Empire, Exile, Identity: Locating Sir James Mackintosh's histories of England

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I, Anna Louise Gust, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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This thesis explores the configuration and performance of national identity in Britain and the British empire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, through a case study of the life of Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832). Using Mackintosh's unpublished journals and letters, alongside his published and political writings, it illustrates the relationship between social identity and spatial location in the construction of national belonging. It shows how Mackintosh's social and geographical location both enabled his vision of the nation to be influential and informed that vision. Born in the Scottish Highlands, Mackintosh received his education from leading proponents of the Scottish enlightenment in Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Encouraged to identify himself with a concept of civilisation that was equated to an urban, metropolitan and middle-class masculinity, Mackintosh distanced himself from his origins and connections with Highland Scotland, a space deemed 'backwards' and uncivilised. As a young Whig gentleman living in London during the 1790s, Mackintosh brought Scottish Enlightenment principles to bear on debates over the French Revolution and reform in Britain. Configuring the nation through this debate, Mackintosh used classed, gendered and racialised tropes to draw the imaginary boundaries of national belonging. The relationship between national belonging, social identity and spatial location is most evident during the period that Mackintosh spent in Bombay. Mackintosh's portrayal of himself 'in exile' in Bombay, his attempts to reform Bombay's colonial society and to protect himself and his family from Indian 'degeneracy' offer an insight into what it meant for him to feel 'at home'. Arguing that this concept of 'home' was premised upon an exclusively white and middle class masculinity that was imagined spatially as metropolitan, this thesis shows how Mackintosh attempted to write this identity into the histories of England that he produced at the end of his life.

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Introduction

'… and we still have to stare into the absence
of men who would not, women who could not, speak
to our life – this unexcavated hole
called civilisation, this act of translation, this half-world.'[1]

This thesis is about the configuration and performance of 'civilisation' and 'Britishness' in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It argues that constructing 'civilisation' as a whole meant drawing boundaries around certain people, their behaviours and worldviews that served as representative of 'civilisation', whilst at the same time defining the differences that led to the exclusion of others. In enlightenment Europe, 'civilisation' was imagined spatially, as belonging to and originating in 'Europe', and sometimes specifically 'England'. It overlapped with, and in many ways contradicted, attempts to define the specificities of 'the British' as a nation and an empire. Conceived of hierarchically, 'civilisation' was imagined both as the universal and as a quality inherent to a small group of people. For those whose voices contributed towards this imagining, class, gender, skin colour and geographical location was integral to their ability to portray and reinforce the idea of 'civilisation' in their own image. This thesis asks what enabled some to represent their world as *the* world and how was that world imagined? Through what 'acts of translation' were certain identities projected outwards in space and time and with what expense to other ways of being? What, in the process of defining and classifying 'civilisation', was lost, erased or left behind?

In order to explore these questions, I have focussed on the life of one man, Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832), who left behind a large collection of correspondence and journals in addition to the history, philosophy and political tracts that he published during his lifetime. A Whig gentleman, a man of letters, a judge, an historian, Member of Parliament and conversationalist, Mackintosh was a well-respected and well-known figure amongst the British and European elite of the early nineteenth century. Although far from being a central character in today's narratives of British history, in his own day Mackintosh made a significant contribution towards constructing a dominant discourse, which shaped concepts of

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[1] Adrienne Rich, *The Dream of a Common Language, poems 1974-77* (New York, 1978), p.27.

'civilisation', 'Europe' and 'Britain'. Mackintosh was one of those who could and did 'speak to our life'. Indeed, as I argue across this thesis, Mackintosh added his voice to the reconfiguration of a collective 'we' in early-nineteenth-century Britain and its empire. Through his political and historical writings and his role as a public and professional man, he presented various interpretations of what the nation should be, what constituted civilisation and how the two were related. Yet it was not only in his 'public' and published writing that Mackintosh put forward an idea of what it meant to be a civilised, British man. In the volumes of letters and journals that have survived him and are now deposited in archives in London and Edinburgh, Mackintosh constructed his Britishness and his masculinity. This thesis is an exploration of the connections between these textual 'public' and 'private' performances. That is to say, it is a study of the interrelationship between the construction of an individual and a collective identity.

Why focus on Mackintosh, on one man, whose influence on national or global affairs was neither dramatic nor remotely exceptional? Spanning a period of immense socio-economic and political changes, Mackintosh's life provides a lens onto some of the ways in which these transitional times were experienced. Privileged by the social and geographical mobility that his class and gender afforded him, Mackintosh was able to project his ideas into a public-political sphere that went towards creating a dominant discourse. His struggles to formulate his ideas offer an insight into the formation of trends that would, by the mid-nineteenth century, harden and become dominant. Born to a landed, petty gentry family in the Highlands of Scotland, Mackintosh's class status is complicated by his origins on the periphery of Britain's internal empire. Yet although Mackintosh fell far short of belonging to a socio-economic elite, his status and education was enough to secure him access to 'high society', albeit without the assurance of easy access to its patronage networks. Mackintosh certainly possessed an intelligence and learning that impressed his contemporaries and enabled him to contribute to debates with a coherence and articulacy that caused his voice to be heard above others. Yet historians have generally studied Mackintosh's philosophical and political arguments for the use he made of different traditions of thought, rather than for any particularly innovative angles.[2] His initial enthusiasm for the French Revolution, as

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[2] See section below: 'Sir James Mackintosh in historiography', pp.19-23.

well as his hasty retreat from radicalism in the late 1790s, mirrors the trajectory of many educated middle-class and elite men and women. His concerns about Britain's imperial expansion, the value of colonial possessions and his simultaneous participation in the imperial project reflect much of the contradictoriness of his Scottish enlightenment mentors and his own scholarly contemporaries. Mackintosh's contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, the foremost quarterly of the nineteenth century, shaped but also embodied Whig views towards Parliamentary reform. As Jane Rendall argued in her thesis on Mackintosh's political ideology and activity, 'his opinions, prejudices, reactions, even his rationalisations were formed in a certain conventional mode.'[3]

If Mackintosh's political ideologies can be considered representative of his particular social and political milieu, the trajectory of his life was also broadly characteristic. Mackintosh conformed to, and then in turn reinforced, the dominant expectation that the pattern of his life would comprise study, work, marriage and children. Although his ideas about women's education were more progressive than was generally common, his beliefs about women's place in society and the household over which he himself presided reflected dominant gender and class norms. Similarly, Mackintosh's 'life-geography' from Highland to Lowland Scotland and then to London, his time spent in India with the intention of growing rich and his ultimate return to England, was quite typical of many Scottish gentlemen. Like vast numbers of men of all classes from across Britain, particularly from Scotland and Ireland, Mackintosh's search for a livelihood took him back and forth between Britian's imperial peripheries and metropolitan London. By early adulthood, Mackintosh was embedded in an ever-expanding social and political network that spanned Britain, Europe, India, Africa and the Americas. As Alan Lester and David Lambert have argued, the flow of people, newspapers, publications and correspondence across the British empire shaped 'political ideologies and personal sensibilities.'[4] Tracing the life of one man along an imperial life-journey offers an opportunity to explore the ways in which the specific sites and connections between

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[3] Jane Rendall, 'The Political Ideas and Activities of Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832): A Study in Whiggism between 1789 and 1832)', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University College London, 1972, p.ii.
[4] Lambert and Lester, 'Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects' in *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long 19th century*, Alan Lester and David Lambert (eds) (Cambridge, 2006), p.28.

those sites influenced 'ideologies' and 'sensibilities'. To use Linda Colley's formulation, biography can act as 'as a way of deepening our understanding of the global past'.[5] It can also enable an exploration of how that 'globe' and its past was conceptualised and imagined. Thus, this thesis looks at how Mackintosh configured his identity in relationship to the multiple sites that he inhabited across his lifetime.[6]

Empire, Exile, Identity: literature review and conceptual frameworks

This thesis was originally conceived as a study of colonial India and of the impact of colonial experience in India on ideas of history and British identity. Ranajit Guha's *A Rule of Property for Bengal*, Eric Stokes' *Utilitarians in India* and Burton Stein's *Munro* have illustrated how the theories of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political economists and reformers in Britain and Europe had been employed to rule the parts of India under British domination.[7] More recently, Javed Majeed's *Ungoverned Imaginings* has explored the relationship between the rhetoric of rule in India and political language and debates in Britain.[8] Reading these historians' explanations of the patterns of thought and influences that went into formulating modes of rule in India, it seemed that historical interpretation had a significant impact upon their ways of understanding Indian practices of land administration, rule and of the formulation of colonial practices. Historical concepts drawn from European enlightenment historiography, most notably feudalism, were employed to understand Indian governance.[9] If this were the case, to what extent was the reverse also true? Did the experience of interacting with Indian people and Indian styles of rule inform the narrative construction of British history? This question, aspects of which do get partially addressed in this thesis, led me to engage with a debate over 'colonial knowledge' that has fundamentally informed the questions that I ask and the arguments that I make across this thesis.

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[5] Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (London, 2007), p.xix.
[6] Paraphrasing Doreen Massey, *For Space*, (London and New Delhi, 2005), p.71.
[7] Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property for Bengal* (Durham and London, 1996, 1st pub.1963); Eric Stokes, *The Utilitarians in India* (London, 1959); Burton Stein, *Thomas Munro* (Delhi, 1989).
[8] Javed Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings* (Oxford, 1992), p.22.
[9] Anna Gust, 'Ambiguity and Ambivalence in Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan', unpublished MA thesis, SOAS (University of London), 2006.

In *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* Bernard Cohn argued that the British had 'unknowingly and unwittingly invaded and conquered not only a territory but an epistemological space as well'.[10] Exploring the ways in which the British interpreted that space and constructed knowledge about India, Cohn showed how integral that knowledge was to conquest and rule. Striking many chords with Said's *Orientalism* and Foucault's paradigmatic discussions of the relationship between knowledge and power, Cohn's arguments sparked a number of studies into the ways in which the British colonial project constructed, or 'imagined' India.[11] Thus, in *Imagining India,* Ronald Inden interrogated nineteenth-century colonial constructions of India's political and social systems. He showed how scholar-administrators' notions of the ever-enduring, ancient 'Indian village community' served to legitimise British dominion over India at state level.[12] Similarly, Nicholas Dirks illustrated the ways in which colonists' classification and categorisation of Indian peoples as 'essentially' caste based, concretised previously mobile and fluid caste groupings.[13] Thinking about India as an alternative 'epistemological space' and the colonial project as one of 'translation' made explicit the very real inequalities of power without denying the substance and complexity of pre-colonial Indian systems.

The extent of this inequality and the success of colonial power, however, became a moot point. In acknowledging and studying the processes by which British colonists constructed a hegemonic knowledge of India, little room was left for considerations of 'native' agency. It was in part to this lack of 'native' agency that C.A. Bayly responded with *Empire and Information.[14]* Studying the systems of communication across the Mughal and British periods of rule, Bayly argued for a relative continuity of information gathering by the respective rulers and for the reliance of the British on 'native' intelligence networks. The fragility of British knowledge and therefore also of British rule was evident in the 'information panics' that shook the fringes of the Indian empire in particular. In more stable areas, knowledge was gathered through collaboration and dialogue with 'native' peoples and was, Bayly argues, less about power relationships than a mutually beneficial

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[10] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, 1996), p.4.
[11] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978); Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* , A.M. Sheridan Smith (trans) (London and New York, 1969).
[12] Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (London, 1990).
[13] Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, 2001).
[14] Christopher Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (New Delhi, 1999).

process of enlightenment.[15] Bayly recommended Eugene Irschick's dialogic model of colonial knowledge formation. In *Dialogue and History*, Irschick questioned the claim of scholars such as Said that 'knowledge is constructed by willed activity of a stronger over a weaker group' and argued through a case study of the area around Madras that 'changed significations are the heteroglot and dialogic production of all members of any historical situation.'[16] Irschick saw the knowledge that was formed for colonial governance as the product of communication and mis-communication and the meetings of expectations that were historically constituted. The result was a dynamic system of knowledge that was used not only by British colonists to understand subject populations but also by those populations to represent themselves.[17] As Sudipta Kaviraj, Michael Dodson and Norman Peabody have also shown, the knowledge constructed through colonial encounter was used by both Bengali and Tamil nationalists, albeit in very different ways, to construct an imagined community of Indians and Dravidian/Tamils respectively.[18]

With similar questions, but from a slightly different angle, Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* focused on the construction of 'colonial knowledge' through travel writing and exploration. Pratt showed how this form of imperialism 'produced the rest of the world' for European readers whilst at the same time constructing the domestic, 'European' subject. In many ways Irshick's approach resonates with Mary Louise Pratt's concepts of the 'contact zone' to describe the 'space of colonial encounters' and 'transculturation' in which subordinated groups select and use material transmitted to them from a dominant culture.[19] But where Irschick avoided consideration of the deeper structures of power behind knowledge production, the consolidation of the bourgeoisie's position in an increasingly capitalist socio-economic order is central to Pratt's analysis. Pratt understood the thirst for new discoveries, facts and categories of knowledge amongst the late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century European bourgeoisie as a hegemonising process. Science, Pratt argued, operated as a means of projecting urban, bourgeois

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[15] 'Much more was actually known about India in 1880 than in 1780 by both Indians and Europeans, and that knowledge was as much an embarrassment as an advantage to its British rulers.' *Ibid*, p.371.
[16] Eugene Irschick, *Dialogue and History* (Delhi, 1994), p.8.
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Unhappy Consicousness* (Delhi, 1995); Norbert Peabody, 'Tod's Rajast'han and the Boundaries of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century India', *Modern Asian Studies* 30 (1996), pp.185-220.
[19] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.6

Europe onto the rest of the world, systematising and imposing order onto spaces deemed to be chaotic.[20] Colonial knowledge was as fundamental to the creation of the domestic subject as it was to colonial subjection.[21] More than any historian of colonial India itself, Pratt offered the analytical tools and conceptual framework that would enable me to approach the questions of the influence of India – both as epistemological space and as lived experience – on British history. Employing those approaches, however, led me to question more deeply the very construction of 'British' as a national identity and 'Europe' as the central referent for 'civilisation'.

In the light of Pratt, my questions became less about the narrative construction of history and more about the conceptual construction of 'Britishness' and its relationship to 'civilisation'. This has led me to engage with, and to situate my own research within, what has broadly been termed the 'new imperial' history. This 'new imperial' history was borne out of a broad coming-together of political and academic concerns with difference, subjectivity and post-colonial nationhood.[22] Franz Fanon's powerful exploration of the impact of European colonialism on black, male subjectivity in *Black Skin, White Masks* and *Wretched of the Earth* raised questions about the formation of identity and selfhood in the context of hegemonic whiteness.[23] Through material plunder and historical production, he argued, European colonisers had written the black man out of both history and humanity.[24] Fanon's claim that 'Europe is literally the creation of the Third World' represents the flip side of the same coin from which Edward Said made his argument about orientalism.[25] The production of knowledge by colonisers about 'the East', Said argued, brought 'the Orient' into existence as 'Europe's' feminised, exoticised Other.[26] If Fanon and Said can be seen as the 'founding fathers' of the post-colonial turn, however, the 'new imperial' history itself owes as much to feminist and anti-racist analytical approaches. As Catherine Hall explained in her introduction to *Cultures of Empire*, the idea that the differences, most notably

[20] *Ibid.*, pp.29-31.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] See Kathleen Wilson, 'Introduction', *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and Empire, 1660-1840* (Cambridge, 1994).
[23] Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Jean-Paul Satre (preface) and Constance Farrington (trans) (Harmondsworth 1965); Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* Charles Lam Markmann (trans) (New York, 1967).
[24] Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, p.41.
[25] *Ibid.*, p.81.
[26] Said, *Orientalism*, pp.4-9.

between woman/man or black/white, are socially and culturally constructed and historically constituted has fundamentally informed recent histories of empire.[27] In *Tensions of Empire*, Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper argued that a 'grammar of difference' was constantly being reformulated through interactions between colonial and colonised people during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These 'grammars of difference' informed discourses of progress, civilisation and nationhood and the ways in which metropole and colony were imagined in relationship to each other.[28]

Over the past two decades, historians such as Catherine Hall, Antoinette Burton, Ann Stoler, Mrinalini Sinha and Kathleen Wilson, have argued that metropole and colony were not separate, 'given' entities, but mutually constitutive and unstable spaces. The flow of people, ideas, money and materials across colonial networks saw the configuration and reconfiguration of identities that were constituted through interactions, albeit often of radical inequality.[29] Building on their arguments, my thesis explores the nature of colonial interaction and the limits of the 'contact zone'. This angle of my work, however, has been somewhat dictated by both the nature and content of the sources I have studied in order to understand James Mackintosh's colonial and metropolitan experiences. When I first 'discovered' Mackintosh whilst exploring the Bombay Literary Society, which he established in 1804, he initially appeared to be the ideal character through which to think about the impact of experience of India on British identity and history. His seven years in Bombay were followed by a further twenty years spent writing and researching his histories of England. Yet whilst a significant proportion of his archive, and well over half the material for the *Memoir* composed by his son, derives

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[27] Hall, 'Introduction' in *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the 19th and 20th centuries, A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp.16-20.
[28] Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda' in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World,* Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds) (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), pp.2-3.
[29] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power; Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkely, Los Angeles, London, 2002); Catherine Hall, 'Introduction: thinking the postcolonial, thinking empire' and Antoinette Burton, 'Who needs the nation? Interrogating 'British' history' in Catherine Hall (ed.), *Cultures of Empire*, pp.34 and pp.137-153; Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Oxford and Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002); Mrinalini Sinha, 'Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: the Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India', *Journal of British Studies,* 40. 4 (2001), pp.498-521; Mrinalini Sinha, 'Mapping the Imperial Social Formation: A Modest Proposal for Feminist History', *Signs,* 24, 7 (2000), pp.1077-1082; Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York, 2003).

from his residency in Bombay, the interaction with Indian people that he documented was minimal. Rather than write about the diverse people who populated Bombay and with whom he would have *had* to interact in order to survive, Mackintosh wrote reams and reams about his boredom, about the 'European' society that inhabited Bombay and primarily about the life he had left behind. Ultimately, Mackintosh represented his seven years' residency as a period of 'exile' and Bombay as a void.

What really began as a predicament led me to think about how Mackintosh conceptualised the spaces that he inhabited across his lifetime. Drawing on alternative textual representations of Highland Scotland, Bombay and London, I explore the absences and erasures in Mackintosh's portrayal of those different spaces as places. Doreen Massey has defined the common meaning and usage of 'place' as 'closed, coherent, integrated as authentic, as 'home', a secure retreat'.[30] 'Space', on the other hand, has lacked any meaningful content, viewed as fragmentary, abstract and outside of belonging.[31] This thesis explores the ways in which Mackintosh conceptualises and identifies himself with the spaces that he inhabits across his life by placing himself within them or, alternatively, by representing his relationship to those spaces as displacement. By using space as a concept of analysis, I hope to be able to think through the resistant essentialism of national bounded-ness to more fully understand how interactions related to the constitution of identity.[32] In this thesis, therefore, I explore how Mackintosh's identity and his projection of that identity onto a broader 'nation' and, related to it, 'civilisation' was spatially conceived and mapped onto 'place'. How, through the 'potentially dissonant (or concordant) narratives' that space allows for, did Mackintosh construct a narrative of personal and national becoming that, in Massey's words, 'subsumes space'? [33] How did he imagine the boundaries of identity, nation, civilisation through a temporal narrative that conceived of belonging as 'place', as 'home'?

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[30] Massey, *For Space*, p.6.
[31] *Ibid.*, p.6.
[32] *Ibid.*, p.71. I employ Kathleen Wilson's definition of 'identity' as a 'a relation, and a mode of differentiation, emerging through dialogic engagement with the social, that is the product of both agency and coercion.' *The Island Race*, pp.2-3. For debate over the usefulness of the concept of identity see Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley and California, 2005), pp.59-90.
[33] Massey, *For Space.*, p.71.

In an essay entitled 'Not at Home in Empire', Ranajit Guha explores the insecurity expressed by many colonists during their residencies in India. What he calls the 'uncanniness' of India was in contrast to the knowable limits and familiarity of 'home'.[34] There is much in Guha's discussion of the anxiety and sense of constraint expressed by the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century colonial officials that resonates with the feelings of dislocation that Mackintosh evokes in his letters and journals from Bombay. Indeed, it is only through his sense of exile that 'home' becomes visible, and thus it is largely through Mackintosh's letters and journals from Bombay that I am able to construct an idea of his meaning and representation of 'home'. As Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose argue in their introduction to *At Home with the Empire*, the boundary between 'home' and 'outside' is illusory, a fantasy of exclusive control and the permanent banishment of threatening 'Others'.[35] Highlighting the metaphorical connections between 'home' as domestic and as national space, they show how conceptions of home are imbued with racialised and gendered imagery.[36] In this thesis, I interrogate Mackintosh's fantasy of 'home' as it is revealed from the vantage point of 'exile' in India. I show how, through his portrayals of himself 'in exile' in Bombay, Mackintosh constructed his identity and asserted his belonging to a 'nation' and 'civilisation' that were premised on the exclusion of racialised, gendered and classed 'others.'

Looking at what it means to be oriented, Sara Ahmed has shown how certain ways of being, constructed as normal, are privileged as the 'right' direction in which to travel through life, the correct life-lines to follow.[37] Ahmed has argued that the ability to belong, to feel 'at home' in the world is empowering, it enables one to reach forward and progress.[38] Yet the fantasy of a coherent, stable and homogenous 'home' – from individual self to nation – is premised on the exclusion or marginalisation of others. Exclusion, as Uday Mehta has argued, can either be explicitly stated or effected through 'strategies' that more subtly construct and

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[34] Ranajit Guha, 'Not at Home in Empire', *Critical Enquiry,* 23, 3 (1997), p.484.

[35] Hall and Rose, 'Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire' in Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), p.25.

[36] *Ibid.*, p.24.

[37] Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham and London, 2006). See also Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham and London, 2007).

[38] Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, pp.3-21.

define boundaries.[39]   Reading Locke, Mehta shows how, through the 'implicit divisions and exclusions of the social world that Locke imagines', his 'universalistic anthropology' sets up boundaries as to who constitutes part of that 'universal'.[40] By looking at 'strategies of exclusion', Mehta points to what he calls the 'mediating link' between practice and theory: 'in the absence of a clear recognition of such mediating links (strategies), the history of liberal theoretical pronouncements and of liberal practices are liable to pass each other on parallel planes.'[41] Mehta's argument about the exclusions inherent within nineteenth-century liberalism have significant resonance with Mackintosh's own ideas.   Taking a somewhat ambivalent path between liberalism and a Burkean traditionalism, however, Mackintosh's formulations were never very consistent.   In this thesis I explore these inconsistencies but I primarily endeavour to show how Mackintosh's representation of his own social world in different parts of the British empire related to the social world that underlay his construction of 'civilisation' and 'nation'. This thesis asks how Mackintosh's day-to-day interactions with, and perceptions of, the world around him informed his thought and questions how the 'strategies of exclusion' were embedded in everyday practice. When Mackintosh wrote about 'civilisation', upon which people and places did he base his conceptualisation? What ways of being did he imagine when he identified himself as 'British', or, more regularly, 'English' and 'European' and what do these slippages signify?

As Catherine Hall has shown in her discussion of the construction of an English identity through Macaulay's *History of England*, whilst the idea of an 'imperial race' was central to an English sense of self, empire itself was banished to the margins of the nation's history.[42]   Imagining a hierarchically ordered and homogenous society of English men and women, Macaulay either assimilated under the banner of Englishness or entirely ignored the involvement of non-English, and certainly non-white, 'Others' in the history of the nation.[43] From a slightly different angle, Colin Kidd has focussed on eighteenth-century Scottish enlightenment philosophers, arguing that 'North Britishness' was less about the integration of

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[39] Uday Mehta , 'Liberal Stratgies of Exclusion' in *Tensions of Empire*, p.60.
[40] *Ibid.*, p.66.
[41] *Ibid.*, p.79.
[42] Catherine Hall, 'At Home with History: Macaulay and the History of England' in *At Home with the Empire,* pp.32-52.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp.49-52.

Scotland into an umbrella-like Britain and more an 'Anglo-Britishness' that looked to emulate English 'achievements'. [44] Kidd's thesis is, in part, a response to debates over the nature and meaning of Britain and 'Britishness' that were rekindled in the light of Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation*.[45] Partly in reaction to E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Classes*, Colley argued that the period between 1707 and 1837 represented less the construction of a (national) class identity and more the 'forging' of a British identity. 'Britishness', she argued, was a national identity that was constructed not through integration and homogenisation but through a rallying against Catholic Europe.[46] Empire and colonised peoples, Colley argued, provided a rallying point for English, Welsh and Scotsmen who defined themselves against 'an Otherness represented by a massive overseas empire'.[47] Numerous critics have noted the general limitations of Colley's argument, from the problem of leaving Ireland out of the analysis, to the marginalisation of empire and the questionable extent to which Colley's sources represent more than an elite, propagandist discourse on British nationality.[48]

As the editors of *These Fissured Isles* point out, the 'Other' against which Britishness was forged was not Catholic France but the English pauper, the Irishman, the effeminate Bengali, the loyal housewife.[49] Class, race and gender intersected to construct a profile of what the 'British' or 'English' were, and what they were not, imagined to be. My focus on these three categories of analysis in this thesis does not deny other possible analytical tools – age, sexuality and physical ability being possible others – through which to explore the construction of difference and identity. But for the moment at least, class, gender and race remain some of the central means by which inclusion and exclusion was negotiated, and

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[44] Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of eighteenth-century Patriotisms', *The Historical Journal*, 39, 2 (1996), pp.361-382 and *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of Anglo-British Identity c.1689-1830* (Cambridge, 1993).

[45] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London, 1992). Whilst academic debates have moved on since, the influence Colley's Britons can be seen in school classrooms and museums.

[46] Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: A argument', *Journal of British Studies*, 31, 4 (1992), p.316.

[47] *Ibid.*, p.327.

[48] *These Fissured Isles: Ireland, Scotland and the Making of Modern Britain, 1798-1848*, Terry Brotherstone, Anna Clark and Kevin Whelan (eds) (Edinburgh, 2005); Theodore Koditschek, 'The Making of British Nationality', *Victorian Studies*, 44, 3 (2002), pp.389-398.

[49] Terry Brotherstone, Anna Clark and Kevin Whelan, 'Rethinking the Trajectory of Modern British History: an Ireland-Scotland approach' in *These Fissure Isles*, p.9.

belonging established.[50] This period, moreover, represents a particularly interesting moment of transition in ways of explaining and perceiving difference. Colin Kidd has explained how prejudices changed across the period from an 'othering' that was largely about religious difference based upon theological interpretation, to the dogmatic, biological essentialism of Victorian racism.[51] At a similar time, perceptions of gender difference and constructions of masculinity and femininity were being reconfigured, leading to changed ideals about the roles that people, defined by their biological male- or female-ness, were meant to assume and the ways that they were meant to behave.[52] 'Class', as a way of identifying and representing socio-economic difference also became increasingly prevalent in this period.[53] Dror Warhman has used Mackintosh's writing as an example of the emergence of a language of the 'middle classes' that was configured in response to the French Revolution.[54] Indeed, Mackintosh's journeys between colonial and metropolitan sites and the configuration of his own and a wider national identity, in some respects embody the intersections between these three categories of analysis and representation. His ambivalences and slippages embody the fragility or the interesting, unstable and transitional times through which he lived.

Locating Sir James Mackintosh in historiography

Ironically, Mackintosh has primarily been remembered for the one aspect of his life that he strove desperately to retract and put behind him. Mackintosh's support for the French Revolution articulated in his *Vindiciae Gallicae* (1791), as well as his later retraction of that support, has been the subject of a number of articles and is usually included in broader discussions of the British response to the French

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[50] See Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Belonging and the Politics of Belonging' in *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 40, No. 3 (2006), pp.197-213.

[51] Colin Kidd, 'Ethnicity in the Atlantic World' in *New Imperial History*, pp.260-277. See also Ballentyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire (*Basingstoke, 2002); David Killingray, 'A Good West Indian, a Good African, and, in Short, a Good Britisher': Black and British in a Colour-Conscious Empire, 1760-1950' in *Ambiguities of Empire: Essays in Honour of Andrew Porter*, Robert Holland and Sarah Stockwell (eds) (London and New York, 2009), pp.23-41. Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (California, 1997).

[52] Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Thomas Laquer, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass and London, 1990).

[53] Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: the Political Representation of Class in Britain, c.1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995); Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, *The Future of Class in History: What's Left of the Social?* (Michigan, 2007); E.P.Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth, 1963).

[54] Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class*, pp.21-9.

Revolution.[55]   Marcel Isnard, Lionel McKenzie, Knud Haakonssen and William Christian all discuss the political influences and ideologies in Mackintosh's *Vindiciae Gallicae*. Largely in agreement that Mackintosh drew on a number of different and often somewhat contradictory political traditions, they debate his position on the spectrum of whiggism.[56] Mackintosh's whiggism is also the main focus of Jane Rendall's political biography. Tracing Mackintosh's intellectual and political heritage, Rendall showed how his political thought and actions were shaped by the Scottish enlightenment, the philosophic radicalism of Bentham and the more conservative reform agendas of Holland House whiggism. She shows how his relationship with liberals in Europe, particularly Madame de Stael, Friedrich von Gentz and Benjamin Constant, significantly shaped European liberals' perceptions of England. At the same time, Rendall argued, Mackintosh's own reforming agendas from criminal law to anti-slavery, contained many of the seeds of nineteenth-century liberalism.[57]

Other historians have also studied Mackintosh's thought as an embodiment of changing political ideologies and intellectual patterns during the early nineteenth century. In *That Noble Science of Politics*, Stefan Collini, Donald Winch and John Burrow place Mackintosh's political ideas in the context of his Scottish education.[58] They show how Mackintosh used the moral philosophy he was taught at Edinburgh University to configure an agenda for Parliamentary reform during the 1820s and 1830s, which he espoused in a number of *Edinburgh Review* articles.[59] More recently, as part of the *History of Parliament* volumes, David Fisher has comprehensively charted Mackintosh's contributions and responses to Parliamentary debates. Unlike

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[55] Clive Emsley, 'The Impact of the French Revolution on British Politics and Society', in *The French Revolution and British Culture*, Ceri Crossley and Ian Small (eds) (Oxford, 1989), pp.31-62; Elie Halevy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism*, trans. Mary Morris, A.D. Lindsay, (preface) (London, 1928), Part 2 (1789-1815): The Evolution of the Utilitarian Doctrine from 1789-1815, p.182; Gregory Claeys, *The French Revolution Debate in Britain: The Origins of Modern Politics* (Basingstoke, 2007).

[56] Knud Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1996); Marcel Isnard, 'Vindiciae Gallicae Revisited', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, vol. 19, The French Revolution in English Literature and Art, special number (1989), pp.219-230; William Christian, 'James Mackintosh, Edmund Burke and the Cause of Reform', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, vol.7, no.2 (Winter, 1973-4), pp.193-206; Lionel McKenzie, 'The French Revolution and English Parliamentary Reform: James Mackintosh and the Viniciae Gallicae', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 14,3 (1981), pp.264-282.

[57] Rendall, 'The Political Ideas and Activities of Sir James Mackintosh'

[58] Stefan Collini, Donald Winch, John Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics: A Case Study in Nineteenth-century Intellectual History* (Cambridge, 1983), pp.46-59.

[59] *Ibid.;* two monographs on *The Edinburgh Review* appeared too late for me to make substantial use of them: William Christie, *The Edinburgh Review in the Literary Culture of Romantic Britain: Mammoth and Maglonyx* (London, 2009); Kathryn Chittick, *The Language of Whiggism: Liberty and Patriotism, 1802-1830* (London, 2010).

the majority of historians who have worked on Mackintosh, Fisher uses his collection of letters and journals, as well as his published speeches and voting patterns.[60] The most extensive use of Mackintosh's unpublished writing, however, has been by Patrick O'Leary, who had access to the Mackintosh papers before they were deposited in the British Library.[61] O'Leary's biography of Mackintosh offers an intensely detailed portrayal of his life and thoughts and his social and familial world. It is largely because O'Leary's book is primarily a portrait, rather than an analysis, of Mackintosh's life that it has proven so useful for my own thesis, providing much of the general biographical groundwork.

For the most part, historians have studied Mackintosh's life and writings as part of the political and intellectual history of Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More recently, however, Mark Salber Phillips ' *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820* illustrates the connection between ideas of sensibility in society and historical genre.[62] Using Mackintosh's unpublished letters and published articles, Salber Phillips explores the changing ways in which he, in the context of Burke and Hume's historical thought, imagined historical distance and the role of sensibility in that imagination. Placing Mackintosh at a juncture in social perceptions of sensibility, Salber Phillips argues that the early nineteenth century saw a declining appreciation of the value of sensibility in public life and the relegation of affect to the 'private' sphere. He uses Mackintosh's ideas about the form, meaning and importance of history to explore the relationship between ideas about history, tradition and narrative. Yet whereas Salber Phillips ' study is predominantly concerned with the interrelationship between ideas of society and historical narrative, this thesis is interested in placing the production of these ideas in their social contexts. What enabled Mackintosh to produce his histories and to project his ideas into society? How did social and

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[60] 'Mackintosh, Sir James' David Fisher (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832, VI Members L-R* (Cambridge, 2009), pp.258-281.
[61] Through the Buxton family. O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh*, p.vii. It appears that O'Leary contributed towards cataloguing the Mackintosh collection and may have had access to more papers than are actually now in the collection. The fact that throughout his book he does not reference his sources when he refers to them makes it impossible to cross-check and despite his claim that he will provide further information if contacted he offers no way of actually getting in contact.
[62] Mark Salber Phillips, S*ociety and Sentiment: Genres of Historical writing in Britain, 1740-1820* (Princeton, 2000).

spatial context inform those ideas? And how did Mackintosh configure his identity in relationship to those contexts?

In order to answer these questions, this thesis places Mackintosh's life-journeys and the formation of his identity in the context of British imperial expansion. The four different life-stages that I have identified and which structure this thesis broadly correspond to the different imperial spaces that he inhabited across his lifetime. Mackintosh spent his childhood in the Highlands of Scotland. His youth and early manhood were spent studying in Aberdeen and Edinburgh, after which Mackintosh left Scotland to live in London. Aged forty, with five children and a final child soon to be born, he and his family went to Bombay and returned after seven years' residence to Europe. The final twenty years of his life, Mackintosh spent predominantly in England in relatively close proximity to London and with frequent extended tours of Europe in order to collect material for his histories. Whether living in the metropolitan centre, Highland periphery or an imperial 'outpost' in India, the presence of empire and its impact upon Mackintosh's thought and identity was ubiquitous. Yet Mackintosh's sense and experience of living in different sites of the British empire has been given little scholarly attention.   Jane Rendall devotes a chapter to Mackintosh's thought on Indian history and orientalism, which she places in the broader context of 'Scottish Orientalism' in an article by that name. There, she illustrates the impact of Mackintosh's Scottish education on his approach to the study of India, outlined in his address to the Bombay Literary Society that he founded upon his arrival in Bombay in 1804.[63]

In *Distant Sovereignty,* Sudipta Sen draws briefly upon Mackintosh's thoughts on his Indian experience as the context for beginning his (never completed) *History of Britain*, as well as his encouragement of British historians of India.[64] Interestingly, both Sudipta Sen and Mark Salber Phillips use Mackintosh's work to explore two related aspects of the transitional nature of early nineteenth-century conceptualisations of history. Although based around seemingly disparate themes, in their discussions of intimacy and distance in relationship to history-writing, Salber

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[63] Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', *The Historical Journal*, 25, 1 (1982), pp.43-69.

[64] Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York, 2002)

Phillips' *Society and Sentiment* and Sens' *Distant Sovereignty* have aspects in common. Where the former argues for the increase of a sense of proximity to the past in national history-writing, the latter suggests a simultaneous decline in 'intimacy' between 'the British' and 'the Indians' in India.[65] This distancing, Sen has argued, is evident in British imperial interpretations of Indian history and the place of India in history.[66] By looking at Mackintosh in the various colonial and metropolitan spaces that he inhabited across his lifetime, this thesis goes some way towards bringing the two different facets of their arguments – society and empire - together. In this respect, my thesis responds to Sudipta Sen's call for greater investigation into 'the murky terrain between domestic ideas of the imperial nation and expatriate formations of national-imperial exclusivity.'[67]

Performing national identity: methodology

In 1997, Antoinette Burton questioned the extent to which the nation had really been de-centralised from British history-writing. 'Even when it is shown to be remade by colonialism and its subjects, 'the nation' often stands as the mirror to which imperial identities are reflected back.'[68] Despite the intentions of 'new' imperial historians, Burton argued that the nation appeared to have remained in 'pride of place' and suggested a 'performative', rather than 'prescriptive', approach to national history.[69] What would a 'performative' approach to the nation mean? Drawing on Judith Butler's theorisation of gender, I have endeavoured to understand the ways in which the nation is materialised historically through the reiteration of norms.[70] The nation, of course, is not the body, its materiality is far easier to dispute, but perhaps rather like sex, it appears constitutive. That is to say, as a domain that has become culturally intelligible across time, it is difficult to think outside of or beyond it. The nation, and identification with the nation, can be seen as a deeply embedded cultural norm that has been brought into being as an effect of power. Understanding the nation and nationality as performance means thinking through 'the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the

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[65] Mark Salber Phillips , *Society and Sentiment,* p.255; Sen, *Distant Sovereignty*, p.44.
[66] Sen, *Distant Sovereignty*, p.44
[67] *Ibid.*, p.153.
[68] Burton, 'Who needs the nation?', p.141.
[69] *Ibid.*, p.144.
[70] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York, 1990); Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (London and New York, 1993).

effects that it names.'[71] By analysing both the discourses that James Mackintosh produced and those that influenced him across his life, I ask how he responded and contributed to the reiteration and reconfiguration of national identity.

Methodologically, I have been influenced by cultural history's approach to analysing discourse and thinking critically about narrative construction. Blurring the distinctions between text and context and thinking about the construction of reality through language, 'new cultural' historians have drawn on literary theory to think about history and historical practice.[72] My own approach has been heavily influenced by an understanding of culture as discursively produced and of texts as cultural artefacts whose materiality informs the ways in which the message is received.[73] As Slavoj Zizek has argued, discourse analysis has enabled questions to be asked about the very structuring of 'symbolic space' that conditions the perception of 'reality'.[74] Thus, Mackintosh's representations of the spaces that he inhabited across his lifetime, and his own interaction with them is itself discursively constituted and with an audience in mind. Throughout this thesis, therefore, I pay attention to the different types of text that I use, as conveying different types of discursive performance. I consider Mackintosh's own writing, both letters and published works, as themselves textual performances that serve to construct and reiterate identity. Reading Mackintosh's published works in relation to other, contemporary or earlier texts to which he was responding, is a means of placing his writings in their discursive contexts. Mackintosh certainly did not create a hegemonic narrative of national becoming or alone discursively re-produce the nation but his texts did contribute towards enabling a certain form of national identification, whilst disavowing others forms. That Mackintosh's work was published, bought and circulated was the result of both content and context – his texts spoke to an already-existing discursive sphere, whilst his identity established him as a credible author. As Rebecca Earle notes in her introduction to *Epistolary Selves*, letter-writers construct their identities through writing. Following particular conventions and styles depending upon the intended audience, letters cannot be considered as occupying any simple definition of a 'private' sphere in opposition to

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[71] Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, p.2.
[72] Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994).
[73] See Chartier, *The Order of Books* (Stanford, 1992).
[74] Slavoj Zizek, 'The Spectre of Ideology' in Slavoj Zizek (ed), *Mapping Ideology* (London and New York, 1994) , pp.6-7.

published, and thereby 'public', works.[75] Whilst letters may be more intimate, they were nonetheless written for an intended audience whose approval or acceptance they sought. They form part of a world in which society, family and politics overlapped and blurred, even as, rhetorically, distinctions between 'public' and 'private' were becoming more fixed in ideology.[76]

Reading different textual genres side-by-side allows me to think about the relationship between personal identity formation and wider, collective identities of nation and civilisation. To consider Mackintosh's construction of nation as a performance of his own national identity is to consider how Mackintosh discursively creates himself as a subject, how he comes to inhabit national subject-hood. Read as performance, 'Britishness' becomes a means of asserting and reconfiguring a belonging that was borne of both emotional ties and social and economic need. As I illustrate in this thesis, Mackintosh's configuration of his identity was influenced by factors ranging from education, political ideology, social belonging and the exertion of power. Without denying that identity formation is in part an act of agency, I focus on ways in which Mackintosh's performance of a British identity was embedded within power structures. I look at the ways in which Mackintosh's identity was borne of the anxieties of not belonging and the political, social and economic emasculation that not belonging would entail. In this respect, I read the 'strategies of exclusion' inherent within Mackintosh's construction of the nation, civilisation and of his own 'Britishness' as partly about insecurity. At the same time, Mackintosh's ability to belong and to imagine himself as an actor in the nation was the result of the sex into which he was born and socially conditioned performance of gender norms, of the colour of his skin that was inscribed with social meaning, and the opportunities that his class afforded him. His way of representing the world, his relationship to it and ultimately his contribution towards reconfiguring the nation was also informed and enabled by his class, gender and race.

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[75] Rebecca Earle, 'Introduction: letters, writers and the historian' in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers 1600-1945*, Rebecca Earle (ed), (Aldershot, 1999), p.2.
[76] See Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff, *Family Fortunes;* Leonore Davidoff, 'Regarding Some 'Old Husbands' Tales': Public and Private in Feminist History' in *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Cambridge, 1995); Geoff Eley, 'Nations Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the 19th century', in *Habermas and the Public Sphere,* ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass and London, 1992), pp.289-339.

Tracing a life through letters: sources

This thesis is primarily based upon the collection of unpublished journals, letters and notes in the Mackintosh collection, held in the British Library.[77] The collection comprises letters to and from family and friends, the earliest of which date back to Mackintosh's period of schooling in Aberdeen during his youth. Letters between Mackintosh and his friends largely relate to opinions on political affairs, both domestic and international, as well as invitations and more personal news about health, marriages or deaths amongst the friends' circle. These letters are invaluable for gaining a sense of Mackintosh's political opinions and changing social interactions and networks across his life. Yet whilst Mackintosh was a prolific writer, particularly from middle age onwards, he was far from consistent across his lifetime. Periods of political and social excitement are marked by a relative absence of diary entries and letters and it is often the case that the very times during which Mackintosh can be said to have been most productive and 'at home', are those for which there is a paucity of evidence. Other than friends and relatives, Mackintosh corresponded with people in search of patronage for himself or for others. From Bombay, Mackintosh wrote letters to the Earl of Minto (archived in the National Library of Scotland), giving his opinion on affairs in India, as well as to friends in Calcutta and London giving his opinion on the situation in India, as well as asking questions about his own pension and recommending young men for positions with the East India Company.[78] The Mackintosh collection also contains reports, essays and notes towards his historical and philosophical work. Although I have largely relied upon the published versions of this work, these early drafts have provided an opportunity to think about how Mackintosh's views changed in the process of writing.

By far the largest proportion of the Mackintosh collection comprises letters between Mackintosh and his second wife, Kitty.[79] The letters and journals that

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[77] BL Add MS 78763-78817 and BL Add MS 52436-52453.

[78] NLS MS11732-3 1st Earl of Minto papers.

[79] Catharine Mackintosh [née Allen]. I refer to her as Kitty throughout in order to distinguish her from Mackintosh's first wife, also Catharine Mackintosh [née Stuart], who I refer to as Catharine. Mackintosh's third daughter from his first marriage was also referred to as Kitty. I refer to her as 'the younger Kitty' in order to avoid confusion, she became Lady Wiseman upon her first marriage.

Mackintosh wrote to Kitty offer an insight into very personal representations of his day-to-day thoughts and activities, his views on his children's education and on the people around him. It is partly through these letters that glimpses can be perceived of Mackintosh's reliance on people whose contributions to his life were entirely erased from his more 'public' textual performances. Kitty's own replies, albeit intermittent and unfortunately often illegible, provide a different perspective on similar circumstances from the position of being a woman, a wife and a mother. In addition to Kitty's letters, I have used Maria Graham's published and unpublished writing in order to suggest alternative ways of representing the common spaces that they experienced.[80] In particular, I draw on Maria's *Journal of a Residence in India* and her unpublished notes and autobiographical memoirs that are archived under her husband's name in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[81] Using Maria Graham's writing and comparing the reception of her published work offers a means of thinking about the ways in which writing as an activity was gendered.

Throughout this thesis I have used other published and unpublished primary sources in order to place Mackintosh's own discourse in its wider context and to show how Mackintosh's representations of people and places were a part of a wider literary public sphere. I use Anne Grant's *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders* (1811) and *Letters from the Mountains* (1809) to think about romantic representations of the Highlands.[82] A contemporary of Mackintosh's and part of a similar social milieu, Anne Grant perceived and interacted with the Highlands markedly differently from Mackintosh. In the second chapter, I draw on James Dunbar's *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages* (1780) as a way of exploring the lessons that Mackintosh imbibed as a young man at university in Aberdeen.[83] Looking at early, unpublished essays from Mackintosh's university years, as well as his later *Vindiciae Gallicae* (1791), I show how he used and later

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[80] Maria [née Dundas] later became Lady Callcott when she remarried after her first husband's death.
[81] *Journal of a Residence in India* by Maria Graham (Edinburgh: George Ramsay and Company, 1812); Bodleian Library, Callcott collection; NLS John Murray Archive, Acc 12604/1187: Description: Incoming letters of correspondents with surnames beginning CALLCOTT,MH-CAMPBELL,Eileen; Maria's autobiography is published verbatim in Rosemary Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott: Author of 'Little Arthur'* (London, 1937).
[82] *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland to which are added translations from the Gaelic; and Letters Connected with those Formerly Published in two volumes by the author of 'letters from the mountains'*, vol. 1 (London, 1811); *Letters from the Mountains; being the real correspondence of a lady between the years 1773 and 1807 in three volumes*, Vol 1, the second edition (London, 1809).
[83] *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated* Ages by James Dunbar LL.D, Professor of Philosophy in the King's College and University of Aberdeen (Edinburgh,1780).

transformed the lessons he was taught as a young man.[84] Placing Mackintosh's contribution in the context of the debate over the French Revolution, I read the *Vindiciae Gallicae* alongside Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Man* (1791) and *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) and Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791).[85] Reading these texts side by side enables me to think about the ways in which Mackintosh's discourse was constructed in response to, as well as built upon, other contemporary discourses.

From his first years as a journalist in London to his death in 1832, Mackintosh published prolifically. For the most part, I have not drawn on Mackintosh's journalism, much of which is concerned with events in France and the Netherlands during the French Revolution, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Mackintosh's philosophical essays and reviews, published in the *Edinburgh Review* and in his *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy* (1829) are used to substantiate arguments relating to his *History of England* and *History of the Revolution in England in 1688*.[86] For the third chapter on Bombay, however, I draw on an official published report that outlines Mackintosh's intentions for the police in Bombay, as well as reports in the *Bombay Courier* that quote or summarise Mackintosh's speeches in court.[87] The *Bombay Courier* was established around 1790 by William Ashburner of

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[84] James Mackintosh, 'Vindiciae Gallicae: Defence of the French Revolution and Its English Admirers Against the Accusations of the Right Honorable William Edmund Burke; Including Some Strictures on the Late Production of Mons. De Calonne' (London, 1791) in *Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, Donald Winch (ed and intro) (Indianapolis, 2006).

[85] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (New York, 2006, based on the 'Seventh Edition', 1790); *A Vindication of the Rights of Men in a Letter to the right honourable Edmund Burke occasioned by his Reflections on the Revolution in France by Mary Wollstonecraft,* 2nd ed (London, 1790); Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Miriam Brody (ed and intro) (London, 2004, first published, 1792); *The Rights of Man: Being an answer to Mr Burke's Attack on the French Revolution by Thomas Paine*, Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner (ed) and G.D.H. Cole (intro), (London, 1937, 1st published 1791).

[86] 'Art XII. Histoire des Francais. Par T.C.L. Simonde de Sismoni. 3 vols 8vo Treuttel & Zuitz. Paris and London. 1821', *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1821, No. LXX; 'Art. XII Speech of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, on the 14th December 1819, for transferring the Elective Franchise from Corrupt Boroughs to Unrepresented Great Towns', *Edinburgh Review* vol xxxi (1820); 'Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy chiefly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in *The Miscellaneous Works of The Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh*, 3 vols complete in 1 (Boston, 1857); *The History of England by The Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh* (London, 1830); *History of the Revolution in England in 1688 comprised of the reign of James II from his accession to the enterprise of the Prince of Orange* by the late Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh and completed to the settlement of the Crown by the editor to which is prefixed a notice of the life, writings and speeches of Sir James Mackintosh (London, 1834).

[87] *An Analytical Digest of all the reported cases decided in the Supreme courts of judicature in India in the Courts of the Hon. East India Company and on appeal from India by her majesty in council together with an introduction, notes, illustrative and explanatory and an appendix by William H Morley*, vol 2, (London, 1849).

the civil service.[88] It was published weekly and comprised a digest of information obtained from English and European newspapers, largely relating to British affairs across the British empire, as well as local news. In lieu of court records, which are inaccessible and possibly not extant, it provides the only detailed information on court cases over which Mackintosh presided.

Thesis structure

Mackintosh's life trajectory offers a particularly interesting route into thinking about national subject formation because of his changing geographical and social positions. Across his life, Mackintosh occupied spaces that were considered to be peripheral to the nation, as well as those that were imagined as national centres. This thesis is structured according to the spaces that Mackintosh imagined and inhabited across his life. Chapter One explores how Mackintosh configured his identity in relation to his childhood in the Highlands of Scotland. At the time of Mackintosh's birth in 1765, Highland Scotland was in the midst of significant socio-economic transition and incorporation into a wider British imperial world. I look at the impact of these changes on Mackintosh's clan and immediate blood relations prior to his birth and how socio-economic change informed cultural practices and identities. Drawing on Mackintosh's own autobiography, written from Bombay in 1804, I consider the way in which he portrayed his childhood and what his autobiographical narrative may tell us about his identification with his clan and the space of his birth. By juxtaposing Mackintosh's representation of his early years and schooling in the Highlands with alternative representations of Highland life, I discuss the meaning of the silences in Mackintosh's narrative.

Chapter Two discusses Mackintosh's education and socialisation at university in Aberdeen and then Edinburgh, followed by his early adulthood in London during the period of the French Revolution. Mackintosh was educated by scholars whose work and thought formed part of Scottish enlightenment debates around questions of moral philosophy and history. Looking in particular at the writing of Mackintosh's tutor, James Dunbar, I explore the ways in which Scottish

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[88] James Douglas, J.P. (fellow of the University and late Sheriff of Bombay) *Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India with Other Papers* (London, 1900), p.31.

Enlightenment scholarship sought to socialise young men and construct normative social values around which Mackintosh formed his identity. I show how Mackintosh used those lessons to configure his own understanding of the world and explain aspects of his own life and identity. Arriving in London in 1788, Mackintosh employed those lessons in sociability, as well as the social networks he had gained through participation in Edinburgh's intellectual and cultural life, to establish himself amongst London's radical Whig society. Focussing on his involvement in the debates over the French Revolution, I show how Mackintosh drew on Scottish enlightenment thought and social values to configure and envisage the nation. I look at the ways in which Mackintosh's definition of the nation was classed, gendered and raced.

Having established himself amongst London's more elite Whig society, Mackintosh was obliged to leave England for Bombay in the hope of paying off debts and making his fortune as Recorder of the Court. Chapter Three discusses Mackintosh and his family's perceptions of Bombay as a space of 'exile' and his construction of 'home' in his letters to the friends and family they had left behind. It begins by exploring the ways in which Mackintosh performed and promoted a British identity through his position as judge. Mackintosh's very arrival in Bombay in 1804 and the ideas with which he hoped to reform its society were symptomatic of the ongoing transformation of mercantile possessions into a 'British' empire. This chapter discusses the nature and implications of this transition in Bombay, looking at how the language of rule created a 'grammar of difference' through his attempts at reform and to promote knowledge by establishing a Literary society amongst Bombay's white, male elite society. Mackintosh's hopes and frustrations for the Literary Society that he endeavoured to establish, his court speeches about 'natives' and reflections in his letters to his wife, all reveal what it meant for him to be British and what it meant to be 'at home'.

The final chapter of this thesis discusses Mackintosh's endeavours to become a historian of England. Mackintosh wrote continuously in his letters and diaries of his aspirations to become a historian, discussing what it meant to be a historian, who could (and implicitly who could not) be a historian of England. Chapter Four looks at Mackintosh's identity as a historian, the ways in which his

class, gender and racial identities intersected to enable him to claim the authority to write the nation's history and access the resources he needed to research. Discussing Mackintosh's changing perception of history, and particularly his views on Hume's *History of England*, this chapter considers the impact of Mackintosh's religious belief, national sentiment and whiggism on his historical ideology and approach. Finally, it explores the ways in which Mackintosh conceptualised and narrated the nation in the two histories that he wrote – the *History of England* and the *History of the Revolution in England in 1688*. How did Mackintosh's identity inform the histories that he wrote? How, through the writing of history, did Mackintosh imagine the nation?

Chapter One: Turning away from the Scottish Highlands

Introduction

> *'Think, James, of your ancestors. Think of the hills themselves! …Will you reject and fling away the trust of your ancestors, by which they have entailed the superiority of wisdom with their lands! Or can you allow any other than a Mackintosh to advise a Mackintosh! James! James! James! Think! Think of the space of power you throw away …'* [1]

James Mackintosh was born in 1765 into the Kyllachy branch of the Mackintosh clan. The oldest cadet branch of the clan Mackintosh, the Kyllachy clan had possessed the lands around Aldourie, on the banks of the Loch Ness where James Mackintosh was born and raised, since the early seventeenth century.[2] The Mackintosh clan, chiefs of the Highland confederacy Clan Chattan, could trace its origins back before the Norman Conquest and its ownership of lands and the castle at Inverness to Shaw, the son of Duncan, fifth earl of Fife in the mid-twelfth century.[3] Like many highland clans, the Mackintosh clan derived its size and status from the combination of land ownership and kinship ties that waxed and waned across the long stretch of a millennium.[4] At the end of the eighteenth century, however, a small part of that long heritage that linked ancestry to land looked set to collapse. Having inherited the Kyllachy estate on the death of his father in 1788, James Mackintosh, then resident in London, began looking for ways to convert his 'shreds of property' into money.[5] In the midst of rapid socio-economic transition that followed the Union of Scotland and England in 1707, not only land, but the identities associated with property, ancestry and clanship underwent fundamental

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[1] BL Add MS 78765 – 1795-1809, John Wilde to Mackintosh, Edinburgh, April 3rd 1799, p.19

[2] *Letters of Two Centuries Chiefly Connected with Inverness and the Highlands from 1616 to 1815,* edited and each introduced with explanatory and illustrative remarks by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond. (Inverness, 1819), p.317.

[3] Margaret Mackintosh, *The Clan Mackintosh and the Clan Chattan* (Loanhead, 1982), p.2.

[4] For structures and evolutions of Highland clans see Robert Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands c1493-1820* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.33-37; Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen, 1650-1784* (Aberdeen, 1995 (1st published, 1984), pp.6-7; T.M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War: the Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester and New York, 1994), ch.1.

[5] It was not until ten years later, after the death of an aunt who held a life-interest in the estate's revenues that Mackintosh was able to consider selling. Patrick O'Leary, *The Whig Cicero*, (Aberdeen, 1989), p.10; BL Add MS 78768, Mackintosh to Mrs MacGillivray, Bath, 15th June,1789, p.2.

transformations. Aspects of these transformations were experienced by James Mackintosh's own family, whilst the trajectory of his own early life, as well as his memory of it, was borne of changed circumstances, aspirations and identities.

In 1799, five years before the sale was finally completed, an old friend of Mackintosh's from his days in the Speculative Society in Edinburgh, read of the intended sale of the Kyllachy estate in the newspapers. John Wilde wrote to Mackintosh expressing his horror of the prospect. Although Wilde had always been Edinburgh based, the son of a tobacco merchant rather than of the gentry class, he keenly felt the significance of Mackintosh's sale.[6] In his words that are quoted above, Wilde wove together history, power and landscape, connecting the 'space of power' to ancestral inheritance in a tone reminiscent of Edmund Burke's denunciation of French Revolutionary principles. 'People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors', Burke had proclaimed in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*[7] Likewise, Wilde suggested that wisdom itself was imbibed through hereditary descent; that identity was bonded with the land and ancestry. To 'throw away' the land that he had inherited, was to discard history, memory and identity 'Think of the possibility of your passing that road and saying these are now the lands of a stranger. The very thought is dreadful!' Wilde wrote with sentimentality and outrage.[8]

In contrast, the decision to sell the estate was one that Mackintosh himself seems to have taken with a sense of detachment. Writing from London to his aunt in the Highlands, Mackintosh claimed that it was reckoned absurd to commit himself to a 'remote and miserable exile for the sake of such property as that.'[9] What exactly he meant by 'remote exile' remained un-stated, but it is clear from his flippancy that Mackintosh had little regard for his Highland estate.[10] Mackintosh ultimately sold the Kyllachy estate in 1804 to Provost Phineas Mackintosh of

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[6] For a sketch of John Wilde's life and character see Denis Wood, *Benjamin Constant: A Biography* (London and New York, 1993), pp.51-59.

[7] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (New York, 2006, based on the 'Seventh Edition', 1790), p.31

[8] BL Add MS 78765, John Wilde to James Mackintosh, Edinburgh, April 3rd 1799, p.19.

[9] BL Add MS 78768, James Mackintosh to Mrs MacGillivray, Bath, 15th June, 1789, p.2.

[10] Ibid.

Drummond for £9000.[11] Most of the money, however, was eaten up in payments that had been previously drawn on the estate in anticipation of its sale.[12] To Mackintosh, the securities on, and ultimate sale of, Kyllachy offered a means of affording the lifestyle and identity that he desired. As I will show across this thesis, the sale of Kyllachy offered one means of creating a home in a social world that lay far beyond the Highlands and was far removed from the experiences of his ancestors. Thus, even as John Wilde decried the possibilities of his friend's estrangement from his lands, Mackintosh was distancing himself from any identification with the Highlands.

This chapter asks how, when and why James Mackintosh's place of birth and childhood, the location of his family and ancestral property became disassociated from his sense of home. How did Mackintosh remember and construct his identity in relationship to the Highlands? How far was his distancing from the Highlands informed by ideas and attitudes towards the Highlands and how did Mackintosh's own concept of his place of birth inform his sense of Scottish history, nation and identity? If the Highlands of Scotland did not constitute a 'home' for Mackintosh, how were they constituted and what can this tell us about Mackintosh's understanding of home? The chapter begins by placing Mackintosh's life in the context of the changes taking place in the Highlands across the long eighteenth century. Focussing on the history of Mackintosh's own clan, the first section discusses some of the factors leading to the break-up of clanship practices and identities. The chapter then turns to consider Mackintosh's own perception and portrayal of his childhood, it explores how he situated himself and his identity in relation to the Highlands. The section discusses the role of education in encouraging boys to 'turn away' from their homes and localities and identify with a male world that associated the home with femininity and affect. Finally, the last part of the chapter questions Mackintosh's representation of the Highlands by looking at other texts offering alternative portrayals of life in the Highlands.

Highland transformation: from clanship to 'civilisation'

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[11] *Letters of Two Centuries*, p.318
[12] Patrick O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh: The Whig Cicero* (Aberdeen, 1989), p.54.

Writing to his relatives from college in Aberdeen, the young James Mackintosh argued that his demands for money to cover what he claimed to be modest expenses, were more than reasonable: 'A liberal education' he claimed, 'must be expensive and ev'ry necessary and convenience of life is dearer here than they were last winter.'[13] Relying on the resources of his Highland relatives and supported by the extended clan, James Mackintosh's situation was in many ways like that of the numerous sons of Highland gentry families who, since the early seventeenth century, had been educated at Lowland universities. Since the Statutes of Iona in 1609, Highland gentry had been forced to educate their sons in urban Lowlands – Aberdeen, Glasgow, Edinburgh - as part of an effort by the Crown to impose 'civilisation' and break-up the structure of clanship. By forcing clan chiefs to make annual visits to Edinburgh and exposing them and their sons to English-speaking Lowland culture, the government believed it would create a reformed and 'civilsed' class of landowners.[14] The Statutes of Iona marked the first in a long series of attempts to impose central control and centralised structures of authority over the Highland clans. Devised in order to plant 'civilitie' in the border regions, the Statutes compelled chiefs to support and obey the ministers of the kirk and set out to undermine clanship practices that had bound together economic and political power and cultural practice in a tight mass that central authorities had little hope of unpicking.[15] The Statutes of Iona prevented clansman from carrying arms, bound landlords to attend the Privy Council every year, to reside in a fixed place and to rent their lands for a fixed rent rather than customary dues.[16]

In the same year that the Statutes of Iona condemned the Highland chiefs' 'barbarous inhumanity', the Clan Chattan gathered to put aside its 'quarrels' and unite peacefully under the leadership of Mackintosh.[17] It was a short-lived peace and the complex and multiple feuds within and across clans continued across the period.[18] Even in the 1820s, the ongoing dispute between the Mackintoshes and the

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[13] BL Add MS 78771a, Mackintosh to unknown recipient, January 19th 1783, p.24.
[14] Charles Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region* (London and New York, 1988), p.7.
[15] Devine, *Clanship to Crofter's War*, p.13; Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords,* p.105; Withers, *Gaelic Scotland*, p.7; Lenman, *Jacobite Clans*, p.10.
[16] Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords,* pp.106-7
[17] *Historical Memoirs of the House and Clan of Mackintosh and of the Clan Chattan by Alexander Mackintosh Shaw* (London, 1880), p.286.
[18] *Ibid.,* p.286; M. Mackintosh, *The Clan Mackintosh,* p.8.

Macphersons over who could legitimately claim the title of chief of clan Chattan re-surfaced. The difference being that by the nineteenth century recourse was had to law and history rather than to men and arms.[19] In some respects the early catalyst for this transition may be located in the period of the Statutes themselves.[20] In 1597 the Parliament at Edinburgh demanded that Highland peoples purporting to hold property bring written evidence of their rights to the Lords of Exchequer.[21] The Act meant that chiefs were obliged to maintain written records and make annual connection with Edinburgh. Many chiefs sent their sons to the Lowlands to study Law so that these sons might represent them both in response to state demands and in the case of inheritance and property disputes. Studying, visiting and residing in Edinburgh, clan gentry increasingly gained a taste for the luxuries of Lowland, urban life.[22] As Stena Nenadic has argued, the major impact of state intervention in the Highlands from the turn of the seventeenth century onwards was to imbibe, through cajoled interaction with Lowland urban centres, a taste for material luxury and a mentality of litigation and landownership alongside, and in some cases above, clan identity, loyalty and chieftainship.[23]

The changes in the nature and structure of clanship in the Highlands were, however, slow and gradual. The tradition of *cuid-oidhche* – the obligation of tenants to provide hospitality for their chiefs and his household – was gradually replaced by a more standardised form of rent paid in money or kind.[24] The physical, economic and lifestyle distances between landowner and tenant slowly widened as landowners (lairds) spent more time in urban centres and looked to their lands to yield significant surplus in order to afford urban lifestyles. Yet in the early eighteenth century and for long after, land, kin and clan were inextricably bound together: 'By its very nature, a kin-based society transformed physical space into a social space, one that was identified through and structured by the groups or clans that occupied it.'[25] Clan status was measured by the spread of kin connections across land both

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[19] Lenman, *Jacobite Clanship,* p.16; BL Add MS52447, Journal, undated [January 1827?], p.144.
[20] Withers, *Gaelic Scotland,* p.73.
[21] *Historical memoirs*, p.269
[22] Stana Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury: the Highland Gentry in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000), p.8-9.
[23] *Ibid.,* pp.1-10.
[24] Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords,* p.57.
[25] *Ibid,* p.50 See also Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.21

geographically and historically. Lairds were granted land by clan chiefs and effectively sub-let that land to tacksmen who rented it out to peasants. Until the mid-eighteenth century, when enclosure and clearance for sheep and cattle began, this land was worked co-operatively on joint farms.[26] Clan bonds, either through direct kinship, land acquisition or through ties of man-rent or bond-rent, afforded both military and political support and protection.[27] Clanship was thus a social, economic and political structure and a cultural, kinship and historical identity whose untangling was a complex and drawn-out process.

As T.M. Devine argues, the gradual erosion of the structure and culture of clanship was achieved far less by any government initiative and more by the seemingly irresistible force of the market. The aftermath of the 'Forty-five saw increased commercialisation, dependence on the import of Lowland and English goods and the selling of land to the highest bidder rather than keeping it within the clan. This led to soaring rents, greater initiatives to exploit the land, predominantly through sheep farming, the beginning of the clearances and the concomitant emigration from the Highlands to North America.[28] The drive for such changes cannot be attributed solely to those commissioners appointed after 1745 to deal with the Highland 'problem', indeed, it came more from Highland landowners themselves. Eager to gain the patronage and goodwill of the Crown and government, to render themselves wealthy enough to secure their position amongst urban society either in Edinburgh or London, landowners increasingly followed the advice of the 'improvers'.[29] The clan chiefs 'were being assimilated into Scottish landed society'.[30] The economic boom of the 1760s and 1770s that saw the industrialisation and urbanisation of the Lowlands, ultimately destroyed 'traditional society' leading to a 'new order based on quite different values, principles and relationships.'[31]

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26 Nenadic, Lairds to Luxury, p.21; Withers, *Gaelic Scotland*, p.5; Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, pp.240-1.

27 Withers, *Gaelic Scotland,* pp.77-78.

28 Devine, *Clanship to Crofter's War,* pp.32-34; Lenman, *Jacobite Clans,* pp.213-214; Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* pp.5-6; Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords,* p.243.

29 Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury* p.6

30 Devine, *Scottish Nation: 1700-2007* (London, 2006), p.14.

31 Devine, *Clanhip to Crofter's War,* pp.30-32

One significant change in 'values, principles and relationships' came about as more opportunities to serve in the British army were presented to young Highland men. Whilst Highland men had always been involved in military pursuits, often serving as mercenaries in European armies, after 1750 there were increasing opportunities in the British army and navy across the empire and in Europe. For Highland gentry, a commission in the military was a practical, high-status and occasionally lucrative means of providing for younger sons, whilst recruiting adult male tenants from their lands could enable patronage structures.[32] The pitfalls of military opportunities, however, were manifold. As Nenadic has illustrated, the lure of active service, foreign travel and new experiences made many young men of gentry origin desperate for a commission in the military.[33] This placed immense pressure on relatives (and particularly wealthy widows) to pay large sums of money to buy commissions, uniforms and advances to cover preliminary expenses. Sometimes these investments paid off, with a salary and status for life and, when combined with trade during peace-time could bring in revenue for the family at large. Yet across the late eighteenth century, as trade became increasingly looked-down upon and military glory appeared far more exciting than managing an estate, Highland families often suffered rather than gained from their military relatives. Reliant on the revenue from estates in which they had little interest, young Highland officers often lost more money than they gained by service, through trying to afford the luxuries that a military lifestyle demanded. Entering a world whose status-orientation was heavily based upon conspicuous material consumption and expensive sociability, the older generation and women left behind in the Highlands often found that the young men who they had supported very soon had little identification or sense of attachment to their Highland origins.[34]

James Mackintosh's own father offers an example of such a trajectory. The younger son of a younger son, John Mackintosh gained a commission in the British army, although by whose means remains unknown. Unlike many of the Highland officers whose career paths and lives Stena Nenadic has traced, John Mackintosh

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[32] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, p.8; Lenman, *Jacobite Clans,* p.214; Withers, *Gaelic Scotland,* p.79; Stana Nenadic, 'The Impact of the Military profession on Highland Gentry Families', *The Scottish Historical Review,* April 2006, pp.75-99.
[33] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.91.
[34] Nenadic, 'The Impact of the Military', p.93.

did marry and returned intermittently to the Highlands.[35] It is not clear whether he met James' mother, Marjory Fraser, in South Carolina where her father and mother lived or, more likely, in Inverness, where her birth was recorded and from where the family originated.[36] What is almost certain is that Marjory Fraser spent a lot of her time in Invernesshire whilst her husband travelled around Europe and the British colonies serving in the 23rd Regiment of Foot, which later became the 68th Regiment of Foot. Lieutenant (later Captain) John Mackintosh had been seriously injured in the Seven Years' War but continued to serve, in Antigua, then Gibraltar and Dublin.[37]

Like many Highland officers, Captain John Mackintosh was clearly a source of frustration and worry to his relatives. Writing to Bailie John Mackintosh of 'poor little Jamie McIntosh', James' paternal aunt, Mrs MacGillivray, noted the disagreeableness of mentioning their cousin, James' father. Hoping that John Mackintosh would 'soon see the impropriety of his former conduct', Mrs MacGillivray urged Bailie John to support the boy's education and board.[38] The exact nature of that 'impropriety' remained un-stated, but it most probably referred to the Captain's desertion and ultimate separation from his second wife, to whom he was married a year or two after the death of James' mother.[39] It was a marriage on which his son had congratulated him only two years' previously, a letter that belied his father's negligence and lack of attachment to his Highland family. Having requested money in several letters previously, James, then seventeen years old, apologised for reminding him of his needs but stated that 'they are now become so distressing that I can no longer delay intreating [sic] that you would answer my letters.'[40] Money, however, was not the only problem. The connections that Captain John Mackintosh had gained through military service were flung across the British imperial world. Arriving in Edinburgh to embark on a very different career path to that of his father, James appears to have found his father's connections to be few and fairly useless. Having set his heart on gaining the affections and of a young woman, Mackintosh sought a position as professor at Aberdeen in order to

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[35] *Ibid., pp.93-4.*
[36] O'Leary, *Whig Cicero,* pp.1-2.
[37] Ibid. See also BL Add MS 52436b, 'Autobiography', Bombay 1804, p.1.
[38] BL Add MS78771a, Mrs MacGillivray to Bailie John, Inverness, February 1774, pp.1-2.
[39] O'Leary, *Whig Cicero,* p.9.
[40] BL Add MS52451b, James Mackintosh to John Mackintosh, 29th December 1782, p.6.

afford to marry. His father, he wrote in his autobiography, 'was of no help in getting him the position', having only one contact, a Major Mercer, to whom Mackintosh implored his father to write but to no avail.[41]

Young men of the Highland gentry were not, however, the only Highlanders to physically move away from their Highland origins. Across the eighteenth century, non-gentry members of Highland society 'formed a steady stream' to America and exploited opportunities for gaining land and particularly accessing trade.[42] In 1735, one hundred and sixty-three members of the Clan Chattan responded to a call by the recruiting agents of James Oglethorpe to go to Georgia to serve in America against the Spanish.[43] Amongst them was probably James Mackintosh's maternal family, the MacGillivrays, who earned their money through trade in South Carolina. Trading predominantly in pelts, the extensive family of MacGillivrays lived and worked alongside American Indian tribes with whom they not uncommonly inter-married.[44] Lachlan MacGillivray, one of the clansmen who emigrated in 1736, married a part-French, part-Creek woman, Sehoy Marchand.[45] Their son, Hobi-Hili-Miko or Alexander MacGillivray, was brought up in the culture and language of his Wind tribe and educated in English at Charlestown. Hobi-Hili-Miko formed for himself a powerful position within his own tribe and amongst imperial powers that was enabled by his straddling of cultures.[46] More commonly, however, marriage and business partnerships were formed within the clan, leading to networks of clanship that spread across a widening imperial world. For example, Lachlan Mackintosh, the laird of Kyllachy in the early eighteenth century left Kyllachy to his brother Alexander on his death. Alexander lived and traded in India but had married Elizabeth Barbour of Aldourie; Aldourie was part of the parish of Dore in which James Mackintosh's birth was registered in 1765.[47]

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[41] BL Add MS52436a, 'Autobiography', p.14.

[42] Lenman, *Jacobite Clans,* p.199.

[43] *Letters of Two Centuries*, Appendix number 6, p.386; 'MacGillivray, Lachlan', American National Biography Online http://www.anb.org/articles/20/20-01686.html (03/08/2009); M. Mackintosh, *The Clan Mackintosh,* p.50.

[44] The most famous example being Alexander MacGillivray. See Caughey, John Walton, *MacGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, 1938), pp.9-11; 'MacGillivray, Alexander', American National Biography Online http://www.anb.org/articles/20/20-01687.html (02/08/2009).

[45] 'MacGillivray, Lachlan', ANBO

[46] 'MacGillivray, Alexander' ANBO

[47] *Letters of Two Centuries*, p.317

Another member of the clan who Mackintosh encountered in India had left the Highlands at the age of nineteen, sailed to China and then settled as a merchant in India. He wrote to James Mackintosh in 1805 describing the family and dependents that comprised his household. Claiming that, 'I can be of more use to those who need my assistance as a resident here than at home', L. Mackintosh wrote that, 'I have heretofore been unable to tell my worthy mother when to expect the fulfilment of her wishes in my return.'[48] L. Mackintosh presents his Highland family as remaining in close proximity in his mind and sense of attachment. The letter book in which James Mackintosh's own letters are found suggests economic ties and business links with Bailie John in the Highlands. 'Possessed of an independence which would be equal to my wants and indeed to my wishes', L Mackintosh presents himself as torn between his family commitments in Calcutta and those of his kin in the Highlands.[49] Retaining the use of 'home' to refer to the Highlands, L. Mackintosh nonetheless saw little possibility of return and, not wanting the 'relinquishment of present comforts', seemed determined on staying with his wife and children in Calcutta.[50]

Even where links to the Highlands remained fairly close, through financial and affective ties, the bonds of clanship that joined kin to land were waning across the eighteenth century. Emigration to other parts of the British empire and service in the British army dispersed families and put intense strain on clan networks. Yet perhaps more than geographical distance, it was practices of socialisation and cultural, class and ethnic identification that caused the waning of traditional Highland culture. Despite the fact that Mackintosh returned intermittently throughout his adult life to the Highlands to visit relatives, his identification with them seems to have waned relatively rapidly upon leaving Scotland. Writing to John Allen, from Bombay in 1805, James Mackintosh stated that 'I have been gradually detached from my own relations – I had formed many most invaluable friendships – but till I met you I had found nothing that I could take to my heart as kindred.'[51] As this section will now go on to illustrate, changing perceptions and images of the

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[48] NLS, MS6360, L Mackintosh, Calcutta to James Mackintosh, Bombay 25th November 1805, p.94
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] BL Add MS78768 Mackintosh to (John) Allen, Parell House Bombay, 22nd February 1805, p.61.

Highlands had an impact upon Mackintosh's own portrayal of the Highlands and his relationship and identification with his place of birth and origin.

The increasingly aggressive 'development' of the Highlands of Scotland and the related changes in Highland society across two centuries was a complex and multifaceted process of colonisation by the English state. The immediate aftermath of the 'Forty-Five was one of immense bloodshed, the hounding-out and killing of men who had survived the battlefield and the destruction of crops, livestock and property leading to starvation and destitution.[52] In contrast to the barbarity of what Macinnes calls a campaign of 'genocide', the longer term measures comprised a 'civilising mission.'[53] Virginia Wills goes so far as to call them 'remarkably tolerant and enlightened.'[54] The measures to 'civilise' the Highlands were laid out in an 'Act for Annexing certain Forfeited Estates in Scotland'.[55] Having outlawed Highland dress and the carrying of arms in 1746, and abolished heritable jurisdictions leading to the centralisation of justice in 1747, the Crown took possession of over fifty Jacobite estates.[56] The estate of one Lachlan Mackintosh was amongst them. Cluny, where Mackintosh was raised, was also amongst those named but unable to be forfeited because held by superiors.[57] The majority of these estates were sold at auction to the highest bidder but thirteen forfeited estates were to be annexed with the intention of using their rents and profits to promote Presbyterianism, good government, industry and loyalty to the crown.

Schemes for rendering the Highlands 'civilised', controllable and more integrated into the burgeoning capitalist market saw the creation of two London- and Edinburgh-based societies – the Highland Society founded in 1778 and the

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[52] Allan Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart 1603-1788* (Phantassie, 1996), pp.211-212

[53] *Ibid.,* p.212

[54] Virginia Wills, 'The Gentleman Farmer and the Annexed Estates: Agrarian Change in the Highlands in the Second Half of the 18thc', in Devine (ed), *Lairds and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment*, ed T.M. Devine (Dundee, 1979), p.38.

[55] *Ibid.*, p.38; *Historical Memoirs*, p.487

[56] Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke, 1989), p.4.

[57] *A Bill Intitled, An Act for Annexing Certain Forfeited Estates in Scotland to the Crown Unalienably; and for Making Satisfaction to the Lawful Creditors thereupon; and to Establish a Method of Managing the Same; and applying the Rents and Profits thereof, for the Better Civilising and Improving the Highlands of Scotland; and Preventing Disorders there for the Future*, 1752, n.p.

Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.[58] Long before the final failure of the Jacobites in 1745, the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) had begun a concerted effort to 'civilise' the Highlands. Describing themselves as a group of 'private gentlemen' who met in Edinburgh for the general reformation of manners, the SSPCK officially formed in 1709 as a corporation with the expressed intent of establishing charity-schools in the Highlands and Islands.[59] The SSPCK's report of 1774 outlined the problems that afflicted the Highlands and that had rendered it so-far immune to, 'the blessings which the Glorious Revolution had so lately introduced into the rest of Britain.'[60] Superstition, popery, feudal relations that saw the majority of people 'inslaved' by their chiefs and the 'obstinate adherence of the inhabitants' to their own Gaelic tongue were the reasons for their 'rude, ignorant and disaffected' ways.[61] Thus, the means of 'civilising' the Highlands rested upon securing tenancies, enabling agricultural improvement through enclosure, creating parishes, building schools, churches and prisons and encouraging law and order.[62] Eight years after the Annexation Act, the SSPCK, alongside commissioners, began to work with the Annexed Estates. Their schemes of 'improvement' were not necessarily either immediately forthcoming or successful but they marked a changing vision of the Highlands that had an undoubted impact on Highland identity itself.

How Highland Scotland was perceived and understood during this period underwent significant transformations as the area's economic and social relationship to both Lowland Scotland and England itself changed. As Charles Withers argues, in the aftermath of military defeat the Highlands were opened to investigation and discovery by 'outside observers'. 'The creation of an image of Highlands and Highlander in the mind of the improver laid the basis for material changes on the ground: intellectual and material production were, and are, related elements in Highland transformation.'[63] That 'discovery' of the Highlands went hand-in-hand

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[58] Wills, 'The Gentleman Farmer', 38-42; Lenman, *Jacobite Clans*, p.20.

[59] *An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. From its Commencement in 1709. In which is Included, the Present State of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland with Regard to Religion* (Edinburgh, 1774), p.4.

[60] *Ibid.*, p.1.

[61] *Ibid.*, p.2.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] Withers, *Gaelic Scotland,* p.58. See also Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke and London, 1989).

with its colonisation is evident from the attitude exhibited by James Boswell in his famous tour of the Highlands and Hebrides in 1773.[64] Along his tour he spotted 'scenes' of curiosity offering glimpses of lifestyles that he had already determined were 'simple' and 'wild'.[65] Intent on impressing and entertaining his English travelling companion, Boswell's description of their perusal of such 'scenes' belie a sense of colonial entitlement to access to knowledge. Thus, having spotted a 'small hut', the tourists and their guides went to explore and enter the hut, interrogating the woman who lived there about her life and giving offence when they insisted on observing her sleeping area.[66] The description of the 'wretched little hovel' and the meagre income of the family was in stark contrast with the comfort of the governor's house where they had 'all the conveniences of civilised life in the midst of rude mountains.'[67] By representing the governor's house as an anomaly in its context, Boswell made it clear that 'civilisation' was not inherent to the Highlands and celebrated its entrance as part of a rather ambivalent attitude towards the Scottish Union. For Boswell, the essential character of the Highlands was the 'rude' wilderness, the comforts and books of 'civilisation' were foreign imports.

James Boswell and Samuel Johnson's tour took them along the banks of the Loch Ness past the house of Clune where Mackintosh spent his early years. Naming their tour a 'curious expedition', Boswell hoped that, 'we might there contemplate a system of life almost totally different from what we had been accustomed to see; and to find simplicity and wildness and all the circumstances of remote time or place, so near to our native great island.'[68] Contrasting geographical proximity with the unfamiliarity that the people of the Highlands and Islands exhibited, Boswell drew on stadial theory to represent Highland society as occupying a different period in time and a different stage of civilisation. This contrast between geographical proximity and the unfamiliarity that the people of the Highlands and Islands exhibited was also emphasised by Anne Grant in her *Letters*

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[64] *Boswell's Journal of A Tour of the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, L.L.D.* Prepared for press with preface and notes but Frederick A Pottle and Charles H Bennett (New York, 1936, first published 1785).
[65] *Ibid.,* p.3.
[66] *Ibid.,* pp.99-100.
[67] *Ibid.,* p.101.
[68] *Ibid.,* p.3.

from the Mountains and *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland.*[69] For Grant, the very landscape of the Highlands evoked the past, 'I people their narrow and gloomy glens with those vindictive clans, that used to makes such fatal incursions.'[70] Grant endeavoured to explain why the culture of the Highlanders had been ignored for so long by 'men of capacious mind and enlightened curiosity'.[71] Fixated on expeditions to distant parts of the world and particularly on remote periods of time, Grant claimed, scholars had failed to see what was under their noses. In the Highlands of Scotland were 'the remains of the most ancient, unmingled and original people in Europe', a culture and people that was 'fast gliding into the mist of obscurity, and will soon be no more than a remembered dream.'[72]

Grant's explanation as to why Highlanders had been so ignored by scholars served to create a particular image of the Highlander himself. The failure of scholars to research Highland manners, she claimed, was due to the insularity of the 'true' Highlander, his pride and attachment to his own family and clan and the lack of admittance accorded to strangers. The social boundaries protecting the Highland world from outsiders were too solid and raised too high, obscuring the scholar's view. Unable to gain knowledge of this world, the outsider risked the dangers that being 'out of place' entailed.[73] The unknowable and immeasurable bonds of ancestry structured Highland society, and prevented strangers from gaining access and protection. 'Law there had barely the power to protect life. The protection of property was matter of convention, understood and acted upon, but by no means including indifferent persons.'[74] The problems of observing the Highlands, however, went beyond considerations of personal safety and access to Highland society. Language barriers confounded observation and analysis. The 'true' Highlander could not represent himself to a scholarly audience because in order to do so he

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[69] *Letters from the Mountains; being the Real Correspondence of a Lady between the Years of 1773 and 1807 in three volumes,* vol 1, the second edition (London, 1806); *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland to which are added Translations from the Gaelic; and Letters Connected with those formerly Published in Two Volumes by the Author of 'letters from the mountains',* vol. 1 (London, 1811).

[70] Letter to Miss Harriet Reid, of Glasgow, Inverary, April 28 1773, *Letters from the Mountains,* p.10.

[71] *Essays on the Superstitions,* p.7.

[72] *Ibid.,* p.9.

[73] 'On the causes which, precluding Strangers from settling in the Highlands, prevented any knowledge of the Language or Customs of the Country from being obtained through such a medium' in *Essays on the Superstitions,* pp.50-74.

[74] *Ibid.,* p.73.

would have to leave his native homeland and his mother tongue. If a man's English was good enough to describe the manners of the Highlanders, he would invariably have lost the ability to express the 'poetical nature of Gaelic'. 'In finding what is correct and grammatical in another tongue, he has lost much of what is exquisite and expressive in his own', wrote Grant.[75] Highland manners and beliefs could not be described in a language other than Gaelic and could not be understood through reason. Highlanders, 'once enlightened by science', would not share their knowledge of Highland beliefs with the 'civilised' world for fear of the ridicule they may receive. 'Reason might restrain, but could not extinguish that awful and undefined emotion which shrinks from solitude and darkness, and willingly shuns objects that too powerfully recal[sic] these early combinations.'[76]

Anne Grant offered no way out of the conundrum of scholarly observation of Highlanders. The Highlander could not represent himself and his society because to do so was to compromise his very essence, an essence that was partly embodied by purity of language. Furthermore, even if an educated Highlander could offer a scholarly account of his manners and society, he was unlikely to do so because it would expose him to ridicule amongst his educated peers. 'To any but his countrymen, he [the Highlander] carefully avoided mentioning his customs, his genealogies, and, above all, his superstitions. Nay, in some instances, he affected to speak of them with contempt, to enforce his pretensions to literature or philosophy.'[77] Highland manners and beliefs, Grant suggests, were incompatible with the urban, 'enlightened' world of the literati – an idea to which I shall return when discussing Mackintosh's own portrayal of the Highlands.[78] It was left to Grant herself, therefore, to offer her own observations from a rather different standpoint. Locating herself as 'not entirely a native, nor a stranger', Grant wrote that 'there does not exist a person in decent station, with a mind in any degree

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[75] 'On the Obstacles which so Long Prevented the Legends and Traditions, Preserved in the Celtic or Gaelic Language, from Becoming the Objects of Learned Research; and on the Causes which Prevented those who Understood them from Giving them their Due Value and Importance, in what regards General Science' in *Ibid.,* pp.32-3.
[76] *Ibid.,* p.42.
[77] *Ibid.,* p.35.
[78] See below, section 3.

cultivated or capable of refinement, who has had more intercourse with the lower classes.'[79]

Born in Glasgow in 1755, Anne Grant's early life had been spent in America, where she grew up amongst native Americans who she referred to both as 'savage' and as my 'Mohawk friends'.[80] Grant's association with the Highlands really began in 1793, when she travelled through the western and central Highlands with her parents, both of whom had highland connections. Having married a military chaplain, James Grant, in 1779, she settled in Laggan where her husband presided over the parish. It was during this period that she mastered Gaelic and noted her observations in letters and eventually an essay, which was published in 1811.[81] Grant's claim to be a legitimate observer of Highlanders rested on her not being a scholar, and, one might add, not being male. Although never explicitly stated, it was Grant's womanhood and the positions in which she was placed by virtue of being a woman that allowed her access to the Highland world. Writing from Edinburgh in 1821, Grant staked her claim to understand Highland manners as a result of the 'Long days have I knit my stocking, or carried an infant from sheaf to sheaf, sitting and walking by turns on the harvest field, attentively observing conversation which, for the first years of my residence in the Highlands I was not supposed to understand.'[82] Grant's own essays were not 'offered to the public as the result of labour or study', but were the result of 'reflections suggested by deep feelings, and long and close observation among scenes of peculiar interest.'[83] The Highlands could only be understood through emotional proximity, not through reason. They could not be accessed through study or books but through feelings. It was the 'unsophisticated mind, which feels and acknowledges the language of nature and native feeling' that could witness Highland culture; a culture that was 'more primitive than what is usually met with'.[84]

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[79] Letter to Mrs Hook, Edinburgh 9th February 1821 in *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs Grant of Laggan author of 'Letters from the Mountains', 'Memoirs of an American Lady'* edited by her son, J.P Grant in 3 vols. Vol 2 (London, 1844), p.284. For further discussion of Mrs Grant's portrayal of the Highlands see, Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus, 2007).

[80] Letter to Miss Reid, Fort William, May 24, 1773, *Letters from the Mountains*, p.108.

[81] *Memoir and Correspondence*, p.13.

[82] Letter to Mrs Hook, Edinburgh 9th February 1821, *Letters from the Mountains,* p.283.

[83] *Ibid.,* p.283.

[84] *Letters from the Mountains*, vol I, p.x.

In the course of explaining why it was that scholars had not studied Highland manners, Anne Grant created a utopian image of the Highlander that was in implicit contrast to the elite, 'civilised' world for whom she wrote. The Highlander, she claimed was family-oriented and fiercely loyal. Devoted to his wife and children over whom he presided, the Highlander was respectful and caring of them and was thoroughly respected by them.[85] In Grant's account, the simple, poetic and free mind of the Highlander was worth more than those who claimed to be 'civilised', who, she wrote 'pace all their lives on even-paved roads'.[86] Grant frequently contrasted the materiality of the so-called 'civilised' world with the poetic, emotional and 'noble' Highland world. 'It is no wonder that such bright gleams of all that is noble and delicate in thought and feeling, breaking out from the obscurity of imputed barbarism, should astonish ignorance and provoke incredulity. But the tinge of all the fine colours of this antique enthusiasm, is still obvious in the thought, speech and action of every unsophisticated highlander.'[87]

Anne Grant's utopian vision of the Highlands was part of a wider romantic movement that reflected fears about the growing commercialisation and industrialisation of society. Like Anne Grant, romantic scholars and poets, such as Wordsworth and Macpherson, saw in the Highlander's apparent primitivism a state of freedom and manliness that they felt had been lost through civilisation.[88] For Wordsworth, as Fiona Stafford argues, the appreciation of beauty was lost as both he himself aged and as the world became older and more civilised.[89] If Wordsworth saw the Highlands as a means to free his own mind from the trammels of maturity, Scottish writers looked to the Highlands to find the 'unmixed' essence of their own national identity.[90] As Kenneth McNeil has argued, 'Highland Scotland became re-imagined as a site of both sublime nature and primitive past, a space where national

[85] 'On the Causes which, Precluding Strangers from Settling in the Highlands, Prevented any Knowledge of the Language or Customs of the Country from being Obtained through such a Medium', *Essays on Superstitions*, pp.50-2.

[86] Letter to Miss Reid, Fort William, May 24, 177, *Letters from the Mountains*, p.108.

[87] 'On the causes', *Essays on Superstitions*, p.84

[88] *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, Leith Davis, Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen (eds) (Cambridge, 2004); Katie Trumpener, Bardic Nationalism: the Romantic Novel and the British Empire (Princeton, 1997); *Scotland, Ireland and the Romantic Aesthetic*, David Duff and Catherine Jones (eds) (Cranbury, 2007); Murray G.H.Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart myth and the Scottish identity 1638 to the present* (London and New York, 1991).

[89] Fiona Stafford, 'Inhabited Solitudes: Wordsworth in Scotland, 1803', *Scotland, Ireland and the Romantic Aesthetic,* p.94.

[90] See Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, p.4.

peculiarity could be constituted and onto which it could be displaced.[91] On the one hand, Highland Scotland's 'feudal' backwardness presented an embarrassment to urban Scottish elites.[92] Keen to be seen to be embracing 'progress', elites in Edinburgh and London encouraged the development of the Highlands, promoting imperial capitalism and its relentless drive to survey, drain, enclose and improve. In doing so, they sought to align Scotland with 'progress' by promoting English 'liberties' especially of property, against the feudal structures that were most prominently embodied by Highland clanship.[93] On the other hand, however, the embarrassment that the 'feudal' and 'backward' Highlands afforded elite Scots was accompanied by the creation of the Highlands as the source of national peculiarity. Endeavouring to forge an idea of Scotland's national exclusivity and a sense of their own 'Scottishness' within Britain, they looked to the Highlands to provide a national distinctiveness.[94]

Whether the Highlands' primitivism signified a 'noble' and 'manly' liberty representing the essence of the Scottish nation, or a barbarism that needed to be civilised and improved, depended on the uses to which Highland imagery was put. What these constructions had in common was a belief that the region and its people occupied a lower rung on the ladder of civilisation. Both interpretations blurred the boundaries between what lay in the past and what remained in the present. If the Highland past offered post-Union Scots an opportunity to assert national peculiarity, the Highland present was a space from which to assert distance. Inherent within the question of where 'we' came from, was the assumption that 'we' were no longer there. If a newly conceived Scottish national identity looked to the mountains and 'wilderness' of the Highlands for the myths of its origins, it also looked to Highland improvement to illustrate the quality of Scottish 'progress' and 'civilisation'.[95] What was certain, was that such a focus was directed from elsewhere, from the 'civilised' urban Lowlands.

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[91] Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire,* p.5.

[92] Colin Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and national identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland', *The English Historical Review*, vol.109, no.434 (1994), p.1206.

[93] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge, 1993), p.270.

[94] Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire*, pp.2-3.

[95] Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, p.3.

Mackintosh himself exhibited little interest in the romanticisation of the Highlands or, as later chapters will show, in the more general search for origins amongst peoples deemed ancient and 'primitive'. Reflecting on Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake,* Mackintosh predicted that the author's fame would be short-lived, a 'national, almost country poet'.[96] 'He selects in a barbarous period of a very barbarous country the two most barbarous bodies of men,' Mackintosh wrote with disdain and detachment from his own place of birth.[97] It is the nature and implications of this detachment that I explore in the next section. Using Mackintosh's autobiographical sketch, I turn to thinking about Mackintosh's identification with the Highlands and interpretation of his youth.

Escaping 'barbarity': Remembering and forgetting the Highlands

The main source for James Mackintosh's Highland Scottish childhood comes from an unpublished and unfinished autobiography penned in the early years of his residence in Bombay. In his opening preface Mackintosh discourses apologetically on the egotism of autobiographical writing, emphasising the modesty of his pursuit with self-effacing remarks about the lack of achievement in his life to date. Writing from a place that he considered to be 'the most obscure and insignificant corner of India'[98], Mackintosh claimed that he was preparing a document for the amusement of his old age or, should he not reach it, for his friends and family to remember him by.[99] Yet slightly concealed by heavy marks of erasure, is evidence of a more ambitious reason for recording his own life: 'Whether England and Europe will ever feel any curiosity to know the events of my life and the feelings they excited in my mind I cannot presume to conjecture'.[100] Mackintosh wrote nonetheless, in the 'hope that at some future time I may hope to be better known to the public than I now am.'[101] From current obscurity, Mackintosh projected himself onto an imagined and hoped-for future of fame that resided away from Highland Scotland in 'England and Europe'. The nature of such fame, he suggests elsewhere in letters and diaries, was undecided. Would he be 'a man of action or letters', a lawgiver or a

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[96] BL Add MS 52438a, Bombay 1811, p.29.
[97] Ibid.
[98] BL Add MS52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay, 14th August 1804, p.9.
[99] BL Add MS 52436a, Autobiography, p.1
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

historian, a member of Parliament or a reclusive but productive scholar?[102] Whichever life-pursuit he chose, they had in common the desire to be recognised by an imagined public domain and to assert influence over that domain in the present and the future. Access to this 'public', however, was fundamentally reliant upon passing as, and properly performing, a specific gender, class and ethnicity. In order to belong to this public and to shape its nature and course, it was necessary first to establish and mould an identity, to create for oneself a character, that would allow for inclusion.[103] It is this shaping and projecting of a gendered, classed and racialised identity, evidenced largely through autobiography, that I discuss across this section.

In his discussion of personal identity and its relationship to narrative, Paul Ricouer argues that it is through narrative processes that ethics are developed and it is within narrative that ethics are embedded.[104] The creation of a character in a narrative is inseparable from the development of a plot, the two are mutually constitutive. In autobiography, the narrative plot, which is also the story of a life, implies ideological and political choices and makes profound links between those choices and the personality of the author. As the character is constructed through the narrative, changes across time require a semblance of continuity and similitude in order for the character itself to retain its resemblance. The plot must develop and change, but it cannot deviate too far without ultimately destroying the congruence of the character it is creating. [105] Autobiographical narrative, like narrative in general, allows events to be re-organised, chosen, re-interpreted or, I would suggest, erased, in order to present a complete and congruent identity across time.[106] This section explores how Mackintosh promotes his identity through his autobiography and in the process, creates it. I read Mackintosh's autobiography in conjunction with the sparse collection of letters dating from the period of his

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[102] BL Add MS 78769, Mackintosh to Kitty, Tarala Library, Tuesday April 15th 1810, pp.13-15.
[103] For a discussion of belonging see Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Belonging and the politics of belonging', *Patterns of Prejudice, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2006*, 197-214.
[104] Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another,* trans Kathleen Blamey (Chicago and London, 1992), p.115.
[105] *Ibid.,* pp.147-8; Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discoures and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987). Neither of these authors refer directly to autobiography, however. For identity and narrative see Denis-Constant Martin, 'The Choices of Identity', *Social Identities,* Volume 1, Number 1, 1995, 5-20.
[106] Martin, 'The Choices of Identity', 7-8.

childhood and alongside fairytales and legends that were collected in the nineteenth century but purport to be from earlier generations. Reading these different genres of literature side-by-side, discordances become evident that suggest alternatives to Mackintosh's own plot. They are discordances, I argue, which reveal the creative process – the erasures, emphasis and re-organisations - that went into forming both a coherent plot and a congruent character.

What do Mackintosh's representations of his Highland childhood reveal about his own sense of social self? In telling the story of his life, what other stories, what other social realities, did Mackintosh leave behind? This section begins by examining Mackintosh's representation of his youth and explores how this representation projects a certain class, ethnic and particularly gender identity. It then explores the probable erasures in Mackintosh's narrative and looks at how selective memory, emphasis and forgetting allowed him to construct a particular notion of himself. In forming his sense of self through autobiography, I suggest that he turned away from a world of complex social ties, activities and alternative knowledge systems.

In 1804, when Sir James Mackintosh, Recorder of Bombay, sat down to narrate his life and to set his identity upon the page, he made no mention of either the Mackintosh clan or the Clan Chattan confederacy of which the Mackintoshes were chiefs. The traditions and rights of the clan itself still operated in the Highlands and in 1785 Chief Aeneas called upon James Mackintosh to attend the rendezvous of Brae Lochaber. Yet for Mackintosh this appears to have constituted merely an adventure and an experience of an entirely different world from which he appeared to feel himself far removed.[107] Thus when he set out his origins, instead of locating himself in the genealogy of the clan, Mackintosh began by placing himself on a map of male relatives who had served in various parts of the British empire. His father, Captain John Mackintosh, is defined through his service in the British army, with emphasis laid upon the fact that he was wounded in the Seven Years' War. His mother, Mackintosh describes in relationship to her own male family and particularly, also, those who served the British empire. She was, Mackintosh relates,

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[107] Patrick O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.10. Jane Rendall, 'The Political Ideas and Activities of Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832): A Study in Whiggism between 1789 and 1832)' Unpublished Phd Thesis, University College London, 1972, p.25.

'Marjory MacGillivray of Mr Alexander MacGillivray by Anne Fraser, sister of Brigadier General Fraser, killed in General Bourgogne's army in 1777, aunt to Dr Fraser, Physician in London and to Mrs Fraser Tytler, wife of Lord Woodhouselee, now a judge of the court of session in Scotland.'[108] It is through this catalogue of more distant male relatives that Mackintosh establishes his maternal family in the context, not of the Clan Chattan of which they were also a part, but of the imperial world of the male, professional middle classes.

Thus, Mackintosh began his autobiography by locating himself in relationship to a network of male relatives, serving, wounded and dying in the British empire or practicing professions in the metropole, all far beyond the Highlands. Then, in stark contrast to these far-flung men, he turned to present a huddle of women in a 'small house called Clune' in which he spent his infanthood. 'The only infant in a family of several women' he wrote, 'they rivalled each other in kindness and indulgence towards me.'[109] His mother, Mackintosh claimed, was unhappy, an unhappiness that 'contributed to her extreme affection which she felt for me'.[110] Not sufficiently provided for by her husband, whose pay was 'not too much for his own expenses', she was forced to rely upon her own family and lavished her love upon the only dependent she had.[111] From the centre of this scene of feminine fixation, Mackintosh, pondering his younger self 'at the distance of twenty years and of fifteen thousand miles', gazes out. Out of the window of 'our little parlour' to view 'the Lake with its uninterrupted expanse of twenty-four miles and its fortifications of perpendicular wooded rock.'[112]

The focus of Mackintosh's gaze, however, was fixed far beyond the Highland landscape, on the activities of his father and uncles fighting the wars of American Independence and the fortunes of Great Britain in the wars against France and Spain across the 1770s. Mackintosh wrote that his first poem was an elegy to his uncle, Brigadier General Fraser, a man who he probably never met but would have heard about through family and in letters. By recording and placing emphasis upon his attempts at poetry, Mackintosh was projecting onto his youth his

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[108] BL Add MS 52436a, Autobiography, p.2.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.

status as a man of letters, a member of the *literati* that he was later to become. Furthermore, his description of the poems, one apparently based upon Rollin's *Ancient History*, illustrated his patriotism, his interest and involvement in the activities of a country whose centre of power was far beyond his immediate geographical location. 'I thought it a noble example to Great Britain,' he wrote, 'then threatened with invasion when the combined fleets of France and Spain were riding triumphant in the Channel.'[113]

Whether concerned with the battles fought across the British empire, or with ancient classical literature, Mackintosh represents himself as a youth immersed in worlds that were, for the most part, temporally and spatially far removed from his day-to-day existence. It is only in matters of religion that he suggests his immediate experiences informed his choices. Saying nothing about the religious beliefs and practices of his own family, Mackintosh recorded that his experience of religious prejudice against one of his fellows at school 'contributed to make my mind free and inquisitive.'[114] Having read Burnet's *Commentary on Thirty-Nine Articles* and witnessed the Orthodox Calvinism of his boarding mistress and school parson, Mackintosh claimed that he 'became a warm advocate for free will … probably the boldest heretic in the Country.'[115] By proudly declaring what he called his youthful 'heresy', Mackintosh distances himself from his context. His emphasis on his own inquisitiveness and use of the superlative is set in implicit contrast to the mentality of the country in which he resided. Thus, he paints a suggestive picture of a country in which orthodoxy reigned supreme and in which expressions of 'free will' were lacking. Finally, he linked his own personal trajectory to what he saw as the much broader progress of nations, stating that 'theological controversy has been the general inducement of individuals and nations to engage in metaphysical speculation.'[116] Mired in orthodoxy, conformity and lack of 'metaphysical speculation', Mackintosh represents himself as standing apart from, and implicitly above, the context in which he grew up.

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[113] Ibid., p.6.
[114] Ibid., p.3.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

As Bonnie Smith has argued in *The Gender of History*, identification with a masculine world beyond and separate from the home first took place when young boys were sent to school. Smith has shown how the transition between the domestic world of family - associated with motherhood, femininity and affect - and the studious, 'rational' world of school was one that many young boys found difficult to make.[117] Using the letters of nineteenth-century historians writing home from school as young boys, she explores the ways in which the atmosphere and routines of boarding schools encouraged an identification with studies and a move away from domestic, family life.[118] Yet it was not only the home from which school boys gradually distanced themselves. The curriculum that they studied focussed on classics and instruction in Latin and English, which led to an identification with a world of masculine scholar-heroes that was very different from the world from which Highland boys had come. Extra-curricular activities, too, ensured that young boys learnt how to properly perform their class and gender in the public world for which they were destined. Cock-fighting and dancing classes were included in Mackintosh's education at Fortrose, alongside games of empire building and mock-parliamentary debates in which the young Mackintosh engaged his classmates. Recording the reminiscences of a relative who had taught Mackintosh at Fortrose, Pryse Gordon related Mackintosh's zeal in putting forward the Whig case against the wars of independence in America.[119] What other people remembered of his childhood and what Mackintosh himself chose to record in his autobiography laid emphasis upon a political and scholarly identity that was fostered largely during his years of schooling. It was an identity that fixed his attention towards an elite, powerful, public world whose geography lay far beyond the Highland world of home, family and local ties into which he was born. Beginning by looking at opportunities for education in Scotland and the Highlands in particular, this section explores the ways in which schooling defined knowledge and re-configured identities and belongings.

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[117] Bonnie Smith, 'The Adolescent Road to Historical Science', *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 33, no.4 (Winter, 1993), pp.563-577.
[118] Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Harvard, 1998), p.73
[119] BL Add MS78771a, 'Extract from the portfolio of Pryse L Gordon author of 'Memoirs and reminiscences of his own times' published in 1829', p.225.

Associated with backwardness, illiteracy, superstition and Jacobitism, the Scottish Highlands became the object of the SSPCK's mission to promote civilisation; its primary tool was education. Established in 1709, the SSPCK, stated that, 'The surest way of making right and permanent impressions on the human mind, is to begin early.'[120] Thus, they began a project of establishing charity schools across the Highlands to teach English and ensure the dissemination of reformed Christianity. 'Papists as well as Protestants of every denomination, and all persons whatsoever, should be taught, by fit and well-qualified schoolmasters, appointed by the Society, to read the holy scriptures and other pious books, as also to write, and understand the common rules of arithmetic, with such other things as should be thought suitable to their circumstances.'[121] The SSPCK's mission to educate Highland children followed a long history of state-sponsored efforts to provide rural and urban Scotland with parish schools. Since the Scottish reformation of the fifteenth century, education as a means of instilling religious morality had been given a strong emphasis in Scottish politics and rhetoric of religious reform.[122] The Calvinist *Book of Discipline* (1560) envisaged a national system of schooling and saw education of the young as the means to impart religion and morality.[123] From 1633 onwards Parliamentary Acts repeatedly expressed the need for a school in every parish with a schoolmaster to instruct all levels of society in basic literacy and catechism and taxed landowners in order to pay for the provision.[124] These were measures that insured that across the Lowlands at least, basic literacy was widespread even amongst the peasantry, although the idea that Scotland excelled above England and Europe has been refuted by Houston.[125] These charity and parish schools could be the stepping stone for low status boys to attain the basic knowledge they needed to expand on their own education and, if noticed, to gain patronage and sponsorship for further study. The most famous example to come

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[120] An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p.2
[121] Ibid., p.6
[122] Charles Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment: Socialisation for Cultural Change in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983); Richard Sher, 'Scotland Transformed: The Eighteenth Century' in *Scotland: A History*, Jenny Wormald (ed) (Oxford, 2005), p.115. Henry Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth century* (London, 1899), ch. XI.
[123] T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007* (London, 2006), p.91; R.D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People, 1750-1918* (Oxford, 1995), p.3
[124] Graham, *The Social Life,* p.418
[125] Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment,* p.142. R.A. Houston, Social Change in the Age of the Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660-1760 (Oxford, 1994), pp.256-7.

out of rural parish schooling to fame and fortune is, of course, Robert Burns.[126] From a similar situation, John Leyden, later to become a well-known linguist and poet, had, according to Alexander Fraser-Tytler writing from Edinburgh, 'raised himself from the station of a peasant keeping a flock of sheep on the hills of Liddesdale to a distinguished place among the men of letters here.'[127]

In the towns, the focus was more on the grammar school, which taught Latin and the classics in preparation for university. By the mid-eighteenth century, schools controlled by the state were being supplemented by charity and private schools, with teaching that focussed on more 'modern' and vocational subjects including science, history, navigation and book-keeping.[128] In both town and country the monopoly over education that had been held by the state was breaking down across the eighteenth century and where its provision had been limited, especially in the Highlands, charitable schools organised by a number of different institutions filled the gap.[129] This picture of success must not, however, be overstated. Across the Lowlands as a whole, parish schools were notoriously under-funded, with school teachers struggling to survive on meagre and insecure incomes.[130] The density of population and the vast numbers of migrants meant that the populations of towns were often less literate than across the countryside.[131] Even where Scottish education did live up to the celebrated image of the children of lairds and peasants learning side-by-side, social hierarchies were often reinforced in the classroom. The poverty of schoolmasters meant that there were ample opportunities for wealth to be displayed and preferences made clear, through cock-fighting or other ritualised gift-giving.[132] Yet whilst education was rarely completely free, even at university level it was significantly cheaper than in England and therefore more open to non-elite classes.

In the Highlands educational provision lagged much father behind than its Lowland counterpart, although the gloomy picture painted by Henry Grey Graham

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[126] 'Introduction', *Collected Poems of Robert Burns,* introduced by Tim Burke (Ware, 2008), p.vi.
[127] NLS MS 971, p.12
[128] Devine, *The Scottish Nation,* p.94.
[129] *Ibid.,* pp.94-5.
[130] Henry Graham gives a much gloomier picture of educational provision in the eighteenth century. *The Social Life,* pp.425-7.
[131] Devine, *The Scottish Nation,* p.93
[132] See Graham, *The Social Life,* p.430.

is probably exaggerated.[133]   Where provision had been made for a parish school, parishes often lacked a school master to carry out instruction, and even when both teacher and school existed, language, culture and poverty barriers prevented the success that education had seen in the Lowlands.[134] Henry Gray Graham states that few teachers sent to the Highlands were able to speak Gaelic, so their pupils would be expected to learn in a language that was foreign to them. Furthermore, with large parishes, Highland teachers were often 'ambulatory', travelling from house to house to teach children during certain parts of the year.[135] Dores, the parish in which Clune lay and where James Mackintosh spent his childhood, was listed by the SSPCK in 1774 as a parish in which 'schools are much wanted'.[136] Without a parish school to serve them, Highland children whose parents could neither educate their children themselves nor afford to pay for private tuition at home or at schools elsewhere, went without an education. Even those that did receive the rudiments of a primary school education could often read but not write.[137] In 1821, half the Highland population were still unable to read at all.[138]

In the parish of Dores, James Mackintosh would have been one of very few to receive a comprehensive education; his advancement to Edinburgh University and ultimately to fame in London would have been staggering to those left behind. It serves as a reminder that despite the financial difficulties under which his mother laboured as she tried to bring up James and his siblings, their wider kinship networks and the status of her husband rendered the family considerably better-off than the majority of the people around them. Their kinship ties, both across the empire and more immediately to the lands and castle of Aldourie, allowed James Mackintosh an education that meant he could aspire to participation in a world far beyond the Highlands. This was not only the result of his family's socio-economic status. Whilst the young 'Jamie McIntosh' may have been known across the countryside as a 'prodigy of learning' it was not simply the boy's early signs of

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[133] *Ibid.,* p.430; Devine suggests the existence of more schools than Graham accounts for: Devine, *The Scottish Nation,* p.93.
[134] Graham, *The Social Life,* p.422.
[135] *Ibid.*
[136] An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p.47.
[137] Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p.93.
[138] Graham, *The Social Life,* p.423.

'genius' that convinced his relatives to sponsor his education to such a high level.[139] As Stena Nenadic has shown, the eldest son was often afforded opportunities that younger siblings and particularly girls were not, effectively resulting in class differences within families.[140]

Mackintosh's younger brother, John, was given fewer opportunities and spent the first few years of his schooling in an institution far inferior to his older brother's school in Fortrose. Writing to Baliie John, the boys' father, John Mackintosh (senior), expressed his intention to remove his younger son to a 'more respectable' school.[141] Captain Mackintosh eventually gained a position for his son as an ensign in the army, albeit only on half-pay.[142] John Mackintosh (junior) went to the West Indies, but not before suffering hardship and uncertainty, unable to afford the voyage out.[143] When he did finally manage to travel with his regiment to Honduras, Mackintosh wrote to his aunt that 'His society and situation are not the most agreeable in the world. I wish I could remove him to more agreeable quarters but my interest is so small that I have little hopes of doing it soon.'[144] He died in the West Indies sometime between 1799 and 1800.[145] As discussed in the previous section, opportunities for social and economic advancement amongst Highlanders lay primarily in connections with the imperial world. Scholarship and intellectualism rarely helped to gain a livelihood and John Mackintosh (senior) clearly believed that too much learning would be a disadvantage. Mackintosh's father disapproved of his eldest son's attachment to reading and hoped that he would gain a post with the East India Company, which would enable him to rise up the ranks and perhaps grow wealthy through it.[146] It was ultimately his mother who fought for her eldest

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[139] *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh,* edited by his Son Robert James Mackintosh, esq (fellow of New College, Oxford), in 2 volumes, Vol. 1 (London, 1835), p.7.
[140] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, p.43 and pp.54-55.
[141] BL Add MS 78771a (1774-1848), Capt Mackintosh to Bailie John McIntosh, Inverness, North Britain, 11th May 1783, p.27.
[142] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.14.
[143] BL Add MS 78768, James Mackintosh to his grandmother, 14 Serle Street, Lincoln's Inn, London, 16th November, 1796, p.3.
[144] Ibid., 15th November 1799, p.34.
[145] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.5.
[146] *Ibid.*

son's education and was largely supported by extended family rather than by her husband.[147]

What education Mackintosh's sister, Anne, was given, if any, is nowhere evident. Although girls could attend parish schools, they were often discouraged by their parents from pursuing studies beyond reading.[148] Girls' education was generally restricted to skills that would render them useful wives or that would keep them occupied until they married. Knitting and sewing were considered to be useful activities that could promote industrial employment and were often taught in smaller schools, frequently by older women or widows.[149] Girls from wealthier families would often be sent to Edinburgh to experience a season, and would learn urban socialisation.[150] The educational experiences of Maria Graham, Mackintosh's contemporary and later friend, illustrate some of the attitudes towards women's learning that were encountered by women who did pursue knowledge, almost always without the level of support received by their male counterparts.[151] After a prolonged period of a rather directionless education that she supplemented with a voracious appetite for books and knowledge, Maria discovered that her intellectual curiosity was mistaken for a 'spirit of flirtation'.[152] Dislike of 'bluestockings' – women who were intellectually informed, wrote and sometimes published – led to young women being discouraged from pursuing more than a rudimentary education.[153] In contrast to the preparation for the world of gentlemanly society that Mackintosh received, Maria felt her seclusion in rural Oxfordshire ill-prepared her for the society that she was later to encounter. Having followed her own course of reading she was both angry and frustrated when her intellectual curiosity was frowned upon in society. She stated that it had 'never entered into my mind that

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[147] *Ibid.,* p.5

[148] Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People,* p.8.

[149] *Ibid.,* p.8.

[150] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* pp.58-60.

[151] See below for more details of Maria Graham's life. See also Michele Cohen, 'To Think, to compare, to combine, to methodise': Girls' Education in Enlightenment Britain' in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (eds) (Basingstoke, 2005), pp.224-242.

[152] Quoted from Maria Graham's autobiography in Rosamund Brunel Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott: The Creator of 'Little Arthur'* (London, 1937), p. 84.

[153] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.61.

such as had the same pursuits, and lived among the same things, were not free to converse like brother and sister on the objects of common interest.'[154]

That education and knowledge was so integral to social status and gender norms is evident in the disapproval faced by Maria Graham when she entered society with curiosity and a thirst for knowledge. For a woman to exhibit knowledge and even to engage in intellectual activity was deemed unfeminine, or, in Maria's case assumed to be for the ulterior motive of trying to impress. When Maria again exhibited her knowledge and intelligence by publishing her *Journal of a Residence in India*, the *Quarterly Review* explicitly stated its assumption that she had travelled to India to 'procure a husband instead of information.'[155] Referring to the work as a 'literary curiosity', the *Quarterly*'s condescension served to re-assert gender divisions by stating the likelihood that Graham's work was merely a bi-product of the more properly feminine endeavour of finding a husband. As the reviewer's defensive reaction to Maria's pursuit of knowledge suggests, learned women could undermine gender norms and threatened masculine ideals of men as the primary imparters of knowledge.[156] In contrast to the ridicule faced by intelligent and assertive women, a middle-class man was often judged by his ability to impart information at the dining table and the exhibition of intelligence was an important means of gaining social acceptance and favour.

There was little danger, it would seem, of Anne Mackintosh being taken for a 'bluestocking'. When Kitty Mackintosh met her and her relatives in London in 1812, she stated that they were, none of them, 'literary ladies'. Whilst Anne Mackintosh may have lodged with relatives in Edinburgh and learnt Mantua-making[157] or pastry cutting, there were probably very few resources devoted to her education and the brief glimpses of her in the records suggest that her situation in life was difficult. Indeed, as a woman Anne Mackintosh was automatically represented as a dependant. Sisters were generally expected to remain under the

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[154] Gotch, *Maria*, p.83.

[155] 'Art VIII *Journal of a Residence in India* By Maria Graham', *Quarterly Review* no.15, 1812, London and Edinburgh. 4to. 1812, p.406.

[156] See Jane Rendall, 'The condition of women, women's writing and the Empire in nineteenth-century Britain' in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (eds), p.105.

[157] A loose gown worn by women during this period.

care and observation of fathers or older brothers until they were married off, after which time they were under the control of their husbands. Writing to his aunt, James Mackintosh stated that 'as the orphan daughter of my most worthy mother, she had claims on me which no misconduct of hers could cancel.'.[158] The nature of the misconduct was only ever referred to rather than stated, but despite the fact that Mackintosh himself appears to have forgiven her, he was unsuccessful in trying to gain a position for her husband.[159] The disparity between boys' and girls' education and socialisation and their respective worth would have been evident from a very young age. That Mackintosh mentions neither his brother or sister in his autobiography is suggestive of the priority and privilege that he, as the eldest child, was given in his family. Elder brothers would have seen their sisters denied the education and encouragement that they themselves received. In the Highlands in particular, aspirations towards careers across the empire would have further widened the gap between women's often parochial lives and the much broader identities of their male counterparts.[160] As Lady Catharine Mackintosh's encounter with her husband's sister makes clear, disparities in educational opportunities could result in individuals occupying entirely different social statuses and therefore identities even within nuclear families.

For James Mackintosh, his period of schooling between the ages of ten and twenty-two mark some of his first steps towards becoming a professional man, an intellectual, a lawyer and ultimately a historian. From the moment of his arrival at Fortrose, Mackintosh's autobiography becomes a narrative dominated by the impact of books and study that he directly related to the formation of his character. As the previous section illustrated, the picture of Clune as a closed, affective and feminine sphere lies in contrast to the masculine world of scholarship into which Mackintosh first ventured when he went to school in Fortrose. Yet Mackintosh's education did not begin at Fortrose grammar school. Such schools expected boys to arrive, usually between the ages of eight and ten, with a knowledge of English reading and writing. Mackintosh, it would seem, arrived significantly better equipped, and was, according to the reminiscence of a relative of his school master's, 'by far the

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[158] BL Add MS 78768, 15th November 1799, Serle Street to Mrs MacGillavray, Clune, p.35.
[159] Ibid., p.35.
[160] Stana Nenadic, 'The impact of the military profession on Highland gentry families, c.1730-1830', *The Scottish Historical Review*, April, 2006, p.93

cleverest boy' the teacher had ever taught.[161] That Marjory took her son's education beyond the rudiments of literacy is suggested by her husband's disapproval that she would render the boy a 'mere pedant' through too much learning.[162] Where Marjory gained her own education and what methods and tools she used to teach her son remains unknown. It is likely that the volumes of Swift and Pope that James Mackintosh 'found' on his grandmother's shelves were introduced to him by his mother.

James Mackintosh's preparation for school, the encouragement he was given to read and write poetry was entirely due to his mother, who, the *Calcutta Review* alone reports, was 'a woman of a very superior stamp'.[163] Yet Marjory Mackintosh's role in her sons' education is given neither mention nor significance in any later biographies of James Mackintosh and is only briefly mentioned, as quoted below, in his own autobiography:

> She loved me with that fondness which we are naturally disposed to cherish for the companion of our poverty. The only infant in a family of several women, they rivalled each other in kindness and indulgence towards me and I think I can at this day discover in my character many of the effects of this early education.

Placed in a context that is overwhelmingly concerned with love and emotional affect, his mother's labour, and that of his aunts and grandmother, is feminised. Despite the seemingly fervent instruction that Marjory Mackintosh gave to her son, her impact on James Mackintosh's learning and sense of scholarly self goes almost entirely unrecognised. Indeed, it was Marjory's dependence on her family, rather than his own dependence on her that Mackintosh emphasised in his autobiography. Far from seeing her efforts as the fundamental building blocks upon which his own intellectual achievements rested, Mackintosh presents his life with his mother and female relatives in Clune as an enclosure against which he was straining.

Prior to going to school, children had learnt from their mothers in the home as part of a wider domestic routine. Despite Mackintosh's claims that the

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[161] 78771a, Pryse Gordon, p.225.
[162] 'Article 12: *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, edited by his son, Robert James Mackintosh esq,'*, *Calcutta Review*, vol. 14, (1950), p.481.
[163] *Ibid.*

household of women were fixated upon him, seemingly to the exclusion of all else, Marjory Mackintosh probably taught her son in between tending to the needs of her younger children and other domestic concerns. In contrast, school was a place entirely devoted to study. The pursuit of knowledge through study, Smith has argued, rapidly overtook domestic identities and associated the home with femininity and emotion.[164] By creating a world filled by a rigorous routine in which studies occupied almost every waking hour, boarding schools distanced their pupils from domestic concerns. Boarding at Fortrose, Mackintosh's practical daily needs for food or washing were ministered by the boarding mistress, reinforcing the sense that domestic concerns were for women whilst men were to focus exclusively on studies.

By numerous different ways and means, the differences imposed upon children and practiced by adults as a result of their sex would have been evident through everyday life. Names, toys and clothes formed some of the first ways of gendering children and were followed by expectations of character and educational attainment.[165] Adult practice, too, would have taught children to view men and women as having different roles. It is clear from the small number of letters remaining from James Mackintosh's childhood that although it was his aunts who largely dealt with his practical needs, official guardianship and advice fell to his male guardians. 'You will tell him to be attentive and carefull in every instance and in the most minute manner', wrote Mrs MacGillivray to Bailie John, 'If you will take this trouble it will most certainly have great weight with him, as he is sensible of your goodness to him, nor do I know any person who has a better title to give their opinion.'[166] Thus, James Mackintosh would have learnt very quickly that it was male authority that carried official weight, whilst his female relatives provided practical and probably also emotional support of his day-to-day life. Gender disparities, however, really took force when boys left behind their mothers, aunts and sisters in the domestic sphere to embark on an education that, more often than not, would take them away from home for significant periods of time.

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[164] Smith, *The Gender of History,* p.82
[165] Leonore Davidoff, Megan Doolittle, Janet Fink, Katherine Holden, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960* (London and New York, 1999), p.91.
[166] BL MS Add78771a, Mrs MacGillivray, Clune to Bailie John October the 17th 1786, p.12.

Schools encouraged a dis-identification of learning and knowledge from both domestic space and from women. The site of learning was the classroom, a space that was tightly controlled and hierarchical with the focus of attention on the school master or on the exercises that he had set his students. For Mackintosh, as for many other young boys, the permanent presence of a man would have set school apart from experience of home. With women in the peripheries of school, serving the practical needs of young boys, students were encouraged to please and aspire to praise from school masters rather than, as would have been Mackintosh's experience, from mothers and aunts. From school through to university and intellectual debating societies, places of learning and knowledge generation were exclusively male and promoted certain types of behaviour that distanced their students from experiences of home and identification with mothers in particular. Perhaps the most profound distancing from home resided in the prohibition of the *mother* tongue. Policed by a hierarchy of boys who were given the task of spying on their peers, it was not only the speaking of Gaelic that was prohibited. In many schools Latin was spoken as well as written and read and English was entirely forbidden.[167] This control over language usage served as a most poignant means of identifying the school as a space of difference both from the home and from students' localities.

Increasingly, Bonnie Smith has argued, boys came to identify less with the home and more with the pursuit of scholarship and the culture and rhythm of school. Living in a space that was dominated by other boys, with men as masters, figureheads and role models and immersed in activities defined as masculine, boys often began to scorn the 'feminine' domesticity that they had left behind.[168] In one particular childhood incident that Mackintosh recalled in his autobiography, the allegiances that he had formed with the other boys in his school were put to the test. Whilst away from school during the holidays, the young James Mackintosh announced his own death with gruesome relish in a letter that he penned, forging his uncle's handwriting. 'I was rather gratified by the result,' he remembered, 'I found that my supposed fate had excited as much mourning and as many tears as I

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[167] Graham, *Social Life of Scotland*, pp.443-4.
[168] Smith, *The Gender of History,* pp.78-9.

could reasonably have desired.'[169] Related in his autobiography as a simple anecdote from his youth of which he had a far from comprehensive memory, the incident and its recall represents a means of providing evidence of Mackintosh's acceptance and value amongst the 'little society at Fortrose'. This desire to belong that is suggested by both the act and its retelling illustrates the importance of 'society' to Mackintosh's sense of self. It represents the first sign of an identification with 'society' that was to eclipse his identification with his Highland family and home.

Across James Mackintosh's narrative of his childhood, it was nation, power and conquest that stood at the heart of his reflections on boyhood experiences and pre-occupations. Passing rapidly over the details of his life 'at home', Mackintosh locates the influences that shaped his character largely in the world of literature. Representing himself as a young boy, inspired by Erhard's *Roman History* to imagine himself emperor of Constantinople, Mackintosh related his dreams of power. 'I distributed offices and provinces among my schoolfellows. I loaded my favourites with dignity and power and I often made objects of my dislike feel the weight of my imperial resentment.'[170] Mackintosh's own autobiographical focus on 'words, texts, struggles or wars' illustrates Bonnie Smith's point about nineteenth century gendering of the historian and scholar.[171] Emotions, social life and the home are banished to the margins of Mackintosh's narrative. Where he records his memories of social engagement with the people of Aldourie, it is to illustrate how even in youth he exhibited many of the characteristics that would enable him to enter the world. The recording of an instance in which one of his satires caused a 'civil war' and court case in the village, offers an opportunity for Mackintosh to think about the type of character he was then and that he needed to become: 'I perhaps first either acquired or displayed that propensity to warm sympathy and zealous cooperation with those whose general motives and conduct I approved which will always in some measure bias the judgement which therefore a philosopher ought to conquer if he can but without which in active life nobody can do much harm or good.'[172]

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[169] BL Add MS 52436ab, 'Autobiography', p.4.
[170] Ibid., p.4
[171] Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History*, ch.3.
[172] 52436ab, p.4

Although claiming that he derived many aspects of his character from the affection of his mother and aunts, the virtues of these undefined characteristics are not without their ambivalences. The habit of indulgence produced 'cheerfulness', he later wrote, but it also resulted in 'indolence' and it is therefore against such a character trait that Mackintosh did battle in order to make his progress in the world. In contrast to the affections of his female relatives, Mackintosh had as a model the men who peopled the books he read in abundance. Mackintosh connected the attributes and prowess of ancient heroes to those of his distant male relatives, borrowing the form of ancient verse to give content to the lives and actions of absent uncles. Early readings of the ancient classics, Smith has argued, encouraged an identification with their hero-scholars and promoted the idea that scholarship itself was a masculine activity.[173] Mirroring the activities and disposition of those ancient heroes, Mackintosh wrote of the dreams of castle-building and imperial dominance that he stated remained with him throughout his life. Of his propensity towards 'castle building', Mackintosh stated that 'I have no doubt that many a man surrounded by piles of folios and apparently engaged in the most profound researches is in reality often employed in distributing the offices and provinces of the Empire of Constantinople.'[174]

Thus, in contrast to this vivid description of the books he read at his school at Fortrose and later at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, Mackintosh's earlier description of his home at Clune is sparse, suggesting a closed world, in which he was the sole focus of attention and love. His representation of his early years, surrounded and enclosed by women and nature is primarily defined by lack - of his father, of his father's income, of any activity beyond that of caring for him and devoid of any people beyond those women who were his carers. What is the significance of Clune's inward-looking isolation? It cannot be explained away by the inability to remember the details of life before a certain age, because Mackintosh returned to Clune during the long summer holidays. There, he found a collection of Pope and Swift, belying the fact that Clune was not 'merely' a space of feminine devotion to himself as a child.[175] Yet whereas Mackintosh acknowledges that his early interest in

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[173] *Ibid.,* p.82. See further discussion of Mackintosh's gendering of scholarship in the chapter four.
[174] 52436a, Autobiography, p.5.
[175] Ibid., p.6.

Bishop Burnet's theological writings was the result of conversations with an 'old man, Mr Mackenzie of Suddie', the collection of Pope and Swift is found by him in his grandmother's house.[176] Neither given or introduced by his female relatives, the discovery of these collections of knowledge is attributable solely to the young Mackintosh. The books are represented as out of place in their surroundings, as lying untouched and unknown by Clune's female inhabitants. Having constructed Clune as a closed, feminine sphere, populated by women and associated with mothering, Mackintosh finds in it little significance for the development of his own, masculine character.[177]

Filling the void: Highland knowledge and erasure

Emptiness is a trope commonly employed by colonisers to describe lands that have yet to become knowable to science and have yet to be conquered in the name of progress.[178] In an essay exploring the anxiety of colonists charged with ruling the British empire, Ranajit Guha shows how nineteenth-century colonialists represented India as empty and void. 'Empty because it had 'nothing to be found in it' for content, and inaccessible because a void is a non-entity one can hardly get to know and relate to.'[179] In Guha's analysis of colonial anxiety, 'home' is defined by knowable limits. As Sara Ahmed also argues, to feel 'at home' is to know that one can find one's way in a familiar and comfortable world.[180] Fearing India as a vast space of unfamiliarity, limitless and unknowable, Guha contrasted the colonialists' experience of India with the 'freedom of the Western metropolis' and the 'absolute familiarity' of the home. How then, in the light of this analysis, are we to understand Mackintosh's own perception of the Highlands as devoid of content, as empty space? For Mackintosh, the world that he described as void and which he gradually refused as home was the same world in which he grew up, from which he first gained an awareness and a knowledge of the world. The Highlands were not

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[176] Ibid., p.4 and p.5.
[177] For the construction of separate spheres see Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1987) and further discussion below.
[178] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* 2nd edition (New York, 2008, 1st published, 1992), pp.145-6; Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire,* p.5.
[179] Ranajit Guha, 'Not at Home in Empire', *Critical Inquiry,* 23 (3) (1997), p.482.
[180] Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham and London, 2006), p.7.

'unknowable' or 'unfamiliar', rather, I argue, they represented a site that Mackintosh wished to erase from his sense of self. Configuring the landscape of his childhood as a space of emptiness was an act of erasure. By constructing the Highlands as an empty space, Mackintosh disavowed any familiarity with the space of his childhood and therefore also the knowledge systems of his childhood. Erasing these experiences, Mackintosh asserted both the limits of knowledge - of what could be meant paradigmatically as knowledge - and the limits of his own identity.

An interesting contrast to Mackintosh's configuration of self in relationship to place is evident in Maria Graham's reflections on her life, related and recorded from her death bed in 1848. Both Maria Graham (née Dundas) and Mackintosh spent their childhoods in rural locations, which were at the time of their youth becoming peripheries of the British empire. The eldest children of younger brothers serving the British empire, both hailed from Scottish gentry families but belonged to branches that were financially ailing. Their own journeys saw them moving between small, rural neighbourhoods in Scotland and England, to the elite European social centres of Edinburgh and London, to colonial territories in India and South America. Maria was an acute observer of the details of the world around her. Her writing on Bombay, where she first met James Mackintosh, helps to fill in the silences left by Mackintosh himself. Her interactions with the people and places she visited offer a very different perspective, not only into the sites that she visited but also into the ways in which place may be conceptualised in relationship to self.

Mary Louise Pratt has discussed Maria Graham's writings on South America, naming her an '*exploratrice social*' in contrast to the 'capitalist vanguard' whose descriptions of people and places saw only their potential for Europeanisation and development. The '*exploratrice social*' was an 'aggressive, interactive seeker of knowledge', participating in the collection of knowledge as opposed to the 'objectivist' instinct of their male counterparts. As such, their observations were imbued with a sense of self and self-discovery in relationship to place. Rather than looking on from above, women writers such as Maria Graham placed themselves on the ground, locating themselves in relationship to the scene that they described. Pratt explains the difference thus: 'If the men's job was to collect and possess everything else, these women travellers sought first and

foremost to collect and possess themselves.'[181] This difference in approach can be seen in Mackintosh and Maria Graham's most personal of narratives – their autobiographical narratives. Where Mackintosh represents himself looking out, over a 'wilderness' that is yet to be developed, towards the empire, Maria sees herself immersed in the spaces that she inhabits. Growing up in Gaelic-speaking Douglas in Scotland and then in English-speaking Wallasey in Cheshire, Maria represented herself immersed in the culture of each region. 'I loved these wild stories, and when I was sent into the more civilised inland world for my education, I used to long almost to sickness for a ghost, or the roar of the sea, for a castle or a lighthouse.'[182]

Familiar with stadial theory, probably from her own reading and from later conversations with Dugald Stewart in Edinburgh, Maria Graham constructed her own journey from childhood to adulthood and from periphery to centre, as one from savagery to civilisation. Whilst, like Mackintosh, she saw the 'peripheries' of the British empire as occupying a lower rung on the ladder of civilisation, she nonetheless engaged with those places. Rather than looking down from above, seeing empty spaces in need of civilisation, Maria, as Pratt suggests, aligned herself with them, observing the content of their differences.[183] Age, place and class are intimately related in Maria's narrative. Referring to her childhood spent with poorer rural children as 'joyfully uncivilised', she spoke of the mutual horror that she and her wealthier relatives felt when they encountered each other in the 'civilised inland world' of London. Both Maria Graham and James Mackintosh were sent to schools far away from their mothers and from the rural worlds in which they grew up. Yet whereas Maria records the trauma of their separation, Mackintosh represented himself as immediately immersed in the world of books and aspiring to the centre of power and politics. That leaving the world of family and friends behind may not have been as easy as he represented it to be is briefly suggested in correspondence between his aunt, Mrs MacGillivray, and Mackintosh's guardian, Bailie John. Having recently been sent to Aberdeen, the report of his letter hints at deeper feelings of loss from the world and connections of his childhood than Mackintosh :

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[181] Mary Lousie Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* p.156.

[182] Maria Graham, 'Reminscences' published in *Maria, Lady Callcott, The Creator of 'Little Arthur',* Rosamund Brunel Gotch (London, 1937), p.12.

[183] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* p.160.

'As he has not seen any of his friends since his mother went from here', Mrs MacGillivray wrote in 1780, 'he requests the liberty of coming up at least for a short time, which I have granted and expect him at the beginning of the week accordingly.'[184]   Beyond this, however, there is no trace of the affective ties that bound the school boy to his childhood in the Highlands and the archive is engulfed by the material and intellectual concerns of a young scholar.

As the previous section discussed, the Highlands of Scotland had long signified a lower stage of civilisation and the 'true' highlander was increasingly the subject of a romanticised imagery – barbaric but manly, emotional rather than rational and insular not worldly. Whilst questions such as the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian were discussed in clubs and societies in Edinburgh, Highland legends were perceived as 'irrational' by educated observers whose distance from the object of study was conceptualised temporally.[185] Observers and discussants of Highland myth and legend occupied the several rungs above the 'savages' whom they observed, even as they claimed some of their supposed attributes for a national character. In the light of this, it is perhaps not surprising that Mackintosh appears to distance himself from his Highland origins. As Anne Grant suggested, there could be little compatibility between the 'enlightened', rational world of an educated urban man and the superstitious, emotional mentality of the Highlander, bound to land by feudal ties and ancestral affect. In this section, however, I endeavour to reconstruct aspects of the world from which Mackintosh turned away and of the experiences that he erased from his narrative of self becoming. Like any history that endeavours to make silences manifest, it relies on a reading of sources whose very documentation and preservation was the result of a colonial project of knowledge-collection.[186] Yet to think about and to try to bring to light these silences is to explore what and why certain ways of thinking and certain people get left behind and erased in the formation of identity. This section begins by painting an alternative picture of the Highlands to that which Mackintosh portrays in his autobiography. It then looks at the ways in which many of the values exhibited in

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[184] BL Add MS 78771a, Mrs MacGillivray to James Mackintosh, Clune 17th May 1780, p.7
[185] See below, Chapter Two.
[186] See Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds and intro) (Basingstoke, 1988), p.271-313.

the Highlands were changing in the period that Mackintosh was writing his autobiography.

Rather than being the isolated, closed and inward-looking household in the midst of the wilderness that Mackintosh suggests, the cottage at Clune was probably a busy home engaged in the life of the neighbourhood. The parish of Dores, described by the SSPCK as being 'twenty miles long, and from four to six broad; and contains about 1300 souls, of whom not above six are Papists', was relatively sprawling.[187] Beyond the small house, Mackintosh would have had neighbours with whose children he may have played.[188] According to Nenadic, the children of gentry families would spend most of their time playing with local peasant children. The class mix was far from levelling, particularly for eldest sons whose education and socialisation was often promoted far above that of his younger siblings.[189] Yet up to the age of seven and probably also during summer holidays, Mackintosh would have participated in a world of local connections based upon regional proximity, clanship and familial ties. Maria Graham, Mackintosh's near contemporary and later friend and a woman of similar class background, recorded her memories of growing up in Douglas and later Wallasey in Cheshire. She played with the other children of the neighbourhood and heard the stories of ghosts, shipwrecks and fairies that were lodged in the specific landscape of the region.[190] They were childhood experiences that James Mackintosh, like most rural children of the period, would have shared in common.

The pre-modern traditions of Gaeldom, Gaelic poetry, songs and stories had long been part of the daily existence of rural Highlanders. By the early nineteenth century, however, the superstitions and legends of the Highlands were part of a fast-vanishing knowledge system and culture.[191] Largely confined to the country people, in houses of gentlewomen Highland legends and received wisdom would have been combined with, and possibly usurped by, more 'modern' forms of

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[187] An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge ,p.47
[188] The best portrait of Clune and the parish of Dores is given by Neil Fraser-Tylter, with additions by Iain Cameron, *Tales from the Old Days of Aldourie Estate*; http://www.lochnesswelcome.co.uk/downloads/pdf/Tales%20from.pdf (05/12/2009).
[189] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, pp.43-4. See also Roger Emmerson, *Essays on David Hume, Medical Men and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Farnham, 2009), p.49-52.
[190] See above and Rosamund Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott,* pp.8-13.
[191] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.41.

literature and knowledge, hence the existence of Swift and Pope on Mrs MacGillivray's shelves. In James Boswell and Samuel Johnson's tour of the Hebrides in 1773, Boswell expresses his surprise at finding even a small number of books in the house of the governor in Glenmoriston.[192] What Boswell called the 'conveniences of civilisation' were gradually being imported to the Highlands across this period, but their existence as uncommon luxuries clearly suggests that most Highlanders relied on alternative means to explain their world, to entertain and inform themselves.[193]

Even in gentry houses where modern literature and knowledge prevailed, interactions with lower status families, servants and their children would have insured that even young gentry sons would have been exposed to more traditional knowledge systems. Often passed down orally by women carers, the fairytales and legends of the area and clan would have formed a large part of children's earliest education.[194] These 'traditional' beliefs, which Nenadic claims were largely learnt in childhood, admitted the existence and agency of magic and hidden spirits. They constructed a cultural world and alternative knowledge practices that were vastly different and thoroughly denied by the 'modern' education that young boys such as Mackintosh began to receive from the age of around seven.[195] Aspects of the nature of this earlier knowledge can be gleaned from the fairy tales and legends that were collected and recorded from the early nineteenth century by antiquarian scholars.

As feminist scholars have long argued, fairy tales offer a glimpse into cultural values and particularly gender roles that are often some of the first moral lessons, alongside religion, that children imbibe.[196] Passed down orally, the content and texture of some of these stories are evidenced in 'A Collection of Historical Sketches' that is amongst the Mackintosh collection and was written by Simon Fraser, a cousin of James Mackintosh in 1836. In an act that was itself part of the tradition of romanticising and preserving traditional Highland life, Fraser transcribed the nineteenth-century versions of stories that had been passed down

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[192] Boswell's Tour *Boswell's Journal of A Tour of the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson,* p.103.
[193] *Ibid.,* p.101.
[194] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* pp.113-4.
[195] *Ibid.,* p.41.
[196] *Fairy Tales and Feminism: New Approaches,* Donald Haase (ed) (Detroit, 2004).

orally for generations.[197]   Amongst numerous versions of the Battle of Culloden, he related a number of stories that often served to explain the fortunes of various members of the Clan Chattan.   Most famously, the Curse of Moy attributed the repeated failure of the chiefs of Mackintosh to produce male heirs to the curse of a young woman.   The woman, driven to madness by the murder of both her father and lover at the hands of the Laird of Mackintosh in 1680, cursed the family's future generations.[198]   Similarly, the misfortunes of the family of McQueen of Pollachack that culminated in the selling of their estate, originated from the accidental shooting of a fairy or witch disguised as a roe.[199]   Legends could also serve to point out bad behaviour.   The burial alive of a man who perjured himself during a boundary dispute between MacGillivray of Dunmaglass and the Laird of Mackintosh, was surely a lesson against fraudulent behaviour.[200]

In a world that had yet to be systematically reached by the tentacles of institutionalised and centralised justice, the supernatural intervened to take revenge, punish and educate.   Entitled simply 'A Legend' , one of Fraser's collection, probably of more recent origin, offered a warning against the impressments into the military that were common in the aftermath of Culloden.   A group of men, including Captain Macpherson at its head, were found murdered in mysterious circumstances whilst out hunting, their guns twisted and misshapen.   The supernatural again intervened by rendering it impossible for the Captain's body to be carried at the head of the funeral procession.   As a result, Captain Macpherson, 'who had impressed and tricked many men into serving in the army', was carried at the back of the procession, demeaning in death the status he had held during his life.[201]   Whilst some such legends illustrated moral codes and their regulation, others, like the Fairy Tale of Captain Baan recounted interactions between the fairy and the human world.[202]   Mischievous, playful and greedy, the elves and fairies seem to have largely been interested in encouraging people to be idle and dance.   Having been captured by the fairies and taken to the 'Fairy Hill', the wife of a tenant of Dunmaglass was eventually found dancing with the fairies.   Her rescue and return to

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[197] BL Add MS78774, 'A Collection of Historical Sketches'
[198] 'Curse of Moy' in Ibid., pp.64-68.
[199] 'Pollochack - a fairy legend (1695)' in Ibid., pp.74-76.
[200] 'The Living Man's Grave' in Ibid., pp.121-122
[201] 'A Legend' in Ibid., pp.58-63.
[202] 'A Fairy Tale – Captain Baan' in Ibid., pp.84-88

her husband was attempted by a succession of men, only the last of whom had the courage to transport a magic candle to Captain Baan and secure her release from the fairies.[203]

What can these brief narratives tell us about the possible social reality of the Scottish Highlands in which James Mackintosh grew up? As Esther Breitenbach and Lynn Abrams suggest, whilst such legends were used to construct and define a Scottish cultural identity, they were not explicitly concerned with national identity.[204] It is the clan that represents almost the entirety of the social world, with little reference to a world beyond. Focussed on the fortunes of clan members and primarily located in Mackintosh lands, the fairy tales and legends offer themselves up as histories of the clan, explaining its evolution and fortunes, often through recourse to the supernatural world. Indeed, the world appears partitioned into the world of the clan and that of the super-natural to which the clan - defined almost exclusively by the actions of its male members, responds. This highly localised world-view, based largely upon clan and in clan lands is dramatically different to the world-view exhibited in the didactic stories that were told to middle-class Highland children from the early nineteenth century. Reflecting the rapid spread of Highlanders across the empire from the mid-eighteenth century, the new stories told to young Highland children incorporated peoples and places they would never have seen.

Elizabeth Bond's *Letters of a Village Governess,* published in 1814 were based on her experiences of being governess to Highland children.[205] Bond's collection begins with a conversation about the origin of pearls, in which the governess states, 'perhaps your father may bring you a string when he comes home.'[206] Imperial connections are repeatedly the subject of Bond's letters and stories. Serving to remind the child of her father, they also promote an identification with Britain

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[203] Ibid.

[204] Lynn Abrams and Esther Breitenbach, 'Gender and Scottish Identity', *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton and Eileen Janes Yeo (eds) (Edinburgh, EUP, 2006), p.33-4.

[205] *Letters of a Village Governess descriptive of Rural Scenery and Manners with Anecdotes of Highland Children Displaying the Dawnings of Youthful Genius and the Methods taken to Improve it the Whole Embellished with Miscellaneous Subjects Instructive and Amusing* by Elizabeth Bond, Fortrose, in Two Volumes, vol I (London, 1814).

[206] *Ibid.,* pp.6-9.

rather than with Scotland or specifically the Highlands. Indeed, where in the Highland legends moral and social deviance was highlighted through supernatural intervention, in Bond's *Letters*, social and moral acceptability is pinned to racial and national stereotypes. The 'superstition' of the 'Maltese dames', is contrasted with the 'unartifical elegance of an accomplished British female'.[207] The darkness of Eastern features is implicitly compared with the whiteness of the governess' personification of 'Industry' and 'Modesty'. 'Industry', gendered male and racialised 'white as snow' was 'seldom in the house … He was stout, tall and well made; remarkably pleasant in his manners, and delicately clean in his person.'[208] 'Modesty' was a girl, dressed in white, listening reflectively rather than speaking.[209] Such racialised imagery took on meaning in the context of empire.

Similar, albeit less crudely racialised, imagery is found in Maria Edgeworth's *Popular Tales*, published in 1812, which Mackintosh used to educate his own children whilst they were growing up in Bombay.[210] Instead of the spatially bound world of the Highland legends, Edgeworth's stories incorporate a world of imperial connections through male adventures and the material objects and letters they sent back from the East. Edgeworth's 'Lame Jervas' ventured to India to make his fortune and his acquaintance with Tipu Sultan and his servants. It is through encounter with non-white people in Edgeworth's stories that the nature of the English, Irish or British identity was established. In 'Lame Jervas' only Tipu's son, who had been schooled by Cornwallis, had the virtues of honesty, politeness and integrity. Tipu himself is represented as 'imperious and capricious' and 'childish' and it is up to the Englishman to rescue his retinue of miserable slaves and install good work habits.[211]

The mysterious world of the veiled Egyptian women, the irrationality and emotionality of the oriental persona alongside the hidden gems and riches of India, represent that Otherness that was once occupied by fairies, elves and witches. Both the supernatural and the Eastern worlds entice and capture, and it is the bounded strength of the clan in the Highland legends, and of 'home' in the later stories, that

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[207] *Letters of a Village Governess*, pp.27-8.
[208] *Ibid.,* p.15.
[209] *Ibid.,* p.10.
[210] See Chapter Three.
[211] 'Lame Jervas' in *Popular Tales*, pp.35-57

serves to fight against or to stay their lure. The significant difference between the two genres lays less in the form of the Other and more in the difference between clan and home. In Edgeworth's story of the Gray family, 'clan' is used only to refer to extended family of the scolding and manipulative wife of 'soft Simon', who come in hoards to exploit his hospitality and avail themselves of his resources.[212] In contrast, the 'family' is the ideal unit of industry and virtue. Content with a modest, clean and comfortable home, the Gray family - comprising husband, wife, a daughter and two sons - is happy within itself. Both Edgeworth and Bond encouraged a sense of belonging to the immediate nuclear family and the virtues of an attachment to the home. 'Industry', wrote Bond, 'instead of carousing at markets … preferred his wife and pleasant home, where peace and happiness loved to dwell.'[213] That 'Industry' was 'seldom in the house' appears to offer up no contradiction. 'Home' appears as a conceptual space, signified as much by bricks and mortar as by relations of gender, age and class. It was the direction that a man must face, not necessarily the physical space that he occupied.

By the early nineteenth century, when Mackintosh was thinking about the education of his own children, the stories that he encouraged them to read reveal markedly different ways of representing social reality. Firstly, an attempt was being made to banish the supernatural from the education of the young. In Edgeworth's *Popular Tales*, written for 'simpler souls, for sick and sorry people for quiet folks laid by and wanting distraction, for village libraries, for children and servants', belief in ghosts is represented as the silly superstition of the poorly educated.[214] Mackintosh saw Edgeworth's *Popular Tales* - a didactic collection of short stories - as a tool in the promotion of civilisation.[215] In contrast to the Highland legends, where the supernatural controlled destinies, in *Popular Tales* agency was effected by men who had good work and family ethics. Where in the fairytales and legends women were placed between the clan males and the supernatural world, in Edgeworth's stories women were to be the companions and supporters of their fathers, brothers and husbands. In 'Rosanna', positive and negative attributes were fundamentally

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[212] 'Rosanna', *Popular Tales,* p.226.
[213] *Letters of a Village Governess*, p.19.
[214] Anne Thackeray Ritchie, 'Introduction' in Maria Edgeworth, *Popular Tales,* Chris Hammond (illustration) and Anne Thackeray Ritchie (intro.), (London 1895, 1st published 1813), p.vii. See particularly 'Murad the Unlucky', pp.259-294.
[215] MS BL Add52451a, p.46 – I return to this theme in more depth in Chapter Three.

gendered. Husbands and wives were industrious in their own spheres, the women in the home and dairy and the men on the farm and in business. With a 'good wife and good children' 'has a not a man sufficient reason to be content?', asked farmer Gray, leading his family to wealth and directing his wife away from any feminine 'foolishness' and into the habits of frugality and simple happiness.[216] Where a man, such as 'soft Simon', was indolent and 'unresisting', his wife was a nag and a scold, independent of her husband and meddling in his affairs.

Nuclear family, imperial connections and male agency through virtue replaces clan, local spaces of power and supernatural interventions. Edgeworth's stories typically promoted the virtues of honesty, industry, 'prudence' and unpretentious simplicity of living, often through stories of young men who had succeeded to wealth and gentility from low birth. The social, gendered and familial mores portrayed in Edgeworth's stories resonate with Mackintosh's own narrative of self-becoming.   Reading the few remaining letters from the period of Mackintosh's youth, I illustrate how Mackintosh reconstructs and re-remembers his childhood in the light of the later social mores and social reality that are exhibited in Edgeworth's *Popular Tales.*

Mackintosh had written his autobiography from a place whose society he found 'petty' and dull and where he was, he claimed, reliant for his emotional well-being solely on the company of his wife, Kitty.[217] This was a sentiment of which his friends in Britain very much approved, for whilst they lamented his feelings of boredom and isolation, they acknowledged that it was ultimately to the family that one must look for comfort, companionship and love.[218] It was in the light of such sentiments that Mackintosh configured the narrative of his childhood. Portraying his mother as a passive victim of her husband's poverty, Mackintosh represented his mother's dependence on her wider family as personal tragedy. 'My mother was not happy. My father, a subaltern and a younger brother found his pay not too much for his own expenses and all the kindness of her family did not quite deliver her

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[216] 'Rosanna', Maria Edgeworth, *Popular Tales*, p.209 and p.233.
[217] BL Add MS78764, Mackintosh to Dugald Stewart, Bombay 2nd November, 1805, p.57; BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 25th July 1807, p.43.
[218] BL Add MS52451b, Mrs Taylor to Mackintosh, Norwich 7th November 1805, p.117.

mind from the painful feeling of dependence.'[219]   The intermittent meetings between Marjory and James Mackintosh's father that resulted in the birth of his two siblings are entirely erased, leaving only a discordance in his portrayal of a helpless and isolated woman who nonetheless travelled to Gibraltar, where she subsequently died.[220]

These representations and particularly Mackintosh's focus on the unhappiness of his mother and her devotion to him, tell us much more about his own, later ideals and expectations of femininity, marriage and gender roles than they do about Highland life during Mackintosh's childhood. His brief re-construction of his childhood implies an ideal of nuclear family and of gender roles within it that Mackintosh firmly upheld but which was not necessarily congruent with his own upbringing. As Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff have illustrated, notions of femininity and of the 'proper' role and lifestyle of a middle-class woman were changing in early nineteenth-century England. Negative attitudes towards women working or taking part in family businesses were increasingly encouraging the separation of domestic and work-related spheres.[221]   Simultaneously, the ideal image and character of a woman increasingly became one of a child-like, dependent and fragile creature whose natural role and inclination was to care for her children.[222] The married companionship that was the ideal of Mackintosh's own adult world was projected onto his representation of his mother's life and character. Mackintosh's portrayal of his mother as passive, loving and tender, her spirits depressed by her poverty and the absence of her husband, suggest a different worldview from that which it is likely Marjory Mackintosh occupied in the Highlands.

Exactly what kind of lives Highland women did live in the eighteenth century and the attitudes they conformed to or encountered as they led them is, however, difficult to reconstruct. The participation of women in uprisings against food shortages, Union and hardship in the 1720s, and the involvement of powerful women such as Lady Anne Mackintosh in the 'Forty-five suggest that women were

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[219] BL Add MS52436a, Autobiography, p.2
[220] See O'Leary, *Whig Cicero,* pp.4-5.
[221] Hall and Davidoff, *Family Fortunes*, pp.358-9.
[222] *Ibid.*, p.323 and p.335. See also Leonore Davidoff, Megan Doolittle, Janet Fink and Katherine Holden, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960* (Harlow, 1999).

strong and politically active in fighting for their beliefs and interests.[223] As Stana Nenadic shows, the life of gentlewomen in Highland Scotland would have been full of the responsibilities of running a household. Janet Mackay 'organised domestic cooking, [was] involved in cloth production for her own household, looked after the milk house with commercial cheese and butter-making activities, watched the gunnel house.'[224] Whilst the MacGillivray's household was smaller and poorer, they would probably have been involved in similar activities. Care of the baby James Mackintosh (and only a short while later his younger brother and sister, who he fails to acknowledge at all) would certainly not have been their only occupation. Far from being confined to the small house in Clune, such gentlewomen, particularly Marjory's sisters who appear to have been single, may have been involved in grocery or textile businesses or mantua-making that would have required apprenticeships and connections with Edinburgh.[225]

Highland family structures and concomitant gender relations differed according to the region and historical period, with the North-east Highlands exhibiting a more matriarchal culture.[226] The Western regions, in contrast, conformed to the more militant patriarchy.[227] Amongst the Mackintosh clan, property appears to have passed traditionally down the male line, with women provided for in settlements in case of widowhood. A letter to Mackintosh from his uncle's brother, Charles Mackintosh, asking whether James wished the estate to be passed to his daughter rather than his brother, suggests that male primogeniture was not rigidly conformed to.[228] Up to and including Mackintosh's own generation, however, marriages appear to have taken place within the clan despite its increasing spread across the British imperial world.[229] This required the policing of the sexual activities of the clan's youth by elder clan members, a role, it would seem, that was carried out by women. Thus, during James Mackintosh's residence as a student in

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[223] Jane Rendall and Sue Innes, 'Women, Gender and Politics' in *Gender in Scottish History*, Abrams et al. (eds), p.48.

[224] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.117.

[225] *Ibid.,* p.125. See also, Lindy Moore, 'Education and Learning' in *Gender in Scottish History,*p.115.

[226] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.29.

[227] *Ibid.*

[228] BL Add MS52451b Charles Mackintosh to James Mackintosh, Edinburgh 3rd March 1791; O'Leary, *Whig Cicero,* p.21.

[229] See previous sections. This was a tradition that Nenadic states allowed wealth to remain within the clan (Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.25.)

Edinburgh, the notes recorded by the sister of a certain 'D.S', related that Mary MacGillivray (presumably an aunt) turned out a mistress with whom Mackintosh was residing. Such liaisons were not to be tolerated, particularly as in Scottish law marriage did not require a sacrament but merely the declaration of marriage by the two people concerned.[230] Love affairs could, in theory, become marriages, whilst a woman could sue a man for seduction if she had been led to believe that by engaging in intercourse she was consummating a marriage and could prove herself to be of good character and similar class.[231]

Loss of property in the late eighteenth century, however, appears to be far less as a result of bad marriage and due more, as Nenadic suggests, to bankruptcies that were partially the result of the erosion of clan identity in the face of the onslaught of 'improvement'.[232] One significant result of the gradual transition from clanship to commercial landlordism was the change in relations between elites and a lower stratum of people who Nenadic refers to as 'service families'.[233] Formerly, these families had taken responsibility for the upbringing of the illegitimate children of lairds. The tradition of fostering gentry children to more middling members of the clan, created bonds between clan members of different statuses.[234] Keeping marriage within the wider clan, younger daughters of lairds would often marry lower-ranking families, leading to mixed-status households.[235] However, as landlordism and the desire for profit overtook loyalty to clan and estate, vertical ties frayed and soaring rents and emigration wedged the divide ever more deep.[236] Once resident in London, James Mackintosh took little interest in the running of the estate which had accrued to him on his father's death in 1788. Writing in 1795, Mackintosh's great uncle, D M Campbell, reprimanded him for his lack of interest in the Kyllachy estate and requested he make some decisions regarding a farm lying vacant regarding which nobody else had authority to act.[237] Mackintosh's

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[230] Rosalind Mitchison and Leah Leneman, *Girls in Trouble: Sexuality and Social Control in Rural Scotland 1660-1780* (Edinburgh, 1998), p.40.

[231] Leah Leneman, 'Seduction in 18th and early 19th century Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review* (April, 1999), p. 39.

[232] Stana Nenadic, 'The Impact of the Military Profession', 93.

[233] Stana Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.32.

[234] *Ibid.,* pp.46-7.

[235] *Ibid.,* p.37.

[236] Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, ch.5.

[237] BL Add MS 78765, D M(?) Campbell to James Mackintosh, Charlotte Street, Portland Place, 8th April 1795, p.1.

knowledge of, and interest in, the people who occupied the land of his estate, as well as those who managed them, appears to have been restricted entirely to the amount of rent they could pay.

Yet it was these very networks of people, rather than nuclear family, who facilitated Mackintosh's intellectual and social advancement and his professional career. His father abroad in the military, the decisions about his future fell on his extended family. With a negligent father who appears to have squandered his money, the financial burden also fell on local relatives. Mackintosh's education appears originally to have been sponsored by his uncle and taken over on his death in 1780, by Bailie John Mackintosh. Writing to Bailie John on May 29th 1780 from Aberdeen in relation to his uncle's death, the fifteen year-old Mackintosh stated that 'my principle comfort is that what I have lost in him I possess in you. The guide of my youth and the monitor and guardian of my more advanced years.'[238] Mackintosh's intelligence and zeal for knowledge was, his son claimed, known throughout the countryside and he was encouraged by family and friends, perhaps to his own father's chagrin who admonished his passion for reading.[239] Although Mackintosh looked to, and acknowledged, the financial support of his male relatives, it was, in fact his aunt who pulled the strings and contributed to his education. Dismayed by her cousin's inattention and irresponsibility towards his nine-year-old son, Jean MacGillivray wrote to Bailie John to support 'poor little Jamie McIntosh'.[240] In 1786, she wrote again, stating that she had given Jamie leave to go to town and meet Bailie John and that he should 'tell him to be attentive and carefull in every instance'.[241]

Jean MacGillivray's attachment to her nephew is clear, 'it hurts me the thoughts of seeing him neglected', she wrote with reference to his father's

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[238] BL Add MS 52451b, James Mackintosh to Bailie John Mackintosh, Aberdeen May 29th 1780, p.1

[239] *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh,* edited by his Son Robert James Mackintosh, esq (fellow of New College, Oxford), in II volumes, Vol. I (London, 1835), p.7 and n.p6.

[240] MS BL Add78771a, Jean McGilliway(?) to Bailie John McIntosh, Inverness, February 1774, p.1.

[241] BL Add MS 78771a Mrs MacGillivray, Clune, October the 17th 1786, p.12.

negligence long before his mother's death in 1780.[242] Other aunts, including a Mary MacGillivray, and his grandmother were clearly heavily involved in his youth. Their letters demanding information about his well-being long after Mackintosh had left the Highlands, and his infrequent responses are suggestive of this early connection that Mackintosh appears to have endeavoured to leave behind him. He acknowledges in writing the role of his grandmother only upon her death, stating to his remaining aunt that 'if I could have forgotten her tender care of my infancy and youth, her warm and constant affection and all the virtues of her spotless and useful life. I should have been unworthy of the kindness of my most dear and venerable parent whose memory no length of time will ever efface from my heart.'[243] Yet despite the admission of the importance of his wider family in occasional letters, his autobiography focuses his attachment almost solely on his mother, her poverty and dependence on her own relatives bringing the two of them closer together. 'She loved me with that fondness which we are naturally disposed to cherish for the companion of our poverty'.[244] Neglecting to mention his younger siblings, Anne and John, Mackintosh puts out of mind the intermittent meetings between his mother and father across the course of his childhood. Despite the existence of family around them therefore, Mackintosh imagines himself and his mother alone in each other's company in inhospitable territory.

Conclusion

In 1811, Kitty, Mackintosh's second wife, met with her husband's family in London while James Mackintosh himself remained in Bombay serving the remainder of his 'sentence' as Recorder of the Court. She wrote to him of the experience in a tone that left no uncertainty as to her opinion of his 'thousands of relatives'. 'Your female cousin the citizen Ann is a mighty plain spinster and spinster I think she will be likely to remain, for there is nothing piquante in her ugliness', Kitty wrote of one, and was equally disparaging of the others. With no social circles in common and not being 'literary ladies', Kitty found herself at a loss for conversation. Furthermore, Mackintosh's sister would, Kitty claimed, have to be dispatched back to Scotland before Mackintosh himself arrived back in London. Having established

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[242]BL Add MS 78771a, Jean McGilliway to Bailie John McIntosh, Inverness, February 1774, p.1.
[243] BL Add MS78768, James Mackintosh to his aunt in Clune, 14th July 1800, p.38
[244] BL Add MS 52436a, Autobiography p.2,

a lodging house in London, his sister was apparently boasting of her relationship to Sir James Mackintosh. It was a situation which would afford extreme social embarrassment to the Mackintosh family whose own position amongst, and patronage by, London's respectable Whig elite was not without fragility. 'Nothing but Scotland or every scheme of fame for yourself or respectability for your family is out of the question', Kitty wrote. 'How could you live in London with any comfort with so near a relation keeping a lodging house?'[245] Yet whilst the main area of concern lay in this particular enterprise, Kitty made it clear that lack of respectability extended to all Mackintosh's female Highland relatives. Making evident her distaste at Mackintosh's 'thousands of relations', Kitty laboured their difference from their 'southern neighbours'. The 'simplicity' of these northern women she found endearing but condescendingly commented that, 'Your Scotch women have no heads for metaphysics nor much for the lighter thinking or reading'.[246]

Thus, it would seem that for Kitty Mackintosh, her husband's family was a rather foreign curiosity, somewhat rustic and distasteful. To be associated with them in the 'civilised' world of London, where reputations had to be carefully protected, represented a threat to their own social status. Kitty's meeting with her husband's family brought together people separated by distances that spanned more than just miles. Predominantly through gendered comments about his relatives, Kitty made it clear that her husband's family were dramatically different from themselves, a difference whose presence threatened and called into question their own social status. It is a distance that is suggested by Mackintosh's own autobiography, in which Highland Scotland – its people and culture, his relatives and clan - are largely erased from the picture he painted of his childhood.

As a middle-aged man, Mackintosh was shaping his identity through an autobiographical narrative of his life and speaking to a 'public' who he hoped would one day recognise his name. He represented his young self as focussed on these masculine spaces of nation and empire, admiring the types of men whose attention the elder Mackintosh sought to catch and to whose status he aspired. By projecting

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[245] BL Add MS 78769, Kitty to Mackintosh, 20th October 1810, p.116.
[246] Ibid., p.106.

himself back into the past, Mackintosh was also projecting himself forward into a desired future of status. Thus, he represented his childhood to accord with a world that, forty years later, conformed to the experiences, desires and expectations of a boy aspiring to the middle-class masculinity of a 'public man of virtue'.[247] In doing so, Mackintosh reconfigured much of the world in which he grew up. With his father serving in the empire abroad, Mackintosh separated the spheres of his childhood into the 'feminine' household and the masculine world of schooling, primarily defined by an absorption in books. In this 'feminine' sphere in the midst of untamed nature, all eyes were fixed upon him, whilst he focussed upon the horizon towards Britain and empire. Implicitly defining this as a closed sphere beyond which lay untamed nature, Mackintosh erased the activities, knowledge systems and values and alternative structures of socialisation and identity of the world in which he grew up. Any involvement in clanship networks and identity, knowledge of legends and stories that belied different aspirations, values and gender roles, were erased. In their place, a space of emptiness, of maternal meekness and devotion, of wilderness.

It was from this space of void, gazing out towards empire, that Mackintosh locates his origins. Its silences allowed him to create himself from scratch, to shed the weight of 'uncivilised' superstitions and 'feudal' ties of clanship. It allowed him to imagine a 'home' that was elsewhere and beyond, associated with Britain and empire, with masculine activities and power. Thus, he represented himself as stepping out from the Highlands, tarnished neither by femininity or barbarity, into a world of masculine scholarship and socialisation. It is to the beginnings of this world, in Aberdeen, Edinburgh and in London that I turn in the next chapter.

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[247] See Geoff Eley, 'Nations Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the 19th Century' in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Craig Calhoun (ed), (Cambridge, Mass and London, 1992), p.309.

Chapter Two: Inheriting the Enlightenment: Scotland, London and the French Revolution

Introduction

Writing to her husband from the confinement of childbed in 1800, Kitty Mackintosh contemplated the similarities in the character of her husband and that of the celebrated poet Robert Burns. Despite the differences in class origins between her Highland gentry-born husband and the son of a poor hilltop farmer of the Scottish Lowlands, Kitty noted some likenesses.[1] Reading Burns' life, 'I fancied a resemblance of character between you and him as you must have been in your early days, both of a similar propensity to science, love and poetry.'[2] Such flattery was not, however, to last long. The similarities broke down, Kitty continued, when Mackintosh began his course of study at 'the smoking dunghill of an Edinburgh University.'[3] There, she wrote, Mackintosh exchanged country life for a city where 'low debauchery, vulgar dissipation and vain and pernicious science are learnt in pretty equal proportion.'[4] In contrast to the 'innocent occupations of a remote country life', the city had a corrosive affect that heralded the 'vices and sufferings of life.'[5] Mackintosh's entrance onto the stage of urban society and Enlightenment education marked, in his wife's imagination, the transformation of an 'innocent' rural youth into an urban man.

Mackintosh himself recalled his experiences of living and studying in Edinburgh between 1784 and 1788 in rather more positive tones. 'My arrival at Edinburgh opened a new world to my mind', he later wrote in 1804, 'that city was then the residence of many extraordinary men.'[6] From a rural, Highland upbringing and then a relatively cloistered existence as a student at King's College in Aberdeen, Mackintosh, aged nineteen, leapt into an exciting social world of clubs and debating societies. It was a world that he had imagined and enacted throughout his childhood. The miniature mock-parliaments he conducted at school and the debating society he established at college were all preparations for the adult societies

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[1] 'Introduction', *Collected Poems of Robert Burns,* introduced by Tim Burke (Ware, 2008), p.vi.
[2] BL Add MS78768, Catharine Mackintosh to James Mackintosh, Cresselly, undated, p.40. O'Leary dates this to 1800. Patrick O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh: The Whig Cicero* (Aberdeen, 1989), p.58.
[3] BL Add MS78768, p.40.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] BL Add MS 52436b, Autobiography, p.15.

he would join in Edinburgh and later in London. Compared to those early, supervised affairs, however, life in Edinburgh offered a certain amount of freedom from the watchful eyes of close relatives and school masters. Like his friend and fellow student, Benjamin Constant, Mackintosh mixed his intellectual activities with a very liberal dose of drinking and womanising – the 'low debauchery' to which his wife later referred.[7] It was during these years that Mackintosh experimented with early manhood, whilst in the classroom and in the books that he read he was taught a social morality and worldview that he would use to configure his own thoughts about the changing world around him and his relationship to it.

In 1788, having successfully defended his thesis on the muscles and the nervous system, Mackintosh graduated from Edinburgh as a medical physician and left Scotland for London. Yet on arriving in London it was not his medical knowledge that enabled him to begin building his life as a gentleman. Rather, he drew on the lessons in sociability and citizenship that he had acquired in Edinburgh to make himself a home in London high society. These social tools, alongside the patronage networks that he gained through family and university connections, allowed him access to London's elite and powerful world. It was from within this world of clubs, dinners and societies that Mackintosh would begin to assert his own view of the nation to which he felt a sense of belonging and on behalf of which he felt entitled speak. As Geoff Eley has argued, the process of imagining nationality was coterminous with the emergence of the notion of a political community of citizens operating beyond political institutions; Habermas' 'bourgeois public sphere'.[8] In this chapter, I see the trajectories of Mackintosh's own thought as representative of this relationship between ideas and definitions of nationality and those of civil society and citizenship. I show how Mackintosh employed the Scottish enlightenment lessons that he received as a youth to configure the nation during the debates over the French Revolution and reform in Britain across the 1790s. In exploring these conceptualisations of society and nation, I pay particular attention to how Mackintosh used difference to imagine the boundaries of inclusion in the nation.

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[7] Dennis Wood, *Benjamin Constant: A Biography* (London and New York, 1993), p.55.
[8] Geoff Eley, 'Culture, Nation and Gender' in *Gendered Nations: Nationalism and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Ida Bloom, Karen Hagemann, Catherine Hall (eds) (Oxford and New York, 2000), p.30.

The chapter focuses on the period between 1780 and 1799, during which Mackintosh received his education, moved from Scotland to London, was twice married and participated in the rapidly changing politics of the French Revolution. It explores how the texture of Mackintosh's life in Edinburgh and London was coloured by his socio-economic status and gender, an identity that he learnt to perform during his college and university years. Mackintosh left relatively few reflections on his life during this period. His autobiography, written from Bombay in 1804, stops with his studies in Edinburgh. It is possible that Mackintosh did indulge in the extensive 'journalising' that characterised the later period of his life and that these reflections have been lost. But it seems more likely that the more his life and thoughts were occupied by the exciting political, social and personal changes of the period, the less self-reflexive he was in writing. As Dror Warhman has noted, the 1790s were a 'decade in which almost everything became political, and politics became almost everything.'[9] This chapter therefore focuses primarily on published and unpublished essays and articles that Mackintosh read and wrote during his youth and early manhood. The first section draws on the books that he read as part of his studies in Aberdeen and Edinburgh and shows how he appropriated some of their ideas into his own thought both at the time and in later life. From the moment Mackintosh entered Aberdeen at age fifteen, and probably even before, the books he read and the lessons he was taught provided messages about what it meant to be a 'civilised' man. As I illustrate across this chapter, the theories, practices and identities that Mackintosh learnt across this period were inextricably linked, informing numerous aspects of his sense of belonging.

In the second and third sections I focus on the work for which Mackintosh is most well-known. The *Vindiciae Gallicae*, published in 1791 as a response to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, used Scottish scientific Whiggism to celebrate the French Revolution and argue the need for reform in Britain itself.[10] The second section explores the political and social context of its publication and particularly the social networks to which Mackintosh belonged in

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[9] Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c.1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995), p.31.

[10] J.G.A. Pocock, 'The Varieties of Whiggism from Exclusion to Reform: a History of Ideology and Discourse' in *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, chiefly in the Eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1985), p.298.

London. The final section turns to the debate over the French Revolution, drawing on Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790), Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791) and Mackintosh's *Vindiciae Gallicae.* Focussing on this debate, I discuss the ways in which the nation was conceptualised. I look at how Mackintosh and other contributors to the debate used gendered and racialised imagery to construct the boundaries of the nation. Through a reading of the *Vindiciae Gallicae* alongside these other texts, I show how the national community was 'imagined' through difference.[11] I conclude the chapter with a discussion of Mackintosh's retreat from radicalism to nationalism, raising questions of 'home' and 'exile' that will be the focus of chapter three.

Scotland and enlightenment: society and civilisation

In 1780, the 'little society at Fortrose' was replaced by a much larger society of young men living in and around King's College, Aberdeen.[12] The college had been founded in 1495 by Bishop Elphinstone and its imperial architecture reflected the pretensions to royal power and humanist learning that characterised the renaissance period.[13] In the 1780s, however, King's College was recovering from a period of decline and lack of funding that had afflicted it since the Jacobite rising of 1715.[14] Suspected of Jacobite and Episcopalian sympathies, the college had been denied government funding and had little private aid. With few professors of any note teaching at King's, Roger Emerson claims that 'the boys received an education which was probably poorer than that given anywhere in Scotland.'[15] King's College followed a system of regenting, whereby one professor covered all subjects rather than delivering lectures based upon their expertise. Long abolished in other Scottish universities, Charles Camic has argued that regenting discouraged

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[11] My analytical approach draws heavily on Catherine Hall's essay, "The Rule of Difference: Gender, Class and Empire in the Making of the 1832 Reform Act', in *Gendered Nations*, pp.107-135. The concept of the nation as an 'imagined community' obviously comes from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London and New York, revised ed. 1991. 1st ed. 1983).

[12] BL Add MS 52436a, 'Autobiography', p.3. See previous chapter

[13] Richard Sher, 'Scotland Transformed: The Eighteenth Century' in *Scotland: A History*, Jenny Wormald (ed) (Oxford, 2005), p.115.

[14] Emerson, 'Aberdeen Professors 1690-1800: Two Structures, Two Professoriates, Two Careers' in *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment*, J. Carter and J. Pittock (eds) (Aberdeen, 1987), p.158

[15] *Ibid.,* p.156.

independent thought and was perhaps one reason for the low quality of teaching.[16] Why Mackintosh's family chose King's College over its rival Marischal, also in Aberdeen, for their young 'prodigy' is therefore difficult to explain. Perhaps family tradition or religion led them to their choice; Mackintosh's great-grandfather, Angus Mackintosh, had attended the university.[17] However, despite the inadequacies of the college itself, James Mackintosh was fortunate to be tutored by two of the more innovative of Kings' professors: James Dunbar, who he claimed contributed to 'breathe into my mind a strong spirit of liberty', and William Oglivie, whose work on agrarian society and property rights would later influence Mackintosh's own thinking.[18]

It is clear from his letters, the majority of which are requests for money, that Mackintosh himself had little say in his future studies or career. 'It appears a very extraordinary conduct first to send me here and then to refuse what is absolutely necessary for my subsistence', Mackintosh wrote to his father from Aberdeen in 1782.[19] Rather than living in college Mackintosh boarded with a Mrs Munro, probably in the Old Town of Aberdeen, where King's College was situated.[20] The city of Aberdeen itself was one of the four major cities in Scotland; the legal, educational and financial centre for the north-eastern regions of Scotland. Many of its approximately 17 000 inhabitants were from the nearby north-eastern Highlands and had migrated to gain employment in textiles manufacturing, domestic service, fishing, trade, law or education.[21] Although smaller than Edinburgh, there were similarities in the socio-economic structure of the two cities that allowed for a flourishing culture of clubs and societies, the Aberdeen Philosophical Society or 'Wise Club' being the most famous.[22] The extent to which Mackintosh would have participated in the intellectual or social life of the town was probably fairly limited. As Charles Camic has shown, college life was strictly regulated by a tightly filled

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[16] For the regenting system see Charles Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment: Socialisation for Cultural Change in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), p.166; Emmerson, 'Aberdeen Professors'.

[17] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh*, p.6.

[18] BL Add MS52436a, 'Autobiography', pp.7-8; Knud Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1996), p.266.

[19] BL Add MS 52451b, To John Mackintosh from James Mackintosh, Aberdeen, December 22nd 1782, p.4.

[20] BL Add MS 78771a, James Mackintosh to Mrs MacGillivray, Clune 17th May 1780, p.7.

[21] Anon., *History of the City of Aberdeen* (Edinburgh, 1825), p.8; Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, pp.161-2. For transformations of the city see: *Aberdeen in the Nineteenth Century: The Making of the Modern City,* John Smith and David Stevenson (eds) (Aberdeen, 1988).

[22] Devine, *The Scottish Nation,* p.161.

timetable of study, with hierarchies of monitors to ensure that any transgressions were spotted and punished.[23] Classes may have been large but it would seem that students had frequent individual contact with their tutor and regular oral examinations, theses and disputations ensured that their progress was closely monitored.[24]

Mackintosh's memories of his four years' studying at King's College focus less on the education that he received there, which he suggested was far from challenging, and more on the intellectual stimulation he gained from the company of other young men. Amongst a number of English dissenters studying at Aberdeen was Robert Hall, who Mackintosh described as displaying 'brilliancy and rigour of understanding and imagination.'[25] Together, the two young men read and discussed Plato, studied Xenophon and Herodotus, walked and sat together at lectures.[26] Reflecting on their friendship, Mackintosh wrote to Robert Hall over forty years later, stating that whilst surveying his early life, 'I could see nothing which tended so much to excite and invigorate my understanding, to direct it towards high tho' perhaps scarcely accessible objects, as my intimacy with you.'[27] In the editorial preface to a collection of Robert Hall's works, their relationship and their combative debates were portrayed as 'rather like blows in that of welding iron to knit them closer together'.[28] Employing a violent and intensely masculine metaphor, this description of their relationship echoes the sentiments of scholars such as Thomas Macaulay whose boyhood experience of school Bonnie Smith has researched.[29] Never sacrificing 'the truth' in the course of their debates, Mackintosh and Hall's relationship embodied the idealised image of the masculine pursuit of knowledge and truth. Their debates and disputes became renowned across the college and it was with Hall that Mackintosh formed a small debating society –the 'Hall and Mackintosh club'. This club mirrored those that he had attempted whilst

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[23] Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment,* p.168.
[24] *Ibid.,* p.170.
[25] BL Add MS 52436ab, 'Autobiography', p.12.
[26] *The Works of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M. with a Brief Memoir and a Sketch of his Literary Character by the Right Hon. Sir J Mackintosh, LL.M M.P. and a Sketch of his Character as a Theologian and a Preacher, by the Rev John Foster.* Published under the superintendence of Olinthus Gregory in three volumes, vol 1. (New York, 1832), p.11.
[27] BL Add MS 78771a, JM to Revd Robert Hall, Bombay 21st September 1825[1805], p.216.
[28] *The Works of Rev Robert Hall*, p.12.
[29] Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Harvard, 1998), pp.78-79.

at school in Fortrose and anticipated the societies to which he would belong in Edinburgh and London.

Mackintosh's involvement in debating with the other young men in the college and his establishment of a club that carried his own name were integral aspects of both his education and socialisation. Indeed, the two were inextricably linked. The academic lessons that Mackintosh was taught in college were imbued with moral messages concerning the behaviour of a 'civilised' gentleman. As Nicholas Phillipson has argued, Scottish philosophers across the eighteenth century were overwhelmingly concerned with the morals and manners of their Scottish contemporaries and youth. Almost always teachers as well as philosophers, men like Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson and James Beattie were, Phillipson argues, as much practical moralists as they were moral philosophers.[30] Their works endeavoured to explore and explain human nature and development, and in doing so served to instruct and thereby to 'civilise'. This didactic impetus is evident in the work of James Mackintosh's own tutor, James Dunbar, whose *Essays on Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages* was published in 1780, the same year that his young student arrived in Aberdeen.[31] Hoping that his ideas would animate 'the rising generation in the pursuit of honour', Dunbar's *Essays* charted human evolution with the consciousness that interpretation of the human past could inform its future course.[32]

'Declaiming' rather than 'communicating', Dunbar taught moral philosophy and pneumatology – the study of theology in relationship to the Holy Spirit, - which together incorporated ethics, politics and logic.[33] Much of his teaching drew on philosophies that were put forward in other published works by Scottish scholars. Their content was discussed in clubs, taverns and societies, in letters between friends and in print media that was read by the educated elite of urban Scotland.[34] These debates across public and private spheres in turn informed later scholarship,

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[30] Nicholas Phillipson, 'Adam Smith as Civic Moralist' in *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (eds) (Cambridge, 1983), p.179; See also David Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship in Early Modern History* (Edinburgh, 1993).

[31] *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages* by James Dunbar LL.D, Professor of Philosophy in the King's College and University of Aberdeen (London and Edinburgh, 1780)

[32] Dunbar, *Essays on the History of Mankind*, p.38.

[33] Paul Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment* (Aberdeen, 1993), p.134.

[34] Emerson, 'The Contexts of the Scottish Enlightenment' in *The Cambridge Companion to The Scottish Enlightenment,* Alexander Broadie (ed) (Cambridge, 2003), p.24

including Mackintosh's own work. Heavily influenced by Thomas Reid, the founder of the 'Wise Club' to which Dunbar also belonged, Dunbar followed Reid's 'common sense' philosophy against the scepticism of Adam Smith and David Hume.[35] Despite his brilliance, Hume, according to Dugald Stewart, had undermined the authority of the 'laws of belief' and so Reid had set out to question the logic of Hume's claim that all we can possibly perceive is merely an impression and image on the mind rather than reality.[36] 'Common sense' was a response to Smith and Hume's assertions, which seemed to imply that morality and virtue were socially conditioned and usefully employed for material and social gain.[37] Against this, philosophers like Reid, James Beattie and Dugald Stewart argued that virtue and morality were part of the original constitution of the human mind. Moral truths, they argued, could be grasped intuitively and with rigorous study the nature of truth could be uncovered.[38] If Thomas Reid's *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense* (1764) was the first comprehensive statement against Humean scepticism, it was left to James Beattie and, later, Dugald Stewart to expand upon and relay the message beyond the scholarly elite.

Beattie was professor of moral philosophy at King's rival college in Aberdeen, Marischal. His book, *An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism* (1770) offered a more accessible explanation of the 'common sense' philosophy. It was a work that Mackintosh claimed to have read whilst at college in Aberdeen, stating that it 'confirmed my disposition to metaphysical enquiries'.[39] Any deep and rigorous engagement and instruction into 'metaphysical enquiries' would, however, have to wait until Mackintosh had graduated from King's College. The books that he read, including Beattie's *Essay on Truth* and Priestley's *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, provided an extra-curricular challenge, 'very much out of the course of boys of fifteen anywhere but

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[35] *Ibid*, p.135.
[36] *Dissertation First: Exhibiting a General View of the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical and Political Philosophy since the Revival of Letters in Europe,* part II by Dugald Stewart, esq F.R.SS. Lon.d & Edin. in *Supplement to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica with Preliminary Dissertations of the History of the Sciences, volume fifth* Edinburgh, 1824 (Edinburgh and London), p.187-90.
[37] Nicholas Phillipson, 'The Pursuit of Virtue in Scottish University Education: Dugald Stewart and Scottish Moral Philosophy in the Enlightenment', in *Universities, Society and the Future*, Nicholas Phillipson (ed) (Edinburgh, 1983), p.92
[38] Ibid., pp.86-7.
[39] BL Add MS 52436ab, 'Autobiography', p.8

most of all at Aberdeen.'[40] What he was taught at Aberdeen was probably more general and basic, yet it provided the grounding for a life-long engagement with Scottish metaphysics and 'conjectural' history. His own tutor's *Essays on the History of Man in Rude and Cultivated Ages* (1780) offers a clear statement of the type of moral messages and assumptions that underlay more complex philosophical enquiry in Scottish higher education. A book to which Mackintosh referred in passing, the *Essays* offer an excellent insight into the likely approach that Dunbar took in the classroom. Furthermore, it is illustrative of some of the central tenets of Scottish Enlightenment thought that would inform the paradigms of Mackintosh's own thought. Whether Mackintosh actually read it or not, four years under Dunbar's tutelage meant that he almost certainly imbibed its general lessons and sentiment.

James Dunbar's *Essays* incorporated three of the central tenets of Scottish Enlightenment thought: an interest with man in society; a belief that human development could be grouped into different stages from savagery to civilisation; and, a 'conjectural' approach to thinking about the human past. Dunbar began his *Essays* with man in a solitary, 'animal' state, without language. Yet whilst he asserted that man's origins were to be located in solitude in the forests, he quickly moved on, stating that 'we are not here concerned with the original perfection of his [man's] nature, nor with the circumstances wherein he was placed at the beginning by his Creator.'[41] It was within society that man's 'genius expanded with freedom' and therefore it was with man as a social being that Dunbar was primarily interested.[42] This explicit statement of interest with man in society was partly a reaction against philosophers such as Hobbes or Rousseau, who had considered man in a 'state of nature.' Although in his first essay Dunbar actually slips between both approaches, overall his work is more aligned with the general approach taken by the Scottish philosophers.[43] This was most forcefully put by Ferguson in his *Essays on Civil Society*, when he stated that 'mankind are to be taken in groups, as they have always subsisted' and that these societies form the components of the species as a whole.[44]

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[40] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[41] Dunbar, *Essays on Mankind*, p.3
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] See Jane Rendall's discussion of 'Natural History' in *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment* (London and Basingstoke, 1978), p.123 and her summary of the character of 'philosophical history' in Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism', *Historical Journal*, 25, 1 (1982), p.43.
[44] *Essay on the History of Civil Society* by Adam Ferguson, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1767), p.8.

The societies in which man lived and through which mankind was to be studied were plotted on a hierarchy that saw societal difference as evidence of its civilisational stage. Where Montesquieu in *L'Esprit de Lois* had attributed different characteristics of nations to the climate of their regions of inhabitation, the Scottish thinkers conceptualised a stadial theory in which peoples both past and present were located on different rungs of civilisation.[45] Dunbar identified three stages of human development. In the first, man, a 'solitary savage', lived alone without language; the second stage was marked by the acquirement of language and community 'which consists with equality, with freedom, and independence'.[46] The final stage, in which man 'subsists and flourishes under the protection and discipline of civil government' represented his own society and it was with its refinement (ever mindful of potential for degeneration or stagnation) that Dunbar was concerned in his later essays.[47] For Dunbar, as for almost all the eighteenth century Scottish philosophers, including Stewart and Beattie, language was an important marker of human advance. Dunbar's notion of the 'solitary savage' existing without language followed the precepts of Lord Monboddo's *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (1773), who included Ouran Outangs under the category of 'human' and cited examples of individual men and 'whole nations' living without speech.[48]

What caused societies to advance was a central question running through Dunbar's *Essays*. Humanity, Dunbar asserted, never stands still, 'if progress is not made, we must decline from the good state already attained.'[49] Yet what drove progress was more ambiguous. In Adam Smith's thought, society was driven forward by 'self interest', leading to material gain. Similarly, Adam Ferguson, albeit less concerned with progress, saw civil government as operating a restraint upon the selfishness and violence that men of the final stage, defined by property-ownership and commerce, would inevitably turn to were they left to themselves.[50] In his *History of England*, Hume had seen historical change in the most recent era as driven

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[45]M. de Montesquieu, *The Complete Works of M. Montesquieu* translated from the French by K Secondat, vol 1 of 4 (Dublin, 1777), pp.2-4; See also, Quentin Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1998).

[46] Dunbar, *Essays on Mankind,* pp.2-3.

[47] *Ibid.,* p.2

[48] Rendall, *The Origins,* p.135.

[49] Dunbar, *Essays on Mankind,* p.151.

[50] Ferguson, *Essays on the History of Civil Society,* pp.21-2

by the commercial classes in their desire for accumulation, a theory supported by Smith.[51] More ambiguously, Dunbar saw 'virtue' as both the marker of the stage of civilisation that a nation or society had reached and the driving force of progress.[52] Complicating the hierarchical nature of his own stadial theory, Dunbar claimed that the 'highest degrees of generous virtue, and the truest politeness of mind, may be found among nations to whom these arts are almost totally unknown'.[53] Never really offering a concrete definition of 'virtue', Dunbar contrasted it with culture and art, seen as 'embellishments of civilised nations'.[54]

Dunbar's ambivalence towards art, culture and 'vulgar and commercial arts' was probably directed against the apparent materialism of Adam Smith and David Hume's philosophy. Yet despite the considerable differences between the three thinkers' interpretations, common to almost all the Scottish philosophers of the eighteenth century in varying degrees of emphasis, was the sense that the progress and civilisation of nations was both fragile and tenuous. Even those thinkers who more closely followed the four-stage theory of societies from savagery to civilisation, warned against European complacency.[55] Such warnings were necessary, because inherent to the theories and approaches of the enlightenment scholars across Europe was the assumption that the 'highest' stage of civilisation yet attained applied, broadly speaking, to their own 'European' societies. This was made particularly evident through what Dugald Stewart coined 'conjectural history'. 'Conjectural history' described the generic approach of the Scottish philosophers of the eighteenth century, which saw in the 'primitive' societies encountered by European colonists a reflection of Europe's own 'barbarian' past.[56] Like the majority of the most famous Enlightenment scholars in the eighteenth century – Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, John Millar and William Robertson – Dunbar drew

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[51] David Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688* in eight volumes, (London,1767).
[52] Dunbar, *Essays*, p.38
[53] *Ibid.,* p.144
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] See Robertson's essay on Ancient India in *An Historical Disquisition concerning The Knowledge which the Ancients had of India; and the Progress of Trade with that Country prior to the Discovery of the Passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope with and Appendix containing Observations on the Civil Policy – the Laws and Judicial Proceedings – the Arts – the Sciences – and Religious Institutions of the Indians.* By William Robertson, D.D.F.R.S.Ed. Principal of the University and Historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland London: A.Strahan, T.Cadell (Strand), (Edinburgh, 1791), pp.256-336.
[56] For a discussion of conjectural history see, H.M. Hopfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman: Conjectural History in the Scottish Enlightenment', *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Spring, 1978), pp.19-40.

on reports made by travellers and missionaries of their encounters with native American Indians and South Sea Islanders, comparing the social structures of different peoples with their own society.[57] In doing so, he asserted the superiority of 'European' civilisation, plotting human difference on a hierarchy of human development.[58]

Yet it was not only people from other places whose differences were employed to construct a theory of human development. For Dunbar, as for Lord Monboddo, mankind's progress from savagery to civilisation was mirrored in the progress of the individual from infanthood to adulthood. 'Infancy to manhood parallels the progress of nations', Dunbar stated, charting the appearance of sense, followed by heart and fellow-feeling, then the emergence of intellect that demanded intercourse with other, equally cultured, minds.[59] By connecting the development of the individual man to the development of human societies in general, Dunbar's schema allowed for a bolder moralising discourse that naturalised certain forms of social structure and attachments. In his *Treatise of Human Nature*, David Hume had shown how the formation of society, which enabled man to rise above his fellow creatures, was driven by the 'natural appetite betwixt the sexes'.[60] Citing Hume's *Treatise*, Dunbar claimed that where single marriage was not practiced, doubt about the legitimacy of progeny was liable to lead to the 'decay' or 'extinction' of the instinct to nurture the child and, implicitly, to nurture the progress of society as a whole. Identifying the family as the union of one man and one woman, cemented by care of the child which is the result of that union, both Hume and Dunbar naturalised the nuclear family. According to Dunbar, heterosexual monogamy should be maintained for the benefit of the order of society as a whole: 'The interest of a family, the order of society, justifies the restraint.'[61]

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[57] See Troy Bickham, *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford and New York, 2005).

[58] Laurent Dubois, 'An Enslaved Enlightenment: Rethinking the Intellectual History of the French Atlantic', *Social History*, Vol. 31, no.1 (2006), pp.1-14; also Kathleen Wilson, 'Gender misrecognition and Polynesian subversions' in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840,* p.347; *The Island Race: Englishss, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York, 2003)*, pp.24-6.

[59] Dunbar, *Essays on Mankind,* p.16.

[60] Rendall, *The Origins,* p.140.

[61] Dunbar, *Essays on Mankind,* p.21.

In this commentary on the progress of society, Dunbar made it abundantly clear that the heterosexual nuclear family was both natural and a marker of a higher stage of civilisation. It was through the family, through the affection and education of the parents, that an individual could fully reap the advantages of society. Where, in 'rude countries', the biological mother was the sole known parent, society tended almost towards matriarchy. Probably as a 'peculiar and striking effect of gratitude and natural authority', suggested Dunbar, women not only headed domestic government 'but possess a voice and ascendancy in public councils and deliberations.'[62] In 'the most refined nations', however, where Dunbar assumed that men stood at the head of both the nuclear family and the state, the 'weaker sex' was accorded a lower rank.[63] Dunbar's brief comments on the status of women in different societies suggest that he followed Pufendorf's understanding of marriage as a socialising force from which wider society stemmed.[64] This was in contrast to Adam Smith, for whom hetero-sexual intimacy was seen, for men, as a distraction from labour and social duty.[65] Unfortunately, Dunbar says no more about the position of women in societies, only hinting, by this one example, an ambivalence towards the status of women in his own society.

Mackintosh himself, writing his own *History of England* in the late 1820s, used the same formulation with a markedly different conclusion. The promiscuous intercourse that led to societies in which no man was 'described as answerable for the care of the children' marked the lowest point 'on the scale of moral civilisation.'[66] Suggesting a hardening of attitudes towards the relationship between men, women and families, which will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, Mackintosh roundly condemned models of social organisation that were not based upon patriarchy. Yet however varying the degrees of moral approbation were between Dunbar's work and Mackintosh's fifty years later, it went unquestioned that the primary attachment through which one came to be part of society lay in the nuclear family. As the previous chapter suggested, this powerful naturalising of attachment and belonging had an impact upon Mackintosh's representation of his

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[62] *Ibid.,* p.21-2
[63] *Ibid.,* p.22
[64] Richard Olson, 'Sex and Status in Scottish Enlightenment Social Science: John Millar and the Sociology of Gender Roles', *History of Human Sciences,* vol. 11 (1998), p.77.
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] *The History of England by The Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh.* Volume the First (London, 1830), p.14.

sense of self and identity. Despite the support and affection that Mackintosh's wider family of aunts and cousins provided, it was primarily to his nuclear family that he referred when stating his origins. And despite the fact that it was his clan and not his nuclear family who materially supported his entrance into society and offered him counsel, it was only his mother who he acknowledged as a provider.

At the most personal, intimate level of hetero-sexual desire and emotional attachment, Dunbar, like other scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment, dictated the proper focus of love and the form it should take. His *Essays* represented a treatise on the correct forms of attachment, belonging, behaviour and identity that constituted 'civilisation'. It was a model that was followed by James Mackintosh in a very early paper read in 1786, probably to the Royal Medical Society in Edinburgh of which he was later president, entitled 'On the instincts and dispositions of animals'.[67] Looking for signs of 'original instinctive principles' similar to those of humans in animals, Mackintosh used 'the passion of love' as a measure of similarity and difference. How an animal or human behaved when in the throes of the 'passion of love' was an indicator of superiority and refinement.[68] Claiming that there was a 'vast difference' between the 'gross passion of the savage of Tierra del Fuego' and that of the 'delicate affection of the ages of chivalry', Mackintosh saw equal differences in the behaviour of animals.[69] The elephant, he wrote, 'looks for a secret place for copulation rather than going with his passions', whilst the dove he described as having a 'tender constancy'.[70] Compared to other animals that inhabit the forests, whose 'desultory lust' presumably led them to uninhibited copulation, these two animals were clearly, in Mackintosh's reasoning, superior. Pushed further, Mackintosh's formulation suggests a reinforcement of distinctions between a private sphere of emotion and a more constrained, 'public' sphere that was occupied by men of 'manly' and 'virtuous' sentiments.[71] In Mackintosh's thinking, the ideal of the heterosexual nuclear family, of affection and attraction between man and

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[67] BL Add MS 78771a, 'On the instincts and disposition of animals, read 23rd February 1786 by James MacIntosh [sic] of Inverness', pp. 196-200
[68] Ibid., p. 198.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Mackintosh would later use this distinction when describing his situation in Bombay – see chapter 3. For discussion of Enlightenment opinions regarding sex, manners and gender roles see Barbara Taylor, 'Feminists versus Gallants: Manners and Morals in Enlightenment Britain' in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (eds) (Basingstoke, 2005), pp.30-52.

woman leading to monogamous and patriarchal domesticity, was scientific and thereby natural.

As a youth, however, James Mackintosh clearly did not heed all the messages against promiscuity that Dunbar's *Essays* appear to have endeavoured to effect. At the age of seventeen Mackintosh set his heart on marrying a young woman in Aberdeen and on finding a position in the university that would allow him to support a family.[72] Such a seemingly scrupulous endeavour, thwarted by lack of patronage, was replaced by what his wife, quoted earlier, called 'debauchery' having arrived in Edinburgh. During his college years an aunt had come to Edinburgh to turn out a mistress who had apparently been living with Mackintosh, offering a suggestion of the type of 'debauchery' his wife had in mind.[73] Mackintosh's penchant for 'amorous passions' followed him to London, where his first marriage to Catharine Stuart was conducted with only two witnesses and caused much displeasure amongst both sides of the family. As O'Leary points out, calculating the dates between their marriage and the birth of their first child, the urgency to marry was probably the result of Catharine's pregnancy.[74] Yet in Mackintosh's moving epitaph on Catharine's death after childbirth in 1797, he returns to the sentiments expressed and promoted by Dunbar in his *Essays*. As Dunbar had written in 1780, 'Even the amorous passion, when associated with moral sentiment, leads to an exclusive and indissoluble union and the sweets of domestic life make ample amends for its most severe engagements.'[75] Mourning his wife, Mackintosh wrote to Dr Parr of the 'blind affection' that had led him to marriage. What could have been a 'short lived passion' and disastrous marriage had turned out fortuitously. In the late Catharine Stuart he had found 'an intelligent companion and tender friend .. the most faithful of wives.'[76] Internalising many of the lessons and models of behaviour that he had been taught as a young man, Mackintosh used them to explain and conceptualise significant aspects of his own life.

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[72] BL Add MS 52451a, 'Autobiography', p.14.
[73] BL Add MS 78771a, 'Notes on reading the Account in the Gentleman's Magazine by D.S. to his sister.', p.224.
[74] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh*, p.18.
[75] Dunbar, *Essays on Mankind*, p.21.
[76] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Parr, Brighton April 1797, p.32.

Dunbar's *Essays* prescribed forms of attachment and behaviour that touched some of the most intimate aspects of an individual's life. Yet for Dunbar, the emotional attachments and behaviour of the individual were integral to the much wider character of the nation of which the individual was a part. Proclaiming that 'love of family is love of the species itself', Dunbar's *Essays* made it clear that individual actions, attachments and character were integrally related to the wider character of society, nation and ultimately humankind as a whole.[77] In his fourth essay, 'Of the criterion of civilised manners', Dunbar linked the character and emotions of the private individual to the national character, claiming that 'warm and steady affections in private life, an honourable fidelity to engagements … equity and humanity in their conduct toward strangers, and foreign nations, will be insisted upon by all as essential to the character of a civilised people.'[78] Despite the differences between the Scottish philosophers, they broadly agreed that it was necessary to teach benevolence, sympathy and ultimately an identification with a community that stemmed from, but was much wider than, the family.[79] The primary locus of that community was the nation but for the character of the nation to qualify as 'civilised' the behaviour of its individual members had itself to be refined.

Dunbar's emphasis on manners and civility was characteristic of one of the central preoccupations of his time. Since the mid-eighteenth century, 'politeness' had increasingly become the watchword of the growing professional and commercial classes across Britain.[80] Advice on proper behaviour, attire and material consumption filled the pages of Addison and Steele's *Tatler* and *Spectator* magazines, newspapers and conduct books. Coffee houses, debating clubs and societies

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[77] Dunbar, *Essays on Mankind,* p.24.

[78] *Ibid.,* p.143

[79] Hopfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman', p.35 According to this author, Adam Smith saw 'primitive' peoples as well as common people of the commercial era not as lacking in sympathy per se, but as lacking sympathy for a wider community audience. However, he doesn't expand upon this point.

[80] See G.J. Barker, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Chicago and London, 1992); Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1989); Markuu Peltonen, 'Politeness and Whiggism, 1688-1732' , *The Historical Journal*, 48, 2 (2005), pp.391-414; Paul Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-century Politeness' *Transactions of the RHS* 12 (2002), pp.313-31; Lawrence Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth century', *The Historical Journal,* 45, 4 (2002), pp.869-898. John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1987); Nicholas Phillipson, *Hume* (London, 1989). From a feminist perspective, see Silvia Sebastiani, 'Race', Women and Progress in the Scottish Enlightenment', pp.75-96 and Barbara Taylor, 'Feminists versus Gallants: Manners and Morals in Enlightenment Britain', pp.30-52 both in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment,* Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (eds) (Basingstoke, 1995).

became the places in which information could be obtained, the fuel for 'polite' conversation.[81] As Nicholas Phillipson has shown, in the hands of Scottish philosophers, most notably Hume, these essays in politeness were turned into moral discourses, 'capable of attracting an intelligent salon and coffee-house readership as well as philosophers and men of letters.'[82] Disseminated across Britain and Europe, these works built and reinforced the morals, identities and social imaginaries of the elite and aspiring middle classes.[83] Through debates, conversation and reading, men and, albeit in a more restricted manner, women, could learn about and engage with the ideas, political and social activities that were taking place in Britain and Europe's urban centres.

The emphasis that Mackintosh and his contemporaries placed on involvement in debating clubs and societies reflects the importance given to the ideal of a rational, eloquent, 'virtuous' man of letters. Modelled on the ancient orators, most notably Cicero to whom Mackintosh was introduced at Aberdeen, oratory and virtue were interlinked.[84] In the introduction to his *Essays*, Dunbar placed himself on the shoulders of the 'great writers of antiquity'. 'They erected a temple to Virtue, and exhausted on the opposite character all the thunder of eloquence', he claimed.[85] The ancient works of Greek and Roman scholars loomed large in the thought of eighteenth-century men of letters, steeped in Latin and Greek authors since early adolescence. If it offered advice and models about character and government, it also offered a tool with which to think through contemporary events.[86] Writing from the Highlands to John Wilde in 1788, Mackintosh made connections between Edmund Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings and the Senate's accusation of 'high crimes and misdemeanours' against Marcus Prius' government in Africa. Comparing the modern with the ancient, Mackintosh wrote that, 'I have always thought that the comparison of the characters and events of our own times with those of antiquity is peculiarly pleasing as giving the ancient that interest of which their remoteness in some measure deprives them

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81 Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995, 2nd ed. 2005), pp.13-25.
82 Phillipson, 'Adam Smith as civic moralist', p.180.
83 Outram, *The Enlightenment,* pp.21-2; Phillipson 'Adam Smith as civic moralist', pp.189-190
84 David Allen, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, p.187.
85 Dunbar, 'Preface', *Essays on Mankind* (n.p.)
86 See John Burrow, *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth century* (London, 2009), p.285.

and the modern that dignity from which our familiarity with them so much derogates.'[87]

For Mackintosh, as for his teacher, Dunbar, and his later friend and mentor, Dugald Stewart, Cicero held a particularly important place in the canon of ancient writers. At the end of his life Mackintosh bequeathed a copy of Cicero to his son in his will, begging that he take care of it.[88] The Ciceronian model of civic republicanism was an important aspect of Enlightenment thought.[89] In contrast to the pursuit of scientific truths encouraged by thinkers such as Descartes, Cicero's legacy promoted rhetoric as an essential and useful component of a well-organised community.[90] Looking to Cicero as an example of a renowned orator of high virtue, eloquence on the ancient model was associated with moral edification and public-spiritedness.[91] Drawing on the ancient, enlightenment scholars constructed a concept of the 'civilised' and 'public' man of virtue who was responsible for the instruction and thus civilisation of the society around him. As public leaders and published scholars, these men projected a universal notion of society that was nonetheless formed in their own image. It was an image into which Mackintosh easily moulded himself, leaving behind his Highland gentry and clan-based origins and forging his masculinity according to the standards dictated by his teachers and mentors. Ultimately, the Scottish enlightenment in which Mackintosh was schooled provided him with the social tools and intellectual apparatus that he would use to build his future. An inheritance of sorts, his education partly enabled Mackintosh to disinherit the stigma of 'backwardness' that was attached to his Highland Scottish origins.

'The privilege of an Englishman': London, politics and revolution

In 1788, when the French monarchy fell into bankruptcy, the harvest in northern France was destroyed and debates began over the nature of the Third Estate, James

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[87] NLS, Mss 582 : S.N.P.G. Watson autographs: Literary and Scientific, 574-693 Letter 684: James Mackintosh to John Wilde in Edinburgh, Inverness February 26th 1788, pp.178-9.
[88] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh*, p.163.
[89] Nicholas Phillipson, 'The Pursuit of Virtue in Scottish University Education: Dugald Stewart and Scottish Moral Philosophy in the Enlightenment', *Universities, Society and the Future*, Nicholas Phillipson (ed) (Edinburgh, 1983), p.93 and p.97.
[90] Matthew Fox, *Cicero's Philosophy of History* (Oxford, 2007)
[91] David Allen, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, p.187

Mackintosh was in the midst of re-locating from Scotland to London.[92] Having completed his medical degree at Edinburgh University, Mackintosh suffered a period of what he referred to as 'insanity' and had returned to the Highlands to decide on a plan for his career.[93] The dreams of castle-building and imperial power that he had acted-out with his school friends at Fortrose were, aged twenty-three, dampened by the reality of the difficulties involved in 'preserving undisturbed the peace of my future life.'[94] In the spring of 1788, Mackintosh left the Highlands and travelled down to London in the company of a friend from the Speculative Society, Lewis Grant.[95] It seems that Mackintosh originally intended his stay in London to be temporary, with plans to travel onward to India. But the position that he sought through the patronage of Hector Munro appears to have fallen through and instead Mackintosh secured the assistance of a Dr Fraser in looking for a medical position.[96] Writing to his aunt, Mackintosh referred to this Dr Fraser as 'warmful and cordially disposed to serve me and he has presented prospects to my mind which if they have not elated have at least taught me not to despair.'[97] These prospects ranged from a possible settlement as a physician in Salisbury or a medical post in Russia for which Dugald Stewart recommended him, to a short stay in France where his expenses would be low and he could write a medical volume on insanity.[98]

Ultimately, however, Mackintosh took up none of these options. Having taken a medical degree at Edinburgh only because his family could not afford his preferred course of legal study, Mackintosh's enthusiasm for practicing medicine appears not to have extended much beyond the money it could earn him. Rather than take up the various offers that would establish him as a medical physician, Mackintosh began writing for the *Star and Evening Advertiser*, *Morning Chronicle* and the *Oracle*, becoming a salaried foreign editor to the latter.[99] Mackintosh's entry into journalism came about through his contact with the Stuart brothers, Scotsmen living

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[92] Alan Forrest, *The French Revolution* (Oxford, 1995), ch. 2.
[93] NLS Mss 582 : S.N.P.G. Watson autographs: Literary and Scientific, 574-693, Letter 684: James Mackintosh to John Wilde in Edinburgh, Inverness February 26th 1788, p.178.
[94] Ibid.
[95] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.15. It would seem that they parted company fairly soon upon arrival.
[96] *Ibid.,* p.13
[97] BL Add MS 78768, James Mackintosh to Mrs MacGillivray, **Bath, 15**th **June, 1789, p.1.**
[98] See letter of recommendation from Dugald Stewart: BL Add MS 52451b, London 4th June, 1788 and letter to John Wilde, NLS Mss 582, Letter 684, p.178-9.
[99] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh*, p.16.

in London, who owned a number of newspaper publishing houses.[100] As Jane Rendall has illustrated, by the 1780s a strong network of professional, often Edinburgh-educated Scots had been established in London, enabling a young Scotsman entrance into London's political, literary and professional society.[101] Networks between London and Scotland helped new arrivals by offering advice on where to live, and often provided initial help with accommodation. Mackintosh himself stayed with a relative, Mr Fraser, a wine merchant in Clipstone Street near Fitzroy Square, in proximity to other, well-established Scots.[102] It was through the overlap of Scottish and neighbourhood connections that Mackintosh met the Stuart brothers from Edinburgh, the printers and publishers of several newspapers for which Mackintosh wrote. Living close to Mr Fraser, on Charlotte Street, the Stuart brothers probably played a significant part in introducing Mackintosh to wider Whig circles. Moreover, by 1789, Mackintosh had married their sister, Catharine Stuart, to the chagrin of both families.

Within a year of his residence in London, Mackintosh's social circle had expanded beyond the networks of Scots upon whom he was initially reliant. His attendance at the London-based Speculative Society acquainted him with Horne Tooke, whilst his involvement with Tooke's Society for Constitutional Information secured a life-long friendship with Richard Sharp.[103] Sharp, who was born in Newfoundland, had risen from apprentice hatter to become a partner in the merchant company Boddington and Co. based in Mark Street, which owned land in the West Indies.[104] Referred to as 'Conversation Sharp', he effectively ran a salon at which Mackintosh, Bobus Smith, Francis Horner, Miss Sloper and Samuel Boddington, amongst others, would discuss philosophy and politics.[105] Male dominated and primarily drawing educated men from the upper-middle classes, such gatherings were not, however, completely exclusive. Horne Tooke's dinner parties at his residence in Soho and, from 1792, in Wimbledon combined

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[100] For newspapers and the press, particularly *The Oracle* see Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 1987), p.88. Also, Bob Harris, 'Print and Politics' in *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution*, Bob Harris (ed) (Edinburgh, 2005), pp.164-195.

[101] 'Scottish Citizens of London: Whigs, Radicals, and the French Revolution,1788-1795', in Stana Nenadic (ed.), *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg, 2010).

[102] *Memoirs of the Life,* vol. I, p.42.

[103] Christina Bewley and David Bewley, *Gentleman Radical: A Life of John Horne Tooke, 1736-1812* (London and New York, 1998), p.85; David Knapman, *Conversation Sharp: the Biography of a London Gentleman Richard Sharp (1759-1835) in Letters, Prose and Verse* (Dorchester, 2003), p.66.

[104] Knapman, *Conversation Sharp,* p.77.

[105] *Ibid.,* pp.65-6.

politicians, artists, thinkers, journalists, bankers and scholars with 'men about town, artisans with little education and rough country manners'[106] At the house of the Earl of Lauderdale, Mackintosh made connections with radical thinkers including Dr Parr, Joseph Gerrald, Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin.[107]

This network of friends was primarily drawn from a relatively elite and middle- class group of men and women, many of whom were from dissenting traditions.[108] Broadly defined as Whigs, many of these characters, including Mackintosh himself, would make significant contributions to shaping the debate and activity in the turbulent decade of the 1790s. Integral to Mackintosh's identity and that of the many men and women of his own class with whom he associated, was a commitment to whiggism. As J.G.A. Pocock has illustrated, Whiggism was hardly a stable, static or well-defined political position.[109] As a political ideology, whiggism revolved around a very wide axis comprising a broad attachment to the Protestant succession and veneration of the 'Glorious' Revolution of 1688 as heralding the balance between monarchy and Parliament.[110] Whiggism was a spectrum whose meaning was both nebulous and dependent upon time, place and political context.[111] It was an identity, however, that Mackintosh purported to have claimed at an exceptionally early age. According to Pryse Gordon, at eleven or twelve and following the debates between Charles James Fox and Lord North, Mackintosh began calling himself a Whig and supported the cause of the colonists during the American war of Independence.[112] Mackintosh's own recollections shed little light on what whiggism meant to him at this young age. His early reading of Bishop Burnet, given to him by Mt Mackenzie of Suddie, suggests a propensity to a Scottish Presbyterian whiggism amongst at least some of the adults with whom he

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[106] Bewley, *Gentleman Radical,* p.119.
[107] Kegan Paul, *William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries*, vol. 1 (London, 1876), p.154; 'Maitland, James eighth earl of Lauderdale (1759–1839)'
http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/article/17825?docPos=6 [22/08/2010].
[108] See Barbara Taylor, *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination* (Cambridge, 2003), p.147.
[109] Pocock, 'Varieties of whiggism' in *Virtue,Commerce and History;* John Derry, *Politics in the Age of Fox, Pitt and Liverpool*; *Continuity and Transformation* (Basingstoke and London, 1990), pp.7-9 Leslie Mitchell, *Charles James Fox and the Disintegration of the Whig Party, 1782-1794* (Oxford, 1971), ch.7.
[110] Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain*, (New Haven and London, 1993), p.73; Derry, *Politics in the Age of Fox, Pitt and Liverpool*, p.7.
[111] Parry, *The Rise and Fall*, p.73; See also, Howitz, 'Parties, Connections and Parliamentary Politics, 1689-1714: Review and Revision', *The Journal of British Studies,* vol. 6, no. 1 (Nov, 1966), pp.45-69.
[112] BL Add MS 78771a, Extract from the portfolio of Pryse L Gordon author of 'Memoirs and reminiscences of his own times' published in 1829, p.225.

associated as a young boy.[113]   But it is likely that Mackintosh's whiggism was developed as a more coherent ideology during his years spent at Aberdeen and Edinburgh.   In his autobiography, Mackintosh noted Dunbar's opposition to the American war and connected it to the 'strong spirit of liberty' that Dunbar infused into him through his teaching.[114]   As Gordon Pentland has explained, Scottish whiggism was closely related to the conjectural history propounded by many of Mackintosh's teachers, an ideal of modernisation and progress that would form the basis of Scottish calls for reform during the 1820s.[115]   Mackintosh's Highland origins would have made him particularly aware of the chasm that existed between urban, Lowland modernity and the 'backwardness' of the Highlands.[116]   In the context of the Highlands, to be a Whig was to identify with 'liberty' and 'progress' against clanship and against the Jacobitism of many of his ancestors.

In London, however, such 'scientific whiggism' was yet to be fully embraced.[117]   Indeed, it was men like Mackintosh, and particularly the favourite of Lady Holland, John Allen, who were primarily responsible for bringing Scottish Whig thought to London.[118]   As the next section will discuss, Mackintosh's *Vindiciae Gallicae* drew on the conjectural history that he had been taught at college and university and on Hume and Smith's sense of commerce as the driving force of change.   In doing so, he contributed towards the widening reception of Scottish enlightenment ideas, and to the forging of a new version of whiggism that would later be disseminated through the *Edinburgh Review*.[119]   In 1788, however, Mackintosh was plunging into politics at a more local level and associating with a radical whiggism that took him closer to what he would later call the 'democratical side of the centre'.[120]   Within two years of his arrival in London Mackintosh canvassed on behalf of Horne Tooke, against Charles James Fox, in the

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[113] BL Add MS 52436ab, 'Autobiography', p.4; Andrew Starkie, 'Contested histories of the English Church: Gilbert Burnet and Jeremy Collier', *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly,* vol.68, The Uses of History in Early Modern England (2005), p.336.

[114] BL Add MS 52436ab, 'Autobiography', p.11.

[115] Gordon Pentland, *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity in Scotland, 1820-1833* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp.11-12. See also Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge, 1993), p.9.

[116] Jane Rendall, 'The Political Ideas and Activities of Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832): A Study in Whiggism between 1789 and 1832)' Unpublished Phd Thesis, University College London, 1972, p.26.

[117] Leslie Mitchell, *Holland House*, p.85.

[118] *Ibid.*, p.177.

[119] Kathryn Chittick, *The Language of Whiggism: Liberty and Patriotism, 1802-1830* (London, 2010), p.24.

[120] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, 9th December 1806, p.27.

Westminster elections of 1788. Tooke was closely associated with calls for Parliamentary reform, a supporter of Pitt against Fox and a member of the Revolution Society that would play such a prominent role in the French Revolutionary debates.[121] His sudden decision to stand in the Westminster election was meant as a statement against what he viewed as the unconstitutional decision of the two parties to stand Hood and Fox unopposed by any other candidate.[122] With one of the widest electorates in the country, Westminster's electorate had a significant body of artisans and shopkeepers, some of whom were rallying for wider reform.[123] As Tooke's biographers claim, his decision to stand as a candidate, 'was to be hailed by radicals as the foundation of a new spirit in the constituency.'[124] He used his inevitable failure in the elections to campaign against electoral corruption and bribery, illustrating the high expenses needed to win a seat.[125]

Alongside his activities supporting Horne Tooke's campaign for election to Westminster and statement against political corruption, Mackintosh published on behalf of the more established Whig position. In 1788 George III had succumbed to his first bout of madness that threatened to shake Pitt's parliamentary hold. George's son and heir, the Prince of Wales, was assumed to favour his gambling and drinking partner, Charles James Fox and his Whig following over Pitt's government. [126] The debate gave Mackintosh an opportunity to write and gain recognition as a supporter of Charles James Fox and the Whig party. In an article published for *The Gazeteer* and later re-printed separately, Mackintosh promoted the cause of his boyhood hero. Identifying himself as an Englishman, Mackintosh enacted the 'privilege of an Englishman to enquire freely' into public affairs and performed the 'duty' of informing his 'fellow citizens'.[127] The article drew heavily upon the common notions of the 'freedom' and 'liberty' of the Englishman and of the Constitution of 1688 as a means of protecting that liberty. Mackintosh used it both to claim his validity to speak (thus dis-identifying himself from his

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[121] Bewley and Bewley, *Gentleman Radical.*

[122] *Ibid.,* pp.87-88.

[123] *Ibid.,* p.93; In 1784 the Westminster electorate stood at twelve thousand male citizens who were free from the frequent domination of a great aristocratic family. See Clark, *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution* (Princeton and Oxford, 2004), pp.70-71.

[124] Bewley and Bewley, *Gentleman Radical*, p.94

[125] *Ibid.*

[126] Eric Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783-1870* (Harlow, 2nd ed. 1996), pp.60-61

[127] *Ibid.*

Scottishness) and as a reference point through which to make his argument for a regency. As E.P. Thompson has demonstrated, the idea of the Englishman's liberty served a wide variety of causes and a vast array of voices from working-class radicals to Whigs across the spectrum of whiggism.[128]

Arguing that the Prince of Wales should be promoted to regent until the king regained his health, Mackintosh dismissed the Pittite position that sought to vest the king's power temporally in Parliament. Such as measure, he claimed, would conflate the estates (the monarchy, the Lords and the Commons) and confound their roles. Mackintosh concluded that 'from the moment that the incapacity of the Sovereign to govern is established by constitutional enquiry, from that moment, the Heir Apparent, lying under no disqualification, is *de jure* Regent of these kingdoms, with all the powers of the prerogative undiminished.[129] Any other measure, he claimed, would stand to endanger the Constitution and thereby the peace and harmony of the nation.[130] Published the year before the French Revolution would change the temperature of the debate and in many ways the meaning and the usage of 1688 and English liberties, Mackintosh's argument allowed him to become recognised as an articulate supporter of the Whig position.[131]

Mackintosh's eloquence, intellectual abilities and political leanings had been recognised by his contemporaries and mentors as a young man in Edinburgh. What considerably enabled and strengthened his voice was his physical location, in the heart of London, to the men who had the power to advance him. London provided the thrill of proximity to politics and power during a moment of intense political change and excitement. As Jane Rendall has pointed out, London was also an excellent base from which to travel to Western Europe and Mackintosh made quite frequent trips to France and Belgium before, during and after the Revolution.[132] Imperial historians in particular have noted the importance of London as the

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[128] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* ch.4. See also, James Epstein, 'The Constitutional Idiom: Radical Reasoning, Rhetoric and Action in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Spring, 1990), pp.553-574; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715 –1785* (Cambridge, 1998), ch. 4.
[129] *Arguments Concerning the Constitutional Right of Parliament to Appoint Regency*, London: printed for J Debrett, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly (1788), pp.13-14.
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] For discussion of Mackintosh's whiggism see Jane Rendall, 'The Political Ideas and Activities of Sir James Mackintosh'.
[132] Rendall, 'Scottish Citizens of London', p.6.

financial and political hub of the British empire, whilst social historians have shown how many of the protocols of 'politeness' emanated from London as the centre of fashionable manners.[133]   This was certainly the perception of contemporaries. Returning 'home' from Bombay, Mackintosh marvelled at the size and scale of London's commercial transactions, 'the greatest commercial city of the world' and compared its importance to Paris, which, he wrote in his diary, was 'only a capital'.[134] As Chapter Three will demonstrate, Mackintosh's dreams of living in London from the isolation of Bombay were centred around being 'near enough for me to have access to society and to books'.[135]   Beneath the surface of such seemingly modest demands, however, was the desire to be situated close enough to the news that Mackintosh deemed to be important; to have access and a sense of belonging to a world whose actions and decisions exerted an unparalleled level of power over the lives of an enormous array of people across the globe.[136]

The locality in which Mackintosh and his wife lived and the spaces of London through which they moved are important for thinking about the relationship between sociability, politics and identities.[137] It was often at the level of the neighbourhood that political and social connections were established.   Between 1788 and 1804, Mackintosh spent most of his time when in London in the vicinity of Tottenham Court Road, first near Fitzroy Square and later in Charlotte Street. Like Somer's Town to the north and Bloomsbury to the east, the area in which Mackintosh lived was in the process of rapid development.[138]   Transformations in urban design focussed on allowing for greater mobility, particularly for the middle classes, through certain parts of the city.   Miles Ogborn has shown how the paving and cleaning-up of the streets in Westminster was part of an attempt to create a city

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[133] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1998), p.71. The best illustration of the perception that 'civilisation' emanated from London is in Maria Graham's autobiography. See, Rosamund Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott: The Creator of 'Little Arthur'* (London, 1937), p.16.

[134] BL Add MS 52440, Wednesday 6th November 1811, p.2.

[135] BL Add MS 78769, Mackintosh to Kitty: Tarala Library, Tuesday April 15th 1810, p.15 and Mackintosh to Kitty, 7th February 1811, p.147.

[136] See chapters Three and Four

[137] See James Epstein, 'Spatial Practices/Democratic vistas', *Social History,* vol. 24, No.3 (October, 1999), pp.294-310. For further discussion of Mackintosh's sense of London and social imagination in relationship to space, see chapter three.

[138] 'Tottenham Court Road', *Old and New London: Volume 4* (1878), pp. 467-480. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45208 [24/08/2010]; 'Bloomsbury', *Old and New London: Volume 4* (1878), pp. 480-489. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45209 [24/08/2010].

that would promote commercial and 'civilised' manners.[139] Meanwhile, the opening of the Vauxhall pleasure gardens created a space of consumerism and, alongside it, a site where performances of gender and socio-economic status were displayed and contested.[140] The development of both such spaces afforded an ease of passage, for certain people and goods. In other parts of the metropolis, like the East End of London, the vast, ethnically diverse and often itinerant population of the poor troubled men such as Patrick Colquhoun, who set about counting and classifying in an attempt to impose order.[141]

The Tottenham Court Road area in which Mackintosh lived was reported to have comprised 'low and squalid thoroughfares' mixed with 'some fine streets and handsome squares', populated by artists, scholars and literary people.[142] Although far from being the most elite or wealthy area, Mackintosh's residence allowed him easy access to the theatres on Drury Lane or to the Crown and Anchor tavern on the Strand, where many of the societies and clubs met. Even from this early period there remain glimpses in the archive of Mackintosh's everyday life in London - invitations to dinner or requests for a box at the theatre are interspersed amongst longer letters from further a-field. From the very early period of his residence in London, Mackintosh spent much of his time in taverns where his clubs met, or on the street, canvassing on behalf of Horne Tooke in the elections of 1789. Westminster was walking distance away and, as Mackintosh's son and author of his memoir notes, 'he was frequently among the throng, that crowded Westminster Hall' on the occasion of the Warren Hastings' trial from 1788 and much later as a Member of Parliament himself.[143] From the Highlands, Mackintosh had clung to 'the shreds and fragments of the impeachment [of Warren Hastings] which have reached us in the Scotch papers' and lauded Burke as the 'most wise, the most virtuous and the most eloquent of men'.[144] No longer reliant on irregular newspaper articles and his imagination, living in London enabled Mackintosh to witness the debates, the importance of which he felt so keenly, first-hand.

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[139] Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies 1680-1780* (New York, 1998), pp.114-5.
[140] *Ibid.,* pp.155-7.
[141] John Marriot, *The Other Empire: Metropolis, India and Progress in the Colonial Imagination* (Manchester, 2003), pp.68-9.
[142] 'Tottenham Court Road' in *Old and New London*.
[143] *Memoirs of the Life,* p.45.
[144] NLS Mss 582 : S.N.P.G. Watson autographs: Literary and Scientific, 574-693, Letter 684: James Mackintosh to John Wilde in Edinburgh, Inverness February 26th 1788, p.178.

This world of campaigning, of debates in taverns where his clubs met and discussions amongst more intimate gatherings of friends was one that Mackintosh would later harp back to from his 'exile' in Bombay. His involvement in London's social and political life appears to have represented a sense of belonging to the political, and thereby also the national, community. It is this access to, and engagement with, the 'public' spaces of societies, taverns and coffee houses that Habermas has seen as integral to the development of Western, bourgeois society.[145] Yet as feminist historians have pointed out, access to the 'bourgeois public sphere' was denied to people of different genders, ethnicities and classes.[146] This did not necessarily prevent women or lower class people from exerting extra-Parliamentary political pressure but it did place 'women, servants, the poor and the foreign' in the shadows of the national community.[147] This was played out at the level of day-to-day existences in London. The contrast between the daily lives of James Mackintosh and his second wife, Kitty (née Allen) reveals some of the ways that gender informed people's experiences of the city and the manner in which they lived out their lives. Writing a diary which she kept up only briefly in 1801, Kitty recorded her walks through the Museum gardens, day trips to Vauxhall or Richmond and charitable visits to the Foundling hospital or attendance at the church in Bloomsbury.[148] Yet compared to the whirl-wind social life that her husband sustained, she suggests a relatively solitary existence primarily playing the piano or learning French at home, always burdened by headaches and tiredness.[149] Mackintosh's first wife probably had a different pattern of life. The young couple's financial state being far less secure in the early 1790s, Catharine (née Stuart) may have been rather more busy with domestic affairs and children, perhaps even adding to the income with needlework.

In 1791, the Mackintosh family moved to Little Ealing in Middlesex in order to save money and avoid the 'great expense' of living in London. Whilst

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[145] Geoff Eley, 'Nations Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the 19th century' in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass and London, 1992), pp.290-291.
[146] See, Jane Rendall, 'Women and the Public Sphere', *Gender and History,* vol. 11, no.3 (1999), pp.475-488.
[147] Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Cambridge, 1995), p.237.
[148] BL Add MS 52450, Journal of Catherine Mackintosh 8th June – 28th July 1801, n.p.
[149] Ibid.

Mackintosh wrote the *Vindiciae Gallicae* from their house in Little Ealing, Catharine was obliged to stay by her husband's side as an aide to his concentration and comfort whilst he studied.[150] She spent hours walking through fields with him in the evenings, listening and commenting upon his argument as it unfolded.[151] A suggestion of her influence over her husband is made in a letter written by Mrs Grant whose views on the Highlands were discussed in the first chapter. Catharine was, Grant wrote after Mackintosh's death in 1832, 'as extraordinary a person as himself - perhaps more so. She seemed to know by intuition all that others are taught with care and expense: she understood and drew out his powers, and was distinguished by her clear and sound judgement.'[152] Most traces of Catharine's life and the impact that she certainly would have had upon the argument of the *Vindiciae Gallicae* have been erased, entirely overshadowed as they were by her status as wife and companion. As Anna Clark has illustrated with direct reference to women's participation in 'the public sphere of politics', women were expected to take a role behind their husbands and to confine themselves predominantly within the domestic sphere.[153] The internalisation of these gender roles and ambivalence in relationship to them are evident even in the most vehement critics of the age. Even Mary Wollstonecraft, who did speak up against women's oppression, appears to have been less against the barrier to public participation than the barriers to education and knowledge to which she voiced her objections.[154] Writing to Mackintosh from London in 1810, Kitty Mackintosh imagined her position behind her husband's 'great chair' as he opened his letters and read his mail.[155] Mackintosh's praise for Mrs Taylor, the wife of a Norwich shopkeeper, made clear his own vision of women's roles. It was Mrs Taylor's 'manly wisdom and feminine gentleness' that rendered her universally respected and loved, but that wisdom was placed firmly in the domestic sphere, 'mild and unassuming, quiet and meek, sitting admist her large family, occupied with her needle work and domestic occupations,

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[150] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.23
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] Letter to Mrs Gorman, Dublin, Edinburgh, 23rd March, 1825 in *Memoirs and Correspondence of Mrs Grant of Laggan author of 'Letters from the Mountains', 'memoirs of an American Lady'* edited by her son, J.P Grant in 3 vols. Vol 1 (London, 1844), pp.83-4.
[153] Anna Clark, 'Class, Gender and British Elections, 1794-1818' in *Unrespectable Radicals? Popular Politics in the Age of Reform*, Michael Davis and Paul Pickering (eds) (Aldershot, 2008), pp.107-121.
[154] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Miriam Brody (ed and intro) (London, 2004, first published, 1792).
[155] BL Add MS78769, Kitty to Mackintosh, 21st January 1811, p.137

but always assisting, by her great knowledge, the advancement of kind and dignified sentiment and conduct.'[156]

It was not only women who were forced into the shadows of the 'public sphere'. Across the eighteenth century the pattern and design of London's rapid development reflected the increasing dominance of bourgeois concerns in the structuring of urban space. As lighting, paving, squares, markets, thoroughfares and pleasure gardens were installed, so middle and upper class passages across the city became easier and more secure.[157] At the same time, the poor were being swept towards the East End of the city or into enclaves of poverty. Mackintosh's journeys through London, from Fitzroy Square or Charlotte Street to Westminster or the Strand would have taken him through scenes of desperate poverty and past large numbers of people on the streets who might periodically join 'the mob'.[158] Yet in all his writings on London, Mackintosh never refers to the presence of the poor, except in the most abstract sense of his fear of disorder, as individuals they were almost entirely absent from his conception of the spaces that he inhabited. Indeed, according to John Marriott, the poor increasingly became an eye-soar in the new 'modern' metropolitan, 'the threat posed by beggars to bourgeois space was transcoded to the nation.'[159] At the same time as attempts were being made to remove or hide the poor from London's 'public' spaces, the middle classes were gaining prominence in towns and cities across Europe.[160] They asserted themselves as distinct from the mass of working people, in part through this very process of commissioning public buildings and configuring public space, as well as participating in societies and philanthropic endeavours.[161] In doing so the middle classes claimed the right to be recognised as belonging to the nation. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, it appeared to offer possibilities for reconfiguring their status in society and the nation and to be acknowledged as agents in the progress of the nation.[162]

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[156] *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh,* p.165.

[157] Marriott, *The Other Empire*, p.44.

[158] Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity,* pp.111-115.

[159] Marriott, *The Other Empire,* p.48

[160] Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity,* pp.114-5.

[161] See Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London and New York, 2003).

[162] Warhman, *Imagining the Middle Class,* ch.2.

The decade during which the French Revolution ran a rapid course from the initial demands by the Third Estate for constitutional monarchy, to the widespread violence of September 1793, to war and Napoleonic despotism, could not fail to impact upon its neighbouring country and its widespread empire.[163] Initially, well-established and relatively well-to-do middle-class and Whig radicals in Britain responded with enthusiasm and support for the Third Estate's claim to represent the French nation.[164] Richard Price, a dissenting minister who had voiced his opposition to the American war, came out in support of the French Revolution in a speech given to the Revolution Society in 1789. The speech, which was followed by a message of congratulations to the French National Assembly from the Revolution Society and the SCI, likened the French Revolution to the 'Glorious' Revolution in England a century earlier. Moreover, it linked the struggle of the Third Estate in France to claim a national voice to the perceived need for constitutional reform in Britain itself.[165] Thus, the French Revolution served to revive radical voices and societies that had been lying relatively low since the American colonists declared themselves independent from Britain. Horne Tooke was one such radical voice. Tooke had a history of radicalism that went back to his support for the American agitators for independence and his campaigning for Parliamentary reform in the late 1770s.[166] In 1780, he had founded the Society for Constitutional Information (SCI), a small and largely elite intellectual society aimed at circulating pamphlets in order to provide the middle, and eventually lower, classes access to philosophical, political and historical debates.[167] The Society was dedicated to Parliamentary reform and, with the voice of Major Cartwright added to it in 1780, to universal manhood suffrage.[168] The type of radicalism embodied by the SCI included elite, middle-class and working-class elements, albeit often separately organised. It fed into a tradition of radicalism during the eighteenth century from Wilkes' xenophobic, English radicalism of the 1760s and 1770s, which had called for fiscal and Parliamentary

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[163] For a basic overview of events, see Alan Forrest, *The French Revolution* (Oxford, 1995), ch. 2

[164] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* (Harmondsworth, 1963), p.114.

[165] *A Discourse on the Love of our Country, delivered on Nov. 4, 1789, at the Meeting-House in the Old Jewry, to the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain with an Appendix containing the report of the committee of the society; an account of the population of France and the Declaration of Rights by the National Assembly of France by Richard Price, D.D. L.L.D. F.R.S. and fellow of the American Philosophical Societies at Philadelphia and Boston* (London: 1789); 'Price, Richard (1723-1791), http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/article/22761?docPos=1 [24/08/2010].

[166] See Bewley and Bewley, *Gentleman Radical.*

[167] *Ibid.,* p.81.

[168] George Woodcock, 'The Meaning of Revolution in Britain', *The French Revolution and British Culture*, Ceri Crossley and Ian Small (eds) (Oxford: OUP, 1989), p.14.

reform, to smaller and more disparate societies around the country, including the Robin Hood Society.[169] The political activities of these groups waxed and waned throughout the century. But whilst they often had slightly different agendas, they were invariably reacting to the political and economic circumstances in Britain, Europe and the colonies.

The early days of the French Revolution appeared to confirm the belief that philosophical ideas of progress were inspired by popular actions.   Events in France had sparked a cacophony of political clubs that met to discuss its progress and the nature of the English constitution.[170] Initially, they were largely middle class, with the involvement of a few more aristocratic, radical Whigs who were involved in, or had close access to, Parliament and formed part of the wider ruling classes.[171] The publication of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) was the first and by far the most famous critique of the Revolution itself and the response of its 'English admirers'.[172] Yet as the revolution in France took a more radical course, from constitutional monarchy to republicanism, enthusiasm amongst the middle classes began to wane. The apparent unity of excitement for the Revolution fragmented as those calling for moderate constitutional reform in France lost control of events. Increasingly, the promises that the Revolution held for reform in Britain looked increasingly dangerous. The debate over the French Revolution may have begun as a discussion between circles of middle and upper-class men and women, but by 1792 its impact had spread far wider across the social spectrum. Louis XVI's flight was the catalyst to encouraging more radical republican ideas, mooted by the Jacobin Club in Paris. At this juncture, the publication of Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, shortly before Mackintosh's *Vindiciae Gallicae*, changed the shape of the debate in Britain.

Paine's *Rights of Man*, especially the second part published in 1792, widened participation in the debate over France to include a programme of radical social

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[169] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715 –1785* (Cambridge, 1998), p.216.

[170] For an overview of London's clubs see, Mary Thale, 'London Debating Societies in the 1790s', *The Historical Journal*, vol.32, No.1 (Mar., 1989), pp.57-86.

[171] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.113; Barbara Taylor, *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.146-7.

[172] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (New York, 2006, based on the 'Seventh Edition', 1790).

reform in England, as well as to fundamentally question structures of inequality. As E.P. Thompson argued, the five years during which these discussions thrived 'altered the sub-political attitudes of the people, affected class alignments, and initiated traditions which stretch forward into the present century.'[173] In 1792 the London Corresponding Society (LCS) claimed twenty-thousand members and circulation of Paine's *Rights of Man* may have reached ten times that number.[174] The LCS, of which Thomas Hardy was the secretary, called for constitutional and fiscal reform, redistributing wealth on the lines suggested by Paine.[175] The 'divisions' of the LCS were particularly active in Glasgow, Norwich, Sheffield and London, especially among artisans. Their activity coincided with 'a veritable explosion' of strikes by workers in the shipping industry, tailors, coal-heavers and agricultural workers.[176] Between 1792 and 1798, when the United Irishmen's uprising against English rule was defeated, Paine's ideas, in dialogue with events in France as well as historical grievances, inspired people to organise and assert their rights. At the same time, popular counter-revolutionary movements, encouraged and sometimes funded by government, expressed their loyalty to 'Church and King' by burning Paine in effigy and joining anti-Jacobin societies.[177]

This period of political excitement, radical organising and loyalist backlash was by no means confined to mainland Britain and Ireland. On 19th January 1793, amid refutations of Paine and reports on the horrors unfolding in France, the *Bombay Courier* published a letter from a Mr Alarick, captain of 'The Russian Bear'. According to the report, the ship's crew had been inspired by the egalitarian message in Paine's *Rights of Man* and had determined to make their ship a commonwealth. The pamphlet had been brought on board 'by the cabin boy, who was son to a chandler, who kept a shop in Wapping, and who had bought near one cwt[sic] of them [The *Rights of Man*], as waste paper from the booksellers'.[178] Initially destined to provide the wrapping for pies, the content of the papers was relayed

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[173] *Ibid.,* p.111
[174] Ian Christie, *Wars and Revolution: Britain 1760-1815* (London, 1982), p.225
[175] Edward Royle, *Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the Threat of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848* (Manchester and New York, 2000), p.15
[176] John Stevenson, 'Popular Radicalism and Popular Protest, 1789-1815' in Chris Evans (ed) *Debating the Revolution: Britain in the 1790s* (London, 2006), p.67
[177] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* pp.123-4; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London and New Haven, 2007), pp.291-300; Frank O'Gorman, 'The Paine Burnings of 1792-3', *Past and Present ,* no.193 (2007), pp.111-155.
[178] *Bombay Courier*, Saturday, January 19th, 1793, no.16.

across the ship by 'one of our crew, a black, who could unfortunately read' and its message of equality between men was taken up by the crew who proclaimed themselves equal to their captain.[179] The story did not end there, for the men then took a marble bust of Charles James Fox, bound for St Petersburg along with the woollen merchandise that made up the ship's cargo, and inscribed on it '*Rights of Man* forever' 'a downfall to all crowned heads' and 'may democracy triumph'.[180] Perhaps a rather tall tale, the supposed letter from a Mr Alarick, served as a warning of the dangerous nature of Paine's ideas in the hands of the lower orders. In the context of empire, the dangers perceived to be posed by the lower orders in general intersected with concerns about race. It was the black man who relayed the message, whilst the (presumably white) cabin boy was represented as a mere innocent deliverer.[181]

Back in mainland Britain, despite widespread counter-revolutionary demonstrations, Paineite radicals from across the social spectrum (primarily artisan, wage-earners and small tradesmen) were becoming more audacious. In December 1792, and again in December 1793, the Scottish Friends of the People summoned a Convention, using the terminology associated with both the overthrow of James VII and II and with the French Constitution of 1792.[182] Both meetings resulted in arrests and transportations, the first included the Scottish leader Thomas Muir, the second, Joseph Gerrald and Maurice Margarot, the two delegates sent to represent the LCS and the Norwich Corresponding Society.[183] The arrest and ultimate transportation of Joseph Gerrald, son of a wealthy planter in the West Indies, came as a heavy blow to Mackintosh and his circle of friends. The radicalism of the social circles that Mackintosh occupied during the first few years of the French Revolution varied from individual to individual and changed in relation to the political climate in both France and Britain. A warning from Dr Parr suggests that Mackintosh's own radicalism came close to that of Gerrald, although the extent of his involvement in the London Corresponding Society is not clear. Released on bail

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[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.
[181] For further discussion about the intersection of race and class see Chapter Three.
[182] Royle, *Revolutionnary Britannia?,* p.17.
[183] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* pp.138-9. Woodcock , 'The Meaning of the French Revolution in Britain', p.24.

after his arrest, Gerrald was, Mackintosh later wrote, 'an inmate for many months in my small house which scarce contained my own family.'[184]

Whilst sheltering Gerrald, Mackintosh was also involved in the establishment of yet another society, aimed at joining opposition Whigs to moderate reformers and deflecting more radical opinion and agitation.[185] The 'Society for the Friends of the People' was careful to speak the language and principles of respectability. Its membership was limited by ballot and comprised men of intellectual repute such as John Millar, and long-standing Whigs such as Philip Francis and Thomas Erskine, who was soon to acquit his more radical compatriots from the charge of treason.[186] At a charge of two and half guineas it was well beyond the pockets of most people. In addition to the restriction imposed by cost, the society still felt the need to further emphasise its respectability and credibility by quoting authorities from Blackstone to Pitt to Locke, in order to show that 'we are not aiming at reforms unthought of by wise and virtuous men.'[187] It aimed 'not to replace but to restore, not to displace but to reinstate the Constitution upon its true principles and original grounds' by restoring 'the freedom of election and a more equal representation of the people in Parliament' and securing to 'the people a more frequent exercise of their right of electing their representatives.' [188] The Society thus proposed gradual reform to revive the spirit of the Constitution against those who 'are no enemies to gradual decay.'[189] According to his son and editor of his memoir, Mackintosh acted as secretary and principal author of the Society's declaration.[190] Whilst the former claim is not supported by the Proceedings, the latter is convincing for the declaration echoes precisely the sentiments expressed in his *Vindiciae Gallicae*, published a year earlier in 1791.

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[184] BL Add MS 78765, JM to Philips, Bombay 17th October 1806, p.83.

[185] *Memoirs of the Life,* vol. 1 p.79.

[186] 'Proceedings of the Society of the Friends of the People associated for the purpose of Obtaining Parliamentary Reform in the year 1792. Printed for Mr Westley opposite St-Clement's Church, Strand, 1793 (price 1 shilling)', p.4. For Erskine and the 1794 treason trials see, John Barrell, *Imagining the Kiing's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-96* (Oxford and New York, 2000), pp.328-364.

[187] 'Proceedings', p.12.

[188] Ibid., p.14 and p.4.

[189] Ibid.,p.15.

[190] *Memoirs of the Life*, vol. 1, p.80.

The *Vindiciae Gallicae*: imagining the nation

Despite the fact that in 1790 James Mackintosh and Catharine had moved away from the hustle and bustle of London, to a quiet village in Middlesex, there was no escaping the dramatic events that were taking place in France and the tremors of fear and excitement that they were causing in Britain. Writing to Sharp from Bombay in 1806, Mackintosh reflected back on the period of his life since 1789 claiming that 'the Revolution continued so much to occupy my thoughts that I could not help constantly exercising my judgement on it. I could not forget it nor shut my ears on its events.'[191] In the midst of a law degree for which he had registered at Lincolns' Inn in 1790, Mackintosh spent much of his time juggling his studies with the composition of an ambitious response to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Like many of his radical and liberal Whig contemporaries, Mackintosh was outraged by Burke's denouncement of the French Revolution and his declamation against Richard Price. In 'A Discourse on the Love of our Country', given to the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain, Price had enjoined his audience to act to redress the grievances in their own country. These grievances – particularly lack of representation in Parliament and prohibitions on dissenters through the Test Laws – were the result, he claimed, of the unfinished nature of the Revolution of 1688.[192] Price proclaimed that it was the duty of his fellow countrymen, as patriots, to seize and further the principles that had been asserted a century ago: 'the right to liberty of conscience in religious matters', 'the right to resist power when abused' and the 'right to chuse[sic] our own governors, to cashier them for misconduct, and to frame a government for ourselves.'[193]

It was to this final assertion, and to the Society's statement of support for the National Assembly, that Burke raised his primary objections. The main body of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) discussed the reasons why the French revolutionary state, founded on philosophic principles rather than 'ancient' wisdom, was destined for disaster. Although ostensibly written as a letter to a young gentlemen in Paris who had asked for Burke's thoughts, across his *Reflections*

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[191] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, 9th December 1806, p.27
[192] Price, 'A Discourse on the Love of our Country' pp.35-39.
[193] Ibid., p.34.

Burke directly addressed the leaders of the National Assembly, who he labelled as 'obscure provincial advocates', 'the fomenters and conductors of the petty war of village vexation'.[194] Lacking 'respectability', these new leaders would, Burke claimed, soon come to rule through troops and fear. France's new government was endeavouring to create a society based upon the 'fruits of metaphysic declarations wantonly made' with a 'spirit of innovation', rather than upon the wisdom and experience of forefathers.[195] The result, he predicted, would be 'massacre, torture, hanging'. With terrifyingly accurate foresight he addressed the revolutionaries: 'you lay down metaphysic propositions which infer universal consequences, and then you attempt to limit logic by despotism.'[196] For Edmund Burke, the alternative and the only stable path of governance was embodied in the British constitution. It was not through metaphysics and innovative models that society could be governed and liberty ensured. Liberty was an 'entailed inheritance derived from us to our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity', self-respect was achievable only through respect for ancestry. This, however, required that one possess an ancestry that was 'respectably composed, in point of condition in life, of permanent property, of education.'[197]

In pamphlets, tracts and newspapers, especially after the publication of Burke's *Reflections*, men and women took up their pens to discuss the implications and possibilities that the Revolution held for Britain. Mackintosh's voice was one amongst numerous others who wrote support of the revolution from various different angles. In his *Vindiciae Gallicae: a defence of the French Revolution and its English Admirers* (1791), Mackintosh argued in favour of the actions of the French revolutionaries and the support offered by the Revolution Society in England. Published shortly after Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* had radicalised the debate, the *Vindiciae Gallicae* gained popularity as a middle-ground between Burke and Paine, and was taken up by those who were cautious of pushing political inclusion and constitutional reform too far. Mackintosh began by defining the revolutionary nature of the events in France and arguing for the necessity of a revolution, rather

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[194] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (New York, 2006, based on the 'Seventh Edition', 1790), p.40.
[195] *Ibid.,* pp.224-5
[196] *Ibid.*, p.225
[197] *Ibid.,*, pp.33-39.

than reforms that would only have 'lulled [the nation] into complacent servitude.'[198] Mackintosh located three moments that together comprised the Revolution - the king's recognition of the rights of the States General to a share in the legislation, the union of the three orders and the formation of a new Constitution.[199] His pamphlet then continued by addressing the measures that the National Assembly had taken, particularly in relationship to the Clergy and the Nobility –'the strongest fortresses and most faithful troops of her adversary'.[200] These two bodies, Mackintosh claimed, were dangerous to liberty. Church land, he argued, 'destined for the support of public servants' was inalienable, no individual priest or the priesthood as the 'Corporation, endowed by the country' could own it; priests were salaried employees of the state.[201] If the belief that Church lands were owned by Church was in error, so too was the idea that hereditary titles of the nobility were indispensable, universal or ancient. A titled nobility, Mackintosh claimed, was 'equally unknown to the splendid Monarchies of Asia, and to the manly simplicity of the ancient Commonwealths.'[202]

Comparing the priesthood's claims to exercise authority over Church lands to the hypothetical scenario of seamen claiming the property of a fleet which they manned, Mackintosh implied a very radical levelling that is suggested, albeit inconsistently and ambivalently, throughout the *Vindiciae Gallicae*.[203] Mackintosh's justification of both the dispelling of titles - those 'Gothic ornaments' that signified inequality - and the confiscation of Church lands, drew on the stadial theory he had learnt from his Scottish teachers.[204] One key aspect of stadial theory was the idea that different stages of society corresponded to different relations of economic exchange. Invoking this model, Mackintosh argued that payment by the state to its

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[198] James Mackintosh, 'Vindiciae Gallicae: Defence of the French Revolution and Its English Admirers Against the Accusations of the Right Honorable William Edmund Burke; Including Some Strictures on the Late Production of Mons. De Calonne' (London, 1791) in *Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, Donald Winch (ed and intro) (Indianapolis, 2006), p.22.
[199] Ibid., p.12
[200] Ibid., p.46
[201] Ibid., pp.40-1
[202] Ibid., pp.36-7
[203] For more information on the ambivalences and intellectual inheritances in the *Vindiciae Gallicae* see Knud Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1996), ch.8 ; Marcel Isnard, 'Vindiciae Gallicae Revisited', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, vol 19, The French Revolution in English Literature and Art, special number (1989), pp.219-230; William Christian, 'James Mackintosh, Edmund Burke and the Cause of Reform', *Eighteenth century Studies,* vol.7, no.2 (Winter, 1973-4), pp.193-206.
[204] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae*, p.37

servants, in which he included priests and kings, was 'in rude ages by land, and in cultivated periods by money'.[205] Yet it was not only in the specific arguments made in defence of the Revolution that Mackintosh drew on his Scottish education. As Knud Haakonssen has shown, the *Vindiciae Gallicae* was pervaded with Scottish moral philosophy and conjectural history alongside a republican tradition and an idea of natural rights.[206] In contrast to Burke's analysis that focussed on 'bodies and individuals', Mackintosh claimed not to 'narrate events, but to seize their spirit and mark their influence on the political progress from which the Revolution was to arise.'[207] The Revolution, he claimed, was 'operated only by general causes, where the most conspicuous individual produced little real effect.'[208] Following Scottish moral philosophy by talking about movements rather than events, Mackintosh directly referenced Hume when he stated that 'the actions of great bodies must ever be ascribed to general causes'.[209]

Across the *Vindiciae Gallicae* Mackintosh saw these 'general causes' that effected movements as framed by, if not tanatamount to, what he frequently referred to as the 'national spirit'. For Mackintosh, the French Revolution represented the rising of 'the people', of French 'citizens', of the 'national spirit' against a despotic monarchy that had become the weak puppet of a 'cabal'. Disobedience by the soldier-citizens and by the people in cities across France represented 'nothing but sympathy with the national spirit.'[210] Mackintosh distinguished between the soldier-citizens who deserted from the King's army or disobeyed orders to shoot and the 'hordes of foreign mercenaries … from the remotest provinces' who surrounded Paris and Versailles to quell the revolution.[211] Whereas Burke had claimed that the former were merely 'base hireling deserters' who had switched allegiance for better pay, Mackintosh interpreted their actions as patriotic and therefore belonging to the nation itself.[212] This debate over the nature of the rebel soldiery and their belonging to the nation provides just one example of the much broader question of inclusion in the nation that runs across the *Vindiciae*

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[205] *Ibid.*, p.40. See Rendall, *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment,* pp.176-180.
[206] Haarkonssen, *Natural Law*, pp.265-66.
[207] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae.*, p.38.
[208] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[209] *Ibid.*, p.55.
[210] *Ibid.*, p.27.
[211] *Ibid.*. pp.26-7.
[212] *Ibid.*., p.26.

Gallicae in particular, and the debate over the French Revolution in general. The critics of Edmund Burke's response to the French Revolution and the English reformers, including Mackintosh, Wollstonecraft and Paine, had in common a disagreement with Burke's interpretation of the nation's history. Inherent within this interpretation was the question of who was included in that history and in what capacity they belonged to both the nation's past and its future. This theme constituted an integral aspect of the debate over the French Revolution and merits further discussion in the light of Mackintosh's own views regarding history and inheritance.

In what is probably the best-known part of his argument against the French revolution, Burke scolds the revolutionaries for dismissing their history and for acting 'as if you had never been moulded into civil society, and had every thing to begin anew.'[213] Whilst the French constitution had 'suffered waste and dilapidation', yet, he wrote, 'you possessed in some parts the walls, and in all the foundations of a noble and venerable castle. You might have repaired those walls; you might have built on those old foundations.'[214] For Burke, history laid the foundations for a nation's stability, it embodied the partnership between the present, the past and the future that made up society.[215] Of the three critics of Burke discussed here, it was Paine who had the widest impact and the most radically iconoclastic attitude towards the past. Where Burke had privileged ancestry and inheritance, Paine denied the validity of 'referring to musty records and mouldy parchments'.[216] Basing his claims on universal and original rights, he blamed the course of history for the debasing and barbarisation of men. Where for Burke the nobility 'is a graceful ornament to the civil order', to Paine it represented a means of 'distortedly exalting some men, that others are distortedly debased.'[217] Paine's argument echoed a similar approach to that which Wollstonecraft had taken in her *Vindication of the Rights of Men*, published in 1790. Wollstonecraft argued against Burke's reverence for 'unnatural customs, which ignorance and mistaken self-interest have consolidated,

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[213] Burke, *Reflections,* p.33.
[214] *Ibid.,* p.33.
[215] *Ibid.,* p.96.
[216] *The Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr Burke's Attack on the French Revolution by Thomas Paine,* Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner (ed) and G.D.H. Cole (intro), (London, 1937, 1st published 1791).p.8.
[217] Burke, *Reflections ,* pp.139-40; Paine, *Rights of Man,* p.23

the sage fruit of experience.'[218] Both critiques denied the validity of viewing British history as a 'liberal descent' that 'inspires us with a sense of habitual native dignity' and saw Burke's argument as reverence for 'the rust of antiquity'.[219] Rather than looking to British history, to the Magna Charta and to 'ages when a few marks were the only penalty imposed for the life of a man, and death for death when the property of the rich was touched', both Paine and Wollstonecraft returned to 'the divine origin of the Rights of Man'.[220]

Mackintosh's own response relied less on recourse to a theory of natural rights, and more on the conjectural history that he had been taught as an adolescent.[221] Mackintosh claimed that it was not for continuity, respectability or ancestral wisdom that one studied history. Rather, the past offered a vast array of evidence, 'the testimony of ages and nations', from which to gauge the 'general principles which regulate the mechanism of society'.[222] Mackintosh wrote of history as 'an immense collection of experiments on the nature and effect of the various parts of various Governments.'[223] History became a testing ground, a theoretically open book, to which anybody who could read had access and from which the laws of society could be understood. For Mackintosh, Burke's claim that the nation's prosperity was based upon inheritance suggested that, 'our right to freedom depended on its possession by our ancestors.'[224] Instead, he argued, freedom should be enshrined within a constitution not because of its 'possession by our ancestors' but because 'Reason', 'Justice' and 'God' determined that it was right: 'It is not because we have been free, but because we have a right to be free, that we ought to demand freedom.'[225]

The cry of 'gothic ornamentation' in Wollstonecraft, Paine and Mackintosh's writings represented a wider critique of Burke's approach to history and nation as lacking in reason and logical argument. 'I perceive from the whole

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[218]Mary Wollstonecraft, 'A Vindication of the Rights of Men in a Letter to the right honourable Edmund Burke occasioned by his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* by Mary Wollstonecraft,' 2nd ed (London: J. Johnson, 1790), p.9-10.
[219] *Ibid.,* p.9.
[220] *Ibid.,* p.20; Paine, *Rights of Man,* p.30.
[221] Although, as Knud Haakonssen points out, Mackintosh did have occasional recourse to natural rights theory. Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy*, p.265.
[222] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae,* p.51.
[223] *Ibid.,* p.50
[224] *Ibid.,* p.133
[225] *Ibid.,* p.133.

tenor of your *Reflections* ', wrote Wollstonecraft to Burke, 'that you have a mortal antipathy to reason'.[226] The lack of 'Reason' in Burke's argument went right to the core of what the French Revolution and, Mackintosh and Price argued, the English Revolution in 1688, stood for in principle. The very form of Burke's *Reflections* signified the problems inherent to the pre-Revolutionary, aristocratic governance of France. Rather than approach his subject with 'reason', Mackintosh claimed that Burke had employed his 'fancy' to envisage France as a country 'peopled only with plots, assassinations, and massacres, and all the brood of dire chimeras which are the offspring of a prolific imagination, goaded by an ardent and deluded sensibility.'[227] By denouncing Burke's lack of rationality and self-control, Mackintosh accused his subject of an arbitrariness that amounted, in a number of different and interconnected ways, to despotism. By stating that the 'cause seemed decided without discussion', Mackintosh suggested a lack of fair trial, an accusation that struck one of the fundamental cornerstones of so-called 'English liberty'.[228] Secondly, Mackintosh claimed that Burke's argument, 'cloathed in the most rich and various imagery' served as a means of intentionally duping the 'common man'.[229] Likening Burke's style of argument to despotic rule, where ornament and splendour served to obscure the oppression of freedom, Mackintosh claimed that Burke's sensibility and sympathy was allied only to the aristocracy.[230] 'The sensibility which seems scared by the homely miseries of the vulgar, is attracted only by the splendid sorrows of royalty, and agonises at the slenderest pang that assails the heart of sottishness or prostitution, if they are placed by fortune on a throne.'[231]

Common to both Mackintosh and Burke was the assumption that the right to speak on behalf of the nation had to be earned. Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) had begun by discrediting not only the actions of the Revolution Society and SCI towards the National Assembly in France but also the reputations and social standing of the men who belonged to the two societies. Referring to the SCI as a 'poor charitable club' Burke dismissed the club, as he claimed the National

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[226] Wollstonecraft, *Vindication … Men*, p.9.
[227] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae*, pp.6-7.
[228] *Ibid.*,, p.6.
[229] *Ibid.*, p.7
[230] *Ibid.*, p.7
[231] *Ibid.*, p.7

Assembly had dismissed it, as of no 'serious consequence'.[232] The Revolution Society was, Burke wrote, 'a club of dissenters, but of what denomination I know not' but one that until recently he had not heard of and 'I am quite sure that it never occupied a moment of my thoughts; nor, I believe those of any person out of their own set.'[233] By extending their support for the French Revolution and through the National Assembly's acceptance of that support and its expressions of gratitude for it, however, the Revolution Society had become renowned as 'a kind of privileged persons; as no inconsiderable members in the diplomatic body'.[234] Through their actions they had assumed the status of a 'committee in England for extending the principles of the National Assembly.'[235] This, according to Burke, was unacceptable. It gave 'splendour to obscurity, and distinction to undiscerned merit' and allowed an obscure club to act in a 'sort of public capacity'.[236] Yet if for Burke this right came about as a result of ancestry and the inheritance of wisdom, for Mackintosh the right to speak was premised on the ability to reason. In fact, Mackintosh had begun his *Vindiciae Gallicae* in a very similar manner to that employed by Burke to attack Dr Price and the Revolution Society – he discredited the character and thereby the opinions of his detractor. But where Burke had focussed on the obscurity, impertinence and thereby the status of the Revolution Society, Mackintosh focussed on the irrationality and emotionality of Burke's 'epistolary effusion'.[237]

That the English debate over the French Revolution erupted in and around one of London's many societies is reflective of some of the social changes that provided the catalyst for revolution. Across the eighteenth century, men-only clubs and societies were increasingly prevalent in capital cities and provincial towns across Britain and Europe. Discussing all varieties of subjects from science to arts, these societies also often provided men with an opportunity to debate and organise around the political issues of the day. Increasingly, clubs comprised men from the middle classes, merchants, traders, businessmen and artisans, often dissenters, whose participation in politics was limited by the geographical imbalances of the

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[232] Burke, *Reflections* , p.2
[233] *Ibid.*, p.3
[234] *Ibid..*, p.3
[235] *Ibid.*, p.3
[236] *Ibid.*, p.3
[237] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae*, p.6

franchise and the barring of dissenters from holding office. Yet these men were growing in wealth and prosperity, thirsty for knowledge and improvement and increasingly confident of their importance to the prosperity of the nation.[238] In this conviction they had the endorsement of the Scottish philosophers, most famously Adam Smith and David Hume, who located the force of historical progress in commerce and the commercial classes. As mentioned in the previous section, many Scottish Enlightenment thinkers saw men's social and debating clubs as a channel through which 'civilised' manners could be promoted and the progress and state of the nation improved. Through their involvement in clubs and societies, middle-class and working-class men could assert their voices and stake their right to a recognised position as direct agents in the progress of the nation. It was therefore not surprising that in the early years of the French Revolution, when the Third Estate claimed to represent the nation, that societies and clubs in Britain voiced their own claims.

Thus, Burke's objection to what he saw as the role assumed by the Revolution Society went to the very heart of contemporary ruling-class fears concerning the growing power and assertiveness of the middle classes. The 'obscurity' of the Revolution Society and, later, of the men who comprised the National Assembly in France, was contrasted with the 'inheritance' of wisdom that was embodied in the English constitution. Obscurity was not conducive to respect for property or the stability of the nation.[239] The rulers of the nation needed to be 'filled with every thing illustrious in rank, in descent, in hereditary and in acquired opulence' in order for them to form a 'comprehensive connected view of the various complicated external and internal interests which go to the formation of that multifarious thing called a state.'[240] It was a sentiment that Mackintosh, in the process of trying to sell his estate and having turned his back on the Highlands, clearly did not share. For Mackintosh at this moment in his own life, 'inheritance' represented neither an emotional attachment nor wisdom. Converted into cash, it offered a means of escaping ties of kinship that were located in a space that he, like others, deemed backwards and superstitious.[241] In many ways, the aggression in his

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[238] See Jenny Uglow, *The Lunar Men: The Friends who made the Future, 1730-1810* (London, 2002).
[239] Burke, *Reflections,* p.39
[240] *Ibid.*, p.42
[241] See Chapter One.

response to Burke reflects the ruthless dismissal of his own ancestry, which, in the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, was framed as a dismissal of sentimentality in history itself. 'It was time', Mackintosh proclaimed, 'that men should learn to tolerate nothing ancient that reason does not respect, and to shrink from no novelty to which reason may conduct.'[242]

The debate over the French Revolution in Britain was focussed on the extent to which men below the level of the aristocracy and those of different denominations of Christianity had a right to a voice in the running of the country. Radicals and reformers demanded constitutional changes, calling for an end to electoral corruption and for the right to vote to be extended to middle-class men, and in more radical circles for universal manhood suffrage. This debate about political inclusion slipped into discussions of citizenship, patriotism and national belonging; it was one's patriotic duty, Price had claimed, to ensure that the principles of 1688 were brought to fruition.[243] Across this debate, therefore, and particularly with the publication of Paine's *Rights of Man*, questioning the English Constitution meant questioning the boundaries of inclusion in the nation itself.[244] As Catherine Hall has argued, the idea of the nation 'depended on the construction of an imagined entity, a political and social body, held together on the basis of a series of inclusions and exclusions of different groups'.[245] Taking place at a moment of rupture and instability, the debate over the French Revolution offers a glimpse into the ways in which those inclusions and exclusions were conceptualised.

Between Burke and his critics lay a difference in determining where the 'nation' was situated and who constituted 'the people'. For Mackintosh, it was the 'middle ranks' - 'among whom almost all the sense and virtue of society reside'[246] – who best represented the nation and had a claim to act as agents in its future course. This conviction was partly based upon the Smithian idea that trade and commerce drove the prosperity of the nation. It was commerce that was responsible for 'liberalising the modern world' and commercial men, the 'monied interest' who

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[242] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae*, p.52
[243] Price, 'Discourse on the Love of our Country', pp.43-4.
[244] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* p.110.
[245] Hall 'The Rule of Difference' in *Gendered Nations*, p.110
[246] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae,* p.58.

formed the backbone of the Whigs.[247] In contrast, Burke feared for the dominance of the town over the countryside, a fear that Mackintosh linked to a Tory sensibility.[248] 'France', Burke wrote, 'will be wholly governed by the agitators in corporations, by societies in the towns … composing an ignoble oligarchy founded on the destruction of the crown, the church, the nobility, and the people.'[249] Where, for Mackintosh, Wollstonecraft and Paine, it was the aristocracy who were ruining the nation and acting as despots, Burke denied that the 'nobility had any considerable share in the oppression of the people' and upheld their right to 'be too tenacious of those privileges' that had been bestowed upon them by the 'laws, opinions and inveterate usages of our country.'[250] For Burke it was the 'literary cabal', allied with the 'monied interest' who in France had become the 'demagogues' and who threatened stability in Britain.[251]

In order to give content and meaning to these different socio-economic groups, Wollstonecraft, Mackintosh and Paine drew on gendered and racialised imageries, associating the aristocracy with 'effeminacy' and oriental 'degeneracy'. In *A Vindiciation of the Rights of Men* Wollstonecraft wrote of the 'emasculation by hereditary effeminacy' that led those 'profligates of rank' to know little of 'the human heart and of legislation'.[252] Across Wollstonecraft's pamphlet, 'manliness' denoted understanding, reason, virtue and liberty in contrast to the privileges inherited by the nobility that had rendered it an effeminate, 'artificial monster.'[253] Like Wollstonecraft, Mackintosh saw 'understanding' as a 'manly' quality. Representing Burke's speech as an embodiment of the aristocratic character whose power he sought to maintain, Mackintosh used gendered imagery to discredit both the form and content of Burke's argument. Explaining the 'popular excesses' that had accompanied the early stages of the Revolution in France, Mackintosh spoke of the 'manly and expanded humanity' that, 'in the great affairs of men' enabled the 'friends of freedom' to discern and follow 'the object of general happiness' without fear of 'partial and incidental evil'.[254] Whilst he, along with the 'friends of freedom',

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[247] *Ibid.,* p.61.
[248] *Ibid.,* p.63.
[249] Burke, *Reflections*, p.197. Emphasis my own.
[250] *Ibid.,* p.130
[251] *Ibid.,* p.112
[252] Wollstonecraft, *Vindiciation… Men,* pp.97-8
[253] *Ibid.*, p.12
[254] Mackintosh,*Vindiciae Gallicae*, p.74

deplored the 'popular' excesses that accompanied the French Revolution – borne of 'womanish and complexional' sensibility, their own 'manly' humanity offered indulgence to the perpetrators and recognised their actions as the fleeting bi-products of an event as immense as the felling of despotism.[255] Describing the 'popular' excesses as 'womanish', Mackintosh associated irrationality and passion with the character of women and reason, virtue and humanity as belonging to men.

In the *Vindication*, Wollstonecraft first introduced the argument against the notion that women should be 'little, smooth, delicate, fair creatures' that she would expand upon in her more famous *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792).[256] For Wollstonecraft, 'manliness' was less about the 'innate' qualities that derived from sex and more a quality that men, by 'enslaving' and 'debasing' women, had reserved for themselves. Although, as Barbara Taylor has illustrated, Wollstonecraft left little room for positive expressions of gender difference and almost seems to want to abolish 'women' and certainly femininity entirely, her argument resolutely denied that 'manly' qualities were restricted to men.[257] Like Mackintosh who referred to women such as Madame de Stael as 'manly', Wollstonecraft applied masculine adjectives to describe women's intelligence and wisdom[258] Neither were 'manly' qualities necessarily present in all men. Wollstonecraft likened the praise that Louis XVI received for the graciousness of his figure, his beauty and 'the sound of his voice, noble and affecting' to the demeaning manner in which women were complimented for 'frivolous' qualities.[259] In the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, Mackintosh mixed sartorial imagery in his critique of Burke's argument as a sign of luxury and superficiality. In a passage that resonates with critiques of Macaroni attire, Mackintosh declared that Burke's *Reflections* , was 'cloathed in the most rich and various imagery, and aided by the most pathetic and picturesque description.'[260] As Miles Ogborn has noted with reference to 'Macaronis', aristocratic luxury and conspicuous consumption was deemed effeminate.[261] Presented as 'un-English' and un-patriotic, aristocracy and aristocratic refinement was contrasted with the manliness both of the middle classes and of the nation itself.

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[255] *Ibid.*, p.74

[256] Wollstonecraft, *Vindication … Men*, p.115.

[257] Barbara Taylor, *Mary Wollstonecraft*, p.13.

[258] See Chapter Four.

[259] Wollstonecraft, *Vindication .. Women*, p.76-7

[260] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae*, p.6.

[261] Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity,* pp.141-2.

Yet if notions of 'effeminacy' and 'womanish' behaviour were used to describe the nobility and to exclude them from the national imaginary, how did such gendered imagery impact upon the perceived role of women in the nation? Both Mackintosh and Wollstonecraft believed that it was possible, and in the case of the latter, desirable, for women to be 'manly'. Mackintosh referred to the 'manly wisdom' of Mrs Taylor in Norwich but placed her firmly in the domestic sphere.[262] Wollstonecraft, although more ambivalent as to what women's roles and aspirations should be, justified the need for women's education in terms of the importance of their roles as mothers and educators in the home.[263] Yet whilst Mackintosh focussed entirely upon the middle classes as an example of virtue, Wollstonecraft aimed her critique rather more ambiguously at those 'civilised' women who had become 'weakened by false refinement'.[264] Their relentless 'flitting' from pleasure to pleasure was in stark contrast to the firmly rooted stability of the responsible wife and mother. Instead, Wollstonecraft looked to poorer women as the ideal home-makers. In an image that conflated the two separate curses placed upon Adam and Eve, Wollstonecraft held up as an example to 'civilised' women those women who, by the 'sweat of their brow', laboured to 'keep together families that the vices of the fathers would have scattered abroad'.[265]

In *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Wollstonecraft critiqued 'civilised' women for pursuing 'thoughts that turn on things calculated to excite emotion' rather than being focussed on 'the end in view.'[266] Her point echoes Mackintosh's definition of manliness, discussed above, as having the ability to see beyond the frivolous and ephemeral. For both writers the proper focus of attention, a focus that encouraged 'public virtue', was the nation and its 'private' counterpart, the home.[267] The inter-relationship between home and nation drew on a particular

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[262] See above, p.113.

[263] Wollstonecraft, *Vindication … Women*, p.64.

[264] *Ibid.*, p.78.

[265] *Ibid.*, p.98 italics mine

[266] *Ibid.*, p.78

[267] For discussion of 'public virtue' and the 'private' sphere see Geoff Eley, 'Nations, Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the 19th century', p.309; Hall and Davidoff, *Family Fortunes : Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London, 1987); Davidoff 'Regarding some 'old husbands' tales': Public and Private in Feminist History' in Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.227-240; Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronologies of Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36, 2 (1993), pp.383-414; Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, 'Introduction' in *At Home*

model of society that Mackintosh, as discussed in the first section, learnt from his Scottish enlightenment teachers. The ideal of monogamous marriage, of the suppression of the 'passions' for the purpose of the public and national good have all been encountered in Dunbar's *Essays*. They were lessons that Mackintosh drew on when he claimed that Burke possessed a 'sensibility which seems scared by the homely miseries of the vulgar'.[268] The moral implications of this accusation were made clear when Mackintosh continued, stating that such a sensibility 'is attracted only by the splendid sorrows of royalty, and agonises at the slenderest pang that assails the heart of sottishness or prostitution, if they are placed by fortune on a throne.'[269] In this passage, the association of sexual licence and promiscuity with aristocratic values was contrasted with the homeliness and implicit chasteness of the 'vulgar'. Unable and unwilling to see the sufferings of the people, Burke was blinded by the 'splendid sorrows' of an elite few. His allegiance thus lay with an 'effeminate' and degenerate aristocracy rather than a 'manly' and virtuous nation.

By representing the aristocracy as effeminate in contrast to an implicitly 'manly' nation, Mackintosh and Wollstonecraft placed aristocracy and femininity in the same conceptual frame as 'foreign', 'degenerate' and subjugated nations. This was reinforced by images of Islam, India and the East that both Wollstonecraft and Mackintosh drew upon to make their arguments. Wollstonecraft placed Burke's argument for the legitimacy of hereditary titles in the same strain as Brahmin justifications 'that a man ought never to quit the cast that confined him to the profession of his lineal fathers.'[270] Associating Burke's argument with Brahmin justifications for the maintenance of the caste system, Wollstonecraft stated that Brahmins would surely find it very 'convenient, and consequently legal' to continue debasing men.[271] By likening Burke to Indian Brahmins, or likening Milton's claim that 'women are formed for softness and sweet attractive grace' to what she claimed was the 'Mahometan' belief that women had no souls, Wollstonecraft expelled these values from her conception of the nation.[272] Mackintosh, too, employed notions of Eastern despotism to illustrate the French king's distance from his own nation. 'He

with the Empire; Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World, Sonya Rose and Catherine Hall (eds) (Cambridge, 2006), p.24.

[268] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae,* p.7.

[269] *Ibid.*, p.7

[270] Wollstonecraft, *Vindication … Men,* p.130.

[271] *Ibid.,* p.130.

[272] Wollstonecraft, *Vindication … Women*, p.28.

spoke not as the chief of a free nation to its sovereign Legislature, but as a Sultan to his Divan.'[273]   The aristocratic character and style of government, heavily inflected by gendered notions of 'effeminacy' and a racialised imagery of oriental despotism and brahminical tyranny, placed the nobility outside the nation. As Chapter Three will further illustrate, this strategy also excluded peoples and practices associated with 'the East' from any inclusion in the idea of Britain or 'European civilisation'.

In his 'Discourse on the love of our country', Dr Price had distinguished between the 'love of domination, a desire of conquest, and a thirst for grandeur and glory, by extending territory and enslaving surrounding countries' from that love which was 'ardent' but not 'exclusive'. Whilst the primary attachment should be to one's country yet, Price had claimed, 'we ought to consider ourselves as citizens of the world, and take care to maintain a just regard to the rights of other countries.'[274] In the excitement and fervour of the first few years of the French Revolution, the dramatic advance of 'civilisation' as a whole, and particularly in England and France, appeared imminent. Imagined and discussed on the national scale that idea of 'civilisation' and progress was far from avoiding the exclusivity of which Mackintosh had accused Burke. Drawing on the lessons that he was taught as a youth, the 'public man of virtue' whose masculinity and character informed the character of both the nation and 'civilisation' itself was not drawn from the ranks of aristocracy and inherited wealth. Yet neither was it the case that any person could perform such a character or a role. Ultimately, 'civilisation' and the nations to which the concept was attached, was imagined and embodied in the white, European, male. As Burke's fears and predictions appeared to be borne out across the 1790s, however, hopes for the progress of 'civilisation' based upon philosophic principles faded in to disrepute.

Conclusion: 'To shed my blood in defence of the laws and constitution of my country'

Less than a year after the publication of the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, in March 1792, Dr Parr found himself in the terrifying situation of having to pack his books and flee for fear that the mob would burn down his house. Writing to Mackintosh he

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[273] Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae,* p.24.
[274] Price, 'Discourse on the Love of our Country', p.10

described two 'unknown and not ill dressed men' who had stopped at his gate as his servants and students were loading up his books. The two men 'let loose the most savage mockery at my distress, swore that they would discover the place of refuge I was seeking for my books; that they would bring them back for destruction; that they would tell the rioters at Birmingham', insinuating that he would suffer the same fate as that of Joseph Priestley, whose house was burned down by a Church and King mob in Birmingham.[275] Even before Gerrald, a favourite student of Parr's, was arrested at the Scottish Convention in April 1793, Parr was warning Mackintosh and his circle of friends to 'keep as close as you can to the friends of moderate reform'.[276] The man who in October 1791 had expressed his 'joy in that auspicious revolution of human affairs', now wrote to Mackintosh that 'I do not know what is right'.[277] As the French Revolution ran a course from the Third Estate's demands for constitutional monarchy to the toppling of the French monarchy on 10th August 1792 to the September massacres and war, Whig liberals who had initially supported the events became increasingly alarmed with their progress.[278] What had originally seemed to be a French version of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 now appeared as a far more radical and, to men of status and property, dangerous entity altogether.

As events turned towards Terror in France, a popular and Parliamentary-supported backlash against radicals, now referred to as 'Jacobins', began in Britain. Reeves' Association for the Preservation of Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers collected information in order to prosecute people for sedition and staged demonstrations that ended with threats of violence against the reformers.[279] Despite their continued proclamations of patriotism and of their love and concern for their country, supporters of the French Revolution appeared increasingly as anti-patriots. Balancing their continued support for the 'universal peace and freedom' that the French Revolution appeared to offer with the growing threat that France was posing to British trading interests in the Netherlands, was problematic. From 1793, after Louis XVI was executed, the September massacres appeared as fulfilments of Burke's warnings and France ultimately declared war on

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[275] BL Add MS 78763, Parr to Mackintosh, December 22nd 1792, p.24. For Priestley see Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.85.

[276] BL Add MS 78763, Parr to Mackintosh, December 1792, p.21

[277] Ibid., p.21

[278] Emsley, "The Impact of the French Revolution on British Politics and Society' in *The French Revolution and British Culture*, Ceri Crossley and Ian Small (eds) (Oxford: OUP, 1989), pp.39-40.

[279] *Ibid.*, p.43

Britain, the relative unity between Paineite radicals and the propertied, intellectual, Whig elite of which Mackintosh was a part, dissolved.[280] In 1794, Pitt formed a new ministry, dominated by men of property, 'a true conservative coalition, pledged to defend the principles of aristocratic government'.[281] The new government suspended habeas corpus a month after the LCS held a meeting at Chalk Farm declaring that Britons had lost their liberty, whilst the SCI claimed that the law had become an object of repression and therefore need not be obeyed.[282] At the same time, the trials of the leaders of the LCS and SCI, including Horne Tooke, for high treason reinforced the popular conservative belief that radical reformers were against the nation, whilst frightening many clubs into disbandment.[283]

This was the context from which Mackintosh, like many others of his class, began his retreat from avowed support of Revolutionary principles, radical reform and near-republican enthusiasm to a more sober nationalism that embraced Burke's idea of a propertied, 'liberal descent'.[284] In 1796, Mackintosh wrote a letter to Burke, stating, 'I can with truth affirm that I subscribe to your general principles, and am prepared to shed my blood in defence of the laws and constitution of my country.'[285] At the end of the year, in December 1796, he travelled to Beaconsfield to meet the ailing Burke and declare his support for his ideas.[286] Yet throughout the 1790s and long after, Mackintosh's thoughts returned repeatedly to what he would, in 1806, describe as an 'unwary venture'. 'Filled with enthusiasm in my early youth by the promise of a better order of society,' Mackintosh reflected that he had unwisely published the *Vindiciae Gallicae* 'when my judgement and taste were equally immature.'[287] In 1798, reaching the end of his course of legal studies at Lincoln's Inn, Mackintosh proposed a series of lectures on the 'Law of Nature and Nations' in part, he wrote to Canning, to proclaim himself an enemy to 'modern philosophy and modern democracy.'[288] The *Vindiciae Gallicae*, he wrote, had led men of standing and power to doubt his political views and to be wary of 'safely entrusting'

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[280] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* pp.124-5.
[281] Eric Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain*, 1783-1870 (Harlow, 1983, 1996), p.63.
[282] Emsley, 'The Impact of the French Revolution', p45; Royle, *Revolutionnary Britannia?,* p.18.
[283] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* p.145.
[284] Burke, *Reflections,* p.32.
[285] Quoted in O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.36.
[286] *Ibid.*
[287] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, 9th December 1806, p.26.
[288] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Canning, 24th December 1798, p.101.

him with such topics as morality and government. Indeed, he continued, 'the lectures are partly designed to combat those very principles which I am unjustly suspected of a wish to disseminate.'[289] Having obtained permission to deliver his lectures, largely as a result of Canning's support, Mackintosh embarked on a second term in 1799, during which he stated his intention to George Moore 'to profess publicly and unequivocally that I abhor, abjure and forever renounce the French Revolution with all its sanguinary history its abominable principles and for ever execrable leaders.'[290] Reflecting again on the mistake of publishing the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, Mackintosh continued: 'I hope I shall be able to wipe off the disgrace of having been once betrayed into an approbation of that conspiracy against God and man, the greatest scourge of the world and the chief stain upon human annals.'[291]

In his 'Discourse on the Laws of Nature and Nations', Mackintosh emphasised duties over rights and renounced any idea of the possibility of effecting revolution. With obvious reference to the French Revolution he stated that, 'The attempt to change by violence the ancient habits of men, and the established order of society, so as to fit them for an absolutely new scheme of government, flows from the most presumptuous ignorance, requires the support of the most ferocious tyranny.'[292] By choosing to examine the 'law of England' as the mode of instruction, moreover, Mackintosh clearly held England up as an example of, and to, civilisation. With an element of humility that suggests a consciousness of his Scottishness, he declared, 'Though I am in some measure a foreigner in England, though I am a stranger to their advantages, yet no British heart can be a stranger to their glory.'[293] Where in the *Vindiciae Gallicae* Mackintosh had positioned himself outside of aristocratic circles, speaking on behalf of 'the people' and particularly the middle classes, in his 'Discourse' he allied himself more with the nation and the concerns of those who wished to uphold the status quo. Amongst the audience for the first round of lectures that Mackintosh delivered at Lincoln's Inn in 1799 were, Mackintosh wrote to Moore, 'six peers, twelve MPs of the House of Commons'

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[289] Ibid.
[290] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Moore, Cobham, 1st January 1799, p.137.
[291] Ibid.
[292] James Mackintosh, 'Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations' (1799) printed in *Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, Donald Winch (ed and intro) (Indianapolis, 2006), p.236
[293] 'Appendix to the *Discourse* : Extracts from the Lectures' in *Ibid.*, p.254

including Lord Holland and Canning.[294] Mackintosh's interest in their presence and his scathing and public comments towards his former friend Godwin, who was also present, was in part a reflection of his move towards conservatism.

It was also a reflection of his changed social circumstances. In 1797, his first wife, Catharine, died in childbirth, leaving Mackintosh with the care of three young girls. Within the year he had married another Catharine, 'Kitty', née Allen, whose Pembrokeshire family were married into the famous and, by now very wealthy, family of Wedgewoods. Both of Josiah Wedgwood's eldest sons – John and Jos – had married daughters of John Allen of Cresselly. It was an alliance that joined wealth from trade to a 'respectable' gentry name. As the Wedgwoods' biographers point out, John and Jos' marriages allowed them to elevate themselves from tradesmen 'into the established landed gentry.'[295] Mackintosh himself was probably first introduced to the Allen sisters, including Kitty, at John Wedgwood's house, Cote House, in Bristol where numerous young intellectuals socialised, including John Leslie, who Mackintosh may have known from Edinburgh.[296] With little money except that gained by writing and through work as a lawyer on the Norfolk circuit, Mackintosh feared for his new wife's comfort. Writing to her of his previous wife, he stated that 'she was prepared for hard fortune by her humble origin and situation. What have I to offer to you to compensate of a situation the reverse of that in which you were born and have lived?'[297] There was now an urgency in gaining a position that would command enough money, as well as respect, to support a growing family and satisfy Mackintosh's ambitions to scholarship and preferably also a position in Parliament.

Whilst it is almost certainly not the case that Mackintosh changed his views on the French Revolution in order to secure patronage – he retained his allegiance to whiggism despite the disadvantages it afforded him - there is no denying that his professions of allegiance to the British nation, to stability, inheritance and history rather than to 'modern philosophy and modern democracy' served his future. After 1799, Mackintosh became closely involved with Holland House, probably at the

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[294] *Memoirs*, vol I, p.109.
[295] Barbara and Hensleigh Wedgwood, *The Wedgwood Circle, 1730-1897* (London, 1980), p.106.
[296] *Ibid.*, p.107
[297] BL Add MS 78768, Letter to Miss Allen c/o John Wedgewood, Bristol, London (Serle Street) October 11th 1797, p.7

instigation of a fellow Scotsman, John Allen, whose patronage eventually found him a place in Parliament.[298]   Having dropped many of his more 'radical' friends, Godwin in particular, Mackintosh formed a dining and debating club, the 'King of Clubs', which included Lord Holland, Malthus, Josiah Wedgwood and Richard Sharp.[299]   The unfulfilled 'promise of a better order of society' that the French Revolution had held out to so many people, rich and poor, drove Mackintosh towards centres of more established power.   Privileged by birth and education, Mackintosh fitted easily into the elite, male world that dominated society and the nation state.   Yet what Mackintosh's circle of elite Whig friends did not do was rule in Parliament and without power in the ministry patronage positions were few and far between.   With little prospect of the Holland House Whigs forming a ministry in the near future, Mackintosh looked abroad and to the patronage of Canning to secure him a position that might enable him to buy his way into Parliament in the unreformed system that looked set to remain the status quo.

As revolutionary fervour waned into conservatism, gradualism and expressions of allegiance to the nation despite its inequalities, Mackintosh turned from calls for reform and threats of rebellion to a call to arms on behalf of the nation.   In August 1803, four hundred Scottish gentlemen gathered at the Crown and Anchor tavern in London to form the 'Loyal North Britons'.[300]   The meeting was held to inaugurate a volunteer militia made up of Scotsmen living in London, who were ready to fight as a corps if Napoleon's army invaded Britain.   It comprised a group of men described as 'merchants, traders, bankers and other inhabitants of London'.[301]   As the chairman, James Mackintosh spoke about the dangers that not only Britain but the whole world faced should Napoleon be victorious.   The battle, he asserted, was one of civilisation and freedom versus 'universal tyranny'.[302]   Drawing on Scottish history to illustrate a long lineage of bravery and strength, Mackintosh conveniently glossed over the years of Scottish rebellion against English expansionism to celebrate the Union as a free and noble

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[298] Leslie Mitchell, *Holland House*, p.26.
[299] See Mackintosh's letter to Philips, BL Add MS, 78765, Bombay 17th October 1806, p.83; BL Add Ms 37337, Register of the King of Clubs 1798-1823.
[300] *Proceedings at A General Meeting of the Loyal North Britons, held at the Crown and Anchor, August 8th, 1803; containing a correct copy of the celebrated Speech of James Mackintosh esq. The Stanzas, spoken on the same occasion by, Thomas Campbell etq, Author of the Pleasures of Hope, and the substance of the speeches of the Right Hon Lord Reay and J.W.Adam esq, on being elected officers of the corps. "Pulchra pro Libertate!"* (London, 1803).
[301] *Ibid.,* p.28.
[302] *Ibid.,* p.15.

choice. United by military action that took place far beyond its own geographical borders, the three nations that comprised Britain were entrusted with the guardianship of 'the liberties of all mankind' and the safety of the whole civilised world'.[303] Mackintosh's rousing speech was concluded with a declaration to fight for 'the independence and existence of the British empire … for the Constitution and system of Society which is at once the noblest monument and the firmest bulwark of civilisation!'[304]

Over a decade after the publication of the *Vindiciae Gallicae* and less than a year before he set out with his family for Bombay, Mackintosh's vision of Britain, set out in this speech, had changed. Where in 1791 Mackintosh had called for a near-republican redress to the grievances of the nation against the king and nobility, in 1804 he was describing 'his majesty's throne' as 'the bulwark of the rights of his subjects, of the independence of all nations, and of all that remains of liberty in the world.'[305] It was time for 'freemen' to 'rally around their Prince.'[306] Yet the language that Mackintosh employed in this speech used similar, gendered concepts to those that he had employed against Burke. Napoleon's government was, he claimed, ruled by a 'valet de chambre' or a 'prostitute', the private fancy of a despot was implicitly contrasted with the publicly accountable British monarch. Those who cautioned against war were, Mackintosh claimed, 'light and effeminate and dastardly and selfish individuals'.[307] The bringing together of effeminacy and selfishness disassociated 'real' men from characteristics that were harmful to his image of the nation. The manly patriot was contrasted to the 'parricide who is actuated by an unnatural and impious malignity against his country', discounted from the body of the nation, the 'traitor' was branded 'insane'.[308] The times, it would seem, were too perilous to admit dissenting voices.

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[303] *Ibid.,* p.13
[304] *Ibid.,* p.28
[305] *Ibid.,* p.8
[306] *Ibid.,* p.8
[307] *Ibid.,* p.11
[308] *Ibid.,* p.15.

Chapter Three: Constructing 'British-ness' in Bombay: Empire, Epistemology and Identity

Introduction

> *'I feel all these things the more sensibly because in the danger of the British island I see the possible destruction of that chosen and cherished asylum towards which all my private fancies and hopes are constantly directed ...'*[1]

From Bombay in 1806, Mackintosh wrote to an Irish friend and fellow member of the King of Clubs, George Moore, expressing his fears for the state of Europe and the future of Great Britain in the midst of the Napoleonic wars. Europe, he claimed, was now engulfed by Napoleon's 'universal monarchy', national governments remained only in name.[2] As news of the Napoleonic advance through Persia filtered into Bombay, Mackintosh despaired for the future of the whole 'civilised' world, declaring that, 'It seems now not very unlikely that India will be the first part of the British empire that will become a province of the new empire of the world.'[3] From a 'frail and vulnerable' spot, 'politically in Europe though geographically out of it', Mackintosh felt his fear and isolation all the more.[4] With a six- to eight-month delay on news from Britain and Europe, there was no certainty that the country he had left behind in 1804 still remained in the state he had left it, should he ever be in a position to return. The prospect of the destruction of the Britain that Mackintosh 'cherished' was, in his next paragraph to Moore, imagined as a deeply personal loss. 'In my situation I think of an invader with the same horror as I would of a robber about to destroy a beautiful country house which having been the long residence of my family and the place of my birth was also to be the refuge of my weary age.'[5]

Mackintosh's vision of the nation as a country house, linking him to previous generations echoes Burke's image of the national identity as a 'noble and venerable castle' that was built up from its 'old foundations' across time.[6] As the previous chapter illustrated, the home, delineated by the walls of the house, was also

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[1] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Moore, 1st March 1806, p.160.

[2] Ibid. See conclusion of Chapter Two.

[3] NLS MS 2521, Single Letters, f.135, Mackintosh to Whishaw, 20th February 1808, p.136.

[4] BL Add MS 78763 Mackintosh to Moore, 1st March 1806, p.160.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France,* 7th edition, 1790 (New York, 2006), p.33.

seen as the 'private' microcosm that was linked to the more 'public' nation. In Mackintosh's imagination the home stands in for the nation, a space of familiarity and belonging into which he was born and providing the assurance of comfort in his old age. It is, however, a deeply ironic image, for it was the very fact that Mackintosh did *not* own such a house as security for his old age that had led him to leave his 'cherished and chosen asylum'. Like many of his Scottish contemporaries, albeit later and more qualified than most, Mackintosh looked to the British empire to financially secure his future. In 1804, Mackintosh left England with his wife and five children to take up the position of Recorder of the Court of Bombay. Gained through the patronage of George Canning, the position awarded him a knighthood, a salary of £5000 a year and a pension after five years' service.[7] It would amount to enough, he predicted in 1808, to rid him of debts, furnish his house and secure a 'farm to furnish bread for my family in the event of political convulsions', but could hardly be considered a fortune.[8]

Throughout the duration of his residency in Bombay, Mackintosh spent much of his time 'journalising' to friends 'at home' and later to his wife, who returned to England with their children in 1810. Filling volumes of notebooks and paper with complaints about the 'dullness' of Bombay's colonial society and expressing his desperation to return home, Mackintosh viewed his life in Bombay as a period of exile. Modelling himself on his ancient hero, Cicero, he minutely documented his misery, bewailed his past mistakes and obsessed over every piece of news from home.[9] Jo-Marie Claassen's description of Cicero's letters from exile are equally pertinent to Mackintosh's letters from Bombay. More concerned with his inner self and the world that he had left behind than with the external world of his banishment, 'for him [Cicero], to be in Rome was to be at the hub of the universe, and every journey was *obscura et sordida* (grubby and squalid).'[10] Out of boredom and frustration, Mackintosh documented his day-to-day life and thoughts, his attempts to reform governance and to establish a Literary Society amongst the 'European' population. Whilst Mackintosh's letters tell us very little about Bombay's colonial society in the early nineteenth century, and even less about the town's diverse non-

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[7] See Patrick O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh: The Whig Cicero* (Aberdeen, 1989), p.72; *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, vol II (Bombay, 1909), p.120.
[8] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharpe, 7th July 1808, p.48.
[9] Jo-Marie Claaseen, *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius* (London, 1999), p.28.
[10] *Ibid.,* p.182.

'European' inhabitants, they do offer an exceptional insight into his sense of 'home' and of what it meant to him to be 'British'. Disparaging of the men and women around him, Mackintosh endeavoured to 'reform' both Bombay's colonial population and its governance according to his own vision of 'British-ness'.

Through an examination of Mackintosh's sense of exile and his attempts to reform Bombay's colonial society, this chapter explores the inter-relationships between Mackintosh's sense of 'British-ness', 'European-ness' and 'home'. The first section looks at the broad social and political contexts into which Mackintosh and his family arrived in Bombay in 1804. In the second section, I focus on Mackintosh's attempts to reform governance in Bombay and his rhetoric of reform which, I argue, constructed an idea of 'civilised' 'Britishness' against a 'monstrous' other. I show how Mackintosh's conceptualisation of Bombay's unreformed colonial society slipped between categories of class, gendered and racialised otherness. In the third and fourth sections, I explore the ways that Mackintosh dealt with the threat posed by Bombay to his own 'Europeanness' and that of his family. I begin by considering his establishment of the Bombay Literary Society, arguing that the form of knowledge that Mackintosh encouraged its members to pursue located 'Europe' as the axis around which knowledge construction was to rotate. Having explored the urge to categorise as a means of defining, controlling and taming the monstrous, I turn in the final section to consider Mackintosh's conceptualisation of Bombay as a space of 'exile'. Looking at how he and his wife, Kitty, represented Bombay and particularly Bombay's 'European society', I use their sense of exile in Bombay as a means of understanding what it meant for them to feel 'at home'.

Finally, a word about terminology. The slippages between 'British', 'English', 'European', 'white' and sometimes 'civilised' are constant in the primary and occasionally in the secondary material that I am using. Within this chapter I explore the nature of these slippages in contemporary accounts of Bombay. Contemporaries refer ambiguously to the 'European' population, which for the most part appears to mean those who worked or had worked for the East India Company, whose skin colour was white and who probably spoke English. Bombay had an incredibly cosmopolitan and itinerant population and many of the people

labelled 'European' may well have been white Americans, Dutch, Portuguese, Armenian, Swiss, French etc. Within Bombay's 'European' community many were probably originally from England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales, but if not using 'European', they refer to themselves, as Mackintosh does, generically as 'English'. When talking about private merchants who simultaneously held positions with the East India Company, at least until 1804, I endeavour to leave out any reference to national identification. James Forbes talks about the 'English' agency houses but slips between 'European', 'English' and sometimes 'Anglo-Indian'.[11] Mackintosh's use of the latter is rare. Generally speaking, I have used quotation marks to denote the uncertain, ambiguous and slippery nature of these markers of national and ethnic identity.

An 'obscure outpost' of the British empire

By far the most despised of the English settlements in India, the poor cousin of Madras and Calcutta, early nineteenth-century Bombay was renowned for its unhealthy climate and parochially-minded population.[12] Described by Mackintosh as 'the most obscure corner of India', the Bombay into which Mackintosh arrived in 1804 was hardly a city at all.[13] Bombay was ceded to the British Crown through the wedding dowry of Donna Catharina of Portugal when she wed Charles II in 1661. The king rented the islands to the East India Company for the small sum of ten pounds per annum and the Company governed by royal charter. From the 1670s the town was gradually built up around the sheltered harbour and its port. Centred

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[11] James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: Selected and Abridged from a Series of Familiar Letters Written during Seventeen Years Residence in India including Observations on parts of Africa and South America and a Narrative of Occurrences in four India Voyages by James Forbes*, 4 vols, Vol 1(London, 1813).

[12] Percival Spear, *The Nabob: a Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (Calcutta, 1963)*, p.66.

[13] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 14th August, 1804, p.9. For the history of Bombay in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries see: Mariam Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1847-1895* (Delhi, 1991); Amar Farooqui, *Opium City: The Making of Early Victorian Bombay* (New Delhi, 2006); Claude Markovits, 'Bombay as a Business Centre in the Colonial Period: A Comparison with Calcutta' and Mariam Dossal, 'Signatures in space: Land Use in Colonial Bombay' in *Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India,* Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner (eds) (Bombay, 1995), pp.26-46 and pp.89-99; Sheila Smith, 'Indian Merchants and the Colonial Structure of Urban Space in early 19thc Bombay' in 11th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, 1990; Meera Kosambi, *Bombay and Poona: A Socio-Ecological Study of Two Indian Cities, 1650-1900* (Stockholm, 1980); Prashant Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920* (Aldershot, 2007), ch.2; Swati Chattopadhay, 'Nineteenth-century British attitudes towards Calcutta and Bombay' in *The Urban Experience: A People-environment perspective eds. S.J. Neary, M.S. Symes and F.E. Brown* (London, 1994); Pamela Nightingale, *Trade and Empire in Western India, 1784-1806* (Cambridge, 1970); James Douglas, J.P. (fellow of the University and late Sheriff of Bombay) *Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India with other papers* (London, 1900).

upon the 'Castle', a converted Portuguese manor house that overlooked the harbour, the town comprised warehouses, residential and commercial buildings, a custom house and a 'common house' with a court and prison.[14]   In his *Oriental Memoirs*, James Forbes records that by the time he left Bombay in the late eighteenth century, the town had three hospitals, a Protestant Church and a number of Roman Catholic churches, a charity school and a theatre alongside the more official public buildings related to trade and government. The bazaar sold commodities from across the world, including China, Africa, Sumatra, Arabia and the Persian Gulf.[15] Nonetheless, across the majority of the eighteenth century Bombay did not have a reputation amongst East India Company servants for profitability. Lack of opportunities in trade was a significant problem for Company civil servants whose pay was barely enough to survive on alone. Forbes, working as a writer for the Company in Bombay from the age of sixteen wrote that he earned no more than sixty-five pounds per year from the Company, which, he claimed led to many supper-less nights.[16]

By the time Mackintosh arrived, Bombay had a population of approximately 200 000, plus a significant 'floating' population of casual labour and military men, scattered across the seven islands that comprised Bombay.[17] The Fort, surrounded by a rampart, was the focal point of Bombay and the hub of commercial life. It housed Company offices including the court and customs houses, the docks, merchant bazaars and warehouses as well as providing residencies for merchants and their families.[18] The broad area of the Fort was divided into 'black' and 'white' town, a spatial distinction that Mariam Dossal has argued reflected the division between western capitalist and indigenous bazaar economy.[19] Described by Maria Graham as 'dirty, hot and disagreeable', the 'black town', to the north of the Fort contained further divisions between ethnic communities, between classes and castes.[20] Communities of Muslim, Armenian, Parsee and Hindu merchants jostled

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[14] Kosambi, *Bombay and Poona,* pp.40-47.
[15] Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs,* p,153.
[16] Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs,* pp.166-9.
[17] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India by Maria Graham* (Edinburgh, 1812), p.4. For discussion of Bombay's population see Farooqui, *Opium City,* pp.58-60 and *Gazette of Bombay City and Island,* vol. 1 (Bombay, 1909), pp.150-163.
[18] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island,* vol II (Bombay, 1909), pp.121-3.
[19] Mariam Dossal, *Imperial designs and Indian Realities,* p.17.
[20] Farooqui, *Opium City,* p.66; Sheila Smith, 'Indian Merchants and the Colonial Structure of Urban Space in early 19th century Bombay', p.2.

for space in a tightly packed area that defied all attempts at colonial control. The houses of the merchants, bankers, artisans and their families that spilled over the boundaries of the Fort varied in size from the grandest scale to those that Maria Graham described as 'small huts of clay'.[21] Beyond the Fort in the suburbs of Mazagong and Mahim, it appears that communities were divided according to ethnicity and caste. Small communities of Portuguese, Hindu and Muslim were scattered in villages across a landscape some of which was yet to be reclaimed from the sea. To the south of the Fort, the military cantonment on Colaba island housed a large population of sepoys and 'European' soldiers, all serving in the East India Company's military ranks.[22] In 1803, there were nineteen battalions of Company infantry, artillery and marine forces, comprising sepoys and 'Europeans'. Their function was to protect the port town and wider presidency from possible attack, whilst the marine forces protected trade by escorting vessels and combating piracy.[23]

In contrast to the 'black town', the 'white town', comprised primarily official Company buildings, the town houses having been vacated by the 'European population', who chose to reside in the breezier and healthier climates of Bombay's suburbs.[24] Malabar Hill, its houses owned by Parsees but predominantly let out to Europeans, was a popular residential location. Mackintosh himself forfeited the Recorder's house next to the court house in the Fort and instead inhabited the governor's house in Parel, 'about five miles of excellent road over a flat from our little capital.'[25] The 'European' or 'English' population, as Mackintosh and official correspondence referred interchangeably to the white inhabitants, comprised no more than one percent of Bombay's total population. In a cursory list of 'Europeans' in Bombay compiled in 1809, eighty percent were described as mariners, commanders or officers of ships. Six shopkeepers, two taverners, two bakers, a tailor, a hairdresser and a cook were amongst the very few 'Europeans' listed who occupied relatively lowly positions that were almost certainly outside of the Company.[26] The most prominent 'Europeans', either served the Company in

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[21] Maria Graham, *Journal,* p.4.
[22] Kosambi, *Bombay and Poona,* p.54.
[23] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, vol. II (Bombay, 1909), pp.263-4. For the place of Bombay in the broader history of East India Company expansion, see: P.J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India and America, c.1750-1783* (Oxford, 2005), pp.237-241.
[24] Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs,* p.153
[25] BL Add MS 78768 Mackintosh to John Allen, 22nd February 1805, p.63.
[26] Maharasthra State Archives, Public Department Diary, no.266, 1809, pp.2676-2702.

high civil or military positions or were businessmen and private merchants linked to one of the agency houses.

Bombay's diverse population had built up across the eighteenth century as trade with China began to gradually expand. Its relationship with Surat, where the East India Company factory produced piece-goods and from which Company penetration into the cotton growing regions of Gujarat would eventually spring, was crucial. Since 1687, Bombay – then the only British-owned territory in India - had acted as the Company's headquarters in Western India.[27] Yet it was not until the late eighteenth century that Bombay became the bigger and more prosperous town. Surat had sustained Bombay's finances across the eighteenth century, being the end-point in an indigenous trade network, running from Murshidabad in Bengal, upon which the Company was reliant.[28] Even after 1795, after the Swally river had silted-up, leading to the decline of the city, the Bombay government was financially reliant upon Surat.[29] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Bombay's position as part of the British empire was in the process of consolidation. Economically, its viability ceased to be a question of concern to imperial administrators only after Gujarat was ceded and its cotton wealth exploited, and particularly with the opium trade after 1820.[30] Bombay's rise was in many ways quite gradual across the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the port-town became a city with a renowned harbour attracting trade from across the world. It was only after 1818, however, when the Peshwa's dominions were annexed, that Bombay's boom began the momentum that led it to become the industrial and commercial capital of India.[31]

Bombay, more than either Madras or Calcutta, had developed in close partnership with different ethnic groups including the British and was, according to Percival Spears, from the outset more cosmopolitan.[32] Although individual communities largely governed themselves through panchayats and tended to live in

[27] Kosambi, *Bombay and Poona,* p.36.
[28] Lakshmi Subramanian, *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast* (Delhi, 1996), p.8.
[29] *Ibid.,*, p.15; Spear, *The Nabobs,* p.67; Farooqui, *Opium City,* pp.4-6.
[30] See Farooqui, *Opium City,* p.8.
[31] Dossal, *Imperial Designs, Indian Realities,* p.34-5; Kosambi, *Bombay and Poona,* p.99.
[32] Spear, *The Nabobs,* p.72.

enclaves, their businesses were often collaborative.[33] Across the eighteenth century men such as Forbes gained their wealth through private business, often established through capital sent to them from friends and family. Whilst such men had initially arrived in Bombay and Surat as Company servants and continued to hold Company positions up to 1804, their wealth was gained through trade, lending and partnerships with Indian – Hindu, Muslim and Parsi - businessmen. In their private capacity, Company servants acted as agents, borrowing from Indian financiers, lending to Indian merchants, trading in cotton, piece-goods, precious stones, spices and currency.[34] Business connections relied upon Indian banking networks and other 'English' agency houses across India. In their capacities both as private businessmen and Company servants, these men were an extremely important group whose actions and investments determined the future of Bombay. In addition, a large number of Hindu merchants alongside a minority of Jews, Muslims, Albanians and Parsees lent money to the Bombay government. These 'shroffs' were essential to the smooth-running of trade between Calcutta, Bombay and China. Throughout the eighteenth century, their trade in silk, piece goods and bullion had connected Surat to Calcutta, Bombay and the Middle East. With the decline of the silk trade, their focus shifted to money-lending and exchanging bills from Calcutta for bullion in Bombay.[35]

The opening of markets with China caused Bombay to act as the main port carrying raw cotton in bulk, a business that Farooqui argues really boomed when opium became the main export in the 1820s.[36] With significant help from Parsi capital, the Bombay agency houses that were owned by Company servants in their private capacity, began sponsoring the building of large ships for the China trade. The relationship between the Parsees and the Company servants in both their official and private capacities, was symbiotic. The Wadia family, for example, had left Surat for Bombay in 1735 to become shipbuilders and merchants. In 1802 the family sponsored the Bombay government, bailing them out of a financial crisis. Joint initiatives between private English and Parsi merchants from families such as

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[33] Kosambi, *Bombay and Poona*, p.41. For business collaboration between different ethnic groups see Nightingale, *Trade and Empire,* pp.19-20.
[34] Nightingale, *Trade and Empire,* pp.20-22.
[35] Torri, 'Trapped inside the colonial order', pp.54-57; Subramanian, *Indigenous Capital,* pp.1-15.
[36] *Ibid.,* p.22; Farooqui, *Opium City,* pp.8-9.

the Wadias established banks and business partnerships.[37] This close alliance is evident in Mackintosh's report of the alarm felt amongst the 'European community' for the security of 'Daddy's' family [Cursetlee Ardaseer Dady] upon his death and the community's endeavours to come to their aid.[38] Numbering about twenty thousand families in Surat according to an estimate by James Forbes in the late eighteenth century, and therefore probably of similar number in Bombay by the turn of the century, the Parsees owned a significant proportion of land and property inside and outside the Fort.[39] Maria Graham stated that the Parsees – 'the richest individuals this side of India' – owned several grand houses for themselves and held most of the stock that was let out to the 'English'.[40]

Yet it was the 'English' or 'European' merchants, with their close association to the East India Company, that pulled the strings of government. As Nightingale argues, private 'European' business interest was inseparable from the government of Bombay and it was presumably this very association that allowed them to dominate over their Indian counterparts.[41] Nightingale attributes the gradual predominance of 'English' agency houses over Indian merchant interests to the latter's reluctance to invest in long-term prospects; a partial result of the political insecurity across Western India.[42] When Parsee business did begin to boom from the 1780s it was, Nightingale argues, due to the security that Bombay as a settlement offered. Mackintosh, albeit for a later period, supports this assertion. Although a supporter of free trade and therefore theoretically against the East India Company's monopoly, he nonetheless conceded that its government was popular. Writing to the Earl of Minto, newly-appointed governor-general of Bengal, he described the situation in Bombay: 'Where we have perhaps a dozen Hindoo and Parsee merchants of fortunes from 1 to 200 000 pounds. That they have made some progress you will allow when I tell you that several of them say they would purchase and cultivate estates in the rich and beautiful though now almost desert island of Salsette if it were subject to the Recorder's Court where no man <u>can do what he</u>

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[37] James Douglas, 'Glimpses' vol II, p.111; Maria Graham, *Journal*, p.42.
[38] BL Add MS 52437, 29th July 1810, pp.71-2.
[39] Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, p.110; Farooqui, *Opium City*, p.65.
[40] Graham, *Journal*, pp.42-3.
[41] Nightingale, *Trade and Empire*, pp.24-5 and p.217. For the relationship between merchants and the state, see Prasannan Parthasarathi, 'Merchants and the Rise of Colonialism' in *The Eighteenth Century in India*, Seema Alavi (ed) (New Delhi, 2002), pp.199-224.
[42] *Ibid.*, p.22.

<u>pleases</u> but that they did not wish to risk their money under a Governor who might change his measures as he though fit.'[43]

Across his lifetime, Mackintosh had been a witness to some of the most vociferous debates over the nature of East India Company rule in India. The spectacle of the trial of Warren Hastings in 1788, which debated the nature of East India Company government and corruption, had drawn Mackintosh's interest and attention. Whilst he did not clearly spell out his own views on empire prior to his residency in Bombay, Mackintosh certainly supported Burke's condemnation of East India Company corruption and, like Burke, probably followed Adam Smith's views on the colonies.[44] Referring to the situation in India, Smith critiqued the East India Company for failing to act as sovereigns and acting instead against the interest of the country which they govern.[45] 'Such exclusive companies', he concluded, 'are always more or less inconvenient to the countries in which they are established, and destructive to those which have the misfortune to fall under their government.'[46] It was a view that Mackintosh echoed in his *Vindiciae Gallicae*, in which he asserted that colonial possessions had been 'unanswerably demonstrated to be commercially useless, and politically ruinous'.[47] Writing to John Whishaw, a lawyer and member of the King of Clubs, in 1808, Mackintosh reflected on the corruption that he was experiencing first-hand in Bombay. 'The age of plunder is gone', he noted, leaving both officers both civil and military still eager to gain fortunes but with restricted means of finding them. The result, he claimed, was peculation by men who 'daily and hourly pillage' the public income, especially whilst on expedition where such extortions were less likely to be checked.[48] Yet whilst the East India Company claimed that such exploitation would become rife were the Company to lose its monopoly and allow free trade, Mackintosh appears to have asserted the opposite.[49] Continuing his letter to Whishaw, he argued that the Company was complicit in the

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[43] NLS notes MS11732-3 1st Earl of Minto papers, JM to Minto, Parell, Bombay 21st February 1806.
[44] For Smith's views on the colonies see Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York and London, 2002), pp.9-10; Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton and Oxford, 2005), pp.52-58.
[45] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations, vol II* (London and New York, 1947, 1st published, 1778), p.134.
[46] *Ibid.,* p.137.
[47] James Mackintosh, 'Vindiciae Gallicae: Defence of the French Revolution and Its English Admirers Against the Accusations of the Right Honorable William Edmund Burke; Including Some Strictures on the Late Production of Mons. De Calonne' (London, 1791) in *Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, Donald Winch (ed and intro) (Indianapolis, 2006), pp.280-1.
[48] NLS, MS 2521, f.135, Mackintosh to Whishaw, Bombay 20th February 1808, p.135.
[49] P.J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1757-1813* (London and New York, 1968), p.100.

corruption of its employees: 'The general policy of the Company and its government is to bury such enquiries in obscure committees, and in the few cases where enquiry is made to do no more than send the most flagrant offender home to enjoy his fortune with credit. Indeed, one of these persons suspended here for peculation after one of the private enquiries has been sent back by the Court of Directors and recommended for promotion!'[50] The fault, he roundly concluded, lay in 'the darkness of monopoly' that obscured every act from judgement by the public.[51]

Like Burke, Mackintosh believed that the immediate and practical solution lay in the proper regulation of governance by Britain in the colonies.[52] Burke had blamed East India Company corruption on the lack of any adherence and identification with the nation.[53] The Mughal Constitution, he claimed, provided a constitutional template through which the British Parliament should now rule as it represented the constitutional inheritance of the Indian people.[54] If properly regulated and represented by Parliament, government in India would be enacted through the universal 'law of nature and nations' rather than through arbitrariness, which led to rapacity and corruption.[55] Such a view is evident in Mackintosh's own reflections on East India Company governance in Bombay. Making evident his ambivalence towards empire, Mackintosh nonetheless noted that:

> 'English power really seems to me to be a blessing to the inhabitants of India. Yet the English government, without a community of interest or of feelings with the governed, is undoubtedly very bad, if it be compared with the second-rate governments of Europe. But, compared with an Indian government, it is angelic; and I conscientiously affirm, that the most impartial philanthropist ought to desire its preservation.'[56]

The Bombay into which Mackintosh arrived in 1804, however, was on the verge of fundamental transformations, partly as a result of these debates about the

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[50] Mackintosh to Whishaw, Bombay 20th February 1808, p.135.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Sen, *Distant Sovereignty*, p.11.
[53] Robert Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-century India: The British in Bengal* (Cambridge, 2007), pp.218-9. For the wider context of critics of the East India Company and its relationship to national identity, see Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York and London, 2002), pp.8-9.
[54] Travers, *Ideology and Empire,* p.221-2.
[55] Pitts, *Turn to Empire*, p.75; Travers, *Ideology and Empire,* pp.221-2.
[56] BL Add MS 78763, JM to Moore, 6th August 1804, p.155.

nature and structure of East India Company governance. Bombay's small governing community, closely allied with indigenous trade networks, was increasingly losing its grip on the cords of power as the reforms of the East India Company that had been taking place since the 1780s finally reached Bombay. Across the late eighteenth century, the nature and structure of East India Company rule in India had been the subject of Parliamentary debate, resulting in Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 and later Pitt's India Act of 1784.[57] The former was the immediate result of a credit crisis that had left the East India Company unable to pay its shareholders and offered the government the opportunity to assert greater control in the Company's affairs in India.[58] It asserted the state's rights over all territorial acquisitions overseas and recognised Parliament's right to control Indian affairs. The governor of Bengal became the governor general with power over the Bombay and Madras presidencies in relationship to war and peace with Indian states. A decade later, Pitt's India Act established a Board of Control above the Court of Directors, which controlled the military and civil governance and revenues of British territories in the East Indies.[59]

Mackintosh's arrival to take up the position of the Recorder of the Court was one significant symptom of regulatory changes. The Recorder's Court had been established by charter in 1798, with only one judge, Sir William Syer, having served before Mackintosh. The court replaced the Mayor's Court that had been fraught with difficulties, dissension and scandal across the eighteenth century. After 1753, when a new charter was issued by the Court of Directors, the Mayor's court had become so emasculated that it dealt only with civil jurisdiction and was forbidden to take on suits between 'native' (non-European) peoples of Bombay. A Governor's Court dealt with criminal matters and a Court of Requests looked at small causes. These institutions were replaced in 1798 by one Recorder's Court, led by a barrister of five-years' standing who was to be the head of the Court, responsible for criminal and civil cases in the Recorder's Court, judging ecclesiastic and admiralty cases.[60] The Recorder's Court was under the superintendence of the Supreme Court at Calcutta and itself superintended over the smaller civil courts, the

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[57] C.A. Bayly, *The New Cambridge History of India*, vol II: *Indian Society and the making of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.76.
[58] Marshall, *Problems of Empire*, p.32-33
[59] Sekar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition* (Hyderabad, 2004), pp.77-78.
[60] *Gazetteer of Bombay City*, vol. II, p.219.

courts of Adawlut, at the district level. Criminal and civil jurisdiction applied to all inhabitants within the Town and Presidency limits and all British subjects in factories or employed by the Company. Questions concerning land, rents, goods and contracts between parties were to be dealt with according to the party's cast and religion, preserving the authority of the heads of families amongst the natives. This final clause meant that 'native' households were dealt with as single units with their heads, in effect, having jurisdiction and free reign over their families.[61] The court therefore employed British law for European subjects, Parsis and Christians, and Hindu and Muslim law depending on the religion of the defendant and the nature of the offence.[62] Meeting quarterly for civil and criminal business, each term comprising twenty days, totalling 110 days per year, Mackintosh worked with a jury of 'European' men and a number of 'native' servants who determined and translated the laws of their respective religions.[63] As a court of oyer and terminer, it covered treasons (except high treason), misdemeanours and felonies, as well as dealing with cases of contract, succession and inheritance.[64]

Perhaps the most significant difference between the Recorder's Court and the courts that preceded it was that the judge was appointed and paid by the Crown rather than by the Company. Mackintosh was entirely independent of Company interests, indeed his responsibility was, in part, to call Company actions to account. This remit placed him in a difficult situation. Attempting to clamp down on corruption amongst Bombay's civil servants, Mackintosh found himself the object of contempt and the subject of factional politics amongst the 'European' population to whom he looked for company. Having convicted one of Bombay's merchants of corruption, Mackintosh found himself the victim of a 'powerful faction' who, he claimed, made his life miserable and undermined his position and influence as judge in Bombay.[65] Writing to an Irish friend, George Moore, Mackintosh stated that the 'trial and conviction of an old civil servant for bribery before me and in which I

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[61] Announcement of the new law *Bombay Courier,* March 17th, 1798, no.286.
[62] William Morely, *The Administration of Justice in British India; it's past history and present state comprising an account of the laws peculiar to India by William H Morely* (London, 1858), p.96.
[63] Nivedita Vatal, 'Sir James Mackintosh and his contribution to developments in Bombay, 1804-1811', Unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Bombay (1989-1991), pp.102-3.
[64] *Gazetteer of Bombay City*, Vol II, pp.219-221; M.P. Jain, *Outlines of Indian Legal History* (Bombay, 1972), p.139.
[65] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 25th July 1807, p.43.

barely did my duty has raised so powerful a faction against me as is sufficient to make a small society very uncomfortable.'[66]

The establishment of the Recorder's Court marked the increasing centralisation of control from Calcutta and ultimately London, and the standardisation, codification and Europeanisation of legal procedures across India. Mackintosh himself had long disapproved of the East India Company's conquest and governance of parts of India. Yet believing that compared to Indian government, 'English power may be a blessing to the people of India', Mackintosh strongly asserted the need for reform and metropolitan control of the governance of India.[67] Yet another factor, simultaneous to Mackintosh's arrival, fundamentally changed the nature of Bombay's government. In 1804, a decree from the Court of Directors stated that Bombay's civil servants give up their private commercial pursuits or resign their Company positions. The decree, Pamela Nightingale has argued, saw the transformation of Bombay's government from one dominated by the concerns of private merchants to an administrative government more closely aligned with the British empire in India as a whole.[68] Yet the process extended beyond the administrative functions of regularising, standardising and monitoring from the centre. As Robert Travers has pointed out, it meant transforming 'suspect mercantile frontiersmen' into 'respectable pillars of empire.'[69] It is to Mackintosh's part in fundamental aspects of this process of transformation, in rhetoric and in practice, that I turn in the remainder of this chapter.

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[66] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Moore, 1st March 1806, p.161. See section III for more on Bombay's European society.
[67] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Moore, 6th August 1804, p.156.
[68] Nightingale, *Trade and Empire*, ch.7; Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking,* p.241.
[69] Travers, *Ideology and Empire,* p.231.

'Respectable pillars of empire': Promoting 'British-ness' in Bombay

In February 1811, Mackintosh noted down in his journal some of the recent criminal cases over which he had presided as Recorder of the Court. They comprised the conviction of two men for offences 'which it is not common to name' and another two cases of cruelty by husbands towards wives.[70] For Mackintosh, these cases were an illustration of the 'monstrous depravity' that existed in Bombay, and that he found particularly alarming amongst its small, colonial community.[71] The fault, Mackintosh claimed, lay in 'the contempt of all order and authority which the mean character of the government has inspired.'[72] Following political theorists since Machiavelli, Mackintosh linked character and governance to conclude that in Bombay 'the curb has been removed which checks the wanderings of fancy and passion.'[73] Across the seven years during which he resided in Bombay, Mackintosh would attempt a number of reforms that he hoped would prove 'beneficial' to Bombay's society.[74] As early as 1807, however, he was despairing of his ability to effect any change at all. 'The opposition between the sentiments of the people here and mine is so great that I see no means of doing good … I am thwarted in every thing and must content myself with the bare performance of my duty.'[75]

Bernard Cohn has illustrated how India, like other British colonies, was seen as a laboratory where reforming ideas, from land administration to medical practice, could be tested.[76] Although Mackintosh had arrived in Bombay in 1804 primarily with the intention of earning enough money to pay off his debts, he also held aspirations of effecting reforms that had been put forward in theory by contemporary thinkers in Europe and that informed his own liberal whiggism.[77] Acknowledging the 'bent' that Bentham and Dumont had given to his mind, Mackintosh wrote enthusiastically to Sharp in 1804 of his plan to reform Bombay's

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[70] BL Add MS 52438a, 13th February 1811, p.58.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid. David Collings, *Monstrous Society: Reciprocity, Discipline and the Political Uncanny, c.1780-1848* (Cranbury, 2009), p.112.
[74] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay, 14th March 1807, p.39.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, 1996), pp.3-4.
[77] For the relationship between Benthamism and governance see: Stephen Conway, 'Bentham and the nineteenth-century revolution in government', in Richard Bellamy (ed), *Victorian Liberalism: Nineteenth-Century Political Thought and Practice* (1990), pp. 71-90.

police and the prison system.[78]   By 1807, Mackintosh's fantasies of a blank slate upon which to implement his reforms had been displaced from Bombay to Botany Bay, where he imagined himself rescuing 'at least the children of the convicts from brutality and barbarism by education'.[79]   'I should most joyfully endeavour to introduce Law and Morality into that wretched country' Mackintosh continued, 'and give it (what never was yet given to any plantation) the fit constitution for a penal colony which was to grow into a greater prosperous community.'[80]   Mackintosh's aims and thwarted ambitions in Bombay attest to the point made by Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper that colonial sites, imagined as 'laboratories of modernity', never offered the controlled conditions that reformers had envisaged. [81]

Yet where Stoler and Cooper point to the ways in which colonised peoples disrupted and undermined the 'principles and practices on which extraction or capitalist development was based', in Mackintosh's case it was the 'Europeans' themselves who appeared to obstruct his modernising agendas.[82]   He attributed his perceived failure to achieve any reform of society or governance in Bombay on the size of the ruling community – 'small enough to be governed by a cabal'.[83]   What he called the 'ungovernable passions' of a number of the individuals in power prevented, Mackintosh claimed, his attempts to go beyond the 'bare performance of my duty.'[84]   Using the language of 'passions', Mackintosh drew on a rhetoric common to many social reformers.   Chapter Two showed how enlightenment texts and Mackintosh's *Vindiciae Gallicae* used the notion of uncontrolled 'passions' in opposition to 'reasoned' action and 'public virtue'.   As I show across this section, Mackintosh used this language to critique Bombay's governance and, I argue, to promote the reconstruction of British rule in the India.   Focussing on Mackintosh's rhetoric of reform, I draw on his recommendations for the reform of the police and

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[78] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 14th August, 1804, p.8.
[79] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 25th July 1807, p.45.
[80] Ibid.
[81] 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda', Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Frederick Cooper and Anna Laura Stoler (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), p.5.
[82] *Ibid.*, p.5. In different situations, the 'native' Parsi, Armenian, Muslim and Hindu inhabitants proved equally obstructive to reforming agendas, especially where colonial governors attempted to impose new urban designs on the Fort area of Bombay. These disputes are evident in petitions and the official correspondence of the Town Committee in the Public Department Diaries, held in the Maharasthra State Archives from 1804 to 1809.
[83] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 25th July, 1807, p.43.
[84] Ibid., p.43 and p.39.

reports of his judicial speeches in the *Bombay Courier* to show how Mackintosh constructed 'British-ness' in opposition to the system that he encountered and tried to reform in Bombay. This section looks at the rhetorical manoeuvres Mackintosh made, largely in official documentation, to assert the superiority of 'European' and particularly 'British' principles against a 'degenerate' and 'despotic' regime that was constructed as inherent to 'native' character but was manifested in Bombay's colonial rule.

Since the 1760s questions had been asked about the legitimacy of the vast fortunes made by East India Company servants in India.[85] Concerns about ill-gotten wealth were coupled with fears about the impact in Britain of those 'nabobs' returning from India with vast fortunes.[86] Increasingly, it was not only their dubiously-gained riches that were causes of concern to Britain's established aristocracy back at home, equally alarming were the 'manners' of the nabobs in India, many of them living with 'native' women, fathering Indian children and ostentatiously following 'Eastern' customs.[87] Fears about degeneracy and a most 'un-English' form of despotism and corruption in India had been made most explicit by Burke across the nine years of the trial of Warren Hastings. Yet by the nineteenth century, East India Company servants came to be seen less as masters of their own spoliation and more as the degenerate victims of contact with Indian corruption. Writing to Sharp in the early stages of his residency, Mackintosh claimed that 'every Englishman who resides here very long has I fear his mind either emasculated by submission or corrupted by despotic power.'[88] The result of such degeneracy was, according to Mackintosh, bad government and ultimately the proliferation of vice.

As Burke had warned in the Warren Hastings' trial, young East India Company officials went over to India too early, before they become properly socialised in Britain's political culture.[89] Forced to rely on native Indians, their government inevitably followed the 'despotic' principles that were seen to be

[85] Sen *Distant Sovereignty,* p.124.
[86] Mark Salber Philips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical writing in Britain, 1740-1820* (Princeton, 2000), p.247; Nicholas Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the creation of Imperial Britain* (Cam, Mass; London, 2006).
[87] Dalrymple, *White Mughals* (London, 2003).
[88] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 14th August, 1804.
[89] Salber Phillips, *Society and Sentiment,* p.247.

associated with the East.[90] Whilst Mackintosh certainly understood the problems of East India Company governance as arising from exposure to 'Eastern' manners, he also referred to it in the same language of opposition that he used for his political enemies in England. 'This country is a school of Toryism', he wrote in 1811, 'The tendency of the system of government gives slavish principles and coarse habits to men naturally of active understanding and high spirit whose character was destined for liberty.'[91] The 'despotic' power that the 'English' wielded in Bombay was made evident in Mackintosh's report on the state of the police, as were the ways in which Mackintosh displaced the blame for corruption onto a construction of the 'native' character. On Mackintosh's arrival in Bombay in 1804, crime was, according to S.M. Edwardes 'rampant' and had 'defied all attempts to control it'.[92] Armed gangs looted and terrorised residents and sailors deserted naval ships and Company vessels without fear of apprehension.[93] A new, but ultimately ineffective system of policing had been instigated after 1793. It split the Fort area into fourteen divisions, each staffed by two European constables and up to 130 'peons' – 'native' police officers. They were, apparently, rarely seen on duty.[94] The police force was run by a superintendent who had 'executive control of all police arrangements in the Island, exercised all the duties of a High Constable, an Alderman and a Justice of the Peace'.[95] The superintendent had powers to summarily convict and inflict punishment of banishment, flogging or hard labour without trial before a judge and, without necessarily recording his 'convictions'.[96] In 1804 Mackintosh had written to Sharp of his intentions to reform the police but it was not until 1811, just before his departure that he finally submitted his plans, a committee having been established to look into the matter.[97]

In his report, Mackintosh asserted that Bombay was governed by 'power without law', 'the greatest inconvenience that can befall any community.'[98] Integral

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[90] *Ibid.,* p.247.
[91] BL Add MS 52452, Mackintosh to Whishaw, Bombay 13th August 1811, p.73.
[92] S.M. Edwardes, *The Bombay City Police: A Historical Sketch by S.M. Edwardes* (London, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, 1923), p.20.
[93] *Ibid.*, p.20.
[94] *Ibid.*, p.17.
[95] *Ibid.*, p.20.
[96] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[97] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 14th August, 1804, p.8.
[98] Letter from the Honourable Sir JM, with a report on the police of the Island of Bombay, October 1811, Papers on the Police of Bombay in *An Analytical Digest of all the reported cases decided in the Supreme courts of judicature in India in the Courts of the Hon. East India Company and on appeal from India by her majesty*

to this character of government was the seemingly endemic corruption, an instance of which led to the trial of the new police superintendent, Charles Briscoe, in 1810. Yet it was not only this individual police superintendent whose actions were illegal. His very position and the powers that it granted were without legality. As Mackintosh stated: 'A Superintendent of Police may arrest forty men in the morning; he may try, convict and condemn them in the forenoon; and he may close the day by exercising the Royal prerogative of pardon towards them all.'[99] After an inquiry into the system of policing, launched in 1808, the whole policing system was found to be lacking legality and its rule was tantamount to the most absolute power that had, inevitably, corrupted the men who exerted it.[100] 'Though originally destitute of all legal authority', Mackintosh wrote, the police 'seized at once on the power.'[101] Ultimately, he concluded, 'the whole of what is called the Police has been a course of illegality.'[102]

Tracing this 'course of illegality', Mackintosh looked comparatively at the history of England's imperial expansion in America and the 'East'.[103] In the case of the former, legislation was vested in a colonial Assembly 'on the same principles with the Parliament of England'.[104] In the 'Eastern dominions of Great Britain', where 'obscure factories' had suddenly turned into a 'great empire', legislation was slow and *ad hoc*.[105] Mackintosh's explanation of the process that had led to the state of the police in Bombay, distanced Britain from any involvement in the corrupt and illegal practices of the police. Indeed, Mackintosh even pointed to England's 'superior regard for the principles of law and liberty' to explain the length of time it had taken for the abuses of the police system to be corrected.[106] It was precisely because England was not a 'despotic country' where 'the will of the despot cuts every knot' that a 'longer deliberation' and 'free discussion' had delayed the coming of more 'civilised' forms of governance.[107] As he contemplated the corrupting influence that the unbounded and illegal powers held by the Superintendant of

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in council together with an introduction, notes, illustrative and explanatory and an appendix by William H Morley, vol II, (London, 1849), p.510.

[99] *Ibid.*, p.511.
[100] *Ibid.*
[101] *Ibid.*, p.510.
[102] *Ibid.*, p.507.
[103] *Ibid.*pp.503-5.
[104] *Ibid.,* p.503.
[105] *Ibid.*
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] *Ibid.*

Police could effect, Mackintosh again turned to the superiority of the English system. 'The numerous and wholesome restraints of laws, of juries, or a vigilant Bar and an enlightened public, with which the wisdom of our ancestors has surrounded an English Judge' had, he claimed, disarmed 'the most depraved disposition of the power to do much evil.'[108] In contrast, amongst a 'native community' the affect of such power would undoubtedly lead to further corruption through the 'undue influence' of native people over the Superintendent's mind.[109]

By referring constantly to the virtues of English principles of justice and liberty and contrasting England with 'despotism' in general, Mackintosh made it clear that the current, 'corrupt' regime of policing had little to do with Britain. Instead, he constructed the problem as the result of the lack of both regulation from Britain and particularly on the police system's lack of foundation on British principles. In his recommendations for reform the construction of difference between men he referred to as 'Europeans' and 'natives' was clearly defined. Emphasising the need to ensure the police system's 'Europeanisation', Mackintosh demanded that the police force gain legality by following the proper procedures that would lodge Bombay firmly in the web of empire, connecting it to empire through Calcutta to London.[110] His main recommendation, however, was the continuous presence of 'one of the principal English gentlemen of the community', who would act as a public magistrate, which he claimed 'will always be a sufficient security against oppression.'[111] The position of high constable should be bestowed on a 'European of tried integrity' and a 'considerable number of Europeans' sworn in as constables.[112] The power of convicting on small offences would lie with the JPs of the petty session, otherwise they would be referred to the Grand Jury.[113]

Mackintosh's system placed emphasis less on the constant watch by a police force that had been made-up predominantly of native 'peons', and more on the moral character of upper-middle-class 'Englishmen' to act as an example. Ultimately, Mackintosh ended his report with an almost wholesale rejection of the

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[108] *Ibid.,* p.512.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] *Ibid.,* p.515.
[111] *Ibid.,* p.522.
[112] *Ibid.,* p.524.
[113] *Ibid.,* p.522.

idea of a police force at all. Comparing the 'tyrannical Police of Paris' with the 'well-regulated liberty of London', Mackintosh looked to the 'teaching of morality and independence' rather than policing as an antidote to crime.[114] Sidelining the fact that it was the 'English' rulers in Bombay who had established the system of policing that was discovered to have been so corrupt and illegal, Mackintosh ultimately placed the blame on the 'natives'. In a 'native community where the rich are unscrupulous and the poor are unresisting', arbitrary power could reign supreme.[115] Indeed, it was due to the fact that there was only a 'handful of timid natives' rather than an 'enlightened public', that the abuses of the previous system had been allowed to continue.[116]

Writing to George Moore within a few months of his arrival in Bombay in August 1804, Mackintosh claimed that 'the mind seems very materially changed by crossing the sea' and proceeded to describe the 'debility in understanding' that afflicted the 'Anglo-Indians' in Bombay.[117] Both in his comments in his letters to friends in Britain and in his more official correspondence and reports, Mackintosh found reasons to distance the ideas and principles that he defined as 'British' or (interchangeably) 'English' from the practices of Bombay's colonial governors.[118] Yet it was his position as Recorder of the Court that offered Mackintosh the opportunity to substantiate and disseminate his ideas of 'British' principles. Mackintosh delivered his speeches in the knowledge that what he said would be reported upon and would be read by an audience wider than the small jury present in 'the old dingy Court House of Bombay'.[119] As James Douglas, author of *Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India* (1900), saw it, Mackintosh's words 'burst the bonds of Apollo Street and became the property of Civilisation. He [Mackintosh] found Bombay as he says himself, 'a desert'; but, all unconscious of the fact, he made it blossom as the rose. A silent revolution was going on in this decade, much of which was due, no doubt, to Mackintosh.'[120] Undoubtedly hyperbolic, James

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[114] For discussion of views about policing in Britain in relationship to France see V.A.C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People 1770-1868* (Oxford, 1994), p.498; Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder, 'Using the Criminal Law, 1750-1850', *Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750-1850, Douglas* Hay and Francis Snyder (eds) (Oxford, 1989), pp.3-52.
[115] 'Report on the Police', p.512.
[116] *Ibid.,* p.511.
[117] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Moore, Bombay, 6th August 1804, p.155.
[118] See also section three and four of this chapter.
[119] Douglas, *Glimpses of Old Bombay,* p.11.
[120] *Ibid.*

Douglas nonetheless captured Mackintosh's aspirations, even as he overstated his achievements. Turning now to look at the reports of Mackintosh's speeches to the Recorder's Court, I show how inherent to this 'silent revolution' was the construction of a 'grammar of difference' that served to define and distinguish 'British'/ 'European' from 'native' character.

Court proceedings could act as a theatre in which 'natives', especially the 'lower class' of natives whose everyday presence was rarely acknowledged or focused upon, were placed on stage and scrutinised. Taking an individual as an embodiment of a 'type' of native through court proceedings could establish and reinforce colonial categorisation. The Court therefore offered a platform from which to construct or repeat stereotypes of colonial peoples and to assert their differences from 'Europeans' or specifically the 'English'/'British'. Thus, in a case in which a woman was convicted of murdering a child for her ornaments, Mackintosh attributed the crime to the general character of 'the natives of India'.[121] His speech, recorded in the *Bombay Courier*, stated that 'the natives of India, though incapable of the crimes which arise from the violent passions, are beyond every other people of the earth addicted to these vices which proceed from the weakness of natural feeling and the almost total absence of moral restraint … They are not actively cruel, but they are utterly insensible. They have less ferocity perhaps than most other nations, but they have still less compassion.'[122] Employing a concept of 'natural feeling', Mackintosh rendered all Indian peoples 'unnatural', exceptional and weak according to an objective and universalising criteria of morality. The result, Mackintosh claimed, was that without compassion 'infancy had lost its natural shield.'[123]

In a similar case in England - the Brownrigg case of 1767 in which orphan children were murdered at the hands of the mistress to whom they were apprenticed, Kristina Straub has shown a remarkably different interpretation.[124] Despite the fact that violence against children was, Straub argues, 'endemic to the

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[121] *Bombay Courier* Saturday April 19th, 1806, no.709.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] *Ibid.*
[124] Kristina Straub, 'The Tortured Apprentice: Sexual Monstrosity and the Suffering of Poor Children in the Brownrigg Murder Case' in *Monstrous Dreams of Reason: Body, Self, and Other in the Enlightenment,* eds Laura J Rosenthal and Mita Choudhury (Lewisburg and London, 2002), pp.71-2.

English class system', popular representations of Brownrigg displaced all blame onto the exceptional, 'monstrous' and aberrant individual.[125]   Popular representations of Brownrigg allowed such violence to be seen as entirely 'other' to normative society.[126]   Where in court proceedings in Britain infanticide was referred to as the devil's work, in Bombay such acts were made to be statements about the inherently weak and unscrupulous nature of the whole society.[127]

Using the court as a platform, trials constructed 'native' character and mores that were implicitly – and sometimes explicitly - contrasted to 'British' or 'European' characteristics.   Honesty, integrity, a masculine fortitude and courage were articulated through claims that Indians were inherently dishonest, weak and lacking in both self-restraint and compassion.   Addressing the Jury in October 1806, Mr Thriepland, a barrister in the Recorder's Court, attributed the rarity of highway robbery in India to 'native' character.   Lacking the 'daring and determined spirit of villany', the 'boldness as well as depravity' that existed amongst the 'lower classes of Europeans', natives of India were, he implied, too cowardly to risk such an offence.[128]   In this backhanded compliment to the 'lower classes of Europeans', Thriepland reinforced an increasingly prevalent notion of the weak, mean and spineless 'native' in contrast to the comparatively sturdy 'European'.[129] Mackintosh's own reference to the timidity of the 'natives' in the police report and his distrust of 'native' interpreters in court, drew upon and reinforced such stereotypes.

At the same time, the positive attributes of 'Europeans' were made to be the natural state, representing Indian character as an aberration of universal sensibility. Such a notion was maintained even when 'Europeans' stood trial for a catalogue of offences that Mackintosh, in his letters to friends 'at home', termed 'monstrous'.[130]

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[125] *Ibid.*
[126] *Ibid.*, p.71.
[127] See Ann Smith, killing, infanticide, 4th July 1804,
http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t18040704-16-off85&div=t18040704-16#highlight
[22/08/2010] and Elizabeth Tomlin, killing, infanticide, 12th April, 1809,
http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t18090412-33-off195&div=t18090412-33#highlight
[22/08/2010]
[128] *Bombay Courier*, Saturday October 23rd 1806, no.736. Such a sentiment would not have been expressed in the early period in Bengal where 'dacoitry' was perceived to be a big problem, sparking fierce debate over how to deal with it. See Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India* (Delhi, 1998), pp.27-32.
[129] *Bombay Courier,* Saturday October 23rd 1806, no.736.
[130] See for example BL Add MS 52438a, 13th February 1811, p.58. See discussion of 'Europeans' in sections three and four below.

The prosecution of a 'native' resulted in numerous denunciations of 'native' character. In contrast, across the *Bombay Courier*'s reports of the Recorder's Court are constant reminders of what an 'Englishman' believes. Reporting a trial in which two, almost certainly Englishmen, and two 'natives' were implicated in an assassination attempt, the *Bombay Courier* stated that this was 'a crime of which Englishmen entertain universal abhorrence.'[131] Distancing 'Englishmen' in general from the two specific men involved in the trial, the rhetoric of the court published in the *Bombay Courier*, was exactly the opposite of that strategy used in reporting trials involving 'natives.' As Burke had used Hastings as an 'instrument of aberration' in order to 'protect the colonial project', so the *Bombay Courier* constructed its own aberrations to safeguard the notion of 'European' civility.[132]

From the outset of his tenure as Recorder of the Court, Mackintosh had made explicit his endeavour to avoid the use of capital punishment. Like Bentham and reformers such as Romilly, Mackintosh disagreed with the use of the death penalty amongst 'civilised' nations.[133] (In yet another example of his strenuous efforts to differentiate 'civilised' European governance from 'uncivilised' Eastern rule, Mackintosh commented that the lack of capital punishment in Lucknow was not a result of humanity but the 'disregard for the lives of subjects, that they do not think it worth their while to punish a murderer'.[134]) Yet after seven years without inflicting capital punishment, Mackintosh sentenced to death an English soldier for murdering a Hindu sepoy. Reflecting on the case in his journal, Mackintosh stated that 'if I had been to chuse [sic] a case in which I should inflict capital punishment it would have been the cruel murder of a mean Hindoo [sic] by an English soldier.'[135] Mackintosh's sentencing to death of the English soldier is evidence of his commitment to the principle that 'Men of every colour and race, and nation and religion in India were, under British laws, equally protected; that they equally enjoyed the national rights of men and the civil privilege of British subjects; that the law was no respecter of persons, but would protect with as strong an arm the poorest wretch in the most despised caste of India as the proudest peer in the

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[131] *Bombay Courier*, November 24 1810, 951.

[132] For Burke's strategy see Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago and London, 1992), p.45.

[133] See V.A.C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People 1770-1868* (Oxford, 1994), pp.396-409.

[134] M*emoirs of the Life*, vol I, p.527.

[135] BL Add MS 52438b, 20th July 1811, p.80.

British empire.'[136] Yet even within this statement of equality before the law, the qualitative differences between Indian and British, 'the poorest wretch' and the 'proudest peer', was made explicit.

Emphasising the power inequality between the soldier and the 'Hindoo', serves to reinforce the negative stereotype of the Hindu as effete. Rescuing the 'mean Hindoo' from the brutality of the (implicitly) strong and over-vigorous English soldier, Mackintosh's words reinforced the inequality inherent to the colonial relationship. But this case, read alongside the reports of other cases over which Mackintosh presided, also illustrates the vast inequalities of class that lay *within* the colonisers. As I argue here, this case reveals the ways in which the category of 'European' and/or 'English' was imagined and constructed along the axes of class, as well as racialised and gendered 'otherness'. The 'English soldier' was not the only person to have stood trial for violent crimes during the course of Mackintosh's tenure as judge. In an earlier case of a 'European' assault on a 'native', the defendant although guilty was let off with a light fine.[137] More dramatically, an Armenian woman, Mrs Nosegay, married to Gregory Johannes, 'a merchant of considerable eminence', was brought to trial for an attempt to poison her mother-in-law.[138]

In both cases, gendered and class-based language was used as a means of justifying their actions and sentences. In the case of the former, the 'European' who assaulted the 'native' was referred to as a 'young gentleman'.[139] The *Bombay Courier* reported that the Recorder claimed there was 'much more to lament than to blame' in the case; the man was found guilty and fined but his name was not mentioned so as to avoid tarnishing his reputation.[140] Mackintosh reported Mrs Nosegay's trial in his diary of July 1811. The woman, he wrote had been found 'guilty of administering drugs but not with an intention to kill'.[141] The 'verdict of acquittal' that had been reached by the jury despite Mackintosh having pointed out to them that her intention had not been possible to ascertain and could easily have

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[136] *Bombay Courier*, July 21st 1804, no.618.
[137] *Ibid.*
[138] BL Add MS 52438b, 15th July 1811, p.75.
[139] *Bombay Courier*, July 21st 1804, no.618.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] 52438b, 15th July 1811, p.75.

constituted an attempt to murder her mother-in-law. Describing the defendant as 'handsomely dressed and frequently shed[ding] tears', Mackintosh's recollections of the trial suggest that such features may well have endeared her to the jury and allowed her intentions the benefit of the doubt.[142] Ultimately, he wrote, the verdict left him 'not displeased at being relieved from the perplexity of sentencing a punishment adequate to the crime and not barbarous to a woman of some rank.'[143] The soldier who had murdered a 'native of Goa' did not get off so lightly. With 'a calm and steady regard to the interest of society', Mackintosh signed the death warrant for James Estelow on 20th July 1811.[144] The 'hardened ruffian' had professed no religion and had behaved violently to all since his sentencing. 'His brutality shows that a more worthless life could not have been sacrificed to the interest of society', Mackintosh wrote in his diary.[145]

Mackintosh pondered his sentencing of James Estelow to death across several pages of his diary, justifying his decision with various descriptions of Estelow's barbarity. The soldier had ultimately confessed to the murder and accepted the sentence. His execution was apparently witnessed by 'fifty thousand natives' and marked the conclusion of Estelow's life with a final statement that endeavoured to locate his identity in space. 'His name was James Estelow. He was born at a place called Herington in Warwickshire. This place I cannot find in any map or account of the country in my possession.'[146] Mackintosh's inability to ultimately place the 'English soldier' on the map offers an interesting lack of closure to a brief narrative of a life that surfaced only at the point of death. This perplexing lack of certainty as to where Estelow was really from echoes much of the uncertainty around the identity of the 'English' in Bombay. As this section has illustrated, fears about the behaviour of the 'English' in Bombay, and across India, were increasingly expressed in terms of 'degeneracy'. The climate, the culture, the religions, the methods of governance and the peoples associated with the Indian sub-continent were seen as potentially corrupting to the 'essence' of the Englishman and of Europeans more generally. This was manifested in the 'un-English' forms of colonial rule that Mackintosh witnessed and tried to reform in Bombay. In the

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[142] Ibid.
[143] 52438b, 15th July 1811, p.75.
[144] 52438b, 19th July 1811.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid., p.81.

next section, I turn to look at the ways in which Mackintosh encouraged his fellow, upper-middle class 'Europeans' to identify themselves more closely with 'Europe' through the performance and production of knowledge.

'Detachments of the main body of civilised men': colonial knowledge and the idea of Europe

In 1805, Mackintosh wrote to Dugald Stewart, stating that, 'I have attempted to do something here by going very much out of my own province. I have tried a Literary Society – but I fear it is only 'singing the Lord's song in a strange land.'[147] Employing a very Christian expression to describe an endeavour that promoted research on the basis of principles of political economy and science, Mackintosh's doubts about the success of his project are suggestive of the scope of his ambitions.[148] The Literary Society was not only a forum for reporting a wide range of knowledge of India, it was also an attempt to 'illuminate and *humanise* the whole race of man.'[149] No less zealous than the missionaries of whose incursions into India he disapproved, Mackintosh spoke to the Literary Society of the 'victories over barbarism' that their quest for knowledge would effect.[150] Stating that the society must be founded upon 'principles of equality' within it, he nonetheless made it abundantly clear that Europeans, 'as detachments of the main body of civilised men' occupied a superior position amongst 'the whole race of man'.[151] The men that Mackintosh gathered together in 1804 comprised the upper echelons of Bombay's 'European society', occupying the higher positions of the East India Company. Formed for the purposes of gathering and providing knowledge on India to satisfy the 'curiosity of Europe' the Bombay Literary Society's meetings commenced on 20th November 1804.[152]

Mackintosh opened the Literary Society with a 'Discourse' where he outlined some of the ways in which those 'Europeans' who visit 'barren and

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[147] BL Add MS 78764, Mackintosh to Dugald Stewart, Bombay, 2nd November 1805, p.56.
[148] 'Discourse read at the opening of the Literary Society of Bombay, 26th November 1804' in *The Miscellaneous Works of The Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh*, three volumes complete in one (Boston, 1857. 1st published 1846), pp.398-403.
[149] *Ibid.*, p.398. Italics added.
[150] *Ibid.*, p.398.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] *Ibid.*, p.399.

inhospitable regions' could advance civilisation through the pursuit of knowledge.[153] Focussing particularly on Mackintosh's 'Discourse', as well as his own plans for research into various aspects of Indian society, this section explores Mackintosh's conceptualisation of 'Europe' from beyond its geographical borders. I begin with a discussion of the British scholarly approaches to study of India to which Mackintosh was responding. From Sir William Jones and William Robertson to Charles Grant and Mackintosh himself, I show how ideas about India had changed since the Literary Society's 'elder sister', the Asiatic Society of Bengal, had been established in 1784.[154] Looking at Mackintosh's 'Discourse' to the Literary Society and his letters to friends 'at home', I illustrate how, through his promotion of a particular type of knowledge and research into India, Mackintosh located Europe as the central referent to which he constantly referred back. Finally, I show how through his representations of Indian people and the 'European' inhabitants of Bombay, Mackintosh constructed and emphasised his own identity and position vis-à-vis 'Europe'.

In 1799, in his *Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations*, Mackintosh had claimed that observation of India, along with China and the Ottomans, offered a window into the past, allowing every stage of human society to 'pass in review before our mind.'[155] This approach to study of non-European societies owed much to the Scottish enlightenment's stadial model that was discussed in chapter two. As Jane Rendall has shown, the 'philosophical history' so closely associated with the Edinburgh *literati* embraced study of India because it offered possibilities for thinking comparatively about societies and societal progression.[156] Such comparisons would, it was believed, enable them to determine general laws of society, the interrelationship between society, economy, culture and government, and to locate societies on a scale of civilisation.[157] India had briefly drawn the attention of Adam Ferguson in his *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) and was discussed more extensively in William Robertson's *A Historical Disquisition in to*

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[153] *Ibid.,* p.398.
[154] BL Add MS 78764, Letter from R Smith, Calcutta, November 16th 1805, p.4.
[155] James Mackintosh, 'Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations' (1799) printed in *Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, Donald Winch (ed and intro) (Indianapolis, 2006), p.219.
[156] Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', *The Historical Journal*, no. 25, no. 1 (March, 1982), pp.43-4.
[157] See Chapter Two.

the Knowledge the Ancients had of India (1791).[158]   Both Robertson and his Welsh contemporary, the highly reputed scholar of comparative linguistics, judge and founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Sir William Jones, understood India as an ancient and highly sophisticated civilisation.

In his *Historical Disquisition*, Robertson dedicated a long appendix to a discussion of the civil policy, laws and judicial proceedings, arts, religion and sciences of 'the Hindoos'.[159]   Ostensibly to compare contemporary knowledge with that of the ancients, this appendix primarily served to argue for the advanced stage of civilisation attained by the Hindu people and to promote respect for it. Whilst Robertson implicitly agreed with Adam Ferguson's classification of contemporary India as a 'repetition of the ancient', frozen in time, he nonetheless felt that Europeans had much to learn from India.[160]   Moreover, by bringing to light their advanced state of civilisation, Robertson hoped to effect a change in the mentality of Europeans towards Indian peoples and thus a change in the nature of imperialism itself. Concluding by reprimanding European colonisers for enslaving and exterminating the 'natives' of Africa and America, Robertson argued against viewing and treating Indians as 'an inferior race of men'.[161]   Rather, Europeans should view the Hindus as 'descended from ancestors who had attained to a very high degree of improvement, many ages before the least step towards civilisation had been taken in any part of Europe.'[162]

Robertson had endeavoured to 'illustrate and confirm … the ancient and high civilisation of the inhabitants of India' according to the precepts of the stadial theory of societal progression that was so integral to Scottish enlightenment thought.[163]   From a different angle, but with a similar respect for 'ancient' Indian

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[158] *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* by Adam Ferguson, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh (London and Edinburgh, 1767); *An Historical Disquisition concerning The Knowledge which the Ancients had of India; and the progress of trade with that Country prior to the discovery of the passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope with and Appendix containing observations on the Civil Policy – the Laws and Judicial Proceedings – the Arts – the Sciences – and Religious Institutions of the Indians. By William Robertson, D.D.F.R.S.Ed. Principal of the University and Historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland* (London and Edinburgh, 1791).

[159] Robertson, *An Historical Disquisition*, pp.256-336.

[160] Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society,* p.170 and Robertson, *An Historical Disquisition*, p.336.

[161] Robertson, *An Historical Disquisition,* p.335.

[162] *Ibid.,* p. 336.

[163] *Ibid.,* p.257. See Chapter One.

civilisation and a similarly critical approach to imperialism and colonisation, William Jones wrote about India in much greater depth and with closer contact to India and Indian people. Jones' researches and his establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1784 is testimony to the networks and ties that bound knowledge to colonialism and to empire. Jones' orientalism, as Rosane Rocher argues, was ambivalent.[164] In his capacity as judge and part of the colonial establishment, Jones distrusted his *pandits* and sought to learn Sanskrit as a means of countering what he considered to be their duplicity. As a scholar, however, he was thoroughly reliant and deeply respectful of the *pandits*' learning and even more so of the texts that he studied with their help. This ambivalence towards Indian people and their culture was equally evident in both the structure and content of the Asiatic Society that he founded in Calcutta in 1784. The Society, Jones proclaimed in his 'Opening Discourse', would not exclude the possibility of involving 'learned natives' and he acknowledged that European patronage might act as an incentive to Indians to contribute to its proceedings.[165] In his scholarship, Jones maintained Europe's superiority and talent, stating that 'the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right, when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess and Asia as her handmaid'.[166] Yet he continued on a slightly more relativist note, stating that whilst 'reason and taste are the grand prerogatives of European minds, the Asiaticks have soard [sic] to loftier heights in the sphere of the imagination.'[167]

Across his Anniversary Discourses to the Asiatic Society, Jones had constructed an argument for the common origin of humankind and its subsequent separation into three branches by comparing religion, myth, language, manners and customs. His discovery of the common linguistic forms between Latin, Greek and Sanskrit led him, most famously, to group European and many Indian languages together under the term 'Indo-European'.[168] Jones' philological discoveries have had a long and celebrated history. Towards the turn of the century, however, his

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[164] Rosanne Rocher, "British Orientalism in the Eighteenth Century: the Dialectics of Knowledge and Government," in Carol A. Breckinridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament* (Philadelphia, 1993).

[165] William Jones, 'A Discourse on the Institution of a Society for Enquiring into the History, Antiquities, the Sciences and Literature of Asia', 15th Jan., 1784 in *Asiatick Researches*, vol.I (5th ed., London, 1806), p.xv.

[166] William Jones, 'The 2nd Anniversay Discourse, 24th Feb. 1785 by the President on the Superiority of European Talents' in *Asiatick Researches*, vol.I (5th ed., London, 1806), p.406.

[167] Ibid., pp.406-7

[168] See Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley, 1997).

celebration of India's ancient and deeply sophisticated culture began to be eclipsed by a tendency to focus on an approach that was deemed 'useful' and a related dismissal of India as anything other than 'degenerate'. This attitude is represented, probably at its most virulent, in Charles Grant's *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain*. First published in 1792 in the midst of the Revolution in France to which he attested his abhorrence, it was a paper that Mackintosh would almost certainly have read prior to his departure for India. Indeed, it seems that Mackintosh had initially looked to Grant for patronage in attaining a position in India. In 1802, Kitty had written of her hopes that through Grant's influence on the Court of Directors Mackintosh would attain a position, stating that the 'zeal he has shown for your interest will be likely to be of essential service to you.'[169] Nominally Christian, though certainly not evangelical and against the introduction of missionaries in India, Mackintosh nonetheless shared many of the sentiments expressed in Grant's *Observations*.

Charles Grant's *Observations*, written after over twenty years of service in India, documented what he believed to be the 'depraved' character and morals of the Bengalis in particular, and Hindus in general. Unlike Jones, who had endeavoured to construct a narrative history of India, Grant spilt little ink historicizing India and its people prior to British involvement.[170] He dismissed India's pre-British past as 'a complete despotism from the remotest antiquity' that had 'pervaded their government, their religion and their laws'.[171] Lacking 'truth, honesty and good faith', wanting any affection or sensibility, filial, paternal or conjugal, Grant argued for the 'universality of great depravity' inherent to the Indian people.[172] His solution was to bring morality, respect for law and thereby happiness to the people of India through instruction, in English, in the 'useful arts' (agriculture, mechanics etc) and especially in Christianity. Britain, Grant argued, had an obligation to deliver the Indian people from 'oppression and injustice', 'on account of the benefits we draw from them, the disadvantages they have suffered, and must still in certain ways suffer from their connection with and the relation in

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[169] BL Add MS 78768, Mackintosh from Kitty, Guildford Street, (before 19th march 1802), p.48.
[170] Javed Majeed, 'James Mill's 'The History of British India' and Utilitarianism as a Rhetoric of Reform', *Modern Asian Studies,* vol. 24, no. 2 (May, 1990), p.209.
[171] Charles Grant, *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals and on the means of improving it – Written chiefly in the Year 1792. Ordered by The House of Commons to be printed 15 June 1813*, pp.40-41.
[172] Ibid., p.31.

which they stand to us as our subjects.'[173] Concluding, Grant stated that 'we cannot renounce them without guilt, though we may also contract great guilt in the government of them.'[174]

Although all three scholars held similar concerns about colonialism and conquest, their concerns led them to very different conclusions about the nature of India and its people. For Robertson and Jones, study of India, its customs, myths and language, could contribute towards a wider understanding of the progress – both historical and theoretical – of mankind. Robertson in particular, sought to 'shew how much that great branch of commerce has contributed in every age'.[175] Europeans, the recipients of India's material wealth and the privileged interpreters of Indian knowledge, gained exponentially from such power. Yet at the same time, thinkers such as Jones and Robertson were wary of European self-complacency and embraced, rather than scorned the differences across societies.[176] In contrast, Grant focussed entirely on what Europe could give to India. Mackintosh, especially after having spent some time in India, held a similar attitude towards both India and oriental studies. On visiting the cave temples at Aurangabad, Dowluttabad and Ellora, he echoed Grant's sense of the despotism inherent to India: 'They [the temples] bear the general character of Eastern art. The object is to display power'. He continued – 'all is fantastic, massy and monstrous' - asserting, like Grant, the monstrosity of Indian culture and its implicit moral depravity. Again, in a similar vein, Mackintosh remarked on the overwhelming superstition of Indian culture, 'their superstition seems to have thought human beauty too mean an ornament for a god.'[177] Indeed, despite the company of a number of men who had a deep interest in, and sympathy for, Indian culture, Mackintosh was resolute in his belief in the depravity of Indian people.

Mackintosh's indictment of Indian culture, morality and history was not entirely without ambivalence. Writing to Dugald Stewart, whose own approach to oriental studies was more akin to that of Robertson or Jones, Mackintosh was more cautious in his denunciations. Reporting a conversation he had had with a Brahmin

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[173] Ibid., p.23
[174] Ibid.
[175] Robertson, *An Historical Disquisition,* p.vi.
[176] Pitts, *Turn to Empire,* p.27 and p.240.
[177] BL Add MS 52437, 14th December 1810, p.211.

'of no great learning', Mackintosh stated his incredulity that 'speculations so refined and abstruse should, in a long course of ages, have fallen through so great a space as that which separates the genius of their original inventors from the mind of this weak and unlettered man. The names of the inventors have perished but their ingenious and beautific theories, blended with the most monstrous superstitions have descended to men very little exalted above the most ignorant populace.'[178] Yet from this apparent position of respect for the ancient state of Indian culture, Mackintosh returned to his scepticism. Justifying his intentions to research further the history of such ideas, he wrote, 'for I am not altogether without apprehension that we may all the while be mistaking the hyperbolical effusions of mystical piety for the technical language of a philosophical system.'[179] Like many of his scholarly intentions, Mackintosh's research appears to have proceeded no further. Except to cast doubts on its 'greatness' and make proclamations of its 'depravity', Mackintosh was not particularly interested either in ancient or contemporary Indian culture. Referring to the 'antiquities and mythologies' of India as 'Eastern trash', he assured Sharp that he had no intention of 'dabbling' in Orientalism.[180]

It was as a 'philosopher', therefore, contemplating 'Oriental matters' from a philosophical point of view, that Mackintosh established the Literary Society of Bombay.[181] In his 'Discourse' on the opening of the Literary Society of Bombay, Mackintosh praised Jones as a scholar who had 'surpassed all his contemporaries and perhaps even the most laborious scholars of the two former centuries, in extent and variety of attainment.'[182] Yet he lamented the fact that Jones 'seldom directed his mind to those subjects the successful investigation of which confers the name of a 'philosopher'.'[183] Dismissive of the interest and value of Jones' orientalism, Mackintosh regretted that he had focused exclusively on 'antiquities'.[184] Whereas William Jones had encouraged his Asiatic Society to investigate, 'whatever is rare in the stupendous fabric of nature', Mackintosh laid out a research path for his own Literary Society that was based upon 'utility' - the investigation into the 'physical'

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[178] BL Add MS 78764, Mackintosh to Dugald Stewart, Bombay, 2nd November 1805, pp.54-5.
[179] Ibid., p.55.
[180] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 24th February 1806, p.12.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Mackintosh, 'Discourse … Literary Society of Bombay', p.399.
[183] Ibid., p.399.
[184] Ibid., p.399.

and 'moral' sciences.[185] In his opening address, Mackintosh guided the members of the Literary Society to pursue Mineralogy, Botany, to record the 'variations of temperature' and its impact upon health. He urged them to 'transmit, through their immediate superiors, to the scientific depositories of Great Britain, specimens of every mineral, vegetable, or animal production which they conceive to be singular, or with respect to which they suppose themselves to have observed any new and important facts.'[186] In what he termed the 'moral' sciences, Mackintosh outlined a programme of research based upon 'the science of Political Economy'.[187]

Above all, Mackintosh promoted the collection of statistical information – 'the numbers of the people; the numbers of births, marriages, and deaths; the proportion of children reared to maturity' (etc.).[188] Encouraging the members of the Society to draw up statistical surveys, Mackintosh promoted such investigations as potentially offering up a fascinating study into the ways in which the 'principles of political economy' might be applied beyond Europe.[189] Moreover, if the principles of political economy were applied to India it would be 'one of the most curious interests which could be contrived of their truth and universal operation.'[190] Writing to Sharp, Mackintosh stated that if nothing else, he hoped 'to seek out of it [the Literary Society] at least a good statistical account of Bombay which being the only one ever given of a tropical country will be a novelty very acceptable to political economists.'[191] For Mackintosh, then, 'useful knowledge' comprised, firstly, that which could further Europe's understanding of the general laws of nature and of society. Such knowledge drew directly on an array of contemporary thinkers from Malthus to Ricardo, all of whose own foundations of thought relied heavily on Adam Smith.[192] Secondly, with its 'tendency to promote quiet and safe improvement in the general condition of mankind', Mackintosh stated that 'useful knowledge' could better the condition of the people through good government.[193] Thus, in a paper entitled 'Observations relating to the population of India', Mackintosh

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[185] Ibid., p.400.
[186] Ibid., p.400.
[187] Ibid., p.401.
[188] Ibid., p.401.
[189] Ibid., p.401.
[190] Ibid., p.402.
[191] 52451b, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 24th February, 1806, p.12.
[192] See Stefan Collini, Donald Winch, John Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics: A Case Study in Nineteenth-century Intellectual History* (Cambridge, 1983).
[193] Mackintosh, 'Discourse … Literary Society of Bombay', p.403.

outlined the questions that needed to be researched in order to understand the happiness of the 'natives' in Salsette. Such an understanding could then be used to consider the best methods of taxation on the population.[194]

For the most part, Mackintosh was interested in how knowledge of India could be used in Britain to test principles and ideas that had been developed across Europe. 'In a country where every part of the system of manners and institutions differs form those of Europe', Mackintosh wrote, 'it is impossible to forsee the extent and variety of the new results which an accurate survey might present to us.'[195] The 'us' were, of course, Europeans and India was the object of their research. Knowledge could be transmitted back to Europe to test and broaden its control over universal knowledge. This is exactly the 'hegemonic reflex' that Pratt sees as the 'basic element constructing modern Eurocentrism.'[196] As Pratt argues, this pursuit of knowledge created the European subject whilst simultaneously carving out India as an epistemological space, an object to be plundered for 'knowledge' that would in turn reinforce and justify European expansion into 'distant and barren lands'.[197] The nature of that European subject, the idea of Europe and of India were therefore intimately connected. Yet it was not only against the Indian 'native' that Mackintosh defined himself. As I show in the final part of this section, Mackintosh's dehumanisation of non-European people led him to an almost complete disregard for their presence. Instead, I argue, Mackintosh defined his own Europeaness vis-à-vis Bombay's 'European society'. Exploring Mackintosh's conceptualisation of 'Europe' in space and his own positioning in a geographically-imagined hierarchy of civilisation, I show how Mackintosh conceptualised himself as a 'European subject'.

Mackintosh began his 'Discourse' on the opening of the Literary Society by placing the society in geographical context:

> I hope that we agree in considering all Europeans who visit remote
> countries, whatever their separate pursuits may be, as detachments of the

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[194] BL Add MS 78755, 'Questions relating to the population of India, Salsette on Indian revenue October 1809', pp.1-17.
[195] Ibid., p.401.
[196] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992), p.15.
[197] *Ibid.* See also Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, pp.1-15.

main body of civilised men, sent out to levy contributions of knowledge, as well as to gain victories over barbarism.[198]

In this passage, Mackintosh understood 'Europe' as synonymous to 'civilisation'. Imagining 'Europe' to be the epicentre of 'civilisation', he conceptualised 'civilisation' geographically in a hierarchy that spanned space as well as time. This conceptualisation is illustrated in numerous disparate comments that fill Mackintosh's diaries and writings from Bombay. Reading about the history of Corsica, for example, Mackintosh was astonished to learn that 'a race so barbarous existed in western Europe' and attributed this barbarity in such close proximity to the epicentre of civilisation to its position on 'the frontier between Christendom and Barbary … most exposed to the Mahometan pirates.'[199] Elsewhere, in an unusually positive note about miscegenation, he understood 'the civilisation and morality of Europe' to be spreading 'into her most distant and obscure dependencies'.[200]

Yet if the migration of 'Europeans' beyond Europe could spread civilisation, the other side of the same coin lay in fears of European degeneracy as they travelled beyond its geographically-imagined, culturally-constructed borders. As the previous section illustrated, fears about the degeneration of the European character amongst those who lived in the colonies abounded from the mid-eighteenth century. The adoption of Indian customs, marriage and co-habitation with Indian women and, as a result, mixed-race children, led to fears about European morality and to concrete measures in order to prevent both cultural and physical miscegenation.[201] As Roxann Wheeler argues, this period saw an immense fluidity between physical and moral characteristics.[202] Conflating morality and skin colour, Charles Grant argued that 'depravity' was deeply embedded in the 'Hindoo' essence. 'It is the universality of great depravity that is here insisted on, a general moral hue, between which, and the European complexion, there is a difference, analogous to the difference of the natural colour of the two races.'[203] Mackintosh himself stated, in relation to Kantian notions of beauty, that 'the fair complexion is in all these respects superior to the

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[198] Mackintosh, 'Discourse … Literary Society of Bombay', p.398.
[199] BL Add MS 52437, 16th August 1810, pp.95-6.
[200] BL Add MS 52440, 29th November 1811, p.21.
[201] Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty,* pp.130-1.
[202] Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-century British Culture* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp.2-3.
[203] Grant, 'Observations', p.31.

dark.'[204]   The 'natural colour of the two races' and their corresponding moral attributes, however, was never as clearly differentiated, as black and white, as the racism of either Mackintosh or Grant desired it to be. In Bombay, the Portuguese inhabitants, a community who had lived in Western India for centuries, confused the boundaries between 'native' and 'European'. Referring to his two Portuguese nursery maids as 'black Christians *called* Portuguese', Mackintosh placed greater emphasis on their colour, implicitly calling into question the extent to which they could be referred to as Portuguese and thus associated with Europe.[205]

Yet it was not only the colour of skin that determined a person or people's place along Mackintosh's hierarchy of civilisation. Writing that 'the meanest Dutch half cast is probably much better than a Malay or Cingales (sic)', Mackintosh combined skin colour and geographical origin, even if only by descent, and saw these features as determinants of moral character.   The closer – both in terms of colour and geographical origin – that a person was to 'Europe', the more, it would seem, Mackintosh trusted and valued their character.   Thus, when looking for a woman to accompany his daughter during a voyage, he wrote to his wife of having entrusted her care to, 'the only semi-European animal in female form who could assist in transferring her'. [206]   In an echo of his claim to the Literary Society to 'humanise the whole race of man', this last quote illustrates the way in which Mackintosh de-humanised any person who was not associated with 'Europe'.   If Mackintosh conceptualised 'civilisation' as geographically emanating from a 'Europe', its personification was imagined to be white, Christian and largely confined to Western Europe. As his suggestions for police reform, discussed in the previous section, illustrated, Mackintosh believed that the very presence of a 'European' and particularly an 'Englishman' was enough to promote 'improvement'. The 'respectable' English gentleman in the colonies became, in theory, the embodiment and carrier of civilisation itself. It is in this embodiment that class, race and gender intersect to form the 'European' or 'English' subject of Mackintosh's imagination. The Literary Society, unlike the Asiatic Society, was open only to white men and, like most clubs in Britain, operated a system of 'black-

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[204] BL Add MS 52440, 3rd December 1811, p.25.
[205] BL Add MS 78768, **Mackintosh to (John) Allen, Parell House Bombay, 22nd February 1805,** p.64.
[206] BL Add MS 78769, **Mackintosh to Kitty, August 3rd 1811,** p.179.

balling' that enabled the exclusion of men who were deemed lacking in respectability.

Replicating the clubs and societies to which Mackintosh had belonged in Scotland and England, the Bombay Literary Society comprised men who represented, or had the potential to represent, Mackintosh's conceptualisation of 'Europe'. Through the compiling of knowledge about India, the Literary Society would be enabling better governance of India, furthering 'European' knowledge of the world and thereby promoting the advance of civilisation itself. Knowledge collection, as well as the act of forming a Literary Society, was itself a performance of 'civilisation'. The masculinity of this pursuit is evident in the *Quarterly Review*'s response to Maria Graham's publication of her *Journal of a Residence in India.* Referring to Graham as 'a young lady, who probably went to India like most young ladies, to procure a husband instead of information' the *Quarterly's* wary and condescending response demonstrates the discomfort surrounding women's position in the project of colonial knowledge.[207] Calling her work a 'literary curiosity', the *Quarterly*'s ambivalence serves to re-assert gender division by stating the likelihood that Graham's work was merely a bi-product of the more properly feminine endeavour of finding a husband. Yet it was not only the *Quarterly*, renowned for its dislike of 'bluestockings', that asserted the masculinity of the pursuit for knowledge. In her *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), Mary Wollstonecraft noted the differences between the styles of travel writing exhibited by 'civilised' men and women. Missing the 'useful fruit' of civilisation, women were inclined to focus on 'incidental occurences' rather than having 'the end in view'.[208] This is the very characteristic that Mary Louise Pratt has seen as differentiating the female, 'participatory observer' in contrast to the male 'objectivist ways of knowing based on a static relation between seer and seen.'[209]

The different means of colonial knowledge collection exhibited by men and women were perhaps more a sign, as Wollstonecraft argued, of styles that were deemed appropriate and proper for women to write about. In her second work,

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[207] Art VIII *Journal of a Residence in India* By Maria Graham. *Quarterly Review* no.XVI, 1812, London, John Murray, Abermarle Street – Constable. Edinburgh. 4to. Pp.212. 1812, p.406.
[208] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Miriam Brody (ed and intro) (London, 2004, first published, 1792), p.78.
[209] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp.159-160.

Letters from India (1814), Maria Graham's constant references to her work in the diminutive, her apologetic and subjective explanations of Indian beliefs and customs, are suggestive of the difficulties of the gendered boundaries of knowledge. Reminding herself and her reader that she has not forgotten these boundaries (even as she transgresses them), Graham repeatedly reigns herself in. Straying from Hindu sculpture to fortfication, she states, 'But you will think I am straying out of my proper province and trenching upon yours, and, to say the truth, the useful and exact lines of a fortress have in general few charms for a lady's eyes, however she may delight in the more showy structures of palaces and temples.'[210] 'Useful' knowledge was not the proper realm of a lady, her aim and remit, Maria suggests, was merely ascetic. Treading a new path in didactic writing, Maria's claims to 'objective' knowledge are hesitant.[211] Yet even then, the negative response that she received suggests that she had overstepped gender boundaries. Writing to Mrs Liston of the *Quarterly's* ironic review of *Letters on India,* Elizabeth Hamilton stated her disappointment in Maria's second published work. 'I am really mortified at seeing a woman of no common talents make herself this ridiculous', she stated.[212]

Seemingly more scandalised than mortified, Elizabeth Hamilton's main objection was Maria's lack of acknowledgement of Sir James Mackintosh's help in acquiring the knowledge and information that she then published. 'To the hospitality and kindness of Sir J and Lady M, she was indebted for every opportunity she enjoyed of seeing the country or its inhabitants; and to Sir J she owned the greater part of the information she has commanded'.[213] Whilst it is probably the case that Mackintosh supplied the means for Maria to acquire information, it is certainly not the case that their opinions concurred. Despite Hamilton's own feminism, her objection appears to be based upon questions of *access* to information and mobility: 'Apparently from no other motive than a contemptible vanity [Maria] presents herself as some great personage, [driven] by thirst of knowledge to traverse unknown regions, attended by an enormous retinue,

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[210] Maria Graham, *Letters on India with Etchings and a Map,* (London and Edinburgh, 1814), p.66.
[211] See Jane Rendall, 'The Condition of Women, Women's Writing and the Empire in Nineteenth-century Britain' in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Sonya Rose and Catherine Hall (eds) (Cambridge, 2006), pp.101-3.
[212] NLS, MS 5640: Liston Constantinople, Elizabeth Hamilton to Mrs Liston, Clifton, March 22nd 1813, pp.82-3.
[213] Ibid., p.83.

and receiving wherever she appeared the homage due to her exalted station.'[214] As Mary Louise Pratt's 'capitalist vanguard' explorers in South America wrote out the women who accompanied them so that their explorations appeared to be exclusively masculine endeavours, so Maria wrote out the entourage of men who had the power to decide routes, and to procure resources for travel.[215] Yet whilst the 'vanguard's' erasure of women was bought without question, Maria's own erasure was an act of deviance that could certainly not be accepted.

Mackintosh himself was perhaps less condemnatory of women who pursued knowledge than many of his contemporaries.[216] Even so, there was little question that the Literary Society be restricted to white, upper-class men and that it was 'European' men who were the agents of 'civilisation'. Writing to Kitty in 1810, Mackintosh spoke of his 'unavailing efforts' to establish a 'circle of followers' who might promote 'civilisation' not only across space but also down generations. 'You will not suppose me mad enough to compare myself with Swift', he wrote, 'but in considering the small set of friends whom he made after his return to Ireland it is curious that the grandsons of two of them should in forty years become so conspicuous as Sheridan and Grattan.'[217] Encouraged by friends who claimed to be speculating on the 'moral and literary improvement' that would result from his residence in Bombay, Mackintosh envisaged himself as the harbinger of 'civilisation' to those 'European' men who could spread its efforts further into India itself.[218] In doing so, Mackintosh imagined himself as the bridge between 'Europe' and 'India', informing the members of the Literary Society what it was that 'Europe' wanted to know.[219] Writing to Sharp, he stated that 'I have been obliged [by whom he does not say] to allow Gentz and Camille Jourdan to insert a notice in the German and French Journals *announcing that I am here ready to help the literati of the Continent in their enquiries concerning India.*'[220] Positioning himself as the 'mouthpiece of Europe', Mackintosh constructed a distance between himself and the members of the Literary Society, who he imagined as closer to India itself. It was a strategy that served to reassure his friends 'at home' that he was untouched by the threat of

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[214] Ibid, p.83.
[215] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* (2nd ed), p.152.
[216] See Chapter Four.
[217] BL Add MS 52438a, 17th February, 1811, p.90.
[218] BL Add MS 52451b, Mrs Taylor to Mackintosh, Norwich, 7th November 1805, p.117
[219] Mackintosh, 'Discourse … Literary Society of Bombay', p.399.
[220] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, 14th August 1804, p.9.

degeneracy that India posed to those 'Europeans' around him. 'I do my best to keep your mind European', wrote Sharp in 1805, rejoicing in the same year to hear that Mackintosh had 'discovered that it is not worth while to run about after singular manners and uncouth appearances … With such feelings surely you cannot forget European things to go hankering after the extravagances of orientalism.'[221]

Whilst Sharp encouraged Mackintosh to pursue his philosophical studies and 'preserve your mind in a proper European habit', Mackintosh's representation of the Literary Society's members served to reinforce his own identity as 'European'.[222] Even as he admitted that there were some 'ingenious men' amongst his society, he nonetheless constantly emphasised the inferiority of his 'European' contemporaries in Bombay. Their use of English was one marker of the degeneracy that residence in the colonies effected. For Mackintosh, fluent and correct use of English was one important aspect upon which a work could be judged. Writing a preface in 1816 for a reprinted version of *The Edinburgh Review* – established but discontinued in 1755 - much of Mackintosh's analysis of its contents was focussed on the correct or incorrect usage of English.[223] In Bombay, Mackintosh remarked on 'the tendency of the Anglo-Indians to forget all the nicer shades of English expressions.'[224] Reading Elphinstone's manuscript he again commented that 'the more I read the writings of the ablest men in distant dependencies the more I see how inevitable the language is lost in a colony.'[225] Seeing language as a mirror of the world around him, Mackintosh saw the loss of the English language as the loss of refinement that was a significant part of a 'civilised' character. It was inevitable, therefore, with 'Hindoostani' spoken with inferiors and by children with their *ayahs*, that an aspect of 'civilisation' should degenerate with distance from 'civilised' Europe.[226] Thus, Mackintosh concluded, 'It is upon this [the English language] and similar shades that all elegance depends. It is therefore no wonder that taste and elegance are lost in the colonies.'[227]

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[221] BL Add MS 78764, Sharp to Mackintosh, London 4th June 1805, p.26.
[222] Ibid., Sharp to Mackintosh, Sept 23rd 1806, p.32.
[223] *The Edinburgh Review for the 1755,* 2nd edition (London, 1818), p.ix.
[224] BL Add MS 52438a, 16th February 1811, p.64.
[225] Ibid., 14th April 1811, p.129.
[226] Janet Sorensen, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-century British Writing* (Cambridge, 2000), p.12.
[227] BL Add MS 52438a, 16th February 1811, p.65.

For Mackintosh, the effectiveness of the imperial 'civilising' mission rested on the civility and character of its colonial governors. Even at its worst in India, the British empire, in Mackintosh's rendition, became Britain's sacrifice (later 'the white man's burden') and provided India with 'a greater proportion of honest men, than could fall to their lot under the government of their own or of any other nation.'[228] Echoing Grant's *Observations*, Mackintosh stated that 'the price which Great Britain pays to the inhabitants of India for her dominion, is the security that their government shall be administered by a class of respectable men.'[229] It was the very respectability of Bombay's ruling men, however, that was in question. Mackintosh partly conceptualised this problem in terms of the proximity, relationship and attachment of Bombay's British governors to Europe and to European 'civilisation'. His thoughts on missionaries in India makes evident this concern. Thinking about the Christian missions that Grant had promoted, Mackintosh noted the ways in which place informed the efficacy of the Christian message of morality. 'Something doubtless depends on the civilisation of Europe for the Character of Christian sects in Asia is not so distinguished,' he wrote, having read a few missionary magazines in Bombay.[230] Mackintosh elaborated upon these thoughts in a letter 'to a gentleman in England' of 1808. Before Indian people could be converted to Christianity, he argued that it was necessary for them to see evidence the English 'were sincere in our adoration of that God'. They must therefore see 'in our lives an example of the influence which our holy religion had upon our morals from the practice of all those virtues which its precepts are so calculated to produce.'[231] That Mackintosh did not think that the English in India lived up to such an expectation is clear.

Mackintosh's representation of the English community in Bombay as degenerate, rather than different from his own idea of what constituted a 'European' or 'English' cultural identity, allowed him to posit himself as more 'European' than his colleagues in Bombay. Constantly referring back to Europe, Mackintosh made 'Europe' the central referent through which he filtered his observations and experiences of India. Thus, on visiting Aurangabad and Ellora, Mackintosh claimed that 'to pierce a country in all directions with canals is in truth a

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[228] Ibid.
[229] Mackintosh 'Discourse … Literary Society of Bombay', note, p.402.
[230] BL Add MS 52437, 19th September 1810, pp.127-8.
[231] NLS, MS 11732-3 1st Earl of Minto papers, Extract of a letter to a gentleman in England dated 6th March 1808, p.59.

greater work than any of them' – 'them' being not only the cave temples but all 'the boasted works of Asia from the wall of China to the Pyramids.'[232] In a similar vein, on visiting the cave sculptures of Elephanta, Mackintosh determined that one day, 'Twenty or thirty centuries hence, some nation, whose name is now unknown, may compare these works of barbaric toil with the finished productions of the genius and taste of an English artist.'[233] Constantly referring back to Europe, and to England in particular, the approach to knowledge of India that Mackintosh promoted to the Literary Society placed 'Europe' and 'India' in opposition. Sir William Jones had focussed on common mythology and language, placing 'Europe' and 'India' in the same epistemological field. Mackintosh, in contrast, constructed 'India' as the subject of the 'European' gaze. India, for Mackintosh, was a negative 'Other' against which Europe could be constructed and judged. He represented the 'rhetorical obsession with the idea of colonial blankness' that would become more prevalent as utilitarianism became more and more influential in colonial governance of India.[234] As an epistemological space it was to be plundered for the information that could serve Europe. But to engage with this space, to belong to it, was to lose the very element of 'European' civilisation that constructed knowledge, which projected itself outwards to discover 'universal' truths.

Jennifer Pitts has argued that the increasing sense of national self-confidence amongst both the British and the French was responsible for the 'turn to empire' that characterised the early nineteenth century.[235] Shedding the nuances and tolerance of eighteenth-century thinkers, scholars such as Benjamin Constant and James Mill, men with whom Mackintosh was closely affiliated and who held similar opinions, celebrated Europe's ability to promote civilisation across the world.[236] It seems questionable as to how far the respect that men such as Jones and Robertson showed for ancient Indian learning ever corresponded to a tolerance for cultural difference. Instead, I would argue that the vast differences between their approach to India and Mackintosh's own lay less a 'turn to empire' than in a turn 'around'

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[232] BL Add MS 52437, 14th December 1810, p.212.
[233] *Memoirs of the Life,* pp. 265-6.
[234] Suleri, *Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago and London, 1992), p.22.
[235] Pitts, *Turn to Empire*, p.240.
[236] *Ibid.*, p.240.

Europe.[237] As I have argued in this section, the knowledge that Mackintosh promoted to the Literary Society of Bombay and his reflections on Indian history, culture, religion and people, constantly referred back to Europe. 'Europe' – the geographical embodiment of a set of cultural values defined as 'civilisation' – was the axis around which Mackintosh's perception and construction of India spun. As Mackintosh's concept of 'Europe' as 'civilisation' became increasingly threatened by both Napoleonic successes and his own absence from it, so he focussed resolutely on that space to which his own sense of identity and home were attached. It is to Mackintosh's conception of 'Europe' and 'England' as 'home' and his sense of Bombay as a space of exile that I turn in the final section.

'Chains of iron bondage': home and exile in Bombay

Writing to her husband from Bombay in 1808, Kitty Mackintosh described a disturbing dream that she had had whilst he was away, touring Hyderabad to assess the governance and prosperity of its districts. The focus of the dream was a coffin, 'There was no noise, nothing on the coffin lid', she wrote, 'but I felt that you were in it as if my heart went out of my body as it were into the coffin as it disappeared.'[238] During the course of the same trip, Mackintosh noted down his own morbid thoughts as he was carried in his palanquin, across Western India. Unwell and fearing for his life, Mackintosh reflected on stories of gentlemen who had been found dead, their bodies carried for miles before their bearers realised they were bearing a corpse.[239] In these haunting images, Kitty and James Mackintosh see in their respective visions reflections of their own demise. Concluding the description of her dream, Kitty stated that 'I shed no tears, felt no horror but a quiet consciousness that everything was finished, that the whole of my existence was conveyed away in this coffin with a kind of strange identity with the coffin itself.'[240] Whilst Mackintosh is more clearly concerned with his own death, in Kitty's dream the death of her husband spells the end of her existence, even as her own body

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[237] See Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham and London, 2006), pp.12-21.

[238] BL Add MS 78768, Kitty to Mackintosh Court House, Sunday 4th December 1808 continued on 5th, p.95.

[239] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh*, p.94.

[240] BL Add MS 78768, Kitty to Mackintosh Court House, Sunday 4th December 1808 continued on 5th, p.95.

remains. Her absolute reliance on him and her vulnerability, as a wife living in Bombay without her own family and friends, is made terrifyingly clear in the context of empire. Vulnerability, however, runs through both visions, in the death of the husband and the disregard of the native palanquin bearers; common to both is the terror of disappearance that is evoked in the image of the unnoticed, un-mourned conveyance of the two anonymous boxes.

Although Mackintosh had written to John Allen in 1805 praising the medical practitioners in India and stating that 'there is very little more mortality' than in England, his diaries and letters are noticeably more fixated on death in Bombay than they were, or would later be, in England.[241] The terror of isolation, of being forgotten and of losing identity that is suggested by the two different spectres of death is, I argue in this section, borne of Kitty and James' location in Bombay. It is a terror that resonates with the fear of being forgotten, a fear that is suggested by the urgency of Mackintosh's requests for news from his friends and family in Britain. As Zoe Laidlaw has shown, letters between the colonies and the metropole were fundamental to the maintenance of friendship and patronage networks.[242] Contact with London, as the social, intellectual and political 'home' to which Mackintosh intended one day to return, was vital. His letters were meagre substitutes for days and evenings that would have been spent in coffee houses, taverns and at friends' dining tables had he been in London or Edinburgh, creating and defending his reputation. In what must have been a reassuring response to his letters of 1804, Sharp wrote to Mackintosh that having read his letters to all his many friends in London 'the poor thin paper has had a more troublesome journey in my pocket book about London, than it had in crossing deserts and seas.'[243]

Letters were the vital means of maintaining a presence in absence and ultimately of keeping open the very possibilities of return. As such, the collection of letters, diaries and occasional poetry from Bombay that comprise such a large proportion of Mackintosh's archive, were a means of projecting identity and

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[241] BL Add MS 78768, Mackintosh to (John) Allen, Parell House Bombay, 22nd February 1805, p.62.
[242] Zoe Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government* (Manchester and New York, 2005), p.17.
[243] BL Add MS 78764, London 18th January 1805 Sharp to Mackintosh, p.23.

belonging and of assuaging the terror of loss of identity and oblivion.[244] Throughout this section, I argue that these fears informed Kitty and Mackintosh's representation of Bombay as a site of 'exile', which was contrasted with an image of a 'home' to which they belonged. I show how their desires to project themselves as 'European', uncontaminated by Indian 'corruption' and 'degeneracy', to friends back 'home', informed the ways that they conceptualised and reported their experiences of living in Bombay. The section begins by focussing on Mackintosh and Kitty's representations of Bombay and particularly its 'European' society in their letters and in a poem written by Kitty on her return voyage from Bombay in 1810. I then look at how the Mackintoshes portray their own position amongst this society and explore their efforts to distance themselves and emphasise their isolation in order to retain their own 'European' identity. Finally, I end by illustrating how the Mackintoshes' representations of Bombay as a space of 'exile' offers an insight into how they imagined 'home' and the ways in which their identities were premised on this notion of 'home'.

The Mackintosh family, like the majority of better-off Europeans, resided in the north of Bombay, in Parel, away from the busy Fort area where many of the 'native' merchants, Company buildings and bazaars were based. Rather than live in the Recorder's house near to the Court, they accepted the offer of the governor's country house, 'a noble house with some magnificent rooms and with two delightful rooms for my library overlooking a large garden.'[245] Five miles from the Fort, to which Mackintosh ventured by horse or palanquin for court business during sessions, the residence and the family's needs were serviced by a retinue of servants. Their ethnicities reflected the diversity of Bombay's population and is illustrative of the ways in which class, status and ethnicity overlapped. Mackintosh's principal servant, Cawasjee, was a Parsee and Kitty's servant a Muslim named Fudgelo. They, along with two nursery maids - 'black Christians called Portuguese' - were paid around fifteen rupees a month.[246] The latter were responsible for the care and possibly also the nursing of their youngest child, Robert, born in Bombay in 1804. In addition were cooks, light bearers and guards who were paid far less. Alongside

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[244] For a theoretical discussion of belonging and its relationship to social contexts see Elspeth Probyn, *Outside Belongings* (London and New York, 1996).
[245] BL Add MS 78768, Mackintosh to (John) Allen, Parell House Bombay, 22nd February 1805, p.63.
[246] Ibid., p.64.

his household servants, Mackintosh had two 'chobdars', clothed in scarlet and gold lace, they, Mackintosh wrote, 'go before me every where proclaiming my grandeur'.[247] Paid by the public, their presence was illustrative of Mackintosh's standing in Bombay, a standing that he certainly could not have acquired in either London or Edinburgh. Second only to the governor of Bombay, Mackintosh was greeted by a military salute whenever he returned from his travels.[248]

In total, Mackintosh's household comprised approximately seventeen servants upon whom the family were entirely reliant for their day-to-day needs. Around their table Maria Graham, having recently arrived from England, noted that six languages were spoken – Arabic, 'Hindustani', Persian, French, English and Italian, between various servants, family members and guests.[249] Writing to Sharp, Mackintosh described his daily encounters with people from Hyderabad, Oussein, Ahmedabad, Poonah, Cambay and Modena, with Armenians, Parsees and Catholics who had connections and networks spanning India, Europe and the Middle East. Yet, he concluded, whilst 'all this jumble of nations and sages and opinions looks at a distance as if it would be very amusing … it is not all worth one afternoon of free and rational conversation at the King of Clubs.'[250] For the remainder of his residence, Mackintosh spilt little further ink describing the non-'European' people who inhabited his house and Bombay more generally. Unless it offered an opportunity to assert European or English superiority, Mackintosh's interest in the world beyond the small, elite and predominantly white, 'European' society was minimal. Mackintosh's primary representation of Bombay, therefore, was as a space defined only through what it was not, through what and who it lacked. Thus, he concluded his observations of Bombay's heterogeneous population with a resolution never again to reside amongst 'singular manners or uncouth usages': 'I should rather travel to the Temple to keep Parson quiet for a week and make a voyage down the Thames to force my way into Jeremy Bentham in Queen Square Place – these are monsters enough for me and fierce as one of them is they suit me much better than Mullas or Pundits.'[251]

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[247] Ibid., p.64.
[248] *Bombay Courier*, 7th Jan, 1809, p.852.
[249] BL Add MS 52436b, 26th August 1808, n.p.
[250] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 14th August, 1804, p.8.
[251] Ibid.

If the spectacles of difference displayed in Bombay failed to interest or engage Mackintosh for long, however, the more familiar culture of Bombay's 'European' society was even more disconcerting. From his arrival in Bombay in 1804, Mackintosh had written repeatedly to friends expressing his loathing of the 'European' society amongst whom he was residing. 'I have no means of conveying into your mind any idea of the society here', he wrote to Sharp in 1804.[252] 'There is a languor and lethargy among them to which I never saw any approach among any other human beings. They have no exertion of mind, no knowledge, no curiosity, no interest in anything past, present or to come. It is much worse than mere ignorance or even mere folly – every power and faculty are asleep and motionless.'[253] Within the year, their apathy was the least of Mackintosh's problems. As the first section illustrated, Mackintosh's attempts to address corruption led to factions forming against him. 'Sufficient to make a small society very uncomfortable', the presence of enemies made Mackintosh determined to quit and return to the 'society of good and amiable men' with a smaller fortune than he had originally hoped for.[254] Whereas Mackintosh could, and did, turn his back on the 'uncouth usages' of Bombay's Indian populations, escaping from its 'European' society proved to be impossible. The problem, he wrote to Moore in 1807, was not the lack of society but 'the badness of society'.[255] His friend's solitude in Ireland was, Mackintosh claimed, desirable compared to his own situation. In Bombay it was the 'frivolous and paltry business which teases me as much as if it were important and wastes my time without employing my understanding' that made his situation unbearable.[256]

Mackintosh's constant reiterations of the 'badness' of Bombay's 'European' society illustrate an interesting paranoia that, I would argue, was based less on proximity to India and Indian people than on proximity to an idea of 'Europe' itself. Ultimately, what bothered Mackintosh far more than 'uncouth [Indian] usages' upon which he turned his back, was the vulgarity of practices that were, in many ways, too close to 'home'. Where Sharp was concerned that Mackintosh would turn his pursuits to 'Indian' objects that would not be interesting to a 'European' audience, Mackintosh himself appears more concerned to distance himself from pursuits that

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[252] Ibid., p.7.
[253] Ibid., p.7.
[254] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Moore, 16th March 1807, p.163.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Ibid.

were, in fact, 'European' or 'English' but were tarnished by provinciality. As the previous section illustrated, Mackintosh imagined himself in the role of Swift in Ireland, spreading 'civilisation' into the provinces from the metropole. In her *Journal of a Residence in India*, Maria Graham began her description of the 'Europeans in Bombay' by stating that 'the manners of the inhabitants of a foreign colony are in general so well represented by those of a country town at home, that it is hopeless to attempt making a description of them very interesting.'[257] The ladies, she continued, were much like 'the ladies of all the country towns I know, under-bred and over-dressed … very ignorant and grossiere.'[258] What disturbed Mackintosh most of all was the performance of 'Europeanness' that was similar, but could not be allowed to be the same, as the 'society' from which he had come. Representing Bombay's 'European' society as 'dull' and 'apathetic' therefore reinforced the hierarchy of civilisation that placed the metropole – configured interchangeably as 'Europe', 'Britain' and 'England' – at its very pinnacle. To have conceded that Bombay's provincial 'Europeans' or Indians could genuinely become 'civilised' would have been to allow that India itself could become a space equal to Mackintosh's idea of metropolitan 'Europe'. The 'civilising' of India's 'European' population was therefore a pursuit that had to remain constantly unrealised, its achievement ever-deferred.

Through his constant reiterations of his disaffection with Bombay's 'European' society Mackintosh made it clear to friends 'at home' that his identity remained resolutely fixed upon their society, a society that he associated with 'civilised' 'Europe'. Representing Bombay's 'European' society as both apathetic and a constant nuisance and its native inhabitants as 'uncouth', Mackintosh made clear his own dis-identification with all of Bombay's inhabitants. From the very outset of his residence, Mackintosh represented himself as standing apart, intellectually, from its inhabitants, 'my understanding is indeed in almost absolute solitude and my body is too often in a croud [sic]'.[259] As the previous section illustrated, even when he gathered around him the more intellectual male members of Bombay's 'European' society, Mackintosh located himself as the mouthpiece of Europe, standing apart from the members of the society, closer to Europe than to

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[257] Graham, *Journal of a Residence*, p.27.
[258] *Ibid.*, p.28.
[259] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Moore, 6th August 1804, p.155.

India. Indeed, the discomforts and disaffections that Mackintosh felt amongst Bombay's society provided a ready excuse as to why he was unable to advance with his own studies. His projects, he had written, would be the 'consolation of my exile'.[260] Once amongst his books Mackintosh had hoped, in 1804, that 'the place must become more indifferent to me.'[261] It was a hope that remained unfulfilled. Writing to Dugald Stewart in 1805 he claimed that 'I have nothing here, it is true, to desist me from the execution of my plans but I have very little to animate and support me during the work.'[262] Two years later, Mackintosh was reflecting in his diary on his own lack of improvement that its blank pages signified. 'My life is a blank' he wrote in 1810, 'but my understanding generally makes some attempts every day.'[263]

In a letter to Sharp in 1804, Mackintosh had stated that, 'The English of this settlement are not improved like maderia by their voyage'.[264] It was less the voyage itself, however, than the length of time that a person had spent in India that Mackintosh held responsible for their 'degeneracy'. Mackintosh portrayed the inevitable dullness of the formal dinner parties held in Bombay, which were comprised of guests 'worn out with 20 or 30 years' residence in India'[265] The governor himself, Jonathan Duncan, Mackintosh claimed had been 'brahminised by thirty-nine years' residence in India.'[266] Describing to his friends the general 'debility of understanding and character which prevails among the Anglo-Indians of Bombay', Mackintosh warned that it would be at least eight years before he could escape and implored them for regular letters containing 'European news'.[267] 'No European letter can here be tedious, nothing English is here uninteresting or insignificant', he stated, implying that the responsibility for his own 'Europeaness' lay in their correspondence.[268] In 1810, however, dining at the house of Colonel Eyre, commandant of Point de Gaulle, Mackintosh encountered a rare gathering - 'the whole society had an English air and manner'. Seemingly pleased with his

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[260] Ibid.
[261] Ibid.
[262] BL Add MS 78764, Mackintosh to Dugald Stewart, Bombay, 2nd November 1805, p.57.
[263] BL Add MS 52437, 5th September 1810, p.118.
[264] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Moore, 6th August 1804, p.155.
[265] BL Add MS 78768, **Mackintosh to (John) Allen, Parell House Bombay, 22nd February 1805,** p.63.
[266] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 14th August, 1804, p.7.
[267] BL Add MS 78763 Mackintosh to Moore, 6th August 1804, p.155.
[268] Ibid., p.156.

evening, he noted that this was 'quite unusual in India, and proceeding, no doubt, from the circumstance that so many of them had left Europe at an age when their manner had long been formed.'[269] A middle-aged man when he had left England and with the intention of returning as soon as was financially possible, Mackintosh himself had less to worry of his own 'degeneracy' and much more to fear for the morals of his children.

The fear that Indian 'degeneracy' would impact the morality and sexuality of their children is best exhibited in a poem written by Kitty on her return voyage to England in 1810. Kitty had left Bombay in 1810 in order to secure her husband's 'release' and to ensure they received the pension that was his due. Written from the 'Cumbrian' and entitled 'A Political Epistle to Sir J on his return to Bombay from the Point de Gaulle', Kitty Mackintosh expressed her relief at their escape and described the affects that Bombay had on the character and lives of girls and boys:

> Ah well escap'd from that pernicious Isle
> Where vice and folly soon the mind defile
> Where children throw aside their dolls and toys
> For balls, flirtation, less appropriate joys.[270]

Narrating the scene between young men and those young women newly arrived from Europe, Kitty turns her poem into a 'romance' common to Bombay. As soon as a ship arrives from Europe carrying a young woman, 'fresh from Europe of a better caste', the young man, presumably an East India Company servant, throws aside his 'black and stupid temporary mate' for the first 'giddy', white girl.[271] Content only that the girl is 'young and gay/to dance and caper on gala day', these young men soon discover that they have married a 'mistress in a wife's disguise' 'empowered to vex thee with domestic strife'.[272] Without 'principles', 'habits' or 'brains', the girls soon lose their good looks, becoming 'A shapeless swol'n squalid figure', giving birth to weak infants. Lamenting the fate of the husband and his young wife, as well as that of the native mistress, Kitty compares Bombay's young women who are placed in the role of wife and mother too soon with the 'daughters of our land/who spurn at all but pleasures wild command'.[273] Ultimately, Kitty's

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[269] Quoted in *Memoirs of the Life,* vol II, p.5.
[270] BL Add MS 78771a, 'A political epistle to Sir J M on his return to Bombay from Point de Galle with notes. Cumbrian at Sea 1st May 1810', p.39.
[271] Ibid., p.143.
[272] Ibid., p.144.
[273] Ibid.

message is unclear, there is no obvious distinction between the morals of the girls in Bombay, forced to wed too early and those in England who marry in haste for houses and jewels. Even as her relief at leaving Bombay is evident, whether she believed her own two girls to be significantly safer in England is difficult to decipher.

The opacity of Kitty's moral message is further evidence of the deep-seated ambiguities that lay behind the fragile construct of 'Europe' and particularly 'England' as embodiments of 'civilisation'. Yet despite poetical ambiguity, it is clear that she felt India to be a particular threat to her daughters' moral characters. Even before they had left England for India, Kitty Mackintosh was worrying about the impact that life in India would have on the character of her three step-daughters in particular, as well as her own two, very young, girls. In 1802, when it seemed likely that Mackintosh would gain a professorial post in the new college planned for Fort William, Kitty wrote to her husband concerning conversations she had had with regard to their East India plans.[274] 'Mrs Cecil Smith called here and seemed to say that much more was to be feared for the morals of children in the East than for their health or their want of some kind of education'.[275] Continuing with increasing alarm, Kitty stated that Mrs Smith had 'disclosed that by the time children were 10 or 12 years old what ever care mothers could take of them, they become acquainted with every vice and this she meant of females as well I believe as males.'[276] The blame apparently lay in the 'number of people without any morality that were employed about children and families in Bengal and Madras'.[277] It was therefore imperative that they find 'one steady female' to attend to their five children before they departed.[278] The search for a 'steady female' continued throughout their residence, with Mackintosh writing to friends to look for women who were

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[274] In 1801, news of the governor-general, Lord Wellesley's intention to build a college in Calcutta to educate young East India Company servants sparked hopes of an appointment. Originally intended to teach liberal arts and theories of government, as well as the laws, customs and languages of India, the curriculum at Fort William was rapidly pared down to languages ultimately leaving no chance of a professorship for Mackintosh. See Bernard Cohn, *An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays* (New Delhi, 1987), p.435.

[275] BL Add MS 78768, To Mackintosh from Kitty, Guildford Street, (before 19th march 1802), p.48

[276] Ibid.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Ibid.

intelligent but ugly enough not to be almost instantly married on arrival, if not on the voyage out.[279]

As Kitty's poem suggests, however, it was not the people employed around children, all of whom were 'natives', that provided the greatest fear for their morals. Kitty's 'system of exclusion' focussed less on avoiding contact with people 'without any morality' who might work amongst the family and more on the 'European' society in Bombay. The system amounted to prohibiting her step-daughters from attending the balls and dinners put on by Bombay's 'European' society. Through it Kitty had, Mackintosh stated in 1810, done all that was possible to 'preserve' his two eldest daughters from 'being spoiled in this hothouse of weeds'.[280] His youngest daughter by his first wife, Catharine, had not been so 'lucky'. Arriving in Bombay aged only nine, the younger Kitty's early exposure to 'society' meant, according to a fellow resident in Bombay, Mrs Ashburner, that she had been treated as a woman too early.[281] Her 'forwardness', her father implied, was unfeminine. Dismissive of any chance of improvement, her step-mother declared that 'the establishments of character must not be hoped for in such a place.'[282] Having married off his two elder daughters, Mary and Maitland, during the two years prior to his wife's return to England in 1810, Mackintosh worried about his youngest. Pondering the problem of what to do with the youngest of the three sisters when Mackintosh himself returned from Bombay, the couple decided that 'if she could be left with propriety it would be the best thing.'[283] Placed with Mrs Ashburner, Kitty (junior) would have an example in front of her of 'quiet and useful and uninterrupted employment.'[284]

Kitty's 'system of exclusion' was very little different to the practice in Britain in which a daughter was prevented from attending balls until she was deemed ready to 'come out' into society. For Kitty and Mackintosh in Bombay, however, these distinctions took on an even weightier signification by which 'society' came to embody a threatening space from which one risked contamination. In contrast,

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[279] BL Add MS 78764, Sharp to Mackintosh, London 4th June 1805, p.25.
[280] BL Add MS 78769, **Tarala library, Tuesday 30th May 1810**, p.26.
[281] Ibid., p.27.
[282] Ibid., p.88.
[283] Ibid., p.116.
[284] Ibid., p.88.

'home' became a site not only of family but also of familiarity that stood in contrast to the foreign that lay beyond its borders. [285] Even though the house, the physical embodiment of the home, was peopled by numerous servants and guests, the home was nonetheless imagined as confined to the family. As the authors of *The Family Story* point out in their discussion of the construction of home and household, 'home' took on an almost 'sacred quality' across the nineteenth century. A heavily gendered image, the idea of the home was centred around the idea that it was the woman who made the home, whilst her femininity was constructed in relationship to it.[286] As Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose have shown, the idea of the 'home', the domestic sphere, was connected to the nation in opposition to the empire as the external 'other'. Even though money garnered from imperial careers was often vital to rendering the ideal of the 'home' a lived reality and imperial produce was a fundamental part of its materiality, the 'home' itself was constructed as a homogenous space uncontaminated by imperial otherness.[287]

Almost immediately upon arrival in 1804, Mackintosh was referring to his 'exile' in Bombay and playfully scolding his friends from the King of Clubs for having spoiled him by their society. 'The King of Clubs ought only to transport its members in very atrocious cases', he wrote.[288] As I have suggested above, Mackintosh's representation of himself 'in exile' in Bombay enabled him to portray himself at a distance from Bombay, removed from its 'degenerate' 'European' society and thereby retaining his sense of superior civilisation. The relationship between 'home' and 'nation' - as a geographically constituted 'imagined community' - is again evident in Kitty's poem during her voyage 'home'.   In her poem, Kitty imagined 'England's flow'ry fields' and 'Albion's white cliffs' alongside the familiar faces and places to which she would soon be returning.[289]   Comparing her own homecoming to her husband's sentence in 'thy loathed prison', Kitty contrasted her husband's incarceration in Bombay with the dream of 'home' where he would be

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[285] For the idea of contamination in the colony see Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*.

[286] Leonore Davidoff, Megan Doolittle, Janet Fink, Katherine Holden, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960* (London and New York, 1999), pp.84-5.

[287] Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, 'Introduction', *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (eds), pp.24-5.

[288] BL Add MS 52451, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 14th August, 1804, p.7.

[289] BL Add MS 78771a, 'A political epistle to Sir J M on his return to Bombay from Point de Galle with notes. Cumbrian at Sea 1st May 1810', p.140 and p.145.

'poor but free'.[290] She likened Mackintosh's situation to that of the Negro, 'in like chains of iron bondage bound'.[291] Despite the 'covering of the man the skin', Mackintosh and the Negro slave were 'brethren' in their suffering, both bereft of country, family and friends.[292] Their absence left Mackintosh in isolation:

> Oh where thou'art gone there is none to thee a kin
> No heart responsive to thine own shall beat
> No sympathetic glance thine eye shall meet
> No ear respectful listen to the lore.[293]

Even the 'infant prattles and joyous brawls' that had distracted Mackintosh from his work would, Kitty predicted, be missed now that the 'ample halls' of their residence in Tarala had fallen silent.[294]

Whereas Kitty's 'system of exclusion' represented the imposition of confinement and domesticity upon her step-daughters, Mackintosh suggested that his own well-being would be assured if only he himself could remain in isolation, away from Bombay's society. Writing to Sharp in 1808, he stated that, 'If I could confine myself to my own family I should be happy anywhere'.[295] In contrast to his complaints about Bombay's colonial society, Mackintosh painted a picture of domestic happiness and the fulfilment of fatherly responsibilities. 'At seven we drink tea and from tea to bed read to our whole family party to the amusement I hope of Kitty and to the instruction of my three elder children.'[296] Marriage, in particular, was exceptionally important to him. Writing to Moore in 1800, Mackintosh had suggested marriage as a remedy for his friend's 'ennui', claiming that 'if it were only good for stirring the mind would by that alone make up for all the noise of the nursery.'[297] Four years later, finding himself in a similar state of 'ennui' and 'repos', Mackintosh relied on Kitty to provide him with companionship and intellectual stimulation. 'I carry with me to every country one companion very capable of exercising my understanding and of amusing my hours of relaxation', Mackintosh wrote to Dugald Stewart in 1805, 'well qualified to rouse me from

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[290] Ibid., pp.139-40.
[291] Ibid., p.139.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid.
[295] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 7th July 1808, p.76
[296] BL Add MS 78768, Mackintosh to (John) Allen, Parell House Bombay, 22nd February 1805, p.62.
[297] BL Add MS 78763, Mackintosh to Moore, 27th September 1800, p.146.

lethargy, to soothe my occasional irritations and to console my undue dejection.'[298] On Kitty's departure, Mackintosh wrote that 'Lady Mackintosh by going home has deprived me of what made this country tolerable though she went for my sake.'[299]

Yet despite his claims that he needed little to satisfy him beyond his family, both Mackintosh and Kitty's sense of 'home' looked far beyond the nuclear family around the hearth. As Elaine Chalus has argued for elite political families, society was heavily politicised and cut across different social spaces; the home was one important site of politics, a space in which women could exert significant political influence.[300] Even for less elite families, visiting for tea or dinner, excursions to the theatre or to balls could constitute political as much as social occasions.[301] Kitty's pursuit to 'deliver' Mackintosh from his 'exile', albeit sparsely documented much to her husband's frustration, required her to call upon numerous houses in an ostensibly *social* fashion. From Bombay, he recommended that she befriend Sydenham who 'is to be trusted to help actively and zealously'.[302] 'He is desirous to visit you as one of the family to attend you to all places of exhibition or amusement whenever you give him notice. His ambition is to know all persons of talent and accomplishment with whom he can form an acquaintance. You can materially promote his object in that respect.'[303]

The society that they had left behind, particularly whilst in London but also across England and Scotland, comprised a joined-up network of friends and family in which the familial, social and political were intensely related. If the home was only one site in a web of interconnected social and political spaces, then feeling 'at home' was itself bound up with multiple social and political spaces. Reading the letters from Cresselly 'and its colonies', Mackintosh stated that 'I still feel that I have a home and that there is a most excellent society by whom I am remembered and loved.'[304] Yet it was not in Cresselly, from where his wife's family originated, that

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[298] BL Add MS 78764, Mackintosh to Dugald Stewart, Bombay, 2nd November 1805, p.57.
[299] BL Add MS 78766, Mackintosh to unknown, Bombay 14th June, 1810, p.57.
[300] Elaine Chalus, 'Elite Women, Social Politics and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-century England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 43, No.3 (2000), p671-673.
[301] *Ibid.,* p.678.
[302] BL Add MS 78769, **Mackintosh to Kitty, Tarala 9th August 1810,** p.44. Possibly Captain Thomas Sydenham, resident to the Nizam of Deccan who Mackintosh had befriended in India. (O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.92)
[303] BL Add MS 78769, **Kitty to Mackintosh 30th October 1810,** p.87.
[304] BL Add MS 78769, Tarala library, Tuesday 30th May 1810, p.25.

Mackintosh imagined his life on return from Bombay. The idea that to feel 'at home' meant to belong to a wider and interconnected social and political network, of which the domestic sphere was only one, albeit integral, part, is illustrated in Mackintosh's visions for his life upon his return from Bombay. Writing in his journal in 1810, Mackintosh imagined himself and his family in a 'cottage near Kensington', there he would be 'engaged in this work [of writing a history] which gave me agreeable occupation and a hope of fame while Fanny, Bessy and Robin were growing up to be good and wise and we had the choice conversation of London to amuse our evenings.' In such a situation he would, he declared, 'submit cheerfully enough to exclusion of politics'.[305] If Mackintosh could countenance exclusion from politics, his ideal position still remained in close proximity to London, close enough to remain connected to politics and power.

Nagging his wife to write more regularly to him from London whilst he sat 'in exile' in Bombay, Mackintosh imagined the possible spaces that he would occupy on his return: the compartmentalisation of his day between the study where he would engage in scholarly pursuits, the nursery where he would educate his children and the evenings to be spent in conversation with London 'society' and in the taverns that served as meeting points for his various men's clubs. Desperate to leave Bombay, Mackintosh imagined himself to be 'at home' in a world where he could move between these interconnected sites of sociability, study and family. Integral to his vision of returning home was the mobility between different spaces that was so lacking in Bombay. The founding of the Literary Society was, in many ways, an effort to establish a civil society space that lay between the domestic sphere and the duties of governance. During Mackintosh's residence in Bombay, however, it failed to produce very much at all and only really began in earnest when it merged with the Asiatic Society in 1828.[306] Mackintosh's identity as 'European' and 'English', as masculine and as a member of an elite, political class was premised upon the ability to dominate over, change and 'civilise' spaces and peoples. In Bombay, he was unable to effect reform as Recorder of the Court, was frustrated by the apathy of Bombay's colonial society and unwilling to engage with the 'native'

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[305] BL Add MS 78769, 12th September 1810, p.66.
[306] Kamala Ganesh, *The Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1804-2004: A Guide to its History, Collections and Activities* (Mumbai, 2002), p.4.

societies around him. Mackintosh's feelings of 'exile' were thus partially borne of a sense of his own emasculation.

Conclusion

In the early years of his residence, Mackintosh peppered his letters with intermittent attempts to see positive value, if not in the people, then at least in his surroundings in Bombay. 'The Island of Bombay is beautiful and picturesque', he wrote to Sharp in 1804, with 'well wooded' terrain, 'bold rocks and fine bays'.[307] Yet even his reflections on the island's scenery left him frustrated. ''What avails all this', he continued, 'in a cursed country where you cannot ramble amidst these scenes, where for the greater part of the day you are confined to the house and where during you short evening walk you must be constantly on your guard against cobra cappells and cobra manills.'[308] This image of confinement, constriction and of the fears of the foreign, untameable wildlife that surrounds him appears as a metaphor for Mackintosh's whole experience of Bombay. Unlike the travel narratives that Mary Louise Pratt has described, in which destinations are 'conquered' and discoveries achieved, Mackintosh's own narratives, in his letters and diaries, fade into subdued emasculation and a longing for 'home'.[309]

Mackintosh arrived in Bombay at a significant moment in its transition from an 'obscure outpost' of the British empire to the centre of British rule in Western India His appointment as Recorder of the Court was itself a sign of transformation. As the second section argued, many of Mackintosh's attempts at reforming the police and legal system embody the Anglicising impetus that was taking place across India. Yet whilst these reforms were largely aimed at the supposedly 'degenerate' and 'corrupt' practices of the 'European' merchants in Bombay, at the same time they constructed an image of 'British' rule and the 'English' or 'European' character. Studying Mackintosh's rhetoric of reform, I have shown how this growing tendency towards the Anglicisation of governance drew a stark division between 'native' and 'European' or 'Englishman' that was premised upon moral character and

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[307] BL Add MS 52451b, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 14th August, 1804, p.8.
[308] Ibid., p.8.
[309] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 2nd ed, p.145.

masculinity. In official and court reports, Mackintosh and the men that worked under him projected an image of 'the Englishman' as strong, honest and free in contrast to the 'effete' and 'timid' 'native'. Whilst in criminal reports dealing with Europeans or Englishmen, their actions and characters were constructed as exceptional aberrations to the 'essentially' moral and just nature of 'Englishmen', criminal actions by 'natives' were made to characterise the whole 'race'.

As I have argued across this chapter, the construction of the 'Englishman' or the 'European' in Mackintosh's reports and court records marked an attempt to assert the superiority of British rule in India. Yet it was targeted as much, if not more, at Bombay's 'European' population of colonisers as it was the colonised. Through discussion of Mackintosh's rhetoric of reform and particularly his attempts to establish a Literary Society, I showed how Mackintosh endeavoured to promote an idea of 'Europe', 'European' and 'Englishman' amongst a population which he felt was insufficiently 'civilised'. Corrupted by too much contact with Indian 'degeneracy', Bombay's 'European' population had lost many of the 'essential' virtues of the European and of the Englishman in particular. Mackintosh saw it as his duty to encourage a more 'European' and thereby more 'civilised' mindset and character amongst the upper echelons of Bombay's 'European' society. Looking at his 'Discourse on the Opening of the Bombay Literary Society', I illustrated the ways in which Mackintosh tried to direct the minds of his elite, white, male contemporaries towards providing knowledge of India for 'Europe'. Positioning himself as the mouthpiece of 'Europe', Mackintosh promoted knowledge that would be 'useful' both to the governance of India and for the advance of 'civilisation' more generally.

In assigning himself the spokesperson for 'Europe', Mackintosh suggested that despite his position in Bombay, he remained conceptually closer to 'Europe'. Across his letters to friends and family 'at home', Mackintosh constantly reiterated his identification with 'Europe' and 'European civilisation' against the 'Indian degeneracy' that he claimed had corrupted the men around him. Thus, in his representation of his life in Bombay, Mackintosh erases or renders insignificant the interactions he had with non-'European' people, primarily seeing Bombay as a space defined only by what it lacked. From his position 'in exile' in Bombay, in both

official and private forums, Mackintosh gave content and character to his interrelated conceptions of 'England', 'Europe' and 'home'. As the final section of this chapter has shown, both Mackintosh and his wife, Kitty, endeavoured to protect themselves and their children from the cultural and moral contamination that their residence in Bombay threatened. Asserting their continued identification with 'European manners' and England as 'home', was, I argued, a means of retaining an ever-fragile position amongst elite Whig circles upon whose patronage as well as friendship the Mackintoshes relied. Ultimately, however, the separation between the elite, sociable, 'civilised' world that was based around London and conceptualised as 'Europe' and the 'effeminate', 'brahminised' and corrupt world of Bombay proved in reality to be indistinct. Writing to her husband from London, Kitty stated that, 'I am bound to confess that I think the East Indian acquaintances we have will do us as much [good?] as any of our English ones, I think Col Close and Malcolm remarkable men in their different ways. Sydenham and Col Macaulay accomplished and agreeable beyond most of our old friends, my two supporters Whishaw and Byrne excepted.'[310]

During his seven years' residence in Bombay, Mackintosh spent many hours and spilt much ink contemplating the histories he would write when he returned 'home'. In 1812, he finally began researching for, and eventually writing, his histories of England. In the next chapter, I consider what enabled Mackintosh's historical production and how Mackintosh conceptualised and represented the nation whose history he endeavoured to write.

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[310] BL Add MS 78769, Kitty to Mackintosh, 21st January 181, p.137.

Chapter Four: 'A Life of Projects': Writing England's history

Introduction

> '*Sir James, if you put forth the whole power of your mighty intellect, you shun precipitation – if you let your mind occasionally run on not only with the current of your imagination, but with the torrent of your feelings, depend upon it Dear Sir, that your name will stand the highest among all the high historians of this kingdom.*'[1]

From 1810, when his wife left Bombay with their three children, to his death in 1832, Mackintosh spent much of his time contemplating, reading, researching and writing his histories of England. The first of his histories, published for the Cabinet Cyclopaedia in 1830, was a general survey from the earliest tribes up to Henry II.[2] The second was intended to be his *magnum opus*, covering the period 'between the British and French revolution' which, he claimed 'forms one of the natural divisions of our history.'[3] Like Parr, quoted above, Mackintosh's friends expected much of his projected history. In a letter dated 1813 Elizabeth Hamilton remarked that the booksellers had already offered between £6000 and £7000 for it.[4] Over twenty years later, *The History of the Revolution in England in 1688 comprising a view of the reign of James II from his accession to the enterprise of the Prince of Orange*, was posthumously published. Yet far from running to the three quartos that Mackintosh had originally envisaged, his *History* comprised only eleven chapters and ended abruptly on the cusp of the arrival of his hero, William of Orange.[5] It was continued by William Wallace, who made no secret of his dislike of Mackintosh's whiggism. Barely disguising his contempt for Mackintosh's narrative, the editor claimed to be continuing the *History* with a lack of bias and in 'good faith'.[6] Although positively and eulogistically reviewed by Macaulay in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1835,

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[1] BL MSAdd78763, Parr to Mackintosh, January 9th 1822, p.68.
[2] *The History of England by The Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh.* (London, 1830).
[3] BL Add MS 78785, 'Introduction to a History of Great Britain from the Revolution in 1688 to the French Revolution in 1789' [written on the voyage homeward from India (1811-1812)'], p.3.
[4] NLS, MS 5640: Liston Correspondence, Elizabeth Hamilton to Mrs Liston, Clifton, March 22nd 1813, p.82.
[5] BL Add MS 52438a Mackintosh journals (Bombay 1811), p.79.
[6] *History of the Revolution in England in 1688 comprised of the reign of James II from his accession to the enterprise of the Prince of Orange by the late Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh and completed to the settlement of the Crown by the editor to which is prefixed a notice of the life, writings and speeches of Sir James Mackintosh* (London, 1834), p.iv.

Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution* was to be dramatically usurped by his reviewer's own *History of England* (1848-61).[7]

Failing to fulfil Parr's prediction and his own hopes, Mackintosh did not 'stand the highest among all the high historians of this kingdom'. Indeed, as a historian, Mackintosh is almost entirely forgotten, whilst his histories play no part in historiographical canons. Yet whilst the reception of his histories was relatively poor, attracting neither a wide or long-lived readership, his documentation of the *process* of writing history makes it worthwhile considering Mackintosh in his historian's guise. In addition to his published histories, Mackintosh left behind volumes of journals and letters reflecting on what it meant to be a historian and how history should be written. These personal papers, alongside his histories, provide an insight into the process of historical production; the ways in which identity, social status and place enabled and informed the histories that Mackintosh ultimately produced. Reading Mackintosh's musings on the ideal place to write his history and tracing his trail across England and Europe to gain access to archives, it becomes clear the extent to which historical production was (and to some extent remains) contingent upon the networks of patronage and support that came about as a result of status and identity. As Bonnie Smith has shown, the image of the historian has traditionally been gendered male, the single-mindedness of his pursuit for 'historical truth' enabled by the unacknowledged work of women, and it might be added servants, behind the scenes.[8] As historians have recently noted, this rendering of the historian 'male' erased the contributions of numerous women historians.[9] Through a study of the process of historical production, which Mackintosh documented in his journals and letters, the power of class, gender and racial privilege, as well as place, becomes clear. As I argue in this chapter, the social privileges that enable Mackintosh to write his history then get re-written and reinforced through the history that he ultimately produced.

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[7] Art 1. *History of the Revolution in England in 1688. Comprising a view of the Reign of James the Second, from his Accession, to the Enterprise of the Prince of Orange,* by the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh; *and completed to the Settlement of the Crown, by the Editor. To which is prefixed, a Notice of the Life, Writings, and speeches of Sir James Mackintosh.* 4to. London: 1834, *The Edinburgh Review*, July, 1835, pp.265-323.

[8] Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass and London, 1998).

[9] See Illaria Porciani and Mary O'Dowd, 'History women. Introduction' in *Storia della Storiografia,* Special Issue 'History Women', 46 (2004), 3-34 and Catherine Hall, 'Writing history, writing a nation: Harriet Martineau's *History of the Peace'* in *Harrient Martineau: Authorship, Society, Empire* (Manchester, 2010), pp.231-253.

This chapter begins by exploring the ways in which Mackintosh's socio-economic status, gender and location enabled historical production. Drawing on his journals in which he expressed his ambitions to write history, this section looks at who Mackintosh believed could write history, his image of the historian and his self-identification as a historian. The second section looks at Mackintosh's idea of history, how and why he believed history should be written. It looks at the historiographic traditions to which Mackintosh was responding and in which he positioned himself, focusing particularly on his views about Hume's *History of England* and identifying the ways in which he sought to differentiate himself from Hume. Looking back to the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, I explore how Mackintosh's ideas of history changed across the period from the French Revolution to the debates over suffrage reform. In the final section, I turn to Mackintosh's *History of England* and *History of the Revolution in England in 1688* to consider how he placed England and its history in relationship to Britain, Europe and the non-European world. This section looks at the ways in which Mackintosh imagined the nation through the construction of its history. It explores how both the longer term contexts that have been discussed across this thesis and the more immediate context of reform debates, informed his historical narratives.

Imagining the ideal historian

During their voyage to Columbo, where Mackintosh would say goodbye to his wife and three children as they departed for England in 1810, the couple began a conversation about their future that was drawn out in letters and journals for over a decade.[10] Across this correspondence, Mackintosh questioned whether, upon his return to England, he should consider himself a private man of letters, writing the history of England, or retain his hopes of public office and a seat in Parliament.[11] Unlikely to find a fortune without fame, Mackintosh contemplated his life plan again and again, as his wife wrote with increasing irritation, scolding him for spending his time 'journalising' instead of focussing on his writing.[12] 'Writing now is the only thing required of you for your fame, for the respectable existence of

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[10] Reference to this conversation is made by Kitty. BL Add MS 78769, Kitty to Mackintosh, 28th February 1811, p.168.
[11] BL Add MS 52438a Mackintosh journals, 15th February, p.62.
[12] Add 78769, Kitty to Mackintosh, 28th February 1811, p.168.

yourself and family in heinous times and even for your character itself.'[13] Instead of wasting his time entertaining 'stray young men of talents or of no talents', he should, Kitty wrote, be focussing on writing up the various projects – Tom Wedgewood's metaphysics, his own *History* and his projected Life of Burke – that he had supposedly been working on since his departure from England.[14] As Kitty's reprimand suggests, Mackintosh's historical production was tied up with financial gain, social status and his very identity. Indeed, it was not only *his* identity that was at stake. It was, she claimed, a fault of modern women married to 'remarkable men' that they 'feel this selfish identity with their husbands'.[15]

As Kitty's exasperated letters suggest, her own fortune and the future of her children was inextricably linked to the success of her husband. Embarking on a mission to 'free' him from his prison and nagging him to secure their future and fulfil his potential through his writing, Kitty felt and expressed her vulnerability to the failure of her husband's projects.[16] Stating that the wives of ancient heroes 'saved themselves a great deal of torment by identifying themselves only with the glory of their husbands', Kitty made it clear that his failure or success fundamentally informed her own sense of self in society.[17] Mackintosh's intention to write the history of England was therefore tied up in a web of ambition, expectation and financial necessity. Were the 'doors of ambition' to be entirely shut against him, Mackintosh determined to content himself with writing his History.[18] What he did not mention was that in order to do so, other doors that were equally reliant upon power, patronage and status, would have to be opened instead. If the completion of his projected history would safeguard his family's economic and social status, the very process of writing and researching the history was itself contingent upon networks of patronage and sociability. As I argue across this section, Mackintosh's ability to research and write his history was dependent upon an ability to access resources and support that was in a large measure enabled by his class, gender, location, national and political status and identities.

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., p.170.
[16] For Mackintosh's expressions of vulnerability see Ibid., p.186. Tarala was the Mackintosh family's second residence, on the East side of Bombay.
[17] Ibid., p.170
[18] BL Add MS 78769, Mackintosh to Kitty, Sunday 17th March 1811, p.174

If Mackintosh had any hopes of gaining high office they were not to be fulfilled, yet his despondency from Bombay regarding his prospects of a seat in Parliament was soon proven to have been unnecessarily pessimistic. Within a year of his return, Mackintosh was offered a Tory seat by Spencer Perceval, which he declined stating that 'my opinion on the Catholic disabilities is such that I could not go into Parliament on the implied condition or resisting their immediate repeal.'[19] In 1813, however, Mackintosh accepted the patronage of the House of Cawdor and was elected Whig member for Nairnshire.[20] From then onwards, Mackintosh combined his parliamentary duties with regular contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, which had been established during his absence, and historical research that enabled him to reconnect with friends in France and Europe. In 1818, Mackintosh was elected MP for Knaresborough, sponsored by the Duke of Devonshire and took up a lectureship at Haileybury College as professor of law and politics.[21] Despite his dreams from Bombay of an establishment in London, where his children would be educated and he and his wife would be amongst good society, Mackintosh's life remained relatively itinerant. As well as infrequent visits to his constituencies, usually for the purposes of election, he travelled between Mardocks, his house near Ware and London, where he usually stayed at Holland House, and across Britain and Europe in pursuit of friends, family, manuscripts or health. In 1820, the strong possibility of successfully gaining a professorship at Edinburgh left him in a quandary that summed up the different opportunities that life offered to him and upon which he would never be able to decide. Contemplating the Edinburgh professorship, he wrote in his diary that, 'It is a question in which better health, perhaps longer life, care in my private affairs and the probability of completing my History are placed on one side … On the other side political importance and parliamentary reputation.[22]

Yet the recurring dilemma that he faced of having to decide between 'political importance and parliamentary reputation', 'private affairs' and history were also to be considered an advantage, if not integral to the writing of history itself. In his *Edinburgh Review* article on Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution of 1688,* Macaulay

[19] BL Add MS 78764, Mackintosh to Perceval, New Norfolk Street, 11th May 1812, p.75
[20] BL Add MS 78770, Mackintosh to Catharine, 29th June 1813, p.6
[21] BL Add MS 78766, Duke of Devonshire to JM, March 3rd 1818, p.148
[22] BL Add MS 52444, 30th April 1820, p.109.

compared Mackintosh as a historian with his childhood hero and fellow Whig, Charles James Fox. Both men, Macaulay wrote, 'had one eminent qualification for writing history – they had spoken history, acted history, lived history.'[23] During his lifetime, Mackintosh had made a similar point both with reference to himself as a historian and to the qualities of the historian more generally. 'I have something of that mix of literature and business which must be allowed to be the best education for an historian', he wrote in 1811.[24] Elsewhere, he stated that the 'variety of my pursuits' rendered him particularly suitable to be a historian. 'I know more of the multifarious objects of history than much greater historians. The government, the law, the trade and political economy, even the paths of war by sea and land, the history of literature, science and eloquence etc are more or less known by me.'[25] Knowledge, as Macaulay reiterated in his review, was not gained only from books but from lived experience of 'public' affairs.[26] Indeed, for Mackintosh, history itself was contingent upon the involvement of citizens in public affairs. Writing about Sismondi's *Histoire des Francais* in an *Edinburgh Review* article of 1821, Mackintosh drew on Tacitus to argue that historical production was contingent upon the involvement of citizens in public affairs. 'It did not escape Tacitus that the decline of history under the Imperial Government was in part caused by the exclusion of the people from public affairs. In popular States, even where the historian himself has no direct experience of public business, he at least breathes an atmosphere full of political traditions and debates.'[27]

For history as a genre and the historian as an individual to flourish required the existence of a civil society that was actively involved, or at the very least informed, in affairs of the state. The secrecy and intrigue surrounding absolute monarchy, in contrast to the openness of 'popular States', meant that, if written at all, history was compiled by 'sophists and rhetors, who, of all men, are the most destitute of insight into character, and of judgement in civil affairs.'[28] In his review of Sismondi's *History*, Mackintosh linked historical production to societal and spatial context. Associating history with a 'civilised' and 'free' nation in which civil society

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[23] *The Edinburgh Review*, July, 1835, p.266.
[24] BL Add MS 52438a, 18th February 1811, p.68
[25] BL Add MS 78769, Mackintosh to Kitty: Tarala Library, Tuesday April 15th 1810, p.15
[26] *The Edinburgh Review*, July, 1835, p.266.
[27] Art XII. *Histoire des Francais.* Par T.C.L. Simonde de Sismoni. 3 vols 8vo Treuttel & Zuitz. Paris and London. 1821. *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1821, pp.490-1.
[28] Ibid., p.491

played an active role in the direction of government, Mackintosh's thoughts on historical production shed light on his own inability to write from Bombay where 'society is small enough to be governed by a cabal.'[29] In contrast, he wrote to his wife envisaging himself writing history from a cottage in Kensington, where 'we had the choice conversation of London to amuse our evenings' and the day to educate their children and write history.[30] Such a situation, he claimed, would adequately compensate for his disappointment at his anticipated exclusion from Parliament. Thus, although Mackintosh saw history writing as a withdrawal from public life, what qualified him to be a 'private man of letters' and historian of England was the very fact that he had access to, and experience of, both the 'public' and 'private' life of the nation.[31]

If 'the best education' for a historian lay in a mixture of 'business and literature', a knowledge of the affairs of the state and engagement with them, it went without saying that the best historians were male. Across the period, the propriety of women's engagement in the 'public sphere' was being debated and their education increasingly circumscribed.[32] Of all the histories that he commented upon across his diaries, Mackintosh makes no acknowledgement of Catherine Macaulay's *History of England*, published between 1764 and 1771. Maria Graham, whose comments on the history of India in her *Letters on India* were ridiculed and dismissed, as discussed in the previous chapter, went on to write the history of England for children. In contrast to the gravity with which Mackintosh spoke of his endeavour, Maria presented her attempts as frivolous and her history as 'pretty stories' rather than any more important narrative. 'I have been amusing myself with writing a book for people of five years old: it will be about twice as big as W Croker's pretty stories from the History of England', she wrote to her publisher, John Murray in 1835.[33] Well aware of the constraints placed upon women who aspired to literary engagement and publication, Maria railed against the periodicals – notably the *Quarterly Review* - of the day. With indignation, she stated to Murray that 'till we have been dead fifty or a hundred years men never find out that we are

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[29] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 25th July 1807, p.43.
[30] BL Add MS 78766, Mackintosh to Kitty: Tarala Library, Tuesday April 15th 1810, p.15
[31] BL Add MS 78769, Mackintosh to Kitty, 7th February 1811, p.147.
[32] Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History*, p.42; Jane Rendall, 'Women and the Public Sphere', *Gender and History*, vol 11, no. 3, November 1999, pp.475-488.
[33] NLS Acc 12604/1187: Description: Incoming letters of correspondents with surnames beginning CALLCOTT,MH-CAMPBELL, Eileen: Maria Callcott to John Murray, April 24th 1835, n.p.

entitled to think or speak our minds and then the only chance we have is if we have been profligate mistresses to coarse princes.'[34]

Mackintosh's own views on women's education and the place of women in the public, literary sphere reflect the dominant views of the Scottish Whig *Edinburgh Review* to which he contributed. William Christie has noted that the *Edinburgh Review* treated its authors 'not as a disembodied imagination or talent, but as a social and political identity.'[35] When publications authored by women were reviewed, this resulted in constant references to authors' gender and character that informed and pervaded a reviewer's discussion of their work. Both implicitly, in terms of who was reviewed and how, and explicitly, in direct relationship to the debate over women's education and knowledge itself, the boundaries of women's role in the literary public sphere were drawn up.[36] Mackintosh himself contributed to this debate, and thus the drawing up of gendered boundaries, in published and unpublished writing. Like the *Edinburgh Review's* editor, Francis Jeffrey, Mackintosh was fond of the company of women and more liberal in his attitude towards women's education and respectful of women's knowledge than many of his contemporaries. Writing to Kitty, he stated that 'Joanna Baillie has proved the equality of your sex to ours in genius (which I knew before).'[37] Yet whilst he conceded that women could be equal in 'genius' to men, he nonetheless defined 'genius' itself as a masculine virtue. Reflecting in his diary on Madame de Sevigne's work, he stated that, 'A masculine character may be a defect in a female but a masculine genius is still a praise to a writer of whatever sex. The feminine graces of Madame de Sevigne's genius are exquisitely charming; but the philosophy and eloquence of Madame de Stael are above the distinctions of sex.'[38] English women writers – 'Lady Mary Wortley, Mrs Barbauld &c.' – as well as Madame de Stael, to whose 'masculine understanding' Mackintosh frequently referred - were, he claimed, 'very clever men.'[39]

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[34] Ibid., Maria Graham to John Murray, Rio de Janeiro, December 19th 1824, Ibid., n.p.
[35] William Christie, *The Edinburgh Review in the Literary Culture of Romantic Britain: Mammoth and Maglonyx* (London, 2009), p.22.
[36] Jane Rendall, 'Bluestockings and Reviewers: Gender, Power and Culture in Britain, c.1800-1830', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 26, 4 (2006), pp.355-374.
[37] BL Add MS 52440, 2nd February 1812, p.68.
[38] *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh,* edited by his Son Robert James Mackintosh, esq (fellow of New College, Oxford), in II volumes, Vol. II (Londont, 1835), p.216.
[39] Ibid., p.336. For Madame de Stael see BL Add MS52440, 27th January 1812, p.62.

As Jane Rendall has pointed out, the 'genius' of women such as Madame de Stael, served as the exception that proved the rule of the general intellectual inferiority of women in relationship to men.[40] As writers, most famously Mary Wollstonecraft but also Maria Graham, argued, the supposed 'intellectual inferiority' of women was borne not of innate characteristics but of the limits imposed upon their education.[41] Mackintosh himself was strongly committed to women's education and had an ongoing concern that his own daughters be well educated, at least in languages, art and literature. Yet he was nonetheless clear that the purpose of their education served a very limited function beyond the domestic sphere. 'I do not meddle with the important question of prudence in the education of a female what novels she ought to read and when', he wrote to his wife, concluding that it was more important that his daughters learn 'cleanliness and neatness, accommodation and economy … which are most important habits in the female character.'[42] 'No reading is so good as behaving well', Mackintosh wrote to his daughter in 1811, 'I should much, much desire you to be very clever but oh how much more to be very good!'[43]

In contrast to Mackintosh's relatively cursory wishes for his daughters, he claimed to have set out 'a very extensive and encyclopaedical plan of education for poor Robin', his only son.[44] Unfortunately, Mackintosh did not provide the details of the 'plan' but he emphasised the importance of 'manly and daring exercises and sports … Let him be a capital rider and much given to boxing'.[45] For his son, he claimed that he must be led to a 'bold and military cast of character which is necessary to manhood and peculiarly indispensable in the approaching state of the world.'[46] His daughters, as mentioned above, were expected to be 'good', 'neat' and 'clean'. In terms of subjects to be studied, however, Mackintosh appears to have made little distinction between what was appropriate for boys and girls. 'I am very anxious that my poor bodies should speak French, Italian and German … with this let them know well at least as much natural philosophy and chemistry as they can

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[40] Rendall, 'Bluestockings and Reviewers', p.363.
[41] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Miriam Brody (ed and intro) (London, 2004, first published, 1792). Bodleian Library, Callcott Collection, Ms.Eng.e.2428, Journal of reflections and extracts made by Lady Callcott in 1806 when she was 21, pp.9-13 and pp.29-30
[42] BL Add MS 52438b, 1st September 1811, p.144-5.
[43] BL Add MS 78769, From Mackintosh to Fanny Mackintosh, 10th August 1811, p.196.
[44] BL Add MS 78769, 12th September 1810, p.67.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

find in Joyce and consequently arithmetic for the purposes of life with as much algebra and geometry as will be necessary for the purposes of their little science.'[47] Saying nothing of Latin or Greek, Mackintosh presumably did not consider it appropriate or at least necessary for girls to learn classical languages, which his son would certainly learn at school. Ultimately, what would lead to the most dramatic difference in his children's education was the fact that his daughters were to be educated at home by private masters, whilst his son was sent to school at Winchester. As Bonnie Smith has shown and as chapter two discussed, this 'public' school education was a fundamental part of the socialising and educating of young men.[48]

The education of girls 'in private', in contrast to the 'public' school for boys marks one of the fundamental points in the gendered segregation of 'spheres' that would fundamentally inform attitudes and practices towards women's writing and ultimately to Mackintosh's idea of himself as historian of England. The idealised, gendered separation of spheres is reflected in Mackintosh's views on literary genres. Whereas history, the narrative of the nation, was best written by men with access to, and direct experience of, 'public' life, Mackintosh saw novel writing as particularly suited to women. Remarking on the prevalence of novels in his own times, he noted a 'remarkable phenomenon - it is the only period in history in which female genius could be mentioned as materially contributing to the literary glory of a nation.'[49] Novels and the literary women who wrote them, he concluded, attested to the wide-spread nature of 'female purity' that had arisen in Britain over the last fifty years.[50] With few objections to women writing, Mackintosh nonetheless understood certain subjects, and the novel as a genre, as particularly suited to 'female character'. Reading Lady Hood's verses he stated, 'I had been overpowered by perfume. It was impossible to censure any part but this was the general result.'[51] Ever conscious of the gender of the author and often adapting his critique accordingly, Mackintosh concluded of the verses that, 'They are beyond all doubt the most faultless series of verses ever produced by a woman.'[52] Certain themes, too, were undoubtedly the

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[47] Ibid., 15th September 1810, p.69.
[48] See Bonnie Smith, *Gender of History*, ch. 2 and Chapter Two, above.
[49] BL Add MS 52438b, 1st September 1811. p.143.
[50] Ibid., p.144
[51] BL Add MS 52440, 27th January 1812, p.62.
[52] Ibid.

preserve of women. Of the 'Histoire de Madame Henriette' by Madame de la Fayette, Mackintosh stated that, 'No instrument less delicate than a female pen could have dissected without destroying all the minute parts of the intrigues of women in an amorous court … No man could have written this history: it is as exclusively feminine as Madame de Sevigny's best letters.'[53]

If the 'intrigues of women in an amorous court' were best described by a female hand, other forms of knowledge were the preserve of men. Where women made incursions into them by writing about history, science, geography or nations, they were either ridiculed or 'raised above their sex', generously denied their femininity and 'honoured' by being referred to as 'very clever men'.[54] Despite his enthusiasm for girls' education and for 'literary ladies', Mackintosh ultimately fell back upon the prevalent gender norms of his day and appears not to have encouraged women's incursion into the literary sphere of 'knowledge', beyond that of novels. Enthusing about his daughter's account of the 'extraordinary weather' in Baghdad, Mackintosh recommend that it be published in the *Philosophical Journal*.[55] 'But of course it would be proper to efface every vestige of the sex or character of the writer', he wrote, 'By doing so we consult delicacy without really revealing the author.' Her name could be revealed to Constable or Jeffrey, he concluded, but any public acknowledgement that the information came from a woman he clearly deemed inappropriate.[56] The 'types' of knowledge and literature that a woman could appropriately exhibit, therefore, seemed to be that which was restricted to the realm of the 'private'. Verses or stories that taught morality and sentiment, histories of court intrigues or novels of everyday life were the types of literature for which Mackintosh appears to have admired female authors. Edgeworth's *Popular Tales*, for example, was one of Mackintosh's favourite books that he recommended, alongside the Gospels, as a tool with which to spread and influence 'popular morality' amongst the peasantry in Ireland or the convicts of Botany Bay.[57]

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[53] *Memoirs of the Life,* , vol 1, 7-8, p.336
[54] *Memoirs of the Life*, vol. 1, p.336. For Madame de Stael see BL Add MS 52440, p.62.
[55] BL Add MS, 20th and 31st January 1820, p.37 and p.40.
[56] Ibid. p.40
[57] *Memoirs of the Life*, vol 1, p.336; BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 25th July 1807, p.45

In his discussion of Mackintosh's thought on novels and history, Mark Salber Philips claims that Mackintosh saw little separation between fiction and history.[58] Both, he wrote, were capable of effecting emotional and moral results.[59] History, like other forms of narrative, 'strengthens the social feelings and moral principles of the reader'.[60] For Mackintosh, as Salber Philips has explained, it was through affect and a sense of distance or proximity to the subject of history, that the historian could most effectively put across his moral message.[61] Learning from the characters and activities of the past, 'the narrative of events which have occurred, or which probably occur, is thus one of the most important parts of the moral education of mankind.'[62] Novels too, of which Mackintosh was extremely fond, had the ability to inspire emotions and afford examples of self-improvement: 'Every fiction since Homer, has taught friendship, patriotism, generosity, contempt of death.'[63] If told well, the stories of men and their actions, imaginary or in the past could excite sympathy with misfortune and ultimately inspire 'delight and improvement'.[64] Yet it was for 'the purposes of argument', not as a general principle, that Mackintosh, in an essay on the moral effects of novels, stated that 'history and fiction are on an equal footing'.[65] One of the significant differences between history and fiction lay in *who* was qualified to write and research them. For Mackintosh, whilst women excelled at writing novels, it was men and very exceptionally women who displayed 'masculine genius', who wrote the nation's history.

History thus marked a place where, as Parr suggested in the quote which began this chapter, 'imagination' and 'feelings' combined with an intellect borne of an elite education, alongside the professional experience that Mackintosh felt rendered him particularly qualified to write England's history. As previous chapters have illustrated, it was through the education that he received as a boy and young man, funded by his wider family, that Mackintosh gained the knowledge and

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[58] Mark Salber Philips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820* (Princeton, 2000), pp.197-99.
[59] BL Add MS 52438b, p.153
[60] Art XII. *Histoire des Francais*. Par T.C.L. Simonde de Sismoni. 3 vols 8vo Treuttel & Zuitz. Paris and London. 1821. *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1821, No. LXX, p.492
[61] Salber Philips, *Society and Sentiment,* p.202. The content of this message will be explored in depth in the third section.
[62] *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1821, No. LXX, p.493.
[63] *Memoirs of the Life,* vol. II, p.42
[64] *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1821, No. LXX, p.493.
[65] BL Add MS 52438a, 5th September 1811, p.153.

established the connections that would enable him to gain 'professional experience'. But in the same way that education taught him the performance of a class-based, masculine identity, and patronage allowed him the funds to secure his profession, so too did his identity and social networks enable him to research for his history. From 1812, having returned to England from Bombay, Mackintosh would roam Britain and Europe consulting books, archives and collections ranging from the Stuart manuscripts held in St James' Palace to the archives of the French Foreign Office in Paris.[66] His access to these documents was contingent upon his mobility across Britain and Europe and the networks of patronage that he had forged throughout his early manhood, during the years in Edinburgh and then particularly in London, prior to his departure for Bombay. Lord Holland allowed him to read and copy from the Walpole manuscripts in his possession and put him in contact with Talleyrand who granted him access to the French Foreign Office archives.[67] Access to the Stuart manuscripts, newly arrived from Rome, were granted to him by the Prince Regent, on whose behalf he had campaigned during his early years in London.[68]

Mackintosh's access to archives and collections was, in some respects, also contingent upon his political identity as a Whig. Writing in his diary from Bombay, Mackintosh outlined the structure of his projected history, in which he located the peak of free government in England from 1688 to the death of George II, followed by the decline of the administration of government on 'its true principles'.[69] 'But do not tell all this', he warned his wife, family and friends who he anticipated would be reading his journal, 'for all Tories will refuse me information and pronounce before hand that I am prejudiced.'[70] Trusting that his friends and family would agree with his own historical and political sentiments, Mackintosh relied upon them not only to engage with his ideas but to help actively with his researches. It seems that John Allen took a very significant part in the process of locating and copying manuscripts that Mackintosh required for his history. In a letter written from Padua in 1814, Allen wrote to Mackintosh referring to a commission to locate the Conti papers.

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[66] BL Add MS 78764, Talleyrand to the Duke of Wellington, Vienna, 1814, p80.; BL Add MS 52451, Paris, 25th August 1814, pp.5-6; BL Add MS 78766, Mackintosh to Gillies, Great George Street, Westminster, 8th April 1813, p.134
[67] BL Add MS 52451, Paris 24th August 1814, p.5.
[68] BL Add MS 787766, JM to Gillies, Great George Street, Westminster, 8th April 1813, p.133
[69] BL Add MS 52438a, 4th March 1811, p.79.
[70] Ibid.

He explained that he had left it with Abbes Macpherson and Taylor and told them to contact Mackintosh in Great George Street in London.[71] Through this correspondence, which flowed through networks of people and places across Western Europe, Allen wrote that, 'I had the satisfaction to learn that they had discovered where the family had settled and that they had written to its present representative concerning the manuscripts of his ancestors.'[72]

Mackintosh relied upon networks of high-powered friends and relatives across Europe in order to gain access to the books, documents and archives that would give weight to his historical interpretations and render them both credible and original. However it was not only these networks that spanned Europe and empire that Mackintosh drew upon to construct the nation's past. His own mobility, the securing of passages across the empire, enabled a belief in his status as a historian and would, he thought, add to his historical sensibility and interpretation. Suggesting a need to envisage the place in the present in order to imagine its past, Mackintosh wrote in his journal of 1811 that 'if I write the History of England the sight of America would be useful.'[73] Whilst Mackintosh never did see America, his intention to do so is suggestive of the importance that he placed upon travel and mobility in the formation of a man's, and particularly a historian's, mind. In the same way that the best historians had, according to Macaulay, 'spoken history, lived history, acted history', Mackintosh added to this list the experience of visiting different parts of the world. In a passage reflecting on an early draft introduction to a 'History of Great Britain from the Revolution of 1688 to the French Revolution in 1789', Mackintosh's reliance upon peoples of different classes and from different parts of the empire in order to effect this mobility is made evident. Reflecting on his efforts in his diary, Mackintosh noted that 'it will be rather curious to recollect where it may be said to have been begun. It was under circumstances more inauspicious and more vulgar than that which was projected amidst the ruins of the capitol. But in a cabin ninefoot square in a merchant ship manned by mahometan sailors on the coast of Malabar is, if not a convenient, at least a characteristic place for beginning the History of a maritime and commercial Empire.'[74]

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[71] BL Add MS 78764, Allen to Mackintosh, Padua, 2nd May 1815, p.62
[72] Ibid.
[73] BL Add MS 52438a, 2nd February 1811, p.45.
[74] BL Add MS 52440, 20th November 1811, p.16.

From Bombay in 1811, Mackintosh had blamed his lack of productivity and apparent procrastination on the difficulties of his location. Responding to Kitty's reprimands and her demands that he focus on writing his history rather than entertaining friends at dinner and in letters, Mackintosh mocked the idea that such a thing was at all possible. 'In what slumber of your understanding did you think it possible that a History of England could be written at Tarala? Ten times my books would not have been sufficient.'[75] As Mackintosh toured British and European archives and collections, often leaving behind him a trail of copyists, the truth of his statement was somewhat borne out. History, he wrote in his essay on Sismondi's *History*, 'can never be composed as it should be, unless it be chiefly drawn from original writers.'[76] It was only through reading eyewitness accounts that the historian could recover some of the 'charm' and thereby the spirit of the original event. For the historian to 'antiquate his feelings, so as to become for a moment the contemporary of those ages of which he is the historian', he must consult the writings of the age.[77] Yet as Mackintosh's travels across Britain and Europe in search of primary sources make evident, to do so required mobility and a reliance on networks of patronage that was partially borne of an inherited socio-economic status. As Mackintosh's fears that the Tories would proclaim him 'biased' and deny him access to sources suggests, his success as a historian was also reliant on his credibility. Mackintosh's 'passing' as a historian was based upon a reputation that he had built up since his first days as a student in Edinburgh, and maintained whilst in Bombay, amongst an enormous network of elite liberals and Whigs across Europe. It was confirmed in a letter from Talleyrand to the Duke of Wellington in 1814, who wrote with reference to Mackintosh's access to the French archives, 'les travaux historiques d'un homme comme lui, sont d'une utilitie generale.'[78]

'Un homme comme lui' – a man like him, who had connections to those at the very height of governmental power could write the history of the nation because his race, class and mobility enabled his access to archives and collections. Moreover, his class status, gender, ethnicity and religion ensured that his history

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[75] BL Add MS 78769, Mackintosh to Kitty, August 3rd 1811, p.187
[76] *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1821, No. LXX, p.491.
[77] *Ibid.*, p.492.
[78] BL Add MS 78764, Talleyrand to the Duke of Wellington, Vienna, 1814, p.80.

would be deemed both important and trustworthy. Supporting him were large numbers of friends, family and servants, his daughter Fanny in particular, who copied extracts from books, to be sent to wherever he was staying. They went unacknowledged in the histories that he eventually wrote. As this section has illustrated, Mackintosh's belief in himself, and his credibility in the eyes of others, as a historian of the nation, was contingent upon his class and his gender. In his own published writing, Mackintosh sketched the proper character, approach and activities of the historian. Imagining the historian as a man with experience of both 'public' and 'private' affairs, he disqualified those women and members of the lower classes, excluded from 'public' affairs and business, from writing the nation's history. By claiming that no history could be adequate without reference to original manuscripts, Mackintosh also implicitly dismissed attempts at history writing made by those without powerful patronage networks, economic and social mobility. Considering himself particularly qualified to narrate the history of the nation, Mackintosh's reflections on his ability to write and research simultaneously conceptualised the boundaries of the historian's identity. In the next section, I turn to look at how Mackintosh's intellectual and political influences and his social and national identities contributed to his sense of how the history of the nation should be written.

'The great innovator, Time': whiggism and the idea of history

Looking back to his youth from Bombay in 1804, Mackintosh wrote of an interest in history that had been partly inspired by his reading of Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses* whilst still at College.[79] Warburton's *Divine Legation* traced the history of religious thought from the very beginning of society, in order to prove the divinity of Mosaic law.[80] The thesis 'perhaps tainted my fancy with a fondness for the twilight of historical hypothesis', Mackintosh wrote in his unpublished autobiography, 'but which certainly inspired me with that passion for investigating the history of opinion which has influenced my reading throughout life.'[81] Another historian, Bishop Burnet, provided early inspiration to pursue history. Burnet's

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[79] BL Add MS 52436b, 'Autobiography', p.8.
[80] Clifton Cherpack, 'Warburton and the Encyclopedie', *Comparative Literature*, vol. 7, no. (1955), p.228.
[81] BL Add MS 52436b, 'Autobiography'. p.8.

religious and historical commentaries, including the *History of his Own Times,* which Mackintosh drew on for his own discussion of 1688, were responses to church conflict and political disputes.[82]   Very different from the type of history that Mackintosh himself would ultimately write, these two historiographic influences were borne of interests and debates that pertained to earlier times. At the same time, the paradigms within which they operated – particularly whiggism and Scottish enlightenment philosophy – were central to Mackintosh's own approach to history. By the time Mackintosh was drawing on them, however, different questions and concerns were leading him to alternative ways of interpreting the past. The French Revolution and the turbulent political context in Britain across the period, together with his involvement in reform debates, all coloured the ways in which he approached the past. As Mackintosh's identification with religion, politics and nation changed across his lifetime, so too did his ideas about history. This section explores the relationship between the changing political contexts through which Mackintosh lived and his ideas about history.   Focussing on Mackintosh's responses to Hume's history and philosophy, it explores the ways in which Mackintosh both drew on and reacted against aspects of the Scottish enlightenment thought in which he was schooled. It then considers the influence of whiggism and reform debates on Mackintosh's idea of history before turning, in the final section, to discuss Mackintosh's histories of England themselves.

Preparing to write his own histories of England, Mackintosh subjected the narratives and interpretations of the historians of the previous generation to scrutiny. William Robertson had 'good sense', he wrote in 1811, but did not 'rise above mediocrity of reason and elegance'.[83]   Although a better writer, Robertson had a less powerful mind than Gibbon, whose research he admired but whose style he objected to.[84]   Mackintosh also saw problems with Tindal's continuation of Rapin's cosmopolitan *Histoire d'Angleterre*, which covered the period up to and

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[82] Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge, 1997), p.14; See also, Andrew Starkie, 'Contested Histories of the English Church: Gilbert Burnet and Jeremy Collier, *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly,* vol.68, no. ½, The Uses of History in Early Modern England (2005), pp.335-351. For the influence of Burnet see BL Add MS 52436b, 'Autobiography', p.4.

[83] BL Add MS 52438b, 15th July 1811, p.76.

[84] Ibid.; BL Add MS 78779, Diary extract, March 29th 1818: A Residence at the Court of London by Richard Rush, p.239.

beyond 1688.[85] 'The perusal of half of the second volume of Tindal convinces me still more how miserably our history since the Revolution has been written and how little that is the fault of the subject', he wrote.[86] Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Times* did much of the narrative groundwork for Mackintosh's own *History of the Revolution of 1688*, whilst Charles James Fox's unfinished *History of England* offered a near-contemporary Whig model.[87] Yet it was Hume's *History of England* that provided Mackintosh with the challenge of history-writing and it was to Hume that Mackintosh looked as the standard-bearer that he hoped to surpass.[88]

Hume's *History of England* was published in six volumes between 1754 and 1762, beginning with the Stuarts and ending with the Britons and the Roman invasion.[89] As John Burrow has argued, it was a characteristic product of the Scottish Enlightenment, whilst at the same time challenging the political and religious sentiments of both contemporaries and later generations of readers such as Mackintosh.[90] Hume, as Nicholas Phillipson has shown, presented England's constitution as a modern and fragile construction, integral to which was the party system.[91] England's system of constitutional monarchy, which Montesquieu had portrayed as the most advanced and freest form of government, Hume saw as inherently fragile.[92] 'Civilisation' was driven by commerce and embodied in the rise of a 'polite' middle class who would eventually usurp the powers and wealth of the aristocracy.[93] Denying the validity of calling the English constitution 'ancient', and thereby also denying what was constructed as the 'essential' impulse of the English to freedom, Hume's *History* was iconoclastic and irreverent.[94] Although heavily critiqued, Hume's *History* proved to be immensely popular amongst the educated

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[85] See O'Brien *Narratives of Enlightenment* for in-depth discussion of all these historians.
[86] BL Add MS 52438a, 15th February 1811, p.62.
[87] Bishop Burnet's *History of his Own Time vol. I from the restoration of King Charles II to the settlement of King William and Queen Mary at the Revolution (*Dublin, 1724); J.R. Dinwiddy, 'Charles James Fox as Historian', *The Historical Journal*, 12, 1 (1969), pp.23-34.
[88] Salber Philips, *Society and Sentiment,* p.197.
[89] Phillipson, *Hume*, (London, 1989), p.4 and p.78. Where I refer to Hume's *History* I have used: *The History of England from the invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 in eight volumes by David Hume* (esq) (London, 1767).
[90] John Burrow, *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century* (London 2007), p.332
[91] Phillipson, *Hume*, pp.11-12
[92] M. de Montesquieu, *The Complete Works of M. Montesquieu* translated from the French by K Secondat, vol 1 of 4 (Dublin, 1777), book XIX, ch. 27; Phillipson, *Hume,* p.17.
[93] Philipson, *Hume,* p.16
[94] *Ibid.*, p.11

upper and middle classes in Britain.[95] Mackintosh himself stated that 'no other narrative seems to unite, in the same degree, the two qualities of being instructive and affecting'. [96] Ultimately, however, there were numerous aspects of Hume's interpretation and approach of which Mackintosh expressed his disapproval as he contemplated how to write his own history of England. Religious belief, national sentiment, ideas of morality and virtue intersected throughout Mackintosh's scattered thoughts on Hume's historical and philosophical approach to form a relatively substantial critique. As I will illustrate, these criticisms offer insights into Mackintosh's own approach to writing history and suggest ways in which attitudes to history changed in relationship to changing political contexts.

Immersed in his historical pursuits in the summer of 1825, Mackintosh noted in his diary that his daily routine comprised reading a small section of the New Testament before turning to Hume's *History of England.* 'I am more charmed by the fine reflexions [sic] and unaffected beauty of Hume than I ever was before and more displeased with his enmity to Religion and Liberty.'[97] As Knud Haarkonssen has argued, what distanced Mackintosh from his philosophical mentors – both Hume and Smith – was the moral and providential frame that was present in his *Vindiciae Gallicae* but which became more prevalent in his later, post-French Revolution, works.[98] Although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact nature of Mackintosh's Christian faith, by 1830, and probably from much earlier, it is clear that Mackintosh's belief in God was strong. That in his youth he was not a believer is implied in his autobiography, but it also comes through in an early letter to his future wife, Kitty, who was herself devout. 'Never did religion appear to me so interesting nor Catherine Allen so aimable', Mackintosh wrote in a courting letter of 1797, barely disguising the fickle nature of his belief.[99] In 1798 he wrote to Kitty whilst on circuit in Norfolk, when the other judges were at church.[100] Yet by 1804, during their voyage to Bombay, Mackintosh was preaching to the crew and passengers on Sundays.[101] The claim that Mackintosh 'had never believed at all

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[95] Phillipson, *Hume*, p.4
[96] *Memoirs of the Life,* vol II, pp.164-5
[97] BL Add MS 52447, 16th September 1825, p.19.
[98] Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1996), p.270
[99] BL Add MS 78768, Letter to Miss Allen c/o John Wedgewood, Bristol, London (Serle Street) October 11th 1797, p.9.
[100] BL Add MS 78768, Mackintosh to Catherine, Maidstone, Tuesday [before 10th April], p.28.
[101] Patrick O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh: The Whig Cicero* (Aberdeen, 1989) p.73.

during in his life' is not borne out in the numerous professions of faith across his later diaries.[102] Commenting on a book he was reading, which seems to have been about the education of Christ, Mackintosh stated that 'I am too zealous a Christian, I have too enthusiastic a veneration for his memory and for the religion which he believed and taught' to 'ascribe suspicious pretensions to Jesus Christ.'[103] Mackintosh's apparent conversion to a more active, although perhaps far from zealous, Christianity, can be seen as part of a wider and more general belief in the way that both history and philosophy should be approached. It was this approach that set him at odds with Hume.

Mackintosh wrote more comprehensively about Hume's atheism in his *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy* (1830). In this piece, Mackintosh critiqued Hume's approach in a manner that echoes his more fragmented comments on Hume's *History*. Beginning with a description of Hume's benevolence and good-natured character, Mackintosh rapidly launched into a critique of his faithlessness: 'It must be unaccountable, that he who revered benevolence should, without apparent regret, cease to see it on the throne of the Universe.'[104] In Mackintosh's thought, Hume's atheism translated into the 'universal scepticism' - 'a belief that there can be no belief' - of his philosophy.[105] There are similarities here between Mackintosh's critique of Hume's atheism and his attack on William Godwin in his lectures on the 'Law of Nature and Nations'. Godwin's own answer to Burke, published as *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793), had argued for the withering away of the state itself through the unshackling of men's minds, giving them the freedom to judge for themselves.[106] He saw men's happiness as coming from the freedom to make their own moral decisions away from the didacticism of the state, whose rulers imposed their own version of morality to serve the purposes of power.[107] In the published preface to his lectures, Mackintosh had attacked

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[102] This is taken from a quote by Whishaw cited in 'Mackintosh' in David Fisher (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832,* VI Members L-R (Cambridge, 2009), p.279
[103] BL Add MS 78766, JM to Ulphilas(?), Bombay 14th June, 1810,. p.56.
[104] 'Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy chiefly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in *The Miscellaneous Works of The Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh,* III vols complete in I (Boston, 1857), p.139.
[105] *Ibid.,* p.140.
[106] 'William Godwin' in *Burke, Paine, Godwin and the Revolution Controversy,* Marilyn Butler (ed) (Cambridge, 1984), pp.151-2.
[107] *Ibid.*

Godwin's views publicly as 'the murmurs of a few licentious sophists'.[108] In a private letter to Godwin in 1799, he justified his attack by stating that for those like themselves who 'hold utility to be the standard of morals' the consequences of moral and practical disputes 'are everything.'[109] The argument that Mackintosh presented in his *Discourse*, and later in his *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, may have seen utility as the standard of morals, but it was God's utilitarian design, not man's, that lay the framework for morality that man must follow.[110]

Mackintosh described Hume's philosophical approach, his 'universal scepticism', as 'puerile'.[111] Yet when put into practice it could, Mackintosh stated, be used 'mischievously'.[112] In this respect, it was not only the content of the philosopher's arguments that appeared dangerous, 'universal scepticism' fundamentally informed the character and judgement of a man: 'Those who are early accustomed to dispute first principles are never likely to acquire, in a sufficient degree, that earnestness and that sincerity, that strong love of Truth, and that conscientious solicitude for the formation of just opinions, which are not the least virtues of men, but of which the cultivation is the more especial duty of all who call themselves philosophers.'[113] Drawing on the enlightenment notion of the philosopher as a 'public man', Mackintosh felt that Hume's approach was injurious to the 'virtues of men'. Far more scathing, but with similar sentiment and fears for the morality of men, was Mackintosh's critique of Bentham's utilitarianism within the same volume on Ethical Philosophy. Mackintosh argued that Bentham had taken the doctrine of utility too far and as a result had not made space for human acts of selflessness and sympathy that could not be explained through self interest.[114] Ultimately, Mackintosh stated that human character could not be deduced or swayed by the application of general theories or principles of 'interest'. The influences on human character were 'minute and multiplied' so that the actions of

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[108] James Mackintosh, 'Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations' printed in *Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, Donald Winch (ed and intro) (Indianapolis, 2006), p.220.

[109] Letter from Mackintosh to Godwin, Serle Street, Lincoln's Inn, 30th January 1799 in Kegan Paul, *William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries*, vol. 1 (London, 1876), p.329.

[110] Haakonssen, *Natural Law,* p.281.

[111] 'Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy', p.140

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid

[114] Ibid., pp.159-60.

an individual or a nation could not be explained by general laws.[115] It was this relationship between the specific actions of the nation and the general laws of 'nature and nations' that Mackintosh endeavoured to explore in his *History of England.*

Mackintosh's critique of Hume, and in slightly different ways of Bentham, Mill and Godwin, drew on a interrelated combination of differences in opinion that were based upon religion, virtue and moral sentiment. Fundamentally related to these, and especially evident in Mackintosh's criticism of Hume, was national sentiment. Connected to Hume's questioning of first principles to the detriment of 'that strong love of Truth', was a lack of attachment both to domestic and national ties. As chapter two illustrated, Scottish enlightenment philosophers, including Hume, saw the patriarchal family unit as integral to social order. Mackintosh reiterated this point, citing Hume's own essay on polygamy and divorce, that had shown 'the connection of domestic ties with the outward order of society'.[116] Yet elsewhere, he claimed, Hume had strayed from these values, giving him the 'appearance of weighing the mere amusements of society and conversation against domestic fidelity' and of undermining the family.[117] In a move that explicitly brought together national and domestic character, Mackintosh blamed this wavering from familial values on his residence on the Continent, where 'universal and undistinguishing profligacy' prevailed.[118] Had he lived fifteen years longer, Mackintosh wrote, Hume would have seen how the very lack of essential virtues, which were the bedrock of stable society, had so dramatically destroyed law and government.[119] Referring to the French Revolution, Mackintosh stated that 'this tremendous conflagration threw a fearful light on the ferocity which lies hid under the arts and pleasures of corrupted nations.'[120] Pointing to one of the fundamental premises that underlay his own histories of England, Mackintosh argued that without a basis in virtue and good character a nation, despite the apparent flowering of its arts and culture, could not progress.

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[115] Ibid., p.162.
[116] Ibid., 141.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid., p.142
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.

In his critique of Hume's philosophy, as in his earlier comments and notes on Hume's history, Mackintosh criticised Hume's lack of national feeling and blamed it upon his residence abroad. By spending much of his time in France, Hume had severed himself from his ties to the nation and, like a man who lacked familial roots, his sense of morality and national self was superficial.[121] Ultimately, Mackintosh claimed that Hume had produced 'the singular phenomenon of a history of England adverse to our peculiar national feelings, and calculated not so much to preserve the vigour, as to repress the excesses, of that love of liberty which distinguishes the History of England from that of other nations of Europe.'[122] On the whole, Mackintosh concluded Hume's 'moral standard was not so high as that of history ought to be.'[123] Although Mackintosh drew on the civilisational paradigm that Hume and his generation had pioneered, his own historical *raison d'etre* was less about the elucidation of general principles and more explicitly about national becoming and the nation's adherence or otherwise to principles of civilisation and liberty.[124] Nicholas Phillipson has argued that through his *History of England* Hume set out to teach men and women to be happy in the world rather than look to the hereafter and to explore 'civilisation' in greater, historical depth.[125] With an explicit focus on the nation, Mackintosh, in contrast, endeavoured to show that 'the characteristic quality of English history is, that it stands alone as the history of the progress of a great people towards liberty.'[126]

As Karen O'Brien has argued, the eighteenth-century Scottish thinkers were markedly more cosmopolitan than the later generation who would follow in their intellectual footsteps.[127] Hume's *History of England*, like Robertson's *History of Scotland* was seen in a 'frame of European reference', in which the English constitution marked a divergence from the general European trend towards absolutism but was nonetheless rooted in Gothic government.[128] This was an interpretation that Mackintosh himself followed in his *Vindiciae Gallicae* but which later, in the aftermath of the Terror and Napoleonic despotism, shifted towards a

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[121] Ibid.
[122] *Memoirs of the Life,* vol II, pp.164-5.
[123] *Ibid.,* pp.164-5.
[124] See Salber Philips, *Society and Sentiment,* p.210.
[125] Phillipson, *Hume,* p.15.
[126] *The History of England by The Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh.* Volume the First (London, 1830), p.v.
[127] O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment,* pp.3-5.
[128] *Ibid.,* p.96

sense of English exceptionalism whilst remaining grounded in an Enlightenment idea of civilisational progress.[129] The intensification of patriotism, of assertions of loyalty to the nation and belief in England's greatness, discussed in chapter two, was reflected in Mackintosh's approach to history. In the early days of enthusiasm for the French Revolution, when Mackintosh began writing in support of French Revolutionary principles, much of his argument drew on a Scottish enlightenment, and particularly Humean, approach to history. As chapter two suggested, the French Revolutionary debates in Britain became, in part, about the value and meaning of history. Like Hume, Mackintosh had seen England's history as an example from which to elucidate general principles of civilisation and governance. History was 'an immense collection of experiments on the nature and effect of the various parts of various Governments.'[130] By 1799, however, when he delivered his lectures to an audience of gentlemen at Lincoln's Inn, Mackintosh's disappointment in the failure of the French revolutionaries and of French Revolutionary principles had translated into a deep fear of innovation, of experimentation with society. He proclaimed his intention to 'lay the foundations of morality so deeply in human nature .. and, at the same time, to vindicate the paramount authority of the rules of our duty, at all times, and in all places.'[131] Citing Asia, the Ottomans and China, Mackintosh claimed that despite their seeming varieties, 'the same fundamental, comprehensive truths, the sacred master-principles which are the guardians of human society, recognised and revered … by every nation upon earth.'[132]

History, instead of being a collection of 'experiments' became 'a vast museum, in which specimens of every variety of human nature may be studied'.[133] The former suggested a certain agency, a confidence in the ability of man to construct and transform his environment, that was lacking in the latter. The 'system of universal morality' was beyond the control or invention of man. Ideas of original rights and 'social compact' were implicitly scorned, 'all inquiries into the origin of

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[129] See Chapter Two.
[130] James Mackintosh, 'Vindiciae Gallicae: Defence of the French Revolution and Its English Admirers Against the Accusations of the Right Honorable William Edmund Burke; Including Some Strictures on the Late Production of Mons. De Calonne' (London, 1791) in *Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, Donald Winch (ed and intro) (Indianapolis, 2006), p.50.
[131] James Mackintosh, 'Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations' printed in *Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, Donald Winch (ed and intro) (Indianapolis, 2006), p.226.
[132] *Ibid.,*, p.220.
[133] *Ibid.*, p.220.

government be chimerical, yet the history of its progress is curious and useful.'[134] Through his *Discourse,* Mackintosh emphasised duties over rights and renounced any idea of the possibility of effecting revolution. With obvious reference to the French Revolution he stated that, 'The attempt to change by violence the ancient habits of men, and the established order of society, so as to fit them for an absolutely new scheme of government, flows from the most presumptuous ignorance, requires the support of the most ferocious tyranny.'[135] It was not through human intervention that society was reformed but (quoting Bacon), the work of 'the great innovator Time'.[136] Critiquing Montesquieu, Mackintosh looked to 'time and circumstances', rather than the 'skill of legislators' as an explanation for the growth of political constitutions.[137] Lodging historical change in the hands of 'Time', Mackintosh denied historical agency to any particular group of people and reified the status quo by embodying its fundamental institutions – marriage and property – in 'immutable' principles. The 'gradual improvement' of civilisation of mankind depended, according to Mackintosh, on the 'institutions of property and marriage', which preserved and improved society.[138] History became less about Reason and Progress in the hands of the middling classes who constituted the actors of the nation and more about an alliance of interests and gradual inclusion. It became a matter of incorporating from the past a vision of the present, seeing not difference but continuities and gradual adaptations from past and present, a Burkean 'liberal descent.'

If Mackintosh disliked Hume's philosophy for the scepticism that he felt undermined the moral order, which he understood as inspired by God, he also fundamentally disagreed with Hume's political scepticism that undermined a Whig reverence for the 'ancient', English Constitution.[139] Nicholas Phillipson has argued that Hume's position was one of 'philosophical whiggery' that 'refined' party prejudices 'to create a more impartial, more polite framework for a history of England.'[140] As a result of Hume's attempt to pander to neither party, however, his

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[134] *Ibid.,* p.232.
[135] *Ibid.,* p.236.
[136] *Ibid.,* p.237.
[137] *Ibid.,* p.221.
[138] *Ibid.,* p.228.
[139] For the idea of 'sceptical Whigs' see Stefan Collini, Donald Winch, John Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics: A Case Study in Nineteenth-century Intellectual History* (Cambridge, 1983), p.43.
[140] Phillipson, *Hume,* p.85.

History of England was regarded as Tory, leading to the belief that this so-called 'Tory' interpretation of English history dominated the historiographical field.[141] In fact, this perception reveals far more about the difficulties of delineating a 'Whig' and 'Tory' position, either in history or in politics, than it says very much about Hume's *History of England.* This is made more complicated by the fact that whiggism as a political ideology underwent significant changes and divisions across the period, again predominantly as a result of the French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic wars.[142] As J.G.A. Pocock has argued, in the aftermath of the Terror, Scottish scientific whiggism could say little, and do even less, to counter a Burkean conservatism that looked to constitutional precedent against appeals to 'the people'.[143] Those, like Mackintosh, who for the most part remained in the Foxite camp, were nonetheless obliged to submit to Burke's mode of thinking even though it sat uncomfortably with the enlightenment paradigm of thought that he still retained.[144]

Despite a period when his relations with Fox's circle were cool, Mackintosh referred to himself 'as ardent an admirer, as faithful an adherent and fully as judicious a friend of Mr Fox' as Dr Parr, who was an intimate member of Fox's circle.[145] Mackintosh undoubtedly saw his own *History* as a continuation of Fox's, a view that Macaulay endorsed when he discussed the two historians' temperaments together in his review of Mackintosh's *History.*[146] Paying respect to his hero's own *History of England,* Mackintosh began his *History* where Fox had ended his, so that it represented a sequel, rather than a rival to Fox's narrative.[147] In political terms, Mackintosh's adherence to Fox's whiggism meant a continued belief in both Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform and a tacit acknowledgement that he would follow the direction of Holland House. The price he paid was selection

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[141] Dinwiddy, 'Charles James Fox as historian', pp.24-5.
[142] Kathryn Chittick, *The Language of Whiggism, Liberty and Patriotism, 1802-1830* (London, 2010), p.3.
[143] Pocock, 'The Varieties of Whiggism from Exclusion to Reform' in *Virtue, Commerce and History,* pp.297-8. Also, Kathryn Chittick, *The Language of Whiggism*, p.3.
[144] J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985),p.298.
[145] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, 9th December 1806, p.29.
[146] 'Art. 1 – History of the Revolution in England in 1688. Comprising a view of the Reign of James the Second from his Accession, to the Enterprise of the Prince of Orange, by the late Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh; and completed to the Settlement of the Crown by the Editor. To which is prefixed a Notice of the Life, Writings and Speeches of Sir James Mackintosh. 4to. London: 1834', *Edinburgh Review*, July 1835.
[147] Dinwiddy, 'Charles James Fox as historian', p.32.

for office, which he may have achieved had he been more flexible in his political allegiances. Mackintosh had been in Bombay when the 'Ministry of all the Talents' had united under Grenville, made up predominantly of Foxites. Whether he would have gained from it remained a matter of speculation, as by the time Mackintosh returned from Bombay in 1811 the Foxites, led by Grey, were in disarray, refusing to join the government without assurances of Catholic emancipation.[148] Mackintosh's refusal to join Perceval's ministry in May 1812 was made in line with his own adherence to this principle.[149] In 1817, when Grey determined to lay out Whig principles in the aftermath of the split of the Grenvillite-Foxite alliance over repression of popular agitation, Parliamentary reform was not made an essential feature of the Whig platform.[150] Mackintosh's own position on reform had echoes of his earlier radicalism. From Bombay in 1806, Mackintosh had reflected in a letter to Sharp that in the midst of 'the horrible effects of tyranny and imposture', he felt himself driven 'once more to a point a little on the democratic side of the centre'.[151] In 1819, with a seat in Parliament and alarmed by the growth of reform agitation that had resulted in the 'massacre' of protestors for reform who had gathered in Peter's Fields in Manchester, Mackintosh stated to Lord John Russell that he felt himself 'more anxious to declare for reform than many of our friends.'[152]

In the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, between 1815 and 1820, popular agitation against income tax, tithes, Corn Laws, sinecures, corruption and lack of representation in Parliament took the forms of petitioning, organising and occasionally rioting across the country.[153] E.P. Thompson has called the period the 'heroic age of popular Radicalism' but also points to the fragmentary and diverse nature of radical movements that were centred upon the industrial North and Midlands of England.[154] To radicals, reformers and those in power, the popular and organised activities demanding reform mirrored the climate of the 1790s and many of the symbols and characters, including the seventy-year old Major Cartwright,

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[148] Michael Turner, *The Age of Unease: Government and Reform in Britain, 1782-1832* (London, 2000), pp.130-1.

[149] BL Add MS 78764, Mackintosh to Perceval, New Norfolk Street, 11th May 1812, p.75.

[150] Turner, *Age of Unease,* p.143.

[151] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, 9th December 1806, p.27.

[152] Sir James Mackintosh to Russell, Holland House, October 14, 1819, *Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell,* 1805-40, edited by Rollo Russell, vol. 1 (London, 1913), p.206.

[153] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* (Harmondsworth, 1963), p.668.

[154] *Ibid.,* p.661.

were the same.[155]   Mackintosh, writing to Allen in the aftermath of 'Peterloo', automatically drew parallels between the situation in 1819 and that of 1792. The gathering of sixty thousand to hear Henry Hunt speak on reform in St Peter's Fields in Manchester had ended in the 'massacre' of civilians by the yeomanry who had been ordered to disperse the meeting.[156]   It sparked a wave of riots in towns across England and marked, according to Gordon Pentland, the apogee of calls for reform.[157]   Mackintosh wrote that Tierney, leader of the Whig opposition, believed that some form of expression of disgust at the actions of the magistrates should take place.   Yet what form of response was appropriate? 'Can they with any propriety attend meetings called by reformers whether styling themselves moderate or radical' without spreading 'alarm, as in 1792, among the enemies of reform and alarmists?'[158]

Aside from calling for an inquiry into the 'massacre', Mackintosh's response to the currents of unrest spreading across the country was to push again for Parliamentary reform.   In some respects Mackintosh's promotion of reform echoed sentiments similar to those expressed in his *Vindiciae Gallicae*: 'We desire to avert revolution by reform, subversion by correction'.[159]   Yet in both language and practice Mackintosh was dramatically more conservative.   He had no involvement with radical leaders, such as Cartwright or Hunt as he had had with Horne Tooke or Gerard in the 1790s and no association with radical groups, such as the Hampden Clubs that were, in many ways, the equivalents of the LCS.   Instead, he worked with Lord John Russell and John Allen to propose a form of Parliamentary reform that would be acceptable to the Whig party and to Parliament without alarming what Russell called the 'Tory property and manufacturing and commercial alarmists.'[160]   It was this proposal, drawn up by Russell and presented to Parliament on 14th December 1819, that Mackintosh endorsed and justified in his *Edinburgh Review* article of 1820.

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[155] *Ibid.,*, p.662-7.
[156] Turner, *The Age of Unease*, p.161; Edward Royle, *Revolutionary Britannia? Reflections on the Threat of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848* (Manchester and New York, 2000), p.52.
[157] Gordon Pentland, *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity in Scotland, 1820-1833* (Woodbridge, 2008), p.7.
[158] BL Add MS 78764, Allen to Mackintosh, 11th September 1819, p.67.
[159] 'Vindiciae Gallicae', p.150.
[160] BL Add MS 78764, Lord Russell to Mackintosh, October 31st 1819, p.85.

Mackintosh began his review by expressing the dangers of revolution and warning against sudden innovation. Constitutions were the 'growth of time, not the invention of ingenuity.'[161] Addressing 'enslaved nations' who were looking to rise up against tyranny, he stated that 'we would earnestly exhort them in their first attempts at legislation, to aim only at a sketch of those institutions, without which Liberty cannot exist, - to connect them, wherever it is possible, with the ancient fabric of their societies, - and to leave the outline to be gradually filled up by their successors.'[162] The 'deep-rooted' liberty of England meant that tyranny would find it nearly impossible to flourish in Britain.[163] What he suggested, following Russell's proposals, was a conscious adoption of the middle-ground, between 'those who would petition for universal suffrage, and those who refuse to disfranchise Grampound'.[164] As in the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, Mackintosh's argument, or 'scheme or reform', focussed on the middle classes, 'in order to fix their opinions, to form a point of union between themselves, and to guard them against the contagion of extravagant projects.'[165]

In a conscious effort to separate the middle from the working classes, the plan of reform endeavoured to redistribute seats from boroughs in which 'gross and notorious bribery and corruption shall be found to prevail' and to give them, instead, to large, un-represented towns.[166] The Civil War had been fought over the rights of the 'Commons of England' to a share of political power. 'Since the Revolution, a far greater diffusion of property and intelligence has produced a new struggle'; the two, in Mackintosh's mind, went firmly together.[167] If a share of government were granted to the property-owners of the towns, they would act as 'garrisons … to preserve quiet and ensure their fidelity' to government.[168] Looking back across history, Mackintosh illustrated that bestowing seats on towns and votes for the 'freeman of the city' had numerous precedents across the Tudor and Stuart

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[161] Art. XII Speech of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, on the 14th December 1819, for transferring the Elective Franchise from Corrupt Boroughs to Unrepresented Great Towns.', *Edinburgh Review,* (1820), p.461.
[162] *Ibid.,* p.462.
[163] *Ibid.,,* p.463.
[164] *Ibid.,* p.465.
[165] *Ibid.,* p.467.
[166] *Ibid.,* p.468.
[167] *Ibid.,* p.479.
[168] *Ibid.,* p.482.

periods.[169] Thus, he showed how 'the proposed reform is agreeable to the ancient practice of the Constitution' and that the reform of the Constitution was not, in fact an innovation but rather a 'remedy' made to meet the changed circumstances of society.[170] Mackintosh's approach to his argument for reform is an echo of Burke's claim that 'in what we improve we are never wholly new; in what we retain we are never wholly obsolete'.[171] Concluding his review, he put forward a 'triumphant answer' to the hypothetical question asked of moderate reformers, 'at what period of history was the House of Commons in the state to which you wish to restore it?'[172] The point, Mackintosh stated, was not a return to any former state, for 'the institutions of one age can never be entirely suitable to the condition of another' but the regulation and 'equalising' of the Constitution in order that it represented the country in its current state.[173]

Looking at John Millar's *An Historical View of the English Government from the Settlement of the Saxons in Britain to the Revolution in 1688* (1787), J.G.A. Pocock has argued that a combination of Scottish enlightenment philosophy with a Burkean constitutionalism offered a partial resolution to the hiatus that had developed post-French Revolution.[174] Millar drew on Scottish scientific whiggism to argue that England's past had been feudal but suggested, according to Pocock, an earlier liberty as well as the emergence of new liberties that, by the Stuart reign, saw England fully invested with constitutionalism that could be construed as ancient.[175] Although Mackintosh makes no mention of Millar's *Historical View*, a similar phenomenon appears in his *Edinburgh Review* article. In his argument, Mackintosh combined an implicit acknowledgement that the English Constitution was, indeed, ancient, with a sense of the progress of the commercial classes. In many ways, his description of the progress of the country followed a trajectory more redolent of Hume than of Burke. Mackintosh stated that: 'Villages have sprung up into immense cities; great manufactures have spread over wastes and mountains; ease, comfort and leisure, have introduced, among the middling classes of society, their

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[169] *Ibid.,* pp.472-5.
[170] *Ibid.,* p.479.
[171] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (New York, 2006, based on the 'Seventh Edition', 1790), p.32.
[172] 'Speech of Lord John Russell', p.500.
[173] *Ibid.,* p.500.
[174] Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History,* p.299.
[175] *Ibid.,* p.299.

natural companions, curiosity, intelligence, boldness, and activity of mind.'[176] Political power must respond to such changes, Mackintosh argued, in order that the Constitution 'adapts itself to the progress of civilisation'.[177]   This intimate relationship between Whig politics and history in the context of the debates over reform would fundamentally inform Mackintosh's histories of England. In the next section, I explore Mackintosh's attempts to shape and imagine the nation through his *History of England* and *History of the Revolution in England in 1688*.

'The links of one story': constructing the nation

Mackintosh began writing his *History of England* in 1829, commissioned by Dionysius Lardner for Longman publishers as part of *The Cabinet Cyclopaedia*.[178]   In the midst of times that were fraught with instability across Europe, alongside the recurring threat of popular uprising in Britain itself, Mackintosh sought to write a history that would 'facilitate the right understanding of more recent controversies and changes.'[179] His introduction made it clear that it was a popular work, aimed at those with too little time to enter into deep reading and scholarship. The *History of England* would, Mackintosh wrote, be 'a particularly accessible manual for reference; and that it may contain all the information concerning the affairs of one people.'[180] Structured chronologically around the accession of monarchs, but with an emphasis on the evolution of governmental institutions, Mackintosh's *History* would tell the story of progress towards freedom. Yet, as I argue in this section, rather than providing a reassuring narrative of 'one people' destined for liberty, Mackintosh's *History of England* was marked by ambivalence and uncertainty.   From the very outset, Mackintosh's *History* defied any simple definition of a nation as either geographically contained or internally coherent.   Derived, on the one hand, from the 'Teutonic race', yet the 'English character' was also the result of the settlement of pirates from as far away as the North Cape, whilst many of its heroes did not originate from England at all or attained their virtues beyond its shores.[181]

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[176] *Ibid.,* p.478.
[177] *Ibid.,* p.489.
[178] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.178.
[179] Mackintosh, *History of England,* p.vi.
[180] Mackintosh, *History of England,* p.v.
[181] *Ibid.,* p.5 and p.30.

Throughout his *History*, any attempt to identify that 'one people' led Mackintosh into a series of complexities and contradictory statements.

Awaiting the posthumous publication of his second history, *The History of the Revolution in England in 1688,* Hazlitt stated that his expectations were not high. Referring primarily to Mackintosh's later writings including his articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, Hazlitt remarked that 'there is no principle of fusion in his work'.[182] In this section I argue that this lack of 'fusion' was the result of a deeper ambivalence that was reflected in Mackintosh's histories. Looking at both histories, this section explores Mackintosh's historical narratives by exploring the ambivalences and ambiguities in his construction of the nation across time. It begins by looking at Mackintosh's attempt to define the nation in his *History of England.* Then, through a discussion of Mackintosh's treatment of the so-called 'Celtic' people of the British Isles – particularly the Scottish, Irish and the Welsh – it tries to understand how Mackintosh conceptualised the 'English'. Finally, this section looks at Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution in England in 1688* to show how Mackintosh's whiggism, as well as his related ideas of morality and good character that have been discussed across this thesis, fundamentally informed the nation and its history that he imagined through his narration.

Mackintosh opened his *History of England* with a discussion of the tribes of Western Europe, divided into two 'races' – the Celtic and the Teutonic –and their spread across Europe.[183] Before focussing in on the history of these two races in the 'British islands', however, Mackintosh warned his readers against confusing the use of the term 'race' in civil history with that employed by naturalists. 'The latter confine their view to the animal nature of man, taking no account of his language, or of minor and superficial varieties in his exterior.'[184] In civil history, 'race' referred to the 'historical divisions of mankind' which had gradually broken down into 'smaller subdivisions, not always corresponding with the political distribution of territory among nations.'[185] 'Race', for Mackintosh, appears to have meant a form of identification and shared culture. Yet as he began explaining what he meant by

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[182] William Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age or, Contemporary Portraits* (Grasmere, 2004, 1ˢᵗ published 1825), p.223.
[183] *Ibid.,* pp.1-5.
[184] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[185] *Ibid.*, p.4.

'race', 'nation' and 'tribe', these three interrelated categories appeared to blur into one another, collapsing almost entirely. Whilst for tribes and families, language and 'character' and 'the influence of kindred blood' was strong, as they diffused into 'nations' and 'races', the traces of commonality grew 'fainter'.[186] Ultimately, migration over centuries meant that 'the same state contains many tribes of very various race. The same race is subject to many distinct rulers.'[187]

Mackintosh's opening discussion of the races and nations of Europe complicated any simple identification of 'a people' with geography. Hume had begun his *History of England* with a portrait of its original inhabitants, the Britons, who he represented as a barbarous people split into warring tribes. Yet whilst he acknowledged the 'obscurity' and 'uncertainty' of their lives he nonetheless referred to them as 'ancestors'.[188] In contrast, Mackintosh appears more ambivalent about identifying the nation's origins with 'the Britons', who he referred to as the 'Celtic race'.[189] Indeed, he appears ambivalent about how the relationship between nation and history should be conceived of at all. Denying any association with the ancient 'Britons', Mackintosh looked to the 'Teutonic race', the Saxons, who he claimed were 'accorded superior importance' 'in our eyes.'[190] Disassociating the 'English' from the original 'British tribes', Mackintosh rapidly skipped over the earliest period, stating that 'Our institutions are chiefly attributable to the Saxons: few of our offices or divisions, and not very many names of towns, can be traced farther.'[191] In his narrative, the Anglo-Saxons represented the forefathers of the English nation, it was they, 'whose language we speak, in whose homes we dwell, and in whose establishments and institutions we justly glory'.[192]

Yet, whilst Mackintosh claimed national continuity from the Anglo-Saxons to the present day, he also suggested doubt as to whether such an identification represented reality or expediency. On the one hand, Mackintosh argued explicitly against the 17th century antiquarians, both Whig and Tory, who he claimed mistakenly 'held that the Saxon government was a well-ordered system, and that the

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[186] *Ibid.*, p.1.
[187] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[188] Hume, *History of England*, pp1-2.
[189] Mackintosh, *History of England*, p.5.
[190] *Ibid.*, p.5.
[191] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[192] *Ibid.*, p.109.

right of the people to liberty depended on the enjoyment of it by their forefathers.'[193] Reiterating what he had argued in his article on Parliamentary reform, Mackintosh stated that 'governments are not framed after a model … a government can, indeed, be no more than a mere draught or scheme of rule, when it is not composed of habits of obedience on the part of the people, and an habitual exercise of certain portions of authority by the individuals or bodies who constitute the sovereign power.'[194] Yet whilst Mackintosh reprimanded those who would look back to Anglo-Saxon institutions for the 'ancient' Constitution, he nonetheless looked to the Anglo-Saxon period for the origins of 'that spirit of equity and freedom' and 'the rudiments of a free and popular government.'[195]

Earlier in his narrative, Mackintosh had referred to the European belief, derived from Tacitus, that a love of liberty was peculiar to the Teutonic race as a 'harmless illusion'.[196] In his commentary on the Anglo-Saxons both as 'free' and as 'forefathers', Mackintosh cast a similar, if more implicit, uncertainty. The Britons, he claimed, left no more than a 'shadow' that could barely be embraced.[197] Instead, Mackintosh looked to the Anglo-Saxons to provide the heroes with whom contemporary English men could identify. 'Let us not distort history by throwing the unmerited reproach of want of national spirit on the Anglo-Saxon, and thus placing an impassable barrier between our sympathy and the founders of our laws and liberties.'[198] Exactly who was 'distorting history' in this passage about Anglo-Saxon nationality, however, remains unclear. To what extent did this reflect Mackintosh's own ambivalence towards the construction of origin myths? In his *Edinburgh Review* article, Mackintosh had suggested the utility of a belief in the immutability of national institutions: 'All political questions, indeed, are to be determined on the principles of utility. But it is very useful to a free commonwealth to adhere to its fundamental institutions.'[199] It was a view that echoed Burke's suggestion to the French revolutionaries that, 'if the last generations of your country

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[193] Mackintosh, *History of England,* p.71-2.
[194] *Ibid.* pp.72-3.
[195] *Ibid.,* p.75 and p.83.
[196] *Ibid.,* p.10.
[197] *Ibid.,* pp.108-9.
[198] *Ibid.,* p.109.
[199] 'Speech of Lord John Russell', pp.488-9.

appeared without much lustre in your eyes, you might have passed them by, and derived your claims from a more early race of ancestors.'[200]

Whereas in the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, Mackintosh had mocked Burke's affective ties to ancestry as the foundations of national belonging, over thirty years later his *History of England* drew on a similar language of emotional identification. Whereas in the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, Mackintosh had followed Hume by using stadial theory to explain historical progression, in his actual histories his frame of analysis is less coherent and more concerned with an affective and moral identification between the past and the present. Placed at the lowest level of civilisation, the native 'Britons' were, Mackintosh claimed, too far removed to admit 'fellow feeling'.[201] 'The Roman conquest, combined with the Saxon invasion, forms a chasm between the primitive inhabitants and their modern successors. The infusion of British into the English language appears to be scanty. [202] This 'chasm' that Mackintosh placed between the Anglo-Saxons and the Britons, however, represents much more than any simple paucity of evidence. As he had noted in his Introduction, Gaelic, the language of the Celtic tribes was 'still spoken by the Irish nation, Highlanders of Scotland and Isle of Man.'[203] Claiming that 'the only tie of national identity between the Britons and the modern English consists in the unaltered names of the grander masses of earth and water', Mackintosh made it clear that the Gaelic-speakers of the British Isles had no place in the 'history of the progress of a great people towards liberty'. [204] Yet the place of the 'Celtic races' - the Gaelic-speaking peoples of Highland Scotland, Ireland and Wales – continued to plague Mackintosh's narrative in both his histories of England.

Despite the fact that the *Cabinet Cyclopedia* had also commissioned Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Moore to write histories of Scotland and Ireland respectively, Mackintosh's *History of England* could not do without the nearest neighbours over whom England dominated.[205] Yet, at the same time, Mackintosh appeared unable to incorporate them comfortably within England's history of progress. The result

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[200] Burke, *Reflections,* p.33.
[201] *Ibid.*, p.14 and p.108.
[202] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[203] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[204] *Ibid.*, p.22 and p.vi.
[205] See NLS, MS 3908 – Letters to Scott, 1829 (1) Mackintosh to Scott, 14th April 1829, p.209.

was a tension in his narrative that in different ways unravels the certainties of national identity and particularity. On the one hand, the English character acted as an embodiment of the progress towards liberty that would eventually touch all of mankind, whilst on the other, the very idea of 'the English' relied upon the construction of difference in relationship to other peoples.[206] One example of this tension is exhibited in Mackintosh's discussion of the subjugation of Wales by Edward I (1272-1307). With the defeat and death of Llwellyn, Mackintosh claimed that Welsh 'national feeling' was dampened, leaving in its wake two centuries of 'anarchy and misrule.'[207] It was only with the Tudors that 'attempts were made to humanise them by equal laws' and from then that they were brought into the fold of England.[208] Mackintosh concluded his discussion of the subjugation of the Welsh with an interesting passage that expresses the ambivalences of conceptualising an integrated idea of 'Englishness':

> 'If considered, as they [the Welsh] now should be, as part of the people of England, their contributions have been by no means inadequate to reasonable expectations. But the mental produce of a nation has been inconsistently expected from a people robbed of national character, and who are only now re-appearing on a footing of legal and moral equality with all other Englishmen.'[209]

It was the squashing of national spirit, Mackintosh partly implied, that had stunted the 'legal and moral' progress of the Welsh. Without a strong national identity the Welsh could not be expected to achieve the level of civilisation attained by the English.[210] But in becoming 'part of the people of England' had they relinquished their Welshness?

As previous chapters have illustrated, Mackintosh opposed English territorial aggrandisement and conquest as oppressive of other nations and detrimental to the character of the English themselves. Having made that conquest, however, it was the duty of the occupying country to bring about 'civilisation', a 'burden' that Mackintosh felt heavily during his residence in Bombay. The

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[206] Drawing on Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: the Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, 1997).
[207] Mackintosh, *History of England*, p.255.
[208] *Ibid.*, p.255.
[209] *Ibid.*, p.255-6.
[210] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

ambivalences of this position that were discussed in relationship to Bombay's colonial and native societies, are also evident in Mackintosh's historical narrative.[211] In his *History of the Revolution of 1688*, Mackintosh described the colonisation of Ireland from the reign of Henry II as 'an unceasing and cruel warfare' that was 'waged by the English governors against the princes and chiefs of the Irish tribes, with little other effect than that of preventing the progress of civilisation of the Irish, of replunging many of the English into barbarism.'[212] Whereas in his *History of the Revolution* Mackintosh refers to the Irish as 'tribes', suggesting a much lower stage of civilisation, in his *History of England* the Irish are represented as a 'nation'.[213] Indeed, referring to Charles O'Connor's *Chronicles of Ireland*, Mackintosh stated that the Irish nation could 'boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation.'[214] It was the English conquest of Ireland, he implied, that had thwarted the advance of Irish civilisation.

As Colin Kidd has argued, even with belief in Ossian, Scottish theorists working within a stadial framework had largely seen Scottish Gaelic culture as anachronistic, foreign to the dominant peoples who occupied the British Isles.[215] Employing stadial theory, 'Scots were able to distance themselves emotionally from Scottish Gaeldom as from any other primitive society.'[216] The point is embodied in Mackintosh's complete silence regarding the Highland Scottish in contrast to his conception of the Irish as a nation with history and his rather ambivalent, but largely sympathetic, account of Welsh tradition and subjugated nationhood. Completely ignoring the Highland Scots, Mackintosh focussed on the Lowland Scots and the connections between English and European monarchs that frequently embroiled the Scottish nation in conflict. Placing William Wallace amongst 'the foremost of men' including William of Orange and George Washington, Mackintosh celebrated his patriotism and 'national spirit' in leading the resistance against Edward I.[217] Yet despite claiming that Wallace's 'spirit survived him in Scotland', Mackintosh's portrayal of Scotland in his *History of the Revolution* was as a

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[211] See Chapter Three.

[212] *Ibid.,* p.114.

[213] Mackintosh, *History of the Revolution*, p.114; Mackintosh, *History of England*, p.4.

[214] Mackintosh, *History of England,* p.88.

[215] Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland', *The English Historical Review,* vol. 109, no. 434 (Nov. 1994), p.1212.

[216] *Ibid.*, p.1212.

[217] Mackintosh *History of England*, p.261.

nation completely 'servile' to the English.[218] Narrating the growing power and increasingly oppressive measures of James II, Mackintosh highlighted the complicity of the Scottish. 'Not content with servility and cruelty for the moment, they laid down principles which would render slavery universal and perpetual.'[219]

Following Scottish Whig historians of the eighteenth century, Mackintosh conceptualised Scotland as a barbarous periphery of Europe. Thus, in his representation of the thirteenth century as 'a stride of the human understanding in Europe', Mackintosh noted that 'the seed was so far scattered that some poetical flowers began feebly to bloom in remote, distracted and barbarous Scotland.'[220] Ultimately, Mackintosh placed Scotland, Ireland and Wales at the peripheries both of 'civilisation' and of his narrative. This was perhaps not how Mackintosh had originally envisaged writing history. During his return voyage from Bombay to England, Mackintosh had begun writing a 'History of Great Britain from the Revolution in 1688 to the French Revolution in 1789'.[221] Rapidly exchanging 'Great Britain' for 'England', by the very title of his history, Mackintosh suggested the insignificance of Scottish, Welsh and Irish history to the story of progress. Indeed, the seeds of his abandonment of his 'History of Great Britain' were evident in his draft Introduction. There, he had stated that, 'To blend the affairs of Ireland, of North America and of India in annual narrative with the political divisions of England and the events of war on the continent as a mode of comparison which could be productive only of inextricable confusion.'[222] Empire must be relegated to the margins of the history, 'provincial' history should only be admitted at moments of 'repose' in the 'principle narrative'.[223] As Colin Kidd has argued for Hume, a *History of Britain* 'would not have served as a more comprehensive explanation of modern British society than the history of England.'[224]

Even as Mackintosh outlined the 'History of Great Britain', he slipped into discussion of an exclusively 'English' trajectory of liberty and government. In his

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[218] Mackintosh, *History of the Revolution*, p.101; *History of England*, p.263.
[219] Mackintosh, *History of the Revolution*, p.101.
[220] Mackintosh, *History of England*, p.196.
[221] BL Add MS 78769, 11th September 1810, p.65.
[222] BL Add MS 78785, 'Introduction to a History of Great Britain from the Revolution in 1688 to the French Revolution in 1789' (written on the voyage homeward from India (1811-1812), pp.10-11.
[223] Ibid., p.10.
[224] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge, 1993), p.210.

draft 'Introduction' he stated that the *History,* 'opens with a revolution memorable for its wisdom and humanity of which the object was to establish a free government in Great Britain and to secure Great Britain with the rest of Europe against the ambition of Louis XIV.'[225]   This 'free government' was, however, the product of 'the liberties of England', liberties that were confirmed by the accession of the House of Hanover and would in time, he implied, spread beyond its national confines.[226] In his preface to the *History of England,* Mackintosh had stated that 'the characteristic quality of English history is, that it stands alone as the history of the progress of a great people towards liberty during six centuries.'[227] Yet if the main characteristic of the English was that it progressed, much of its definition and the sense of superiority that was inherent to it relied upon comparison with peoples and nations who appeared to lag behind.   As Katie Trumpener has argued in her discussion of Scottish and Welsh nationalists looking to bardic tradition to counter hegemonic Englishness, 'Englishness' was invented through the construction of national others.[228] On the one hand, the presence of 'genuine' national history, like O'Connor's *Chronicles of Ireland,* proved the existence of a nation and thereby the seeds of civilisation.[229]   On the other hand, however, Mackintosh used the differences in historical trajectories to confirm the identity of the English as a nation progressing towards freedom.   The point is illustrated through Mackintosh's comments on a very different history that he planned to write on India. Writing to the Abbé Morellet of his plans for 'The History and present state of the British Dominions in India', he stated that through India's history, 'on commence à detester la tyrannie et l'imposture qui ont abrutiés la posterité des fondateurs de la civilisation. C'est alors qu'on croit entrevoir dans l'histoire de l'asie, de leçons d'une utilité infinie pour les nations de l'Europe. C'est sous ce point de vue que l'histoire de l'Inde m'interesse, et c'est en laissant à part les antiquités et la mythologie, que j'ai l'idée de l'écrire pour les penseurs et surtout pour le publique.'[230]

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[225] BL Add MS 78785, 'Introduction', p.3.

[226] Ibid., pp.3-4.

[227] Mackintosh, *History of England,* p.vi.

[228] Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism,* p.15.

[229] Mackintosh, *History of England,* p.88.

[230] *Memoirs of the Life,* vol I, p.293. Abbé Morellet a French philosopher, correspondent of Adam Smith and frequenter of Parisian salons. Translation: 'One begins to detest tyranny and imposture which has brutalised the legacy passed down by the founders of civilisation. As a result, one can see in the history of Asia infinitely useful lessons for the European nations. It is from this perspective that the history of India interests me, and leaving aside antiquities and mythology, I have the intention of writing for thinkers and particularly for the public.'

In the same way that Mackintosh saw the history of India as a useful example to European nations of a trajectory to be avoided, so too would English history act as a lesson to Englishmen who were shaping the nation in the present. His narrative was therefore of 'one people' who were in a perpetual state of becoming. Yet what linked the nation across time was far less any tie of blood or even, ultimately, the Teutonic origins that Mackintosh had suggested was important through his discussion of the Celtic nations. As he made clear very early in his *History of England*, it was continuity of character, which had enabled the progress of liberty, that defined the nation as a homogenous entity. Yet as both histories suggested, whilst a love of freedom may have formed the essence of the English character, its embodiment in their governmental institutions was always fragile and tenuous. Indeed, what he had constructed as the very essence and mark of English character could appear remarkably faint, reliant, it would seem, upon the existence of the institutions of free and popular government themselves. Thus, in describing the miscarriages of justice in the aftermath of Monmouth's rebellion, Mackintosh stated that, 'The wisest institutions may become a dead letter, and may even, for a time, be converted into a shelter and an instrument of tyranny, when the sense of justice and the love of liberty are weakened in the minds of a people.'[231] The spectre of Eastern stagnation, of halted civilisation, and of his insecurity about the destiny of civilisation itself and the English as its torchbearer, remained in the undertones of Mackintosh's notes and narratives. The thick black line erasing his representation of 1688 as 'liberty often endangered and finally secured', stated and then crossed out whilst on the high seas, with the threat of Napoleon's 'universal monarchy' still very prevalent in Mackintosh's mind, is poignant evidence of his uncertainty.[232]

Yet despite this uncertainty, somewhat abated by the death of Napoleon anyway, Mackintosh wrote the history of the English people who had, since the Anglo-Saxons, 'possessed the rudiments of a free and popular government' as a result of their freedom-loving nature.[233] In keeping with his belief, expressed from Bombay, that mobility and travel 'gives a wholesome shaking to the brain', Mackintosh understood English progress towards liberty as enabled by their

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[231] Mackintosh, *History of the Revolution*, p.36.
[232] BL Add MS 78785, 'Introduction', p.4.
[233] Mackintosh, *History*, p.75.

propensity to travel.[234] He located this propensity in the period between the sixth and tenth centuries, when vast numbers of pirates, originating from 'every country from the Elbe, perhaps from the Rhine, to the North Cape', settled in England.[235] It was this phenomenon that rendered the English character fundamentally 'nautical' and thereby destined to become a maritime nation.[236] Setting the scene for a happier future, beyond the period of Saxon rule – 'as dark as it is horrible'[237] – Mackintosh wrote that this 'disposition towards adventurous voyages and colonial establishments, in which, after a fortunate exclusion from the neighbouring Continent, the genius and ambition of the people were vented with lasting, grand and happy consequences to mankind.'[238] The 'happy consequences' to which he referred was 'popular government', which 'gives dignity to commerce' and promotes navigation, 'one of the occupations of the lower and middle classes.'[239] This point, made somewhat anachronistically in the context of his introduction to early Saxon rule, was presumably made to illustrate the forthcoming progress of the Anglo-Saxons towards what Mackintosh saw as the early seeds of popular government that he would later discuss.

Evidence of the Anglo-Saxon's leanings towards liberty, albeit not yet in institutional reality, was exhibited in the esteem with which King Alfred was held by the English people. 'Although it be an infirmity of every nation to ascribe their institutions to the contrivance of a man rather than to the slow action of time and circumstances', Mackintosh wrote, 'yet the selection of Alfred by the English people as the founder of all that was dear to them is surely the strongest proof of all the deep impressions left on the minds of all his transcendent wisdom and virtue.'[240] Whilst it was inaccurate to attribute to Alfred the introduction of juries and customary law, yet it served to illustrate the 'general reverence' that could not be denied to him.[241] Mackintosh's portrayal of Alfred as a monarch in whom the nation saw seeds of its own character, alongside his insistence that governmental institutions could not be attributed 'to the contrivance of a man', illustrate two

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[234] BL Add MS 52451a, Mackintosh to Sharp, Bombay 14th August 1804, p.7. See also chapter three.
[235] Mackintosh, *History*, p.31.
[236] *Ibid.*, p.29.
[237] *Ibid.*, p.32.
[238] *Ibid.*, p.29.
[239] *Ibid.,* 29.
[240] *Ibid.*, p.41.
[241] *Ibid.*, p.41.

interrelated approaches that run throughout his histories.[242]   Firstly, the way in which Mackintosh constructed the relationship of the monarch to the nation allowed him to frame his narrative around the whiggism that he had professed since his youth.   Secondly, the embodiment of the nation in the characters of certain heroes across history and the nation's disapproval of others, particularly monarchs, enabled Mackintosh to characterise the nation according his own standards of morality.

From youth to old age, Mackintosh's political ideas had shifted from a near-republican radicalism during the period of the French Revolution to a much more Whiggish belief in gradual change and the alliance of the middle and aristocratic classes.   Yet he retained the fundamental tenet of Foxite whiggism, which saw a constant danger in the ambitions of monarchs eager to dominate over the nation. As Jonathan Parry has illustrated, the fundamental maxims of whiggism were based upon the idea of the aristocracy as the protectors of the liberties of the people.[243] Based upon the constitutional settlement that came about as a result of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688/9, the Whigs saw their role as critics of 'Tory' corruption, including placemen and 'new' wealth, often from the colonies.[244]   Like Fox before him, Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution of 1688* offered him the opportunity to revisit and reconfigure the history that so fundamentally informed his own political identity.   It also allowed him to reinterpret and retell that history for his own age, and in the context of reform debates at home and revolutions abroad, it was a particularly pertinent story to tell.   For Mackintosh, the history of the 'Glorious Revolution' in 1688 offered the perfect warning against augmenting the powers of the monarchy and the perfect example of 'the nation' rising up to check those powers.   As for all Whigs and for many radicals, 1688 was the benchmark against which the actions of 'the people' on the one hand, and the monarch and of government on the other, were judged.[245]

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[242] *Ibid.*, p.41.
[243] Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain*, (New Haven and London, 1993), p.73.
[244] *Ibid.*
[245] James Epstein, 'The Constitutional Idiom: Radical Reasoning, Rhetoric and Action in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, vol. 23, no. 3 (Spring, 1990), pp.553-574.

Mackintosh's fragment of the *History of the Revolution of 1688* was primarily concerned with narrating the manner in which James II - through a standing army, subversion of legal process and his attempt at making Catholicism dominant within the court - threatened the nation with monarchical despotism.[246] It was the incomplete story of the nation's gradual realisation of the danger that it faced of losing its liberty at home and of forgetting its 'ancient and noble' responsibilities abroad as 'the guardian of the independence of nations'.[247] The *History of the Revolution* begins with the accession of James II to the throne and the aftermath of the Monmouth rebellion in England and the growing power of the French monarch in Europe. The Tory government and even the 'friends of liberty' were desperate for peace and expectant of quiet times during James II's reign.[248] Yet from its very outset, the king began ruling against principles of good government. Complicit in the brutal aftermath of the rebellion during which Judge Jeffrey sentenced hundreds to death without fair trial, Mackintosh made it clear from the outset that the king was thoroughly implicated in the 'tyranny'.[249] Mackintosh narrated in depth the unfair nature of the trials as evidence of the 'brutality' of James' administration, stating that 'the administration of justice in state prosecutions is one of the surest tests of good government.'[250] Implying that for 'good government' to function, there needed to be a vocal opposition critical of the king and speaking on behalf of 'liberty' Mackintosh noted that Parliament made no objections to the trials. It was, he surmised due in part to 'an undue and excessive degree of that wholesome respect for judicial proceedings which is one of the characteristic virtues of a free country.'[251] As the king introduced more measures aimed at expanding his standing army, Parliament, attempting for the most part to remain 'faithful to the highest pretensions of the crown whenever the Established Church was not adverse to them', raised little alarm.[252]

Where James II was 'influenced in every measure of his government by religion' and the Tories were largely interested in protecting the Established Church, Mackintosh saw the Whigs as the sole defenders of the nation's freedom, speaking

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[246] Mackintosh, *History of the Revolution,* ch III and VI.
[247] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[248] *Ibid.,* pp.2-3.
[249] *Ibid.*, ch.1 .
[250] *Ibid.*, p.36.
[251] *Ibid.*, p.39.
[252] *Ibid.*, p.43.

on behalf of 'Englishmen'.[253] Throughout his narrative Mackintosh gave voice, and thereby character, to 'the nation' by imagining the Whig response to events to be tantamount to that of the nation. Thus, as he narrated the build-up of the king's standing army on Hounslow Heath, funded by foreign, European nations with missionaries to convert the troops to Catholicism, Mackintosh attributed a central tenet of whiggism to the 'English people' as a whole.[254] The presence of troops on Hounslow Heath was, he wrote, a 'spectacle new to the people of England, who, though full of martial spirit, have never regarded with favour the separate profession of arms.'[255] In a similar way, Mackintosh discussed the king's measures to implement religious toleration in a 'Bill for granting Liberty of Conscience'.[256] Despite the fact that Parliament rejected the bill, Mackintosh endeavoured to vindicate 'the nation' from any assumed lack of toleration. The Bill itself, he claimed, represented the possibility of 'far surpassing all that she has herself gained in a century and a half of the subsequent progress of almost all Europe towards tolerant principles'.[257] Yet rather than being a bid for genuine toleration, it was representative of the king's disingenuousness, aimed at augmenting the power of the Catholic church. 'The nation', Mackintosh claimed, rightly saw it as a 'snare' rather than a 'boon'.[258] Again, Mackintosh attributed views to 'the nation' that were in line with his own Whig belief in Catholic emancipation. It was not through any form of intolerance, he implied, that 'the nation' prevented the bill's passage, rather 'such projects were examined by the nation with a view to the intention of their authors.'[259]

The ideal, that Parliament comprised the nation's 'trusted natural leaders' and that its actions reflected the will of the nation, runs throughout Mackintosh's *History*.[260] As the king's incursions into the nation's freedom became unbearable, Mackintosh narrated a stirring of disaffection amongst 'all ranks and parties of the English nation' that led to 'the brink of a great revolution.'[261] His narrative, cut short by his death, ended by asserting the right of the nation to resist oppression by

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[253] *Ibid.*, p.50; p.43.
[254] *Ibid.,* pp.77-8.
[255] *Ibid.,* p.78.
[256] *Ibid.* p.221.
[257] *Ibid.*, p.221-222.
[258] *Ibid.*, p.222.
[259] *Ibid.*, p.222.
[260] *Ibid.*, 215.
[261] *Ibid.*, 289.

the monarch and the government. 'When a government is engaged in systematically oppressing a people, or in destroying their securities against future oppression, it commits the same species of wrong towards them which warrants an appeal to arms against a foreign enemy.'[262] Stating that 'rulers who withhold good government place themselves in a state of hostility against the nation they govern', Mackintosh denied any intrinsic link between the king and the nation.[263] Indeed, it was the duty of monarchs, if they wanted to succeed in their individual ambitions, to strive to embody the qualities of the nation. This reciprocity is evident in the relationship between William of Orange and the English. Thus, it was from William that the 'people of England hoped for deliverance, and who, without their powerful aid, would have been unable to secure the independence of civilised nations, the sole object of his glorious life.'[264] On the other hand, in his *History of England,* Mackintosh claimed that when John 'subjected himself to the pope, to protect him against France, he incurred that disgust and alienation of his subjects which rarely fails to attend those princes who throw themselves on foreigners for safety.'[265] The same could undoubtedly be said for James II.

If monarchs were not embodiments of the nation, good monarchs could nonetheless embody many of the characteristics of the nation itself. Through his discussions of the character of different monarchs, therefore, Mackintosh was able to use his historical narratives to promote morality and manners. Thus, Mackintosh portrayed Alfred, chosen by the English to embody the character and progress of their institutions, according to his own sense of an ideal masculinity. 'Roused by the love of letters but not unmanned by it', Alfred combined an ability in battle with the cultivation of the arts in a manner that resonates with Mackintosh's own hopes for his son.[266] William III, who Mackintosh referred to as 'that great man …from whom alone the people of England hoped for deliverance', was described as of 'good sense', 'one of the rarest of human endowments'.[267] In contrast to a man like Judge Jeffrey, 'whose native rage and insolence were stimulated by daily intoxication, and inflamed by the agonies of an excruciating distemper', Alfred and

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[262] *Ibid.*, p.297.
[263] *Ibid*, p.302.
[264] *Ibid.*, p.303.
[265] Mackintosh, *History of England*, p.213.
[266] *Ibid.*, p.37.
[267] Mackintosh, *History of the Revolution,*, p.345.

William were 'mild' and 'seldom invaded by the disturbing passions of fear and anger'.[268] Both were characterised by success and bravery in battle.[269] In contrast to his focus on William's skills in negotiations and battle, in his discussions of James II Mackintosh concentrated on the internal affairs of his court. Mackintosh's discussion of the private affairs of James II appear as a metaphor for his duplicity towards the nation. Between his wife and his mistress were exhibited two extremes of femininity, the former ignorant, zealously Catholic and 'passionate', the latter 'frank' and 'bold', 'her pleasantries more amusing than refined'.[270] Through his narrative of this court intrigue, Mackintosh evokes an idea of a king caught up in 'private' affairs and domestic disputes that turned him away from the nation towards a foreign Catholicism on the one hand and an adulterous lust on the other.

Where women enter Mackintosh's narrative, other than as wives and mistresses distracting men from their public duties, they are often present as mothers educating their sons in the character of the nation. Alfred, for example, was introduced to literature and particularly to Anglo-Saxon poetry by his step-mother whilst on pilgrimage, which Mackintosh implies shaped his love of learning and reinforced his sense of the nation.[271] In a slightly more ambiguous role, Eleanor of Aquitaine 'not only stirred her sons to rebellion but appeared at the head of their army in Aquitaine, where she was made prisoner in man's apparel'.[272] Referring to her as 'unamiable', Mackintosh made clear his disapproval in contrast to another woman, Jeanne D'Arc, who despite her own attempt at leading a national revolt, he described as 'a young female full of sensibility'[273] In his *History of the Revolution*, however, those women that were celebrated in the narrative were generally constructed as suffering victims. Mackintosh held up Mrs Lisle and Mrs Gaunt, executed for harbouring Monmouth's rebels, as examples of Judge Jeffrey's and ultimately James' brutality. Endowing Mrs Gaunt with the virtues of 'humanity and charity', although notably not patriotism, Mackintosh constructed the characters of his heroines according to his own notions of properly feminine behaviour.[274] Unlike Burdet, he makes no mention of the wealthy widow who had funded Monmouth's

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[268] Mackintosh, *History of England*, p.40; *Ibid.*, p.345.
[269] *Ibid.*, p.305.
[270] *Ibid.*
[271] Mackintosh, *History of England*, p.37.
[272] *Ibid.*, p.170.
[273] *Ibid.*, pp.371-2.
[274] See above, section 1.

expedition and focuses instead on women who remained in the home, harbouring rebels.[275]

Generally embodying many of the 'virtues' that Mackintosh had tried to instil in his own son and daughters, Mackintosh's heroic characters provided models of the type of masculinity and femininity that Mackintosh had earlier, in the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, attributed to the commercial middle classes.[276] In contrast to the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, however, Mackintosh constructed no gaping chasm between the morality and character of the 'virtuous' middle classes and the 'profligate' aristocracy.[277] Instead, he narrated how, during the reign of Henry VI, the term 'gentleman' began to be used to distinguish noblemen from 'an uneducated plebian'.[278] 'In the course of ages the body [of gentry] gradually opened their arms to receive among them all men of liberal education and condition.'[279] Along similar lines to his *Edinburgh Review* article on Parliamentary reform, Mackintosh showed how Parliament absorbed men who had advanced their education and status. He argued that evolution of the two houses of Parliament enabled 'an unbroken chain of connection extending from the steps of the throne to the lowest limit of liberal education.'[280] Representing the nation, those 'gentlemen' who had access to Parliament by virtue of their education were also representative *of* the nation. The 'multitude' made little appearance in Mackintosh's two narratives, except as nameless, faceless crowds representing the spirit of the nation that was guided by its leaders. Indeed, when they did rise up, over three hundred years before the 'Glorious Revolution', it was not as a 'nation' but as slaves 'who advanced from the condition of beasts began to feel an ambition to become men.'[281] Mackintosh's celebration of 1688 as a rising of 'the people' against the despotic ambitions of a monarch was equally a celebration of class harmony. An example to the petitioners, demonstrators and rioters who were calling for reform during his own time, in 1688 'the people' stood behind their 'natural' leaders.

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[275] Burnet, *History of His Own Times*, p.348.
[276] See above and chapter two.
[277] Mackintosh, 'Vindiciae Gallicae', p.58.
[278] Mackintosh, *History of England,* p.269.
[279] *Ibid*, p.269.
[280] *Ibid.*, pp.269-70.
[281] *Ibid.*, p.316.

Conclusion

In 1824, Mackintosh was touring Europe, partly on the trail of manuscripts for his history and partly in search of better climates and health.[282]   From Brussels he reflected on his first visit with his first wife, Catherine (née Stuart), shortly after their marriage in 1789. 'Such has been the effects of the many changes through which I have since passed that all the circumstances of that time seemed like a painful dream of a pre-existent state', he wrote.[283]   In the midst of constructing a narrative of national continuity, connecting the Anglo-Saxons to the 'English' of his own day, Mackintosh could barely feel a sense of continuity across his own lifetime. 'I cannot describe my feelings otherwise than by saying that they were attended by an uneasy sentiment of separation of my past from my present existence, a sort of apprehension that part of my former life was vanishing into nothing.'[284]   In these reflections, the distance that Mackintosh himself had travelled is accompanied by a wider sense of the dramatic changes in the world in which he lived. Triggered by surroundings that were familiar and yet at the same time significantly different, Mackintosh's anxiety suggests a disorientation, an inability to discern a narrative that connected his past with his present sense of self.

This chapter began by considering Mackintosh's identity as a historian, how his social status - his class, gender, ethnicity and mobility – enabled him to imagine himself as a historian of England. It showed how his construction of the ideal historian as a man who had experience of 'public' affairs excluded women and people of lower socio-economic status. Mackintosh's ability to perform his identity as a public man of letters, his mobility and social status, gained him access to the books and archives he needed to undertake historical research. Leaving a trail of copyists and reliant on the unpaid labour of his daughter and friends, Mackintosh's historical venture was supported by people whose contribution and voices would go unheard. Yet despite Mackintosh's confidence in his ability to consider himself a historian of England and to narrate the nation's history, the histories that he wrote were marked by ambivalence.   Sections two and three of this chapter have traced the ways in which Mackintosh's own historical opinions changed across his lifetime in response to the changing world around him. Objecting to Hume's atheism and

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[282] BL Add MS 52446 'Diary of a Journey to Holland' .
[283] Quoted in O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.160.
[284] *Ibid.*

lack of patriotism, Mackintosh sought to construct a historical narrative that would teach his readers to see England's history as a long trajectory of progress towards liberty. Mackintosh's would be a Whig history, which, as he illustrated in his *Edinburgh Review* articles, would prove the need for reform in order to maintain the spirit of the Constitution.

Yet within his critiques and the histories themselves, Mackintosh suggests an ambivalence about his own belief in the verity of his historical construction. Was the Constitution and spirit of English liberty really evident amongst the Anglo-Saxons or was it a construction that was merely expedient to believe in? Whilst claiming that the English was a nation moving towards freedom, Mackintosh continuously undermined the very coherence of the nation in both its sense of historical character and geographical space. Attributing to the nation many of the characteristics that he had endeavoured to promote in society, Mackintosh repeatedly illustrated the fragility of that character. In the middle of writing that second history, for which he had spent nearly twenty years researching, Mackintosh died at his home in Langham Place on 30th May 1832, having suffered for a few weeks after a chicken bone became lodged in his throat. The *History of the Revolution in England in 1688,* which he had spent much of the last twenty years of his life researching was, in his dying days, a 'great mystery' to him.[285] Never quite sure of his own political position or of the 'proper' path to take, Mackintosh's histories appear to reflect the lack of resolution that he faced in his own understanding of the world around him.

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[285] O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh,* p.207.

Conclusion

I who once aspired to teach and influence mankind have not importance enough in my own family to prevent so unseemly a spectacle.[1]

From the moment that Kitty and their youngest children left Bombay for England, until her death in 1830, Mackintosh struggled to maintain a semblance of harmony amongst his family. Departing in 1810, Kitty appears to have immediately severed almost all connection with her step-daughters – the 'unseemly spectacle' to which Mackintosh referred. As a result of his wife's 'implacability', Mackintosh continued, 'I cannot tell either Mary or Maitland at parting [from Bombay] to come to my house if they are driven to England by illness.'[2] Increasingly, Mackintosh and Kitty spent much of their time living apart from each other, with Kitty's growing hostility towards her husband evidenced in his letters of irritation and reproach. Reflecting on the improvement of 'domestic morality' in the upper echelons of society in Paris since the French Revolution, Mackintosh expressed his own wish that his son 'may have the advantage of parents who live together as they ought.'[3] The lessons 'of placability of candour and family attachment' that he had imparted to his children, let alone to wider audiences or even to 'mankind', had ultimately been in vain. In his own home Mackintosh felt himself unable to exert moral authority. The unravelling of the ideal 'home', the microcosm of the society that he had imagined from 'exile' in Bombay, challenged his sense of agency and the role that he had envisaged for himself as a 'public man' of influence and status. His frustration with his wife was linked automatically to the fear of a public 'spectacle' that would reveal his emasculation to his world.

Mackintosh represented the disjuncture between the public morality that he preached and the problems he faced in his private life as a personal failure that threatened the sense of self to which he had aspired throughout his life. In a similar way, the political position and intellectual prominence that he had hoped to achieve remained, on his death in 1832, unfulfilled. Despite the relatively high social and intellectual status that he achieved in his lifetime, Mackintosh's writings, both published and unpublished, are marked by uncertainty and doubt. Wavering

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[1] BL Add MS 78769, Mackintosh to Kitty, August 3rd 1811, p.190
[2] BL Add MS 78769, Mackintosh to Kitty, August 3rd 1811, p.190
[3] BL Add MS 52451, 22nd December 1814, p.226.

constantly in his political and moral beliefs, Mackintosh was never sure on which side of the centre he stood, never confident that the Scottish-Whig paradigm of progress that he outwardly asserted would stand the test of time. Towards the end of Mackintosh's life, those ambivalences appear to have increased as his health broke down and his family fragmented, and social unrest and political agitation threatened national stability. As the final chapter illustrated, Mackintosh's histories, which he imagined as the culmination and even resolution of his life, did nothing of the sort. Instead, they reflected his uncertainties.

This thesis has been neither an intellectual history of Mackintosh's thought nor a study of his political ideologies. The main aim of this study has been to understand how Mackintosh's social and cultural identity informed his construction of 'nation' and 'civilisation' in the works that he produced. Reading Mackintosh's unpublished letters and journals in conjunction with his published works, my aim has been to understand how the social and intellectual informed each other. The socio-economic status of his family and the male gender to which he was assigned at birth, gave Mackintosh access to education, patronage networks and resources. I have looked at how Mackintosh built upon these positions of privilege to perform an identity that enabled him to exert his agency to shape the world around him. This thesis has explored the ideas and concepts of society, civilisation and nation that Mackintosh learnt from his teachers in Aberdeen and Edinburgh and from texts that were a fundamental part of Scottish enlightenment thinking. Looking at the texts that he wrote across his life, I have showed how Mackintosh articulated an 'imagined community' that used classed, gendered and racialised tropes to distinguish those who belonged from those who did not. In applying those ideas to the different contexts and debates through which he lived, Mackintosh contributed towards reshaping conceptions of what it meant to be civilised, European and British.

Chapter One and Two showed how, throughout his schooling, Mackintosh was taught to perform his class status and masculinity and to identify himself with a 'public' world that was defined and dominated by men. Taught to see Highland practices and clan culture as 'uncivilised', Mackintosh turned away from the Highland Scottish clan culture that had surrounded and supported him as a child

and identified instead with the British empire. Performing a 'civilised' masculinity that he had been taught at college and university, and which became integral to his sense of British identity, Mackintosh was able to belong to social networks that provided him with the patronage to establish himself in London. It was partly through these networks, and with the support of his first wife, that Mackintosh was able to make his name as a radical Whig during the debates over the French Revolution. Through a close reading of the *Vindiciae Gallicae* in conjunction with other texts, Chapter Two showed how Mackintosh used gendered and racialised tropes to imagine the boundaries of national belonging. Using a language of effeminacy to undermine Burke's argument and attributing a 'rational' manliness to the middle classes, Mackintosh associated national belonging with middle-class masculinity. He reinforced the value placed upon his own gender by referring to intelligent women as 'masculine', whilst relating femininity to an Asiatic otherness of corruption and degeneracy.

Mackintosh's use of racialised stereotypes to configure the boundaries of belonging to the British/English nation were made most evident in his period of 'exile' in Bombay. Constructing British 'virtues' in contrast to Asiatic 'degeneracy', Mackintosh used racialised stereotypes to legitimise British rule and at the same time promote his own sense of British and European identity amongst the colonisers. As Chapter Three illustrated, through his pronouncements in court and his attempts to reform Bombay's governance and colonial society, Mackintosh articulated what it meant to be British. Promoting his own, Whig sense of properly British behaviour, Mackintosh frequently collapsed any distinction between 'British', 'English', 'European' and 'civilised'. Through the establishment of the Literary Society of Bombay, Mackintosh encouraged his fellow white, male and elite 'Europeans' to disassociate themselves from ways of being that he deemed too 'Indian' and corrupt and to identify instead with a 'civilised' 'Europe'. Representing himself as the 'mouthpiece' of Europe, Mackintosh made clear his own disengagement with India as a space that he deemed barbaric and degenerate.

Throughout this thesis I have argued that Mackintosh's conceptualisation of the different spaces that he inhabited, as civilised, degenerate or empty, were part of a performance that enabled him to position himself in relationship to the nation, as

well as to civilisation more generally. Portraying himself as 'in exile' in Bombay and representing himself as a child detached from his Highland upbringing, Mackintosh aligned himself with the urban, metropolitan and 'civilised' centres of the British empire. This 'turning away' from the spaces and peoples who were deemed barbaric or backwards was, I have argued, integral to Mackintosh's performance of his British identity and assertions of his belonging to Britain. Mackintosh rejected any association with Highland culture, clan attachments and depicted himself as identifying from a young age with a wider, British imperial world. In letters 'home' from Bombay, Mackintosh scathingly dismissed 'Eastern' culture, as 'trash' and erased any interactions with or reliance upon the Indian people around him. In the 'contact zone', Mackintosh represented himself as a witness standing detached and untainted from the 'degenerate' space that he inhabited. He and his wife, Kitty, endeavoured to construct a boundary around themselves and their family, an imagined and idealised 'home' that was aligned with a 'civilised' and British world. It was a fragile fantasy that was always on the brink of collapse.

The anxiety of himself not belonging and of not convincingly performing a 'civilised' and 'British' identity informed Mackintosh's negative portrayal of other people and places whose way of life, belief or knowledge systems appeared to threaten the legitimacy of his own identity. Yet if Mackintosh's anxiety was borne of his own fragile position in relationship to networks power, his representations of difference as degeneracy or backwardness enabled him to exert his own power over those who he constructed as others. As Chapter Four argued, Mackintosh drew on a well-established idea of the historian as a man with experience of public affairs. Constructing the ideal historian as male, of a socio-economic status that allowed him access to professions and mobility to travel, Mackintosh implicitly denied that proper national history could be written by women and those of lower-socio economic positions. Denying that 'non-civilised' people had a history that was in any way useful to 'civilisation', Mackintosh suggested that the purpose of history was to be instructive to Europeans and could, therefore, only be written by Europeans. Throughout his works, including in the histories of England, Mackintosh represented the agents of history as white and male, even as he relied upon those who were not for his day-to-day survival. Whilst he encouraged the education of women, he nonetheless believed that the ideal, feminine woman

occupied a place in the shadows of the nation, largely based in the home, supporting but represented by her husband. Although he maintained that the virtue and progress of society lay in the middle classes, by the end of his life Mackintosh saw the best means of ensuring national stability and advance in an alliance between the elite and the middle classes, both of whom were imagined as white and male.

Ultimately, despite the privileged social statuses into which he was born and that he accrued across his lifetime, Mackintosh's historical, philosophical and much of his political contributions have been largely forgotten to history. The Whig narrative of progress, the reconfiguration of which Mackintosh contributed towards throughout his lifetime, was, in his histories, marked by ambivalence. In his *History of England*, what was intended as a narrative of English progress, which provided a model for both a wider sense of Britishness and a civilisational paradigm, was full of tensions. If the 'essence' of Englishness was a spirit of freedom that would be spread across the world, as Mackintosh had suggested in Bombay, the history of English expansionism itself was more difficult to configure. If his own position in society had been achieved through a dis-identification with a 'barbarous' Highland 'wilderness', the place of such peripheries in his narrative of the nation remained unresolved. How far was the failure of Mackintosh's histories the result of the fact that he could not provide the coherent and comfortable story of national progress that Thomas Babington Macaulay, using the primary materials that Mackintosh had collected, would produce less than twenty years after his death?[4] To what extent did the questions of self and national identity remain puzzles that Mackintosh could not solve? Identifying himself with a British, Whig and middle-class masculinity, the acts of erasure that allowed Mackintosh to claim and perform this identity were always fragile.

This thesis has told the story of Mackintosh's configuration of national identity and his ultimate failure to resolve the ambivalences that were the result of never properly belonging to, but nonetheless identifying with, the nation. Other aspects of his identity, particularly his European identity and his connections with

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[4] Catherine Hall, 'At Home with History: Macaulay and the *History of England*', *At Home with the Empire; Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (eds) (Cambridge, 2006), pp.32-52.

France, the Netherlands and the German states were beyond the scope of this thesis. They may have added a different, and equally relevant, dimension to the questions of belonging and identity formation that have been explored. Similarly, whilst I have discussed the marginalisation of women, people of lower social statuses and different ethnicities, by focussing on Mackintosh this thesis has retained 'civilisation's' 'Others' at the margins. There is more work to be done on the ways in which the women with whom Mackintosh corresponded, perceived and conceptualised 'the world'. Historians have shown how women historians contributed towards historical knowledge by writing their own histories and how they used and reconfigured enlightenment paradigms. Less, however, has been written about their own erasures and how they negotiated the ambiguities of their own belonging and positions in society, nation and 'civilisation'.

In the context of contemporary questions concerning the relationship between British history and national identity and calls for a coherent national narrative to be taught in schools, Mackintosh's identities, erasures and failures may prove insightful. Is it really possible, as the new Security Minister, Baroness Pauline Neville-Jones suggests, to promote an inclusive 'British' identity without denying the validity of other identities?[5] Is a confident and coherent national historical narrative really the answer that people, who increasingly possess a multiplicity of identities and belongings, need or want? Does 'Britishness' really offer a genuinely inclusive identity? Or, as Colin Kidd has argued in relationship to North Britishness, will 'Britishness' remain based upon a model of English historical progress?[6] Will those who are not central to the narrative of English progress find themselves still at the peripheries of metropolitan history, defined by what they lack and playing an endless game of catch up? As Catherine Hall has argued, the idea of the English as an imperial race meant that English national identity was inseparable from its wider, British imperial, manifestation.[7] Empire, as 'new imperial' historians have argued, was integral to the formulation of British national identity. This thesis has shown how, in order to perform a British identity and to exert agency in a British imperial world, Mackintosh had to move away from as well as dis-identify from ways of

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[5] John Snow, 'Can the teaching of history make us more British?', 13th June 2010, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10297182 [12/08/2010].
[6] Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century patriotisms', *The Historical Journal,* 39, 2 (1996), pp.361-382.
[7] Hall, 'At Home with History', pp.34-5.

being that were deemed uncivilised. In order to perform and assert his belonging to the nation, Mackintosh distanced himself from peoples and places whose differences he constructed as degenerate, effeminate and barbaric. Ultimately, I have argued that the anxiety of not belonging led to a performance of Britishness that demeaned, dismissed and relegated to the margins those who were not white, male and middle class.

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