a fallacy of composition, yet the subsequent argumentation will try to clarify this problem, if not transcend it.
[98] Paxson, James J. *The Poetics of Personification*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994, p. 50
[99] Ibid, p. 44
[100] McCarthy 2007, p. 139

Paxson's treatment of personification borrows from the language of post-structuralism. According to this view, each personification figure is constituted by two structural components: personified and personifier[101]. Depending on the ontogenetic and the semantic relationship between personified and personifier, different types of personification can be constructed, each of which will have diverse effects on the overall narrative in which they are embedded.

In terms of its ontogenesis, he schematises personification to be the final step in a line of previous tropes: "substantialization -> anthropomorphism -> personification"[102], where each trope is ontologically dependent on its prior trope. "All actants and objects can be categorized according to six ontological domains […] human, non-human life form (plant or animal), inanimate object, place, abstract idea, deity", a hierarchy that is only "made possible by the pre-modern notion of a Great Chain of Being"[103]. Of course, a post-Darwinian understanding of the variety of ontological units will call into question the hierarchical status of each of these domains. Nevertheless, there still remains a sense of ontological dependency between them, which if anything is defined by its level of complexity and historical positioning.

In spite of the hierarchical problems that underlie the ontogenesis of tropes, there is a much more interesting implication of Paxson's attempt. In this model, tropes of ontological translation always imply their inverse trope, closely corresponding to the Ricœurean dialectic of self and other. Alongside personification, Paxson identifies the trope of "ideation", which he defines as "the translation of a thing or human agent into an abstract idea, essence, spirit, or rarefied form"[104], wherein "each of the two complementary tropes is seen to be contained in the other's structure"[105]. Thus by lending speech to an abstract idea, such as 'courage' for instance, it is not only the idea that is personified but also the notion of human being that is simultaneously idealised; both are two sides of the same coin. This is an important insight into the way in which the ontological relationship between the nation and its members may be narratively resolved. The ontological interdependency between the nation and its members

[101] Paxson 1994, p. 40
[102] Ibid, p. 45
[103] Ibid, p. 40
[104] Ibid, p. 43
[105] Ibid, p. 50

that is established through national personification (and therefore necessarily of personal ideation) identifies the national character with an individual character and vice versa. Thus a dialectic framework between the nation and the individual is established in this trope.

Before taking a look at how Paxson deals with the clash between quantitative and qualitative identities in collective identities, it needs to be clarified how personification relies on being channelled through other tropes. In his work *Les Figures du Discours*, Pierre Fontanier points out that personification is always bound to one of three major tropes: metonymy, synecdoche and metaphor[106]. Each of these tropes determines how the ideas acting as personified and personifier are related. A metonymic personification, where related ideas are personified, would be to refer to the French as 'frogs'; a synecdochal personification, where parts are substituted for wholes or vice versa, might be to address all Londoners as 'London'; and a metaphorical personification, where attributes restricted to humans are transferred to non-human entities, could be to say 'the city of London was in tears'. These modifications of the personification trope will allow greater insight into the relation of ideas that underlie the dialectic of the nation.

The clash between quantitative and qualitative notions in collective identities is partly the result of the relation of personification with other tropes. Along those lines, Paxson argues that

> [b]ecause the collection of human beings called "humanity" is really an abstraction, the character Everyman is of course the personifier that represents the abstract personified known as humanity. Yet, Everyman is ontologically identical to any single member of the collective group humanity. Unlike a genuinely abstract personified (an emotion, faculty, vice or virtue) that is qualitatively different from its personifier, humanity is only quantitatively different from its personifier, "Everyman".[107]

A synthesis of this clash of quantitative and qualitative identities is achieved by considering the breakdown of the strictly hierarchical nature of what seems to be the underlying synecdoche in the personification 'Everyman':

> At first glance, the figural operator in *Everyman* would seem to be synecdoche. The figure synecdoche (the mechanism whereby a text assigns "parts for

[106] See Fontanier, Pierre. *Les Figures du Discours*. Gérard Genette (intro.). Paris: Fammarion, 1968, pp. 111-114

[107] Paxson, p. 46

> wholes, and wholes for parts"), however, really involves the translation between fragments and the physically *connective* whole of which they are components, rather than the translation between members and the conceptually *collective* whole to which *they* belong. Everyman is not an organ in a Body Politic. He is the representative of a greater number of entities ontologically identical to himself.[108]

Paxson attributes this type of personification to what he calls isotyping: "An isotype is a convenient shorthand figure for a quantity difficult to grasp, in a comparative context, with the senses"[109]. Through isotyping, quantitively different entities acquire quantitative identity. This is achieved by subsuming those individual entities under a single name. In this respect, isotyping is used as an extension of personification, where one person is constructed by merging a number of persons into one as being, all of which are ontologically identical. This can only be achieved by using a proper name that equally well applies to any individual of the group but also designates an individual by itself. Taking an example from the corpus of texts I analysed for this thesis, what immediately comes to mind is the name 'John Bull'. In many of those texts, John Bull is taken both as a name issued towards Englishmen by members of an outgroup (often the French, who pronounce it "*Jean Bull*"), but it is also a label that Englishmen identify themselves with, creating a type of qualitative identity.

So on the one hand, John Bull is a name that refers to every man in England, much like Paxson's example of 'Everyman'. Yet on the other hand, it is also a name that refers to England as a discursive whole, which keeps alive the alleged synecdoche that Paxson sees to fail in the 'Everyman' example. The (auto)biography of John Bull[110], in which he is a personified character, is the history of England narrated in the story time of a single human character. Consequently, it could be said that the history of the nation manifests itself in the individual stories of national personifications by overcoming a temporal discrepancy through the allegorisation of individual characters, who can equally well be read as either synecdochal or as isotypical personifiers.

The function of names cannot be stressed enough in this respect, since they are not merely empty containers that could semantically exist without other characteristics that are attributed to a person. The term 'person' may be an empty

[108] Ibid
[109] Ibid
[110] For instance, *John Bull's Bible* offers a complete biography of John Bull.

container, as it can be used without referring to someone specific. Proper names, however, cannot be used in this way, as there is always the assumption that a name must correspond to a specific person with an identifiable set of characteristics. The word person, on the other hand, can be used as a generic term that does not require any specification. Of course, proper names are not individualised, as there are usually many people who share the same name. Nevertheless, it would be conceived odd to say ‘I saw *a* John yesterday,’ as people do not normally form a set of ‘all people who share the name John’ in common everyday interaction. This is the case since such a set provides little or no explanatory power, since names are virtually meaningless without a clear referent. The criterion of name is commonly inflated to refer to the whole person, yet it is not a proper substantive that can be used with a definite or indefinite determiner. Thus a proper name always implies a clearly identifiable referent, which in the case of ‘John Bull’ creates the illusion that there is such a person that has a form of individual uniqueness.

In addition to the distinctions raised by Fontanier and Paxson, I would propose a further subdivision that may be found within personification, referring to the fictionality of characters. This pair of devices I want to consider is personification and iconisation. It may, indeed, be problematic to differentiate between them on the textual level, as their difference can only be established in their external referentiality. Nevertheless, both lend more weight to the construction of a national self. Personification construes characters in a quasi-deductive manner, as they are often created on the basis of an alleged national character, i.e. from abstract ideas, which in turn idealises humans as mentioned above. Through personification, national characteristics are manifested in an individual character; national identity, therefore, becomes personal identity. Iconisation, on the other hand, works quasi-inductively by deriving an abstract national character from a historical character. Here, traits of an individual are transcended to the level of the nation; personal identity becomes national identity. Both of these, of course, almost entirely overlap with the dialectic of personification and ideation but the consideration of fictionality vs. historicity adds another dimension to the dialectic. In order to distinguish between personification and iconisation, one needs to establish whether or not textual characters are perceived to refer to a historical character external to the text.

While it may be difficult, or sometimes even impossible, to differentiate between fictional and real characters, it cannot be denied that people will generally feel that such a difference exists. In spite of all the academic problems that such a distinction creates, it does not have to pose a severe problem in the discursive construction of national identities. Indeed, the blurriness of that distinction is rather supportive of the claim that there is a discursive positing of a national self inasmuch as it can never be established whether the nation is read into people or people into the nation. This chicken or egg dilemma, just like the inextricable connection between personification and ideation, lays the dialectical foundation on which the national self finds its place.

In short, in addition to ontological distinctions between personified and personifier, both iconisation and personification help to bridge the gap between the nation and its people and give more face to the idea of a national self. Both devices have a reflexive function in the self-referential dialectic insofar as they blur the borders between generalisation and individuation on the one hand, and between personification and ideation on the other. The national self becomes a seemingly irreducible principle that applies equally to parts and to the whole of the nation. Indeed, as mentioned before, one may argue that this is nothing short of a fallacy of composition, in which a self that is thought to be possessed by each individual member of a nation is applied to the entire set. Yet, as I tried to outline above, one could conceive of a national self as another form of the narrative self, one that overcomes the dichotomy of quantitative and qualitative identities in terms of a Hegelian resolution. None of these narrative identities requires any kind of independent agency but only a textual framework in which it can be realised. Moreover, all of these dialectic forms give expression to quantitative-qualitative-schizophrenia that underlies national identity as narrative identity.

1.2. Key Confusions

The following subchapter aims to clarify my understanding and use of some key concepts and issues that are highly debated in scholarship. While they are not necessarily a core variable in my methodology in a sense that either side of the debate would vindicate or undo my approach, they still deserve some closer attention as a context in which my study is placed. Adding to this, it is also my contention that a discussion of those terms might help to overcome some of the false dilemmas that are created by some of the arguments made.

Especially with regards to my thesis, both the concepts of the nation and the notions of Englishness and Britishness are some of the most controversial, as they are most relevant to the material I will discuss. In this sense it is indeed relevant to try and clarify the confusions. Yet as my thesis is explicitly concerned with the construction of these concepts in discourse, whatever they truly mean in the empirical world is only secondary in nature. However, the intersections between the possible worlds of discourse and the empirical world are part of making my findings relevant to the empirical world, so they can and should not be completely ignored.

Nonetheless, these discussions have to be treated with some care, as they can only highlight problematic areas of scholarly debate with little hope to solve them. In addition to that, as my study deals with a specific discourse of a particular era, there is the danger of anachronistically projecting modern understandings of issues into contexts in which they cannot possibly have any meaning. Therefore, I will treat the broader concepts like mechanisms that work independent of historical people's understanding, while at the same time highlighting their particular constructions from a perspective laid out by the texts and their context.

1.2.1. The Nation

> Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation.
> -- Thomas Huxley

> A nation is a society united by a delusion about its ancestry and
> by common hatred of its neighbours.
> -- William Ralph Inge

If there is any term that is as contested and as vague as that of the nation, it is hard to say what it could be. Even populist proponents of nationalism may have difficulties spelling out what they mean by the nation. More often than not, the term is just taken for granted, signifying more of a gut feeling than a clear notion that is readily defined. Similarly, scholars of nationalism have struggled to come to terms with the concept. Ever since the constructivist turn, most scholars have embraced the idea put forward by Benedict Anderson, who famously asserted that all nations are "imagined communities". Although much has happened in scholarly debate since Benedict Anderson made that claim, almost every scholar of nationalism feels inclined to refer to his designation when attempting to come up with their own definition. Indeed, it is undeniable that "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion"[111]. While all of them agree that the nation possesses an extremely strong power over its members, there are highly opposing views concerning the origin and nature of the national idea. In the following, I will try to break down the debate to its essentials in order to make use of its dialectic potential for my own analysis of national discourses.

Since the early days of its study, the nation has been defined in different, even opposing ways. Walker Connor, one of the best-known late scholars of the nation, proposes a definition that "describes the nation as the largest group that shares a belief in common ancestry and it is the largest group that can be influenced or incited by appeals to common kinship"[112]. His definition is unmistakably based on ethnic factors, strongly tied to the idea of blood

[111] Anderson 1991, p. 6

[112] Connor, Walker. "The dawning of nations." *When is the Nation? Towards an understanding of theories of nationalism*. Atsuku Ichijo and Gordana Uzelac (eds.). London: Routledge, 2005, pp. 40-46, p. 40.

relationship. While it seems to have become a commonplace in popular belief to view the nation as being defined by kinship, culture, language, etc., those views have been challenged from very early on. In his famous 1882 lecture *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation*, Ernest Renan points out that material explanations for nations are insufficient, as "[u]ne nation est un principe spirituel, résultant des complications profondes de l'histoire, une famille spirituelle, non un groupe déterminé par la configuration du sol"[113]. As a spiritual family rather than a naturally determined group, the nation primarily exists in the mental sphere in his view. Renan points out that neither kinship nor language are essential factors for the creation of a nation: "les premières nations de l'Europe sont des nations de sang essentiellement melange"[114]. Apart from lacking any type of 'purity of blood', those European nations are not linguistically homogenous either. Renan proclaims that "[i]l y a ans l'homme quelque chose de supérieur à la langue: c'est la volonté"[115]. The will to join together is, therefore, the most important quality in a people that enables them to take the step towards nationhood from Renan's point of view. By the same token, Benedict Anderson, clearly writing in Renan's tradition, claims throughout his work that the nation could only emerge after the fall of the dynastic realms and loss of the sacred languages, giving rise to the vernacular languages in public discourse. Governments would henceforth be established according to other principles than divine grace. Like Renan, Anderson hints at civic qualities that give rise to the nation, moving it close to the concept of the state.

Nevertheless, most scholars, including Renan and Anderson, agree that a synonymous treatment of the terms 'nation' and 'state' would not provide a satisfactory definition, as "nations and states are by no means universally congruent"[116]. Anthony D. Smith draws a clear line between the nation and the state: "[nations] are entirely different from the purely legal and bureaucratic tics

[113] Renan, Ernest. *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* 2nd ed. Paris, 1882, p. 25. [Translation: A nation is a spiritual concept, a result of deep-reaching historical complications; a spiritual family, not a group that is determined by the position of the sun]

[114] Ibid, p. 18. [Translation: The first nations of Europe are nations of essentially mixed blood]

[115] Ibid, p. 20. [Translation: In humans there is something superior to language, and that is the will]

[116] Keitner, Chimène I. *The Paradoxes of Nationalism; The French Revolution and Its Meaning for Contemporary Nation Building*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007, p. 4

of the state"[117]. However, it would be a mistake to regard them as entirely independent from each other. He further relates that "[t]he state is the shell; the nation, the substance"[118]. What can be seen in Keitner's differentiation is that even though both nation and state are not at all the same, their relationship is reciprocal. According to E. J. Hobsbawm, for a sovereign people to form a nation means to achieve an equation of "nation = state = people"[119]. Similarly, Keitner concludes that from a nationalist perspective "nations and states should be congruent"[120]. Both of them pick up Ernest Gellner's assertion, who claims that "[n]ationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent"[121]. This equilibrium seems to be an ideal state that guarantees the stability of a nation, therefore, a status that every nation tries to achieve by means of nationalism. Indeed, it seems to be the case that whenever the containers of nation and state diverge in significant ways, nationalist movements might spawn and attempt to move them closer together. Movements of national independence and sovereignty are a strong symptom of that desire.

As far as these scholarly arguments are concerned, the emphasis is put on a rational teleological perspective rather than ethno-historical notions, which is deemed responsible for the creation of a nation. In these views, the nation is the body of people inhabiting a certain legal-political sphere, rationally following the same economic and political interests. Ethnic beliefs are not excluded from these views, but certainly play a minor part, as they are rather treated as a possible side-effect of nation-building. Nationalism is, therefore, directed at maintaining the nation-state as a political unit.

Hobsbawm indicates that there are two main forms in which this can be realised: the ethnic nation and the civic nation. Hobsbawm labels these forms the "nationalist" and the "revolutionary-democratic" concepts[122]. The ethnic nation

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[117] Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. London: Penguin Books, 1991, p. 15
[118] Ibid, p. 5
[119] Hobsbawm, E. J. *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 19
[120] Keitner 2007, pp. 4-5
[121] Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, p. 1
[122] Hobsbawm draws from the tradition of Friedrich Meinecke, who sees the national character to be mainifested in two different forms: "Kulturnationen und

is built on ideas of natural consequence. Considering the equation state=nation=people, this concept puts the nation in the foreground, as it is based on the belief that "it derived from the prior existence of some community distinguishing itself from foreigners"[123]. Here, the nation precedes the state, as its members believe to share common roots. In the minds of its members, it is not a voluntary choice to belong to the nation, but a predestined aspect of their lives (very similar to Walker Connor's definition). The civic nation, on the other hand, is built on the idea of "the sovereign citizen-people = state"[124]. Here, the state is put in the foreground of the nation, as it enables its citizens to live as a free and sovereign people and not so much a form of common ancestry. Ethnicity, language, etc., which are main determinants of an ethnic nation, are only arbitrary factors but by no means core pillars of the civic nation. Commenting on civic nations, Anthony D. Smith, the foremost advocate of what he himself calls 'ethno-symbolism', admits that "nations may be partly forged by political institutions," but deems it incapable of maintaining the nation on the long run, as elites alone cannot keep a nation together, therefore, giving rise to a fundamental need for ethnic bonds for a nation to become a stable unit[125].

Indeed, this may have become a truth in the modern world. As Benedict Anderson rightfully points out, by the end of the twentieth century, nationalism has become so firmly anchored in people's minds that "nationality is sui generis"[126]. Renan's emphasis on the will to live together being the foundation for the creation of a nation thus seems quite irrelevant today. The will to be a nation has thus been eliminated by the inherited lack of alternatives in people's view of the world. It is, therefore, only natural that some conceptions of the nation tend to focus exclusively on underlying ethnic factors. Nevertheless, Hobsbawm insists that in the early days of nation building, this was not at all the case: "We cannot therefore read into the revolutionary 'nation' anything like the

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Staatsnationen, in solche, die vorzugsweise auf einem irgendwelchen gemeinsam erlebten Kulturbesitz beruhen, und solche, die vorzugsweise auf der vereinigenden Kraft einer gemeinsamen politischen Geschichte und Verfassung beruhen" (Meinecke, Friedrich. *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1962, p. 22).

[123] Hobsbawm 1992, p. 22

[124] Ibid

[125] Smith, Anthony D. *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A cultural approach*. London: Routledge, 2009, p. 21

[126] Renan 1882, p. 4

later nationalist programme of establishing nation-states for bodies defined in terms of […] ethnicity, common language, religion, territory and common historical memories"[127].

There are various conflicting schools in the study of the nation, each with a specific emphasis on a certain core factor that makes up a nation. David Brown offers a helpful system of classification, in which the different schools of the nation can be organised, breaking down the multitude of approaches to their foremost principles. Brown places the many different definitions of the nation and nationalism in three main categories: "These three conceptual languages, which see nationalism as, respectively, an instinct (primordialism), an interest (situationalism) and an ideology (constructivism), provide the nodal points within which the various writers on nationalism may be located"[128]. By making use of Brown's simple formula of classification, the different views on the nation are much easier to evaluate, as all of them emphasise one of those leitmotifs of nationalism. Scholars like Walker Connor and Anthony Smith are mostly arguing from a primordialist perspective, putting genetic bonds of the community in the foreground. "Primordialist approaches depict the nation as based upon natural, organic community, which defines the identity of its members, who feel an innate and emotionally powerful attachment to it"[129]. Of course, not all primordialist approaches claim that ethnic ties are real in the sense of representing true blood relationship. However, they insist that members of the nation feel that to be the case, which is the basis of their emotional commitment to the nation. Other scholars, such as Ernest Gellner, E. J. Hobsbawm, Ernest Renan, and Benedict Anderson, mostly correspond to a situationalist concept of nationalism. To them, the nation is the result of rational legal-political interests. A situationalist approach takes into account that "both the utility of ethnicity and nationalism, and the form which they take, will vary in response to changing situations"[130]. There are no natural ties of individuals to identities, but those are "employed by groups of individuals for the pursuit of their common interests"[131].

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[127] Hobsbawm 1992, p. 20

[128] Brown, David. *Contemporary Nationalism: Civic, ethnocultural and multicultural politics*. London: Routledge, 2000, p. 4

[129] Ibid, p. 6

[130] Ibid, p. 13

[131] Ibid

The main difference between primordialist and situationalist approaches can be summed up in their answer to the question what comes first, nation or nationalism. The former school will certainly state that the nation precedes nationalism, the latter that nationalism gives rise to the nation.

Brown criticises both of these approaches as being unsatisfactory for the study of the nation. He asserts that the primordialist concept "offers no explanation at all, merely taking such identities as (primordially) given"[132]. The situationalist approach may be just as problematic, as the elites may mislead the supporters of nationalist movements. If that was the case, "the core assumption of situationalism – that nationalist politics can be understood in terms of functional and rational responses to situational changes – would appear to be called into question"[133]. The argument of the nation before nationalism and nationalism before the nation reveals itself to be yet another chicken or egg dilemma, where one might feel inclined to agree that "the relationship between the two is more dialectical than this suggests," as Jonathan Hearn puts it[134]. Instead, Brown supports the third concept of nationalism, which he classified as the constructivist approaches. Here, "national identity is constructed on the basis of institutional or ideological frameworks which offer simple and indeed simplistic formulas of identity, and diagnoses of contemporary problems, to otherwise confused or insecure individuals"[135]. To Brown, national identities, which evolve in dynamic processes that are influenced by various factors, are the foundations of each nation. One could even go as far as to say that according to this approach, the nation and national identity are the same. The idea of a nation-state, as the largest socio-political unit in which its members take an active role, offers a sense of security and importance in a chaotic world.

Indeed, the utility of the constructivist approach is that it does not require making any ontogenetic claims about empirical reality. Instead it makes it possible to see the primordialist and the situationalist perspectives as different manifestations of the same process of identity construction. This is especially crucial since empirical claims about the nation have increasingly been

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[132] Ibid, p. 11
[133] Ibid, p. 19
[134] Hearn, Jonathan. *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 13
[135] Brown 2000, p. 20

challenged. Anderson himself laid the groundwork for the constructivist perspective by claiming nations to be imagined. And it seems that that imagination is directly opposed to empirical reality, in which "societies are differentiated within themselves to such a high degree that uniformity is no longer constitutive to, or achievable for, them", if that ever was possible to begin with[136]. Be it differences according to class, gender, values, or lifestyle, there seem to be more differences within any group than between groups. This internal heterogeneity is a fundamental aspect of my analysis, as different texts in the discourse single out members of the nation that do not conform to the imagined group. One might call this process an internal Othering.

Another, not less important factor is that no nation, no matter how self-centred or sovereign, is ever self-constituting. On the one hand, every identity is always constructed against the Other. And on the other hand, the borders between nations have always been extremely blurry, as there is quite a significant amount of cross-border transaction between nations. A concept that has been introduced to account for the shortcomings of a national categorisation is 'transnationalism'. According to Steven Vertovec, transnationalism describes "economic, social and political linkages between people, places and institutions crossing nation-state borders and spanning the world"[137]. While this seems to be the reality of a globalised world, transnationalism has existed right since the formation of modern nations. Indeed, as many of the texts I will concern myself with explicitly deal with transnational travel, it is a dimension that will form the broad framework for my analysis of national identities. It is no coincidence that the construction of national identities in those texts relies heavily on that transnational setting, as English travellers journey to France in order to conduct business, be educated, and establish social networks.

With regards to a constructivist approach, however, I want to stress that I do not at all subscribe to the ontological claims of social constructivism for my approach. These assumptions are by no means uncontroversial, as they rely on hypotheses about psychology that have not been confirmed by psychological research in its relevant subdisciplines. The majority of work done in the

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[136] Welsch, Wolfgang. "Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today". *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (eds.). London: Sage, 1999, pp. 194-213, p. 195
[137] Vertovec, Steven. *Transnationalism*. Routledge, 2009, p. 1

humanities that bases itself firmly in postmodernism takes these issues for granted, yet a falsification of those claims in the relevant fields would then render those findings inevitably false. Instead I want to position my study on a type of constructivism that does not make any of those unnecessary claims about psychological and social realities. Neither will I take unnecessary sides in its related discussions about the nature of traditions in human cultures. This toned-down constructivism only specifically addresses discursive trends as they are maintained and modified across diverse textual manifestations, but it does not address underlying mechanisms other than those of narrative configuration. Through this, the study could remain valid irrespective of developments in other fields, which it can neither verify or falsify itself via the tools and materials at its disposal. In chapter 1.3, I will give a more thorough account of the discursive mechanisms in the construction of national identities that I will make use of in my analysis.

For my analysis of the Body Politic in a Post-Napoleonic nationalist context, I would like to point out that the important distinction between nation and state is of particular interest. As Colley asserted, the situationalist approach that played a dominant role during the years of war with France, in which the state was a centre of narrative gravity, would be highly challenged as the unifying military threat posed by France ceased to exist. And thus, the Body Politic could possibly not retain its status as being the same as the body of the nation.

1.2.2. English vs British

> In the centuries-long struggle between English and French there is one victor [… but] [t]here is really no reason for the British to gloat about this victory.[138]

In his seminal work on *The Making of English National Identity*, Krishan Kumar starts by pointing out that the common confusion of the terms 'English' and 'British' is "[...] one of the enduring perplexities of English national identity"[139]. Even though, as Kumar relates, there seems to exist a universal awareness among people inhabiting the United Kingdom "of what is peculiarly English" and of the effects of "the lordly English habit of subsuming British under English", the confusion does not seem to go away[140]. Paxman is just another example of that bad habit, which is often committed in casual moments, even in politically correct times such as ours.

Yet when put under closer scrutiny, there are rather strong differences in what these concepts are supposed to mean, often conflating geographical, political, cultural and historical categories. English generally denominates the area east of Wales and south of Scotland, with most of England and Wales together making up most of what is traditionally called Britain (the Roman province). If Scotland is supposed to be included, the term Great Britain is typically used. Expanding the boundaries to Northern Ireland, the most common denominator is the UK. If one is to include the rest of Ireland as well, the British Isles is the usual name.

As far as identity is concerned, however, there is no such thing as UK-ness or Great Britishness, there only is Englishness or Britishness, with Britishness probably being the closest equivalent to a notion of UK-ness. Even though both English and British are often used synonymously, the context in which they would be used as a self-description vary. Bernard Crick observes that as a self-reference, "to identify with 'British' is not the same as identifying with

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[138] Paxman 2016

[139] Kumar, Krishan. *The Making of English National Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003, p. 1

[140] Ibid

the warmth and width of English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish”[141]. Returning to these issues a decade later, Crick argues in more detail:

> Britishness is, to me, an overarching political and legal concept: it signifies allegiance to the laws, government and broad moral and political concepts - like tolerance and freedom of expression - that hold the United Kingdom together. But there is no overall British culture, only a sharing of cultures.[142]

This multicultural, and indeed, multinational notion of the United Kingdom which is often the frame of reference for the concept of Britishness is a purely political construct in the sense of a state-nation. “While Britishness retains a critical mass of political identifiers and exists as a political culture, Englishness can perhaps be more strongly argued to act as a cultural identity”[143]. Local national cultures, such as Englishness, have an emotional appeal that is removed from the sterile and purely political dimension of Britishness, which at best can provide a common ground for a sharing of different cultures.

While this type of multicultural society is not a unique thing, the UK is a somewhat special case, nonetheless. Compared to the United States, the UK lacks a culturally normative legal framework, such as a written constitution, that could be referred to in the process of negotiating the various national cultures subsumed under it. In the US, there are quite specific identities of every individual state – despite its sometimes drastically different interpretations – yet the constitution as a unifying and foundational document generates a federal identity that, at least in principle, coexists with local identities. Since the UK does not have a written constitution, a basis for any type of UK identity would be far more blurred to begin with. Thus, it is not surprising that the culturally empty concept of Britishness is had always been prone to being filled rather arbitrarily. Even though it is crucial to realise that British and English are

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[141] Crick, Bernard. “Royalty in Crisis: We abolished it once. Should we do it again?: 'We have no clear sense of national identity”. *The Independent,* 22 May, 1993. <https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/royalty-in-crisis-we-abolished-it-once-should-we-do-it-again-we-have-no-clear-sense-of-national-2324461.html>

[142] Crick, Bernard. “All this talk of Britain is so … English”. *The Guardian*, 12 April, 2004. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2004/apr/12/immigration.immigrationandpublicservices>

[143] Hadfield-Amkhan, Amelia. *British Foreign Policy, National Identity and Neoclassical Realism*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010, p. 14

different concepts, the way they developed can hardly be seen as independent processes. Yet Englishness, as it appears, came first.

Historical circumstances led to that process of bottom-up nation-building taking place earlier in England than on the continent. The English Revolution, which took place in the middle of the 17th century, – more than a hundred years before the French Revolution – initiated "formative changes that led to the creation of the true modern English state, a state quite distinct from the more cosmopolitan and foreign-dominated one of the Middle Ages"[144]. With the English Parliament having claimed significant political power, a sense of self-rule that was foreign to states like *Ancien Regime* France increasingly generated feelings of belonging together as a people, independent of the institutional rule of the monarchy. This could be considered a beginning of an English state-nation unlike the feudal dynasties in which common people played no role other than performing their duties.

With the Act of Union 1707, which merged both the English and the Scottish Parliaments into the Parliament of Great Britain, the political unit of Great Britain and a necessity for a concept of Britishness came into being. In his work on *The English Tribe*, Stephen Haseler identifies some of the most crucial political developments that led to the formation of Britishness and Englishness. On a historical timeline he observes that "the English re-invented themselves by reviving the terms Britain and British in the early eighteenth century"[145]. Yet power relations in that new construct were far from equally dispersed. Haseler half-jokingly states that "'Great Britain' was always a misnomer; 'Greater England' would have been better"[146]. While many Englishmen would embrace this new-born British identity, they were always only too aware that it was they themselves who "had built the new state" and that "London, not Edinburgh […] became the capital"[147]. A sense of Englishness as a hegemonic *Leitkultur* could be considered a circumstantial side effect. However, this Union left England

[144] Edwards, Philip. *The Making of the Modern English State, 1460-1660*. New York: Palgrave, 2001, p. 1
[145] Haseler, Stephen. *The English Tribe: Identity, Nation, Europe*. London et al: Macmillan, 1996, p. 29
[146] Ibid, p. 30
[147] Ibid

without a Parliament of their own, a fact that still holds true until the present day.[148]

For most nation-states, the state is supposed to be the container of the nation and the institution that enforces the will of the people. In a state-nation, such as Britain, the state could never be the expression of single national undertakings but represents a variety of nations, a fact that had become more and more clear throughout the 1990s, as especially scholars started rethinking traditional 'English history' as a 'British history' that is constituted by four nations.[149] Englishness as a national identity had to be considered as secondary to Britishness as a political identity. A democratic political identity involves that people "determine the boundary of the political world [they] 'inhabit'" through casting their vote[150]. And especially in the context of a multinational state, political identity can to some extend collide with national identity and cultures.

In spite of its collaborative nature, the process of merging English and Scottish elites, however, was not one in the sense of a British melting pot, but one of assimilation, as the English, in the wake of the loss of their American colonies, were eager to strengthen their dominion in the internal empire of Britain. They thus were "keen to revivify the country by 'growing the nation' and absorbing the Scottish aristocracy" until "[b]y the end of the eighteenth century not only had a new, and enlarged, nation-state - of Great Britain - taken hold on the islands, but the ideology of Englishness held sway within it"[151].

Especially with respect to a framing of English history as 'Anglo-Saxon', ethnic clashes between the diverse British nations seem inevitable, and time and time again this has shown. One question to ask is how long and at what times ethnic considerations have played a role in British identity. Colin Kidd, who has researched *British Identities before Nationalism*, investigates whether or not ethnic factors played a role in the British world before the rise of modern nationalism. He concludes, "[w]hile ethnic consciousness played a relatively

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[148] Scotland, on the other hand, has reinstated its own parliament, even though only in 1999. Yet this was only the result of a long process of renegotiating transnational relations in the UK, especially in the context of an even greater supranational unit in the European Union, which arguably made the UK a questionable construct.

[149] See, for instance: Kearney, Hugh. *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995

[150] Revest, Didier. "Britishness as political identity". *Cycnos*, 25:2, 2008. <http://revel.unice.fr/cycnos/index.html?id=6235>

[151] Haseler 1996, pp. 28-29

minor role in politics, pedigrees – of families, peoples, nations, institutions, church practices and doctrines – clearly mattered a great deal"[152]. Yet the fact that they did not play a significant role internally does not mean that they did not play a role externally.

The collaborative effort of Britain, to a large extend drew from the idea of France being "an obviously hostile Other", as Linda Colley put it[153]. And while the diverse people in that new British construct may not have had much in common culturally, there was at least one cultural factor that helped to identify as one group against that French Other, which is that "anti-Catholic sentiment (whether of the mainstream Anglican kind or of the Scottish Knoxian variety) [which] could always be counted on"[154]. With their common Protestantism, they set out collectively against Catholic France, as both powers competed over "the mission to carry the torch of the Enlightenment and of the arts of civilised living throughout the world"[155].

With the defeat of Napoleonic France, it was not only France that has lost, but also the British. As the French lost their elites in the wake of the Revolution and became financially ruined in the course of the following wars, this obviously hostile Other no longer posed a threat against which a British identity could be constructed. If Britishness was to survive, the military threat posed by France had to be substituted by a different kind of threat. And this is where the idea of a British culture would come into play. While the French could no longer threaten to invade Britain by military means, they could very well culturally invade them. In the context of relatively strong traditions of cultural Francophilia among the English elites that were dominant well into the eighteenth century, there was a conceivable basis for a spread of French culture in Britain.

Corroborating this was the re-opening of the French borders in a context of a growing desire for travel abroad, undoubtedly fuelled by recent trends of the Romantic journey. For most of the eighteenth century it was predominantly rich elites who would travel to France. In Post-Napoleonic Europe, however, even

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[152] Kidd, Colin. *British Identities before Nationalism Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004, p. 287
[153] Colley 2003, p. 5
[154] Haseler 1996, p. 32
[155] Kumar 2006, p. 427

the middling classes could afford it, as means of travel became increasingly cheaper, and the troubled French economy increased English spending capacity. A greater number of British subjects now had the opportunity to follow their social and cultural ambitions, which to some extend were still set in a long tradition of Francophilia that had shaped the elites of the eighteenth century.

The the end of the Napoleonic wars created a vacuum in the container of Britishness that had to be filled in a way that would be appropriate to the newly constructed threat posed by French culture. As there already was a long history of rivalry between England and France, from the Norman yoke onwards throughout centuries of territorial wars between both countries, English identity was constructed to be synonymous with British identity, thus attempting to rely on a long history of cultural antagonism between an English Britain and the French Other.

Especially since the common denominator of British protestantism came to be challenged by the Act of Union 1801, as the Catholic Kingdom of Ireland joined the United Kingdom, the political shell of Britishness lost its vaguely cultural dimension. One of the reactions to this new development was an even stronger reliance on Englishness as a new cultural substitute for the political container of Britishness as the cultural threat posed by France came to the foreground of national constructions. As I will show in my next chapter, this even urged some Irish and Scottish writers to explicitly construct an English national identity in Post-Napoleonic discourse.

With these developments, the state-nation of Britain came to be supplanted with the nation-state of England. And while the latter did not hold any legal and political authority, it nonetheless proved a powerful discursive construction in the political turmoil of Post-Napoleonic England. It would seem that recent developments in the UK have witnessed a renaissance of that old tendency. Nigel Farage, the most outspoken contemporary British nationalist, advocates a British identity that is essentially synonymous with his idea of Englishness. Yet in the highly globalised context of the 21st century, it remains to be seen how successful the same old strategy can be. On a similar note, Kumar points out that France has "a long and fertile tradition of national self-reflection [which is] absent in the English case", wondering which of these traditions "best equips the nations in facing the challenges of the present – immigration,

Europeanisation, globalisation"[156]. At least in the context of current developments in Europe, Kumar's question may be close to being answered. Nevertheless, the cultural predominance of an English national identity within the greater political construct of Britain will be a significant backbone in my analysis.

[156] ibid

1.3. Methods, Material and Context

It is now time to bring back together the diverse conceptual frames I presented in the previous chapters in order to lay out how I will methodologically apply them to the material at hand. Against this backdrop, I will lay out the textual corpus I am using for my analysis in the historical context of the time in conjunction with the conceptual framework of my discussion.

To recall, Kolakowski's model of national identities, which is analogous to a notion of personal identities, is built on the five main pillars of national spirit, national body, historical memory, anticipation and an identifiable beginning. As John Storey points out, "identities are always made within structures and discourses, which both enable and constrain the making of identities"[157]. It is my contention that these dimensions are constructed discursively in general and narratively in particular. And as identities are always constructed through the Other, a construction of an English national identity will often rely on a construction of a French Other as an intermediary cognitive frame of reference.

To distinguish between a discursive and a narrative dimension, even though they are in fact inextricably interconnected, I will nevertheless try to draw a distinction insofar as both outline slightly different approaches to the configuration of national identity that are both of great value to my analysis. For that purpose, I will rely on a framework established by Moritz Baßler, who formalised the notion of the archive of culture.[158] The beauty of Baßler's approach is that he takes the relatively vague New Historicist notion of a "circulation of social energy", first proposed by Stephen Greenblatt, and turns it into a formalised system of cultural analysis.[159] On the downside, Baßler's account is so extensive and technical that it is very hard to tone down for a comprehensive analysis. However, if reasonably applied this framework will help to turn Kolakowski's model into a potent analytical tool.

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[157] Storey, John. *Inventing Popular Culture: From Folklore to Globalization*. Malden: Blackwell, 2003, p. 80

[158] See Baßler, Moritz. *Die kulturpoetische Funktion und das Archiv: Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Text-Kontext-Theorie*. Tübingen: Francke, 2005

[159] See Greenblatt, Stephen. *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988

According to Baßler, an analysis of cultural phenomena begins with the collection of a corpus of texts in which one can identify occurrences of a particular discourses.[160] Here, discourse is understood in a way that it "might include any modes of utterance as a part of social practice"[161] rather than the traditional idea of a high discourse which is understood as a "systematic and relational sequence of meaningful statements (speech and text) and semiotic elements (signs and symbols) that influence practices and give expression to the values, behaviors, and worldviews of social groups"[162]. This is important, because a New Historicist conception of culture relies on culture as shared by a great variety of individual people rather than elitist culture, which is limited to very small circles of society. Particularly in the context of a national culture, which is defined through its being shared by almost all members of the nation, this more popular understanding of culture cannot possibly be overstated. Michael Billig perfectly summed up that line of thought when he said that "national identity […] is embedded in routines of life, which constantly remind, or 'flag', nationhood"[163]. Further elaborating on Billig's ideas, Tim Edensor concludes that it is "the innumerable habits and unreflexive rituals of everyday life which secure us in place and provide a temporal structure for (imagined) collectivities and individuals"[164]. In this respect, I will mostly put my focus on how everyday circumstances manifest in the material at hand. Likewise, this view excludes formalist categories of literariness, genre, and even notions of the text as such. Here, every part of the discourse is placed next to every other, forming a horizontal array of texts. In addition to that, equivalent occurrences will be found intermedially, as even the boundaries between verbal and visual text are not clearly drawn in this view.

A discursive construction of national identity, in this sense, is one that works on the basic mechanism of repetition. The more often a particular identity marker is repeated, the stronger it is discursively constructed. An analysis of

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[160] See Baßler 2005, p. 196

[161] Cuddon, J. A. and Preston, C. E. *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. 4th, rev. ed. London: Penguin Books, 1999, p. 249

[162] Munif, Yasser. "Discourse." *The Encyclopedia of Literary and Cultural Theory, Vol. 1: Literary Theory from 1900-1966*. Gregory Castle (ed.). Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2011, pp. 159-163, p. 159

[163] Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage, 1995, p. 38

[164] Edensor, Tim. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg, 2002, p. 102

those discursive structures will then rely on identifying how widely spread an identity marker is. Cliffort Geertz, who called this a "thick description", maintains that only the comparison of one utterance with a number of others makes it possible to interpret the meanings of cultural actions, as it is always the context on which their meaning depends.[165] In the framework laid out by Baßler, a thick description manifests itself as a *kulturelle Responsionsstruktur*.[166] Relying on a concept introduced by Paul Maas for the analysis of poetry, Baßler's rendition denominates a structure, within which there are so many possible connections between identity markers, which repeatedly occur, that they constitute a strong network of discursive threads.[167] As readers navigate through that cultural discourse, they will For my analysis this means that in order to uncover a *kulturelle Responsionsstruktur*, I will have to find a number of redundancies of single identity markers in order to position individual manifestations in a greater discursive network. And it is this discursive network which constructs culture. It should be noted that for the discursive part of my analysis, I will not differentiate between internal *Responsion* and external *Responsion*, as Paul Maas has done, since the horizontal approach does not consider individual texts as closed containers but as part of the greater discourse. Intertext and intratext are virtually indistinguishable if no clear-cut textual boundaries can be drawn.

As far as the notion of a national spirit is concerned, the identity markers to look for are national stereotypes that communicate character traits. For my analysis, a very basic definition of stereotypes will suffice, as I do not attempt to uncover any psychological or social realities behind them. In this sense, I will treat stereotypes as any trait discursively attributed to a group of people, irrespective of its factual or imaginary nature. Yet, I will rely on some findings in those fields as they help to determine a hierarchical structure of those discursive structures.

A hierarchy of stereotypes bases itself firstly on a fundamental relation between diverse stereotypical utterances. For this it is helpful to rely on a relationship between homostereotypes, those held towards one's own group, and

[165] See Geertz 1973, pp. 3-4
[166] See Baßler 2005, p. 347
[167] Cf. Maas, Paul. *Griechische Metrik*. Teubner: Leipzig, 1929

hetereostereotypes, those held against the outgroup. In this particular context, Henri Tajfel asserts that stereotypes are most divisively constructed when an ingroup is juxtaposed with an outgroup, which goes hand in hand with the idea that identities are predominantly constructed through the Other.[168] If the French are juxtaposed with the English, then, the differences between the two will be rendered much more visible. As an implication for my analyses, the most interesting texts to look at will be those that directly compare the English and the French.

A second hierarchical principle will help to make sense of a thick description of national cultures. Building on Tajfel's studies, Marco Cinnirella discovered that

> stereotypes do not change completely, across situations. Contextual variations in stereotype content might usefully be thought of as variations on a theme, since there is good empirical evidence to suggest that stereotypes often have, at their core, a set of central beliefs which do maintain stability across situations.[169]

This is important, since it implies that the variety of stereotypes held towards the ingroup and the outgroup can in principle be reduced to respective core stereotypes, from which all other stereotypes are derived. These stereotypical singularities, then, would be as close as one could get to the fundamental idea of a national spirit, as those stereotypes hold at their core, a centre of narrative gravity, which helps to make sense of everything else.

In the context of a national body, the body could generally be perceived as an extension of the spirit.[170] Indeed, if taken as a strictly Cartesian formula, this idea would give the spirit a higher ontological status. From the perspective of today's philosophical and scientific consensus, it very likely is exactly the other way around. However, in a narrative scenario the spirit is granted primacy, as it constitutes the centre of narrative gravity. In its discursive form I would argue that body, as opposed to the abstract dimension of spirit, includes all material manifestations that can be identified as being in close correspondence

[168] See Tajfel, Henri et al. "Social categorization and intergroup behaviour". *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1:2, 1971, pp. 149-178

[169] Cinnirella, Marco. "Ethnic and National Stereotypes: A Social Identity Perspective". *Beyond Pug's Tour: National and Ethnic Stereotyping in Theory and Literary Practice*. C.C. Barfoot (ed.). Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1997, pp. 37-54

[170] Descartes argued that "bodily nature in general [is] extension" [Descartes, René. *Meditations on First Philosophy, With Selections from the Objections and Replies*. Michael Moriarty (trans.). Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008 [1641], p. 15].

to the national spirit. This is true for both the bodies of individual members of the nation and for the lands, landscapes and structures that belong to the nation. Indeed, a national spirit in this sense is only conceivable as manifested in national bodies, which are needed to have different national spirits interact with each other and with their environment.

It is my contention that the one space where that conjunction of national spirit and national body can be most easily identified is the capital city of a nation. Not only does a nation's capital provide the most dense and active of all conceivable social spaces, but also is it where state and nation are most visibly juxtaposed. Stately institutions and members of the nation coexist next to each other here and it is in that space where the boundaries of a national body and a Body Politic most significantly overlap.

Historical memory, likewise, manifests itself in material structures that are most easily visualised in a nation's capital. Aleida Assmann puts great emphasis on *Erinnerungsorte*, which could be described as collective symbols that serve as spatially manifested monuments to the nation.[171] Here again, the cultural space of a nation's capital as it is discursively constructed will be analysed as a type of national microcosm, in which the whole nation can be perceived in its condensed form. The notion goes back to Pierre Nora, who conceptualised *lieux de mémoire* as the diverse spaces which construct cultural memories. In its original sense, *lieux de mémoire* do not only include material spaces, but are constituted by "matériel, symbolique et fonctionnel" spaces that form the memories of any particular culture[172]. As a cultural archive in the way in which Baßler conceptualised discourse, however, all retrievable discourse is inevitably manifest in material containers, such as books, prints, newspapers and so on. And as my analysis will treat all of these manifestations as text, including representations of physical structures, the differentiation between material and non-material structures could be somewhat misleading. This is especially true, since even those physical monuments that are located in the urban space of a nation's capital, only acquire any kind of mnemonic function when they are contextualised discursively as part of a *kulturelle Responsionsstruktur*. Yet it

[171] See Assmann, Aleida. *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. München: C.H. Beck, 1999, pp. 298-303

[172] Nora, Pierre. "Entre Mémoire et Histoire: La problématique des lieux". *Les lieux de mémoire*, 1. Paris: Gallimard, 1984, p. xxxiv

helps to keep in mind that the spaces that are represented do not necessarily have to be mimetically related to spaces in the empirical world as they can also refer to symbolic spaces. As Jan Assmann pointed out, any type of collective memory requires "die Verwendung eines gemeinsamen Symbolsystems", which themselves are the true location of cultural spaces[173]. In this view, memories are discursive manifestations of events, both historical and imagined. In a sense, my analysis will make little distinction between those two, as they all are a part of the national discourse, which is egalitarian not only with reference to authority, but also with respect to the interpretation of facts.

Memories, however, already mark an almost necessary in my analysis from a discursive to a narrative perspective. If memories as individual building blocks of a historical dimension are to make sense, it is predominantly through their embeddedness in a coherent narrative. This is not to say that narrative is the prerequisite of memory or the other way around, but that they dialectically imply one another as cognitive categories. Likewise, the notions of a beginning of the nation and future anticipation are temporal categories that only make sense in a narrative scenario that tells the story from the beginning to the end. According to Baßler, a corpus of texts is essentially synchronous in nature, which is why my thick description of stereotypes can only take the perspective of complete simultaneity of texts.[174] Through this alone, no sense of past, present and future orientation could ever be established.

In this context, Baßler relies on Jakobson's distinction between a syntagmatic and a paradigmatic axis. The contextual dimension in which thick descriptions take place is placed on the syntagmatic axis, while the paradigmatic axis involves a hierarchical structure of factors that together form a whole.[175] A paradigma thus adds a structural hierarchy, to which also the temporal dimension belongs. It is in this dimension where relations of meaning are generated, as meaning is fundamentally dependent on hierarchies, since meaning relies on values, which are essentially hierarchical in nature.[176] Through what Ricœur calls emplotment, this hierarchy of values is exemplified and justified. It is

[173] Assmann, Jan. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 4th ed. München: C.H. Beck, 1992, p. 139
[174] See Baßler 2005, p. 68
[175] Ibid, p. 55
[176] See Peterson, Jordan B. *Maps of Meaning: The Architecture of Belief*. New York and London: Routledge, 1999, pp. 1-18

important to note, however, that in Baßler's rendition, the formalist distinctions between syntagma and paradigma are not clearly cut binary opposites. In his framework, both dialectically traverse one another, thus it is that an analysis of either will inevitably overlap. In my research on core stereotypes this is overtly the case since I do not only point out equivalent occurrences of stereotypes on the syntagmatic axis but also subsume them under a hierarchical structure that finds its place in the paradigmatic axis. Yet even if they are both part of a continuum of discursive functions, it is a helpful heuristic to clarify at which end of the spectrum the analysis aims at a certain point in time.

The centre of narrative gravity, which lies at the core of narrative identity, can be equated with the spirit of the nation in this context. National values, as held and practised by national characters, depend hierarchies of stereotypes held towards a nation. And it is through emplotment that those core stereotypes can express themselves in a variety of situations which those national characters find themselves in. On a paradigmatic level, however, the centre of gravity shifts from the abstract notion of stereotypes towards the personified actor in the narrative who represents them. Here the national spirit is given one individual body that acts as its representative. Emplotment can hardly ever occur without embodiment. And as characters in verbal discourse are typically perceived first and foremost through their names, the name given to that character becomes the verbal signifier of that national character.

As far as a temporal dimension of discourses is concerned, there is a sense in which discourse, other than the strictly synchronous archive of culture, is partly defined by it permanently being updated, as it constitutes a never-ending process of communicative interaction.[177] In this dimension, which unfolds as a potentially endless chain of discursive reactions, as every text positions itself in relation to other texts, the discourse is traversed by textual dialogue which provides insight into the meaning a text tries to establish. While every text is a tissue of quotations, it is the modifications of those quotations that are far more interesting for my analysis than the mere repetition of equivalences. Through this, texts utilise paradigmatic power over the syntagma, which imposes a

[177] See Baßler 2005, p. 198

specific interpretive pattern on the greater discourse by superimposing its own value system onto the contextual web.

For my methodology, all of that can be reduced to two fundamental areas of analysis. Firstly, I will identify thick descriptions of stereotypes in the discourse and point out their hierarchical structure. Secondly, I will analyse national personifications that appear as characters in narrative texts of that discourse. In order to conduct my thick description, I will the most part rely for on using keyword searches to find equivalent occurrences of the same stereotype. Baßler asserted that keyword searches are the primary means by which cultural scholars can unveil even the most complex structures of equivalent occurrences.[178] This exposes a great variety of texts of the time. Narrowing down from general searches to more confined ones, certain keywords have revealed themselves to be most commonly used. It is those that will be used to structure my discursive analysis more coherently. While it is trivially easy to lose oneself in the potentially infinite web of discursive threads, it is the taming capacities of a heuristic model that helps to keep focus in the extended tissue of quotations contained therein. Part two of my thesis contains a selection of my findings, thick enough to make a case but thinned down enough not to be virtually opaque. For the narrative analysis of national personifications, I will analyse a number of national imaginaries, in which national narratives exercise interpretive power over syntagmatic equivalences through their paradigmatic function. Especially the way in which the constellation of national characters is configured in a text will provide great insights into underlying national structures. Here, especially the exposition of those characters early in those texts establishes the specific national frame in which their stories occur. The traditions underlying the discourses and the narratives of the nation will be traced back in order to contextualise those syntagmatic and paradigmatic national dimensions. This will help me to draw inferences about the conceptualisation of national identities according to the interpretative value systems of the time.

When talking about traditions, especially in the domain of culture, Eric Hobsbawm's notion of "invented traditions" has become a standard formula in the repertoire of cultural scholars. According to Hobsbawm, these include "both

[178] See Baßler 2005, p. 206

'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period - a matter of a few years perhaps - and establishing themselves with great rapidity"[179]. The distinction Hobsbawm has to make already points at one of the key weaknesses of his approach, which is that the idea of an invented tradition necessarily requires that there are also genuine traditions. Yet to distinguish between either of them is virtually impossible from the viewpoint of a literary or cultural scholar. And indeed, due to the limitations of historical data available, it might be an impossible task altogether. To Hobsbawm, invented traditions are "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature"[180]. While he only argues for practices and not necessarily texts, it seems easy to apply the same principle to that domain. If a text is seen to constitute a practice, then textual traditions are equally invented traditions in this view. However, the matter is not at all uncontroversial. Apart from the somewhat shady distinction between invented and genuine traditions mentioned above, Hobsbawm's reasoning is based on the idea that those practices are "normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules". Indeed, he grants primacy to the rules, and places the practices second, a hypothesis that is quite challenged by relevant empirical research[181]. If those objections are taken seriously, it would not seem at all obvious if there is any difference between genuine traditions and invented traditions for all practical purposes. And if so, then there is no discernible difference between an invented tradition and a Jungian approach to 'archetypes', at least with the tools literary and cultural scholars have at their disposal.

For my thesis, I will use the terms only to elucidate different directions of my analysis, very much like the heuristic distinction between syntagma and paradigma. As any text always is a tissue of quotations, as Barthes asserts, then every tradition is always as much invented as it is genuine to begin with, if those

[179] Hobsbawm, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions". *The Invention of Tradition*. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013 [1983], p. 1

[180] Ibid

[181] For instance, Jean Piaget famously researched the development of social interaction via children's play. His research shows that play is developed and enacted before any rules are uniformly articulated, suggesting that practice precedes rule systems [see Piaget, Jean. *Play, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood*. C. Garregno and F. M. Hodgson (trans.). London: Routledge, 1999 (1951), pp. 89-104].

quotations are supposed to come from somewhere rather than out of nowhere. If a text claims to be based on a narrative tradition for which there is otherwise little evidence, that is to say cooccurrences, I will use the term of invented tradition. If a text, however, uses a specific plot structure that is also found in earlier texts that are very likely to have been used as sources, I will sometimes use the term type or even archetype. This is not to say that I could verify the archetypal nature of the character types and plot structures to the satisfaction of an evolutionary psychologist. It is only to hint at the possibility that the chain of quotations might lead even further back than I am able to discover with the scope of my current analysis. In either case I am neither arguing for necessity on the one hand, or arbitrariness on the other. And also, I am not arguing that innovation and tradition do not at all overlap, as they very much do.

Having said that, there are some fundamental peculiarities of the specific context that inform my analysis and to a certain extend dictate the corpus of text that I am considering. Especially in the context of an English national identity, specific genres of texts will reveal themselves to be the most dominant ones in the cultural archive. Even though my assessment of the discourse is not limited to any particular genre, specific types of text contained most of the equivalences I could find in my research. Firstly, the general assumption that identities are always constructed through the Other implies that those texts which juxtapose English and French characters will potentially portray national differences most strongly. Secondly, the English case proves an exceptionally strong one in this respect. As Ian Baucom remarks, "[t]he trouble with the English […] is not that their history 'happened' overseas, but that it 'took place' abroad"[182]. Baucom's assertion draws the discursive lens to one particular type of text that could thus provide a context for a very potent form of constructing an English national identity. Travel literature, which includes all texts the setting of which is predominantly in foreign spaces, lends itself perfectly to stage encounters between a national self and the Other. As in travel texts being set on French soil, the English characters will be vastly outnumbered by the French characters, an even stronger idea of the unity and homogeneity of those English travellers is created. Further, as the success of travel literature is to some extend the result of

[182] Baucom, Ian. *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999, p. 4

the predominant philosophical branch of British Empiricism, it is against the empiricist backdrop that those texts need to be read. As Carl Thompson points out, "[t]ravel as an information-gathering exercise was regarded as crucial arm of the New Science of the late seventeenth century"[183].

There is a popular assumption that a travel account from the perspective of an individual traveller, especially when constructed in narrative form, would persuade readers of the trustworthiness of the account. This led Michael McKeon to use the label of "naïve empiricism" for that trend[184]. Indeed, this reliance on subjectivity as a source for knowledge would ultimately be vindicated by the philosophical foundations of Romanticism. In my analysis of national spaces, I will consider naïve empiricism as a foundation which is further exemplified by what I would like to call 'negative empiricism'. Negative empiricism occurs when an experience of the Other is used to simultaneously construct an implicit experience of the self. For instance, when travellers describe the city of Paris, while permanently pointing out that it is completely unlike London, readers will construct a mental mirror image of London on the basis of descriptions of Paris. This way of establishing an idea is analogous to a practice known from theology called 'negative theology'. Essentially the idea is that by negation of what may not be said about the divine, a better understanding of it is achieved. In the case of London, impressions of this city are approximated by negating any similarity it might be thought to have with Paris. Here, experiences of a certain kind are used to construct experiences of something else that is absent from the direct experience.

Notwithstanding the importance of a nation's capital as a seat of governmental power, cities became more important due to the international trade, on the one hand, and with the beginning of industrialisation, on the other. Especially in the English context, these developments were even more drastic than elsewhere in Europe. By end of the eighteenth century, (Greater) London was the first city to have a population over a million people.[185] Paris, being the

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[183] Thompson, Carl. *Travel Writing*. New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 45

[184] McKeon, Michael. *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2002, p. 110

[185] London Government Office. "Total Population". *A Vision of Britain through Time*. GB Historical GIS. <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10097836/cube/TOT_POP>

greatest city in Europe, would only count about half as many people at that time. As London was the centre of political power, of trade and of the early industrial revolution, it held a particularly important space in the notion of a national space. And as Paris was its natural counterpart on the continent in general and in the context of a French Other in particular, considerations of national bodies would most definitely take a comparative view of both cities.

Especially as far as travelling to France is concerned, the tradition of the Grand Tour provides the most dominant and immediate context for Post-Napoleonic travellers. The Grand Tour was a specific type of journey that was a custom of the upper class, which had its prime in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. James Buzard, a leading expert on the Tour, describes it as,

> from start to finish, an ideological exercise. Its leading purpose was to round out the education of young men of the ruling classes by exposing them to the treasured artifacts [*sic*] and ennobling society of the Continent. Usually occurring just after completion of studies at Oxford or Cambridge University and running anywhere from one to five years in length, the Tour was a social ritual intended to prepare these young men to assume the leadership positions preordained for them at home.[186]

Even though it would seem that the young upper-class men had a more or less standardised curriculum vitae as a result of that educational schedule, it was still supposed to be a necessary and in fact liberating journey that leads to fully-fledged individual adults. "The tour was both a form of higher education and an instrument of social reproduction that required an extended absence from paternal surveillance and an exposure to temptation that risked subverting the institutional goals"[187]. In this one can clearly see the type of narrative that the Grand Tour would unfold. As a setting for coming of age story, the Grand Tour was not an adventure in the global sense, but certainly one in the lives of individual Tourists. The Grand Tour was an institution of deeply cosmopolitan values, as it fostered the universalist ideas of the Enlightenment.[188] However, the Tour has always been held with at least a little suspicion. It was a popular

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[186] Buzard, James. "The Grand Tour and after (1660–1840)". *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002, pp.37-52, p. 38

[187] Porter, Dennis. *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991, p. 51

[188] See Korte, Barbara. *Der Englische Reisebericht: Von der Pilgerfahrt bis zur Postmoderne*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993, p. 59

conception that British Gentlemen on their Grand Tour spent most of their time enjoying carnal pleasures and giving in to excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages, an adventurous notion that was deemed rather unfavourable by the public, the danger of venereal disease being one of their greatest concerns.[189]

Paris had always been a key destination of the Tour throughout its history. While the German destinations were mostly interesting for their universities, Italy for its connection to ancient Rome, France was important for the proper socialisation of the young elite. As the Earl of Chesterfield remarked in the second half of the eighteenth century: "It must be owned that the Graces do not seem to be natives of Great Britain […] Since barbarism drove them out of Greece and Rome, they seem to have taken refuge in France"[190]. While English youngsters were considered to be lacking in manners, Paris was thought to be the best school in that respect. After the French Revolution, however, the continent was largely inaccessible to Englishmen until the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Yet even before that, the Tour began to change.

New forms of travel that were deeply entangled with shifts in aesthetic and educational mentalities affected the Tour towards the end of the eighteenth century. Especially the emerging notions of sentimentality and of the picturesque slowly shifted the focus of some individual tours from the strictly classical nature of the earlier tradition towards what would later become the Romantic journey. Edmund Burke's ground-breaking *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) was an important precursor to Romantic thought[191]. Equally so, Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768) would vindicate a sentimental approach to learning in the context of the traditional Grand Tour[192]. "When the old notion of the Grand Tour as an education was superseded by holiday travel in search of the picturesque or mere novelty it was a sign of a new age"[193]. Yet that new age

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[189] See Black, Jeremy. *The British and the Grand Tour*. London et al: Croom Helm, 1985, p. 110

[190] Stanhope, Philip Dormer, Earl of Chesterfield. *Letters to his son, Philip Stanhope, Esq*, vol. 1. Dublin, 1775, p. 329

[191] Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. London. 1757

[192] Sterne, Laurence. *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*, vol. 1. London. 1768

[193] George, M. Dorothy. *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire*. New York: Walker and Company, 1967, p. 144

came to a halt with the French Revolution and the years of Napoleonic Rule. However, those mentalities would further develop and manifest in English thought, only to be set free again in the Post-Napoleonic Age. James Buzard observes that "not only did the idea of the picturesque live on – stretched and applied to new purposes, to be sure – but even the classical interests of the ideal Grand Tourist did not entirely disappear"[194]. Post-Napoleonic tourists thus found themselves in a dynamic field of classicist traditions and sentimental approaches.

In addition to that, the type of tourist that would emerge in the Post-Napoleonic Age differed in significant ways from the Tourist of the eighteenth century. As the *Westminster Review* witnesses, "a new generation had sprung up, and the whole of this, who had money and time at command, poured, in one vast stream, across the Pas de Calais into France"[195]. This was the beginning of modern mass tourism, as the destinations of the Tour were no longer mostly restricted to the upper class, but people from various classes could travel much more easily and cheaply than had been possible before. Especially with technological advances, such the successful invention of the marine chronometer by John Harrison in 1773, which allowed measurements of longitude at sea, or the gradual spread of railway transportation in the early nineteenth century, travel became safer, faster and more convenient, making the development of modern mass tourism an ever more conceivable possibility. Also, with respect to economic and financial decline in Post-Napoleonic France, travelling to France would be a much cheaper undertaking than it had been in the times of the *Ancien Régime*. Thus, in a Post-Napoleonic context, "[t]he class-specific ideals of the Grand Tour were refunctioned to suit that atmosphere in which 'everybody' seemed to be abroad"[196].

Most probably because it was no longer only a select circle of the educated elite, but a vast number of people from a variety of classes that travelled to France, that the fear of cultural diffusion became a widespread phenomenon. This new threat merged with old fears that "Jacobin principles were establishing themselves in Britain where they threatened to undermine all that had enabled

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[194] Buzard 2002, p. 47

[195] "Art. IV – The English in Italy". *The Westminster Review*, 5:9, October, 1826, pp. 325-345, pp.325-326

[196] Buzard 2002, p. 49

Britain to flourish and thrive"[197]. Jacobinism was essentially the intellectual movement behind the French Revolution, which promoted the ideas of freedom and equality. Publication trends of that time bear witness to the almost paranoid fears of Jacobinism that became deeply ingrained in English culture. Grenby counts as many as "fifty novels published between 1790 and 1805 which were suffused with anti-Jacobinism, with perhaps as many again which were anti-Jacobin in parts or to a limited extent"[198].

As the middle class started to become politically and socially more important relative to the slight loss of importance of the upper class in the late eighteenth century, dandyism began to appear. Occupying the vacuum of a social elite left by the upper class, the dandy became an urban phenomenon that used the social space of the city for self-stylisation. The dandy is a middle-class hedonist aspiring to the former social domain of the young upper-class elites. It was predominantly through fashionable lifestyles and materialist excesses that the dandy gained attention in society.[199] Closely related to the rake, the dandy typically died alone in misery and under immense financial debt. Beau Brummel is one of the key figureheads of early dandyism in the Post-Napoleonic age.[200]

Against the backdrop of the Grand Tour as the traditional pathway to social refinement, those middle-class youngsters who aspired to become part of the *bon ton*, the fashionable elite in English society, would follow in the footsteps of eighteenth-century Tourists. Yet as the Tour had already lost some of its political and social importance, since it was based on ideas of a pan-European cosmopolitanism, it was not on the agenda of nationalist Post-Napoleonic circles. Especially since those youngsters would be more interested in fashion rather than a wholistic educational journey, the traditional Grand Tour was often substituted by a shorter trip to Paris.

It is the conjunction of those tendencies that left their mark on Post-Napoleonic travel narratives. While that age would produce voices from both

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[197] Grenby, M. O. *The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British Conservatism and the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004, p. 1

[198] Ibid, p. 203

[199] See Müller, Wolfgang G. *Detektiv, Flaneur, Dandy – drei mythische Figuren der Stadtkultur des 19. Jahrhunderts und ihre Aktualität*, 2nd ed. Marburg: Blaues Schloss, 2013, pp. 33-34

[200] See my chapter 3.3 for the rake, and my chapter 3.4 for early dandyism in Post-Napoleonic England.

sides of the fence, be it political radicals in favour of the Revolution, or conservatives who would call for isolationism, a great body of travel literature emerged after the end of the Napoleonic Empire. For my analysis of nationalist discourse, it is predominantly the conservative texts that make up the bulk of my textual corpus, yet I will also consider radical voices that partake in nationalist undertakings. As I laid out in my introduction, my focus will be on four novels in particular. Each of these novels highlights another dimension in the narrative construction of national identity. And while there are similarities and junctures across these various texts, they all represent a unique contribution to the greater discourse.

SWP and *TEP* are almost identical in terms of plot, character constellation and setting, featuring a young English protagonist of the social elite, who, after leaving university, embarks on a journey to Paris in the tradition of the Grand Tour. Their tours, however, are disrupted by a series of misadventures they undergo in the French capital, leaving them on the verge of being financially ruined by cheating Frenchmen and, not least of all, French women. On the one hand, these two novels integrate key stereotypes held towards the French into their narratives, constructing national stock characters of both the English and the French nations which interact as typical representatives of their underlying national characters. Those stereotypes draw from traditions of stereotyping the French that can be traced back deeper into the eighteenth century but are modified by the specific historical context of Post-Napoleonic England. On the other hand, however, both the genres and the plots of these texts, as essential to the Post-Napoleonic era as they are presented, do have textual progenitors in the eighteenth century to which they are almost identical, even though wanting the historical peculiarities of the time after Waterloo.

Six Weeks at Long's, even though it bears a title conspicuously similar to *Six Weeks in Paris*, is not a travel narrative. In fact, the text seems extremely different from *SWP* and *TEP* in many respects. Unlike them, *SWL* is set in London, predominantly in Bond Street, a well-known place of high fashion and decadence of the time. Its main characters, a group of four, are thinly veiled caricatures of Regency Era fashionable elites and aspirants to that status. The text's Lord Leander represents Lord Byron and Mr. Bellair is Beau Brummel.

Apart from many other side characters, equally representing immensely popular and controversial figures of the time, the two other members of the quartet are the Marquis of Veneric and Petitoe, two characters that do not seem to represent any specific personages. While in the novel, Frenchmen are largely absent, they are painfully present in those English characters. Petitoe is hopelessly Francophile, Leander and Bellair display a habitus associated with the French, and of the Marquis it cannot be clearly said whether he is English or French, as he sometimes seems to identify himself with the French more than he does with the English. With its specific setup, the French Other, even though not overtly present, becomes a presence in the novel through Francophile intermediaries. Those elite and would-be elite characters endanger the integrity of an English national identity and could be said to become themselves the Other within.

The last novel I will discuss, *John Bull's Bible*, is a highly interesting example of an attempt to construct a holistic sense of national identity. The novel narrates the biography of John Bull, a personification of the English nation that has become a popular national icon throughout the eighteenth century. While it is much less specific on constructing national stereotypes than the other texts I discuss are, it is much more specific in its structural construction of an English national identity. Like the other primary texts of my thesis, it too draws from textual traditions that go beyond the Post-Napoleonic era, only to modify it for the context in which it was written. If one regards this text as a late addition to the John Bull tradition, one will find that it differs from those earlier text in fundamental ways. For instance, while the earlier narrative texts on John Bull are almost exclusively designed as fragments, as they only present the story of John Bull in one very limited time frame, *JBB* attempts to tell the entire biography of John Bull from days even preceding his birth up to the present.

Likewise, when compared to *Six Weeks in Paris* and *The Englishman in Paris*, or *Six Weeks at Long's*, *JBB* is a very different text both in terms of its genre, its plot, and its political views. One could say that the type of English national identity it seeks to construct is very different from the type one can find in the other two novels. Above all, it is this texts' radical agenda that differs from the more conservative outlook of the other two novels I will analyse. Indeed, one could say it even is in favour of the egalitarian politics that is typically associated with Revolutionary France, thus venturing on the borders of treason. Yet, even

given its different political outlook, it too is incapable of omitting the French Other against which it constructs an English national identity. As I will show, the French Other is not only a concept found in conservative discourses, but also in extremely radical texts such as *JBB*, serving as a key pillar in the construction of diverse types of an English national identity. In addition to that, the John Bull figure is quite frequently mentioned in the other novels I am analysing, which makes a contextualisation of that specific character even more essential.

In their undertaking, these long-forgotten novels differ from well-known canonical texts of the time. In his own study on the relationship between the nation and the novel, Patrick Parrinder concludes that novels "may speak to the nation but rarely, if ever, do they see it as their task to 'speak for the nation'"[201]. This is perhaps the most drastic way in which these novels position themselves in the discourse, as they do in fact assume voices that supposedly are representative for the whole English nation. Further, even though *SWP*, *TEP* and *SWL* position themselves as satires, they are a far cry from more subversive examples of that genre. As Gary Dyer argues, in a Post-Napoleonic context it was less and less common to find fully fledged satires in novels, but readers had to expect "satirical elements embedded in realistic novels"[202]. As they present themselves as more or less accurate descriptions of real places, events and personages, however hyperbolic at times, they can very well be considered to put emphasis on the mimetic mode of representation.

One of the key elements I will put stress on in my analysis of all four novels is in how far they make use of different kinds of national personifications. What they have in common in that they engage in exercises of myth-making, as they "have a paradigmatic function [since] their elements are symbols that enunciate a model with a general application"[203]. This general applicability puts them closer to the notion of the archetype as ideal representations of a universal principle of human nature. And to point it out again, however constructed or necessary those underlying traditions and mechanisms may be, it is only in this

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[201] Parrinder, Patrick. *Nation and Novel: The English Novel from its Origins to the Present Day*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006, p. 9

[202] Dyer, Gary. *British Satire and the Politics of Style, 1789-1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997, p. 18

[203] Edmonds, Radcliffe G. III. *Myths of the Underworld Journey: Plato, Aristophanes, and the 'Orphic' Gold Tablets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 6

very sense that I am considering their narrative formulas without having the need to make any claims about their exact ontogenesis in historical reality.

With regards to the 'Englishness' of those novels, it is a peculiar fact that of the four novels I explicitly use to illustrate the construction of an English national identity, two were written by writers who themselves are not English. William Jerdan is a Scotsman and Eaton Stannard Barrett is Irish. Further key texts that I will use in my analysis were also written by equally non-English Britons. Walter Scott and Thomas Moore, another Scot and another Irishman, are two among several conspicuous names found in my bibliography. However, for my analysis does not matter whether or not these texts were actually written by Englishmen, as long as they could be received by Englishmen as part of their national discourse. Lord Byron, for example, was born in Aberdeen, consequently a Scotsman. Nevertheless, he was and still is commonly perceived as being an English poet, especially due to the fact that he constructed himself as being exactly that. The same must be accounted for the writers of the primary texts used for this work. Further, it must be considered that many of these texts were anonymously published, even though we now know their names. This fulfils several functions: for once, the anonymous publication of the novels is used as an authenticity device, as the novels are supposedly based upon personal manuscripts of their protagonists. By keeping the authors' identities in the shadows, the illusion of a non-fictional nature of the material underlying those texts is preserved.

Further, the notion of an English *Leitkultur* that united people from the various British nations under one cultural banner would be much welcomed in a time, where a British identity was under a lot of stress, both from within and from without. Especially since the Scottish and since very recently the Irish could to some extend profit from the joined venture of the UK, it is not surprising that one would find voices among them that try to be more English than the actual English themselves. Those writers wanted to speak to the English as much as they wanted to speak for the English.

PART 2: The Discursive Construction of French Stereotypes

2.1. Mind-Body Interaction and the Law of Fashion

Napoleon, it is said, once remarked that "fashion condemns us to many follies; the greatest is to make ourselves its slave." However apocryphal this quotation may be, it corresponds to a central set of stereotypes that are held towards the French within the discourse. French vanity finds its most superficial manifestation in fashion, that is, Parisian attire. Fashion, however, reaches beyond the boundaries of a wardrobe. It will be pointed out that fashion, with all its rules and peculiarities, plays a major role in the construction of the typical French national character. British travellers put a special emphasis on their observations on the French way to dress and, by means of comparison, they put French fashion next to its British equivalent and place it in a socio-political context, which further reveals it to be a core pillar in the construction of the French Other.

Upon touching the French soil for the first time on their journey, Mary Shelley immediately encounters "a costume very unlike that worn on the opposite side of the channel"[204]. Shelley's remark is neutral enough to pass as a mere note on the fact that dress differs across the two nations. Nevertheless, that difference is felt to be a much more fundamental one in many British travel accounts. Of the French it is said that they fanatically follow fashion. In *Six Weeks in Paris*, the core difference between the English and the French is pointed out in that respect: "[The English] do not pay that respect to the glare of fashion, which the French of the old regime did, nor treat it with the scurrility and hatred which those of the late times have done. They steer the middle course"[205]. The main difference lies in the French tendency towards extremes, which stands opposed to the balanced nature of the English. In this *SWP* sees the "genius of the English people"[206]. French fashion is constructed as being another example of the nation's extreme and disproportionate character, both in terms of its actual manifestation and in the importance the French seem to put on it. In *The Englishman in Paris*, the protagonist provides a most vivid description of the latest Parisian style:

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[204] Shelley, Mary and Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *History of a Six Weeks Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland*. London, 1817, p. 5

[205] *SWP* 1, pp. 8-9

[206] Ibid, p.8

> The dress of the females in the streets of Paris is not at all caricatured, in the following description. A lump, on two legs, seems tumbling towards you under a hat like a snuff-box, with a large nosegay stuck on one side, as if she had been robbing a lord mayor's footman; and a petticoat fringed, flounced, and sticking out, on all sides, like a large bell, of which the two shuffling feet underneath, look like the double clapper.[207]

The image is, indeed, one of complete disproportion, as he describes the "lump, on two legs," a portrayal that is odd enough to strike the reader as a caricature of French ladies. However, since he explicitly assures the reader that what he describes "is not at all caricatured," he implies that the belles of Paris are in fact caricatures of themselves, or even more, of what they once were. His description acquires most of its comic effect through his comparison of their appearance with objects that entirely oppose whatever one might associate with the dress of a woman of style: a snuff-box, a bell, and the double-clapper of the bell. French fashion has gone over the top and is depicted as becoming more and more bizarre with each passing day, as it keeps taking increasingly ludicrous forms. The same accounts for the selection of verbs that are used to describe their walk: "tumbling" and "shuffling". Their dress has grown to become so bizarre that it even prevents them from walking properly; novelty has, therefore, eliminated functionality, the result being a product of complete alterity, reinforcing the image of the Other. In *Six Weeks in Paris*, the French ladies "affected to term the dignified walk of the English fair a *march*, their own consisting of short quick steps, with the body bent forward, ungracefully enough"[208]. Just as in the previous quote, the walk of the Parisian belles is described as being characterised by shuffling steps.

In *TEP*, the more elegant appearance of English ladies is only implied by the heterostereotype, whereas in Jerdan's novel both are explicitly juxtaposed. Nevertheless, both novels portray the walk of Parisian ladies as entirely inelegant. Corresponding perfectly to those descriptions of Parisian fashion, a satirical print by Hannah Humphrey, published in 1817, reveals the same features and stereotypes that the young lord uses in his description:

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[207] *TEP* 1, pp. 150-151
[208] *SWP* 1, p. 129

Figure 2 "Voila les Anglais!" [209]

The immediacy of the print exceeds the capacities that a text has to describe appearances. Almost any feature laid out in the texts can be easily perceived at a mere glance in this print. Here, an elegantly dressed English couple is contrasted against a group of ugly and ungraceful Parisian women, portraying the same features that are laid out in *The Englishman in Paris* and other

[209] "Voila les Anglais!" Humphrey, Hannah (pub.). London, 1817

corresponding texts of the discourse, which may tempt one to assume that the image of the bizarre French fashion was well-known in England. The stark contrast between the elegant English couple and the French firmly deconstructs the idea of superior French fashion, and even more so, constructs the English as a people who are superior to the French in every conceivable way. As these monstrously looking Parisian women laugh at the elegance of the English couple, French vanity is again constructed as being based on extreme and superficial splendour, despite the lack of substance underneath.

This striking difference between French and English garments in the Post-Napoleonic Age is a rather common theme in the English discourse. Even relatively neutral depictions of French and English fashions juxtapose the opposing styles rather strongly:

Figure 3 "English & French taste or a peep into Paris" [210]

In this print, the English styles on the left, even though they are more colourful[211] than their French equivalent on the right, are much simpler and slimmer. Few

[210] Heath, William. "English & French taste or a peep into Paris". London, 1818.
[211] Colouring varies between different versions of this print, yet in all of them the colours on the English side are more diverse.

ornaments decorate the dresses of the English women, while the French dresses are highly decorative. In that direct juxtaposition, the English dresses appear to be designed in a functional way and according to a sense of symmetry. Opposed to that, the French dresses display unnecessary elements, such as the elaborate collars and their tall bonnets, which make them tower over the English women. This elaborate style, however, seems much less colourful than the English styles next to it, as far as variation is concerned. Apart from their colourless depiction in the print, the French dresses appear almost like a uniform, as they follow the exact same pattern. The English dresses in contrast vary a lot more, displaying a variety of different patterns.

In order to provide a reason for those Parisian excesses of style he has laid out before, the protagonist of *TEP* continues by claiming its cause to be the Chinese costume of a popular French actress which she wore during her latest evening performance. The belles of Paris were only too eager to imitate that style as soon as the curtains closed:

> The belles of Paris were all in the course of the week metamorphosed into Chinese women; and straightway, according to the usual custom of their country, forgot that they ever had been any thing [*sic*] else, and lost all tolerance for those who continued to be any thing [*sic*] else. A freak of the morning, suggested by the theatrical exhibition of the evening, instantly became a standard by which to judge of the rest of the world[212].

His assertion takes a widespread blow at the French national spirit, or rather, the lack of it as it is lain aside for the sake of being fashionable. The spirit of fashion overrules the national spirit as the French ladies are without exception willing to join that latest advance of fashion. Moreover, the lightning speed at which fashion changes in the capital is remarkable. Within one week, one style is abandoned for the next, drawing an image of the French nation that is marred by complete and utter vanity. Especially the fact that he refers to the new fashion of Paris on the basis of a Chinese "costume" is a highly interesting fact. "'Costume' still designated the traditional clothing and social customs of a country or a people or a time, whereas 'fashion' was associated with taste and caprice and

[212] *TEP* 1, p. 152

carried a notion of temporal instability"[213]. This conflation of costume and fashion in the French context hints at a complete disregard of and disrespect for tradition among the French people, who only care about temporally instable fashion.

The actress serves as a role model for the sole reason that she was "pretty, her appearance was fanciful, and above all it was *new*"[214]. By transforming the French ladies into 'Chinese' women, they are becoming entirely alien in the eyes of Englishmen. Of course, the effect is enhanced by the example of the Chinese, as China is as remote and exotic, and therefore, as alien as anything could be in the eyes of an Englishman, both due to its geographical and cultural distance to Europe. As Edward Said argued, "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self"[215]. It is telling that the French would be stylised as quasi-Orientals in the eyes of the English, presenting them as a supposedly inferior and barbaric people.

More light could be shed on that rather odd juxtaposition of cultures, when it is contrasted with a similar comparison that is found in an 1816 article of the *British Critic*: "The pride of a Frenchman is a species of Chinese pride; with this only difference, that the ignorance of foreign nations which is difficult to be overcome in China, is in France persisted in from obstinacy of choice"[216]. Here, the Chinese are used as a vehicle to further alienate the image of the French. Both the French and the Chinese are constructed as being ignorant of other nations, which is the foundation of their pride. However, the Chinese are said to be innocent in that respect, as their geographical distance to 'civilised Europe' prevents them from gaining knowledge of other cultures. The French, on the other hand, are constructed as obstinately choosing that ignorance. Considering the idea of the Frenchman being ignorant of his own culture, the newly adopted Chinese costume becomes a superficial manifestation of that part

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[213] Siegfried, Susan L. "Temporalities of Costume and Fashion in Art of the Romantic Period". *Fashion in European Art: Dress and Identity, Politics and the Body, 1775-1925*. Justine De Young (ed.). London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2017, pp. 60-90, p. 61

[214] Ibid

[215] Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979, p. 3

[216] "Art. V. Quinze jours à Londres, à la fin de 1815." *The British Critic, New Series*, vol. 6, October, 1816, pp. 371-390. pp. 377-378

of the French national character thus weakening the idea of superior French fashions. On the other hand, this implies that the English construct themselves as an open-minded and well-informed nation. An Englishman's judgment is, therefore, not a result of ignorance, but of careful observation.

Apart from that mindless adaptation of a new style of fashion, there is another idea tackled in this excerpt: There is nothing original about new French styles themselves, as they are merely copied from other cultures. This supposed aspect of French culture was already hinted at in the construction of the urban space, as French monuments were denounced as being mere copies from ancient models. One might very much call this a variation of the stereotype, which is only applied to another context but retains its core stereotype, which is that the French are an unimaginative nation, reliant on stealing ideas from other cultures in order to come up with something new. In the example of the Chinese costume, this idea seems to backfire on the French in the eyes of the English, as it turns their dress into even more ridiculous deformities. Therefore, in addition to being unimaginative copycats, the French are constructed as having no real sense of beauty as the ridiculous splendour of both their dress and buildings suggests.

It is a quite curious fact that the protagonist's description of the latest Parisian dress is not only based on plagiarised (with a few omissions) almost exactly from another source. An article concerning "French Fashions" that was published in *The Examiner* in 1814 seems to be the original source of those paragraphs.[217] John Scott also draws directly from that text at least he provides information about his source[218], whereas in *The Englishman in Paris* the passages are completely absorbed by the novel without raising any suspicions about their plagiarised nature. This does, indeed, make sense when one considers the differences between travelogues and novels in the sense that those texts by definition have different claims to honesty. Here, the interesting part is certainly not the fact that portions of the novel were plagiarised from other texts or whatever was the original source. Rather, the fact that stereotypes were casually taken from one text to another, despite their different genres, is important. It may tempt one to suspect that those stereotypes enjoyed something approximating

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[217] See "French Fashions". *The Examiner*, 2 January, 1814, pp. 572-574, p. 572

[218] Scott, John. *A Visit to Paris in 1814; Being a review of the moral, political, intellectual, and social condition of the French capital*, 2nd ed. London, 1815, pp. 100-101

universal acceptance among a particular audience. This is especially emphasised by the intermedia presence of those stereotypes, as they are effortlessly taken up by newspaper articles, travelogues, novels or prints alike. One might surely argue that by simply copying from other sources the novel lacks originality. However, stereotypes have no claim to or need for originality at all. Rather the opposite is true: stereotypes become even more powerful by being shared and distributed freely without any need for alterations or being fed by personal experience, as it is their nature to construct a collective identity and alterity by means of discursive interaction. In short, plagiarism of stereotypes is an essential practice in the discursive construction of national identities, as those intratextual references create direct links between different texts thus revealing them to be a *kulturelle Responsionsstruktur* in the way that they 'interact' with each other.

In *SWP*, the explanation given for that very same Parisian style is implicitly claimed to be in direct contrast to their English counterparts: "An Englishwoman has no occasion to hide her head in a coal-skuttle, as these huge bonnets are called in England, nor to bury her defects under a loose dress; all's fair and above board there—no buying a pig in a poke"[219].

Turning back to the *TEP* protagonist's account of French fashion quoted above, he describes the French as a "freak of the morning," which both inter- and intratextually corresponds to another observation made by John Scott, who labels the Frenchman "a freak of fashion, which is sufficient to explain any thing"[220]. Even the most grotesque peculiarities of the French national character are thus attributed to the turning tides of fashion, a force of change that does not alter according to the laws of reason, though; it is only for the sake of its own nature that fashion remains in perpetual motion. Attire is superficial, but it is sufficient to explain anything connected to a Parisian, who is merely a vain fashion addict. During her trip to Paris, Dorothy Wordsworth complains exactly about that notion, claiming that "the Bourgeoises heart and soul intent upon their petticoats and stockings"[221]. A deep-rooted narcissism pervades the spirit of

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[219] *SWP* 1, p. 128

[220] Scott, John. *Paris revisited, in 1815, by way of Brussels: including a walk over the field of battle at Waterloo*, 2nd ed. London, 1816, p. 287

[221] Wordsworth, William and Dorothy. *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, Vol. 3. The Middle Years: Part II, 1812-1820*, 2nd ed. Ernest de Selincourt, Mary Moorman and Alan G. Hill (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 645

France, which is primarily attributed to the women of Paris, as far as dress is concerned. Indeed, a vast majority of the remarks on Parisian fashion aim at "the dress of the females," as the *TEP* protagonist puts it.

In his elaboration on the history of the latest Parisian dress, the protagonist calls the rapid change of styles a 'usual custom' of the French. Fashion, therefore, holds the belles of Paris in a firm grasp, to which they have become so accustomed that they forgot any previous dress. This implies more than just an obsession with fashion; it has become so deeply internalised that it is completely absorbed by the French national spirit thus entering the realm of the unconscious. Following that line of thought, Parisians are constructed as being incapable of self-reflection, rendering them a dull people who accept anything which is imposed upon them without questioning its nature. Further, it is in that unreflecting and shifting state that they judge the rest of the world. Fashion is constructed as the ultimate indicator for superiority in the minds of the French. In *Six Weeks at Long's* it is stated that "fashion is the art of making one thing superior to another, by the simple process of its being called so by a few fashionable people"[222]. The French judge the rest of the world according to fashion because it is the one thing at which they think that they exceed everyone else. Of course, it is the supposed lack of self-awareness that makes it impossible for the French to accept anything that differs from their own present state. In *Six Weeks in Paris*, Lord Beacon comes to the same conclusion when he states that "the old leaven of vanity still infects the French character, and causes them to depreciate every thing to be found in foreign nations, and to exalt whatever belongs to their own"[223]. In Beacon's assertion it is being hinted that vanity has been a burden of the French people for a long time. In his pre-revolutionary work, John Andrews also observes that in all matters of France "fashion is the word of command in its fullest acceptation"[224]. However, that vanity assumes a new quality in Post-Napoleonic discourse, as French fashion takes ever more ridiculous forms, being disconnected from its glorious past. Taking into account these assumptions, the French custom of depreciating any style that is not domestic in combination with their obstinate ignorance becomes a dull and

[222] *SWL* 1, p. 8
[223] *SWP* 1, p. 130
[224] Andrews, John. *A Comparative View of the French and English Nations*. London, 1785, p. 78

ridiculous habit in the eyes of the English, who see themselves as a quite rational nation.

Commenting on exactly that flaw in the French character, John Scott proclaims that "[a] Parisian lady, who laughs at the costume of our countrywomen, laughs at what she was herself a few years ago; but she will not believe you if you tell her that she lately wore the little bonnet which now she ridicules"[225]. Again, it is made clear that this non-believing is not a conscious act of denial but caused by a lack of self-awareness; she simply does not remember the old style of bonnets and thus regards the world from the vantage point of trend, showing no respect for anything else. A similar remark can be found in *Six Weeks in Paris*, when it is said that "the Parisians . . . gave vent to their hatred and envy, by a boisterous and indecent ridicule of the *petits bonnets*, so calculated to display a fair complexion, and fine features"[226]. What immediately stands out in this statement is the description of English bonnets as being 'calculated'. Calculation is a rational act with a clear purpose and an undeniable result. English bonnets were not brought to life by the turning tides of fashion but by rational design, serving the purpose of underlining natural beauty. The French, on the other hand, are depicted as being unable to appreciate the advantages of that well-proportioned design, even though they were once using those bonnets themselves. A new trend has eradicated them from the minds of Parisian ladies. In this quotation, another dimension is added to the stereotype. French hate for the English and envy of their wealth reinforces their depreciation of English styles in particular.

The tall bonnet, or "hat like a snuff-box", as it is called in *The Englishman in Paris*, is one of the most prominent parts of Parisian clothing that is exposed to heavy pounding in British writing. In *Six Weeks at Long's*, an English character remarks: "[Parisian bonnets] have grown to such a prodigious height, that I am told all the new houses have their doors reaching up to the ceilings"[227]. The stereotype is taken to the extreme, as the latest fashion of their ladies forces the French to adapt their architecture to meet its spatial requirements. This quotation subsequently deconstructs the borders between the

[225] Scott, J. 1815, p. 8
[226] *SWP* 1, pp. 128-129.
[227] *SWL* 1, p. 16.

urban space and its inhabitants. Architecture, which is the fashion of the urban space, falls victim to the same laws that govern attire. The heterostereotype constructs the French as a people, who are primarily concerned with new trends, whereas the English are thus implicitly constructed as being set in tradition and down to earth. The uncontrollable growth of the bonnet has completely evaded reasonable thinking; it never even occurs to the French that it may have taken ridiculous forms. Indeed, it is the rapidly changing trends of the frantic capital that diminish any opportunity for thinking about and reflecting upon the circumstances of everyday life. William Hunter comments on exactly that feature of the French capital, calling it a "city, where every thing seems to be moving with a rapidity that allows no time for reflection"[228]. The stereotypical Frenchman never reflects upon changes in fashion, but embraces them for the sake of their novelty, no matter at what costs, even if it means that all of their doors require resizing.

John Gustavus Lemaistre, an English barrister with a curious French name, hits the nail on the head when he summarises that attitude towards the French within one remarkable sentence, and in addition to that, tears down the boundaries of fashion by transcending it to pervade every aspect of life in France:

> The fact is, that every thing is regulated in France by the imperious law of fashion; and in this country a bigot becomes an atheist, or an atheist a bigot, with the same facility and unconcern with which an Englishman changes the most frivolous part of his dress, in compliance with general usage[229].

The difference between the auto- and the heterostereotype could not be pointed out more clearly. Fashion holds more power over the vain French than any monarch or emperor could ever possibly hope to, whether it be Louis XIV, or Napoleon Bonaparte, since even those characters of power are depicted as being slaves of fashion. One may be inclined to suggest an even more extreme stereotype: they are mere products of fashion, only allowed to rule by the grace of fashion. The English, on the other hand, construct themselves as not shifting from one extreme to the next but as a people of tradition and balanced temper.

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[228] Hunter, William. *Travels through France, Turkey, and Hungary, to Vienna, in 1792*, vol. 1. London, 1803, p. 34

[229] Lemaistre, John Gustavus. *A rough sketch of modern Paris; or, Letters on society, manners, public curiosities, and amusements, in that capital*, 2nd ed. London, 1803, p. 4

Fashion assumes an imperial quality in the French people, as it is their ultimate measuring bar according to which they proclaim their judgement of people. The 'law of fashion' deserves some further notice. In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, the famous British empiricist John Locke uses it to describe one of the three laws that govern human nature. He enumerates "*first*, the law of God; *secondly*, the law of politic societies; *thirdly*, the law of fashion" claiming them to be "those to which men variously compare their actions; and it is by their conformity to one of these laws that they take their measures when they would judge of their moral rectitude"[230]. According to Locke, the law of fashion is the lowest of those laws, by which "the greatest part of [humanity] govern themselves [rather than] the laws of God or the magistrate"[231]. By using the example of duelling, he points out the moral conflict between those three laws: "duelling: which, when considered in relation to the law of God, will deserve the name of sin; to the law of fashion, in some countries, valour and virtue; and to the municipal laws of some governments, a capital crime"[232]. In this example, the law of fashion is in conflict with the other two laws of human nature, primarily with the law of god, which Locke regards as the supreme law. If consulted solely, the law of fashion may very well lead to immoral conduct and to alienation from the 'law of God', by which men acquire objective moral values according to Locke's view. Here, the law of fashion is understood as corresponding to a self-centred view of the world. When applied to the example of the French, an Englishman who perceives the French as living by the law of fashion will come to the conclusion that they must be permanently in conflict with moral values. Fashion is only a temporary state, therefore, a people who embrace it unconditionally must be living for the present moment only. Walter Scott's work as well identifies France as "a country where the present occupies solely the attention of the public" (321). In such a nation it is impossible to establish long-lasting traditions and values, since those are also subdued by the law of fashion and, therefore, discarded whenever a new trend sets in.

By the same token, John Scott concludes that "[a] Frenchman can persuade himself of any thing [*sic*] in a moment, and he can get rid of an

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[230] Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, vol.1, Rev. ed. John W. Yolton (ed.). London: Dent, 1965, p. 301

[231] Ibid, p. 300

[232] Ibid, p. 302

important belief as easily and quickly"[233]. Nothing seems fixed in the French capital, as the French assume a chameleon mentality which makes them lay off their deepest beliefs in the same unconcerned manner in which they lay off their old dress for a new one. In his *Cautions to continental travellers*, J. W. Cunningham warns his compatriots about precisely that looseness of sentiment in the French people:

> Perhaps it is not too much to say, that no other nation ever discovered the same portion of self-conceit and the same love of display with the French. Every other feature in the national character seems to exist in combination with this. It accompanies them into courts and senates, into the field of battle and the shades of retirement: it equally dives with the *poissarde* into the cellar, and squeezes with the minister into the crowds of his levee[234].

Vanity, almost in a personified form, is constructed here as being a permanent companion of the French, following them into every area of life. Whether it be their legislative, as represented by the senate, their judiciary, as represented by the courts, or the executive, as embodied by the army, vanity is found everywhere and dictates their every move. Cunningham claims that every other feature of the French national character is only found in combination with vanity thus hinting at the core heterostereotype of vanity in the construction of the French Other.

Commenting on French and English manners, Felix M'Donogh concludes that a Frenchman "naturally changes his opinions, his laws, his habits, his politics, and his principles, as quickly as the wind varies in the most uncertain latitudes"[235]. Just like Lemaistre, who deems the French capable of easily metamorphosing from a bigot to an atheist and vice versa, M'Donogh sees it in the nature of a Frenchman to change without internal opposition. In essence, this again allows some further insight into the construction of an English national identity. By permanently pounding on that volatile aspect of the French Other, the English construct themselves as a nation of pious Protestants, who live in correspondence to the law of god rather than the law of fashion. Unlike the

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[233] Scott, J. 1816, pp. 310-311

[234] Cunningham, J.W. *Cautions to continental travellers*. London, 1823, p. 13

[235] M'Donogh, Felix. *The hermit in London: or, Sketches of English manners*, vol. 3. London, 1819, p. 116

French, the English will not easily fall off from their beliefs, habits, politics, and morals, as they remain truthful to their established traditions and values.

While further elaborating his perception of the French character, Cunningham adds that especially French women are “educated simply and exclusively for display”[236]. By reducing their sole purpose to that of display, French women are constructed as being walking mannequins, who have no purpose in life but that of constituting a part of the nation’s decoration. At this point one might again feel inclined to notice the parallels between the construction of the urban space and its inhabitants. As pointed out in the previous chapter of this analysis, the French Other are constructed as measuring their standing among nations solely in the splendour of their capital. Just as much as the magnificent structures make up the urban identity, their fanciful attire constitutes the identity of the women of Paris, overshadowing any other shortcomings they might have in the same way that splendid squares overshadow the ugly streets of Paris in the eyes of its inhabitants. Moreover, as fashion blurs the borders between the urban space and its inhabitants, it also blurs the borders between the identities of the city and the people. Just as much as Parisians’ pride is based on their city, they themselves form part of the city’s decoration. John Scott affirms this idea, when he claims that the belles of Paris are “forming part of the scenery of the streets”[237]. In this respect, the urban space becomes a melting pot for personal, collective and urban identities under the imperial banner of fashion. Napoleon is thoroughly constructed as being the foremost personification of that idea. Walter Scott’s protagonist argues that concerning Bonaparte “[i]t cannot be denied that he showed great ability and dexterity in availing himself of that taste for national display, which is a leading feature of the French character”[238]. In his account, Napoleon, in having his own statue placed on top of the *Vendôme Colonne*, turned his own appearance into part of the city’s decoration thus bringing that aspect of the French Other to perfection in the eyes of the British and, on the other hand, puts emphasis on the deteriorating effects of Napoleonic rule.

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[236] Cunningham 1823, p. 16
[237] Scott, J. 1816, p. 108
[238] Scott, Walter. *Paul’s Letters to his Kinsfolk*. 3rd ed. Edinburgh, 1816, pp. 309-310

Attributing everything that happens in France to the law of fashion is not an entirely conservative notion. In his *Tour Through the South of England, Wales, and Part of Ireland*, Edward Daniel Clarke praises the French "spirit of liberty, which […] has trampled upon the insignia of despotism"[239]. Yet he gives an explanation for that political development which equals that of his more conservative compatriots:

> Our continental neighbours are those, to whom we are indebted for every exaggeration of our natural infirmity. They are represented of a livelier turn, and of a disposition happily indifferent to all the serious occurrences of life. And to what is this owing? to that love of novelty, that avidity, which ever marks the tenor of a Frenchman's temper, in the pursuit of something new [240]

In comparison to that happy French spirit, among the English he diagnoses "phlegmatic vapours, and that depression of spirits, which are so justly become the characteristic of a whole nation"[241]. Indeed, he is outspokenly favourable of that French sentiment, but he cannot help but attributing it to the French deep interest in fashion and being fashionable, which is again presented as being the cause of everything happening in France.

By taking a look at the superficial manifestations of fashion in the attire of Parisians, it has been pointed out that fashion plays a dominant role in the construction of the French Other. Above all, the women of Paris are regarded as being solely interested in the latest trend, which prevents them from thinking about the past or the future, as their attention is fixed on the present moment only. As fashion transcends into every aspect of life in France, the French are constructed as being a nation of peacocks, with no true morals, principles, or traditions whatsoever. As a result, they lay off all values without fashioning even the slightest notion of concern, since their vanity overshadows all of their other characteristics. In short, Parisian obsession with fashion is constructed as being a direct result of the innermost defect of the French people: vanity. Only on a superficial level does fashion appear as a harmless peculiarity of the French nation. A closer look at the actual extent of fashion, however, creates a threatening image of the French as an unstable, extremist, intolerant and self-centred nation, who, on top of that, hold profound grudges against the English.

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[239] Clarke, Edward Daniel. *A Tour Through the South of England, Wales, and Part of Ireland, made during the summer of 1791*. London, 1793, p. 5

[240] Ibid, p. 2

[241] Ibid, p. 1

The English, on the other hand, present themselves as a nation governed by reason. The English do not embark on vain notions of show and pretence in their outward appearance but are fond of functional and elegant designs. This constructs the English as a reasonable and rational people with a refined taste, steering the middle course in everything they do, very much unlike the French who tend to exaggerate everything to the extreme for that matter.

2.2. Frogs and Apes: French metamorphoses

Throughout the eighteenth century it was a commonplace to associate nations with animal species. John Arbuthnot was one of the most prominent voices to establish such a system of nationalist animal symbolism with his collection of stories concerning *The History of John Bull*. Primarily there were two ways in which the relationship between the nation and the animal could be established. On the one hand, it could be metaphorical, for instance if the animal and the nation are said to either display certain character traits or live in a similar environment. On the other hand, the relationship could be metonymic, as the animal is a type of meat that is said to be favoured or typically eaten by members of that nation. Sometimes, several of those tendencies exist at the same time, which in the case of the French it is very much that way, as they were associated with two kinds of animals: frogs and apes. The latter may nowadays not strike anyone as particularly obvious, while the former is still a very common association[242]. Interestingly, Arbuthnot portrayed the Dutch as frogs, as they inhabit a country full of swamps, yet "the French inherited the accusation of commercial imperialism which threatened English safety even more insidiously", thus becoming the foremost imperial rival of Britain[243]. This is not to say that the association of the French and frogs is a late invention. As early as 1691, a *Satyr against the French* identified frogs as a typically French dish.[244] Yet in the Dutch case the frog association is metaphorical, while in the French case it remains almost entirely metonymic. For the majority of this subchapter, I will put my focus on the metaphorical ape association, as it is predominantly the metaphorical dimension in which a national spirit-body duality is

[242] Even though the frog is nowadays commonly associated with the French, this had not always been the case. David Bindman demonstrates that before the late eighteenth century it has been a commonplace to depict the Dutch as frogs. Arbuthnot was one of the early artists who stereotyped the Dutch in that way. While the French were initially portrayed as frog-eating apes, after the Revolution they were increasingly depicted as frogs themselves. The Dutch disappeared from the scene as their role in the English perception of foreign affairs was overshadowed and indeed swallowed up by the French completely (See Bindman, David. "How the French became frogs: English caricature and a national stereotype". Apollo, 158/498, August, 2003, pp. 15-20).

[243] Duffy, Michael. *The Englishman and the Foreigner*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986, p.33

[244] See *A Satyr against the French*. London, 1691.

established. However, I will briefly lay out the metonymic dimension of the frog, as it also permeates the tradition of the ape association to a certain degree.

Among other depictions in print, Hogarth's work provides some of the most noteworthy examples of popular imagery. Hogarth picked up old "sentiments [which he] institutionalised in print form"[245]. One of his engravings on "The Invasion", depicts French soldiers of the *Ancien Régime* preparing to invade England:

Figure 4 "France Plate 1st / The Invasion"[246]

The almost starvingly thin soldiers, standing below a sign that advertises "Soup Meagre", which English artists commonly used to satirise French cuisine as unsubstantial, cannot find any more suitable meat to prepare than the array of frogs that is roasting over the campfire. Just like soup meagre, frogs are used to visually construct the poverty and hunger among the French lower classes, while their British counterparts are far better off:

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[245] Ibid, p. 35

[246] Hogarth, William. "France Plate 1st / The Invasion". London, 1756

Figure 5 "England Plate 2d. / The Invasion"[247]

Compared to the French, the soldiers on the English side appear a jolly lot, well-fed and strong. The caption of the image hails "Old England's Beef and Beer!", which makes the English soldiers superior to the "Hungry Slaves" in France. In this context, the visual association is clear, frogs and bulls merely refer to national dishes, without trying to merge either humans depicted with the animal in question. However, visual differences do exist on that basis. While the starving French are anorexic, the well-fed English are strong and stout, a notion that also hints at their economic situation, as the 'free' English soldiers are better paid than their French counterparts. This is relatively close to a modern understanding of the matter, where the French are referred to as frog-eaters, rather than being frogs themselves. On a visual level, this is the case for most satirical prints throughout the Long Eighteenth Century.

The idea of the French as a nation of apes, however, has a long tradition that in spite of the now more popular association of the French with frogs has not completely died out. One may very well call to mind Disney's 1967 animated

[247] Hogarth, William. "England Plate 2d. / The Invasion". London, 1756

film adaptation of Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*. In the film, King Louie, an orang-utan, rules over a tribe of monkeys. While not explicitly French and of a different branch of apes altogether, King Louie clearly has an ancestor in Lewis Baboon, a creation of Arbuthnot which became the most prominent simian ancestor of an apish depiction of the French. His name is obviously a pun on Louis Bourbon, a name that came to represent the totality of French monarchs through the mental model of Louis XIV. While Arbuthnot does not narrate Lewis Baboon to behave like a monkey, and also refrains from describing his outward appearance as such, the name itself suggests the somewhat non-human nature of that particular character. Telling-names are always important tools in characterizing literary characters without explicitly having to represent those characteristics in the overall narration. When it comes to individual characters, names are important means of establishing personal identities, as names are centres of narrative gravity that hold together characteristics and behaviours within the mind of the reader. This becomes especially true when the name of a character is more than a mere placeholder as the label of the set that subsumes the character. If the name of the character itself has a meaning that suggests certain characteristics, it will raise assumptions and expectations about that character even before he is described. This may include physical features but also behaviour.

Accordingly, the association of the French with apes has become a popular idea during the eighteenth century and beyond. A rather late example of this tradition can be found in Edward Corvan's and George Ridley's 1863 collection of *Tyneside Songs*, which include a song called "The Fishermen Hung the Monkey, O"[248]. Concerning the theme of this song, Corvan relates:

> These words are the greatest insult you can offer the Hartlepool fisherman. It is supposed when "Napoleon the great" threatened to invade England, the fishermen were loyal and patriotic, and ever on the look out for spies. A vessel having been wrecked about this time every soul perished with the exception of a monkey, which was seized by the fishermen for a French spy, and hung because he could not or would not speak English.[249]

[248] Corvan, Edward and Ridley, George. "The Fishermen Hung the Monkey, O". *Tyneside Songs*. Newcastle, 1863, pp. 62-64

[249] Ibid, p. 62

As the story is only mentioned as late as 1863, there is no telling as to whether or not such an event actually occurred nor if the emergence of any such story was indeed contemporary with the Napoleonic Wars. Ever since, however, the legend has become strongly tied to Hartlepudlian identity, which, in spite of its originally insulting intend, they have come to embrace. Their local rugby team bears the name "Monkeyhangers" until this very day.[250]

However apocryphal this legend may be, it does correspond to the popular discourse of the time. Apart from ridiculing the supposed backwardness of Hartlepudlian fishermen, it relies on that well-known animification of the French as monkeys or apes[251]. Given the rather widespread use of that specific imagery, especially in the medium of prints, the fishermen might actually be excused, having never met any Frenchman in real life. The comic potential of the song relies on the fact that depictions of the French often bore a simian touch, which renders the alleged behaviour of those fishermen at least somewhat comprehensible, even if highly uneducated. The song goes into great detail, narrating the tortures the monkey underwent, which even at a time prior to any serious animal rights activism would have seemed unnecessarily barbaric given the pointlessness of the whole affair. Nevertheless, the passion narrative is undermined by the humorous tone of the song, which might be said to climax in the fishermen's vain attempt to make sense of the monkey's squeaking upon interrogation:

> They tried ivery means to myek him speak,
> They tortor'd the Monkey tiv he loud did squeak;
> Says yen that's French, says another its Greek[252]

The mere potential that anyone could mistake a monkey's squeaking for the French language is rather telling. Language is a key tool in establishing identities. By equating the French language with monkey sounds, not only the

[250] See the official website of Hartlepool: <http://www.thisishartlepool.co.uk/history/thehartlepoolmonkey.asp>

[251] Even though there is of course a difference between monkeys and apes, little difference was made between the terms in popular usage, a confusion that is still common today, which is why I also take the liberty of not distinguishing between them for my analysis.

[252] Corvan and Ridley 1863, p. 63

language itself is being made fun of, but also the entire discourse that uses the French tongue is reduced to a level below that of human/English discourse.

The song inverts the structural composition of the common animification of the French as monkeys by having the fishermen, admittedly without perceiving their condition, turn the monkey into a personification of a Frenchman. Again, recalling John Paxson, “each of the two complementary tropes is seen to be contained in the other's structure” rather than them being diametrical counterparts[253]. This implies that through the connection established by the common animification, a monkey itself could potentially evoke that corresponding personification, which is what happened to the fishermen. Identities depend on such dialectical mechanisms in which identity and alterity are intimately interwoven.

In the discourse, one will have to look hard for similarly conclusive animifications of the French, who are rarely ever distinctly depicted as apes but rather left a missing link between the species halfway through the metamorphosis. In my earlier chapter on French fashions, I discussed a print published by Hannah Humphrey, which I would like to recall for the argument here (Figure 1). The ‘Parisian Belles’ depicted in that image are halfway through that metamorphosis. Their extremely bent-over postures, their extraordinarily large heads, long and sloping foreheads, overemphasised jaws and mouths, and their seemingly uneasy stance on two feet all hint at primates who are not of the same species as the English couple between them. Their hollow stares at the English implies a threatening form of animal curiosity, as the group surrounds them in the streets of Paris.

Interestingly, one can even find instances of that metamorphosis remaining strictly on the metaphorical level. In a print by James Caldwall in 1770, this is most brilliantly put into practice:

[253] Paxson, p.50

Figure 6 "The Englishman in Paris" [254]

Conspicuously called "The Englishman in Paris", the image retains most of the visual markers that would commonly be used to depict French and English characters. On the left, the French is portrayed as relatively thin, with a seemingly artistic stance and posture and slightly more exaggerated facial expressions. The English gentleman on the right is a rather stout fellow, having

[254] Caldwall, James. "The Englishman in Paris". London, 1770

his wig powdered by the French coiffeur. While there are obvious differences in their outward appearance, it would be hard to read into the French being of a different species than the Englishman in this print. However, the image communicates exactly that idea.

In the background, there is a painting on the wall, occupying the space between the Frenchman and the Englishman. On this painting, there is a bear standing upright while a monkey that is situated on the branches of a tree behind the him is removing lice from the bear's fur. Another monkey is sitting nearby, pointing at the scene. Due to the fact that there are the same differences between the physical features of the bear and the monkey as there are between the Frenchman and the Englishman, and due to the similarity of the action going on, as both images depict scenes of grooming, the painting in the background serves as a mirror image to the scene in the foreground. The painting being a mirror, in this sense, becomes a visualisation of a metaphorical relationship, as it juxtaposes two different images that are otherwise not related. The stout Englishman is like a bear being groomed by a monkey. Thus, without actually metamorphosing the Frenchman visually into a monkey, he is metaphorically turned into one.

As a side note which will provide a context for my later discussions, I want to draw put the focus on the booklet in the lower right corner of the image, which apparently slipped from the Englishman's gout-ridden hands. The title of the pages reads "A Six Weeks Tour to Paris". Indeed, as the title of the print is "The Englishman in Paris", which is also the title of one of my main novels, and the booklet depicted is called "A Six Weeks Tour to Paris", very close to the title of another of my main novels, I will later return to this print, which directly contextualises these novels.

As far as blending the French with apes in the eighteenth century is concerned, it was probably Gilray who made the semi-metamorphosed image of the French most prominent. For instance, his print "Leaving off powder, -or- a frugal family saving the guinea" features a French wig-maker that appears quite similar to the Parisian women in the Humphrey print:

Figure 7 "Leaving off powder, -or- a frugal family saving the guinea" [255]

The simian similarities between the wig-maker and the women in the previous print are rather striking: their bent posture, their over-exaggerated facial features and overall physical proportions. Even though the other characters in the print are depicted equally cartoon-like, there is a stark contrast between them and the French wig-maker, who seems to be of an entirely different species altogether. One might wonder, why it is that the wig maker is supposed to be French, as the caption underneath the image does not mention it. However, it was common for Gillray to use torn stockings as a visual feature for his French characters, which the character in the image also features unlike the rest of the characters depicted. If it were not for that, wig-making was most commonly considered to be a typically French business, as wigs were virtually worn by every Frenchman, irrespective of their position in society, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a trend that also spread to English fashionable societies.[256]

[255] Gillray, James. "Leaving off powder, -or- a frugal family saving the guinea". London, 1795

[256] See Martin, Morag. *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750- 1830*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009; Gayne, Mary K. "Illicit Wig Making in Eighteenth Century Paris". *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1, 2004, pp. 47-90

One could imagine that with the Bourbon dynasty having temporarily ended in the course of the French Revolution and Bonaparte's empire, the Baboon image could no longer be applied, and French monkey equations would not continue to be used. However, the monkey associations with personifications of the French, in spite of the then already popular association with frogs, continued even after the beheading of Lewis Baboon. In a satirical print depicting Napoleon and John Bull facing off, the monkey connotation is still there:

Figure 8 "General Monkey and General Wolfe!!" [257]

While the depiction of Napoleon somewhat lacks the monkey-like features that are more common in other depictions of the French, the title of the print explicitly makes that connection: "General Monkey and General Wolfe!!". As Lewis Baboon has been beheaded, a new member of the same species has to take his place. Thus, Napoleon is referred to as General Monkey, while not yet Emperor of France, his military rank of general is referred to. Calling him General Monkey establishes the continued tradition of Lewis Baboon, with General Monkey now being proposed to occupy the same position in the discourse. While that depiction of John Bull is referred to as General Wolfe, it is

[257] "General Monkey and General Wolfe!!". Holland, William (pub.). 1803

hard to miss the John Bullish appearance of the character. What is also somewhat striking is a visual merging of the character of John Bull with that of King George III. This John Bull type of character bearing a resemblance of George III could be seen as a visualisation of the Body Politic, in which the nation and king are united in one indivisible body, an issue I will return to in chapter 3.5. Apart from that, one can still see in this the anorexic depiction of the French that also Hogarth made use of. Through this, the nickname "Boney" that was often used for Bonaparte acquires a symbolic surplus value, as he would represent the starved French commoners, which have been depicted as very bony indeed.

Depicting Napoleon as a monkey is not an uncommon theme. In a print created by Charles Williams, it goes even as far as to fully metamorphosing Napoleon into a monkey, leaving little to no human features:

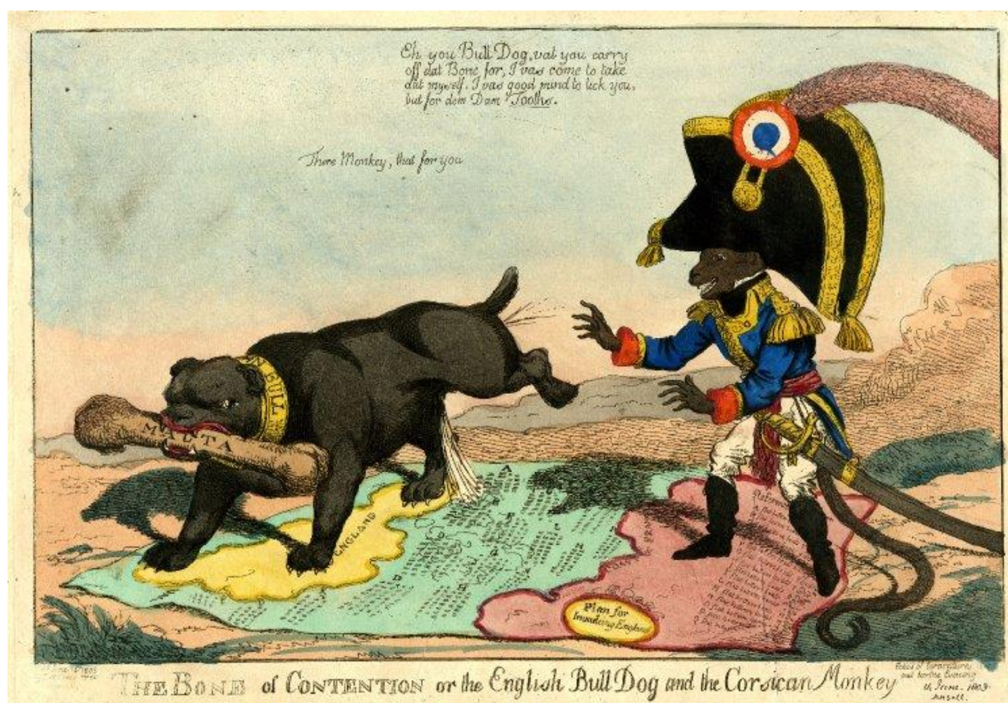

Figure 9 "The bone of contention or the English bull dog and the Corsican monkey"[258]

Just as much as Bonaparte is called "the Corsican monkey" and depicted entirely as such, so too are the English portrayed as a bull dog. What is interesting here

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[258] Williams, Charles. "The bone of contention or the English bull dog and the Corsican monkey". London, 1803

is that the figure of John Bull, who on the one hand has the bull connotation with respect to the English as a beef-eating nation, it can also be used to refer to a bull dog. The bull dog, carrying a bone, which in this print represents Malta, serves a double purpose. Firstly, it comments on the fact that the British neglect to give up Malta ended the brief period of peace initiated by the Treaty of Amiens of 1802 leading both countries to resume war. Secondly, as Bonaparte was commonly called Boney, the fact that the bull dog holds a bone firmly between his teeth is meant to show England's superiority over the French Empire, as established by its naval advantage. This becomes an even stronger point, as the bull dog micturates into the channel, which makes an easy crossing of the Corsican Monkey over to England even more unlikely. If there is one thing that could capture a boney, it is a bull dog. Indeed, this full metamorphosis adds a context to the myth of the Hartlepool fishermen, who hung the monkey. A reader of the song could very well imagine the monkey that was dressed up in a uniform to look like Bonaparte in this print.

To stick with depictions of Napoleon for a moment, it is not only the association of the French with monkeys that one can identify in satirical prints, but also the parallel association with frogs. In another print published by William Holland in 1803, Napoleon faces off with another John Bull/ George III hybrid. This time, however, both are mounted. While John Bull is seated on the back of a lion, Napoleon, again diminutive in comparison, is riding a frog:

Figure 10 "The Lion and the Frog" [259]

This time, the English are associated with lions rather than bulls or bull dogs, alluding to the Royal Arms of England, which prominently features three lions. The characters mounting their rides retain almost the exact same appearance they have in the print on "General Monkey and General Wolfe". The fact that "Mr Bull" calls his opponent a "little insignificant animal" in the print again stresses the dehumanisation of the French represented by Bonaparte. Thus, both the frog and the monkey associations are present in that print, and both function to make the French appear inferior to the English. However, as noted before, the alliterative relationship between the French and frogs here is only metonymic as both are placed beside each other, as opposed to the metaphorical relationship of the French and apes, which supposedly equates their character traits.

Later on in his career, Bonaparte would find himself much closer to being a frog in British visual culture. A print made by Thomas Rowlandson in 1813 at least verbally makes him a member of the amphibia species:

[259] "The Lion and the Frog". Holland, William (pub.). London, 1803

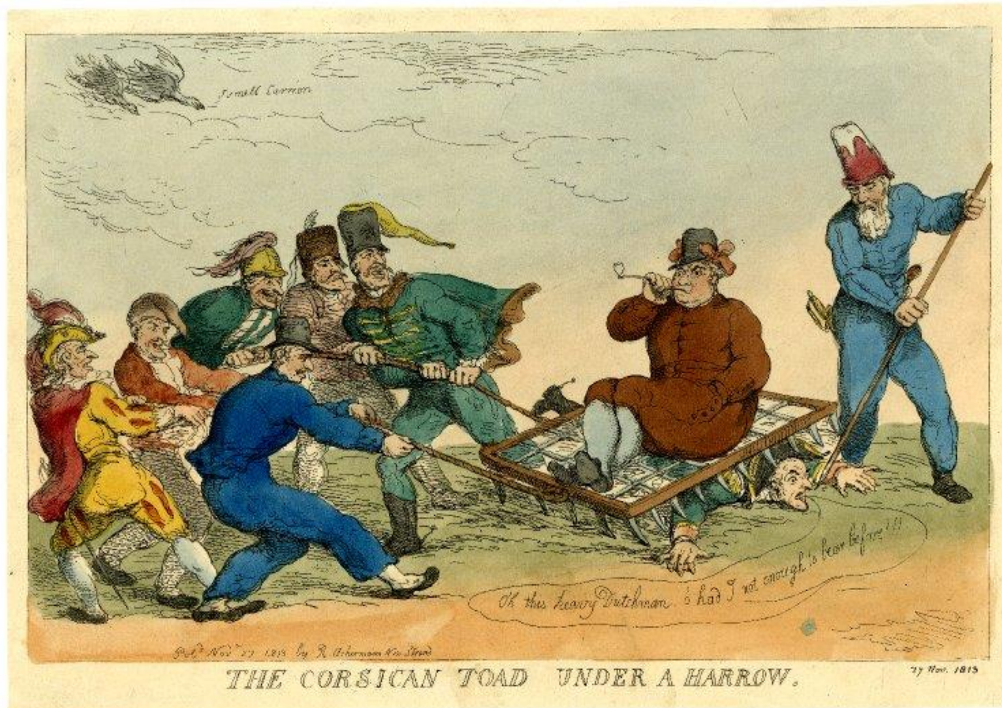

Figure 11"The Corsican toad under a harrow" [260]

Here, Bonaparte is captured by the joint forces of Europe. As he is trapped under the Harrow, while surrounded by stereotypical depictions of the European nations, the caption underneath the print refers to him as the "Corsican toad". Possibly to avoid confusions with the Dutch frogs, the representative of which is idly placed on top of the harrow. This may very well be a further step in the evolution of the French species in popular imagery, witnessing the ever-increasing dominance of the French frogs over their simian siblings.

However, even though the association with monkeys and the French gave way to an increasingly stronger association with frogs, both were still very much popular in the early nineteenth century, as the numerous prints demonstrate. While it is relatively obvious that the frog association refers to the stereotype that they were a supposedly typical French dish, why it is that the French were referred to as monkeys, however, is not at all that obvious. Here it helps to take into account characteristics that were typically associated with monkeys. Indeed, in a pre-Darwinian context, animals were seen in radically different ways and they would be much more associated with symbolic meaning than anything else. Popular stories told about animals can provide a useful context to make sense of

[260] Rowlandson, Thomas. "A Corsican toad under a harrow". London, 1813

national animifications. One of the most interesting kind of stories that comes to mind in this respect is that of the fable. One distinct feature of the fable is that it antropomorphises animals, which is the dialectical inverse of the animification of humans. For that reason, both tropes are strongly tied to one another, and each can provide deeper insights into its counterpart.

John Gay's *Fables*, first published in 1733, is a good example of that. This collection of fables was published in numerous editions throughout the eighteenth century and grants insights into some common stereotypical constructions. In particular, fable number 14 "The Monkey who had seen the world" features a monkey in a human environment. In this fable, a monkey sets out on a journey out of his native woods in order to acquire superior knowledge and manners abroad and to bring them back to his kin. The driving force of that narrative is the monkey's alleged instinct to mimic whatever he observes. However, all he picks up on his travels are mannerisms and fashions without any kind of deeper knowledge. For instance, he now wears a "rich embroid'red coat" and "dapper periwig", which impress his fellow monkeys as he returns home[261]. They applaud his novel style and on that basis judge that he is now superior to them.

Gay's fable concludes with the state the monkey is left in, explaining his supposed behaviour that people might observe upon seeing one:

> Thus the dull lad, too tall for school,
> With travel finishes the fool;
> Studious of ev'ry coxcomb's airs,
> He drinks, games, dresses, whores, and swears;
> O'erlooks with scorn all virtuous arts,
> For vice is fitted to his parts.[262]

This stanza brilliantly seems to lay out the formula that would later be adopted by writers satirising travels to France. The monkey here is left an uneducated creature, a state that has been solidified by his seeing the world. His interests are directed towards the pleasurable vices, while ignoring matters of morality or intellectual pursuits completely. Here we have a creature that copies anything that is new, which relates to the core stereotype of the French being obsessed

[261] Gay, John. *Fables by the Late Mr John Gay, in two parts, complete in one volume*. Edinburgh, 1779 [1733], p. 39
[262] Ibid., p. 40

with fashion and pleasure. A Post-Napoleonic reader might, just upon reading this one stanza without reading the previous ones, think them to talk about a Frenchman. However, as far as the idea of travel is concerned, a Post-Napoleonic reader might be equally inclined to think that it is referring to a Gallomanic Englishman, who adopted French habits upon travelling to France, which indeed, will be of great importance in the third part of my thesis. Here I want to recall the monkeys in the print "The Englishman in Paris" shown above. The odd thing about the mirror image is that it contains more than the actual scene in the foreground. If the Frenchman is supposed to be one of the monkeys in the painting, then who is supposed to be the second one? Maybe it is the other Frenchmen, who will judge the bear by his fur. Or maybe it is the potentially Francophile reader, who is not present in the scene depicted, but can see his likeness in the painting upon the wall, being the monkey who observes the scene and participates through that voyeuristic act. Intrusions upon private spaces will play a central role in the next chapter of my analysis

Concerning the variety of monkey-related depictions of the French, it can be said that the French could easily be metamorphosed into monkeys in the discourse, either simply as a denomination, as was the case with General Monkey; or as strange hybrid creatures, such as in the case of the French wig-maker or the women of Paris; or even completely as seen in the case of the Corsican Monkey trying to cross the channel, or the poor monkey aboard the French ship which sadly managed to cross it. Animifications and personifications in both directions pass through a continuum that reveals many stages in between, dialectically modifying both ends of the spectrum. Just as much as the French could be understood as being monkeys, monkeys could be conceived as being French. And both of them could be thought to rely on frogs for strength and nutrition, or the lack thereof.

It should be mentioned at this point that this portrayal of the French as a different species is a case in point for the confusion surrounding an English national identity as I pointed out in part two of this thesis. As a part of Great Britain and its Empire, with England being commonly constructed to be its cultural representative, the United Kingdom is always understood to be tied to civic nationalism. Civic nationalism, however, is only tied to a common legal and political framework, tying members of the community through shared values

and their life on a specific common territory. Ethnic considerations are largely excluded in this view. Yet what can be seen in the depictions of the French as monkeys is exactly that. Representing the French as a different species altogether is something that transgresses the boundaries of a civic understanding of the nation. It bases its justification predominantly in a sense of ancestry and common heritage, rendering members of different nations incompatible not only in a sense of belief but also in a sense of race. One should be careful though to try and superimpose a modern understanding of racism onto a world that does not yet have that concept of race which is based in biology. Scholars have termed this phenomenon proto-racism, a concept that is analogous to racism, yet does not position itself in biology and is far less systematic. Benjamin Isaac has traced that tendency back well into Graeco-Roman antiquity, involving "environmental determinism, the inheritance of acquired characteristics, a combination of these, and pure lineage"[263]. In my chapter on John Bull, I will return to these issues in greater detail. At this point I want to conclude with the notion that the metaphorical relationship between the French and apes adds a frame of reference for the idea of a national body, as a national spirit is symbolically transmuted into a corresponding physical representation that retains the centre of narrative gravity in the form of the core stereotype of vanity.

[263] Isaac, Benjamin. "Proto-racism in Graeco-Roman antiquity". *World Archaeology*, 38:1, 2006, pp. 32-47, p.32

2.3. Spiritual Transactions: Business and Morals

Commerce, which has enriched the citizens of England, has contributed to their freedom, and this freedom has in turn stimulated commerce; thus has the greatness of the State been magnified.[264]

As he published his *Philosophical Letters* in 1733, Voltaire gave a thorough analysis of an English national spirit from his anglophile perspective. In this text, he attributes a major share of the greatness of England, including their freedom, to their focus on trade as a national enterprise. This strong connection between freedom and trade is indeed one of the key elements in the construction of an English national identity. It is strongly connected to the supposed pragmatism that lies at the core of an English identity. Thus, it is not surprising that the construction of the French would also put a great emphasis on the French way of conducting business. And just as much as the freedom the English pride themselves with is connected to business, French business is portrayed as ultimately reducing to vanity and allowing conclusions about the moral state of the nation. The law of fashion, which is said to be the foundation for everything going on in France, is an important point of departure here. As was also symbolised by the ape, all value that is generated in a French context is ultimately measured by its fashionableness. The same holds true for a construction of French business matters, which take as their yardstick the degree to which they can satisfy the needs of vanity.

As far as the staging of transnational encounters is concerned, business transactions provide a potent context for the contextualisation of stereotypes. On the one hand, business is always conducted on the basis of certain rules of engagement, which are strongly tied to underlying moral principles, which is especially true in an English context. It comes as no surprise that during the Napoleonic wars, the English started attributing to Napoleon the phrase that the

[264] Voltaire. *Philosophical Letters, Or, Letters Regarding the English Nation*. John Leigh (ed.) and Prudence L. Steiner (trans.). Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2007, p. 31
Interestingly, Voltaire originally published this work in English in London, as a work such as this would have been suppressed in France.

English are “a nation of shopkeepers”[265]. On the other hand, business is as much a cultural exchange as it is an economic one precisely for the reasons that underlying rules depend on a given culture’s values. Different assessments of French business practice and the effects of a cultural exchange that goes hand in hand with trade provide interesting insights into constructions of an English national identity.

Throughout the discourse, great emphasis is put on the fact that the French conduct a kind of business that is anything but fair game. Englishmen who want to conduct business in the French capital on the basis of their own conceptions of fair business practice are always thoroughly disappointed. The protagonist of *TEP* complains that all he could ever achieve in Paris “was to be bullied and cheated”, an experience completely foreign to him thus far[266]. It is a recurring theme that all the French ever do is trying to get hold of English tourist’s money, which they more often than not succeed in and more often than not due to shady business practices. Frustrated with the situation he warns his countrymen: “A word to travellers – the *first* loss is the *best*”[267].

Indeed, Englishmen supposedly bring all the misfortunes and miseries they encounter upon themselves, as they fall for the painfully obvious attempts at cheating them without learning from their mistakes. As the protagonist of *TEP* laments: “Poor John Bull must always pay”[268]. The image of Englishmen losing all of their money to Parisian pleasures is a well-established notion in the discourse. A print made by William Holland in 1802 portrays John Bull between two Parisian prostitutes with his purse raised high:

[265] *The Monthly Review* provides one of the earliest claims that the French coined that phrase to describe the English [Griffiths, Ralph and Griffiths G. E. (eds.). *The Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal*, vol. XLIV, 1804, p. 79].
In fact, however, the description seems to originate on the other side of the channel. Adam Smith was one of the first who used that exact phrase to describe the English (Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. 2. London, 1776, p. 221).

[266] *TEP* 1, p. 112

[267] Ibid, p. 138

[268] Ibid, p. 138

Figure 12 "John Bull in Paris; or, English guineas for French pleasure!"[269]

Just like John Bull on this print, the protagonist of *TEP* draws the attention of Parisian women with his money rather than anything else. Any pleasure they might have in the French capital is never cheap. And in the end, they will have lost all the money they brought with them. Unsuspecting travellers are always portrayed as being lured into that very trap. In *SWP* it is claimed that the French "only smiled in an Englishman's face, whilst his hand was in his pocket"[270]. Yet those faces only too soon lose their friendliness as soon as they can proclaim their mission accomplished. Travel accounts of the time, especially those that narrate the journeys of young Englishmen, continuously point out the great financial losses that the English inevitably make in the French capital. Indeed, it seems that this is never seen as accidental in the sense that the English just do not understand French business practices, but it is constructed as being the result of deliberate attempts of fraud. After being effectively robbed by a French woman, the protagonist of *TEP* sees that she "gloried in her success"[271]. This

[269] Holland, William. "John Bull in Paris; or, English guineas for French pleasure!". 1802

[270] *SWP* 1, p. 27

[271] *TEP* 1, p. 95

behaviour is typically seen as a revenge by the French for the shameful defeat that they suffered at the hands of the English at Waterloo.

Were it only for the resentments caused by the outcome of the war, that would be one thing. However, those foul business practices are constructed as going much deeper than revenge. According to Archibald Alison, "[a] Parisian tradesman […] shews no symptoms of shame when detected in a barefaced attempt to cheat his customers; spends his spare money in the Palais Royal, and sells his wife or daughter to the highest bidder"[272]. Within one line of thought trade, cheating, pleasure pursuit and the decay of family values are directly put together. Indeed, there is a sense in which that seems almost like the inevitable logical conclusion drawn from the premise of French vanity. Alison himself explicitly draws that connection: "They speak of virtue almost uniformly, not as an object of rational approbation and imitation, and still less as a rule of moral obligation, but as a matter of *feeling and taste*"[273]. Morals ultimately reduce to aesthetics in that alleged French national character. And this is an idea that is consistently presented across a variety of texts. Cunningham similarly refers to that paradoxical approach to morals by stating that in Paris "[g]ross indecency is indeed prohibited, as being in bad taste"[274]. As Bourdieu argued, these categories "become symbolic differences and constitute a veritable *language*"[275]. Thus, it is only to symbolically distinguish between different lifestyles rather than communicating any inward dispositions that the French showcase their business habits.

This ties in with one of the key elements in the construction of the French in that particular context, which is that they do not sufficiently differentiate between business and leisure, between the public and the private. In *SWP*, it is pointed out that one of the core principles of French business manners is that they "judiciously mix business with pleasure. Their motto is ---- *business at home; pleasure abroad*"[276]. While this statement lays out an odd approach to

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[272] Alison, Archibald. *Travels in France during the years 1814-1815: Comprising a residence at Paris during the stay of the allied armies*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh, 1816, p. 158
[273] Ibid, pp. 157-158
[274] Cunningham 1823, p. 18
[275] Bourdieu, Pierre. *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998, p. 8
It is an interesting side note that Bourdieu established the entire framework of social and symbolic spaces explicitly with a French national context in mind.
[276] *SWP* 1, p. 34

industriousness among the French people, it also points towards a French conception of domestic life. The French are constructed as treating their homes as a matter of business and necessity, while they enjoy themselves outside the domestic sphere. To the English, on the other hand, domestic virtues are the centre of everyday life, thus says the proverb: ‘a man’s house is his castle’. Christoph Heyl argues that by the end of the eighteenth century in England, new habits, values und material structures that are heavily influenced by a newly conceived private sphere had emerged, rendering unthinkable the old way of living, in which even intimacy was public to a certain degree.[277] The French, however, are constructed as having no sense for domestic and private concerns at all. Their life does not take place in the calm refuge of their own house but right within the public realm, as the symbolic space is their foremost habitat.

That the English would have explicitly perceived this as a lack on the part of the French is exemplified by Cunningham. Indeed, he sees one of the most fatal flaws in the French national character to lie in “the *almost total disregard and disrelish for domestic pleasures and virtues*”[278]. His observation makes it clear that there is a supposed existence of a private sphere that the French would be supposed to acknowledge yet they actively decide against it. Indeed, what is striking about Cunningham’s complaint is that he locates proper pleasures and virtues to lie in the domestic realm rather than in the public realm. He is not alone in that assessment, as domestic virtues are permanently foregrounded across the discourse. And if there is one domestic institution that is supposed to represent the epitome of true pleasure and virtue, it is that of marriage.

In *SWP*, the supposed French disregard of marriage as the centre of domestic life is juxtaposed with the English, as “[m]arriage is much too serious an affair in England”, according to the views of a French woman[279]. By the same token, the actress that served as a role model for the new Parisian styles (as seen in my chapter 2.1), is a woman with a shattered domestic life, as she “has five or six children by five or six fathers”[280]. It is questionable whether or not it is

[277] See Heyl, Christoph. *A Passion for Privacy: Untersuchungen zur Genese der bürgerlichen Privatsphäre in London, 1660-1800*. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2004, p. 12
[278] Cunningham 1823, p. 15
[279] *SWP* 1, p. 42
[280] *TEP* 1, p. 52

conceivable for her to have five children by six fathers, yet the problematic depiction of her family life is more than obvious. Promiscuity is one of the key ingredients in the recipe of French family structures and the moral state of the nation. It is also an expression of French vanity, as the focus on French society is not on an invisible private life but on the public display of fashionableness. In this respect, the actress can serve as a role model for Parisians, as her domestic life is of little or no concern to the rest of the city.

Marriage is consistently stressed as a key institution in the lives of the English.[281] In *A Classical and Historical Tour*, it is stated that "[in England,] marriage is still revered as the hope of youth, the happiness of manhood, the solace of age"[282]. Indeed, as marriage is presented as the most central pillar in the complete biography of any English man, its disregard on the other side of the channel must be seen as threatening to the integrity of human lives. While national issues such as these are typically argued from a male perspective, women do play a central role in their construction. One can argue that the behaviour of women is usually taken as a yardstick for the moral state of the nation. The French actress referred to above is a particularly striking example in this respect. It is permanently stressed that the English are nothing like this. Promiscuity and public indecency are taken to be something completely un-English. In *SWP*, it is claimed that "[a]n English female is seldom seen to linger on the verge of gallantry, when age warns her to retire"[283]. The French ladies, however, have no problems engaging in public indecencies of diverse kinds.

To make matters worse, a public display of privacy and the notion that business and pleasure are intimately mixed come very closely together. In fact, Parisian women are generally portrayed as capitalising on intimacies with English travellers, which is to say they are all held under the suspicion of being prostitutes. Little distinction is made between prostitutes and the women of Paris in general. In *SWP*, it is pointed out that "[a] night's visit to the gaming tables in the Palais Royal, will speak volumes to the eye, on the subject of the present

[281] It is not surprising that some of the scandal concerning Byron's *Don Juan* is due to the text continuously making fun of marriage as a hypocritical institution.

[282] *A Classical and Historical Tour through France, Switzerland, and Italy in the years 1821 and 1822*, vol. 1. London, 1826, p. 52

[283] *SWP* 1, p. 124

state of French female morality"[284]. Gambling is a social space from which women are generally excluded in the English context, but always placed in the French context. *SWP* further claims that

> too many of our English ladies of quality and fashion abandon themselves to this habit, at once so destructive of beauty, health and fortune. But they avoid a public exhibition, whether from decency, or a dread of the law, I shall not pretend to determine.[285]

While it is admitted that also English women do engage in the social taboo of gambling, it is denied that they do so in public. Again, the importance of distinguishing between private and public places is stressed, as the English keep their own business, even if it is morally questionable, entirely to themselves. The French, however, casually display the lowest of their vices in the public realm.

In his letters written while on his own Grand Tour, the traveller Thomas Raffles observes "the vices that connect with avarice and lust – that gather round the gaming table, and crowd within the precincts of the brothel"[286]. Raffles points out the cardinal sins of "avarice and lust" that are key parts of the French national spirit. In his assessment, the key social places in the French capital in which they can be found are gaming tables and brothels. Here he draws a close connection between French promiscuity and gambling habits, which betoken a country that is committed to pleasurable vices. Indeed, it would seem that English writers explicitly rely on the list of the seven deadly sins in their construction of the French national spirit. Thus far, the French have been portrayed as vain, which corresponds to pride; promiscuous, which corresponds to lust and envious of English money and avaricious, which is a form of greed.

Adding to that list, Archibald Alison observes the ill manners of French males: "Many Frenchmen . . . are rough and even ferocious in their manners; and the language and behaviour of most of them, particularly in the presence of women, appears to us very frequently indelicate and rude"[287]. Compared to the English, the open manners of the French are constructed as extremely rude, as they do not know how to behave in the presence of women. An English quality

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[284] *SWP* 1, p. 99
[285] Ibid, p. 114
[286] Raffles, Thomas. *Letters during a tour through some parts of France, Savoy, Switzerland. Germany, and the Netherlands in the summer of 1817*. Liverpool, 1818, p. 56
[287] Alison 1816, p. 160

of being relatively prude, is constructed in the sense of prudence, which is perceived as admirable and well-mannered, being one of the cardinal virtues. One key idea that Alison points out is that the French appear “ferocious in their manners”. This wildness in the sexual sense could also be interpreted as a form of cruelty in a more general sense. Here, Alison hints at another cardinal sin: that of wrath.

A further cardinal sin that is missing so far is that of gluttony. Typically, it is the English who are portrayed as more gluttonous than the starving French in visual culture. Remembering the comparison of the English and the French in the last chapter, one would that gluttony is very likely be something in which the English exceed. Byron would joke about the English thinking that “a glutton’s tray / Were something very glorious to behold”[288]. This is not only true for feeding, but also for drinking. An anonymous traveller to Paris observes that “[d]runkenness is hardly ever seen amongst them, and an inebriated Frenchman would be an extraordinary spectacle”[289]. The English, however, are notorious for that.

In his satirical epistolary poem, *The Fudge Family in Paris*, Thomas Moore has one of his heavily anglicised characters write to his friend back home:

> OH DICK! you may talk of your writing and reading,
> Your Logic and Greek, but there’s nothing like feeding;
> And *this* is the place for it, DICKY, you dog,
> Of all places on earth—her fam’d Magna Charta, I swear, is
> A humbug, a flam, to the Carte at old VÉRY’s.[290]

Bob Fudge, a young hedonist, makes fun of his friend’s obsession with learning in beautifully composed lines of dactylic or anapaestic tetrametre.[291] Instead, he

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[288] Byron, *Don Juan* XVI, 78, ll. 667-668
All quotations of Byron’s poetry are taken from: Byron, George Gordon. *The Complete Poetical Works*, 7 vols.. Jerome McGann (ed.). Oxford: Clarendon, 1980-1993.

[289] *A Picturesque Tour Through France, Switzerland, on the Banks of the Rhine, and Through Part of the Netherlands in the Year M,DCCCXVI*. London, 1817, p. 47

[290] Moore, Thomas. *The Fudge Family in Paris*. London, 1818, p. 20

[291] The metre seems to be a blending of the anapaestic and dactylic metres. As a side note: Bob Fudge is the only character who uses that metre in Moore’s poem. As Moore was a learned musician, it would not have evaded him that it is close to the rhythm of the Waltz, which was closely connected to the Congress of Vienna at that time. Bob Fudge represents the type of generation that would be shaped by that political event. On the other hand, it may also allude to the classical lines of Hexameter, which would be most closely resembled by dactyls in English verse, especially in combination with the

judges that feeding is the most worthwhile pursuit and that Paris is the best place for it. Véry's, a well-known restaurant in the Palais Royal, is Bob Fudge's temple of gluttony. It is telling that he "holds the carte in a French restaurant in higher esteem than the Magna Carta"[292]. Again, it is the traveller to Paris rather than Parisians themselves who are guilty of gluttony. Yet the French are collaborators insofar as they set up numerous businesses in order to exploit that weakness in the English, turning vice into business. In *SWP*, a list of that Parisian commercialisation of cardinal vices is provided in the form of a verbal advertisement:

> Are you a gourmand? Every delicacy of the table may be met with at Paris—are you fond of wine? No delicious wine but may be had in Paris.—Do you like places of public entertainment? No other city has one tenth part of the spectacles.—Are you an admirer of the fair sex? No description of female beauty but may be obtained in Paris.[293]

Paris provides travellers with means to commit the sins of gluttony and lust, as provided by the restaurants and brothels of the town. The somewhat vaguer "places of public entertainment" would most certainly include the notorious gaming tables at which greed and wrath find their proper dwelling place.

In order to make the checklist of French cardinal vices complete, I would like to recall *SWP*, where it is claimed that the French conduct business at home and enjoy themselves abroad. In the streets of Paris, one will not see people of industry. Rather, "[a] Frenchman in the streets has no business, but with carriages, horses, horse races, jockies, balles, the opera, routs, the bouillotte, Frescati, the Bois de Boulogne, the Opera Buffa, Tivoli, theatres, Boulevards, Spectacles"[294]. The French are constructed as a people guilty of sloth, as their only business is that of pleasure. Gambling, eating and public entertainment are the only things presented that occupy their daily routines. In this respect, Paris is conceived of as a gigantic factory of pleasure, which is all that is ever said to be produced by the French. It would seem that Paris is a place wholly devoted to luxury goods and services which only serve to fulfil the most sinful needs and desires. It is certainly no accident that the stereotypical constructions of the

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spondee at the beginning of the first line. If so, his making fun of his friend's classicist sentiments becomes even more ironic.

[292] Pointner 2007, p. 257

[293] *SWP* 1, p. 2

[294] Ibid, p. 34

French in the discourse faithfully follow the list of cardinal vices, which helps to construct them as a morally corrupt nation. And again, it all reduces to vanity, which is presented as the core essence of the French national character. Through that construction of the French, the English are inversely constructed as a people largely remaining truthful to the cardinal virtues, as they are conceived to be the diametrical opposite to the French. This ties in well with Benedict Anderson's thesis that national identity is directly built on the socio-cultural infrastructure of the old religious dynasties. In the French case, their sinful atheistic nationalism is built on the ruins of religion, while in the English case it is presented as a matter of continuity.

Nevertheless, this juxtaposition is not entirely one of separate national categories with clearly constructed borders. There is a perceived fear that interactions between the French and the English might cause transcultural blurring. *SWP*, for instance, tries to warn its readers of the dangers that such cultural transactions might pose. For that particular reason, the novel stresses that it is predominantly the habits of the English upper class that make them adopt French customs and manners. Yet it claims that "the middling and lower classes are in general uncontaminated"[295]. In this, *SWP* makes a strong case for the notion that the middle class is not infected with the Gallomania that has been an upper-class tradition for quite a long time.

Other texts, however, do not share that same optimism. Cunningham is of a different opinion, when he points out that "the subordinate classes of society have also caught the same mania"[296]. Indeed, he predicts that "[t]hey will be likely to ape the manners of the only refined society into which they have been admitted"[297]. The fear is that the "subordinate classes" will ape the aristocrats, who in turn are aping the French apes. It is that type of monkey business that has allegedly left its mark in English society already. Again, in particular the behaviour of women is used as a yardstick for the spiritual state of nations. Here, *SWP* acknowledges an "emulation between your London, and our Parisian fair ones"[298]. It is not only the fact that the English are copying the French, which in and of itself might be considered a bad thing, but it is also the idea that the

[295] Ibid, p. 8
[296] Cunningham 1823, p. 7
[297] Ibid
[298] *SWP* 1, p. 8

differences between the two nations are of such a strong nature, that the French spirit will not easily mix with its English counterpart. *SWP* explains: “French women know how far to go; English women know not where to stop. In imitation of French or Italian females, the English go beyond the mark”[299]. In trying to ape the French, the English become even bigger apes, as their natural distance from the French ways makes it impossible for them to adopts the fashions of their continental neighbours. Aileen Ribeiro relates that “it was a deeply held belief that the English, due to their inferiority regarding dress, would be rather risible in their imitations of French styles”, and the same holds true for their habits[300].

M’Donogh also puts great stress on the strange ways in which English ladies try to imitate their French fashion models. Of those English women, he writes that “[e]ach bent her body in walking, took short and hasty steps, and had acquired a trifling infantine manner of speaking, which seemed like going back to the nursery”[301]. His description almost perfectly mirrors the description of latest French fashions encountered in chapter 2.1 of this dissertation. And as it has been the case with the French, fashion is not merely a style of appearances, but a lifestyle. He goes on to state that they “now turned up their noses at a reel or at a country-dance, to languish in a waltz or exhibit theatrically in a quadrille; and they looked down on all their neighbours at Ivy Hall, in consequence of the pre-eminence which breathing the air of Paris gave them”[302]. Their neglect of English country-dance signals a break with the customs and traditions of their own nation, upon which they now “looked down” and “turned up their noses”. This conflict in movement upward and downward should not be overlooked, as it signifies the contradiction in which those ladies now allegedly find themselves. While of an English breed they try to be French, which the discourse claims is an impossible venture as it seriously disrupts the national spirit rather than broadening its horizon. And it comes at no surprise that the foremost symptom they show is that of vanity. Curiously, it is the fact that it was “breathing the air of Paris” that has contracted them with the French national spirit. Indeed, M’Donogh is sure that “[a] great deal of the finery of the Palais Royal was

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[299] Ibid, p. 49
[300] Ribeiro, Aileen. “Fashion in the Eighteenth Century: Some Anglo-French Comparisons”. *Textile History*, 22:2, 1991, pp. 329-345, p. 335
[301] M’Donogh 1819, pp. 171-172
[302] Ibid, pp. 172-173

heaped upon these ladies, and some of its air seemed to have affected their dress and manners"[303]. The Palais Royal will feature prominently in the following chapter of this thesis, as it is widely constructed as a place that contains the very essence of the French national spirit. And it is also the place that is the key destination for most English travellers to the French capital.

[303] Ibid, p. 171

2.4. The Extended Body of the Nation: Paris and the *Palais Royal*

> When you style Paris the first city in the world, an Englishman […] brings London into competition, and the comparison is not at all in favor of Paris.[304]

In the previous chapters, I have predominantly dealt with the idea of a national spirit, which is constructed as the core essence of any nation. As could be seen, however, the national spirit always appears in the form of a national body, which is what gives rise to any experience of spirit in the first place. French vanity was deduced from the outward appearance of the French, who showed an overly polished exterior put over an extremely disturbing interior. This mind-body interaction will also be the backbone of the following chapter. However, this time I want to redirect the gaze from going further inwards to a perspective that goes further to the outside. The individual bodies of the French which are joined together through a collective national spirit are only part of what the body of the nation is. Recalling the concept of the Body Politic, the national body will extend beyond the borders of human bodies into the land itself. Yet as the natural body of the French gravitate towards the centre of gravity constituted by the national spirit, it is my contention that the same holds true for the greater territorial body of the nation. And as it has been with individual human beings, the closer one gets to the core, the more obvious the connection becomes.

Keeping that in mind, the centre of gravity for the territory of the nation is undoubtedly the nation's capital city. Not only is it the place, where the mind and body of the Body Politic are closest to one another, but also is it the place that is most densely populated, offering a miniature view of the entire nation as it is constructed. In the same manner, the French Other manifests itself in the French capital of Paris which comes to be perceived as a miniature of the French character, where within confined boundaries all of French culture and society is put to display. In the way that the urban space is constructed in the discourse it is closely interwoven with its corresponding national spirit, as it is constructed as representing the same defects as those that can be found in its individual inhabitants.

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[304] *SWP* 1, p. 4

However, the image of Paris, formerly the cultural capital of Europe but fallen from grace after the Revolution, is not only drawn on a descriptive but also on a comparative level. London is taken to be used as a definite counter-image to Paris, as the English capital forms its natural mirror in the eyes of English traveller, constructing auto- and heterostereotypes simultaneously. To recall, this is closely tied to the notion of 'negative empiricism' I laid out in the first part of my thesis, as London is implicitly constructed through impressions of the French capital. Both cities are constructed to be representative for their nations not only as they show visible differences in their spatial construction but also as they represent key differences in the respective national values and peculiarities.

During his travels to France, Francis Hall most emotionally points out the importance of the English capital when he says that "London is to England, what the heart is to the body – the seat of life and motion"[305]. In the same line of thought, he compares the two cities by coming to the conclusion that they are, in fact, incomparable: "Nothing, in this respect, can less resemble London than Paris"[306]. The comparison, or rather non-comparison, with London being the very heart of the English nation, gives rise to the question about what then Paris is supposed to be to the French. Paris, in terms of spatial construction through the very principles that made the city what it is, is represented as being a deeply flawed city, especially when compared to the English capital. In this respect, the comparative approach to the city of Paris is a direct approach to hetero- and autosterotyping which is to highlight the yawning chasm that seems to separate both nations, being as far away as heaven and hell are supposed to be. London and Paris are described as being fundamentally different in their composition as London presents itself as a city that is rather well balanced in the symmetry of its structures whereas Paris displays a juxtaposition of extremes such as massive squares surrounded by narrow streets. Paris' pomp and grandeur are marred by its filth and dirt, which is just as much a feature of the city as it is of its inhabitants. The competition between both capitals is certainly not an invention of Post-Napoleonic writing but had been a part of the discourse for quite a while. In John Andrews' Pre-Revolutionary work, *A Comparative View of the French*

[305] Hall, Francis. *Travels in France, in 1818*. London, 1819, p. 61
[306] Ibid

and English Nations, one finds a direct juxtaposition of London and Paris, when it is stated that

> Paris […] does not equal the dimensions of London: a city, that bids fair to attain to the real magnitude of ancient Rome; which, according to the most accurate accounts and investigations, seems not, when arrived at its farthest growth, to have covered much more ground than the metropolis of England does at present.[307].

Andrews makes use of a third city to emphasise his comparison, namely that of ancient Rome. The former capital of the Roman Empire is used to set the ultimate bar of achievement, and London, by equalling the geographical scale of ancient Rome, claims superiority over the French capital. Using ancient Rome as a vehicle for comparison seems only a logical consequence for John Andrews, since France and England were entangled in conflicting imperial ambitions, being the foremost rivals of the time. According to James Buzard, "Britons drew parallels between their nation's current position and that of the ancient Roman Empire" in order to judge the stage of their civilisation[308]. In this context, Ancient Rome represents the unchallenged imperial ideal, as the Roman Empire encompassed almost the entire known world at its peak. So, it is not only the English capital but also the British Empire that is constructed as equalling the grandeur of ancient Rome, the birthplace of European civilisation. However, with France having failed in its imperial endeavours after the downfall of Bonaparte's empire, France is no longer a competitor to British imperial ambitions. In Post-Napoleonic discourse, that type of comparison does no longer occur, as France poses no direct threat to Great Britain anymore. The overall mood is shifted from economic unease towards cultural contempt.

In travel discourse, Paris is a key destination for travellers on their tour through Europe. Post-Napoleonic travel writing permanently points out the rotten character of the fallen capital. For an English person, the city of Paris presents itself as anything but agreeable. In one of her letters, Dorothy Wordsworth recollects that, upon entering the city of Paris, her "first impressions were not very favourable"[309]. The reasons for this uncomfortable feeling are elemental differences between Paris and London which are continuously pointed

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[307] Andrews 1785, p. 38
[308] Buzard 2002, p. 39
[309] Wordsworth, W. and D. 1970, p. 645

out throughout the discourse. *Six Weeks in Paris* provides what could be perceived as being a 'typically English' opinion of Paris: "There is no medium, all is either magnificence or misery, mud or dust, stench or perfume. London has neither extreme, it is simply beautiful and comfortable throughout"[310]. Along these lines, the extreme impressions of Paris are belaboured in detail, whereas the city of London is described as being void of anything like those in comparison. Indeed, this remark can be taken as making up the foundation for the perception of the majority of all descriptions of Paris that are found in the texts analysed for this thesis. It is the permanent juxtaposition of 'magnificence' and 'misery', which constitutes the core ingredient for the construction of the urban space of Paris by British travellers. In Walter Scott's *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, the fictional writer of those letters comes to a very similar conclusion: "There is so much in Paris to admire, and so much to dislike, such a mixture of real taste and genius, with so much frippery and affectation, the sublime is so oddly mingled with the ridiculous, and the pleasing with the fantastic and whimsical"[311]. Both *SWP*'s and Paul's observations reveal a juxtaposition of opposite impressions of the French capital. To them, Paris is a city where everything is found in its most extreme form. To an Englishman, who enjoys the supposedly balanced and comfortable nature of London, the fact that Paris incorporates a range of opposite extremes renders the city absolutely unpleasant. An extreme tendency shows in each aspect of the city: aspects of magnificence and misery, of the sublime and the ridiculous, of taste and of frippery add to the overall impression that travellers seem to have of the French capital, unsure if they are to admire or to dislike what they see. It seems that in their eyes, each extreme impression is ultimately undone by its complete opposite nearby.

For the construction of the French capital, both its supposed magnificence and misery will be exemplified and analysed in detail. Indeed, the construction of the urban space, particularly the buildings and the streets of Paris, correspond to that opposing set of ideas in almost every respect. Both the magnificence and the misery of Paris are constructed as being two mutually dependent sides of the same coin.

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[310] *SWP* 1, p. 5
[311] Scott, Walter 1816, p. 298

As far as French misery is concerned, the most universal commentary on the French capital is with respect its streets. In *SWP* it is remarked that in London one will find "[n]o filthy, narrow, dark, ill-paved streets; no hapless pedestrians, skipping from stone to stone, to avoid puddles of dirt, or pinned against the walls, or scampering into shops, to save their limbs, or their lives"[312]. This description explicitly constructs the autostereotype through denying any similarity to the heterostereotype. In this, the superiority of London streets is pointed out by a description of their lack of the shortcomings that the streets of Paris are marred by. What is striking about this is that London is constructed *in absentia* through impressions of Paris as its negative mirror image. Indeed, this is very much exactly how observations on the French capital are used throughout the discourse, as an idea of what London is serves as an ideal to evaluate Paris. In any description of Paris, London would thus serve as an implicit point of reference that informs the experience of travellers and readers alike.

As mentioned above, the discourse is filled with impressions of Parisian streets. In her journals, Dorothy Wordsworth states that "all the streets of Paris that we had seen were crooked and ugly, and appeared thoroughly comfortless in the heavy rain"[313]. Her almost alliterative juxtaposition of the antonyms splendid and shabby might very much remind one *SWP*'s initial description of Paris as mixing magnificence and misery. Continuing from those "crooked and ugly" streets, Dorothy Wordsworth remembers herself "entering [a] splendid square by a passage as narrow and shabby as any in the meanest corners of London"[314]. As Dorothy Wordsworth presents that contradictory image, she compares the passage to the dirtiest rundown corners in London. By stating that the meanest corners of London compare to the streets leading to some of the most magnificent places in Paris, it is implied that all of Paris is traversed by an extremely flawed infrastructure. In Paris, there are no borders between 'magnificence' and 'misery', as there is no spatial separation between the two extremes. Both are always found in direct juxtaposition rather than in different parts of the city. In London, on the other hand, there seems to be a clearer separation between the 'meanest corners' and the better parts of the city.

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[312] *SWP* 1, p. 32

[313] Wordsworth, Dorothy. *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, vol. 2. Ernest de Selincourt (ed.). London: Macmillan, 1970, p. 329

[314] Ibid, p. 330

‘Filth’ is an impression that is generally attributed to the streets of Paris. The Irish traveller John Chetwode Eustace, for instance, describes his negative sensations of Parisian streets: “We then entered a long narrow street, with high houses on each side, a stream of black mire in the middle, and stench and noisomeness all around. Such, indeed, are the streets of Paris in general, narrow, dark, and disgusting”[315]. Eustace gives a description of what *SWP* summed up as “filthy”. A dirty stream in their centre leaves Parisian streets full of stench. Just like in *SWP*, John Chetwode Eustace observes the narrowness of the streets in Paris. Indeed, Paris is very often constructed as a city, where grandeur has been forced into dark and narrow alleys, and thus marring whatever beauty the city might possess, which adds to the feeling of ill-placement of structures in Paris. Walter Scott’s protagonist states that “Paris […] is traversed by narrow streets, which divide buildings dark, high, and gloomy”[316]. Those images of darkness and narrowness create a threatening, even claustrophobic scenery within the streets of Paris. Similarly, in his letters Joseph Woods describes the streets of Paris in the same manner: “The streets on the south side of the river, within the ancient walls, are, I think, still more narrow and winding than those on the north. But all Paris abounds with crooked dirty lanes”[317]. By taking a look at those almost identical renditions of Parisian streets as being narrow, ugly and dirty, one might feel inclined to conclude that the imagery presented was commonly known in English discourse at that time. Indeed, it is as close to a universal observation as it could possibly get.

In his own work on Paris, George Lillie Craik gives impressions of Paris a further interesting twist:

> To a person accustomed to the appearance of the streets of London, or indeed of any other English town, those of the interior or Paris will present considerable novelty of aspect. The extreme narrowness, in the first place, of those in the more ancient parts of the city, and the great height of the houses, with their windows in many cases fortified by bars of iron, would alone give them an air of gloom and precaution, almost sufficient to impress the Englishman who

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[315] Eustace, John Chetwode. *A letter from Paris: to George Petre, esq*, 2nd ed. London, 1814, p. 15

[316] Scott, W. 1816, pp. 314-315

[317] Woods, Joseph. *Letters of an architect, from France, Italy, and Greece*. London, 1828, p. 22

> walks through them with the feeling that he has been transported, not only into another country, but into another age.[318]

Apart from the stereotypical observations on the French capital, the text adds many ideas, such as "bars of iron" and "gloom" that have become clichés in the genre of gothic fiction. Here, Paris becomes a potential setting for a horror story, in which the English traveller will involuntarily play a part. Especially the idea that travelling there will make travellers think they have stepped "into another age" sums up the medievalist aesthetics of gothic fiction. This time travelling idea further invokes the notion that Paris is an underdeveloped city in a ruined country, in which travellers will have to look hard for the comforts to which they are accustomed.

However, all of these observations are not merely aesthetic in nature. As using streets is the only way to efficiently move through the city, the effects of the streets, particularly on pedestrians, are permanently highlighted. Francis Hall observes: "The pedestrian, as every body has heard, slides through the mire with a movement both perplexed and hazardous, being indebted every moment to some friendly post for the safety of life and members. The narrowness of the streets considerably increases his difficulties"[319]. British travellers in Paris continuously point out the curious fact that Parisian streets do not have a pavement, forcing pedestrians to walk the streets among horses and carriages. During her visit to France, Frances Elizabeth King also points out that "[t]he streets of Paris are, in general, narrow, dirty, and wretched for walking. Gutters of dirty water run in the middle, which, from the perpetual passing of carriages and horses, keeps the streets constantly wet"[320]. The narrowness and filth of Parisian streets is only made worse by their lack of any sort of pavement. The anonymous traveller of *A Classical and Historical Tour* states that "[t]he greatest disagreeable of Paris, at least to a pedestrian, is the want of pavement. No distinction here prevails for horse, or man: foot passengers […] are of necessity driven against a dirty wall, or find refuge from immediate crushing by a post"[321]. Just like in *SWP*, the lack of pavements is presented as a threat to the lives of

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[318] Craik, George Lillie. *Paris, and Its Historical Scenes*, vol. 1. London, 1831
[319] Hall, F. 1819, p. 64
[320] King, Frances Elizabeth. *A Tour in France: 1802*, 2nd ed. London, 1814, p. 27
[321] *A Classical and Historical Tour*, 1826, p. 46

pedestrians, who have to navigate through the hazardous traffic on the crowded streets of the French capital.

Commenting on the novel *Quinze jours à Londres*[322] by Auguste Defauconpret, which recounts the experiences of a Frenchman living in London, an author for the *British Critic* writes: "For a Parisian to complain of the inconveniences of walking in London, to reproach the English with want of cleanliness, and to talk about the brown turf, and the scanty number of trees in Hyde Park, is a circumstance which cannot fail of awakening our curiosity"[323]. Those lines imply that, indeed, everyone in England must be aware of the grim situation in the streets of Paris, as the article makes fun of Defauconpret's novel in a generalising manner. Just like in *SWP*, it is pointed out that "people are not shouldered, jostled, and pushed about every movement in London, as they are when walking in Paris"[324]. One gets the impression that Parisians lack any type of consideration for the well-being of others and, in conclusion, do not object threats to their own well-being in the streets of Paris. The fact that in most descriptions of Parisian traffic it is more a matter of luck for pedestrians to survive than the care of others gives more weight to the idea of the self-centred and careless Parisians.

Almost perfectly summarising that attitude held towards Paris, William Hazlitt provides a vivid comparison of London and Paris, employing an extreme form of negative empiricism. While he does not explicitly presuppose his readers' familiarity with the streets of Paris, he takes their familiarity with London's infrastructure as a starting point. Through this comparison, he gives a detailed impression of a 'typical' English experience in the French capital:

> Fancy yourself in London with the footpath taken away, so that you are forced to walk along the middle of the streets with a dirty gutter running through them, fighting your way through coaches, wagons, and handcarts trundled along by large mastiff-dogs, with the houses twice as high, greasy holes for shop-windows, and piles of wood, green-stalls, and wheelbarrows placed at the doors, and the contents of wash-hand basins pouring out of a dozen stories – fancy all this and worse, and with a change of scene, you are in Paris. The continual panic

[322] Defauconpret, Auguste. *Quinze jours à Londres, A la fin de 1815*. Paris, 1816.
This novel is closely connected to *Six Weeks in Paris*, which is supposed to be a retaliation against the French novel. Auguste Defauconpret published two more novels on the same subject throughout the following years: *Six mois à Londres, en 1816*. Paris, 1817; *Une année à Londres*. Paris, 1819.

[323] "Art. V. Quinze jours à Londres, à la fin de 1815" 1816, p. 378

[324] Ibid, p. 379

> in which the passenger is kept, the alarm and the escape from it, the anger and laughter at it, must have an effect on the Parisian character and tend to make it the whiffling [*sic*], skittish, snappish, volatile, inconsequential unmeaning thing it is.[325]

Hazlitt uses the familiar image of London as an observational lens and subtracts from it anything that is agreeable to an English pedestrian by continuously delivering unpleasant images that are found in the French capital. One could say, the lens fades away more and more with each sentence he utters. Just as in the article of the *British Critic*, hetero- and autostereotypes are constructed simultaneously in Hazlitt's account. Hazlitt even goes as far as to attribute disgraceful characteristics of the French people to the dire situation in the streets of their capital, therefore, merging national identity with the urban space. In this respect, the unpleasant image of Parisian streets presented in Hazlitt's work also applies to the people of Paris, as both the city and its inhabitants form an organic whole, a national body so to speak.

From these previous examples one could get the impression that this relationship between the city and the citizens is mostly constructed as being one-sided, as the city seems to impose its infrastructure upon the people. However, the relationship is much more mutual than it may appear. In Walter Scott's 'Pauline Epistles'[326], the protagonist constructs a relationship between the people's way of living and the city: "But even the Emperor Napoleon, in the height of his dignity, dared not to introduce the farther novelty of a pavement on each side. This would be, indeed, to have destroyed that equality between horse and foot, walkers, drivers, and driven, which appears to give such delight to a Parisian"[327]. Here, one of the foremost ideals of the French Revolution, i.e. *egalité*, is being made fun of by applying it to the situation in the streets of Paris. Equality between different participants of Parisian traffic endangers their lives, while they take delight in embarking on it. Through this example, Scott deconstructs the French idea of equality, as it strikes the English reader as a

[325] Hazlitt, William. *Notes of a journey through France and Italy*. London, 1826, pp. 129-130

[326] This reference to the Biblical Paul is more than just a pun. Dustin Steward highlighted the missionary nature of Scott's fictional letters with respect to their Pauline intertext (See Steward, Dustin D. "The Lettered Paul: Remnant and Mission in Hannah More, Walter Scott, and Critical Theory". *Studies in Romanticism*, 50:4, winter 2011, pp. 591-618).

[327] Scott, W. 1816, p. 313

ridiculously unpractical and extremist application of that political principle, which itself thus falls into question. This statement becomes even more striking through the construction of the inconsiderate Parisian who only thinks of himself.

Scott's account adds a historical dimension to the spatial descriptions he provides, which is not particularly shocking given the fact that he is credited with being the inventor of the historical novel. Time, in this sense, is inscribed into the urban structures, which tell the story of national history. What Walter Scott is doing there is, in modern terms, best described through the concept of *lieux de mémoire*. Walter Scott constructs a sense in which the urban structures of the French capital communicate values and memories that are part of the French national spirit. Through this, the arbitrariness of the way in which the city presents itself is accredited meaning, which can be set against the meaning ascribed to the city of London.

All of this becomes even clearer when one focuses on the magnificence next to the misery of the French capital. In his *Letters on the Fine Arts, Written from Paris*, Henry Milton takes a closer look at some of the monuments in Paris. His rather detailed observations will serve to get a better insight into the ways in which travellers construct London through their experiences in the French capital. Summarizing the city of Paris as a whole, Milton points out that "[t]his city is highly ornamented: it is filled with buildings of show and pretence"[328]. According to Milton, splendour is all that the French capital has to offer. Concerning some of the major buildings of the *Ancien Régime*, he asserts that "none have any higher merit than that of splendor, except the Louvre, and the church of the Invalids; nor is either of these at all comparable to the faultless elegance of the Chapel at Whitehall"[329]. Parisian splendour is overdone and fails to compete with the elegance of the English capital. According to Milton's judgment, that elegance is to be considered "faultless", while Paris, on the other hand, is all shine and no substance.

Indeed, the idea of overdone splendour is not only constructed as an architectural flaw of the French capital, but it applies as well to the French

[328] Milton, Henry. *Letters on the fine arts, written from Paris, in the year 1815*. London, 1815, p. 166
[329] Ibid, p. 171

national character as a whole: “There is nothing on which the French more pride themselves than the splendor of their capital. In this respect they consider their superiority over other nations clear and undeniable”[330]. Milton’s insistence on the French obsession with splendour is a key theme throughout the entire discourse. To compare, Richard Boyle Bernard observes on his tour that to a Frenchman “the magnificence of many parts of his favourite city […] is sufficient for his vanity”[331]. Through their alleged vanity, the French are constructed as tending towards extremism in almost any area of life. Almost naturally, this is also used as a reason to claim that the French are intolerant towards others in every respect. Inversely, these texts construct the English as a tolerant and moderate people, who base their judgments on reason rather than on vanity, which can only lead to extremism. As much as *lieux de mémoire* are concerned, the urban space bears witness to historical events, which are inextricably interconnected with the character of a nation. Going back to Milton’s comparison of Parisian structures with their London counterparts, the urban spaces of Paris and London are supposed be reversals of each other just as much as their corresponding national characters; the French are vain, the English rational.

Walter Scott’s text is very explicit in constructing monuments as *lieux de mémoire*. Commenting on some of the new Napoleonic monuments he encounters in Paris, Scott’s fictional protagonist Paul observes that “[t]he triumphal arch, and the pillar in the Place Vendome, are literal, almost servile, imitations of the column of Trajan and the arch of Severus”[332]. Parisian monuments, even though they have counterparts in Ancient Rome, are not constructed as monuments of imperial greatness through. It is exactly their uncanny resemblance that makes them fail to fulfil their purpose as symbols of greatness and renders them symbols of servility and vanity. Their imitative design is regarded more as a sack of Rome than a rightful inheritance of the Roman legacy. In addition to that, the exactness of those imitations is used as a blow to French creativity, as the French are merely copying those designs rather

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[330] Ibid, p. 166

[331] Bernard, Richard Boyle. *A tour through some parts of France, Switzerland, Savoy, Germany and Belgium during the summer and autumn of 1814*. Philadelphia, 1815, p. 16

[332] Scott, W. 1816, p. 310

than coming up with designs of their own, just as much as the latest Parisian dress was claimed to be a copy of Chinese costumes. Paul admits that the column is "designed to commemorate mighty actions, which may well claim the highest praise that military achievement alone, abstracted from the cause in which it was accomplished, could be entitled to"[333]. Yet it automatically reminds him of "the calamities and subjection of Austria', "the almost total annihilation of the kingdom of Prussia" and "the subjugation of Italy" and therefore "that the hand which placed [these monuments] there had once at its arbitrary disposal the fortunes of the civilized world"[334]. The column becomes a *lieu de mémoire* of French vanity, as it is an attempt to copy the fashions of classical antiquity. Furthermore, it materializes the type of extremism to which vanity led when unleashed upon the enemies of France. Similar to Walter Scott's Paul, Henry Milton criticizes the neoclassicisms of Post-Napoleonic France as being "sickly imitations of the severe and majestic simplicity of Greece"[335]. By simply copying ancient originals, Napoleonic France tried to appropriate those old *lieux de mémoire*, which fail to fulfil their purpose when taken out of their original historical, social and architectural context. The apparent attempt to appropriate the classical legacy is therefore deemed a failure in the eyes of those travellers, yet in London those invented traditions are tacitly accepted. Milton goes on to compare the column in Paris with its London counterpart: "The much-talked-of Column of the Place Vendôme is admirable for the richness of its material, and the beauty of its workmanship [….] But it is low and ill shaped when compared to the height and elegant lightness of the monument in London"[336]. Again, the elegance of the monument in London is seen as superior to the French column. However, Milton does not only criticize the Vendôme column in terms of design. When the statement is expanded to the historical context as well, the French victory at Austerlitz, to which the column refers, is downgraded in comparison to the English fighting the Great Fire of London. The one is a victory that commemorates vanity, fighting a needless battle, and the other is achieved by fighting a real threat. The English, unlike the French are seen to have learned from their past shortcomings, which the Monument to some extend represents,

[333] Ibid, p. 303
[334] Ibid, p. 304
[335] Milton, H. 1815, pp. 171-172
[336] Ibid, p. 173

as the fire could only spread due to the neglect and incompetence of those in charge.

The triumphal arch in the Tuileries, which is one of the key monuments of Napoleonic France, deserves some further attention. Henry Milton complains about its design and its position. He states that "[i]t is contemptible in itself, and absurd in its position"[337], since "[u]nless viewed from elevated situations, it is but just seen above the buildings which surround it"[338]. Paul also takes a further look at the triumphal arch in its immediate architectural setting: "The effect of this monument seems diminutive when compared to the buildings around"[339]. One may read these remarks as referring to the proportions of the structures in question, where the triumphal arch is much too small to achieve its desired aesthetic effect within the Tuileries. However, when read metaphorically, the triumphal arch is used to represent the entire Napoleonic Empire, which is overshadowed by the greatness of old France. The buildings of the *Ancien Régime* are commonly criticized for their defects when observed in isolation. Concerning the Tuileries, Milton observes: "This palace is broken into small and ill-proportioned masses; various styles of architecture are introduced, discordant with each other, and overloaded with trivial ornaments"[340]. Yet, whenever those monuments to the *Ancien Régime* are juxtaposed with structures of Napoleonic France, they are said to be superior by far. This superiority just as much refers to their historical context as it does to their architecture.

As mentioned before, the experiences travellers have in Post-Napoleonic Paris are still somewhat influenced by the pre-revolutionary accounts of the eighteenth century. This, of course, becomes most striking whenever travellers encounter monuments to the *Ancien Régime*. In *TEP*, the protagonist recalls: "I now began to recollect what a polished nation France had formerly been, the lively pictures my departed father used to draw of that once happy country"[341]. It is exactly this type of melancholy tone that sets the stage for the sentimental approach that travellers assume when facing those monuments. The great palaces of old that can be found all across Paris are represented in a more than

[337] Ibid, p. 175
[338] Ibid, p. 173
[339] Scott, W. 1816, p. 307
[340] Milton, H. 1815, p. 167
[341] *TEP* 1, p. 15

discomforting manner throughout many texts of the discourse. Paul laments: "That is the palace of Louis le Grand, but how long have his descendants been banished from its halls, and under what auspices do they now again possess them"[342]. In this remark, one can identify a strategy commonly used for the discursive construction of ruins as *lieux de mémoire*: the *ubi sunt* topos. Even though the palace is still intact and once again restored to the French monarch, through the atrocities of the Terror it has acquired connotations that make it impossible to regard it as a symbol of France's greatness. In terms of its symbolic value it has virtually become a ruin to Walter Scott's protagonist, its former status being irretrievably lost. Similarly reminded of the Terror by beholding the Luxembourg Palace, the traveller Thomas Raffles concludes: "Like most of the royal edifices of this city, the scenes of revolutionary fury have disgraced it"[343]. This type of sentimentalism overshadows much of the urban space of the old Paris as it is perceived by British travellers. *SWP* similarly observes that "[Paris] has retained all its defects, and has moreover lost through the revolution all that once made it a desirable residence for foreigners"[344].

As mentioned above, almost all of the monuments of Napoleonic France are seen as following ancient models. Adding to the idea of the unoriginality of Napoleonic France and on its deep reaching dependence on the greatness of the *Ancien Régime*, Paul points out that "the splendid extension of the Louvre […] is, in fact, only a completion of the original design of Louis XIV"[345]. Whenever there is something approximating admirable splendour in the French capital, it is that of the *Ancien Régime*. Napoleonic France is not only constructed as trying to copy ancient models, but also as copying those of France's former regime, rendering it a melange of imitative attempts that lack any true spirit of their own – a postmodernist spectacle.

However, apart from the copies of classical originals or continuations of old plans, one monument, which was an original design of Napoleonic France, deserves some special attention. There were plans to erect a gigantic bronze elephant as a centrepiece of a fountain on the former site of the Bastille. This elephant was to be heavily ornamented later on. Henry Milton assures the reader

[342] Scott, W. 1816, p. 301
[343] Raffles 1818, p. 49
[344] *SWP* 1, p. 5
[345] Scott, W. 1816, p. 310

that this “would have been a grand and impressive sight”[346]. However, as “it was to have been covered with trappings, and gilding, and all manner of French absurdities”, Milton concludes that “[t]he French have a happy facility in spoiling a fine idea”[347]. Again, French taste is constructed as being based on the eccentricities of vanity only, which leads to completely over-exaggerated designs. Paul also mentions this monument and, even though he does not seem have any strong architectural objections, it is the social context that degrades the plan in his view. He judges that “in a time of national poverty and distress”, the monument, “after being accomplished at immense expence [*sic*], must appear bizarre and fanciful, rather than grand and impressive”[348]. This irrationality of the French as a result of their vanity is used to explain the malaise by which the French capital is allegedly marred. As John Richard Moores observes, the poverty of the French was thought to be a result of the “the Frenchman’s own irresponsible preference for spending his remaining small proportion of income on fancy clothes and accessories, instead of sustenance for himself and his family”[349].

In addition to the various buildings and monuments, there is one particular structure into which all of those tendencies are channelled in condensed form: the Palais Royal. The previous chapter of this thesis ended with a quotation of Felix M’Donogh, who claimed that the English women he complained about were ruined by breathing the air of the Palais Royal. Indeed, this building was one of the key destinations for English travellers to Paris. An article in *The New Monthly Magazine*, published in 1815, describes the Palais Royal as “the central point of all strangers, and which may be termed the capital of Paris”[350]. By turning the Palais Royal into the capital of the French capital, it becomes the most condensed miniature version of France that is available to travellers. On a similar note, in *SWP* it is said that “[it] is one of the very best stations in which a spectator can be placed to study French manners. You will there behold all the extremes and eccentricities of character which mark the old

[346] Milton, H. 1815, p. 174
[347] Ibid, p. 175
[348] Scott, W. 1816, p. 311
[349] Moores 2015, p. 27
[350] “Fragments Illustrative of Paris, in 1814. The Palais Royal”. *The New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 4, 1 December 1815, pp. 408-410, p. 408

and the new schools"[351]. As a *lieu de mémoire*, the Palais Royal will contain both the royalist French, who represent the former glory of the *Ancien Régime*, and the nationalist French, who lament the defeat of Bonaparte. It is a curious fact that this duality of spirits can be found right in the "capital of Paris", which would be the closest thing to a heart and soul of the French nation that one might be able to find. Yet those reminiscences of former France are a far cry from the true former glory of the *Ancien Régime*, which has been irretrievably lost, leaving only those hollow phantoms behind.

TEP describes the Palais Royal in the same way that *SWP* does, going as far as to say that "Paris is no longer in Paris; it is entirely at the palais-royal"[352]. Through that synecdochial condensation of the entire urban space into the Palais Royal, the building acquires a representative status that would allow even the most casual travellers to the city a deep glimpse into Parisian society. Further elaborating on the central status of the Palais, *TEP* states: "This enchanting abode is a small luxurious town enclosed in a larger one—an imperium in imperio: —it is the temple of voluptuousness, whence the brilliant vices have banished even the phantom of bashfulness"[353]. Similar to the claim that the Palais Royal is the capital of Paris, *TEP* describes it as a smaller town within the greater town of Paris, a miniature model so to speak. Here, this miniature model is presented as a temple, implying a relationship to the national spirit in a religious sense. The type of conversions one can undergo in this temple are specifically set in relation to an English national character. The "phantom of bashfulness" could very well be read as a quality that is associated with Englishness. The English being prudish as a negative version of prudence, one of the cardinal virtues that the English hold as a part of their national character, is exactly the bashfulness that is lifted from them upon entering the Palais Royal. One could say, the English begin transforming into the French within its walls.

Predominantly it is scenes of complete moral decay that would be associated with the Palais Royal. George Cruikshank granted a "peep at the French Monstrosities" in his print on the Palais Royal:

[351] *SWP* 1, p. 108
[352] *TEP* 1, p. 71
[353] *TEP* 1, p. 71

Figure 13 "Le Palais Royal-de Paris-"[354]

Crowded with young French men and women, the centre of the scene is occupied by two English travellers, identifiable through the shape of their top hats as opposed to the bell-shaped top hats worn by the French. Obviously thrilled by the open manners and uninhibited advances of the French males on the French prostitutes, they have entered the very heart of Paris. There seems to be little on their part that would shield them from the seductive pleasures offered by the Palais Royal, which presents itself as a paradise to pleasure-seekers. Jeremy Black notes that "Paris was the great centre of sexual activity, partly because it was the city in which tourists tended to spend most time, and partly because access to local society was relatively easy"[355].

As Edward Planta observes in his *A New Picture of Paris*, "with all the magnificence of royalty, it affords a scene of mingled splendour and poverty, beauty and deformity, luxury and misery, which defies all description" and "[i]t comprises in it every character, and almost every scene, that can be imagined, – every thing to inform the understanding, and every thing to corrupt the heart"[356].

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[354] Cruikshank, George. "Le Palais Royal-de Paris-". London, 1818

[355] Black 1985, p. 72

[356] Planta, Edward. *A New Picture of Paris; or, The Stranger's Guide to the French Metropolis*. London, 1816, pp. 54-56

Within its walls, all the peculiarities of Paris can be found. The way that the Palais Royal is constructed in the discourse, it becomes a meta-representation of Paris, offering travellers a glimpse into the French national character in its densely packed halls. The narrator of *TEP* sums up that view when he states that "it is dissolute, gay, wretched, elegant, paltry, busy, and idle […] it displays virtue and vice living on easy terms, and in immediate neighbourhood with each other"[357]. Again, it becomes obvious that the image one gets is one of extremes only, lacking any balanced middle that London is usually characterised as. One might say that Paris is the alter ego to London, an infernal mirror image that might contain the worst fears of the English nation.

In *SWP*, the Palais Royal is one of the key settings of the whole novel. Benjamin Colbert points out that "[i]n Jerdan's satire, the *Palais Royal* forms a spectacle of interconnected pleasure and vice, gentility and vulgarity in French society, a vortex that would draw in the unwary traveller"[358]. Upon entering the place, "[the protagonist's] faculties appeared to be entranced, as he studied the different phantoms flitting before his eyes"[359]. Just as the hustle and bustle of the city in midst of extreme splendour, the Palais Royal offers the same type of captivating experience. However, these experiences cannot overshadow the miserable conditions next to which that carnivalesque grandeur is placed. Distracted by the scenery, the protagonist recalls being hurried towards a "descent, which led into a sort of *infernal regions*"[360]. The trajectory that is taken in SWP into the lower levels of the Palais Royal in many ways resembles the mythological notion of the underworld journey. It is peculiar that the very heart of the Palais Royal would reveal "*infernal regions*", which put a further interpretative lens on the entire city. Indeed, the Palais Royal as a city within a city could very well be seen as the city of Dis of the underworld that is Paris. And very much like in Dante's story, the centre of that city descends into the innermost circle of hell, which holds in it the immoral centre of that world.

In *SWP*, those "*infernal regions*" were filled with

> subterranean grottoes, dimly lighted, adorned with paintings of nymphs, satyrs, bacchanals, shepherds, shepherdesses, and other sylvan scenery, [which]

[357] *TEP* 2, p. 75
[358] Colbert 2005, p. 4
[359] *SWP* 1, p. 109
[360] Ibid, p. 116

> appeared to have been purposely framed for the celebration of the mysteries of Venus.[361]

It is not surprising that the innermost sanctuary of the French capital is dedicated, not to the Christian god, but to Venus. In this context, Venus represents the lack of religious convictions rather than being a tribute to a pagan deity. French atheism retains a quasi-divine, and her name is pleasure. Interestingly, the moral rottenness in the Palais Royal echoes the dirt and mud in the streets of Paris, which are overshadowed by the highly polished structures of the city. The scenes taking place inside it undermine the *lieu de mémoire* of the building as a royal palace. Apart from that, the intermingling with the old and the new styles renders it a *lieu de mémoire* of the entire city, showing its present state as a juxtaposition of the two regimes that it served. This is not only true of what one might encounter within its walls, but also of the walls themselves. Indeed, the history of Palais Royal in a way represents that way of telling the history of Paris and even of France. Erected by Cardinal Richelieu and later appropriated by the French king, the building is firmly set within the history of the *Ancien Régime*. During the time of Revolutionary France, it became a focal point of Revolutionary politics, only to revert to the possession of the monarch after the Bourbon Restoration. The Palais Royal commemorates the extremisms of French history, on the one hand, and it is a meta-representation of the entire city. Keeping in mind the antithetical relationship between Paris and London, it is not surprising that travellers do not draw comparisons between the Palais Royal and any supposed counterpart in London. London simply does not have an equivalent to the Palais Royal, which is a representation of everything the English capital is not.

Concluding one might say that travellers' observations in Paris, especially the fictional ones staged in novels, have been shown to construct London's urban space and an English national character by constructing an antithetical relationship between London and Paris. Sometimes more and sometimes less explicitly, that relationship is constructed by means of negative empiricism, which constructs London in its complete absence. Any experience that travellers had in Paris denies any similarity to whatever one might experience in the English capital. *Lieux de mémoire* help to verify the national

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[361] Ibid

character historically by contextualizing it with specific historical events through the spatial dimension of the capital city. Paris is a city of extremes, which is represented by the juxtaposition of different monuments that bear witness to the historical context of either the *Ancien Régime* or Napoleonic France. The juxtaposition of magnificence and misery in the French capital that is created by the buildings of splendour amidst dirty and impassable streets adds to that experience. All of these flaws of the French capital that the texts construct are attributed to vanity, which is constructed as the principal flaw of the French national character. London's urban space, just like the English national character is characterised moderation and balance, as it does not display the flaws that Paris is marred by. The English national character, to which the city of London alludes, is thus constructed as one of rationality and moderation.

The context of Post-Napoleonic Paris is an especially interesting one in this respect. The Revolution is said to be responsible for the extremely miserable state of the French capital. Paris itself becomes a *lieu de mémoire* for the extremism to which French vanity led, trying to remind Englishmen that their own history and their own national character should be considered superior to the French in every respect. Ironically, this oversimplification in hetereostereotyping seems to pass unnoticed when the English do it, yet it is heavily criticised when the French do the same. Complaining about René-Martin Pillet's travel account to England[362], J. A. Viévard, himself a Frenchman by birth, tries to set the French perspective on England right in his *Truth respecting England*[363]. He warns: "What should we say in France, if an English writer were to see the whole nation in the capital; if he judged of all the French by the Parisians, and by the Parisians of from 1789 to 1814?"[364]. Outspokenly unaware of the great number of English texts doing exactly that, he steps up to defend his country of refuge. And in this case, like it is the case with Voltaire, the English seem to listen to the flattering Frenchman. The editor to the work describes Viévard as

[362] Pillet, René-Martin. *L'Angleterre vue à Londres et dans ses provinces*. Paris, 1815

[363] Viévard, J. A. *The Truth respecting England, Or an impartial Examination of the Work of M. Pillet*, 2 vols. London, 1817.
Viévard simultaneously published the same work in the French language: *La vérité sur l'Angleterre*. London, 1817.

[364] Viévard 1817a, p. 10

> [a] Frenchman, as much distinguished by his birth as by the dignity and independence of his character, who has been enabled minutely to study the country of which those writers have indistinctly given a description, desires to pay his debt to the generous nation *which gave him an asylum, at the same time that it preserved for the French their King and their Princes*.[365]

To Viévard's flattery, the editor adds self-flattery, as the English have been generous enough to save him from the Revolution and in return, Viévard decided to "pay his debt" by joining the English discourse against the French. Especially the fact that the English restored the French king to his throne is stated as the greatest act of generosity. In this, "Louis becomes the living symbol of the English victory over France and thus, aided by his long sojourn in England, a symbol of the English with their superior moral standards and system of values"[366]. Viévard is thus implicitly compared with the French king, both of whom have been guests to the English, which gave them an opportunity to adopt the superior ways of the English. And while they are both remnants of the *Ancien Régime*, they are of little weight in the French capital, which has devolved into misery and barbarism.

365 Ibid, pp. v-vi

366 Pointner 2007, p. 269

PART 3: Narrating National Selves

3.1. National Spirits Incarnate: *Six Weeks in Paris*

[A] silly book, intitled, 'A Six Weeks Tour to Paris, Versailles, &c.' […] a book that has sent a great number of silly people hither, and continues so to do.[367]

This quotation by Philip Thicknesse, a well-known eighteenth-century eccentric, blames part of the questionable obsession of the English with France on the publication of a particular travel guide. It cannot be known whether or not any particular book did attract many travellers to Paris, as Thicknesse claims, but it can be said with confidence that the book he mentions did not exist. The book he most certainly refers to is *A Five Weeks Tour to Paris*, published in 1765, which aims to provide "an accurate Description of Paris"[368]. Even though only a misquote, Thicknesse's claim is the very earliest instance I could find where a "*Six Weeks* tour to Paris" is referred to. Indeed, it seems that his misquote had more of an impact on later discourse than the actual work he wanted to refer to. To recall, in the print "The Englishman in Paris", which I took a look at in chapter 2.2, one could see a depiction of a booklet called "A Six Weeks Tour to Paris". As this print was published in 1770, only three years after Thicknesse made that claim, it is a very curious coincidence indeed that this non-existing title would reappear. The Six-Weeks-format came up again and again in later discourse. In 1817, Mary and Percy Shelley published their *History of a Six Weeks' Tour*, a highly influential travel account of the Post-Napoleonic Age. In the same year, the novel *Six Weeks in Paris* appeared, picking up the criticism of the type of book that Thicknesse brought up, offering a depiction of Paris that is more accurate than a "*Guide through Paris*, - *Picture of Paris*, or other manual"[369] .

However, in this chapter I will not belabour the relation between *SWP* and standard guide books of the time. To me the more interesting thing about this novel is that it narratively brings together various ideas that were very much widespread in the nationalist discourse of the time, personifying national stereotypes and histories through a few characters in the story. While it is largely a fictional account, the novel claims to be based on the travel journals of an

[367] Thicknesse, Philip. *Observations on the customs and manners of the French Nation*. Dublin, 1767, p. 26
[368] Lucas, William. *A Five Weeks Tour to Paris*, Versailles, Marli, &c. London, 1765
[369] *SWP*, p. vi

English aristocrat, who picks up the old tradition of the Grand Tour. Yet this renewed Tour takes place in a context of a radically changed France; a nation that has lost its glorious past and has now entered a stage almost of complete social and cultural barbarism. As I laid out in my previous chapters on the discursive construction of national stereotypes, this novel participates in an anti-French English nationalist discourse and picks up many stereotypes that are promoted in a wide range of texts.

However, the text is extremely interesting to be considered in the ways in which it works as a narrative, as it very much tries to construct an English national identity by setting up specific character constellations in the plot it narrates. For my analysis of the construction of national selves, this novel is valuable because those character constellations say a lot about the ways in which this text, among others, wants the English nation to be understood. As I tried to make clear in my chapter on my conceptual and methodological approach, identities are always a narrative construction, and the ways in which identity is established depends greatly on the narrative devices that are employed in any given text. And collective identities, such as national identity cannot be separated from the personal identity of its members. Therefore, I will explore the narrative constellations that construct national identity as a dialectic concept which is inextricably tied to personal identity. National identity, in my analysis, does not remain an abstract qualitative construct but numerically manifests in individual characters, all of which represent a form of national personification. For that purpose, I will consider the essential ways in which the personification trope is narratively utilised in order to express different relationships between the nation as a collective identity and its members in the form of personal identity.

In *Six Weeks in Paris*, it is my contention that this relationship is predominantly constructed in the form of national incarnations. I have already dealt with this issue in my chapter on national spaces, as the capitals of both England and France are constructed as microcosms that represent the whole nation where a national spirit becomes an inextricable part of the very city structures. In the following chapter, I will add to that argument by pointing out how the whole nation manifests in individual characters, living in those cities

and acting as representatives of their respective nations rather than individual human beings.

Again, London is empirically absent in the novel, which is set exclusively in the French capital. Yet London, Londoners, and thus ‘the’ English national character, enter the scene through the mechanism of negative empiricism, I discussed before, as experiences of France serve as a filter through which experiences of England are constructed. In this, the English nation becomes present even in its absence, and this mechanism is triggered by the presence of certain English characters.

In my analysis of this novel, two characters in particular will be in the focus of my analysis: Dr Ferret, the protagonist’s English tutor, and Fanfaron, his Parisian cicerone. On the surface level of the story these characters are presented as human beings on the mimetic level of the text, two individuals with their own personal identity, biography, feelings and thoughts. Yet the signifiers they represent point towards a signified that does not have a human form, i.e. an abstract set of ideas. In short, they are personifications of ideas rather than representatives of flesh-and-blood-persons. Paxson calls this the fundamental way in which personification trope works, as “the translation of any non-human quantity into a sentient human”[370], and in this particular case, the non-human quantity is an an abstract set of ideas. In post-structuralist terms it is important to keep in mind that the reversal of the relationship between signified and signifier is dialectically implied by the juxtaposition of diverse ontological categories such as human beings and ideas. In this context, both signifier and signified become representatives of each other respectively. For the construction of national identities this means that the nation represents its members just as much as its members represent the nation, an ontological link that cannot be severed[371]. While this relationship itself is still an abstraction, the strength of narrative is that it is able to overcome ontological differences and present its readers a national character as a part of empirical reality.

Conversely, this personification is dialectically coupled with its opposing concept of ideation, which is “the translation of a thing or human agent into an

[370] Paxson 1994, p.42

[371] Kolakowski uses that apparent dilemma as the basis of his argument, as “it is impossible to talk of one without considering the other” (p. 7) since “belonging to various collective entities is also part of what makes […] a person” (p. 9).

abstract idea"[372]. As the reader encounters these characters, he or she will inevitably identify them as stock characters who are personifications of certain sets of ideas that are typically associated with an ideal type of national character, a collective identity that is dominant over the personal identity these characters seem to possess as individual entities. The text gives its readers many hints that this is the way in which the story has to be read, and in the following I will trace these textual constructions, starting with the ways the characters are introduced and indeed named in the text.

Lord Beacon, the protagonist of this story, is the first character who is introduced. The narrator states that him "we shall call *Lord Beacon*, (his lordship having forbid the use of his real name and title)"[373]. Right away, through the use of italics and by explicitly pointing out that the name is a literary fabrication, the narrator makes it clear that the point this story is trying to make is not to be found by linking this character to any particular flesh-and-blood-person in the empirical world. Ironically, it is the narrator who does in fact establish that connection himself in the first place by drawing attention to the claim that there is a real Lord behind this story who does not want to be associated with the narrative. The sentiments of shame and guilt underlying this may hint at a rupture in personal identity, as the Lord wants to distance himself from himself in the story. Yet, I argue that the primary function of this claim is not to invite the reader to try and find the real person behind this character, but to insert an authenticity device that should make the story seem relevant for the empirical world.

In the preface to this novel this becomes even more clear. At first glance, this part of the text presents itself as an apologetics insisting on the truthfulness of this story, as its historical facts are "taken as they occurred, or were related from good authority; without any addition or alteration from the original matter, except the mechanical process of *editorship*"[374]. Further, he distinguishes between this text and other similar publications, which are "swelled by topographical descriptions" because the narrative at hand is to serve a different purpose[375]. In the persona of the text's editor, the narrator states:

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[372] Paxson 1994, p.43
[373] *SWP* 1, p. 3
[374] Ibid, p. v
[375] Ibid, p. vi

> It is his lordship's intention to give a real sketch of living men and existing manners, painted in true colours without varnish, as a beacon to those at home, who languish under the *Gallomania*, and to the unwary traveller, who may have already launched out upon the voyage of *discovery*.[376]

The purpose of the story, therefore, is not to give a disinterested account of places but an intimate account of people and the way they interact in order to cure the reader from the disease he calls "*Gallomania*" (which also is the actual subtitle of the whole novel, *A Cure for the Gallomania*). So while the narrator claims to rely on historical events, it is the actual purpose of his storytelling that is in focus, not the historical facts themselves. In a way this seems to comment on more general notions of literary communication in which it is not the practical application of a text, such as a guide book that determines its value but its symbolic and moral functions that render it useful to a reader. Apart from that, here it is interesting to notice that the function of the story's protagonist is already hinted at. The narrator mentions that the story is to be a "beacon to those at home", which conveniently is exactly the fake name he choses for his protagonist: Lord Beacon.

On the one hand, this choice of names creates a distance between the protagonist of the story and his alleged real-life counterpart. The fact that Beacon is obviously a fake name is further corroborated by its being a proper noun that relates to the character's function of the story. This type of explicitly deliberate irony screams deliberately constructed fiction, while the narrator's claims promote authenticity. Typically, readers would be familiar with that type of naming from the genre of novels in general and allegorical fiction in particular, where characters are introduced for the purpose they serve in the story, which lacks the usual random banality of historical reality. And as the conventions of allegorical fiction have it, the characters usually make no historical sense whatsoever, but serve a symbolic function for the moral proposotions a story tries to convey. It is in this tradition of writing that Lord Beacon as a character finds his place.

On the other hand, however, the character is given a title in addition to his name, which does associate him with a particular group of people, i.e. the nobility. In this, the narrative suggests that this type of story, which is firmly

[376] Ibid

rooted in the Grand Tour tradition, can only happen to people of a certain type of people within the upper echelons of English society. Beacon, in this sense, represents not only one nobleman, but any nobleman to the reader of the text, as they are all supposed to be infected with Gallomania. Yet as ‘Gallomania’ is presented as a danger to greater English society, the moral values communicated by the story are supposed to be relevant to all potential readers.

Since the protagonist does not primarily represent an individual person, but a group of people, personal identity here becomes a placeholder for a collective identity lying underneath it. Beacon represents a young generation of the English elite that faces a new France through the spectacles of eighteenth century Francophile traditions and his situation is to serve as anecdotal evidence with a symbolic function that promotes moral education. This becomes very clear as the narrator characterises the protagonist. He states that Lord Beacon “was rather vain of his advantages, rather presumptuous and impetuous; faults of youth which are often obliterated, or, at least, softened by age and experience”[377]. By establishing the text’s protagonist as a young man who still displays the typical character flaws that come with youth, such as vanity, arrogance and fervour, the narrator thus focuses on the coming-of-age of a young person, relating to character development and moral growth which are of constitutive importance.

Right at the beginning of the novel, the two aforementioned secondary characters are introduced to the reader. Just as Lord Beacon’s name is obviously a telling-name, their names also reveal something about their function in the narrative. As Dr Ferret, the protagonist’s travelling tutor, borrows his name from the animal of the same name (without the academic credentials, of course), the question is what associations go with the animal that would be relevant to his function in the narrative at hand. While nowadays ferrets would be be known as being somewhat unusual pets, having ferrets as pets has been a rather recent development, uncommon to the time in which the novel was written. Primarily, ferrets were used as hunting animals, getting into holes to put to rout its resident fauna, such as rabbits or rodents. The connection between ferrets and rodents deserves some more detailed attention in the context of this novel. Among the

[377] Ibid, p. 4

rodents, especially rats have always been associated with dirtiness, viciousness and even parasitism. What might get from this character's name, therefore, is that his function in the text is to bring another character to the surface, who displays certain characteristics that are associated with rats.[378] In that particular context, Dr Ferret's function in the novel only makes sense if he is juxtaposed with a specific antagonist that displays these characteristics.

Indeed, Dr Ferret does have an antagonist in the novel who does harbour some parasitic tendencies. With him he competes over the young lord's favour. While he has already been granted a big role in the first chapter of the novel, his name is only introduced in the second chapter: "MONSIEUR Fanfaron, (that was the name of the French Mentor)"[379]. He is a Frenchman who offers his services as the Lord's mentor in Paris and the first character who appears in the story. He presents himself as a connoisseur of Paris, introducing Lord Beacon to the rich variety of pleasure pursuits that the French capital offers. It might come to no surprise that his name is also telling name. In European languages, the word *fanfarrón* originates in Spain and has entered French and English dictionaries. While being more or less obsolete as a term nowadays, the English word fanfaron finds a suitable synonym in braggart. Unlike Dr Ferret, the name of whom suggests a certain symbolism, the name Fanfaron is a common noun that directly communicates character traits. Unsurprisingly, this links to the tendency in the discourse to establish the French as a nation of braggarts and peacocks. Judging by this choice of names alone, Fanfaron, who reduces to just one character trait, is much more flat a character than Dr Ferret. Ferret's name involves a slightly more complex analogy through the connotations of ferrets and what they are used for. In addition to that, the fact that he is given an academic title suggests greater complexity in the form of a superior intellect. As the name is introduced much later than the actual character himself, the reader is very likely to have already come to the conclusion that this character is in fact a braggart, not least of all since it is exactly what Dr Ferret accuses Fanfaron to be: "you Parisians imagine that you shew your patriotism by bedaubing your

[378] The phrase "to ferret out" can be used in a sense of "discovering enemies".
[379] Ibid, p. 17

capital"[380]. Bragging about Paris is constructed here to be something all Parisians do, using Fanfaron as a mere placeholder for all Parisians.

This identification of Fanfaron as a typical French braggart is followed by a lengthy argument between the two in which Fanfaron defends the superiority of everything the French capital has to offer only to be permanently deconstructed by Dr Ferret's knowledge and wit. There is no need to go into the details of this argument as most of the issues already featured prominently in my previous chapters on the discursive construction of an English national identity against the French. Ferret merely summarises the typical stereotypes that the discourse lays out. Yet the reader also gets to learn more of Fanfaron's biography. The narrator explains:

> [T]he sage Mentor before the revolution had been Monsieur L'Abbé; during the reign of republicanism, he became a worshipper of the goddess of nature, that is to say, an atheist; and on the deposition of the Corsican usurper, he again adopted the mask of religion, which he now either kept on, or threw off, as best suited the real object of his whole adoration – self-interest.[381]

His personal story involves the permanent change of religious convictions according to the trends of the day, without any true allegiance other than serving his personal interest. That type of moral egotism is presented here to be Fanfaron's personal story, but as one can grasp from the discourse, this is what all French are typically accused of being. Again, we learn nothing that would grant Fanfaron any type of clear-cut personal identity but rather he corresponds to the alleged French national character that was promoted by English nationalists at the time. Yet in this little biographical excerpt the reader may come to notice the kind of parasitism that is practiced by Fanfaron. He lives of others merely to serve his own interest. However, as parasitism also implied damage to be done to the parasite's host, the reader can only expect worse details about this character that are about to be unveiled. People familiar with the discourse of the time will most certainly be completely aware of a common stereotype held against the French: that they want to financially exploit Englishmen completely whenever they dare to travel to Paris. So English readers might rightfully suspect that this is what Fanfaron's parasitism is going to be like, and that he will try to permanently cheat the protagonist and live off the

[380] Ibid, p. 4
[381] Ibid, pp. 12-13

protagonist's money, as his services are offered "on the moderate terms of living entirely on [his] pupils during the whole of their stay"[382].

Concluding the initial debate between Dr Ferret and Fanfaron, the narrator points out the true reason for their argument: "These two sages were evidently inflamed with the jealousy of rivals, each striving to gain the ascendancy over their pupil"[383]. Judging by this statement it seems that they are merely engaging in rhetorics to convince the protagonist, who has been a mere bystander to their dispute throughout most of the chapter. A reader might thus attribute no moral superiority to either of these characters. Indeed, it might even seem that Dr Ferret is guilty of the same low motivations that Fanfaron is suspected to have. Yet the narrator is eager to add:

> The English Mentor was a man of profound learning, of sound judgment, and unimpeachable honor; the French one, devoid of literature, of shallow capacity, lax morals, but endued with a large share of penetration and deeply read in mankind. The former possessed his lordship's esteem and confidence; the latter was to be his lordship's Man of the World: - a most necessary appendage to a youth of twenty-one years of age, in his first trip to Paris.[384]

The narrator's judgment of both characters leaves no doubt that Ferret's motivations are far more honourable than Fanfaron's, just as much as their capacities differ by a quantum leap. Yet there is one skill the narrator grants to the Frenchman, his persuasiveness as a "Man of the World". His function as a *savoir vivre* relates to fashion and pleasure rather than true insight into philosophical matters. Conversely, he is to serve the protagonist as a guide to pleasure rather than as an intellectual mentor. This becomes very obvious as Lord Beacon reacts to their argument over the liberal ways of the Parisian belles and choses to employ Fanfaron to assist him in exactly that department:

> I am, I must confess, delighted with their free manners, and feel grateful to them, as my stay will be only *Six Weeks in Paris*, for all the advances which they make on their side, as it abridges matters, and enables an industrious man to transact a great deal of gallantry in a very little time.[385]

The paratextual reference in his statement, which quotes the actual title of the novel, inevitably links the readers' expectations about the story that is about to

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[382] Ibid, p. 3
[383] Ibid, p. 15
[384] Ibid
[385] Ibid, pp. 11-12

unfold with the protagonist's motivations of "transact[ing] a great deal of gallantry" during his stay in Paris. Fanfaron's role in all this is as clear as Dr Ferret's, the former's in assisting the young lord in doing so, while trying as hard as he can to acquire as much of his money as possible, and the latter's in being his chaperon, trying to prevent his lordship's financial and moral ruin. Yet it would not be much of a story if Lord Beacon simply chose to listen to Dr Ferret's guidance alone. Indeed, Fanfaron will have his way and spring his trap of carefully orchestrated pleasurable misfortunes that gradually bleed to death the protagonist's purse, all of which is centred around the Palais Royal as the vortex of irretrievable ruin. Here, Fanfaron becomes not only a personification of the national spirit as embodied by every Frenchman, but he is also anatomically connected to the body of the nation as represented by the Palais Royal. At this point in my thesis I will not go into too much detail about the actual story of the narrative and the misadventures the protagonist is going to get himself into, as this will be of more concern to a chapter 3.3 of my thesis. I will instead spend some more time on my analysis of the characters and how they relate to national identity.

Fanfaron, as the main villain in this story deserves some more detailled attention. On the one hand, he is a representation of the alleged French everyman, the type of character of which one may easily find plenty in the French capital. Further he is also tightly connected to the national body as represented by the Palais Royal as a national microcosm. On the other hand, however, the narrator interestingly connects him to a flesh-and-blood-person who would be well known to readers of the time. As he goes into more detail giving an account of Fanfaron's biography, the narrator mentions: "In the outset of life, a similarity of principle and pursuits, introduced him and the famous Monsieur Talleyrand, and soon attached them to each other"[386]. Talleyrand, who was one of the most prominent public personages during the French Revolution and the Bourbon Restoration (both of them), is here said to be closely acquainted with Fanfaron. Coupling a fictional character with a historical character is typically a technique of historical fiction, where fictional characters are used as vessels to make comprehensible an otherwise vast and overwhelming historical

[386] Ibid, p. 17

reality by linking the course of history to individual lives. A reader, living in the time of Walter Scott, the alleged inventor of the historical novel, may very well suspect to find traces of that genre in the novel after having Fanfaron linked to Talleyrand. Fanfaron himself does not play a significant role in explaining the greater course of history, but he accompanies Talleyrand and serves as an analogy to him, and indeed the other way around.

Talleyrand's biography is itself traversed by myth, as the nineteenth-century author Chateaubriand would be among the first to point out. Philip G. Dwyer neatly summarises all the character traits that have been attributed to Talleyrand, such as that he "was incapable of loyalty to any one regime", acted "entirely for personal reasons, betrayed his own class, institutions and various regimes"; that he "became a bishop when he did not have a spiritual bone in his body"; and that he "was also lazy, frivolous, unscrupulous, a womaniser, and an inveterate gambler" [387]. Even though this characterisation is biased and traversed by myth-making, it is nevertheless helpful inasmuch as this is exactly the context in which the Talleyrand character in *Six Weeks in Paris* is presented. Conversely his fictional counterpart Fanfaron, who is closely acquainted with him is also constructed in that context.

The narrator continues: "This acquaintance commenced at the College of Louis Le Grand, where they were denominated by their fellow collegians, the *inseparables*, as in truth they were"[388]. It is curious to notice that the word "*inseparables*" is written in italics here. The emphasis may serve different purposes. For one, it may hint at the word being a French word. Also, it may emphasise the fact that this was a title given to them. This would make sense because every time the text introduces a name, the name is presented in italics. Yet there may also be a more intriguing option that plays with the actual meaning of the word. When one speaks of people as inseparable, one usually means that they are always seen together and that there is a close resemblance of minds between them. In short, it means that they share qualitative sameness in addition to quantitative closeness. However, the point that is being made could also be much stronger. For most of the seventeenth century the word 'individual' did not originally refer to an individual human being but was used as a synonym for

[387] Dwyer, Philip G. *Talleyrand: Profiles in Power*. London et al: Longman, 2002, p. 1
[388] *SWP* 1, pp. 17-18

something that was 'indivisible'. Only later in the seventeenth century, around the time of Milton, was the idea of it referring to a human being introduced.[389] Whether or not William Jerdan was aware of that, the way that this word is used in the narrative does make that peculiar reading possible. By saying that Fanfaron and Talleyrand were inseparable, which is the same as indivisible, the text might suggest that they were actually numerically identical, which is to say that they share one personal identity. Of course, the text uses "the *inseparables*" in the plural form, and treats them as two individual characters, so on the mimetic level of the text they are not numerically identical. Yet this possible play on words, in combination with the fact that they are explicitly likened and indeed tied to one another makes it at least possible for the reader to think that the text is hinting at them being one and the same, even if only for a moment. Whether or not that possible word play would be on a reader's radar, even in its weaker form of inseparable understood as meaning empirically indistinguishable, Fanfaron and Talleyrand would share such a closeness of qualitative identity that to most people they would be one and the same person for all practical purposes. The text thus constructs an extremely strong connection between those two characters and they are meant to be read as mirror images of one another.

By establishing a connection between Fanfaron the character of the novel and Talleyrand, a flesh-and-blood person, the text plays with personal and indeed national identity on many levels. As he shares many characteristics that are held as common stereotypes against the French throughout the discourse, Fanfaron becomes a personification of that stereotypical French national character rather than an individual being with a firm personal identity. If one takes that assumption as a basis, the link to Talleyrand extends the dialectics into another sphere. As Talleyrand has been known to most readers as a flesh-and-blood person in the empirical world, and one who has had some influence on the way events transpired, his appearance in the text anchors the rather microscopic and historically irrelevant story of the novel with the greater workings of national history. So, while the story may be a trifling one, at least some of the characters in it are connected to historically relevant personages. But apart from that, the

[389] Around the time of Milton this double meaning seems to appear, as one can read Milton as punning on exactly that in Book V of *Paradise Lost*: "United as one individual Soule" (Milton, J. 2007, V, ll. 5.610).

extratextual reference suggests that Talleyrand may have been used as an inspiration for the character Fanfaron. This in addition to the fact that Fanfaron is a personification of stereotypes, creates a double link within the character of Fanfaron that attempts to verify the stereotypes held against the French through a flesh-and-blood-person in the real world.

Continuing, the narrator provides some further anecdotes of their past comradeship:

> It is related of them, that when T---------'s leg was broken by being thrown out of the window of a house of ill-fame, his colleague Fanfaron was obliged to keep him company, but with rather better success, as he fell upon T---------, and received little or no hurt.[390]

This little story of being thrown out of a brothel, while most certainly untrue, fits perfectly into the characterisation of Talleyrand as an immoral womaniser and gambler.[391] As one might suspect, the little subplot is not yet finished: "[T]he affair having reached the ears of the superior of the college, he refused them re-admission, for which they both vowed eternal hatred to religion and religious men. An oath to which they afterwards *religiously* adhered"[392]. Both Talleyrand and Fanfaron turning their backs to religion as a result of their failure to uphold its rules does appear to be a rather arbitrary reaction to their dismissal from college, which accords well with the stereotype held against the French that they change their religious convictions as easily as they change their attire. And it also accords well with the ways in which Talleyrand is usually constructed as a religious turncoat. Indeed, the French being a nation of atheists under Bonaparte's reign was a common stereotype held against them, so the satire is not only to be read ad hominem but also in general. The novel ridicules atheism as being a form of anti-theism rather than non-theism, which itself is a doctrine

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[390] *SWP* 1, p. 18

[391] It is interesting to notice here, that even though the text provided Talleyrand's full name already on the previous page, the writer seems to have 'forgotten' about that now, as the name is censored from this point onwards. The text plays with censorship conventions of the time and mimics a mode in which the writer may have to fear persecution in case his writing was suspect to be traitorous. As Gary Dyer remarks, satires of the time tend to "dramatize their own need to fend off prosecution […] turning it to their own satirical advantage" [Dyer, Gary. "Intercepted Letters, Men of Information: Moore's Twopenny Post-Bag and Fudge Family in Paris". *The Satiric Eye: Forms of Satire in the Romantic Period*. Steven E. Jones (ed.). New York: Palgrave, 2003, pp. 151-171, p. 157].

[392] Ibid

that can be upheld with religious zeal. The fact that the word "*religiously*" is put in italics only seems to emphasise the irony of their non-religion being itself a form of religion for those readers who may not have got it. And it also casts doubt on a French conception of religion in general, as it seems that in their context it means the same as zeal.

As their common history proceeds, Talleyrand, due to his intellect and diplomatic skills, assumed an office under Bonaparte's rule, a position from which he also provided jobs for his friend Fanfaron: "He was to be employed as a spy upon the rivals or enemies of T--------- [….] He was likewise T---------'s high priest at the altars of Venus"[393]. The extensive use of spies against everyone, even intimate friends in the French Empire was a common theme well attested by the discourse. The novel picks up the most ridiculous extend to which this paranoia could inflate: "T---------, who, from self-experience, entertained the opinion that every man was a rascal, could not except even his dearest friend from the imputation. He therefore, as was a very common thing with him, set a spy over a spy"[394]. This extensive network of spies, in which Fanfaron played his part, soon turned the tides against Fanfaron, as Talleyrand discovered that "he was also in concert with his chief rival and enemy – the worthy and immaculate Fouché", and in addition to that, having been "not content with the share of the profits which he thought proper to allow him, kept back several sums, which he never accounted for"[395]. Talleyrand's alleged suspicion that every man is a rascal like himself seems to have proven true in Fanfaron's case as he cheated him wherever he could to serve his own personal interest. The only difference between the two being that Talleyrand was in a slightly higher position, yet their character flaws remain identical. However, these digressions of loyalty are not said to have been the main reason for them parting, since "what completed the destruction of this modern temple of friendship, was T---------'s detecting his Mercury in sharing the favors of his favourite fair one"[396]. In the end, it is an amorous affair between Fanfaron and Talleyrand's mistress that ends their friendship once and for all.

[393] Ibid, p. 19
[394] Ibid, p. 20
[395] Ibid
[396] Ibid

Ironically their continuous digressions and betrayals are exactly what will eventually keep them on the same track, even though they have broken their friendship because of them:

> At last, after having thrown in each other's face, all the good deeds performed by either from boyhood, the sum total was so alarming, that finding they were in each other's power, calmness resumed its empire, and both engaged never to expose, thwart, or attack the other.[397]

Here the novel tries to make an example out of what kind of people were in charge during the Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire. We are presented with structures in which mutual suspicion and betrayal, all for the sake of personal interest, prevailed and formed a society of cheats.

Fanfaron, as a thinly veiled Doppelgänger of Talleyrand, a well-known figure, becomes a representation not only of abstract stereotypes but also puts them in context. As the novel proceeds, Fanfaron will live up to his old habits and use his talents on the text's protagonist. However, through the explicit connection between him and Talleyrand, Fanfaron becomes more than a representation of a French nobody from the lower orders of society, but one who has seen eye to eye with one of the leading characters in French politics. The character flaws that are stereotypically constructed of the French are thus attempted to be verified and exemplified. Fanfaron becomes a national microcosm of France, who are all constructed as sharing the same character.

Just as the narrator finished his account of Fanfaron's biography, he goes into some more detail on his English counterpart in Dr Ferret. After having finished his degree as a trained physician it is said that the

> poor gentleman, though qualified in every essential, he was totally ignorant of, or otherwise despised the usual professional arcana, of setting up a chariot, driving furiously through all the streets of the town, inviting apothecaries to dinner, and tipping all the old nurses on a little gin-money.[398]

It seems that Dr Ferret's only flaw that led to his mild financial success was that he took his job too seriously and refrained from submitting himself to questionable habits that usually go with it. As a character he is directly juxtaposed with Fanfaron and is presented as his complete reversal. While Fanfaron paid little attention to the responsibilities that go with his occupation,

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[397] Ibid, p. 21

[398] Ibid, pp. 24-25

except those that would grant him financial advantages, Dr Ferret was responsible in his occupation and paid no attention to those things that would grant him these financial gains. This does indeed construct Dr Ferret as a straight man, maybe even a bit naïve. But these, in the context of an English national character are not necessarily negative attributes but actually admirable characteristics. Undeniably, this is a typically English autostereotype, which is best seen in the discourse of John Bull, who sometimes fails because of his straightforward moral principles.

Indeed, unlike Fanfaron, who was driven by ambition, Dr Ferret never pursued a big career. The narrator continues: "Of course, his *pedestrian* merit had been quite overlooked. The private intercourse of life had, however, rendered his talents and merits obvious to a small circle of friends, by one of whom he was recommended to the young lord"[399]. His steering the middle way has kept him on track, even though under modest "*pedestrian*" circumstances. It is interesting here, that his private interactions are what led to his acquaintance with the young lord, rather than in Fanfaron's case, his public pursuits. The focus on privacy rather than publicity has been constructed as a very English virtue, as I have shown in an earlier chapter. It therefore makes sense that this story would promote a quiet private life over a tumultuous public one.

Concerning Dr Ferret's credentials as a tour guide, the text states:

> The Doctor had before made the tour of the continent, but as his fortune was small and his researches wholly tended to improvement in professional knowledge, he might be thought not very well qualified to be a leader of a youth of rank, fashion and fortune.[400]

What is revealing in that statement is the class differences that are negotiated here. Dr Ferret is obviously a middle-class character of humble financial circumstances, who has devoted what little time he had on the continent to his professional studies. His reductionist version of the Grand Tour constitutes an educational journey, as the traditional Grand Tour had always been promoted to be. Yet the young Lord's version of the Tour, with him being a man of "rank, fashion and fortune" is more in line with what the Tour had always been accused to be: an extortionate orgy. However, while his modest middle way might give

[399] Ibid, p. 25
[400] Ibid

him some moral merit, in addition to the fact that he is acquainted with Paris already, he does have disadvantages to Fanfaron in the course of this story. While Fanfaron is a man of the world, Dr Ferret "had not the slightest qualification for a man of intrigue"[401] and as such he cannot satisfy the desires with which his young pupil sets forth on his journey. Lord Beacon is contaminated by Gallomania, while Ferret is not, and indeed explicitly points out that this is predominantly a problem with the nobility: "I am sorry to be obliged to allow that it is the case among the higher classes; but the middling and lower classes are in general uncontaminated"[402].

Unlike his antagonist Fanfaron, Dr Ferret is not explicitly linked to a flesh-and-blood-person in the novel. He is an everyman for all practical purposes. Even though he does have a personal story, a profession and education, it is rather his values and principles that make him an ideal and typical Englishman in the story. He is a John Bull who is directly set against Fanfaron. Fanfaron on the other hand is linked to a flesh-and-blood-person, yet this is not to set his personal identity above his national identity, but actually to turn him into the French version of an everyman, who is an egoist rather than an individualist in the positive sense of the word. He is an everyman, not least of all because his foul business is shared by a great number of businessmen in Paris, as he "formed a connection with proprietors of hotels, and keepers of boarding-houses, to give each other a mutual recommendation to all strangers"[403]. And as I tried to show earlier in this thesis, this includes not only businessmen but people of all professions, all of whom universally conspire to exploit travelling Englishmen.

Using Ferret and Fanfaron as incarnations of national microcosms to represent their respective nations, the novel constructs them as complete reversals of one another, while making it clear that "two such opposite characters, as the Doctor and the Abbé, could never assimilate"[404]. As far as the *Cure for the Gallomania* with respect to these characters is concerned, those inflicted by Gallomania are supposed to see that the national characters of both nations are irreconcilable and that any attempt at travelling to France will be

[401] Ibid
[402] Ibid, p. 8
[403] Ibid, p. 22
[404] Ibid, p. 17

punished in some way or another. It is best, therefore, for Englishman to simply remain home and continue with their lives of modest pursuits. The French, here, are constructed as being all the same, no matter if they work in the streets of Paris or occupy high offices in the French government. There is a certain irony about this, however. In order to function as a representation of the English, he needs to engage in an argument with Fanfaron. One could see that as an implicit admission that Englishness cannot exist in and of itself, but needs the French Other to come into being and maintain its existence.

3.2. The Sentimental Traveller Undone: *The Englishman in Paris*

> Four year's term keeping at Cambridge concluded by affixing the degree of A.B. to my name. Spending the vacations, either in London, or at the fashionable watering places, together with the addition of a trip to Edinburgh, where I attended the most celebrated professors, gave me another degree – a degree of consequence in my own mind – a certain diploma of self-approbation, which made me think I was an experienced graduate of society – a Bachelor of Hearts.[405]

These are the opening lines of *The Englishman in Paris*, which outline the protagonist's years of learning at Cambridge University. The novel, anonymously published in 1819, narrates a journey to Paris undertaken by a nameless young Englishman. The novel being so remarkably close to *Six Weeks in Paris*, and being published only two years after it, makes it an excellent source to consult and compare with the previous novel. The protagonists of both novels are almost indistinguishable in terms of their curriculum vitae. It is only in his explicitly amorous plans, as opposed to Lord Beacon's seemingly more educational pursuits, that this protagonist sets out on his journey in a slightly different way. Yet as their misadventures in Paris proceed along very similar paths, one may at least suspect Lord Beacon to have comparable interests, a suspicion that he very much lives up to indeed. As far as the opening lines of *The Englishman in Paris* are concerned, one gets a good sense of the protagonist's youthful desires. However impressive his career and place in society seems to be so far, he concludes that there is only one degree that he cares about: becoming a "Bachelor of Hearts".

His almost cliché-like journeys to London and Edinburgh mark the limitations of travel that Englishmen of the time had. With the Napoleonic Wars waging across the continent, young Englishmen would find it particularly hard to embark on the Grand Tour, which would limit their education almost exclusively to their own island, with London and Edinburgh being the centres of culture there. Of course, against the backdrop of the Grand Tour tradition on the continent, this would seem a rather unsatisfactory and petty substitution, as even those distinguished professors he attended are cut off from their peers on the

[405] *TEP* 1, pp. 1-2

continent and from intellectual centres like Paris and Rome. For instance, even a pro-Napoleonic radical thinker like Byron, while on his own Tour, elegantly failed to visit those countries that were firmly in Napoleon's grasp and instead spent time in countries like Spain, Albania, and the Ottoman Empire. With him being both an Englishman and an English peer in particular, probably posed too great a risk for him to spend a personal visit to his revolutionary brothers in spirit.[406] After Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo and subsequent exile to St Helena, with the Bourbons restored to the French throne, the borders were once again open for English travellers to France. The protagonist is among the first generation of the young elite that would be able to once again visit the places of the traditional Tour. Yet as the Tour has not been part of the recent cultural habitus of the young elite, he does not conceive this to be a necessary venture for him to embark on. Conversely, the previous generation of the young elite, being prevented from embarking on their Grand Tour, sought to establish something akin to a Grand Tour tradition on British soil in order to fill the educational vacuum.[407] Consequently, he deems his time in London and Edinburgh all that it takes to render him an accomplished gentleman.

The protagonist only having domestic experience and the benefit of classical learning, does as best as he can in trying his best to impress women. However, he soon bound to discover that "the *classics* did not assist [him] here"[408]. Indeed, at the time the classics were basically everything there was to study in the academia. By saying that the classics were of no use, he believes anything he studied in his formal education to be useless in this respect. In this one can certainly suspect some changes in the understanding of what a fashionable man has to be like. It seems that the novel suggests that some of the neoclassical tendencies which supposedly dominated the eighteenth century

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[406] With the Peace of Amiens that marked a brief episode of peace between France and Great Britain ending in 1803, the following year, Napoleon issued orders to put every Englishman to custody, rendering continental travel for the English virtually impossible.

[407] Several texts concerning travelling on the British Isles were published during the Napoleonic Wars, while new publications on the Grand Tour to the continent almost entirely came to a halt. See for instance Campbell, Alexander. *A Journey from Edinburgh Through Parts of North Britain*. London, 1802; Mavor, William Fordyce. *The British Tourist's, Or, Traveller's Pocket Companion, Through England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland*, 6 Vols. 3rd ed. London, 1809; and Clarke, Edward Daniel. *A Tour Through the South of England, Wales, and Part of Ireland*. London, 1793.

[408] *TEP* 1, p. 5

have come a bit out of fashion and something else has occupied its place. Indeed, he "was often struck dumb by the preference given, (always by the fair sex) to [his] rivals in the *conversazione*"[409]. His use of the Italian term speaks volumes. On the one hand, it seems to suggest that his Latin is perceived to be inferior to the Italian of his rivals, hinting at changing popular perceptions of what constitutes a man of fashion. On the other hand, his stress on that perception being exclusively a female tendency has a certain misogynous undertone, as it is them who do not seem to understand what constitutes the *bon ton*, rather than men. Apart from that, the shift from high Latin to the Italian vernacular goes hand in hand with some of the literary developments of the time. Wordsworth's quite well-known vindication of the language of the common people rather than the traditional neoclassicist standard of poetic diction for literary productions is a very similar Romantic notion.

It is not only new fashions in style that would have an impact on the formation of a new elite. The Romantic focus on emotion rather than reason would play an equally significant part for the protagonist's journey. Brought to its perfection in Laurence Sterne's popular novel *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*, the traveller's emotional rather than his rational responses to foreign impressions would move closer to the centre of what constitutes the backbone of any educational journey. It is no longer the places visited, or the objects observed but the traveller himself who would form the focal point of any journey. This of course corroborates the protagonist's disappointment with the effects of his classical education as it does not meet those new trends. Classical languages are perceived to be dry and sterile in comparison to more emotionally charged and exotic vernaculars.

In addition to that, the protagonist's use of the word "*conversazione*" does carry very specific cultural implications. Especially in the Grand Tour tradition, the *conversazione* played a significant role. The Italian Enlightenment constructed itself to some extend through sophisticated discussions between intellectuals of different nationalities on its own soil. As Arnold Anthony Schmidt points out:

> While the Grand Tour to Italy formed generations of the elite, the tour's significance went beyond shaping British culture, however; international

[409] *TEP* 1, p. 2

> visitors also had a reciprocal effect on the residents of the peninsula themselves. Italians frequently encountered foreign travelers in salons and conversazioni, where the mingling of cultural, economic, and political elites enabled both residents and visitors alike to benefit from the rich intellectual exchanges that took place.[410]

The "*conversazione*" is thus to be understood as a symbol of cosmopolitanism among the learned elite. During the eighteenth century the learned elite did have the opportunity to embark on their Tour to Italy, while during the Napoleonic Wars it was primarily the military that would travel to the continent. It is certainly questionable in how far soldiers would undertake educational pursuits on their campaigns, being very much occupied otherwise. Yet as far as travelling the routes of the Tour was concerned, they were the only ones who were able to do so. In this respect the locations of the Grand Tour were associated much more with warfare than with cultural pursuits.

It is, therefore, not surprising that military men would be able to fill the gap as travelled men with an air of the exotic about them. In the story, the protagonist complains: "How the dear creatures of the softer sex hung upon the words of a set of, what I thought, shallow young men, dressed in military great coats, with the finish of a brass spur, and occasionally with a hirsute trimming to the coat and upper lip."[411]. Indeed, "reason surrendered not at discretion but at the *first* summons of the lucky son of Mars"[412]. Desperately trying to exploit the advantages that a military garb seems to lend to his competitors, the protagonist is eager to join what to him seems to be a new trend:

> I dressed in my *man of war's* clothing, albeit, though I looked comely enough, I found that the *sabre-tasche* and whisker carried all before it, and bore away the prize of beauty from my aspiring grasp. One night I sat at supper betwixt two *dumb belles*, from neither of whom I could elicit a sound; but the moment the *dear dragoons* appeared, they were set a-going, as it is elegantly called, like a parish church chime at feast or an election.[413]

His reference to his company as "*dumb belles*" is particularly striking in this context, as it says just as much about himself as it does about those supposedly intellectually wanting ladies. Indeed, it might at least be somewhat telling that

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[410] Schmidt, Arnold Anthony. *Byron and the Rhetoric of Italian Nationalism*. New York: Palgrave, 2010, p. 15

[411] *TEP* 1, p. 3

[412] Ibid, pp. 4-5

[413] Ibid, pp. 5-6

he, a Cambridge graduate, would specifically seek out the company of his intellectual inferiors, indicating that he is not at all interested in profound discussions. It is obviously carnal rather than conversational company that is the focus of his desires. What is probably more striking here is that he specifically uses the French word "*belles*" to label those women. As I outlined in my chapter on the law of fashion, dullness and the interest in trivial matters, is a common stereotype that is held against the French. Though it does not seem to be the case that those fair ladies are of French descent, as no particular mention of it is made at all. It seems far more likely that this is a hint at the notion of Gallomania, which is often used as an explanation for the downfall of British society throughout the discourse, most especially among its women. Referring to them as "belles" most likely puts them in the category of women who try to imitate their Parisian counterparts in order to be fashionable. To make matters worse, "*dumb belles*" is a pun on 'dumbbells', which in the context of the time meant exercise bells that did not make a sound. In this respect, the women who accompany him are mere sports to him, a means of practice rather than something he would take seriously. And they are mostly mute as a result of his dull attempts at practicing. As the protagonist's main interest is always female company, the way in which he talks about women deserves special attention and will be a key issue of my analysis.

The term "dragoons" usually designates a renowned type of cavalry. In recent history of the time, the dragoons featured prominently in the Battle of Waterloo through their tactically blunderous yet highly romanticised charge against the French lines[414]. They certainly have an advantage over the protagonist that he in his militia uniform simply cannot match. However, it is not only the fact alone that they are part of a well-known and reputable military unit. It is rather "scraps of Spanish, Portuguese and French […] [that] were found

[414] Jan Willem Pieneman's painting of the battle features a dragoon officer having captured a Napoleonic eagle; Elizabeth Thompson's painting *Scotland Forever!* famously depicts the charge of the Royal Scots Greys, a dragoon regiment, at Waterloo. One may assume, however, that their reputation might have suffered from the participation of Waterloo veterans in the Peterloo Massacre in 1819, in which cavalry was deployed against a crowd of unarmed protesters. This event was probably too recent, as it occurred in the same year the novel was published, and would not have had any significant influence on its composition. Yet to a contemporary audience, the reputation of the dragoons would not have been left unmarred.

irresistible by dames of taste and condition"[415]. The travelled man obtains an element of the exotic that manifests itself in those chunks of foreign sounds scattered across conversations. Their military reputation seems irrelevant in this particular context. The fact that they are dragoons here only insinuates that they have spent time abroad on their campaigns. Accordingly, the protagonist having only served in a domestic reserve unit would not arouse these exotic anticipations and cannot gain any advantage from his military attire.

Unwilling to accept his fate, the protagonist decides to spend some time abroad in order to do away with that deficiency on his part: "I consequentially, and determined to pass *a winter in Paris*, which, I doubted not, would *metamorphose* me into a finished being, the flower of refinement, and the most brilliant emblem of lustre and polish that ever pressed the finger of fashion"[416]. His use of the word "*metamorphose*" serves two functions in this context. On the one hand, his reference to Ovid's work is used to again stress the fact that he knows the classics well as a result of his formal education. On the other hand, it reveals the grave misconceptions he has concerning his stay in Paris. Indeed, spending a mere winter in Paris is certainly not enough to fully immerse himself in Parisian society. Rather, he seems to point out that the little time he will spend there is going to miraculously transform him into a true *Savoir Vivre* or member of the *bon ton*. To his readers it should be clear, however, that the only thing he could possibly acquire in such a short span of time are fashionable mannerisms and styles rather than a deeper understanding of Parisian culture. As he explicitly mentions his interest in "fashion" and being fashionable, this seems to draw the limits of his horizon. It is exactly this that shows his naïve understanding of education. Dropping a superficial, almost pseudo-intellectual reference to a classical work does not change the fact that journey he is about to embark on is based on a fundamental flaw in his aims.

Indeed, his goals are rather shallow to begin with, as the only reason he even ventures to the continent is in order to impress the belles back home. He perceives their preferences to be equally shallow and thus sees the Tour as a means to an end: picking up scraps of language. He explicitly points out that it is predominantly those linguistic chunks that are of importance to him: "a

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[415] *TEP* 1, p. 3
[416] Ibid, p. 6

quotation (soit dit en passant), gentle reader, whether right or wrong, hit or miss, *a-propos* or *mal-a-propos*, is a great thing. It astounds the unlearned, shews the learned that you have read as well as themselves, and was a principal motive for my having undertaken my journey to France"[417]. Copying without there being any need for understanding is exactly what the protagonist wants to be able to do.

Apart from making an example of the protagonist's naivety and superficiality, this also hints at a certain understanding of Parisian culture as such. Fashion is a term very much associated with the French, and being fashionable only too often means to copy the French way of life. This brings back the notion of Gallomania, as a mutated form of Francophilia. However, his goal to pick up impressive phrases is even shallower than that, as he does not seem to be interested in adopting the supposedly superficial French lifestyle but only wants to be able to appear like that in front of others.

As far as Gallomania is concerned, his adoption of exactly those interests in trivial and vulgar matters is a case in point. Just as much as the "belles" represent the Gallomanic portion of British women, he has to follow suit in order to be of interest to him. His Gallomania is not intrinsically motivated, as it seems to be the case with those women, who are obsessed with fashion. For him it is only a necessary evil that he has to come to terms with if he wants to be successful in his pursuits. Yet, of course, it is not that simple. The fact that he tries to pursue the trivial pleasures of carnal company is in and of itself a notion that has been attributed to the French way of life throughout the discourse. He does not indicate that his interests exceed the pursuit of pleasure. As Paris was widely constructed as the city of pleasure, it serves a double purpose in this respect. He may embark on his pleasure pursuits there, as Paris offers many opportunities of entertainment. For that reason alone, a trip to Paris will be a valuable venture to him. On the other hand, however, he will there pick up everything he needs in order to enjoy the very same Parisian pleasures in his own home country thus becoming an importer of the French way of life which will feed the ladies' Gallomanic desires.

[417] Ibid, p. 9

One key issue that needs to be taken into account in this discussion is of course what ideas of Englishness are communicated. To the young protagonist, it is not that he wants to pick up some foreign qualities in addition to his Englishness. He makes it extremely clear that he is looking for a complete metamorphosis at the expense of his national identity: "[...] I resolved to put off *John Bullism*, and to become a perfect cosmopolite"[418]. John Bull is not just a rough diamond, but the exact opposite of what a cosmopolite should be[419]. He laments: "John Bull! John Bull! [...] thou art a brute"[420]. Englishness, in this context, is constructed as a vulgar form of national identity inferior to what he considers to be cosmopolitanism. The protagonist provides the reader with a rather ungenerous description of Englishmen:

> Poor John Bull, on the contrary, will tell you a merry story with an unmoved countenance; or burst into convulsions at his own wit, before any other person perceives it: he will condole piteously with a placid brow; and will make love with his hands in his pockets, or with a sneer, or a look of superlative impudence.[421]

A typical Englishman is constructed as completely devoid of manners and a socially awkward individual. What can be considered English habits of understatement are held in low esteem by the protagonist. Indeed, his depiction of John Bull hints at a certain idea of self-loathing that typical Englishmen are supposed to display. One can hardly miss the irony in his lamentation as that type of self-loathing he dislikes about Englishmen is a quality he invariably reveals as he loathes that very tendency in himself. Indeed, in the company of Frenchmen he permanently falls into a sort of inferiority complex. Comparing his own posture to that assumed by people across the channel, he observes his own awkwardness: "Antigallican shoulders, [...] natural *bent*, which was stooping, and looking down as if I had lost my knee-buckle"[422].

By definition, becoming a cosmopolite implies having travelled many places and having spent a considerable amount of time there, as travellers in the

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[418] Ibid, p. 10

[419] The national icon John Bull was first invented as part of a satirical treatment of the War of Spanish Succession by John Arbuthnot in 1712 and became a popular personification of the English nation throughout the 18th century. The discourse of John Bull will be treated thoroughly in the next chapter.

[420] *TEP* 1, p. 14

[421] Ibid, p. 16

[422] Ibid, pp. 18-19

Grand Tour tradition usually did. Yet his only destination is Paris, and not Rome or any other point of interest in the Grand Tour. On the one hand this is what one would expect of his shallowness. Yet on the other hand, it picks up the notion of Paris as the 'European capital of culture', a reputation it had enjoyed for quite a while. Visiting Paris would therefore be enough to qualify as a Grand Tour in this line of thinking. Of course, politically this also comments on developments under Napoleonic rule, as Paris was indeed the capital of Europe during that time. This is also true for European culture, as Napoleon infamously brought to Paris many cultural artefacts from across Europe (and beyond), such as the famous Venetian Horses, for instance. The protagonist also expresses pro-Napoleonic sentiments: "I could not help thinking that Buonaparte, who led to conquest so often this numerous, mighty, and civilized nation, must have been a great man"[423]. At first glance, this utterance seems innocent, feasible and open-minded, yet in Post-Napoleonic England, where fear of revolution and public unrest was in full swing, this statement would have been considered most unpatriotic, if not on the verge of treason. It does not appear, however, that the protagonist is a political radical. Rather, the opposite is true. His line of thinking retains a rather conservative aristocratic Francophile notion of the French as a, if not as the most "civilized nation". He refers to Bonaparte as a ruler and military leader primarily, and not as a political and social reformer. The ideas of the Revolution are completely excluded from his way of thinking, as are its effects. In effect, he sees Bonaparte as a great general who led to war a France identical to that of the *ancien regime*, rather than a country that has turned itself almost completely in all respects.

All of this becomes very clear through the way in which he elaborates his notions towards France: "The picture of France I had received from my father, made expectation run very high"[424]. His major source of information is an eighteenth-century Francophile, who obviously held the French in very high esteem. It is not that he is unaware of the damage the Revolution and Napoleon are supposed to have dealt to the country, yet a sense of nostalgia holds a firm grasp upon him:

[423] Ibid, p. 23
[424] Ibid, p. 22

> I now began to recollect what a polished nation France had formerly been, the lively pictures my departed father used to draw of that once happy country, their vivacity, their *politesse*, and their love for strangers. I compared at the same time the urbanity of the emigrant nobility, who were occasionally guests at my father's table, with our raw *lordlings*, and *things* of fashion.[425]

The protagonist does not have any experience of the old France himself, as he has to rely on his father's recollections instead. He did have the pleasure of meeting some emigrant Frenchmen, however, and found them much more fashionable than their domestic counterparts. It is not entirely clear what he means by "*things* of fashion", yet it would not come as a complete surprise if by this he is referring to his female compatriots, whom he tends to objectify on a regular basis.

Elements of nostalgia and sentimentalism clearly show in his expectations of France, which very much overshadow the actual changes brought about by the French Revolution. In his recollection, which is effectively an *ubi sunt* lamentation, he does indeed show some awareness of the fact that the old France was different from the new. Yet it is exactly his sentimentalism which makes him forget that France must have become changed and embark on his journey with the expectations raised by his father's descriptions. In addition to that, it seems that his extreme bias against his own compatriots plays an equally important role for his relative appreciation of the French, who struck him as vastly superior in comparison.

Since the protagonist's aims are amorous, it should not strike the reader as entirely unforeseen that one his very first encounters on his journey is with a French belle. Indeed, she immediately attracts his attention on the ship from Dover to Calais. In the ways in which he describes her, the text shows some of its indebtedness to Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. Sterne's protagonist meets a French woman in Calais, observing: "[her face] was not critically handsome, but there was that in it, which in the frame of mind I was in, which attached me much more to it – it was interesting"[426]. Similarly, the protagonist of *TEP* points out that the woman he met on the ship "was by no means handsome"[427]. However, he goes into much greater detail to explain what her lack of beauty consists of:

[425] Ibid, p. 15
[426] Sterne 1768, p. 48
[427] *TEP* 1, p. 26

"her skin was of a dun hue, course, and without polish; her forehead was broad, low, and of a mean formation; her nose was short, and turned up at the end; her stature under the ordinary size, and with nothing remarkable about it"[428]. In spite of these aesthetic deficiencies on her part, she has some features that seem to convince the protagonist of her beauty: "her teeth were like ivory. She displayed a profusion of well-arranged hair, and had a neatness about her ankles which finished the *ensemble* of her prepossessing appearance, and announced a witty and fascinating woman"[429]. While the French woman in Sterne's story was is only "not critically handsome", her counterpart in *TEP* seems to be of a rather unbecoming appearance. Throughout the discourse there is the stereotype that was it not for all the tricks fashion has at its disposal, French women would appear completely ugly.

Indeed, the protagonist is blinded by her fashionable appearance rather than by her actual beauty. The novel goes to great lengths in trying to outline the magnitude of his weaknesses, leaving the reader to expect that his journey can only end in catastrophe. This is similar to Sterne's protagonist, who points out the deficiencies of his own persona: "I write not to apologize for the weaknesses of my heart in this tour,–but to give an account of them"[430]. The sentimental traveller is well aware of the fact that he could do better, yet he does not try to hide his character flaws but makes them an essential part of his journey. In *TEP*, the protagonist would not have much of a story to tell if it was not for his inexperience, naivety and Gallomania, which lead to the misadventures that he is bound to encounter in France.

As the story goes, the lady he meets on his journey from Dover to Calais does not waste any time but right away tries to turn the protagonist's head. As we have already seen in *Six Weeks in Paris*, there is the stereotype that French women are experts in tricking and cheating young Englishmen in order to take their money. While this seems to be a practical, even though immoral, application of their charms, it is not for that reason alone that they apply so much effort. Indeed, the novel tries to mix this with a special hatred that these French women seem to hold towards Englishman. Every time he meets her after she has

[428] Ibid
[429] Ibid, pp. 26-27
[430] Sterne 1768, p. 44

in some way taken advantage of his inexperience, "[...] she saw the mischief she had worked, and triumphed in her success", which the protagonist deems to be "a true part of the French character"[431]. In order to continue her exploitation of the English nobleman, that French belle keeps the traveller at arm's length while continuously raising his appetite.

All of this is only possible because of the Gallomanic trends that supposedly poison the youth of England. In this, those Englishmen who adopt those notions are said to be just as bad as the French. This is especially true for those Englishmen who actually move to France. The narrator of the novel categorises English emigrants into three distinct classes: "Our emigrant countrymen may be divided into three classes; the extravagant and temporary residents in, or rather travellers *through* France, and other countries, the *set* at Paris, and coasters or border English"[432]. Permanent emigrants are said to only reside in Paris or in the coastal regions. He himself being of the first class invariably criticises himself when he gives a description of those travellers: "what can be said, except that they spend their money like fools, give a bad impression of the country, and return worse than they set out"[433]. There is no outcome other than financial ruin for those travellers of the first class and it is their own fault that this is bound to happen: "Wandering and embarrassed nobles, moping about on the continent, give no very elevated idea of the soil to which they belong"[434].

The whole tradition of the Grand Tour itself is at stake, as it has been thrown into a context with various conflicting circumstances, which becomes even more complicated in a Post-Napoleonic context, in which the continent has been ransacked by wars, on the one hand, and especially France has lost a great deal: numerous lives, especially the whole of their former elite; economic power, as most of their funds have been invested in military efforts; and the reputation of being a great country. In addition to that, cheaper and easier ways to travel in combination with the relatively strong economic power of England brought about the phenomenon of mass tourism to an extent that it did not exist before. All of these developments undermine much of what the Grand Tour was all

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[431] *TEP* 1, p. 34
[432] Ibid, p. 60
[433] Ibid
[434] Ibid, pp. 171-172

about, and if the tradition of the Tour is to be resumed, it has to adapt to a time in which much of what once was has changed.

Of his countrymen living in Paris, the protagonist has an even less favourable opinion:

> The Paris set consists of inveterately incurable rakes, gamblers, and swindlers; they assume an unbecoming importance, put on French *habits*, which do not *sit easy on them*, and demoralize and denationalize every countryman who comes in their way; nay such *their* lenity, that they even impart it to Johnny Raw, by lightening his pocket of his last one pound note. Some of these bucks pretend to travel for change of *air*, and, as the French very properly say, ils viennent pour prendre *les airs*, (not l'air) de Paris and often *change* their last guinea to effect a *very necessary* change of place.[435]

Englishmen who have emigrated to Paris become even worse than native Parisians themselves. In assuming "French *habits*, which do not sit easy on them," they go overboard and exploit their own travelling countrymen in the same way that the worst Frenchman would ever dare to. Their Gallomania makes them adopt all that is bad about the French national character. This goes hand in hand with the 'milder' forms of Gallomania, such as the obsession with French styles. For instance, in trying to copy French fashions, English women were said to take the defects of French styles to their extremes, as I tried to show in [chapter].

Those of his emigrant countrymen who settle in the coastal regions are described in the mildest tones by far: "The coasters, or borderers, are of an humbler tribe, run away wives, discarded mistresses, bankrupts, poor gentlemen, and those whose untailored estates are *out at elbows*"[436]. It seems that their Gallomania is not as bad as that of the travellers and of those Englishmen living in Paris. This "humbler tribe" simply does not have the financial means to fully immerse themselves into that supposedly French way of life that one would encounter in Paris. Neither do these people, who seem to have had bad luck in their own country of birth, appear to be of the same 'rake-type' that characterises the other two categories. They are merely forced to live in that limbo-state on the coast of France, without being carried over into the city of Dis that is Paris.

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[435] Ibid, p. 61
[436] Ibid, pp. 61-62

In categorising English emigrants to France into those three classes, the narrator of *The Englishman in Paris* seems to borrow directly from Sterne. Sterne's main protagonist Yorick exhaustively distinguishes between several classes of travellers: "Thus the whole circle of travellers may be reduced to the following Heads. Idle Travellers, Inquisitive Travellers, Lying Travellers, Proud Travellers, Vain Travellers, Splenetic Travellers"[437]. To this list he adds "the Travellers of Necessity, The delinquent and felonious Traveller, The unfortunate and innocent Traveller, The simple Traveller", all of which he deems to be travelling for the wrong reasons and with wrong expectations[438]. He himself seems himself to be part of yet another class of travellers, the so called "Sentimental Traveller"[439]. The protagonist of *The Englishman in Paris* shows traces of the sentimental traveller yet does not very much distinguish between himself and the other travellers he criticises. He is the sentimental traveller undone, who is an admirer of a past which no longer exists. The poison of Gallomania in combination with the complete downfall of French civilisation after the Revolution renders every journey to France a complete waste of time and resources.

Another important point that should be made about *TEP* in comparison to *SWP* is that its protagonist cannot be placed on the social spectrum with precision. In *SWP*, the protagonist was firmly positioned as an English peer. *TEP*, however, is conspicuously silent about its protagonist's class. For all the novel says, he could as well be a rich middle-class youngster as he could be an upper-class youth. This is not an unimportant point, since *SWP* insists that Gallomania is an upper-class problem, while other texts in the discourse warned that it has also affected other classes of English society. If one goes with the possibility that the protagonist of *TEP* is a member of the middle class, his coming of age story is not the continuation of an upper-class cliché, but an exercise in upward mobility, as he tries to become a member of the *bon ton*. This is somewhat entangled with the narrative situations of both novels. *SWP* is laid out explicitly as a mediated third-person account that was configured a while after the events on the mimetic level of the text occurred. This puts an additional

[437] Sterne, p. 27
[438] Ibid
[439] Ibid, p. 28

diegetic filter between the protagonist and the reader. In *TEP*, however, the narrator and the protagonist of the story are identified with one another, which gives the reader a sense of narrative immediacy, even though the story is told in the past sense as well. Through this the narrator is only able to present himself as epistemologically superior to his former self as the protagonist. If the protagonist of *TEP* is supposed to be a middle-class youngster, this makes perfect sense, as the readers, who would be predominantly middle-class, could thus more easily identify with the protagonist, unlike in *SWP*, where the social difference makes that much harder to begin with.

As far as that notion is concerned, it puts both the protagonist and the readers of *TEP* in the company of those "incurable rakes" of the middle classes, which he deems the English emigrants to Paris to be. There is another important connection to the rakes he refers to, and the cultural tradition of the rake will play a significant part in my further analyses. In the next chapter I will try to explore that 'rake character' who features so prominently in Post-Napoleonic travel literature to Paris in greater detail. There is a tradition in the connection between the rake and the traveller to Paris that can be traced back even before the French Revolution into the Paris of the *Ancien Régime*. While the protagonists of *The Englishman in Paris* and *Six Weeks in Paris* are not rakes in the extreme sense, yet their misadventures in France in their pursuit of pleasure dangerously put them on the verge of becoming rakes. I will, therefore, concern myself with the plots of both novels in greater detail and compare them with earlier renditions of what seems to be the very same story in the context of Old France.

3.3. English Travellers Abroad: A Rake's Progress in Paris

As both *Six Weeks in Paris* and *The Englishman in Paris* are two novels that stage transnational encounters between English and French characters in the French capital, I want to establish more specifically the narrative context in which those novels are positioned within the discourse. I have already dealt with the discursive position of travel literature during the times of the Napoleonic Wars in the first and second parts of my thesis. I now will turn my analysis to the narrative tradition in which these two novels present themselves.

It is my contention that these novels do not only pick up on the tradition of the Grand Tour as a traditional journey to the continent, but also that they pick up on the Rake as an already well-known character type. Yet the two traditions are not separate threads the two novels pick up. Rather, they both rely on an eighteenth-century progenitor that already laid out the very foundation for its Post-Napoleonic successors. *The Englishman's Fortnight in Paris*, written by Jean Jacques Rutledge in 1777, is a pre-Revolutionary novel that narrates the Grand Tour of a young English Lord, who journeys to Paris.[440] As the title suggests, his trip is very short when compared with the rather long tours undertaken by noblemen of the time.

The novel's protagonist characterises himself in retrospective: "My frivolity exceeded a hundred times the levity of the most finished French

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[440] Rutledge, Jean Jacques. *The Englishman's Fortnight in Paris, Or the Art of Ruining Himself in a Few Days. By an Observer*. London, 1777 [Abbreviation: *Fortnight*] Interestingly, the novel claims to be written by a Frenchman (even though his name "Rutledge" sounds somewhat English turned into fake French), the original version of which was supposedly suppressed in France and thus had to be published in England due to it not having censorship laws. This is not at all outlandish, since Voltaire did the same with his *Philosophical Letters*. It seems, Rutledge was also known as James Rutlidge, being of French and Irish descent, which does explain the name being somewhat strange for a Frenchman (See Las Vergnas, Raymond. *Le chevalier Rutlidge: "gentilhomme anglais", 1742-1794*. Paris, 1932). The implicit claim of him being a Frenchman can be seen as an authenticity device to lend more credence to the account being based on a true story.
There is a French version of the novel, which was published in London in the same year that the translation appeared, possibly simultaneously: *La Quinzaine Angloise à Paris, ou l'lart de s'y ruiner un peu de tems*. London, 1777.
There also is a later American translation of the text, which claims to be the only translation attempted: *Lord D***s First and Second Excursion to Paris, Being a Fortnight's Ramble*. Francis Levesque (trans.). New York, 1814

coxcomb, and I fancied myself a man initiated in all the most refined mysteries of the *Savoir Vivre*, and even ready to lead the fashion in it"[441]. The idea of the French *Savoir Vivre* is something that I have already dealt with in both *Six Weeks in Paris* and *The Englishman in Paris*. Indeed, Fanfaron in *SWP*, for instance, is a prime example of that notion in the Post-Napoleonic context. As he is called a "man of the world", insinuating a cosmopolitanism that is nonetheless represented through the concept of a French cultural *Leitkultur*.

What this kind of cosmopolitanism leads to for English travellers in a Post-Napoleonic context is exemplified in both *SWP* and *TEP*. Both novels describe young travellers' misadventures in Post-Napoleonic Paris, as they are cheated and robbed by Parisians of various professions, predominantly tradesmen and prostitutes. However typical these stories are for English travel accounts of Post-Napoleonic Paris, they are by no means a novelty peculiar to that time. Economic malaise among Parisian plebs is as old an idea as there could be in the English discourse. Especially in the eighteenth century, the discourse is filled with images of that kind, as was most strikingly shown in Hogarth's prints.

Similarly, the plot that seems to be peculiar to texts like *SWP* and *TEP* is by no means a novelty created in the Post-Napoleonic age, but rather a recycling of an old story for a new context. Both texts have a direct ancestor in *Fortnight*, which seems to be the model on which the other novels are based. Just like its Post-Napoleonic counterparts, *Fortnight* presents itself as being written "for the benefit of young travellers"[442]. In *Six Weeks in Paris*, the protagonist is similarly presented as a beacon for young Englishmen. Even though the discourse is swarmed with guide books for traveling to Paris, the novel wants to provide vital information that cannot be found in those guides. The protagonist of *Fortnight* prepares himself for his visit by "indolently perusing the *Stranger's Guide, or, The Almanack of Paris*"[443]. Robin Eagles remarks that "the travelling Englishman [who] was neither a member of the *bon ton*, nor a noted wit, […] required guidance for his journey every step of the way"[444]. Even though the protagonist of *Fortnight* is indeed an English Peer, he is nevertheless not a

[441] *Fortnight*, p. 62
[442] Ibid, p. 31
[443] Ibid, pp. 9-10
[444] Eagles, Robin. *Francophilia in English Society, 1748-1815*. New York: Palgrave, 2000, p. 128

member of the *ton* in the sense of being educated in *haute couture*. His tour, as any Grand Tour, aims to correct that state of being among the fashionable circles of Paris.

There had been a flood of travel guides and Grand Tour travelogues for both the benefit of real tourist and armchair travellers alike in eighteenth-century discourse. This tradition was only interrupted by the French Revolution and the succeeding Napoleonic Wars that prevented Englishmen from effectively traveling those parts of the continent that fell under Napoleonic rule. Due to that lack of publication in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Post-Napoleonic travellers had to consult traditional eighteenth-century travel guides for their journeys to France, which were insufficient to provide proper guidance due to them being out-dated. This is especially true for the fictional travels of young English tourists, who would have to be built on earlier eighteenth century counterparts.

It is thus not very surprising that the young Lord of *Fortnight* would consult a guide book to direct him to various points of interest, which nevertheless cannot protect him from the misadventures that will follow, as it cannot prepare him for the individual kinds of characters that he will encounter. Neither can it lay bare to himself his own false presuppositions or his vanity. It is only through a narrative account, told from the perspective of an individual traveller, that one might find anecdotal evidence of how one's own journey might unfold in detail. This is the case because a narrative account, in virtue of its genre, focuses on characters' interactions.

In the story, Boulliac, a member of learned French elite circles, praises the French artist Jean-Baptiste Greuze: "Thus he is become the first dramatic painter; that is to say the first who has painted real life, and given a representation of virtue and vice from what is practised daily before our eyes"[445], a venture on which the novel itself also tries to embark. Interestingly, there is a footnote to that description, complaining: "Is it possible that the author never heard of the immortal Hogarth?"[446]. While I should not argue that Rutledge did in fact know the English painter, however unlikely it seems that he did not, it is undeniable that Rutledge made use of the thoroughly well-known 'rake type' that is also

[445] *Fortnight*, p. 133
[446] Ibid

central to one of Hogarth's most prominent visual works: *A Rake's Progress*, which I will consider as a frame of reference in the following.

Undeniably, the rake type is all too well-known in English discourse. With its heyday in the late seventeenth century, more and more aristocrats became notorious for their debaucheries and excessive lifestyles. Especially during the Stuart reign, this kind of lifestyle would become a political statement of royalist support in opposition to Puritan notions of no-nonsense Protestantism. Traditions and character types never entirely disappear but are merged into new contexts of new ages, which can also be identified with the rake type, who would remain a very familiar type of character in the eighteenth century.

An eighteenth-century English audience would have been all too familiar with Hogarth's series of paintings, of which *Fortnight* could almost be seen as a close ekphrasis. Hogarth's version of that familiar character picks up discursive trends that his 'readers' would know from their own day and age. Especially interesting at this point is the relationship between Francophilia and that rake type, which makes the transition from my reading of *Fortnight* and of Hogarth's series of paintings much easier to grasp.

My contention is that upon reading *Fortnight* a great part of English readers would invariably feel reminded of Hogarth's Rake and draw comparisons accordingly. This again does require Rutledge's actual use of Hogarth's 'proto-graphic-novel' as his model, but it is certainly a context that would have shaped the reading experience in eighteenth-century England.[447] Therefore, I will first outline the close correspondence between those two works and the ways in which the rake type is used in the context of an aristocratic English tourist to Paris. On the basis of that, I will have a look at how Post-Napoleonic writers revaluate the old story to fit their own agenda.

In Hogarth's first plate, the character of John Rakewell is introduced very shortly after his father has deceased:

[447] Apart from the mass publication of the engravings of Hogarth's original sequence, a variety of plagiarised versions and spin-offs suggest that it occupied a prominent place in the discourse. Before the Copyright Act of 1735 came into place, it had been much easier to publish plagiarisms. See, for instance, the piracy version "The progress of a rake, exemplified in the Adventures of Ramble Gripe Esq son of Sir Positive Gripe". London, 1735; or Gillray's spin off "The Rake's-Progress at the University". London, 1806.

Figure 14 "A Rake's Progress, Plate 1" [448]

Tom Rakewell is presented as a young lower-middle-class son of a relatively rich father. His father appears to be a self-made man rather than being born rich, as indicated by the relatively modest style of the place, which still features the old kinds of smaller windows consisting of small building blocks of glass, rather than the new styles which are produced with advanced technology that allows for single pieces of glass to be inserted. Further, there is money hidden everywhere in the place, as coins begin falling out of the ceiling as it is being worked on. His son, however, is not the same frugal type, who will be content with a modest lifestyle. Upon his father's death, which has only just occurred, Rakewell immediately begins spending his inheritance, as his measurements are taken for a new suit. This change of lifestyle also has an effect on his relationships, as he separates from his fiancé and offers her payment as reparation. In all of this, Rakewell differs from the protagonist of *Fortnight*, who is an English peer rather

[448] Hogarth, William. "A Rake's Progress, Plate 1". London, 1735

than a social upstart. However, what they have in common is that they are both not part of the *bon ton*, the fashionable elite, and that both of them, indeed, have inherited their money rather than made it by themselves. And it is their obsessive interest in becoming fashionable that will bring great misfortune upon both of them.

Thus, as his visit to Paris begins, the protagonist of *Fortnight* almost instantaneously finds himself "pestered by a multitude of retailers of both sexes, mountebanks, taylors, masters of languages, and dancing-masters"[449]. Hogarth's second painting of the sequence has the protagonist be surrounded by people of very similar professions right after he has acquired his fortune:

Figure 15 "A Rake's Progress, Plate 2" [450]

John Rakewell invests part of his fortune in teachers of various arts with which a gentleman should be acquainted, such as dancing, fencing and music. Further, the importance of French style in dress and hair is very much a dominant factor

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[449] *Fortnight*, p. 5

[450] Hogarth, William. "A Rake's Progress, Plate 2". London, 1735.

in Hogarth's painting, as Rakewell, just like some of his tutors, wears French styles and his hair is prepared for a wig, which is an area of French dominance.[451] The protagonist of *Fortnight* also recollects: "Mr. Toupee was giving my head the turn *a la Francoise*, and exhausting the profound art of hair-dressing"[452]. Unsurprisingly, one of the first expenses he has is with a French *coiffeur*. Recalling the many depictions of French wig-makers or coiffeurs, this is a cliché that an eighteenth-century reader would expect.

In spite of their similarities, perhaps the greatest difference between Tom Rakewell and the English Lord of *Fortnight* is that Rakewell seems to be responsible for his immense expenses himself, as he orders the splendid train of tutors, masters and stylists into his own house, not shying away from any costs. In *Fortnight*, however, the protagonist is rather acted upon by his newly acquired tutor, called the Doctor. It is him who lays out the scheme for the Lord's ruinous stay, planning his every day of misfortunes in elaborate detail: "The Abbé F… shall give you your first lesson in the French language, and an hour after, the Sieur G… shall teach you the elements of that art, which in this country so agreeably embellishes nature"[453]. It is because of him, and all the magnificent spectacles Paris has to offer, that the Lord is entranced and rather careless about his purse. He relates: "The vanity with which my title inspired me; the contents of my pocket-book, my train, the submissive manners of the Doctor; even my fine cloaths, and the elegant structure which the Sieur Toupee had erected upon my head, completely turned my brain"[454]. Vanity, of course, would also be Rakewell's prime motivation for investing in his cultural refinement. Yet as with Rakewell, education in the fine arts plays only a minor part in the Lord's eventual financial ruin.

Here, an analogy between *Fortnight* and *SWP* reveals itself most strikingly. The character-type of the 'Doctor' is a suspiciously central entity in both texts. Both protagonists to a great degree rely on the Doctor as a tutor within

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[451] See my chapter on "Frog's and Apes".
[452] *Fortnight*, p. 10
Many readers would be familiar with the elaborate styles of French hair-dressing through depictions in visual art. Hogarth's "Five Orders of Periwigs" satirically portrays French wigs in the same way that one would try to present different types of classical art, such as sculpture and architecture.
[453] Ibid, p. 32
[454] Ibid, p. 46

the city of Paris, as he provides moral guidance throughout the tour. However, *SWP* changes the side of the cultural and moral spectrum that the Doctor is positioned on. In *Fortnight*, the French Doctor is part of the structures that are constructed to financially exploit and ruin travelling Englishmen, on the one hand. In *SWP*, on the other hand, the Doctor is the protagonist's English tutor, who shields him from exactly those perils on his journey. This redaction in character constellation has a specific function. Firstly, in the eighteenth century tradition, doctors did not hold a particularly trustworthy place in society, as they relied on pre-scientific medical treatments that often had little or no effect.[455] Placing the Doctor on the morally superior side in *SWP* may comment on a change in perception, but it may as well still carry that baggage, as even here the Doctor is unable to prevent the ruin of the protagonist. Secondly, in *SWP* the Doctor is presented as a learned character of a pragmatic profession, while his counterpart Fanfaron as a former catholic priest is presented as a character of a profession that would represent the exercise of power rather than that of providing aid.

As we move to the third portrait of Hogarth's series, one can identify ideas that become a central factor to the entire story *Fortnight* narrates:

[455] In Hogarth's work too, doctors only come into picture not as a possible sign of improvement but of impending death, as they are generally not seen as true physicians but charlatans. See George 1967, pp. 36-38; Heyl 2004, p. 461

Figure 16 "A Rake's Progress, Plate 3" [456]

In this image, Tom Rakewell is found in the midst of an orgy with a whole band of prostitutes. While he is engaging in bacchanal rituals to a point of spiritual ecstasy, the prostitutes alleviate him from the burden of his alms-bag. *Fortnight* does not explicitly mention prostitutes, but rather has the protagonist engage with ladies of the opera, who admittedly are but thinly veiled prostitutes in the story. The novel presents elaborate schemes which Parisian prostitutes use to cheat unsuspecting travellers. One such scene involves a lady of the opera who has captured the Lord's affections. Upon visiting her on the third day of his stay in Paris, the Lord witnesses an example of French theatre, in which the woman is engaged in an argument with what seems to be her creditor, a so-called Mr Rag. After a few rounds of debate the creditor insists: "I can no longer go without the money"[457], an amount ruinous to the belle, but "only a trifle"[458] to the Lord, who

[456] Hogarth, William. "A Rake's Progress, Plate 3". London, 1735
[457] Fortnight, p. 56
[458] Ibid, p. 57

pays the debt "at the expence [sic] of the greatest part of the money [he] had in [his] pocket"[459]. Upon revisiting her the other day, however, he "perceived some unknown person upon a sopha in the arms of [his] mistress [….] He was no other person than the creditor for the small debt, the merciless Mr. Rag"[460]. Indeed, it seems that Paris is traversed by structures of corruption, carefully laid out to exploit the incredulity of young English travellers, with a loose purse at their disposal.

Of course, all occurrences involve rather small sums of money, such as the purchase of gifts for the object of his amorous affections. Yet on the one hand, "[he] did not conceive, at that time, that these accidents were common, and proved the ordinary catastrophe of all the intrigues which are entered into with the ladies of the Opera"[461]. On the other hand, whatever he received in return for his generosity, "[i]t was not consistent with the dignity of a Peer of England to pay attention to the prodigious difference in value between those toys", turning his losses into an act of chivalric honour[462]. In all this, he was "[s]welled with a ridiculous pride, or rather with a frantic vanity"[463]. His status as a native member of English high society is probably one of the key differences between the protagonist of *Fortnight* and Tom Rakewell, who rather joins the higher circles later in life, as he inherits his father's fortune. Yet the fact that high French fashions are not part of the habitus of the young Lord puts him in a similar position, as he also has to navigate his way through the cultural habitat of the *ton*.

These elaborate schemes of *Fortnight's* ladies of the opera by far exceed the mere pickpocketing that can be seen in Hogarth's third painting of *A Rake's Progress*. Nevertheless, both stories boil down to one and the same core: prostitutes steal the protagonist's loosely hanging purse. In addition to that, in both stories this is only part of the greater plot of the unfortunate protagonist's misadventures. It is the same story structure that is picked up by both *SWP* and *TEP*, where French women of seemingly diverse professions cheat on the young travellers. The protagonist of *TEP*, who does not have a trusted tutor, encounters

[459] Ibid, p. 58
[460] Ibid, p. 86
[461] ibid
[462] Ibid, p. 28
[463] Ibid, p. 60

an apparent damsel in distress right on his trip from Dover to Calais. The protagonist of *SWP* as well encounters

At this point, a change in the way in which the plot carried by sequence of Hogarth's series can be identified in the novel, as *Fortnight*, even though it retains most of the imagery found in *A Rake's Progress*, has the protagonist's misfortunes occur in a slightly different order. The next painting which there is to consider is the sixth of the series:

Figure 17 "A Rake's Progress, Plate 6" [464]

Here, Tom Rakewell spends whatever fortune he still possesses at the gaming table. Gambling is an almost daily venture for the protagonist of *Fortnight*. There are numerous occasions in the novel in which the protagonist is led to the gaming table. Without seeming to take any notice of his complete lack of success every time, admittedly also encouraged by the consumption of alcoholic beverages, the

[464] Hogarth, William. "A Rake's Progress, Plate 6". London, 1735

procedure is always identical. The Lord recollects: "Our brains heated by success, we plunged deeply into it, and luck immediately turned [....] We grew more eager as our losses encreased"[465]. Just like in the case of the opera lady and her supposed misfortunes, at the gaming table everything is part of a carefully laid out scheme as the Lord is lured into the game by initial signs of success. In other words, just as the opera lady lured the protagonist with signs of affection but taking a large sum of his money in return, the gaming tables yield initial success only to claim everything in the end. In this, there is an element of madness sneaking in, as the protagonist is inebriated and not at his full mental capacities. Tom Rakewell is likewise depicted as losing his wits, as indicated by his wig having dropped from his head, the typical visualisation of losing one's head, which corresponds to the Lords brain being "heated by success".

This idea of madness continues as the unfortunate protagonist is ultimately unable to pay his debtors, as he has spent all of the money he took with him on his journey. It does not take long for the king's bailiffs to seize him:

> The fatal hour had but just struck, when I was arrested in the king's name. Had thunder fallen at my feet, it could not have had a more terrible effect. At sight of those bailiffs who surrounded me, I roared like a lion; I foamed at the mouth, and the tears streamed in torrents down my cheeks. I was obliged to go, and was carried to the Fort l'Eveque.[466]

This scene marks the complete and utter downfall of the English peer, as his misadventures are turned into a tragedy. He is carried away like a common criminal and to make matters worse he also behaves like one as he screams and cries at the bailiffs who bring him to the *For-l'Évêque*, a well-known Parisian prison of the time.

In Hogarth's work, there are a few plates that contextualise that scene in *Fortnight*. The fourth engraving of the series shows a scene where Welch bailiffs attempt to arrest the indebted Rakewell, while travelling in his sedan-chair on St James's Street:

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[465] *Fortnight*, p. 68

[466] Ibid, p. 188

Figure 18 "A Rake's Progress, Plate 4" [467]

Just like the protagonist of *Fortnight*, Tom Rakewell is caught off-guard by the king's bailiffs, who want to throw him into a debtors' prison. Rakewell's facial expression and his posture depict him trying to talk his way out of the situation, which would not be successful. Instead, he is saved by his former fiancé, whom he left in the first plate of the series. Yet he is only saved for a moment, as in the next plate he is seen marrying an old rich woman to be able to pay his debts, only to lose all of it again in plate 6 shown above.

Finally, however, Rakewell also finds himself in Fleet Prison, a notorious debtors' prison in eighteenth-century London, being at a point where neither his wife nor his former fiancé can save him:

[467] Hogarth, William. "A Rake's Progress, Plate 4". London, 1735
A slightly different rendition of the engraving shows a lightning strike in the background, and a group of beggar children sitting at Rakewell's feet.

Figure 19 "A Rake's Progress, Plate 7" [468]

Tom Rakewell's downfall is now complete, as h has no means left to pay his debts. In a desperate attempt, he composes a play, hoping that he can sell it to buy his way out of prison, but as the letter on the table indicates, it has been rejected. Both desperation and madness mark the face of Rakewell, as he has to abandon all hopes of resuming his former lavish lifestyle.

In the end, Rakewell is found in a mental hospital, chained up and with a shaved head, to indicate that he has completely lost it.

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[468] Hogarth, William. "A Rake's Progress, Plate 7". London, 1735

Figure 20 "A Rake's Progress, Plate 8" [469]

There is no way out for Rakewell at this point, as he has now completely lost everything he ever had, including his mental health and liberty. He is thus left off with less than he had before he inherited his father's money, rendering his tragedy an especially unfortunate one. The protagonist of *Fortnight* is not as unfortunate in the end. As he waits in prison, he is ultimately saved by supportive friends from French high society, leaving him "[a]shamed of [his] conduct and the state of [his] health", suffering from a venereal disease caught from a prostitute[470]. Eventually, he decides to leave, swearing "never to set foot in Paris, until some more years over [his] head"[471].

The basic plot structures of *Fortnight*, *SWP* and *TEP* are almost identical. However, between Post-Napoleonic adaptations of the rake type and the pre-Revolutionary *Fortnight*, there is a substantial difference. The stark notions of Gallomania that are such a dominant feature of the later texts are not yet there in

[469] Hogarth, William. "A Rake's Progress, Plate 8". London, 1735
[470] *Fortnight*, p. 216
[471] Ibid

Fortnight. Even though the misadventures of travellers follow the very same procession with an almost ritualistic precision in all of those texts, *Fortnight* makes it very clear that should the traveller join the right circles in Paris, his time and money would be wisely spent. Boulliac advises the protagonist: "It would be better, my Lord, if you frequented different circles from those into which you are fallen. In such you will not learn to know either the country nor its manners"[472]. Francophilia is, therefore, rather encouraged in this novel. The only difference being that there is a contrast between the vulgar pursuits of the Rake Francophile and the more elevated strivings of a high-culture Francophile. The young Lord himself reflects on his susceptibility for the path of the Rake: "Men of abilities, and valuable women, were to me new objects; but I was not capable of judging of their real value"[473]. His inexperience together with the Doctor's seductive words of assurance led him astray. No matter how tempting the pleasures embarked on by the protagonist might seem to the reader, the commanding autodiegetic voice of the narrator is always eager to remind the reader that none of it has been worth it at all. In this the text does showcase Parisian pleasures but always keeps those impressions in check via the moralising reflections of the narrator, so that the reader, to put it in Milton's terms, "might see and know, and yet abstain"[474].

For the Post-Napoleonic Gallomanic Rake, these preferable circles are never mentioned. Indeed, his mistake is not to join the wrong circles of Paris but to having embarked on his tour at all. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, those circles had been eradicated in the Terror or in the years of war. Francophilia does no longer have the same role models that might have been there before the Revolution, as all that is left is constructed as being a nation of criminals. There are structural intricacies which are particular to the rake type that are quite suitable to be integrated into the context of a French national character. Indeed, much of the appeal of Hogarth's rendition rests on the fact that each of the individual scenes in the series grants the observer a peephole view into the innermost private sphere of the protagonist.[475] Part of the French national character that is established in the discourse is subject to continuous disruptions

[472] Ibid, pp. 94-95
[473] Ibid, p. 118
[474] Milton, John. *Areopagetica*. Rockville: ARC Manor, 2008, p. 24
[475] Cf. Heyl 2004, pp. 452-460

of the private sphere. To recall, the French are claimed to invert the significations of the private and public spheres insofar as they live according to the principle: "business at home; pleasure abroad"[476]. In doing so, the public space of Paris is turned into a display of a type of private sphere that is not shielded by opaque walls. To make matters worse, that public display exhibits scenes that are seen as morally corrupted in the context of the time.

Concluding one can say that both *SWP* and *TEP* take up parts of the discourse that have already been used in *Fortnight*. However, their adaptation of those structures to the context of their own time and to their own political agenda is an attempt to assume power over that discourse by substituting old layers of meaning with their own. The stories of both novels thus do appear to tell a new story that addresses issues peculiar to the Post-Napoleonic Age. And in this, they help to construct class-related issues that potentially have the power to undermine an English national identity itself.

[476] *SWP* 1, p. 34

3.4. The Other Within: *Six Weeks at Long's*

> THERE is a certain street in London, called Bond Street, which many good folks who have lived forty years in the Borough never yet saw, or cared to see, but which, nevertheless, must be either trodden or ridden once a-day at least by the gay folks of the west end.[477]

Six Weeks at Long's is a novel that is vastly different from the previous novels I have discussed. Unlike the other novels, it is set entirely in London and does not narrate any journeys to France in the time frame of its story. Yet at a second glance it will reveal some significant overlaps with the other novels I discussed. It is my contention that its setting is constructed as a quasi-Parisian space in the English capital and its main residents show different symptoms connected to the disease of Gallomania. Even though most of the time these tendencies remain implicit, I argue that upon showing the parallels they will reveal themselves to be strong discursive leads.

The setting of Bond Street between Piccadilly and Oxford Street in London has been a prominent shopping street until the present day. By the late eighteenth century, it had become a social space for upper and middle-class fashionable elites, such as the kind of characters portrayed in *SWL*. Yet, as the novel sets out, it is already hinted at that it was probably not well-known by most Londoners. Indeed, there are very few references being made to the place in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth-century discourse. One of the very few depictions of Bond Street is provided by James Gillray, who portrayed Bond Street in one of his satirical prints of 1796:

[477] *SWL* 1, p. 1

Figure 21 "High-change in Bond Street,-ou-la politesse du grande monde"[478]

Gillray's rendition of Bond Street shows a crowd of seemingly fashionable people who roam the pavement. The overexaggerated headwear of the women styles feathers of such length that their height is increased by about 50%, which is a lot taller than more realistic drawings of the time would grant, attempting to make the fashions of the time seem as ridiculous as they could possibly seem. What is even more striking about this image is the manners displayed by the characters on it. The men use up all the space on the pavement and the women are forced to walk on the street. The fact that Gillray would subtitle that print "la Politesse du Grande Monde" speaks volumes, since such vanity and rudeness is usually associated with the French in the discourse. In addition to that, cosmopolitanism was strongly associated with the idea of a French fashionable *Leitkultur* in mind. Bond Street in a way becomes a miniature version of Paris within the English capital. There might be a pavement on Bond Street, yet as it is so overcrowded, pedestrians also have to use the road.

SWL similarly stresses the overly crowded street, stating that there one "sees two strings of carriages, each reaching the whole length of the street, and

[478] Gillray, James. "High-change in Bond Street,-ou-la politesse du grande monde". London, 1796

moving parallel in opposite directions, but so slowly, that he would suppose it a funeral, only for the grave faces of the people inside"[479]. One may assume that the faces are grave due to the slowness of the traffic, yet the text goes on to say that this is due to "certain young gentlemen [who] may be seen parading the footpaths, and watching the transit of certain equipages, in order to receive certain signals therefrom. Perhaps a lady may happen to have two fingers outside the chariot window"[480]. While not showing any carriages, this description can be easily related to Gillray's illustration, as the somewhat sleazy looking fellows on the left seem overly eager to catch the attention of the lady in the middle. As the woman is walking next to what seems to be her child, the behaviour of those predatory males would seem even more disagreeable. However, it appears that this is the usual business of Bond Street, gathering from the way it is presented in the print and in *SWL*.

It is within that context that the main characters of the novel are introduced in their usual meeting place at Long's Hotel in Bond Street. Four characters in particular are in focus of the story: Lord Leander, Mr Bellair, the Marquis of Veneric and Pettitoe. Among other characters, some of them are thinly veiled avatars of prominent members of the social elite of the time. Summarising the novel, Nicholas Joukovsky writes:

> *Six Weeks at Long's* may be described as a sort of portrait gallery of London society. The scene is Long's Hotel in Bond Street, and the characters include thinly disguised portraits of Lord Byron as Lord Leander (in allusion to his feat of swimming the Hellespont), Thomas Moore as Mr. Little (from his pseudonym Thomas Little, Esq.), and Beau Brummell as Mr Bellair, to name but a few.[481]

Both Byron and Brummel were some of the best-known dandies in London society of the time, arguably belonging to the highest echelon of the fashionable elite. The other two characters I am focusing on do not seem to represent anyone specific, but rather distinct types of people. Before turning my attention to the ad hominem representations, I will discuss both the Marquis of Veneric and Petitoe in detail.

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[479] *SWL* 1, p. 2
[480] Ibid, p. 3
[481] Joukovsky 1980, p. 182

The Marquis of Veneric is a particularly interesting character for my analysis. As his name suggests, his main business lies in venereal pursuits. The narrator of the novel introduces him as an old and morally questionable character:

> The Marquis of Veneric had now attained his sixtieth year, and valued himself upon having ruined more women in his grey old age, than the common run of gallants could do in the blooming prime of life. Till very lately, he disdained to make any other amorous conquests than of married women. He thought that fruit best, which the birds had already been pecking at.[482]

As an ageing womaniser, he values himself predominantly through his amorous conquests, which are said to exceed almost everyone else's. While this promiscuity is bad enough in and of itself, to make matters worse, the targets of his libido have been exclusively married women. As has already been dealt with in part two of my thesis, marriage is an institution that holds an extremely elevated place in English society. His utter and complete disregard of that holy institution renders him a suspicious character to begin with.

Apart from his leisure activities, there is one thing in particular that makes him stand out from the rest of the quartet. As it appears, he is not an Englishman but a Frenchman living in England. Apart from his title 'Marquis' which is the French spelling of the title that in an English context more usually is spelled 'marquess'.[483] Another hint at his different nationality is given in a conversation narrated at the beginning of the novel. Thinking about Paris, the Marquis states: "I wonder how I ever came to leave it"[484]. It might just as well refer to a journey he undertook to the French capital, though the phrasing in the melancholic context in which he utters it seems to insinuate that he actually originates from that place. Further, when talking about English women he relates: "I have often been slighted, nay, repulsed, by *your* English wives—but the French ladies —bless me, they never think of such a thing [emphasis mine]"[485]. The fact that he would refer to English women as "your" rather than in a more neutral form sounds like he is not considering himself as English. As

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[482] *SWL* 1, p. 21

[483] Admittedly, both spellings existed in an English context. For instance, Wellesley is referred to sometimes as 'marquess' and at other times as 'marquis'. Yet the spelling 'marquis' is the only possible spelling in the French language, which at least makes it possible that the Marquis of Veneric is supposed to be French.

[484] *SWL* 1, 13

[485] Ibid, p. 15

a minor point, his name suggests a somewhat French dimension as Syphilis, being a venereal disease, was also known as the ‘French disease’. Taking into account these subtle hints, I will conclude that the Marquis of Veneric is most likely supposed to be a French character. While my argument would still hold, even if he were only a Gallomanic English nobleman, other dimensions are opened up by the assumption of his foreignness.

Indeed, him being a sixty-year-old French aristocrat of a rather high rank of the nobility, puts him right in the context of the *Ancien Régime*, who probably had to leave his station because of the French Revolution. This renders his contemplation about why he even left Paris extremely ludicrous, as so many of his peers who decided to do so lost their heads in the course of the Terror. It is hard to take him seriously in this context. One thing he passionately points out is that “Paris contains an epitome of every pleasure that the rest of the world enjoys in part and in detail”[486]. In the context of the novels I previously discussed, his statement might ring true to an English audience of the time. Yet however innocent his phrasing may seem in and of itself, the pleasures connected to Paris are typically portrayed as morally corrupt ones. Be it prostitution, gambling and foul business, Paris is often presented as containing the epitome of those. In this context, the amorous preferences of the Marquis make a lot more sense. As a Frenchman he has supposedly little or no regard for the sanctity of the institution of marriage. To him, all pleasure is business and all business is pleasure. Thus, he salutes French husbands, who “are not in the least addicted to bringing actions for damages—a frightful custom, which corrupts the morals of the rising generation, by making voluptuous scenes public”[487]. According to French stereotypes, morals are merely a matter of aesthetics, as everything in France relates to appearances in accordance with the Law of Fashion. As a Frenchman, the Marquis will not strike the reader as untypical but rather as the same old story again.

As the conversation shifts towards the news of a young woman from the countryside having arrived in Bond Street, the Marquis expresses his interest, as he has lately given up his old quest related to married women to look for different kinds of prey. Upon hearing that she may be intellectually challenged, the

[486] Ibid, p. 13
[487] Ibid, p. 15

Marquis exclaims: “I am almost sated with your women of sense; and for the mere novelty of the thing, would fain to make love to a fool”[488]. What is implied here is that typically the women of England are “women of sense”, while a fool constitutes a “novelty” to him.[489] His only interest in that woman seems to be that her mental disposition poses something new in his experience, which as a Frenchman obsessed with the new inevitably attracts his desires.

The Marquis may be an old man, and as he acts by the book of clichés, he is not at all surprising to the reader. However, Petitoe might very well be a better target of disgust and ridicule to Post-Napoleonic readers of the text. The novel introduces him as

> a harmless little fellow, though of an excellent family; at the same time, being a younger son, this was the less surprising. The small property that devolved to him on the death of his father was now almost expended in endeavours to keep pace with his more wealthy companions; and as he had, besides, some debts, which he was every week promising to discharge the week after, his conscience suggested to him the necessity of setting himself up by marriage.[490]

Unlike the Marquis of Veneric and Lord Leander, Petitoe is not a member of the upper class. Him being “of an excellent family” suggests that he is from a relatively successful middle-class family. Likewise, he is the least wealthy of the quartet, which has put him in debt as he tries to keep up with the exorbitant lifestyles of his fashionable friends. When reading through that little description of his biography, a lot of it sounds oddly familiar. In fact, it is the same story that I have already discussed in the previous chapter. Petitoe almost seems tailor made to fit into the story of Hogarth’s Tom Rakewell. His sudden inheritance of a lavish yet not inexhaustible fortune, his self-destructive tendency to spend all of it in fashionable circles, and his contemplation about marrying rich in order to be able to pay his debts, all of these story elements are cornerstones of the rake type. Petitoe is an inexperienced young man with no understanding of sustainable business yet feeling under immense social pressure to climb up the

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[488] Ibid, p. 18

[489] This may also comment on the bluestockings, a group of intellectuals founded by Elizabeth Montagu in the 18th century. By the time SWL was written, the bluestockings would most commonly be associated with intellectual women, today considered an early form of feminism. Cf. Sotiropoulos, Carol Strauss. *Early Feminists and the Education Debates: England, France, Germany 1760-1810*. Madison: Farleigh Dickinson, 2007

[490] Ibid, p. 23

ladder of society. And just like Tom Rakewell, he does so by buying his way into fashionable circles.

Since French fashions still constituted the ideal for social climbers of the time, Petitoe venerates everything French, including the Marquis of Veneric. As the Marquis contemplates the superiority of Paris over London, Petitoe is only too eager to jump in to his assistance: "*O Ciel!* […] 'tis absolutely a perfect Paradise"[491]. As he says this, he is described as "raising his hands, eyes, and shoulders (all natives of Great Britain), with the shrug which he had acquired while he was a fortnight in France"[492]. Petitoe is one of the young middle-class men who travelled to France in order to acquire fashionable French habits, without being one of the *ton*, however. His gestures and facial expressions, just like his Gallicisms, they all hint at a man trying badly to pass for a cosmopolitan. Nevertheless, as he only spent a very short time in France, whatever he picked up there could only be superficial mannerisms. Apart from that, continuing with something I already pointed out in the previous paragraph, there is an odd little allusion in this quotation that gives reasons to pause. The fact that Petitoe is supposed to have spent "a fortnight in France", while at the same time following closely the road to perdition which Tom Rakewell has set an example of, is a very intriguing one. While it may just as well be a coincidence, this might also be a hint that Petitoe is supposed to be a very close literary relative of if not himself the protagonist of *Fortnight*. Through this allusion, readers familiar with *Fortnight* can fill the gaps left in Petitoe's biography with their experience of reading the former novel. At any rate, Petitoe represents the Gallomanic youth that is threatened to be ruined by their costly endeavours and the moral decay of whom is threatening to undermine English society in turn. Unsurprisingly, both the Marquis and Petitoe set out on an elaborate scheme to fool the newcomer woman in question into an amorous affair, which, as it is probably needless to say, backfires badly.

In that social quartet, undoubtedly the most dominant member in the course of the story is Lord Leander. As a literary avatar of Lord Byron, the life of whom was an extremely prominent part of the popular discourse of the time, readers of the text are presented with an iconisation that constitutes a *punctum*

[491] Ibid, p. 13
[492] Ibid

archimedis. Through this readers can connect the fictional text and the idea of the nation with a seemingly well-known phenomenon of the empirical world. Indeed, Byron was the foremost Romantic bard and the first superstar artist in English history.[493] In addition to that, Byron was very well known for his cosmopolitan lifestyle and values, as he was not only a learned but also a well-travelled individual for his time. Just like Byron, Leander acquires a witty and seductive persona that makes him much more attractive than the other members of the group.

In reaction to a compliment paid to him by Bellair, Leander responds in a typically Byronic style: “You know, Bellair, I detest flattery, and so much so, that when etiquette obliges me to praise a man in a dedication, I always take an opportunity to abuse him in some subsequent production”[494]. His claim about detesting flattery might seem a rather modest and indeed English sentiment in and of itself, yet in the second part of his disclaimer, Lord Leander again deconstructs that presumed quality of his. Indeed, praising someone in one publication only to insult him in another is not a display of modesty but of vanity and hypocrisy, two vices that were constructed as being French flaws. If a ‘true Englishman’ would be obliged by etiquette to praise someone else, he would certainly do so with moderation. Lord Leander, however, is fond of hyperbole instead, and shifts from one extreme to another, from “flattery” to downright “abuse”. Extremism of that sort is very much constructed to be a French character trait and one that is incompatible with a supposedly English way of steering the middle course.

Barrett’s choice of Leander as a name for his rendition of the English bard deserves some further attention. Joukovsky draws the connection between the name Leander and Lord Byron due to Byron’s swimming of the Hellespont. Yet one could take the reference even further. The mythological character

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[493] When I say foremost, I am not referring to scholarly reconstructions of what supposedly constituted the intellectual advances of Romantic artists. Those would surely name Wordsworth as the spearhead of the Romantic movement in English literary history. In placing Byron above his peers I am referring to his presence in the culture of his day. Byron was the most widely read and the most well-known English poet in the early 19th century, as sales numbers of his books such as *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* exceeded those of productions such as the *Lyrical Ballads* by far. Apart from that, he was the ‘celebrity’ that frequented in the gazettes of his time, while few people would know much about the life of Wordsworth.

[494] Ibid, p. 10

Leander, who in the traditional story seduces Hero to succumb to him sexually, is paralleled by Byron, who was publicly known as a womaniser and seducer.[495] His numerous love affairs with women such as Caroline Lamb, Claire Clairmont, or his own half-sister Augusta Leigh, helped to draw the scandalous image of Byron as a Don Juanesque type of person. In addition to that, Byron's obsession with Greece, both as a country and as an intellectual heritage, makes it extremely suitable to veil his person behind a persona bearing a name drawn from Greek mythology, as readers of the time would know Byron as a persistent classicist and traveller to Greece.

As far as his function in the construction of an English national identity is concerned, Lord Leander becomes an archetypal Other in the novel. His cosmopolitanism has made him adopt character traits that are typically ascribed to the French: He is vain, volatile in mood, sentiment, and opinion. Byron, apart from being an active supporter of Greece both in writing and in life, was also an outspoken advocate for Napoleon Bonaparte throughout the time of the Napoleonic Wars. While this alone would be considered treacherous, Byron was also known for stylising himself as the English version of Napoleon, hoping to kindle the flames of revolution on British home soil. His maiden speech in the House of Lords and his subsequent poetic renditions of revolutionary musings concerning the luddites are cases in point.[496]

Just like his flesh and blood counterpart, Lord Leander frequently displays a certain degree of wit. Commenting on his own inconsistencies, he elaborates:

> I do not see why I, or any other person, should not change our opinions every hour of the day. Consistency of sentiment often produces inconsistency of conduct. Changes in opinion, graduating through a series of years, brought the British constitution to the perfection it possesses; and the result must be similar in an individual. This is my unalterable opinion.[497]

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[495] Displaying some wit in seduction, Hero succumbed to Leander's words, breaking her vow of chastity, after letting him "whisper in her ear, / Flatter, entreat, promise, protest, and swear", as Christopher Marlowe's rendition of the story would have it. (Marlowe, Christopher and Chapman, George. *Hero and Leander and Other Poems*. Frankfurt a. M.: Outlook, 2018, p. 21)

[496] Pointner, Frank Erik and Weißenfels, Dennis. "Die politische Philosophie Lord Byrons". *Politische Diskurse der englischen/britischen Romantik*. Jürgen Kamm (ed.). Forthcoming

[497] *SWL* 1, p. 11

In this formidable display of wit, he claims "inconsistency of conduct" to be the regular outcome of a "[c]onsistency of sentiment", thus vindicating his volatility in sentiment as the only way of ensuring a consistency of conduct in reverse. To provide an empirical example of that theory in practice, he compares his "changes in opinion" with the long process of debate that brought about the present state of the British constitution. Of course, the analogy would strike a reader as a false one, since it is not primarily the fact that people would change their opinions that helped to work out the British constitution, or any set of human laws for that matter, but a willingness to submit it to rational arguments and empirical evidence, two crucial details that are missing in his account. His wit loses its appeal as soon as one discovers these epistemological incongruities and indeed the moral implications of his statements. Especially the formal contradiction generated by the very last sentence in the statement quoted above completely deconstructs everything he said before, as he concludes all of this to be his "unalterable opinion" right after praising himself for changing his "opinions every hour of the day".

On the one hand, Byron himself often maintained to detest those "inconsistencies of sentiment". For instance, he ridiculed Poet Laureate Robert Southey in *The Vision of Judgment* for being too changeable in his convictions[498]:

> He had written praises of a Regicide;
> He had written praises of all kings whatever;
> He had written for republics far and wide,
> And then against them bitterer than ever;
> For pantisocracy he once had cried
> Aloud, a scheme less moral than 'twas clever;
> Then grew a hearty anti-jacobin—
> Had turned his coat — and would have turned his skin.[499]

By claiming Southey's pen to be for and against mutually exclusive causes such as "Regicide", "republics" and "pantisocracy", he has his fellow poet change his deepest convictions almost at random. He concludes his powerful ottava rima by

[498] Admittedly, *The Vision of Judgment*, just like *Don Juan* are works written years after *SWL* and thus cannot pose an immediate context for the novel at the time of its writing. However, those are tendencies that demonstrably are typically Byronic throughout many phases of his career. Those later examples only serve pin down those tendencies much more concisely and strikingly than other examples would.

[499] Byron, *Vision*, 97

calling Southey a turncoat of the worst kind, one who "would have turned his skin" if he could. This type of attack leaves no room for the change of opinions that Lord Leander seems to be perfectly content with. However, Byron's seeming distaste for the anti-jacobin, a movement trying to counter revolutionary tendencies in Britain, puts him well in line with the Gallomanic society that is portrayed in *SWL*.

On the other hand, however, there is the Byron who is completely in favour of self-contradiction. In the fifteenth canto of his magnum opus *Don Juan*, he dedicates a whole stanza to vindicate its practice:

> If people contradict themselves, can I
> Help contradicting them, and every body,
> Even my veracious self?–But that's a lie;
> I never did so, never will–how should I?
> He who doubts all things, nothing can deny;
> Truth's fountains may be clear–her streams are muddy,
> And cut through such canals of contradiction,
> That she must often navigate o'er fiction.[500]

As Frank Pointner and I have argued elsewhere, here "[t]he key word 'Truth' is seemingly undermined by its opposing ideas in 'contradiction', 'lie' and 'fiction'. The narrator plays with contradiction on the semantic level by juxtaposing mutually exclusive concepts" in order to vindicate "his agenda of self-contradiction for the sake of veracity"[501]. This idea of veracity in inconsistency is the exact same notion that is put forward by Lord Leander. Even though that specific canto is one of Byron's later productions, the notion that Byron had not always been consistent in what he said was not entirely unknown at the time *Six Weeks at Long's* was published. For the general reader it would be hard to reconcile this Byron with the one who would attack Robert Southey for his radical changes in conviction. Indeed, it may easily appear that whatever Byron does or says, he cannot be taken at face value.

In *Six Weeks at Long's* it is exactly those apparent inconsistencies of sentiment which are used to construct the buffooneries of Lord Leander. At the beginning of the novel, as the narrator first introduces the text's main characters,

[500] Byron, *Don Juan*, XV, 88

[501] Pointner, Frank Erik and Weißenfels, Dennis. "From Childe Harold to Don Juan – Narrative Ambiguity in Byron's Major Works". *Romantic Ambiguities: Abodes of the Modern*. Sebastian Domsch, Christoph Reinfandt and Katharina Rennhak (eds.). Trier: WVT, 2017, pp. 69-82, p. 80

he provides a short characterisation of this character: "Lord Leander was a young nobleman of some genius, whose only fixed sentiment on earth consisted in a full conviction of that genius"[502]. Apart from all other convictions that Leander seems to adopt and drop as easily as he changes his mood, his vanity seems to be the only constant character trait that one can rely on. In this, he is very conspicuously close to the ways in which the French are usually constructed, as they are said to change everything, from clothes to politics, according to the law of fashion, yet their vanity is their unchangeable core characteristic. It would thus not be very surprising to see him in such a close and even intimate proximity to characters such as the Marquis of Veneric, and have him being admired by the middle-class characters such as Bellair and Petitoe.

As the narrator continues in his description of Leander, it is said that he "had travelled a little, read a little, and written a little; and had he travelled, read, and written, either less or more, ignorance might have made him modest, or knowledge might have much more to learn."[503]. Travelling, here is presented as potentially dangerous as it may leave upon the young traveller a mark of insufficient and incomplete experiences that commit them to even worse follies than an untravelled mind would be capable of. In this, Lord Leander becomes very much like the protagonists of *Six Weeks in Paris* and *The Englishman in Paris*, as his epistemological outlook is mediocre at best, having too much learning to feel inferior but not enough learning to know that he knows nothing. Trapped in that limbo of semi-knowledge he is in the perfect state to foster delusions of grandeur and become as vain as he possibly could be. Yet in spite of his shortcomings, "he was, beyond all question, the very best poet England ever boasted – among her nobility"[504].

As it seems, what little travelling he embarked on has made Lord Leander a pessimistic and misanthropic character: "His lordship also had, or affected to have, a sovereign contempt for pleasure, glory, life, soul, body, and this

[502] *SWL* 1, p. 18
[503] Ibid, pp. 18-19
[504] Ibid, p. 19
Byron too was called the best English poet since Shakespeare, which makes him the best of all aristocratic poets in that canonical reasoning. (See Rice, Richard Ashley. "Lord Byron's British Reputation." *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, 5.2, January, 1924, pp.1–26)

world"[505] and "[t]o be dissatisfied, he thought, was to be philosophical, and that declaiming against human nature was being an honour to it"[506]. Leander's misanthropy and his pessimism about the world render him a Weltschmerz poet, much like his flesh and blood counterpart. He is a cliché Byronic hero, and much like Byron, he stylises himself in public to correspond to that character type. [507]

> Lord Leander was there, *solus* in a box, and with a book; but he was not drinking his wine out of the skull of one of his ancestors, nor had he eaten his dinner with a fork carved out of his great great grand uncle's cross-bone. These were luxuries in which he never indulged except when he had invited company to his house, on which occasions he would eat one wing of a chicken, and swallow six bottles of claret.[508]

Images of vanitas are ascribed to Lord Leander, who turned remains of his ancestors into eating and drinking utensils. This summons up a well-known part of the Byronic myth: Byron's goblet formed from a skull. In his publication of the conversations he had with Lord Byron, Thomas Medwin recalls Byron's take on the supposed history of that skull:

> There had been found by the gardener, in digging, a skull that had probably belonged to some jolly friar or monk of the Abbey about the time it was dismonasteried. Observing it to be of giant size, and in a prefect state of preservation, a strange fancy seized me of having it set and mounted as a drinking-cup. I accordingly sent it to town, and it returned with a very high polish, and of a mottled colour like tortoiseshell.[509]

In *SWL*, the random skull of "some jolly friar or monk" is turned into a skull that once had its dwelling place on the shoulders of one of Lord Leander's ancestors, which adds to the morbidity of the character. Yet the image is one that was part of the Gothic elements in the stylisation of the Byronic hero. Especially interesting in this quotation is the little remark that the Abbey was "demonasteried" at that time. Indeed, the loss of the sacred status of that ground parallels a supposed loss of religiosity in Byron, who was often related to Milton's Satan. The place functions as an objective correlative to the character, who has fallen from grace.

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[505] Ibid

[506] Ibid, pp. 19-20

[507] Cf. Thorslev, Peter L. *The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962

[508] *SWL* 2, p. 12

[509] Medwin, Thomas. *Conversations of Lord Byron*, London 1824, p.71

While Medwin's recollection of Byronic conversations was not yet published at the time *SWL* was written, Byron himself used the image of that goblet skull in his verse. His "Lines Inscribed upon a Cup formed from a Skull" is a ballad written from the perspective of the skull itself. The skull, as a symbol of memento mori, urges the addressee to indulge himself in notions of carpe diem. The skull itself is an embodiment of carpe diem and memento mori as two sides of the same coin, as this remnant of the dead has been turned into a drinking vessel, which aids the living in their wassails. The voice opens this poem with the following lines:

> Start not – nor deem my spirit fled;
> In me behold the only skull
> From which, unlike a living head,
> Whatever flows is never dull.[510]

As the skull has been turned to a drinking vessel, there is a certain ambiguity in "whatever flows" from it. On the one hand, it can certainly refer to the ever-invigorating effects of alcohol as opposed to the "dull" talk of the living. On the other hand, however, it can also refer to one aspect of Romantic intellectual discourse, namely the question of imagination vs relying on tradition. Metaphorically, the skull represents the voice of the dead, which manifests in texts from the past. Byron itself, especially in his earlier writing such as the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, relied heavily on his reading of texts written by the classics. Indeed, if he himself had any agenda of writing, it is certainly that poetry without neoclassical elements is not worth writing[511]. This goes against the type of Romanticism that was spearheaded by William Wordsworth. One may set Wordsworth's anti-classicist ideas, as exemplified in his "The Tables Turned" against those very lines by Byron. Concerning classical learning, Wordsworth's speaker protests:

> Books! 'tis a dull and endless strife,
> Come, hear the woodland linnet,
> How sweet his music; on my life

[510] Byron, George Gordon. "Lines Inscribed Upon a Cup Formed From a Skull". *Works of Lord Byron: With His Letters and Journals, and His Life*, Vol. 7. Thomas Moore (ed.). London, pp. 217-218.

[511] Byron's joking about the "Cockney Poets" such as John Keats and Leigh Hunt because they had no knowledge in Greek is a case in point.

There's more of wisdom in it.[512]

When juxtaposed with Byron's skull, the speaker of Wordsworth's poem holds exactly the opposite views. He propagates life and nature as a teacher, while the skull represents learning through death and things uttered by those which are now dead, not forgetting the beneficial effects of excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages. "The Tables Turned" was among Wordsworth's most prominent productions, and Byron was a keen, and respectful, reader of Wordsworth[513]. As Byron's 'Lines' use the same ballad structure and seem to argue exactly against the Wordsworthian view, one may very well identify Byron's poem as a reaction to the poem by his elder poet.

Indeed, the 'argument' would be far from over. In 1815, Mary Baker published her *Lines Addressed to a Noble Lord*, a poem addressing Byron as an immoral and perverted individual, who wastes his poetic talents on subjects below human dignity. It has been argued that Wordsworth himself secretly collaborated with Mary Barker in her composition of the poem and that some of the lines were probably written by Wordsworth himself.[514] Here, Barker picks up on Byron's verse, using the image of the skull goblet to demonise the poet:

Holding forth (that spirits dull
May be cheered) a goblet skull,
Whence thy morbid soul has quaff'd
Many a foul, Avernian draught,
Fraught with sulphurous exhalations
Steam'd from Pluto's habitations[515]

Relying on the same rhyme of "skull" and "dull" that Byron himself used in his poem, here the speaker turns around the argument by having the poet cheer "spirits dull" instead of that which "is never dull", as Byron's speaker has it. Of course, one may question how witty that twist of words really is, yet it clearly

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[512] Wordsworth, William. "The Tables Turned". *Lyrical Ballads 1798 and 1800*. Michael Gamer and Dahlia Porter (eds.). New York et al: Broadview, 2008, pp. 9-12

[513] There are many attestations of Byron himself in which he expresses his deep respect for Wordsworth in private. Jerome McGann wrote one of the best-known essays on the relationships between the two Romantics. Cf. McGann, Jerome. "Byron and Wordsworth". *Byron and Romanticism*. James Sonderholm (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002, pp. 173-201

[514] See Parille, Ken. "All the Rage: Wordsworth's Attack on Byron in Lines Addressed to a Noble Lord". *Papers on Language & Literature*, 37:3, Summer, 2001, pp. 255-278

[515] Barker, Mary. *Lines Addressed to a Noble Lord; (His Lordship will know why)*. London. 1815, p. 4

uses the morbid drinking vessel to exemplify Byron's supposed moral corruptions.

It is exactly that context in which Lord Leander would be perceived by readers of the novel, as they would most likely be well aware of the skull myth that was part of Byron's image as the Byronic Hero. The indecent tendencies of Lord Leander, together with his seductive wit, render him an extremely dangerous character. To a nationalist audience, which would probably be more in line with a Wordsworthian type of Romanticism, the radical and cosmopolitan ways of Lord Leander would be the exact reason why they would deem young characters such as Petitoe to be seduced to the lifestyle of a rake.

To make matters worse, Lord Leander is even depicted as engaging in illegal rake-ish activities. A chapter in the novel narrates a duel that is supposed to take place between two characters, one of whom demands satisfaction over his daughter being insulted. The circumstances around which this duel come to take place are already dubious as they are, yet the action that unfolds turns the matter into complete ridiculousness. Lord Leander does not originally have a place in the duel, being merely a spectator. Yet a quarrel he has on the scene with another spectator, a certain Lord Valence, makes them carry out a duel of their own which prevents the original duel from taking place in the first place.

To the bystanders of this newly emerged duel, the scene seems as incomprehensible as it does to the reader of the satire. Upon being asked about how this situation happened to come into being, a person on the scene called Captain Adon replies: "I a—cannot a—precisely tell. But a—they were chusing the pistols, and a—one of them a—ran out in praise of some outlandish javelin, and t'other a—of some trans-atlantic bow and arrow; so a—to it they fell"[516]. Indeed, it all starts when Lord Leander and Lord Valance have a disagreement over the duelling weapons that the combatants are supposed to wield instead of the regular set of pistols. Leander demands the use of "the Patagonian javelin" while Valence wants them to "the Chesapeak bow and arrow"[517]. The verbal duel

[516] *SWL* 1, p. 139

[517] Ibid, p. 136

Interestingly, the reference to Patagonia refers to John Byron, Byron's grandfather. As a naval officer for the Royal Navy, John Byron set anchor in a Patagonian settlement after failing to find the now known to be fictional 'Pepys Island'.

that follows is an exchange of boasts about their personal skills with these exotic weapons. For instance, Leander boasts that he "once knocked off a wren's head with the javelin", to which Leander retorts that he "once tumbled a bee with the arrow"[518]. Following the boasts there is a rather tedious exchange of semi-witticisms with each trying to tease his opponent into commencing the duel in a pseudo-Shakespearean dramatic scene.

In spite of its ridiculousness, which is credited to the incompetence of the participants, the scene portrays the potentially violent course of action that radical cosmopolitan thinkers such as Leander are capable of. To recall, John Locke particularly used the example of duelling to make a point on something that is most clearly a sin against the law of god. To Leander, however, as to the French, it is merely a thing of fashion. Even though he is ridiculed as an incompetent duellist, imitation of his actions might lead to real damage if the imitators are more capable than he himself is. This poses a warning to young England not to fall for false role models such as Leander, Bellair or Veneric. Indeed, the closest equivalent to most of the readers of the novel might be Petitoe, a harmless lad, who nonetheless is on a track that would be of little utility to himself or the rest of society.

In *SWL*, cosmopolitanism and Gallomania are treated as the exact same thing, expanding the circle of potential dangers to the minds of the English from those who Gallomanics want to imitate French fashions, to those intellectually seductive and socially superior voices that wear the seemingly more sophisticated veil of cosmopolitanism. Yet both sentiments are constructed as equally destructive, since they inevitably lead to people turning away from the traditional moral values of England that are supposed to shield the English from the potential eccentricities and extremisms of other nations. Cultural cosmopolitanism, as Chaim Gans points out, is deeply at odds with a view of moral particularism of the kind that is promoted in the discourse I analysed.[519]

The Byronic duel, on the other hand, is a reference to Byron's uncle William Byron, from which he inherited his title. William Byron killed William Chatworth in a duel in a tavern in London, for which he was convicted of manslaughter (a relatively mild sentence).

[518] Ibid, p. 137

[519] See Gans, Chaim. *The Limits of Nationalism*. Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2003, p. 161

Through its rather interesting constellation of characters, such as the Marquis as a remnant of a lost France, Leander as a cosmopolitan upper-class trickster, Bellair as a member of the *bon ton*, and Petitoe as a potential middle-class rake, the novel makes use of personifications of socio-cultural dynamics in the Post-Napoleonic age. Each of those characters represents another phenomenon of that age, which could also be identified in *SWP* and *TEP*. In contrast to those other novels, however, the cultural threat posed by the French spirit has entered the intimate space of English society, constructing a much more urgent sense of the Other within as opposed to the Other without.

3.5. The (Incar)Nation of John Bull: *John Bull's Bible*[520]

In the previous chapters, I have concerned myself primarily with a particular type of national personification. The protagonists of both *Six Weeks in Paris* and *The Englishman in Paris*, just like Petitoe of *Six Weeks at Long's* were personifications of national stereotypes, that is to say of abstract sets of ideas. In this, their personal biographies were used to represent groups of people, without putting too much emphasis on any empirical personae, and if so, as in the case of Fanfaron/Talleyrand, only to point out the universal nature of their characteristics. This was slightly different in *Six Weeks at Long's* rendition of Lord Byron as an archetypal Other. It is true that his literary avatar Lord Leander owed just as much to collective stereotypes as it did to representations of the bard in the gazettes and his self-stylisation in his own works. However, the focus here was clearly on the flesh-and-blood-person Byron rather than on any generalisation of his character traits. Lord Leander was not an everyman but a case in point example of an extremely un-English Englishman, and one who's cosmopolitanism pushed him very close to the French end of the national spectrum, turning him into an iconisation of a negative form of national identity in which cosmopolitanism and Gallomania are virtually indistinguishable.

What all of these cases had in common, however, was that they were circumstantial manifestations of heterostereotypes most commonly associated with national lifestyles. They are individual embodiments of a collective national spirit, navigating in the greater organism of the nation. It would be interesting, though, to have a look at a collective embodiment of the national spirit, one much more closely akin to the Body Politic as the second body of the nation. John Bull is a character, who represents just that. Throughout the eighteenth century, this character appeared all over the popular media. Numerous texts and prints appeared that featured him as a representation of the entire English nation. The John Bull tradition traces its origins back to the early eighteenth century when this character made his debut in John Arbuthnot's "Law is a Bottomless Pit,"

[520] A closely related version of the argument I made in this chapter can be found in another publication of mine: "Body Politic and National Body: Political Myth-Making and Romantic Nationalism in *John Bull's Bible*." Pascal Fischer and Christoph Houswitschka (eds.). *The Politics of Romanticism*. Trier: WVT, 2019, pp. 107-118

published in 1712. This work provided a satirical take on the War of Spanish Succession. Arbuthnot later reissued this pamphlet, along with four others on the same subject, as *The History of John Bull* within the same year.[521] In the original narrative, John Bull collaborates with Nic Frog (representing the Dutch), initiating a lawsuit against Lewis Baboon (depicting the French) and Lord Strutt (representing the Spanish).[522] Arbuthnot employs the metaphor of the lawsuit to illustrate the futile and unproductive aspects of the war. The lawsuit, metaphorically speaking, pushes John Bull to the brink of financial ruin as he discovers deceit and exploitation from his allies, including his own wife (symbolizing Parliament). Ultimately, he is compelled to terminate the lawsuit without any favourable outcome, resulting in a loss of his resources. The only beneficiaries in this entire affair appear to be the lawyers, with particular emphasis on John Bull's chief attorney, Humphry Hocus (corresponding to John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough).

"Many writers followed suit and added their own renditions to the story of John Bull. The trend of publishing continuations to what might be called the 'Conte du Bull' almost rivalled the trend of writing continuations to Chrétien de Troyes' Conte du Graal in the Middle Ages"[523]. Similar to Chrétien's narrative, albeit for different reasons—presumably due to Chrétien's death before completing his work—Arbuthnot's text almost challenges other writers to undertake the task of extending it. In the postscript to his *History of John Bull*, Arbuthnot asserts that "[b]y diligent Inquiry we have found the Titles of some Chapters, which appear to be a Continuation of it"[524]. Nevertheless, beyond a list of chapter titles, he furnishes no actual text. Deliberately concluding his work with a fragment meant to continue the story—an extension he never authors himself—Arbuthnot effectively invites other writers to contribute to the myth-building surrounding English national identity. Not surprisingly, various authors took up the challenge, and among these, the most prominent version is *The history in the proceedings in the case of Margaret, commonly called Peg, only lawful sister to John Bull, Esq.* (1761) often attributed to Adam Ferguson. This

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[521] Arbuthnot, John. *Law is a Bottomless Pit. Or, the History of John Bull*. London, 1712
[522] The animal symbolism in those national animifications has been thoroughly considered in chapter 2.2 of this thesis.
[523] Weißenfels 2019, p. 107
[524] Arbuthnot 1712, p. 172

narrative delves into the story of John Bull's sister Peg, symbolizing Scotland, and satirizes opponents of the Scottish Militia Bill.[525] Other less recognized continuations include the anonymously published *A Fragment of the History of that Illustrious Personage John Bull* (1785)[526], recounting events related to the Wig Party's assumption of government control in 1715, and *Fragments of the History of John Bull* (1791)[527], offering commentary on the onset of the French Revolution. Shortly after Arbuthnot's initial publication, John Bull swiftly rose to prominence as the primary national symbol of England[528].

The long-forgotten text *John Bull's Bible* is a rather late addition to the story. However, it is radically different from its predecessors. The earlier texts participating in the tradition were rather narrow in scope. Arbuthnot's original text only narrated the events surrounding the War of Spanish Succession. *Fragments* only dealt with the events concerning the French Revolution. Indeed, the fragment is a typical feature of the story, as none of these texts attempt to offer a complete story of John Bull but are only concerned with recent events. This is certainly due to the fact that all of these texts are satirical in nature, since the present is the proper aim of satire, in which it "tries to sway us toward an ideal alternative, toward a condition of what the satirist believes should be," a purpose that can only derive from a present state of affairs and thus loses its function as soon as the status quo is changed[529]. Further, national identity can

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[525] Ferguson, Adam. *The history in the proceedings in the case of Margaret, commonly called Peg, only lawful sister to John Bull, Esq*. 2nd ed. London, 1761.
Generally the work is attributed to Adam Ferguson. His authorship has not remained entirely unchallenged though. In 1982, David Raynor ascribed authorship of the text to none other than David Hume (cf. Raynor, David (Ed.). David Hume. *Sister Peg: A Pamphlet Hitherto Unknown by David Hume*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Yet this view has been largely rejected by the majority of scholars. See Roger Emerson's review for an early refutation of Raynor's hypothesis (Emerson, Roger. "Review of 'Sister Peg: A Pamphlet Hitherto Unknown by David Hume'". In *Hume Studies*, Vol IX, Number 1 (April 1983). 74-81). Also see J. Y. T. Greig's annotations of Hume's letter to Alexander Carlyle in February 1761, in which Hume's own claim to have written the very pamphlet is conclusively shown to be a joke (Greig, J. Y. T. (ed.). Hume, David. *The Letters of David Hume*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 341-342).

[526] *A Fragment of the History of that Illustrious Personage John Bull*. London, 1785. [Abbreviation: *A Fragment*]

[527] *Fragments of the History of John Bull*. London, 1791. [Abbreviation: *Fragments*]

[528] It is mostly due to prints rather than literary adaptations that the John Bull myth became part of the popular discourse. Renowned artists such as Hogarth, Gillray and Cruikshank helped to popularise John Bull as a national icon. See my chapter 2.2.

[529] Ruben Quintero (ed.). *A Companion to Satire*. Blackwell: Malden et al., 2007, p.3

only be perceived as a fragment, since national history is constructed to extend way too far back for any individual human being to comprehend. National micro-histories evolve, which tie the narrative of the nation to short and comprehensive stories, sometimes even to the timeframe of only one individual human life. Likewise, the scope of the nation as an immense group is far too wide for individual apprehension, rendering it almost impossible to grasp how a nation could act, while it consists of relatively independently acting individuals.

John Bull's Bible is the first text of the John Bull tradition that does in fact try to narrate the entire story of John Bull from its beginning onwards with an almost Miltonic aim to be the 'first' text in the tradition. Despite maintaining its satirical nature, this text not only seeks to critique recent political developments but also takes aim at a fundamental aspect of the constitution: the institution of monarchy. In doing so, the text must navigate the present while also referencing historical developments that have led to the current state of affairs. *John Bull's Bible* reinterprets English history from a perspective deeply rooted in the Long Eighteenth Century, drawing on literary traditions established by previous works on John Bull. However, it appropriates these traditions to align with its own radical agenda, which starkly contrasts with the dominant Tory tradition seen in many of the prominent John Bull texts. By distancing itself from this tradition and endeavoring to construct an English national identity that embraces all periods of English history, including those recounted by earlier versions, "the text attempts to establish a 'Biblical canon' of John Bull's story"[530].

According to my view, the narrative of the nation is the discursive framework in which a nation is constructed. Within that narrative, which begins with some form of myth of origin, a national spirit on the basis of key stereotypes which are shared by a supposedly homogenous group of people is created. The continuity of that character is established by means of inventing traditions. At the same time the continuity of that character essentially leads to a common goal towards which the nation strives lest the nation should act 'out of character'. Myth-making is one of the most fundamental processes in the construction of a national identity. Rather than what is commonly perceived to be genuine history, which tries to identify diverse causes that may have triggered chains of events,

[530] Weißenfels 2019, p. 108

myth is not perceived to describe historical characters. Further, history is notoriously remote from the present lives of its readers, which makes it difficult for them to construct their personal identities on its basis. Myth, however, in its strictly narrative and paradigmatic form, is a vehicle that appears tailor-made for it. Any form of shared national character must ultimately be considered myth, due to the impossibilities of its cognitive verification.

Here, I am relying on a definition of 'myth' that has been proposed by Radcliffe Edmonds in his work *Myths of the Underworld Journey*: "The narrative of a myth, then, weaves together not only traditional motifs but also traditional patterns of action, plot elements and sequences that are familiar from previous stories, to shape the story and evoke recognition from the audience"[531]. In distinguishing between myth and what is considered narrative fiction in general, myths "have a paradigmatic function; their elements are symbols that enunciate a model with a general application"[532]. Indeed, a national character is only conceivable as part of a narrative, since it must ultimately be revealed by certain actions in specific contexts. By the same token, it must rely on characteristics with which members of the nation may be willing to identify themselves just as much as it must contain plot elements that are part of their alleged collective national memory. A national character is paradigmatic in the sense in which it is not only a model that tries to describe the way members of the nation usually are, but also the way they ought to be. However, this is not necessarily articulated in the form of a logically discernible structure. According to Jordan Peterson, "myth is the intermediary between action and abstract linguistic representation of that action"[533]. Myths give a cloudy form to an otherwise lived but unarticulated reality, including the everyday habits of national culture.

Edmonds further argues that while myth is independent from any specific genre, "the choice of genre is one of the means by which the teller shapes the traditional elements in a myth"[534]. *John Bull's Bible* displays a mix of the genres of biography and history. Indeed, this choice of genre is the only means by which the text could possibly achieve what it sets out to establish. Since it necessarily

[531] Edmonds 2004, p. 8
[532] Ibid, p. 6
[533] Peterson 1999, p. 75
[534] Edmonds 2004, p. 7

equates the notions of personal and collective identities in the form of a national personification, the story of an individual is the vehicle through which the history of the entire nation is told. It must also be said that Edmond's definition of myth does not require any intended mode of reading of those myths, which can be read literally, allegorically, satirically, etc. What instead I am focussing on are certain literary techniques that are commonly used in myth-making, such as personification, the modification of time and the invention of sources in order to point out how the text applies changes to the material of its predecessors. Indeed, one of the central claims Edmonds maintains is that especially changes in myth from one text to another help to establish a new perception of the story by a specific audience.[535] This implies that the changes themselves are some of the best means through which one can gain insight into the text's underlying changes of values. In myth-making, the very changes applied to a story reveal a disagreement with the values transported by a preceding version. I will, therefore, put my main focus on the changes to the original John Bull myth which can be identified in *John Bull's Bible*. Indeed, those changes are visible in almost any detail. In this the text does not only try to appropriate the popular myth for its own political agenda, but also tries to change the ways in which the whole notion of national identity is to be perceived by its readers. Through this rather ambitious project, the text tries to gain authority over its eighteenth-century counterparts, dismissing them as incomplete and often incorrect renditions of the 'true story' of John Bull.

"When I was first call'd to the Office of Historiohrapher to John Bull [….] I put the Journals of all Transactions into a strong Box [….] It is from those Journals that my Memoirs are compiled"[536]. This excerpt from the preface to *The History of John Bull* is attributed to a so-called Sir Humphry Polesworth. Arbuthnot himself would merely be the editor of that source material. The text employs a traditional device in the construction of myth: the invention of sources. This practice marks a tradition that reaches back into the time of classical antiquity[537]. Of course, Arbuthnot would not have expected anyone to

[535] Ibid, p. 4
[536] Arbuthnot 1712, pp. 5-6
[537] Alan Cameron dedicates a whole chapter of his work *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* to what he himself calls "Bogus Citations", demonstrating that the

fall for this authenticity device, yet his awareness of that ancient tradition in myth-making probably made him pay tribute to his classical predecessors in constructing his own myth. This, indeed, makes a lot of sense in the Neo-Classicist context of the eighteenth century. Later writers participating in the John Bull myth continued that in tradition by attributing their works to the same pseudo-source. The preface to *A Fragment* even provides a lengthy story of how it was that the manuscripts were discovered. “My father […] purchased *Grub-Hatch*, the ancient seat of the family of the Polesworths”[538]. “There was nothing to be found but a parcel of old musty papers in manuscript, much decayed from age, very damp, and almost perished for want of air”[539]. “I was therefore under the necessity to set about transcribing the whole with great care and fidelity, altering not a word nor syllable, nor even a letter of this excellent and justly admired historian”[540]. *Fragments* claims that “[b]y some accident the following Fragments fell into the hands of the Editor, who gives them to the public in the imperfect condition in which he found them”[541].

Similarly, *John Bull’s Bible* engages in the creation of source material upon which its rendition of the myth is purportedly founded: “The Present Work is compiled from Memoirs found in the Scrutoire of a Gentleman who has for some time disappeared from the world”[542]. However, this text goes an extra mile to distance itself from the Polesworth tradition. The 'editor' of this text contends that the Polesworth tradition relies on an unreliable source, stating,: “But Sir Humphry, though he sets himself forth as John Bull’s Historiographer, and as writing by his Order, was really but the mere Apologist of his Friend Sir Roger; at that time Major-domo to John Bull's Steward”[543]. Indeed, the claim tries to uncover a conflict of interests between John Bull and his Steward. The Steward, a representation of the King of England, never appears as a character in Arbuthnot’s original story. This is the foremost change the text tries to make to the story, undergoing great pains to stress it in almost any chapter. It is with

invention of sources was the norm rather than an exception in ancient mythography. [Cameron, Alan. *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004]

[538] *A Fragment* 1785, p. vi

[539] Ibid, p. ix

[540] Ibid, p. xi

[541] *Fragments* 1791, p. v

[542] *JBB* 1, p. xii

[543] Ibid, p. ix

reference to the character of the Steward that *JBB* stresses the differences between itself and the Polesworth source: "Sir Humphry, indeed seems every where to aim purposely to identify John Bull with his Steward; whom he entirely keeps out of sight, and never so much as names"[544], whereas "[t]he Design of Editing these Memoirs at this time, is, to set forth the Genuine Principles of the Stewardship, and the original Constitution and Custom of the Manor of Great Albion"[545].

While the other texts tend to establish Lewis Baboon as John Bull's greatest antagonist, *JBB* treats Lewis Baboon only as a minor character for most of the story. The actual antagonist here is the Steward. It is even earlier than the preface that the text sets the stage for these anti-monarchical sentiments. Even though the name of the real author of this text remains unknown to this day, the pseudonym under which the text is published grants some insight into the text's political agenda. The author, or 'editor' of the text identifies himself as Demodocus Poplicola, which in and of itself grants insight into implied readings of the text. Demodocus is a Latinised version of the character Demodokos, a poet in Homer's Odyssey. According to the Homeric story, "the illustrious singer was singing to them, and Odysseus / melted: the salt tears drenching his cheeks flowed down from his eyelids"[546]. This does accord with the overall tone of the text, which does tell the story of John Bull as one of permanent calamities, something that should be of concern to the implied readers – that is to say, the English nation. The second name Poplicola refers to one of the four major Roman revolutionaries, who brought about an end of the Roman monarchy and established the Republic as a permanent form of government. The political dimension of the text as to be expected from the pseudonym could thus be sketched as a text written by a poet, who wants to assist in bringing monarchy to an end. Further, apart from their referential function, the names themselves have a particular meaning that an educated reader of the time would not have missed. Demodokos translates to someone who is held in high esteem by the people. Poplicola is similar, which means 'friend of the people'. The combination of both names further underlines the notion that the text aims to address the nation

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[544] Ibid, p. x

[545] Ibid, p. xii

[546] Homer. *The Odyssey*. Rodney Merrill (trans.). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002, 8,521-2

concerning a topic of great interest to them. Together with the title of the text, the pseudonym establishes the entire framework in which this story will unfold. Indeed, calling the work a 'Bible' is strongly related to the attempt of discrediting other writings on the matter, as it claims to be a definite and uncorrupted compilation of John Bull's story, next to which the other writings, which are allegedly corrupted, must appear ‘apocryphal’ if not ‘heretical’.

At the story's outset, the text promptly endeavors to construct a myth of origin for John Bull. The Manor of Great Albion, initially owned by Davy Guelch (representing the Welch/Britons), faced management challenges after Rowland (symbolizing the Romans) departed. Consequently, the narrative details the Anglo-Saxon settlement in Britain, mentioning: “At this time, John Bull’s Ancestors, then known by the name of the Sassans [….] kept continually sending for more and more of their Family and acquaintance”[547]. Notably, the term "Sassans" (Saxons) appears only once in describing these early events, with the text swiftly transitioning to identifying them as John Bull's family: “Thus it was that John Bull’s Family first got possession of the Estate and Manor of Albion”[548]. This anachronism becomes more apparent with the introduction of John Bull himself. Rather than narrating the events surrounding his birth, John Bull is not explicitly introduced within the story's timeline but is rather slipped in almost as an afterthought: “But such is the character of that Profession [the Stewardship], that while there is one object within its reach, by art or chicanery, however much in defiance of Justice or Right, it will never be satisfied until it has obtained it. And this John Bull soon found to be the case with his different Stewards”[549]. While there is a mention of John Bull’s ancestors, his sudden appearance gives the impression that he had always been there. The narrative's omission of a detailed myth of origin, a common feature in ancient mythography, aligns with the context of national identity. By avoiding a specific birthdate, the text evokes a sense of the timeless nature of the national character, one not shaped by any individual in history but perennially present. The lack of explicit details about John Bull's arrival suggests that he might have been an inherent presence in the narrative all along.

[547] *JBB* 1, p. 7
[548] Ibid, p. 8
[549] Ibid, p. 11

A notable observation is that, within the chronological sequence of the text, the characters of the Stewards are introduced concurrently with the character of John Bull. Even though there is no detailed myth of origin for John Bull's actual birth, the first time he appears in the story is right in the same instance in which the characters of the Stewards are introduced. What at first glance may seem as a rather trivial introduction of John Bull actually serves a greater purpose in this respect. By introducing both the Stewards and John Bull at the same time, the text constructs the institution of Stewardship as the dialectical counterpart of John Bull, which is nothing short of an idea of natural antagonism. Here, it is actually the concept of Stewardship that makes it necessary for John Bull to appear in the story. This should not be understood in the way that John Bull's existence as a character is dependent on the Stewardship, but rather the text tries to implicitly establish the idea that the Stewardship is in a sort of binary opposition to John Bull. Indeed, this antagonism is further developed as the text continues: "Whilst the Stewardship continued in a branch of John Bull's own Family, the affairs of the Estate were conducted with *some* regard to the family interest [emphasis mine]"[550]. However, "Guillam de Norworld [William of Normandy], an adventurer from the Frankland Family and Manor [France] […] soon afterwards ousted the whole Bull Family, seized the Estate and Manor into his own hands"[551]. After that, "Guillam did not, I believe, retain one Lawyer of John Bull's Family, nor had one holder on the Manor on his side"[552]. Instead he "brought a whole Train of hungry Lawyers from the Frankland Manor"[553]. Thus "in a short time there was not a man of John Bull's Family left in possession of one foot of Land on the whole Manor"[554].

The problems that come with Stewardship start with notions of tribalism in general and anti-French tendencies in particular, even though the text expresses more general concerns about Stewardship that work independently. Even before the establishment of the 'Norman Yoke', the Stewards conducted business only with "*some* regard to the family interest". The true problems with Stewardship are not that the Stewards are not family members but they have

[550] Ibid, p. 26
[551] Ibid
[552] Ibid, p. 28
[553] Ibid
[554] Ibid, p. 29

come to adopt the "preposterous and ridiculous Notion that – the Steward and his Office do not belong to John Bull, as part of his Establishment and Household; but that John Bull himself, his Family and Household, his Estate and Manor, all belong to the Steward" [555]. This notion embodies a system most vigorously represented by the *Ancien Régime*. Coupled with the depiction of Stewardship outlined in John Bull's 'myth of origin,' the purported inversion of hierarchical structures between John Bull and his Stewards fosters a sense of inherent antagonism and perpetual tension between the two parties. The placement of John Bull's emergence, identified as the inception of the English nation, at the advent of Stewardship aligns seamlessly with this context. As Christoph Bode emphasized, "[d]iskursive Selbst-Begründung muss immer mit einer dezisionistischen Setzung, der Setzung eines Anfangs beginnen – die Einführung eines Unterschiedes, der einen Unterschied macht"[556].

In addition to the details surrounding John Bull's birth, the text enhances the sense of timelessness and continuity within the national character through revelations about the modification of story time. Despite John Bull being portrayed as an individual with all the attributes of a non-supernatural human being, there are peculiar temporal adjustments in his narrative. Notably, other characters, especially the Stewards, enter and exit as they pass away, with the succeeding generation inheriting the title. This process is meticulously documented, with nearly every king in English history being represented by an individual Steward: "To Harry [Henry III] succeeded his son Ned [Edward I]"[557]; "This Ned was succeeded by his Son, a Second Ned [Edward II]"[558]; "A THIRD Ned [Edward III], the Son and Successor of the Former"[559]; "To this Ned succeeded Dick [Richard II] his grandson by Ned his eldest son"[560] and so on, exhaustively detailing the entire lineage of English Kings.

It is intriguing, however, that John Bull, who, by the halfway point of the narrative, would have lived for a span comparable to characters in the early Old Testament, appears unaffected by the typical constraints of human life

[555] Ibid, p. 100
[556] Bode, Christoph. *Selbst-Begründungen: Diskursive Konstruktion von Identität in der britischen Romantik*. Trier: WVT, 2008, p. 9
[557] *JBB*, p. 107
[558] Ibid, p. 113
[559] Ibid, p. 114
[560] Ibid, p. 118

expectancy. He persists through the generations of Stewards, a duration that, even considering the numerous omissions in the storyline, far exceeds what an ordinary human being could reasonably experience. This temporal disparity between John Bull and other characters in the story serves to anachronistically project the relatively modern concept of a national character into historical periods where such an idea did not yet exist. In this sense, the national character may be viewed as an invented tradition, as John Bull's enduring life implies that members of the English nation have consistently shared specific John-Bullish character traits throughout all historical eras, offering a reinterpretation of the past through the lens of present values. Through this narrative device, the text successfully constructs the English national character as a stable principle that perseveres across the ages. In contrast, individual Stewards are depicted as capricious and volatile, lacking 'permanence in time.' It is only the profession of Stewardship that endures throughout the ages, with its negative tendencies persisting continuously.

The Stewards, however, are not the sole constitutional institution in John Bull’s Manor; John Bull's Wife also holds a central role in the narrative. Portrayed as the embodiment of Parliament, she oversees the household of the manor. Notably, aside from the Steward, John Bull’s Wife was already prominently featured in Arbuthnot’s original story. However, Arbuthnot depicts her as a corrupt and selfish woman engaged in a love affair with Humphry Hocus, partially responsible for the disastrous outcome of the war. In an emotional outburst, she is wounded by John Bull himself, leading to her infection and subsequent death. In Arbuthnot’s version, “Mrs Bull having died without any signs of repentance or devotion, the clergy would hardly allow her a Christian burial”[561]. John Bull conveniently remarries “a sober country gentlewoman”[562], signifying a Tory parliament. Arbuthnot, a steadfast Tory, attributes blame to the Whig Parliament for the war that resulted in a financial catastrophe for Britain.. *John Bull's Bible*, with its radical political stance, endeavors to 'correct' Arbuthnot's portrayal of John Bull’s Wife. In the original story, his wife is presented as the actual Parliament and is killed when the Parliament is dissolved, prompting John Bull to remarry for the constitution of a

[561] Arbuthnot 1712, p. 28
[562] Ibid, p. 29

new Parliament. In *JBB*, however, however, she is clearly conceptualised as the abstract idea of Parliament, independent from its members at any specific point in time. Members of the Parliament are designated to her Household Office rather than being directly identified with her persona.

By presenting Parliament in the form of John Bull's Wife as a more abstract concept, the text separates the idea of Parliament from its actual institutional setup. This approach establishes Parliament as a foundational principle in John Bull's Manor. When a specific Parliament fails to fulfill its purpose, it is not because the concept of Parliament is flawed; rather, it is due to the institution's dependence on its actual composition, which may indeed be corrupt, as observed in Mrs. Bull's household office at times. Despite any corruption, Mrs. Bull requires her household office to administer the Manor. Interestingly, she lacks a proper name of her own; she is simply Mrs. Bull, John Bull's wife. This underscores her existential dependence on John Bull, portraying her as a character inseparable from him. While one might argue that John Bull could manage without a wife, as Arbuthnot noted, John Bull "[saw] that neither his Constitution, or the affairs of his Family, could permit him to live in an unmarried State", with the puns undoubtedly intended[563]. This conceptual depiction of Parliament as a personified character is noteworthy when compared with the portrayal of Stewardship, the other major institution in John Bull's Manor. Stewardship is not presented as a personified character but remains an abstract idea. Only individual Stewards appear as characters in the story. Consequently, the principle of Stewardship lacks a continuous character, unlike Parliament, which maintains its unchanging nature through the depiction of John Bull's Wife.

In addition to dissenting from the portrayal of John Bull's Wife, *John Bull's Bible* reciprocates by absolving her of the alleged responsibility for the war: "Sir Humphry, especially, betrays, if not ignorance, surely a most astonishing prejudice, with respect to John Bull's Wife; whom, if we can allow him any meaning at all, he affects to understand for the Steward's Wife"[564]. According to this perspective, blame for the recent calamities in John Bull's Manor is not placed on Parliament but rather on the Monarchs. Both John Bull's

[563] Ibid
[564] *JBB* 1, p. x

Wife and the Steward are depicted as invented traditions. However, while John Bull's Wife is presented as John Bull's natural companion, the Stewards are portrayed as opportunistic megalomaniacs. Similar to John Bull himself, his wife attains a continuity throughout the entire history of the nation.

In order to press the point a little further and try and get a better understanding of the way in which *John Bull's Bible* embarks on its literary persecution of the Stewards, it will be helpful to consider the actual setup of John Bull's character. Even though the text tends to revise most of the original eighteenth-century material, it does not attempt to apply significant changes in character to John Bull, who is described in almost the same terms in which he was first depicted by Arbuthnot: "Bull, in the main, was an honest plain-dealing Fellow, cholerick, bold, and of a very unconstant temper [...] no man alive was more careless in looking into his Accounts, or more cheated by his Partners, Apprentices, and Servants"[565]. *John Bull's Bible* similarly relates:

> John is, indeed, the truly free, open, independent, Country Gentleman [....] Indeed, true spirit, and undaunted bravery, are universally allowed to be his most distinguishing characteristics. But though John has always proved a match for his enemies, whom he has defied, he has often been duped and cheated by his friends, whom he has trusted.[566]

In this point, there is largely an area of agreement between these two texts, which indeed may be said to construct a continuity between them. Yet as I have already mentioned, it is not the similarities but rather the differences between those different texts that are of interest to my analysis.

Character traits are only one aspect of John Bull's character in the broader meaning of the word. His characteristics will also include physical features that are not obvious at first glance. In this I am not referring to his outward appearance, which had become rather prominent, especially through the medium of prints. What I am referring to is John Bull's 'anatomy', which can be extracted from the narrative structures of the texts. The personification trope, as I laid out in the first part of my thesis, can reveal different relationships between personified and personifier, which in this case is between the individual members of the nation and the nation as a whole. In the John Bull tradition one

[565] Arbuthnot 1712, p. 19
[566] *JBB* 1, pp. 1-2

can identify two conflicting ways in which the personification trope is significantly modified by other sub-tropes.

In the eighteenth-century tradition, the most illuminating text for understanding the personification of John Bull is *Fragments of the History of John Bull* (1791). In this narrative, new doctors (philosophers) in Lewis Baboon's Manor present a 'revolutionary' theory regarding the human body: "The principal position of the new doctrine was, that nothing could be a more *capital* error, than to assert the *caput* (for half of their system consisted of technical terms) was the head of the body"[567]. By using the Latin term *caput* (which still exists in German as *Kopf*) and contrasting it with its Germanic counterpart 'head' (which actually means main part; German: *Haupt*), the text establishes them as distinct from each other. Their argument contends that the other parts of the body "contain in cubic measure more than 5,000 inches, while the *caput* cannot be allowed more than 100"[568]. Consequently, it is concluded that "the body must be considered as the most essential part of the human machine, and ought to be indulged and taken care of, even to the entire destruction and neglect of the *caput*, if necessary for its welfare"[569]. "Concluding that the body is the actual head of the human machine renders the caput a type of unnecessary appendix at best"[570]. When they find Lewis Baboon in a wretched condition, they assert that cutting off his head to "give more weight to the fundamental parts" is the only treatment to solve the isse, to which "Lewis, to the astonishment of every one, consented"[571]. Apart from serving as a caricature of French Revolutionary ideals and engaging in etymological wordplay for comic effect, this episode provides insight into the dynamic between the personified and the personifier. "Adding to the wordplay, the fact that Louis XVI is a member of the House of Capet, adds to the effect created by the word caput, to which it bears some resemblance"[572].

Via the personification the King is depicted as the *caput* or head of the Body Politic, while his subjects are portrayed as the fundamental parts. This

[567] *Fragments*, p. 7
[568] Ibid, p. 8
[569] Ibid
[570] Weißenfels 2019, p. 114
[571] *Fragments*, p. 27
[572] Weißenfels 2019, p. 114

representation perceives the nation as synecdochical, envisioning a Body Politic constituted by various parts, each in their designated place. It's worth noting the somewhat derogatory nature of identifying the people with the bottom of the body politic in this metaphor. “The Body Politic topos involves [...] the frequent personification of the land and society as the sublime ‘body’ of the king”[573]. While Arbuthnot's text doesn't explicitly personify the English nation in that manner, later writings in the century clearly employ the personification of the nation in this way. *Fragments* conflates the two bodies of the King that lie at the heart of the Body Politic, serving as a principle of political theology. In one sense, the personification of Lewis Baboon represents the Body Politic of the nation, but in another sense, it embodies Louis XVI, who is both the head of the Body Politic and an individual body. As outlined in the preface, *John Bull’s Bible* not only critiques Arbuthnot’s rendition but the entire Polesworth tradition. The primary criticism of Arbuthnot in *JBB* is his failure to separate the nation from the king. This criticism aligns with Arbuthnot's Tory sentiments, which would treat the King as an essential, if not the head, part of the nation.

John Bull’s Bible, by contrast, puts some effort into separating the character of John Bull from that of his Steward, thus excluding the king from the national body itself (without having John Bull lose his *caput* for that matter). Moreover, the entire anatomy of John Bull’s character is changed. At the story's conclusion, the text laments: “We are now arrived at a singular crisis in our Memoirs […] the Steward’s Agents, with the assent of the Prostitutes of Mrs. Bull’s Office [….] had kept him [John Bull] in a state of continual intoxication”[574]. It is asserted that “[t]here has always been a number of honest individuals in John Bull's Family, of *sane mind*, and of more generous and independent spirit than the sordid and abject satellites of the Stewardical train; on those the delusions of the Steward's Office […] could not impose”[575]. Specifically “those, I say, had never ceased to endeavour to bring John to his senses, and to warn him of the ruin into which his treacherous Agents were dragging him”[576]. Here, the text emphasizes its own objective: to rouse John Bull from his stupor and prompt him to take action against his Stewards.

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[573] Paxson 1994, p. 50
[574] *JBB* 2, p. 276
[575] Ibid, p. 278
[576] Ibid, p. 279

John Bull's state of intoxication symbolizes the nation being deluded by royalist propaganda, yet some family members manage to maintain their sanity. This narrative only makes sense if John Bull is interpreted as an 'isotype,' representing the entire nation as a unified principle in which many participate. An isotype, according to John Paxson, serves as a "convenient shorthand figure for a quantity difficult to grasp, in a comparative context, with the senses [....] The method possesses iconographic power and simplicity [....] The personification figure Death could indeed be an isotype of all dead persons"[577]. In the case of John Bull, this would mean that the personification figure John Bull is an isotype of all members of the English nation"[578]. In the broader context of the discussed texts, there is political significance to these tropes. The synecdoche is hierarchical, subsuming parts under a greater whole, with one part (the head) clearly superior to others. In contrast, the isotype is egalitarian, representing each individual member equally without hierarchical differences. If the nation acts united, John Bull takes action, symbolizing the entire family. If the nation is divided, John Bull cannot act, as he represents all members of the family equally. John Bull's struggle with intoxication mirrors a divided nation, where the voices urging him to wake up are as much a part of himself as the sections of his consciousness that are intoxicated. Each individual family member is in a metonymic relationship with every other member without an underlying hierarchy. This nation is a spiritual principle, as "[nations] are entirely different from the purely legal and bureaucratic tics of the state"[579]. *John Bull's Bible* tries to establish institutional offices in John Bull's Manor to present the nation as independent from them. According to this perspective, being part of the national body means being an agent in the national character without losing individuality and "generous and independent spirit", which itself is actually implied by that character. This egalitarian outlook aligns with Benedict Anderson's idea of a nation as a "deep, horizontal comradeship"[580]. As it is being intertwined with a distant historical past, it becomes "a continuity so seamless

[577] Paxson 1994, pp. 46-47
[578] Weißenfels 2019, p. 116
[579] Smith 1991, p. 15
[580] Anderson 1991, p. 7

that the past dissolves insensibly into the present, making the distinction between past and present both difficult and pointless"[581].

There are further hints in the text that suggest that *JBB* tries to set itself explicitly against the conception of the Body Politic. As the text comes to an end, it leaves the reader with an almost prophetic parable that well fits into its self-presentation as a Bible:

> The herring, the most numerous and important race of the waters, hence by some called the king of the sea, is the natural prey of the whale; who, while he follows and skirts the shoal, sucks in, and gulps down, his thousands at a mouthful, his millions at a meal: but should he become too voracious, and venture too far, the whole shoal throw themselves upon him, he is engulfed, suffocated, stifled, extinguished; and, as we often see, obliged to throw himself on the shore and perish. Let our Leviathans take warning.[582]

This parable begins by peculiarly labelling the herring as the "king of the sea," a designation that might not be universally accepted. However, there is a purpose to this classification. According to the parable, the herring, being the most numerous fish in the ocean, potentially holds the power to overthrow and defeat predators like the whale if they excessively exploit their advantage in the food chain. It's noteworthy that the whale is referred to as a Leviathan in this excerpt. This reference serves a dual purpose in that it alludes to the biblical Book of Job, where the Leviathan is an ancient monster defeated by God, and it also connects to Thomas Hobbes' famous book *Leviathan*, where Hobbes argues for the necessity of an absolute monarchy. This political dimension is diametrically opposed to what *JBB* seeks to propose. Interestingly, Hobbes' publication prominently features an illustration of the Body Politic on its cover, with the king as the head of the state and nation.[583] Given that earlier texts in the John Bull tradition align with the structural framework of the Body Politic and the Leviathan is explicitly mentioned in the text, it is reasonable to assume that the personification of John Bull was designed to directly oppose the concept of the Leviathan.

Especially the context of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a war with Revolutionary France broke out cannot be ignored. As I already hinted at in my chapter on "Frogs and Apes", there was an ever-

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[581] Kumar 2006, p. 414
[582] *JBB* 2, pp. 282-283
[583] See part 1 of this thesis.

increasing tendency to depict John Bull in the likeness of George III throughout the years of war with France, especially when set against depictions of Napoleon. This resemblance can be easily seen in the following print, which was published at a time of a lingering threat posed by a potential French invasion of Britain.

Figure 22 "Second Thoughts are Best"[584]

Apart from the inherent resemblance in stoutness shared by John Bull and an aging George III, in this portrayal, John Bull dons a wig and applies rouge, mirroring the style of the British monarch. However, he is attired in the fashion of a country gentleman, aligning with the typical wardrobe of John Bull. This amalgamation of the king and the common people conveys an image of the nation, naturally encompassing the monarch as one of them and, indeed, their representative. This implies the political concept of Britishness, emphasizing the unity of several nations against the French rather than promoting the nationalist notion of Englishness. In the world depicted by JBB, which is entirely nationalist in nature, such blending is explicitly unravelled and rejected.

In contrast, the French are depicted as having a completely different relationship between the nation and the stewardship, one that is incompatible with that of the English nation. In rewriting the events of the French Revolution,

[584] "Second Thoughts are Best". Thomas Williamson (pub.). London, 1803

JBB states that Lewis Baboon had been deposed by the Franks. In this picture, the Baboons are akin to the Stewards, while the Franks are structurally identical to John Bull. Yet there is a great difference in the relationship between the two principles of state and nation. In the case of the Franks, the Baboons constitute "their old owners" rather than being their employees[585]. What is also interesting is that in the case of the English, the proper name and thus the representative of the nation John Bull is identified with the people. In the French case, the proper name and representative function is held by Lewis Baboon, the king and not one of the people. This inverse relationship, which is exemplified by Lewis Baboon's ownership of the Franks implies a natural order in France that is absolutist and unfree.

As far as its story structure is concerned, there is something else that is interesting about this reinvented tradition of John Bull. It relies more on the traditions of myth-making than seems obvious at a first glance. Indeed, the way the very character of John Bull is introduced throughout the text resembles common traditions of ancient mythography. The Rank-Raglan mythotype is a framework of character construction of ancient mythography. Otto Rank, who first outlined the mythotype, based his model on a reading of Oedipus Rex and later it was extended by Lord Raglan.[586] The protagonist of *John Bull's Bible* bears enough resemblance to that mythotype to seriously consider the notion that he is crafted on the narrative patterns those classical heroes share. In essence, the Rank-Raglan mythotype is a list of features that is typical for stories of the classical hero-king. Richard Carrier slightly adapted the list to make up 22 different story elements.[587] While Carrier uses the chart to determine the likelihood of a character being historical, which in the case of John Bull would be non-sensical, it can also be used to simply determine conventions of story-telling. In the case of *John Bull's Bible*, the protagonist corresponds to at least half of the 22 features. I will disregard the other features, which are concerned with the divinity of the hero, his infancy, and his death. The other features as stated by Carrier, are at times explicitly and sometimes implicitly found in *JBB*:

[585] *JBB* 2, p. 197

[586] Cf. Rank, Otto; Segal, Robert A. and Dundes, Alan (eds.). *In Quest of the Hero*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990

[587] See Carrier, Richard. *On the Historicity of Jesus: Why We Might Have Reason for Doubt*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014, pp. 229-230

- The hero's mother is a virgin
- His father is a king or the heir of a king
- The circumstances of his conception are unusual
- We are told nothing of his childhood
- He is crowned, hailed or becomes king
- He reigns uneventfully (i.e., without wars or national catastrophes)
- He prescribes laws
- He then loses favor with the gods or his subjects
- He is driven from the throne or city
- Before taking a throne or a wife, he battles and defeats a great adversary
- He marries a queen or princess related to his predecessor[588]

While I will not completely go through the list to find every single correspondence, I will refer to some more generalising tendencies that the text displays and point out in how far the text adapts the conventions to suit its own agenda. Points one to three on the list can be somewhat summarised with regards to John Bull's origin. The text does not mention that John's mother was a virgin and neither does it narrate the events surrounding his conception. What the text also does not mention is John's father. So, it would seem that these points on the list could be dismissed almost trivially. Yet, as I have already explained, John Bull's sudden appearance in the story is a bit startling. Further, the fact that his father is not mentioned, and his mother is never referred to as a widow, divorced, or anything that might hint at John Bull's father, the text at least leaves the possibility open that she was never married and may have undertaken John Bull's conception all by herself, that is to say a virgin birth, both corroborating the first and the third points of the hero-type.

A pseudo-husband to John Bull's Mother is mentioned in the text, yet one who is not at all related to John Bull:

> We will begin with observing that the celebrated Peter, or Lord Peter, pretending to have been married to John Bull's Mother, had at one time acquired great influence in her House, and assumed an almost absolute authority in all her concerns.[589]

This Peter represents the Catholic Church, as alluding to the supposed founding of the Western Church by St Peter. Yet the marriage between him and John Bull's Mother is said to be only one pretended by the former. Here it is hinted at that the Anglican Church had always been independent from Rome, projecting

[588] Ibid
[589] *JBB* 1, p. 27

an English Protestantism back into the earliest times of English history, which is a reinvented tradition insofar as the evolution of the nation is retroactively explained in a teleological way.

The lack of depicting John Bull's father does not cut him off from a line of ancestry, however. The text mentions two of John Bull's ancestors by name: "Dangle and Equester", undoubtedly a reference to the mythological Anglo-Saxon warlords Hengist and Horsa, the first of whom allegedly founded the Kingdom of Kent[590]. Indeed, in this we find something of a royal descend that would make John Bull an heir of a king, thus putting him in line with the second criterion. This royalty of John Bull is set against the pseudo-royalty of the Steward, who is only John Bull's employee and not his rightful superior. Again, in retroactively projecting the text's agenda onto the past, the nation is anachronistically given primacy from the earliest of times.

Especially the criteria that have to do with the hardships of the hero, such as him being dethroned and having to battle a great adversary are ultimately linked to the implicit antagonism between John Bull and his Steward, who unjustly assumes his rule even though he is only supposed to be a clerk, and who conspires against John Bull as to remain a foe that has to be defeated by the time the story ends. Through this parallel with classical story structures, *JBB* establishes John Bull as a hero-king. This is especially interesting since John Bull is best understood as an isotype representing each and every individual member of the English nation. As a logical conclusion, the text establishes an idea in which each member of the nation likewise is its rightful ruler. Yet it is not any one individually who rules, but only the nation as a natural collective with one distinct will and indeed spirit.

The text thus attempts to offer a coherent and complete narrative of an English national character that can be traced back throughout history. In order to validate its claims of authenticity, the text discredits other writings on the matter, presenting itself as the true 'Bible' of English nationalism. In changing the myth to suit its own political agenda the text combines notions of Romantic Nationalism with anti-monarchical tendencies, positioning the national body against the Body Politic, which it deems false. For that purpose, the text changes

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[590] Ibid, p. 10

the very ‘constitution’ of the national character by replacing the hierarchical literary trope of synecdoche underlying the national personification of a traditional Body Politic with an isotypical understanding, which is essentially egalitarian in nature. These ideological foundations, like the national character constructed by the text, are projected back into the early days of national history thus creating a sense of timelessness and continuity of the nation. This temporal extrapolation is used to explain national history up until the time of its writing. In doing so, the text legitimises a teleological view that is the necessary consequence of that character.

The French may not feature as prominently in this text as they do in other texts of the John Bull tradition, as the great antagonist Lewis Baboon had to give way for a greater antagonist in the person of the Steward. Yet even here, the absolutist tendencies of the Stewardship are ultimately blamed on the French, as the line of English kings became to some extend French after the Norman conquest. This natural order of slavery and absolutism is presented as a natural quality of the French, who are thus deemed incompatible with an English idea of a people that is free and independent.

As far as Kolakowski’s model is concerned, this text offers a perfect example of how a personified notion of an entire nation can be put into practice. Compared to the other texts I discussed, JBB offers a panoramic view of the isotype of the nation, while the other texts only offered snapshots that hinted at their isotypical nature. Characters like Dr Ferret are individualised embodiments of a greater national spirit, representing ideal versions of members of the nation. John Bull is by far less contextualised insofar as he represents all members of the nation in their natural union.

PART 4: Conclusion

Figure 23 "I say, quel chemeng à la Pally royal?" [591]

[591] "I say, quel chemeng à la Pally royal?". Humphrey, Hannah (pub.). London, 1817

Published in 1817, this print shows a young English traveller, who is asking for his way to the Palais Royal in the city of Paris. He is shown the way by a somewhat older French *perruquier*. One of the first thing that will strike the reader is the vastly different appearance of the two characters. The Englishman wears the great coat and breeches of his time, a style that is highly influenced by military models. The Frenchman wears a dress that appears to be highly influenced by the aristocratic fashions of the *Ancien Regime*, especially signalled by his tailcoat and buckled shoes. In comparison, the English style has a more functional appearance, while the French style is much more revealing in the sense that it highlights body shape. Supporting the fashionableness of the Frenchman is the fact that he is a wig maker, a profession that is not only highly associated with Frenchness, but also with eighteenth-century traditions rather than with the early nineteenth century.

However, the French wig maker does not wear a wig himself. Instead he is depicted with a head full of wild and uncombed hair. As it seems, his overall appearance, in spite of his fashionable attire, is somewhat disturbing, having overexaggerated facial features and a very wide stance with his knees bent. Also, his gestures seem much more exaggerated than the posture of the Englishman, who leans in his stick while the other hand is in his pocket. On the one hand, there is a stark contrast between the Englishman and the Frenchman in this print. On the other hand, the Frenchman alone is depicted as a conflict in and of himself. The asymmetrical juxtaposition of an overly polished exterior with a deformed interior comments on a stereotype deeply held towards the French. Fashion is used symbolically in order to comment on the entire French way of life, hinting at something more equivalent to its French root *façon*, Throughout the discourse, the French are portrayed as completely obsessed with appearances, neglecting everything else completely. They may display the most polished manners at times but are said to have a mindset and moral disposition that is constructed that is completely rotten.

In his shop window, all the wigs on display are for female styles, signalling a great emphasis on female appearances. Indeed, most of the time French fashion is commented on in the discourse, it is with reference to women. They are said to have a predominantly decorative function in the French capital, as they patrol the streets for the sole purpose of being seen. This is emphasised

by the size of the shop windows, which are far bigger than they have be to display what they are displaying, just like the doors are much taller than any person passing them would be. In *Six Weeks at Long's*, this architectural decision was directly connected with Parisian fashion in attire. The claim was that the new bonnets worn by the women of Paris had become so high that the doors had to be scaled up dramatically. This is only one of many examples in which latest fashion was claimed to be the cause of virtually everything going on in Paris. As London is always presented to be the exact opposite of Paris, the English capital is always implicitly constructed through those depictions of Paris.

In addition to its connection to the core stereotype held towards the French, being that they are entirely controlled by vanity, the large windows and open doors hint at a further manifestation of that stereotype. Throughout the discourse, the French are constructed as having intermingled private and public spheres as they are said to conduct business at home and have pleasure at work. As privacy is something that the English are said to hold very dearly, a trait that had development since last third of the seventeenth century, this is a further device used to make the French appear more alien to English eyes. The tall and unveiled windows reveal the entire interior of the place, not only in shops, but also in private housing, as other illustrations tend to show. This goes hand in hand with the Parisian tendency to use the city as a display case, in which every Parisian, particularly the women, are just decorative items.

This supposedly French habit to allow casual intrusions into the private sphere reveals itself similarly well in the physical contact the *perruquier* makes with the Englishman, as he stretches his hand into the innermost of interpersonal spaces. Grabbing the Englishman by the coat would be seen as entering his intimate space, something that would be frowned upon in in English society. Yet the grabbing gesture also implies something else. Grabbing someone by the coat would in most situations be considered an aggressive gesture. It is aggressive in the sense that the French are supposed to be actively trying to get hold of travelling Englishmen's money. And this is where the Palais Royal comes into play.

It is no coincidence that the young traveller looks specifically for the Palais Royal. In fact, it would seem that it is one of the major points of interest for travelling Englishmen. While its name appears relatively harmless on the

surface level, a contemporary audience would have associated it with nothing less than a Parisian brothel. Indeed, it is said that all the pleasures that are to be found in Paris can be found in the Palais Royal, which is constructed as a condensed microcosm of the entire city. It is permanently pointed out that this place is a perfect representation of the entire city, as it contains within everything and every character the city has to offer. And by drawing the reader's attention to the fact that especially carnal pleasures can be acquired there, a city comparable to Sodom or Gomorrah is presented to an English audience.

Within the Palais Royal, as the *perruquier*'s grabbing gesture suggests, the Englishman will lose whatever money he carries with him, and probably more if he puts himself in debt. There are many accounts of that place being specifically designed to cheat and exploit travelling Englishmen by luring them in with the multitude of pleasures that can be had there. Only then will the French orchestrate carefully designed schemes to get every bit of money of the English that they possibly can. In *Six Weeks in Paris*, this is a central part of the entire plot, as the Palais Royal almost becomes something like the capital of Paris, where everything in the city connects and from which everything is controlled. The *perruquier* in this print could well be seen as another version of the kind of character that Fanfaron was in *SWP*. Not only does he serve as an occasional signpost to that place, but it seems like his only function is to guide the unsuspecting traveller there. There is indeed an organic relationship between Parisians and the Palais Royal, which is constructed as a microcosm of the entire city, and the heart and soul of a French national spirit.

As a public space, the Palais Royal is constructed as particularly disturbing, as it puts on display some of the most morally questionable businesses and actions that would otherwise remain rather private and hidden. Moreover, the fact that a building that has once been, as the name suggests, a royal palace is now nothing more than a brothel is used to draw a picture of recent French history. As a former palace inhabited by aristocrats it represents the old splendour and grandness of the *Ancien Régime*. Yet with the Revolution it became a space that was entirely open to the public and also hosted meetings connected with radical political groups, such as the Jacobin club. In addition to that, it became more and more of an entertainment and commercial site, as just

before the Revolution shops began opening on its grounds, a trend that would increase exponentially until the end of the 18th century.

It is thus within the walls of the Palais Royal that travelling Englishmen would not only lose their money but also their morals. The moral decay that the place is supposed to represent invariably draws from infernal references and allusions that construct it as a type of ninth circle of hell within the Parisian city of Dis. In this particular context, the wig maker on the print above could very well be seen as a demon within that city, pointing the guideless traveller to his own damnation. In several travel narratives of the time, English travellers to Paris either fail to listen to their benign Virgilian type of guides, or they fail to find such benevolent spirits altogether, thus falling for the seductions of the city. That infernal dimension is set within a context of a formerly Catholic France, which to an English audience would be bad enough, which has become only worse through the atheism that is connected to the Revolution. This would throw the France from a supposedly morally corrupt system into a system that is morally void.

As far as the urban space of Paris is concerned, the Palais Royal is constructed as the natural vanishing point of the French capital. In the print above, the two characters are placed directly on the street in front of the shop. A typical English reader of the time will notice the lack of any kind of pavement separating streets and buildings. Indeed, all representations of Parisian street in travel literature comment on the dangers posed to passengers on the streets of the city, as they have to share them with carts, horses, other passengers and dirt. The Palais Royal, on the other hand, would allow for an experience of Paris that is free from those dangers of traffic.

In all of this London is completely absent from the impressions of Paris that the texts provide. Yet it is with regards to what I called 'negative empiricism' that London is implicitly present in those descriptions of the Other space. In many cases in which Paris is described, it is evaluated to the degree in which it is unlike London, which inversely is constructed at the heart and soul of the English nation and a manifestation of an English national spirit that is characterised by its moderate and rational nature. And while many structures in Paris are sometimes directly compared to equivalent structures in London, the

Palais Royal, which is a representation of everything that is rotten in France, unsurprisingly does not have any counterpart whatsoever in the English capital.

Apart from his appearance being somewhat satanic, there is something else that the wig maker is reminiscent of. When placed next to the relatively neutral looking Englishman, he appears less human and more animalistic. He seems just as much like a monkey as he does like a man. Indeed, it had been a common thing to depict the French as monkeys throughout the eighteenth century. Various prints of the time show different metamorphoses of the French along a continuum between men and monkeys and everything in between. The wig maker above is somewhere halfway through the metamorphosis, being a strange blend between monkey and human. Within the eighteenth century it was a common trope to depict nations as different species of animal. While the French would later more and more be associated with frogs, depicting them as monkeys was just as much of a commonality. This association serves a very particular purpose, which is found in the symbolic dimension typically attributed to that animal. Monkeys commonly represented vanity, which lies in their supposed tendency to mimic others. And vanity is the core stereotype held towards the French, making the monkey a particularly powerful symbolic representation of that national character. Portraying the French as an altogether different species of being to some extend goes against the general assumption that an English/British national identity is based on civic considerations, as this symbolism is a form of proto-racism which is more commonly associated with ethnic nationalism.

As the French constitute the most widely constructed Other against which those English texts are positioned, those descriptions of the French are primarily used to construct an English national identity. Indeed, since the core stereotype held against the French is that of vanity, if the English are supposed to be the exact opposite of the French, they are in turn constructed as modest. Be it in architecture, in fashion or in politics, vanity allegedly makes the French act irrationally. The English are more pragmatic due to their modesty in turn. Their styles are presented as more functional. Similarly, as the French obsession with fashion forces them to change radically, the English are presented as more based in tradition. This conservatism as placed against a French radicalism is particularly central to the discourses of the time, as there was a fear of domestic

radicalism in Post-Napoleonic England. Especially with outspoken radical figures in England, such as Lord Byron, there was a perceived danger of revolutionary movements spawning on British home soil.

Indeed, all of those different discursive threads find their most potent juncture points in narrative configurations, which highly depend on specific constellations of characters. The scene depicted in the print might just as well be an illustration of *The Englishman in Paris*, as the unguided young traveller is exposed to the dangers of the French capital, only to be financially and morally ruined in the course of his journey. As a young traveller, he represents a specific generation of Englishmen, who are deluded by accounts of the greatness of France under the *Ancien Regime*. Very much set in the tradition of the Grand Tour, he may seek cultural refinement in Paris, but Post-Napoleonic France has little or nothing to do with the Old France. The Grand Tour tradition in which both *SWP* and *TEP* are set is completely lost in a Post-Napoleonic world. And any attempts to reclaim it are doomed to ultimate failure. Admittedly, the Grand Tour tradition has always been met with suspicion, as cultural refinement only too often reduced to excessive orgies abroad. It is not that Post-Napoleonic accounts could add anything new to Grand Tour scepticism. Rather, critical traditions were appropriated for a Post-Napoleonic context, as the perceived cultural threat posed by France was at its height.

In fact, both *SWP* and *TEP*, the basic plots of which are almost identical, relied heavily on already established stories that were familiar to an eighteenth-century audience. *The Englishman's Fortnight in Paris* is a pre-Revolutionary story that made use of the idea of an upper-class Englishman travelling to Paris, only to be financially ruined by the locals. What both *SWP* and *TEP* change about the story, though, is the fact that in *Fortnight*, there still exists a civilised class in Paris, which the Englishman potentially could rely on. However, he is seduced by the easily available pleasures and by morally corrupt characters. In *SWP* and *TEP*, that civilised class is completely absent, leaving the Englishman on completely hostile and dangerous cultural terrain. The character type that is employed to serve as a protagonist in all of these stories is the Rake, a hedonistic person who is racing towards his ultimate and complete financial and social downfall as he tries to climb up the socio-cultural ladder under immense expenditures. Ever since Early Modern times, the Rake had been a commonly

known character. Immortalised most prominently by Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*, especially in the context of a middle-class youngster rather than an aristocrat, the Rake became also visually well-known. The protagonist of *SWP* is a lord, yet the protagonist of *TEP* seems to be a middle-class person aspiring to an upper-class habitus.

Indeed, class-related lifestyles play a significant role in the construction of an English national identity. Especially the middle class is constructed as trying to adopt eighteenth-century cosmopolitan ideals, which lead them to take inspirations from France. While in the eighteenth century Francophilia had been socially acceptable to some degree, those Post-Napoleonic texts construct those tendencies as 'Gallomania', a disease that could very well undo English culture completely. And it is predominantly the English youth, who had grown up next to a Post-Revolutionary France rather than seen its transition, who are said to be especially susceptible to that disease. Yet as the French and English national spirits are constructed as being completely incompatible, this is doomed to fail.

It is not only on the other side of the channel that these dangers are constructed. *Six Weeks at Long's* offered a glimpse into Bond Street as a place in London that is fundamentally driven by fashion. Here the reader encounters a variety of characters that both explicitly and implicitly adopted the French way of living. The disease of Gallomania is omnipresent there, almost transmuting parts of the English capital into quasi-spaces of Paris. Among more general personifications of members of the English upper and middle classes there, also avatars of flesh-and-blood-persons are used in this novel. Especially a thinly-veiled version of Lord Byron, arguably the greatest English celebrity of the time, and a well-known cosmopolitan, easily fits into the morally corrupt and Francophile society of that place.

In order to construct a national character, the texts rely on very much the same devices that are used to construct individual characters. In a sense, the characters in those texts are personifications of an abstract idea of national spirit that are discursively constructed within webs of stereotypes. The embodiment of that national spirit is a rather complex issue. Before nationalism, states were metaphorically constructed according to the trope of the Body Politic, a personification of a country in which the king is the head, the upper body is constituted by his subjects, and the lower half is the land which he rules. Yet as

the nation is essentially non-hierarchical in principle, since it is divorced from the political and legal institutions of the state, the Body Politic trope has to be modified to serve as a personification of the nation. However, a strong relationship to the Body Politic can still be identified.

All the members of the nation constitute part of the body, but there is no identifiable head or other structural hierarchies. While the Body Politic was highly synecdochical in nature, the body of the nation is isotypical, as each member is equal to every other member. This relationship is most strongly constructed in the texts of the John Bull tradition, as John Bull is the ultimate personification of the English nation, and each member of the nation equally takes his place, as they all are John Bulls. As it was the case in the medieval idea of the king's two bodies, the body of each member of the nation likewise is an individual national body that at the same time exists as part of the metaphorical national body. The tropes of personification and ideation are both dialectically intertwined in this structural framework.

Yet even outside of the texts explicitly dealing with John Bull as a character, the body of the nation is there in various manifestations. Relating back to the Body Politic, the country itself becomes part of the national body. Especially the capital cities of the nations are used to construct a sense of national body that is strongly tied to a national spirit. The splendour and misery in the city of Paris, just as much as the comfortable functionality of London, are bodily manifestations of their respective national spirits of vanity and modesty. And as it is portrayed, the urban spaces and their inhabitants together function as a greater organism, one that is only controlled by its underlying national spirit. The nation may be imagined in one sense or another, but it is always embodied.

Indeed, this analysis is as elegant as it is compelling. Drawing from the human tendency to superimpose a human form onto almost everything, including natural forces, the step from members of the nation to the nation as a whole is an all too easy one. While a logician might deem this a fallacy of composition, national sentiments exceed rational and empirical scrutiny, drawing heavily from emotional, and most importantly, narrative dimensions. Narrative does follow a certain logic in a sense, but it acquires its truth value from its syntagmatic embeddedness in a *kulturelle Responsionsstruktur*, on the one hand, and from its paradigmatic meaning as part of a narrative tradition that

is immediately understandable to the reader. The narrative of the nation, which manifests in individual texts of national discourse, is the centre of gravity that exercises its attractive force on the many voices of that discourse, offering an interpretative value system that present the reader with a heuristic that helps to structure the otherwise wild and diverse discourse. Outspokenly national narratives strive to become centres of narrative gravity in this textual web, as each attempts to become an ideal manifestation of the national spirit and thus become the head of the body of texts.

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