

**IRISH LITERARY IDENTITY IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY
BRITISH NOVEL: REREADING AUSTEN, BRONTË, AND KIPLING**

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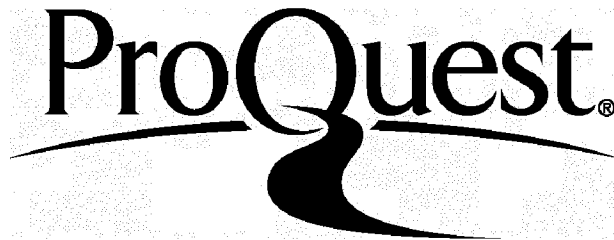
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ABSTRACT

IRISH LITERARY IDENTITY IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH NOVEL: REREADING AUSTEN, BRONTË, AND KIPLING

Moire Matheson

The importance of depictions and allusions to the Irish and to Ireland in nineteenth-century British canonical texts has been largely under-read and often misinterpreted. These manifestations are by no means unintentional, but are rather signifiers of colonial Ireland inscribed with political, cultural, and private significance to the authors who produced them. This dissertation examines these signifiers in conjunction with the social, political, and religious history of the period and the biographies of Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, and Rudyard Kipling, all of who shared unique personal relationships with Ireland during their lifetimes. Articulations of colonial ideology specific to the “Irish Question” are recovered from *Emma*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Kim*. The specific signifiers they employ reveal their prejudices, opinions, and solutions regarding the administration of the problematic colony and the relationship between the colonized and colonizers. These signifiers are often shared with their Anglo-Irish artistic peers. These authors both oppose and collaborate with colonialism, but never propose radical alternatives to the hegemony in place. Rather, they encourage a reformation of the existing system, which strengthens the Union between England and Ireland and stabilizes the Empire.

Chapter One, “The English Maria Edgeworth – Jane Austen’s *Emma*,” reads Anglo-Irish writer, Maria Edgeworth’s short story “The Grateful Negro” (1804) and her novel *The Absentee* (1812) alongside Austen’s *Mansfield Park* and *Emma* (1815). This

chapter investigates the shared Irish signifiers in Edgeworth's and Austen's work, in particular, their common usage of marriage plots in order to examine the figurative marriage of Ireland and England. Chapter Two: *Jane Eyre* and An Gorta Mór and Chapter Three: The Christianizing Impulse of Evangelical Anglicanism: *Jane Eyre* and the Irish Colonial Project, both consider Brontë's familial and artistic connections to Ireland and the signifiers of Ireland she employs in *Jane Eyre*, to critique the colonial administration of Ireland and the failure of Evangelical Anglican humanitarianism during the Famine. Lastly, Chapter Four, "Kipling's Kim O'Hara – An Irish Hero for the Empress of India," considers Kipling's choice of an Irish hero, Kim, to enact his colonial fantasy of both Ireland and India rendered compliant and fully supportive of Imperial authority.

DEDICATION

Do mo thuismitheoirí

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Dr. Amy King for both her mentorship and friendship. Dr. King continually encouraged me to develop my academic interests. This dissertation would not have been possible without her guidance. She challenged my assertions in productive ways, spurring me to investigate and refine my claims. I am grateful for the strength she saw in my ideas and the high standard to which she has always held my work. I am so fortunate to have studied under a truly knowledgeable and passionate Victorianist.

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Introduction: The British Canon, Historic Metanarratives and Signifiers of Irishness

Many representations of the Irish occur within the texts of nineteenth-century British¹ canonical authors. These are in no way spontaneous arbitrary manifestations, but rather are signifiers inscribed with deep political, cultural, and personal meaning. In the last fifty years, postcolonial theorists have turned their critical sights towards other colonial centers, such as the Caribbean, in their attempts to read responses to colonialism and imperialism within canonical texts, but have, for numerous complicated reasons, tended to pass over the evidence of the colonized Irish within those very same works.² As Patrick Brantlinger, in *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*, sought to locate expressions of imperialist ideologies within Victorian and Edwardian fiction, so too does this project locate articulations of colonial ideology specific to the “Irish Question”³ and the relationship between Britain and Ireland as evinced through realist British canonical fiction of the nineteenth century. This

¹ British and English are used synonymously throughout much of this dissertation, except where otherwise specifically noted. While “English” is typically used to denote the ethnic group and “British” to denote the geopolitical identity, they are used throughout this dissertation in a far less exact way. English and British are used equivalently and inclusively to describe individuals from mainland Britain who profit from the Colonial/Imperial system as opposed to those individuals from Ireland, both Anglo-Irish and Native Irish alike. The Campbells and Mr. Dixon of *Emma*, for instance, are “English” even though, the Campbells are likely Scottish and Mr. Dixon, Anglo-Irish. Kim O’Hara, embodies the complications of the term “English” when he is described as both “Irish” and “English.” In choosing to identify him in this way, Kipling makes an effort to include the Irish within the hegemony as part of the British Imperial machine, but he does so by calling them “English.”

² The relationship between Rochester and Bertha in *Jane Eyre*, for example, has been read as a colonial narrative as early as the 1960s when Jean Rhys penned *Wide Sargasso Sea*, her prequel and Caribbean centered response to Brontë’s novel.

³ The phrase “The Irish Question” or “The Irish Problem” is a blanket term that refers to the historical and ongoing debate regarding the political control of Ireland. In the period that this dissertation will address, 1814-1900, “The Irish Question” specifically pertains to the political restructuring of parliamentary authority from Dublin to Westminster in the wake of the Act of Union (1801), Catholic Emancipation (1829), the governmental response to the Famine crisis of the 1840s, the Young Ireland Rebellion of 1848, the Land Wars (1879-1882) and Charles Stewart Parnell’s Home Rule Movement and its legacy (1880s-early 1900s).

dissertation examines literal and representative images of Ireland and Irishness found in the novels *Emma* by Jane Austen, *Jane Eyre* by Charlotte Brontë, and *Kim* by Rudyard Kipling. All of the authors are united in sharing distinct and intimate relationships with Ireland that were shaped by the political atmospheres during their lives. The specific signifiers they employ reflect their subjective positions, sometimes in support of prevailing notions regarding Irish coloniality, sometimes in opposition, but always offering their best solutions to the historical and present grievances between the English and Irish people based on the author's first-hand knowledge of both groups.

The first chronologically of these British authors, Jane Austen, was acquainted with many Irish individuals, including a major personal love interest (Thomas Lefroy). Throughout her life she was also fascinated by the works of a fellow female writer, the Anglo-Irish⁴ author Maria Edgeworth. Charlotte Brontë's father, the Reverend Patrick Brontë, was an Irish immigrant from County Down who instilled in all his children (most especially Charlotte) an attachment to Ireland and an interest in Irish politics and arts. Brontë would later marry an Irishman, the Reverend Arthur Bell Nicholls of Antrim, and enjoy a honeymoon tour of his lands in the Irish countryside. Finally, Rudyard Kipling, as an Anglo-Indian, occupied an intermediary position between the colonizer and the colonized similar to that of the Anglo-Irish. His oeuvre is littered with Irish characters and themes reflective of his long and passionate attention to and involvement in Irish concerns. The selected novels, published from 1814 to 1900, also correspond to pivotal periods in Irish/British nineteenth-century relations – namely, the decades post the Act of

⁴ The term "Anglo-Irish" specifically refers to the "Protestant Ascendancy" or "New English" and their descendants whose presence in Ireland can be traced largely from the seventeenth-century conquest and colonization of Ireland that led to their large-scale ownership of lands and usurpation of political authority. These terms are discussed at length in the final two sections of this introduction.

Union, the Famine era, and the years after the Land Wars and failure of the Home Rule Bills in 1886 and 1893. All the fictional texts analyzed in this dissertation depict the Imperial response to these significant historical events and capture, through the author's subjective gaze, a version of British society's appraisal of the "Irish problem." Each author seized the opportunity to situate opinions about Ireland's colonial status inside the relatively secure parameters of the novel in order to avoid reprisals engendered by issuing plainly a biased judgment, or opinions at odds with popular sentiment and established policy. The signifiers of Irishness present in the fictional works are expressions of personal judgments rooted in primary experiences; thus, a familiarity with each author's background together with an understanding of the larger events of the era are prerequisite to the understanding of the representations of Ireland and the Irish in the written texts. In this way, both the historic metanarratives and the individually chosen signifiers within the novels paint a clear picture of a complex intersection between the Irish and English worlds during the colonial period.

The term "signifiers" is used throughout this dissertation in the Saussurean sense; additionally, "signifier" also denotes the extensive uses of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony as employed by Austen, Brontë, and Kipling to discuss Ireland. If anything, this employment of the term "signifiers" most closely resembles the usage of the concept of metonymy advocated by the scholar Elaine Freegood in *The Idea of Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel*.⁵ In her examination of objects found in

⁵ If a singular term were employed to describe these "signifiers" it would be "metonymy" utilized in the same manner as by Freegood. The rhetorical concept of metonymy is based on the Aristotelian Laws of Association, wherein occurrences, which transpire in contiguity or contact with one another in time or space are readily associated. Unlike metaphors, which assert direct comparisons between two dissimilar items establishing a specific likeness between the two, metonymies do not apply the exact qualities of one item to another, but rather examine the wide gamut of associations that surround an item based on the

Victorian realism, Freegood studies specific items described in texts, then conceptualizes their associative meanings in the world beyond the novel in the social, cultural, and historical realms. She challenges the reader of the realist text to shift focus from the level of subject and plot towards the interpretation of tangible objects, “assuming that critical cultural archives have been preserved, unsuspected, in the things of realism that have been so little or lightly read” (Freegood 1). Freegood’s approach to metonymic signifiers, when applied to *Emma*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Kim*, reveal the authors’ uses of various signifiers for their Irish concerns. Here, I argue that the authors employ specific references to Ireland or use Irish characters as if they were tangible objects (in the way that Freegood means them). In some of these texts, as in Freegood’s study, these signifiers are actually tangible – the hairstyle or sheet music of Jane Fairfax in *Emma*, or the regimental standards of Kim’s father’s regiment, The Mavericks, for instance. At other times, they are specific references to Ireland, such as when Rochester mentions finding a new job for Jane in Connemara, or when Jane Fairfax’s foster family, the Campbells, accompany their daughter on a tour of the lands of their new son-in-law in Ireland. The Irish are represented in *Kim* by characters like the jovial Father Victor and his rowdy regiment, as well as the specter of the title character’s own dead Irish parents. The Irish loom ethereally throughout *Jane Eyre* in the otherworldly qualities inscribed upon Jane likening her to the fairy realm and borrowing upon many of the tropes of Irish folklore, among many other literal significations of Ireland present in the work.

The signifiers in these novels function as exact rhetorical strategies through which the fragmented identities of the colonized Irish are explored. These signifiers include

moment in time in which it exists. While metaphors define and stabilize our understandings, metonymies liberate, resist categorization, and open up multiple possibilities for interpretation (Freegood 14).

both those of each specific author's creation and signifiers previously employed by politicians, theologians, historians, and concurrent Irish authors to denote colonial Ireland. Moreover, the signifiers can be teased from a text and analyzed individually and collectively, not necessarily to make universal appraisals, but to trace the literary legacy of evolving significations of Ireland. In the case of Irish Studies, this is a useful tool by which to examine the evolution of Irish identity within written texts. The ability to denote these signifiers and the identity, albeit a constantly evolving identity, of the Irish they suggest, permits the critic to mine for these same signifiers within British canonical texts and to evaluate the historic, political, and cultural implications of their presence.

At the same time, a Structuralist reading of Irish signifiers in canonical texts remains productive, as this mode of analysis offers insight into authorial interpretations. Furthermore, Structuralist interpretations generate cultural micro-narratives that provide assessments of the historic reality in which the novel was born, albeit from the singular and inherently biased vantage point of the author. This is neither a dismissal of historic metanarrative nor is it a full-on descent into the anarchy of postmodernity's rejection of unity. The fragmented and contradictory assessments produced by a consideration of history and the power/knowledge understandings of the signified (in this case, Ireland and the Irish) provide the tools for the construction of a heterogeneous yet inclusive examination of the novels produced by British nineteenth-century authors, thereby leading to new ways of understanding how the Irish colony was perceived. As a result, I argue that a re-examination of the Irish signifiers utilized by the British canonical author, especially the "non-Irish"⁶ author, gives the reader insight into not only the author's

⁶ "Non-Irish" is placed in quotations because in the case of Charlotte Brontë, her relationship with Irishness is extraordinarily complicated as a first-generation member of the Irish diaspora and the wife of

personal Irish micro-narrative, but are part of and formative of a more comprehensive understanding of Ireland and the perception of the Irish during the nineteenth century also.

One of the primary goals of this dissertation is to attempt a version of what Edward Said calls a “contrapuntal reading/analysis” – an inquiry which considers the perspectives of both the colonized and colonizer⁷ – by tracing the presence of the Irish through texts and authors long venerated as the embodiment of the nineteenth-century British novelistic canon. This analysis is not an attempt, however, to challenge or displace the status of these works within the British canon, nor to contest these authors’ esteemed standing. Nor is it an effort to force their inclusion into the corresponding Irish literary canon, even though my reading points to the need to check the exclusive nature of the Irish canon and to reconsider the isolationist bent of Irish Studies “in order to see itself [Irish Studies] relationally with other cultures and nations” (Moloney and Thompson 4).

Specifically, this dissertation draws attentions to the way these writers use their texts to both uphold and question the conventional ideology of Irish colonialism.⁸ These

an Irishman. Brontë’s case, while in its own way “one of a kind,” is not wholly unique, as other individuals shared similar liminal statuses. Kipling shared a similar liminal status as a non-Indian.

⁷ “In practical terms, ‘contrapuntal reading’ as I have called it means reading a text with an understanding of what is involved when an author shows, for instance, that a colonial sugar plantation is seen as important to the process of maintaining a particular style of life in England . . . that contrapuntal reading must take account of both processes, that of imperialism and that of resistance to it, which can be done by extending our reading of the texts to include what was once forcibly excluded” (*Culture and Imperialism* 66–67).

⁸ Ireland’s colonial status is an enormous subject in itself and one of ongoing contention. For starters, in the discussion of Irish colonialism, critics including David Lloyd, William N. Sloan, Seamus Deane, Joe Cleary, and Claire Carroll, amongst countless others speaking on the subject of Irish post-colonialism, suggest that there is no “typical” versus “anomalous” colonial experience upon which “rest the untenable assumption that there is such a thing as a standard colonial experience” (Carroll 26). It is, indeed, important to consider the debates regarding the colonial status of Ireland, especially those focused on the most contended period – the years between the Act of Union in 1800 through the recognition of the Irish

objectives enhance existing postcolonial readings of not only the novels analyzed in this project, but also those of other canonical authors whose explicit focus is not Ireland, but within which signifiers of Irishness and the Irish colonial state are undeniably present. In this way, the boundaries that delineate what makes a work “Irish” are proven not to be straight but bent, traversing the lines that form the canon of the colonist as well. What makes a work “Irish” is not nearly as clear as we might initially presume; in this reading, the boundaries are adjustable among the canon, the colonist, and the Irish text. My analysis explores the direct and indirect responses of British authors to the Irish colonial situation in the hopes of illuminating the heretofore generally overlooked presence of the Irish within these works, thereby endowing these texts with even greater cultural and political significance and submitting them for further discussion among postcolonial literary circles.

Following Freegood, this dissertation “proposes a method of reading the things in the novel that have remained interpretatively speaking, at large” (29). “At large” in *Emma*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Kim* are the ambiguous English responses to colonial Ireland. Claire Carroll and Patricia King in their introduction to *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, entitled “The Nation and Postcolonial Theory,” insist that “Postcolonial theory approaches history, politics, and culture not as the ‘clash of civilizations’ – a notion which relentlessly replays distorted stereotypes, but as a dialogue among cultures. In this

Free State in 1921 – when Ireland was arguably not a colony, but an equal partner in the United Kingdom. The Irish have historically functioned more like colonizers in many locations throughout the world, and have acted as partners and beneficiaries in the Imperial project. Their similarities to other Europeans have frequently overshadowed any likeness they might have borne to colonized peoples in other geo-cultural locals (21). Nonetheless, asserting that Ireland was a colony and is now a post-colonial nation state is equally supportable and valid, and has become by general consensus the norm when speaking of Ireland’s history. It is, however, important to acknowledge that while no colony is “typical,” Ireland is particularly problematic as it shares many commonalities with colonies of both earlier and later imperial periods and with its mother country and other colonizing nations.

dialogue all sides need the permission to speak and to be heard” (Carroll and King 15). To disregard the voices of Austen, Brontë, and Kipling is to discount and purposely exclude the opinions of first-hand witnesses to the Irish colonial project. These authors may have written from the center of the Empire, but their experiences are indeed primary and contemporaneous with the events of the period. Their literature reflects this level of both formal and informal knowledge. They must be permitted to speak. All views are subjective, be they those of the colonizer or the colonized, and it would be remiss to attempt any study of the colonial period without engaging the subjective voices of parties from both locations. One-sided dialogue paints an incomplete picture, and also perpetuates a flawed and inaccurate binary which assumes that there are only two voices within this dialogue, rather than, as this dissertation proposes, numerous ones which point to a multitude of varying experiences. Austen, Brontë, and Kipling wear more than one hat, so to speak, in this regard. They function as the mouthpiece of several different (sometimes complementary, sometimes antagonistic) voices within the cacophony that is the discussion of problems in and with Ireland.

By turning a critical eye towards the Irish elements in these texts, a new enriching reading that encompasses diverse and legitimate vantages can be formulated. In paraphrasing Said, Carroll, and King note:

One of the strengths of postcolonial theory at its best is that it insists that these struggles need to be reckoned with in terms of their material realities rather than explained away as the result of mere ideology. It is in these liberating, rational, and inclusive terms that postcolonial theory can work to free people’s minds from colonialism in all its various forms. (15)

Including Austen's, Brontë's, and Kipling's voices does not exactly embody the contrapuntal reading that Said had in mind when he advocated the incorporation of the voice of the colonized alongside the colonizer in textual readings. It is, still, a liberation from the strict confines of colonial ideology. The diversity of expression that this allows breaks down the restrictive and putative strictures of the colonizer/native binary. This contrapuntal reading recognizes moments in canonical texts that strike at the very heart of the imagined binary between colonizers and colonized, and reads the spaces between them where each author's mind felt free enough to express an innermost opinion. It is in these Irish moments that the British authors don the attire of the colonized, sometimes even literally, as in *Kim*, when the protagonist passes as an Indian boy.

Equally significant, and going hand and hand with the understanding of each author's unique position, is the necessity to extract the hidden responses by the Irish within these texts. While funneled through the gaze of the British author, the responses by the Irish to their situation, despite the second-hand iteration and obviously self-interested sources, remain important and noteworthy too. The colonized/colonizer binary is challenged by each author's personal connections with Ireland and in consequence, his or her iterations present a challenge to the supposed binary. To question the presence of the "established" colonial binaries between the English and the Irish, and the Anglo-Irish and the Aboriginal Irish, results, not as post-modernists like Lyotard and Baudrillard postulated, in delusion at an inability to formulate totalizing understandings, but in an awareness of the near thousand year objectification of Ireland and the multitude of ways the desire for ownership of Ireland, the Irish, and the Irish identity has been signified. The representations of the colonized created in each of the fictional works analyzed in this

dissertation, while not a direct expression of the colonized voice, are inarguably crafted from a privileged, intimate, and personal interface. Both the Irish and Ireland are portrayed in all their complexity, rather than within a flat and fictitious duality of otherness, or simply being “Not-English.”

Uncovering signifiers of Irishness in the works of the selected authors supports the theory that there is a conceivable prevalence of dialogue regarding “The Irish Question” within other canonical works, a dialogue that is far more widespread than customarily acknowledged. The manifestation of the Irish in these texts might be and has been analogized as drawing the “othered” Irish from the boundaries of the Empire towards the center of the Imperial identity.⁹ This is not a call for or an indication of a full-scale decentering of colonial hegemony, but simply an acknowledgement of the significant role Ireland plays within both the British political and social conscience and, by extension, the literary mind. Inasmuch as these canonical works often perpetuate myths of the Empire, in the selected texts they appraise and revise these myths in thought-provoking and valuable ways too. Even though the subaltern voice of the Irish does not speak through these authors, but is only pondered by them, these fictional texts still represent the first of many steps towards a genuine consideration of the Irish through British literature and an assessment of their place within the larger Imperial world. This assessment of Ireland’s colonial and imperial condition within British literature is necessary for later appraisals of Ireland’s literary post-colonial legacy, which frequently, though of course not universally, responds to the British novelistic tradition (both by imitation and rejection).

⁹ Joseph Lennon’s *Irish Orientalism* aptly analogizes the Irish/British relationship along these lines.

It is theoretically true that in a Spivakian sense, the Irish in these novels remain an object of scrutiny written about by those in the positions of colonial over-lordship; however, this objectification reduces the specificity of the “colonized” and the “colonial author” in ways that are particularly problematic for the Irish example. Analyses such as Spivak’s, which are predicated on the concept of the subaltern’s “writing back” (to borrow Bill Ashcroft’s term), fail to recognize the complex nature of the Irish example – after all, this is the world’s longest colonial occupation, one in which the borders between resistance and compliance, persecution and profit, have been blurred to produce a cacophony of discordant voices rather than homogenous divisions. The Irish voice responds again and again, but not always from what Spivak would consider the appropriately “subaltern” origin. Still, this voice has an authenticity; it has a right to be heard too. It is a very different voice than that of the British Imperialist in Africa or India, because its articulations are part of the inherently overlapping and entangled relationship between the Irish and the English that could only have developed through hundreds of years of contact and of intimacy.¹⁰ As a result of the perpetual rewriting of Irish identity, the voice of the oppressed is arguably articulated through many diverse and equally valid guises. For example, the Anglo-Irish lady Charlotte Brooke, author of *Reliques of Irish*

¹⁰ The term “intimacy” is utilized in this dissertation in two distinct but similar ways. First, in the manner expressed by Homi Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* to denote the “interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated. This is the location in which subjects are “formed ‘in-between,’ or in excess of, the sum of the ‘parts’ of difference” (2). Furthermore, “it is [this] intimacy that questions binary divisions through which such spheres of social experiences are often spatially opposed” (13). Second, Anne McClintock in *Imperial Leather* conceptualizes that the Imperial enterprise was contingent on the “cult of domesticity”(5) and Ann Laura Stoler in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* considers how attachments of affection, familiarity, and sexual convenience were foundational to the development of colonial categories towards “the racialized politics of classification...[focusing] on both implicit and explicit colonial categories – on the histories of their making, the exclusions they enabled, and the violence they condone” (8). Both usages of “intimacy” have been used throughout this project, but in relatively self-evident ways based on the context of the discussion.

Poetry (a catalogue of ancient Irish poetry in translation), and the blind itinerant poet, Antoine Ó Raifteirí, hailed as the last of the wandering Irish bards, as different as they might have been, each legitimately possessed the Irish voice. It is inarguable that Brooke benefited from her position within the hegemony; at the same time, it would be inaccurate to condemn her as an Orientalist of the Irish, co-opting “their” language for her benefit, when it was her exhaustive first-hand knowledge of the language that led to the preservation and translation of ancient works for the benefit of both the Native Irish and Anglo-Irish people alike. Certainly, her social position was different from the native speaker Raifteirí, but it does not disqualify her works from being representatively “Irish”.

With that in mind, it is reasonable, considering what binds the Irish and English rather than what separates them, to seek the voices of the Irish, not only within the fringes of the Irish colonial literary canon as embodied by Raifteirí, but also in the works of those who were linked to Ireland through the infinite complexity of an over eight-hundred yearlong colonial engagement. Foremost amongst these problematic “Irish” voices who occupy this liminal space are Anglo-Irish writers like Jonathan Swift, Oliver Goldsmith, John Banim, and William Carleton; Ulster-Scots like Samuel Ferguson and the Rhyming Weaver Poets¹¹; folklorists like Sir William Wilde, Douglas Hyde, and Lady Augusta Gregory; and political writers like Edmund Burke and Thomas Davis.¹²

¹¹ The Rhyming Weaver Poets or the Ulster Weaver Poets were a group of textile workers who wrote in the Scots language, in the style of Robert Burns, during the late 1700s and early 1800s. The most famous of them was James Orr, a member of the United Irishman, whose poetry was mostly political in nature. For more on the Rhyming Weaver Poets see *Rhyming Weavers: And Other Country Poets of Antrim and Down* by John Hewitt.

¹² For more specifically on Anglo-Irish novelists see *Anglo-Irish Novel* by Vera Kreilkamp, but for general overviews of the Irish Literary Tradition with great attention to that of the Ascendancy contribution the Irish Literary Canon see *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Literature* edited by Seamus Deane and *1000 Years of Irish Poetry: The Gaelic and Anglo Irish Poets from Pagan Times to the Present* by Kathleen Hoagland and Malachy McCourt.

These writers use of English and/or their religious and political ties complicate their relationship with a canon that demands an “authentic” native voice. It is arguable that the only really “authentic” Irish voice be one that expressed itself solely through the ancient language of Ireland, so that works not in the Irish language would be disqualified from the Irish canon. Such a canon would not only exclude the vast majority of Ascendancy and Dissenter writers, but most Irish Catholic writers of the past and present, as well! This sort of ridiculous attempt to limit the Irish canon would readily be dismissed as ludicrous. However, the Irish Canon has proven itself to be equally arbitrary in its limiting of authors by overlooking texts by British authors with explicitly Irish themes. Regardless of these authors’ Irish connections, these works have in the past been rejected with rapidity. The Irish themed novels of Anthony Trollope,¹³ for instance, occupy this gray area. Trollope is not Irish, but his investment in Ireland and the Irish people over his ten year career there with the Postal Service has its own unique legitimacy that problematizes the location of his Irish novels. Trollope may not be a representative of the colonized Native Irish, but in a flawed way, they are represented in his works, so that the voices he creates, though adulterated, echo their cries. Why Edgeworth is part of the Irish canon and not Trollope is in many ways more about the semantics of the Irish nationalism under which the canon was formulated than it is about literature.

The ideology of twentieth-century Radical Irish Nationalism (Republicanism), which so dictated the formation of the Irish Literary canon, has impeded this sort of

¹³ Trollope’s Irish novels, in order of publication, are *The MacDermonts of Ballycloran* (1847), *The Kellys and the O’Kellys* (1848), *Castle Richmond* (1860), *Phineas Finn* (1869), *Phineas Redux* (1874), and *The Landleaguers* (1883-unfinished).

reading of Trollope and many others.¹⁴ Irish Studies since its development in the 1970s has at its best been characterized by exclusivity and, at its worst, insularity and ethnocentricity. Robert Young in *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* affirms that “The forms of revolutionary and cultural activism developed by the Irish against the entrenched self-interest of its rule by the British aristocracy and bourgeoisie meant that it remained the standard bearer for all anti-colonial movements in the late nineteenth and twentieth century” (302). Young’s statement in support of Ireland’s status as a former colony, and even more importantly his endorsement of Ireland as the essential archetype of the post-colonial nation, while valid in many ways, fails to recognize the nuances of the Irish colonial and postcolonial situation which collapses into a narrow support of Republicanism. Republicanism may have shaped much of the postcolonial criticism of the Irish/British relationship, but its flawed desire to perpetuate a model of a deep antagonism and an unbridgeable divide between the colonized and colonizers in Ireland in a bid to formulate a homogenous Irish identity has been challenged by numerous revisionist historians, notably, R. F. Foster (*Modern Ireland: 1600-1972*) and Stephen

¹⁴ Irish Radical Republicanism which advocated militant separatism from Great Britain would emerge between 1914 and the advent of the Free State, and would dominant Irish Nationalist identity for the remainder of the twentieth century. Predicated directly on the initiatives of the Irish Ireland Movement, the Celtic Twilight Movement, and the Irish Home Rule Movement in the late 1800s, but also indebted to the philosophies of the Catholic Emancipation Movement, *The Dublin University Magazine*, *The Nation*, *Young Ireland*, and the Land League, Radical Republicanism would firmly conceptualize as its outward goal an independent Irish Nation to be achieved by a blood sacrifice. This was more than just a conceptualizing of the Irish identity through ancient mythology, Christian history, and the traditional lifestyles of Irish speaking society – this was a consolidation of Ireland’s identity forged in a reactive hatred towards England and summarized in three factors - Catholic, Celtic, and Free. This is especially true of the Irish at the head of the twentieth century, when the waning Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and the Catholic middle class intelligentsia converged in their attempts to formulate a cohesive Irish identity drawn from the fractured remains of an idealized western rural peasantry and based on revived language, folklore, and mythology. This identification continues to play a part in the political conflicts between factions in Northern Ireland and remains formative to the assumption of Irish identity in a global context, especially in the United States.

Howe (*Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*), as well as many other literary and historical scholars on both sides of the Channel. The heart of their objections to Republican driven interpretations of the Irish/British colonial legacy is that it disavows the wealth of shared Western knowledge, culture, and history that comes from close geographic proximity and hundreds of years of intimate contact. The continuing development, expansion, and refinement of postcolonial criticism over the past fifty years further theorizes and supports this ambiguous and murky relationship between the parties in the colonial engagement:

If earlier theorizations of resistance presupposed a foundation of undislocatable binaries – center/margin, self/other, colonizer/colonized – the general trajectory of the rather different projects of Bhabha, Slemon, Suleri, and Appia has been toward something that has always been implicit (even when not explicit) in both colonist and postcolonial literary relations, and that is what Suleri calls the "peculiar intimacy" of colonizer and colonized. (Ashcroft et al. 4)

That is not to claim that there are not distinct parties in the colonial relationship between Ireland and England. To be more precise, the connections between the oppressed and the oppressor are so engrained into the histories of each nation – both temporally and culturally – as to reduce the space between them. The distance between the two nations may have been effectuated through hostility and inequality, but it is the obscure space surrounding their intersection that the identities of the Irish and English, commonalities and differences alike, are each born.

In this dissertation I argue that it is within this amorphous or blurred space between oppressed and oppressor that authors like Trollope, Austen, Brontë, and Kipling wrote. This space may be asserted with an allusion or a single word that is “Ireland.” As Freegood notes:

The desire by realism requires a world whose form is a relatively loose symbolic structure, one into which readers can enter and intervene with more ease than later, tighter symbolic structures will allow...this "ease" of intervention describes the gap or gaps evoked by Laplanche and Leclaire: the places, the openings that metonymy marks and masks, where desire emerges and dives to its death. (7)

It is in the existence of this mutually shared location, in this gap, that the Irish are not relegated to the peripheries of the Empire, nor do the English exist at the center. They are equally each at the forefront of the others' gaze – the same and eternally dissimilar, but conjointly part, equally necessary towards the consummation of the Imperial, the British, and the Irish identities. This is the understanding that must be embraced in order to re-conceptualize the Irish Studies discipline and the Irish Literary canon so that the Irish signifiers in texts by British writers might be assessed in the most productive and enlightening manner. This is not a British apologist's bid to “de-other” the Irish, but, to the contrary, an acknowledgement of the powerful metonymies created by these British canonical authors of the nineteenth century to reveal the fundamental importance and even possible centrality of the Irish within the Empire and within their texts.

I demonstrate that through realist novels, the fluid space between the English colonizer and the Irish colonized can best be explored to present an accurate picture of

the hegemonic realities in Ireland. An examination of British canonical authors tests the narrow definition of hegemony that simply assumes the predominance of one state or social group over another. Raymond Williams in *Marxism and Literature* asserts that the concept of hegemony transcends limiting ideas of “culture” and “ideology”:¹⁵

Instead [hegemony] sees the relations of domination and subordination, in their forms as practical consciousness, as in effect a saturation of the whole process of living...the whole substance of lived identities and relationships, to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political, and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense. (110)

Both the authors and the novels examined in this dissertation embody the ways in which all aspects of everyday life in England and Ireland were formed and delineated by the perpetual and tangible threads of domination and subordination that shaped the characters’ and the authors’ world. It is through “living” hegemony that it is naturalized and internalized; as Williams expressed, “It is a lived system of meanings and values – constitutive and constituting – which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming...that is to say, in the strongest sense a ‘culture’” (110).

Undoubtedly, the colonial hegemony that existed in nineteenth-century Great Britain was forced onto the Irish people over centuries externally by their colonizers; yet both the

¹⁵ Hegemony refuses to “equate consciousness with the articulate formal system which can be and ordinarily is abstracted as ‘ideology’” (109). Ideology, Williams contends, entails “not only the systems of ideas and beliefs, but the whole social lived process as practically organized by specific and dominant meanings and values” (109). Likewise, he asserts that culture, because of “its insistence on relating the ‘whole social process’ to specific distributions of power and influence” (108) fails to fully convey an appropriate definition of hegemony.

Irish and the English, by the nineteenth century had internalized it, so that this hegemony was intrinsic to them both. In this way, hegemony “does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified” (112).

Austen’s, Brontë’s, and Kipling’s novels, each written from a liminal place of observation, express both opposition to and collaboration with the colonial project. Their novels illustrate the necessary pushing and pulling between the colonized and colonizers that ultimately supports the hegemonic regime by revealing then rejecting cultural and political alternatives to the status quo (Williams 113). None of these novels espouses an alternative to the existing state of affairs that would radically alter society. They do not demand a displacement of either the immediate leading powers in Ireland or refute England’s colonial claims to Ireland. Rather, these texts draw attention to the hegemonic structure in Ireland and naturalize it. The hegemony is “challenged” not to contest it, but to advance it. This is done first through an awareness of its veracity and necessity and, secondly, through an understanding that the system can be improved and further developed so that the ills of Irish society (both among the colonized and colonizers) might be remedied for the progress of the United Kingdom and the Empire as a whole.

The Anglo-Irish Inheritance and British Writers of the Nineteenth Century

Through an understanding of the political impetus that guided Anglo-Irish writers, we can locate within their literary works the varying interpretations of the Irish colonial situation that left them torn between loyalties and self-preservation in an ever-changing world. By drawing attention to these moments in the texts of the Anglo-Irish, I find similar responses to colonized Ireland in the works of their British contemporaries, who

likewise ruminate over the same complexities of the status of the Anglo-Irish, the Irish colony, and by extension the Irish. These responses vary greatly from author to author and era to era, with some echoing, some contesting, the sentiments of their Anglo-Irish literary peers. The “explicit identification with Irish culture which occurs in the writings of Ascendancy intellectuals...raises the issue...of a colonial elite who, for ideological reasons, reject the position of superiority vis à vis the colonized to which they were born” (Cairns and Richards 25). Read within the larger framework of the British novelistic tradition, these various literary articulations, from the Ascendancy within and from those outside of Ireland, reflected in the works of their English counterparts, paint a broad, complex portrait of the ambiguous history of Ireland and England’s long animosity and mutual dependency.

Some foundational Anglo-Irish writers of the nineteenth century whose works influenced canonical British literary contemporaries include (in addition to those mentioned earlier in this chapter) Charlotte Brookes, Maria Edgeworth, Samuel Ferguson, W. B. Yeats, and the many contributors to both the *Dublin University Magazine*¹⁶ and *The Nation*.¹⁷ Additionally, Catholic writers like John and Michael Banim, Dion Boucicault, and Charles Kickham also wrote with great popularity during this period, often contributing to the same publications, and were mutually well respected

¹⁶ *The Dublin University Magazine (DUM)* was the mouthpiece of the Anglo-Irish from the 1830s through the 1880s. While it featured political commentary, it was predominantly a literary magazine.

¹⁷ *The Nation* was far more radical than *DUM*. It represented Irish nationalist interests and was heavily linked to the Young Ireland Movement, which led a rebellion in 1848. Foremost among these contributors are the poet James Clarence Mangan, the early gothic writer Sheridan LeFanu, the balladeer Thomas Moore, and the novelists Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan, and William Carleton.

by and influential of their Anglo-Irish peers.¹⁸ This dissertation considers how the works of this coterie of Anglo-Irish writers both borrowed from and inspired those of Austen, Brontë, and Kipling, further problematizing the understanding of the binary between the colonial center and its margins.

Foundational to this project is the brief examination of the Anglo-Irish and their history, contained within this introduction, which considers the complexity of their identity and builds a case for them as the mouthpiece for the colonized Irish. Without situating the Anglo-Irish thus, it would be impossible to support the assertion that the selected British canonical writers reflect a contemporaneous colonial and political concerns regarding Ireland within their novels. Both groups relied upon signifiers originated by the Anglo-Irish to denote Ireland and Irishness. The multidimensional history of the Anglo-Irish created the unique signifiers of evolving Irish identity that the Anglo-Irish employed to express their sense of dislocation and their understanding of coloniality. These signifiers can be located within not only their works but also within contemporaneous works by British canonical authors. This borrowing of signifiers demands attention, as does the concurrent reading of Irish and British texts which they enable. Drawn from the authoritative experience of the Anglo-Irish, this sharing of signifiers enables an important exploration of the extensive and traditionally unnoticed manifestations of novelistic and authorial response to Irish colonization in the canonical literature of nineteenth-century Britain. This dissertation addresses the ways in which Austen's, Brontë's, and Kipling's works utilize the signifiers of Irishness that were

¹⁸ The Catholic writers' unique contributions to the Irish literary canon as native artists writing in English during the colonial period are equally important to a larger consideration of the colonial literary legacy of Ireland and the former Union.

originated initially among the Anglo-Irish to express the complexities of the Irish/English colonial relationship.

In Chapter One, “The English Maria Edgeworth – Jane Austen’s *Emma*,” the works of the Anglo-Irish writer Maria Edgeworth, in particular her short story “The Grateful Negro” (1804) and the novel *The Absentee* (1812), are considered alongside Austen’s *Mansfield Park* and *Emma* (1815). Edgeworth is regarded as the female Sir Walter Scott, who enjoyed in her time greater renown than her contemporaries (including Austen). Today, Austen’s novels retain a position of canonical prominence and, through recent film adaptations and modern rewritings, claim an enormous present-day audience. Edgeworth now occupies a far more obscure position in English literary canons despite being credited as the author of the first regional novel and maintaining a scholarly following. Her Irish novels – *Castle Rackrent* (1800), *The Absentee* (1814), and *Ormond* (1817) – continue to attract the interests of Irish literary enthusiasts, many of whom view her as the first author of Modern Ireland. Her romantic realist novel, *Belinda* (1801) is frequently compared to Austen’s oeuvre; perhaps unfairly, Edgeworth is usually critically reduced to the designation of the “the Irish Jane Austen.”

Austen and Edgeworth bore many similarities to one another in their personal and professional lives and within their oeuvre. Edgeworth, however, is far more overtly didactic in her expression of political concerns, especially those that relate to the Irish. The manifestations of Edgeworth’s politics are fairly straightforward, even if they belie the complexity of the Anglo-Irish author’s relationship with both Ireland and England. Austen’s works, on the other hand, have long been reduced to novels of the domestic, romance, and manners. Said’s landmark reading of colonialism in Austen’s *Mansfield*

Park shattered the notion that Austen's novels of everyday life, unlike Edgeworth's, were fundamentally apolitical.¹⁹ Said's focus on the colonial connection between the Bertrams of *Mansfield Park* and their Antigua plantation demonstrates Austen's critique of England's imperial activities abroad. This reading lends itself readily to an Irish cultural historicist analysis of Austen's works, which indicates the authorial appraisals of England's colonial relationship with Ireland. Given the regard with which Austen held the popular and successful Edgeworth, these Irish signifiers within Austen's work can also be read as her response to Edgeworth's novelistic representations of colonial Ireland. This chapter explores the Irish signifiers both manifest and symbolic in Austen's *Emma* in order to examine the presence of and references to Anglo-Irish characters and the figurative marriage of Ireland and England implied by Emma's matchmaking attempts. Additionally, the marriage plot in *Emma* will be read alongside the romantic entanglements of the Anglo-Irish Lord Colambre in Edgeworth's *The Absentee*. It will also consider the contemporaneously evolving Ameliorist and Abolitionist movements, whose rhetoric was readily applied to the racialized Irish, sometimes to justify their subjugation, sometimes to advocate for their liberation.

Chapter Two: *Jane Eyre* and An Gorta Mór and Chapter Three: The Christianizing Impulse of Evangelical Anglicanism: *Jane Eyre* and the Irish Colonial Project, both devoted to Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, consider Brontë's familial and artistic connections to Ireland. Brontë's paternal relations were from County Down, and the family maintained contact with their links to "the old sod." Brontë monitored Irish

¹⁹ Said astutely notes that "In reading [Austen] carefully, we can sense how ideas about dependent races and territories were held both by foreign-office executives, colonial bureaucrats, and military strategists and by intellectual novel readers" (*Culture and Imperialism* 96).

politics and arts closely. As an avowed Tory, Brontë supported Catholic Emancipation (an important movement for the Irish people, both Catholic and Protestant), and she applauded the peaceful reform efforts of Daniel O'Connell (Schorn 355). She was an avid reader of the *Dublin University Magazine*, finding in *DUM*'s Anglo-Irish contributors similar-minded writers to emulate. Brontë strongly aligned herself politically and artistically with the Anglo-Irish. Both Terry Eagleton in *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* and Kathleen Constable *A Stranger within the Gates: Charlotte Brontë and Victorian Irishness* note the marginalized position that the Brontës occupied within Haworth because of their connection to Ireland, despite Reverend Brontë's position as a community religious leader. Charlotte Brontë, as the child of an expatriate and a member of the Irish diaspora, philosophically and culturally resembled her Anglo-Irish brethren across the sea; consequently, her literary works, especially *Jane Eyre*, mirror the concerns of the Anglo-Irish.

I argue that in *Jane Eyre*, Brontë confronts Ireland's socio-economic ills, but does so via a veiled redress in an effort to preserve her family's tenuous position in English society. Broad concerns related to the Irish Problem that she addresses via circumlocutious writing include the Irish as Orientalized others, The Poor Laws, the workhouse system, the Union, colonization, and Christian culpability versus Malthusian economics. The *bildungsroman* form of the novel charts Jane's navigation of life's many difficulties, allowing Brontë both to confront and to offer resolutions to Ireland's problems. Jane essentially serves as a symbolic representation of Ireland, and the obstacles that Jane encounters echo the social, political, and economic troubles plaguing Ireland at the time the novel was conceived. I propose that, as in Austen's *Emma* and

Edgeworth's *The Absentee*, Brontë's treatment of marriage is symbolic of the Act of Union between Ireland and England. This provides the space to address the successes and failures of the new society created through the Union, and to propose solutions to resolve lingering injustices in an attempt to strengthen the marriage between the kingdoms.

Finally, in Chapter Four, "Kipling's Kim O'Hara – An Irish Hero for the Empress of India," I explore how Kim, the title character of Kipling's masterpiece, is seemingly meant to unite the India of his birth with the Britain of his inheritance. The ambiguity of Kim's compound identity challenges and confuses readers from beginning to end. Even while attempting to clarify Kim's racial status as white, Kipling obscures his identity, bestowing on his character a multitude of native characteristics. In addition to being Indian-like and impoverished, Kim is orphaned too. His late mother was a maid, his father, a color-sergeant in an Irish regiment. The haunting prophecy of Kim's late legitimate father, an Irishman, and the recurrent references to the senior Kim's Irishness, further complicate young Kim's colonizer/colonized identity conundrum. The host of substitute parents he encounters throughout the novel, all of whom do not represent ideal "English" fathers and mothers, problematizes Kim's "Child of the Empire" status, already implied by the absence of his literal parents and birth in a colony. Additionally, the name of the late Sgt. Kimball O'Hara's regiment "The Mavericks" not only reflects the senior Kim's character and that of his young son, but also the perceived nature of the Irish in general. In an earlier short story, "The Mutiny of the Mavericks" (1891), Kipling lauded the loyalty of the Irish regiments through the dramatization of a terrorist plot designed to test the Maverick's allegiance to the crown. In *Kim*, the reappearance of the fictional regiment the Mavericks, some ten years after its first incarnation, speaks of

continued concern regarding the status of the Irish as colonial subjects and the need to quantify and continually shape Irish loyalty. In India, the ambiguity of the Irish position was particularly concerning because of the immense role Irish soldiers, administrators, and clergy played in the operation of the colonial project. To the colonized Indians, the Irish were agents of the British Government. *Kim*'s secondary spy-plot, likewise, tests and establishes the loyalty of the Irish through the Irish boy character, Kim.

Kipling's writings are remarkable for their insistence on portraying the Irish as valuable, albeit flawed, instruments of colonial rule (Ní Fhlathúin 23). Kim's whiteness makes him a Sahib, the colonial master of his Indian brethren, despite his poverty, parentlessness, Irishness, and all the other trappings of his Indian birth and assimilation into Indian society. Kim is a particularly flawed example of colonial leadership, who despite his many failings still occupies the obvious position of colonial master; this status is clear to both the Indians and the British officials he encounters throughout the text. The political similarities between the Irish and Indian colonial situations did not go unnoticed during this period, especially among Home Rule²⁰ advocates of both Irish and Indian origins. Kipling was adamantly anti-Home Rule, and in the years after *Kim*'s publication openly reacted with increased hostility regarding the subject. In *Kim*, Kipling responds to

²⁰ The Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), assisted by their American contingent the Fenians, rose in brief rebellion throughout Ireland in 1867. Kipling notes that many of the members of the Mavericks were from Kerry, the county where the rising originated. In the aftermath of 1867, the IRB and Fenians joined with the Land League/Irish Parliamentary Party under Charles Stewart Parnell. The Land League/Irish Parliamentary Party advocated parliamentary reform for Irish Home Rule – a reinstatement of the Irish parliament in exchange for continued Irish inclusion within the United Kingdom. The period between the Fenian uprising and the collapse of the Irish Parliamentary Party in the early 1890s was known as the Land War, and was characterized in Ireland by agrarian violence, riots, assassinations, and several failed attempts by the Gladstone administration to support a Home Rule initiative. Following the death of Parnell in 1891 and the failure of Gladstone's 1893 Irish Government Bill, the Home Rule movement became impotent, and much of the violence abated until John Redmond took leadership of the new Irish Parliamentary Party in 1910. For a history of Irish unrest from 1867-1916 see *The IRB: The Irish Republican Brotherhood, from the Land League to Sinn Fein* by Owen McGee.

insecurities born from the many political parallels between the two colonies in order to situate the Irish firmly within an essential position of involvement and leadership in Imperial endeavors. In this novel, Kipling validates and encourages the Irish contribution to the Empire by illustrating the privileged status bestowed by their whiteness over the natives of other British colonies.

As we will see in this chapter, by the turn of the twentieth century India was firmly associated with Ireland through political and artistic bonds both as a colony and as a cultural alternative to the homogeneity of British civilization. By the second half of the nineteenth century, contemporaneously evolving studies of Celticism and Orientalism further linked an exoticized and ancient Ireland with the Orient, particularly India. The predominantly Anglo-Irish writers of the Celtic Twilight, especially the widely read and regarded Yeats, in “the very acts of incorporating Orientalist tropes into neo-Celtic works helped transform the Celtic-Orient connection into anticolonial and decolonizing narratives” (Lennon 249). Inasmuch as Kim is differentiated from the colonized Indians by his whiteness, his title as “Little Friend of all the World,” his gift with Asian languages, and his chameleon-like ability to blend in amongst the multitude of groups he encounters, projects similarity rather than otherness. Reiterations of behaviors attributed to his Irish nature, likewise, distance him from the identity of the colonizing English.

The central question of the text, in spite of Kipling’s initial outwardly confident description of Kim in the first lines of the novel as English and Kim’s continuous “sahibization” throughout the story, is “And what is Kim?” (234). The Kipling scholar A. Michael Matin contends that during the course of the text, Kim “enacts the fantasy of an Ireland rendered disciplined, tractable, and above all, *serviceable*” (461). This chapter

argues that, although *Matin's* assertion reflects the author's intentions, the multiple layers of *Kim's* colonial heritage, especially his Irishness, resist full inclusion within the colonial apparatus and force the ostensible open-ended conclusion of the work. Kipling made *Kim* of Irish descent to reiterate the beliefs about the Irish he first espoused in "The Mutiny of Mavericks" – Ireland was, in Kipling's mind, loyal to their colonial rulers, despite the negligible existence of radical Irish nationalism. Unfortunately, Kipling's understanding of Irishness becomes entangled with Celticism's divergent anticolonial trajectory. *Kim's* cryptic and somewhat esoteric ending is the result of Kipling's inability to accept the reality of Irish nationalism's trajectory towards Home Rule, or an independence movement sealed in the blood of martyrs willing to lay down their lives for a new Ireland. During the *Fin de Siècle* and at the start of the new century, this trajectory had become self-evident despite a period of seeming submission. To end this dissertation with *Kim* is fitting as the novel in many ways leaves the reader with a sense of uncertainty – the death of Imperial Ireland looms in *Kim* despite any of Kipling's machinations to convince his readers otherwise, and the twentieth century promises the collapse of a hegemony which lasted in Ireland over eight-hundred years.

Ireland in My Blood: Irish Identity and Post-coloniality²¹

The Irish scholar Declan Kiberd claims that the position of superiority from which the colonizer speaks was one so deeply entrenched that no feature of the identity of the colonized could be assumed to be inherent (Cairns and Richards 8). The same could be said too for the colonizers whose identities originated and were perpetuated as being

²¹ On November 26, 1998, during his address to the joint houses of the Irish Parliament (a historic first for the British Prime Ministry), Tony Blair proclaimed "Ireland, as you may know, is in my blood... So like it or not, we, the British and the Irish, are irredeemably linked" (Blair).

antithetical to that of the colonized Irish. For that reason, it is essential for this project that the backgrounds of the authors and the historical periods in which their novels were written be examined, as it was during these moments that those identifications were formed and sustained, identifications which are still relevant today. As follows, a fuller appreciation of personal and temporal implications of the signifiers of Ireland and Irishness depicted in the works might be established and integrated into new readings of these novels, be they through postcolonial or Irish Studies lenses, or an overlapping of both. However, an awareness of the complex nature of Irish identity is equally crucial to an understanding of the relevance of the signifiers employed. Without an adequate and practicable delineation of Irish identity, current and historic, any sort of summations regarding Ireland's relationship to post-coloniality and the postcolonial literary canon would be insufficient. One might argue that identity is an infinite, rather than a finite category, especially when speaking of the English and Irish where the commonalities and differences, collaboration and resistance, perpetually overlap, so that no purely "Irish" identity can ever be formalized amidst many shared variables. If that is true, it is a truth that the formation of the nation-state identity,²² rejects, so that before establishing the former pretense as fact, the latter would need to be disproven. I believe that no historically faithful assertions regarding the authors' relationships with Ireland and the Irish can be made without first dispelling many of the inventions and exaggerations of the Irish Republican narrative that emphasizes the colonize/colonized binary and largely dismisses the intimacy that exists between the Irish and the English.

Irishness is and always has been a composite and multifarious identification that has adapted in response to Ireland's tumultuous history of invasions, Christianization,

²² As per Benedict Anderson's theories as espoused in *Imagined Communities*.

colonization, famine, and war. The Irish identity has never fully been constrained by the attempted homogenization by late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Irish Republicanism's espousal of a pastoral Catholic Gaelic fantasy. Even in its early twentieth-century heyday this identity was resisted by some of the Nationalist movement's most ardent literary proponents such as J.M. Synge, W.B. Yeats, and Sean O'Casey. These prominent figures, as Protestants, failed to be assimilated into a vision of the Irish people, which endorsed Catholicism as the de facto national religion. Post Reformation, religion has often been a primary source of "othering," dividing the "Irish" from the "non-Irish" among them. Historically, the Irish's failure to accept Protestantism was an indication of their intrinsic difference, a distinction that was translated in the Imperial period into the language of race. As with other colonized peoples throughout the Empire, England's right to rule was justified by specious claims of racial superiority. With the Irish though, this racial distinction was even weaker, despite its popularity in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Othering based on religious affiliation proved far more enduring, and continues even today in the interminable conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.

Religious difference is as inaccurate an assessment of Irish identity today as it has been historically. Nonetheless, as far back as the English Reformation, the division between Catholicism and Protestantism has been a central element in the colonial conflict between the Irish and the English. This discord has at most times and in most instances only been marginally focused on doctrinal differences; rather, the rift between Catholics and Protestants is rooted in the endorsement of the Anglo-Protestant adherents, later all Protestant church members, by the colonial authority from which presumed allegiance

was rewarded with legal advantages, political power, and social favors. The discord that this privileging engendered remains relevant today to both the Irish and the British and amongst the diaspora. By establishing an objective picture of the residual acrimony that continues to exist between Catholics and Protestants, the atmosphere of the nineteenth century that establishes these identities in both the British canonical writer and the Irish colonized is illuminated. Inasmuch as a Republican interpretation might imprecisely attempt to conceptualize Irish identification as largely predicated on religion, as noted above this categorization is only peripherally doctrinal (even in the present); in other words, theology is secondary to political loyalty and the power alignment implied by the religious camp to which an individual or group subscribes.²³ This distinction is particularly relevant apropos the understanding of the part religious affiliation played in the post-Union period in Ireland, when the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland were forced to reconceptualize their positionality respective to their identification as Irish, British, or English. The Protestant Ascendancy was also forced to (re)consider its allegiance to either Westminster or the nascent nationalizing movement in Ireland.

In “What Does it Mean to be Irish in the 21st Century?” the journalist Raymond Keogh claims that the “underlying mental and emotional cultural landscapes” of the Irish remain “at variance with one another” (Keogh). The views of alternative cultures in Ireland, such as those of “descendants of Ascendancy Protestants, Orange Unionists, non-national newcomers, and other competing or conflicting cultures” (Keogh), require an opportunity to be expressed, so that the different identities and experiences within

²³ A contemporary example that illustrates the influence of religious allegiance upon both Irish and British identities is the conversion of former Prime Minister Tony Blair to Catholicism in 2007. His conversion sparked a revisiting of the inherent fallacies underlying the weak oppositional binary between a Catholic Ireland and a Protestant Britain.

Irish life can be acknowledged rather than discounted. Keogh's compelling argument is that acknowledging these marginalized voices will provide a more inclusive and accurate picture of Irish identity. What underlies his call for a reevaluation of a reductive Irish identity is the knowledge that Irish society is and always has been heterogenous, and that Irishness should be considered a collective rather than an exclusive identification.

It is this same subject that Austen, Brontë, and Kipling explore in the nineteenth-century works this dissertation examines; works that express and ruminate on the identities of those in ambiguous positions with mixed loyalties whose place within Ireland, the Union, and the Empire are more complex than they at first outwardly appear. Their novels paint a realistic portrait of the complexities of Irish/British identifications at a time when the well-established binary between the two was being tested. Moreover, the relationship between the English and the people they colonized, beginning with the Irish, was constructed around the division between the English and the "other." The way England identified and administered the other native peoples they held dominion over during the many years of its colonial and imperial dominance was formulated based on its experiences with the native Irish. An exploration of the ways in which the development of "Irish" and "English" identities were shaped contingent upon their interactions with each other yields fruitful insight into Britain's relationship with all colonized people and the management of its other colonial locations. As Carroll reminds us, "Ireland was the first of England's colonies and [it's] training ground" (3); however, Ireland was not simply the birthplace of English colonialism, but it was also the site, which contravened the colonial relationship and transgresses post-coloniality (Carroll 3).

Consequently, the Irish/English relationship has always been and continues to be predicated on the perpetual struggle between breaching and supporting the divisions conceived of to establish a binary which would support the empowerment of one party and the subjugation of the other. The disorder that this engenders manifests itself as mixed allegiances that the possessors wrestle with and are reluctant to overtly express, particularly at moments when the failure to align oneself correctly could result in disempowerment, unilateral forms of rejection, and possible physical endangerment and death. This dissertation attempts to unearth how British authors with complicated relationships with Ireland articulate the entangled web of allegiances, thereby problematizing the duality of the imagined English/Irish binary. The representations contained therein expose the extent to which identity can be described as ambiguous, and question the historical “othering” of the Irish people upon which the colonizer/colonized binary is predicated.

Before analyzing nineteenth-century explorations of Irish/British and colonized/colonizer binaries, it is necessary to understand the historical and literary background that helped to establish the liminality of Ireland and Irishness in English self-characterizations. I concur with Kiberd’s bold assertion in *Inventing Ireland* that England and Ireland historically needed each other because it was in knowing one another that they defined themselves (2).²⁴ For example, in the 1500s the Protestant poet and writer

²⁴ It is widely accepted that beginning in the Norman period, Ireland was understood by England to be an obvious extension of its sovereignty. English control of the island and later its colonial expansion into Ireland were seen as a God given right. In the twelfth century, the displaced King of Leinster, Diarmiad Mac Murchadha swore allegiance to King Henry II in return for Anglo-Norman assistance in retrieving his kingdom; he is remembered for having invited the Anglo-Normans to Ireland. Mac Murchadha’s offer ultimately resulted in the creation of the “Lordship of Ireland,” under which the English monarch’s authority over the land was endorsed by a Papal Bull, the *Laudabiliter*. The Lordship of Ireland endured until 1542 when Henry VIII declared the Kingdom of Ireland and proclaimed himself king of both England and Ireland. The Kingdom of Ireland was united with the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1800 with

Edmund Spenser rejected the possibility of Irish assimilation into the English state in the *View on the Present State of Ireland*, claiming that the native culture was contradictory to civilization.²⁵ Penned in 1596 and published some thirty years later, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* is a fictional conversation between two Englishmen on the Irish colony that was based on Spenser's experiences as a planter in Ireland. As Roman Catholics, the Irish were likened in this text to "atheists or infidels," as barbarous as the natives found in the New World and deserving of equivalent treatment (Spencer 109).

There was historical and linguistic precedent behind Spenser's approach to the Irish. For instance, the English language idiom "beyond the pale" originally referred to *an Pháil*, the literal fortification that separated English controlled lands around what is now the Dublin area from the rest of Ireland. There were pales elsewhere in Europe, but the expression, which denotes places or behaviors that are unacceptable, inappropriate, or even unsafe, refers specifically to the Irish Pale, and reflects the perceived character of the Irish as the polluting population that *an Pháil* was intended to keep "outside." While there was, at one time, an actual wooden fortification known as *an Pháil*, the Pale was more a metaphorical boundary between two cultures that saw themselves as antithetical to one another.

Beginning in the fourteenth century, English authorities struggled not only with territorial and administrative conflicts with the neighboring Gaelic Chieftains, but also with the endemic problem of intermarriage between their people and the Native Irish,

the Act of Union to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. In the 1920s, with the Government of Ireland Act and the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the new Free State of Ireland, later the Republic of Ireland or Eire, voted itself out of the Union. Six counties in Ulster voted to remain within Union, which was reformed as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

²⁵ In literary studies, Spenser is most famous for his multi-volume work *The Faerie Queene* (1590-1596).

resulting in many of the Anglo-Normans (or the Old English, as they came to be called) “going native.” In 1366, the Statutes of Kilkenny prohibited inter-marriage between the settlers and natives, and forbade the English from adopting Irish customs, language, legal practices, and dress; in practice, these laws never universally unenforced until the rule of Henry VIII, despite a mythology that claims otherwise. By the Tudor period, the Pale had shrunk considerably with the Anglo-Irish lords and colonists alike becoming, as the saying goes, “more Irish than the Irish.” This adulterated identity represented a tremendous threat to English authority in Ireland. Between 1534 and 1539, the 10th Earl of Kildare, “Silken Thomas” FitzGerald, led the failed Geraldine Rebellion that forced Henry VIII to take steps to centralize English authority in Ireland. In 1542 Henry established the Kingdom of Ireland and instituted the policy of “Surrender and Re-grant,” under which Gaelic Chieftains and Anglo-Irish Lords alike were forced to surrender their holdings to the Crown and have them reissued as freeholds chartered to them by Henry. With the intention of assimilating the Irish in mind, the precepts of the Statutes of Kilkenny were to be enforced, along with the additional requirement of conversion to Henry’s newly established Anglican Church. To assist in this endeavor, both the Tudors and the Stuarts instituted plantation schemes involving the relocation of English families dispersed throughout Ireland in order to further Anglicize the country politically and economically (including the promulgation of the use of the English language). Despite the seeming end of Gaelic society, most of the land remained largely in the hands of the former Gaelic Chieftains and Old English who had sworn allegiance to Henry. For the first time though, the English had ostensibly succeeded in centralizing authority in

Ireland based on English common law and customs, with both the physical and symbolic manifestation of this centralization being the newly instituted parliament in Dublin.

It was in this political context that Spenser wrote *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Spenser's treatise would come to be foundational not only in establishing policy towards the Irish colony, but also would prove to be an important text for the disciplines of Irish literary studies and Irish postcolonial theory. Practically all subsequent literary and political works produced by Irish authors have responded in some way to the identity for the Irish created and endorsed by Spenser's popular and influential pamphlet. The text condemned the "barbaric" practices of the Irish that had perverted the Old English. As noted earlier, Spenser argued that the Irish were incompatible with assimilation to the superior English culture, as evinced by their near universal refusal to convert to Protestantism (Cairns and Richards 5).²⁶ The Irish colonial identity was contingent on defining the qualities of Irishness so that the qualities of Englishness could simultaneously be defined. As a result, "Not-English" became equivalent to the polluting and insidious "other" (Cairns and Richards 1). For this reason, Spenser advocated that the English maintain their distance from the Irish so as not to pollute the English settlers; "they must remain as 'other' to continue to make possible the fashioning of 'Englishness'" (Kiberd 6). David Cairns and Shaun Richards, in the chapter "What Is My Nation?" in *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Culture*, refer to Michel Foucault's argument that "prior to the sixteenth century, Irish/British relations were based on the pre-classical *episteme*, or mode of acquiring knowledge, through resemblance,

²⁶ "The New English argued that the culture of the Irish had led to the degeneration of those exposed to it. Spenser, amongst others, believed the reality of the threat was exemplified by [willing] adoption of debasing 'Irish' traits, such as language and customs displayed by the Old English who had intermarried freely with the native Irish and so ceased in the New English's eyes, to be really English" (Cairns and Richards 5).

shared affinities, and similarities“ (Foucault 55), whereas, from the post-Geraldine Rebellion Period forward, the English appraisal of the identities of the Irish were rooted in classical episteme – knowledge based on conceptualizing difference, rather than sameness. England’s approach to categorizing the Irish and by proxy, conceptualizing themselves, would be replicated again and again in their interactions with those they colonized throughout the world. Nonetheless, in Ireland, as elsewhere, England would see this authority perpetually challenged.

A coup in 1641 by the remnants of the Gaelic and Old English aristocracy led to years of sectarian unrest between Protestant settlers and Catholics in an event known as the Irish Confederate Wars. During the wars, in what would be the last great threat to English authority before the twentieth century, the Catholic Confederates controlled most of the country. In the course of the English Civil War, the Confederates aligned themselves with Charles I, but theirs was, mutually, a largely self-interested and tangential alliance. Violent clashes between Parliamentary forces and the Confederates between 1646 and 1649, coupled with inadequate supplies and infighting between Confederacy members, weakened their tenuous control of lands, so that when Oliver Cromwell’s New Model Army landed in Ireland, the Confederates stood little chance. Ireland was mercilessly re-conquered in less than three years. Both Catholics and colonists alike suffered inordinate casualties. Each side perpetrated gruesome massacres. The survivors endured famine and plague, in addition to violent civil and sectarian persecutions culminating in the deportation of thousands of Catholics to the Caribbean. During the Interregnum and under the Protectorate, large tracts of land were awarded to Parliamentary soldiers and supporters. Hundreds of thousands of civilians had lost their

lives during the years of unrest, so that opportunities abounded in Ireland for Protestant tradesmen and entrepreneurs to willingly flood into new plantation schemes throughout the countryside. Clergy from the Established Church and other Protestant denominations built parishes to service the new “Irish” Protestants, creating community centers and providing these transplants with a sense of permanence. Not only had the ruling elite been displaced, but also the very demographic of Ireland had been altered.

The Anglo-Irish Tradition and the Postcolonial Reading

In the decades after Oliver Cromwell’s campaign in Ireland, the “Protestant Nation” was born, and modern Ireland as it is known today had begun. No group would come to challenge the binary between the English and Irish more than these “New English,” namely, the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy. The term “Anglo-Irish” refers specifically to the “New English” or “the Protestant Ascendancy” and their descendants, whose presence in Ireland can be traced largely from the seventeenth-century Cromwellian conquest and colonization of Ireland that led to their large-scale ownership of lands and usurpation of political authority. In common usage, however, the term “Anglo-Irish” is often inclusive of Protestant immigrants and converts who supported the Ascendancy legally, socially, politically, and economically, and who would come to form a Protestant “middle class” between the elite and Irish peasant natives. After the initial transfer of power, most were not born in England, though the majority were Anglicized there by education, expatriation, or marriage, traditions that the Anglo-Irish maintained throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁷

²⁷ The Anglo-Indians shared with the Anglo-Irish a similar liminal position. For example, in Maria Edgeworth’s *The Absentee* (published 1812), Lord Colambre Clonbrony’s nostalgia for his idyllic Irish childhood before leaving for England mirrors Rudyard Kipling’s experience of parting with his Indian

Always a minority, the Anglo-Irish enjoyed the many benefits of membership in the Established Church and the wealth generated from landownership, routinely rented and managed with little personal exertion. Cromwell's conquest of Ireland (and the land redistribution and population changes that followed) represents one of the most important colonial intersections in the hundreds of years of contact between Ireland and England. It endures in folk memory and resonates into present-day conflicts in Ireland, fueling lingering grievances, which continue to serve as justification for animosity, prejudice, violence, and political/economic squabbling. As the Anglo-Irish evolved, the position they assumed in the Ireland of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was far from predictable. They were painfully aware of their liminality, neither Irish nor English.

The wealth of written works produced by the Anglo-Irish offers insights into their unique position and their many diverse, fluctuating loyalties and identifications. Maria Edgeworth is a good example of this – she is hailed as the Mother of the Irish Regional Novel, but her political understanding of Ireland's destiny was a far cry from that of later Anglo-Irish Nationalists who produced a large archive of materials, reflective of their sundry opinions and experiences. These Anglo-Irish Nationalists frequently portrayed the Native Irish with whom they shared their space subjectively, but with a knowledge begotten in close contact and from an intimacy foreign to those outside Ireland. Their works indicate and often respond to the political policies of Westminster from an "Irish" perspective – more accurately, a viewpoint which saw Ireland as central to the Union, rather than peripheral. Their works meditate on the differences between themselves and their British social counterparts, particularly when the Anglo-Irish visit or reside in

boyhood for a boarding school in Britain as relayed in his autobiography, *Something of Myself* (published 1937). Like the earlier fictional Lord Colambre Clonbrony, Kipling was sent to England to be Anglicized.

England. Many Anglo-Irish authors shared long personal and professional relationships with novelists across the Irish Sea; Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen, for example, are two such individuals. The influence of these relationships between the Anglo-Irish and British authors has been under-examined. It is imperative that greater attention be given to the conversation that exists between the texts of Anglo-Irish and British authors of the same period to enrich both Irish and English canons.

Regrettably, the length of this dissertation limits the possibility of exploring the aforementioned subject adequately. As an alternative to a comparison between the two traditions, this study offers an in-depth analysis of responses by select British authors to the unfolding colonial situation in Ireland. Their reactions are built on or reply directly to the Anglo-Irish literary movement. While creating direct comparisons enriches singular paired readings of texts, as exemplified in the following chapter on Jane Austen's *Emma* and Maria Edgeworth's "The Grateful Slave" and *The Absentee*, it is the larger, rather than the specific conclusions that can be drawn from this study that are important. Extensive attention has been paid to the Anglo-Irish literary movement, while, by comparison, signifiers of Ireland within British texts have seldom been acknowledged. It is, nonetheless, at least necessary to perfunctorily understand the Anglo-Irish's history as the world they portray and the sentiments they convey form the basis for the signifiers of Irishness found in British canonical novels of the same period. It was largely through their eyes that the English engaged with Ireland in the nineteenth century. Neither the Ascendency nor its literature is the focus of this dissertation, yet both require attention because of their foundational relationship to the topic of primary exploration.

Despite Anglo-Irish monopoly of authority in Ireland during “the long eighteenth century” between 1690 and 1829, the heyday of the Protestant Nation in Ireland was still not a period of universal assurance of England’s uncontested sovereignty over the country. Power skirmishes led by Protestants and Catholics alike occurred during the 1700s and 1800s, most notably the United Irishmen Rebellion of 1798 under the leadership of the Anglo-Irishmen, Theobald Wolfe Tone. As early as the late eighteenth century, many of the Ascendancy began to subscribe to their own “Irish” identity that was inclusive of their unique position and history. They were neither native Irish nor Roman Catholic, but like their Old English predecessors, they, in their own unique and varied ways, “went native.”²⁸ The Ascendancy’s loyalties were mixed between genuine affection for both England and Ireland and the desire to preserve their tenuous authority and privileged existences while also improving their country.

During the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century especially, the Anglo-Irish identity was not fixed. Their English language literature, along with the other artifacts they produced, reflects the ambiguity of their location and captures the varying ways they conceptualized themselves at a particular historical moment. This literature also illustrates the ways in which they revised their identity again and again in reaction to the changing political, economic, and cultural climate. The Anglo-Irish occupied, as Said notes in *Culture and Imperialism*, a “liminal position” rooted in the “imaginative

²⁸ Oscar Wilde’s given full name of Oscar Fingal O’Flahertie Wills Wilde embodies the dichotomy of Anglo-Irishness. His name not only acknowledges his English ancestry, but links him to both Irish mythological characters and to the displaced Gaelic lords and pirates of the West of Ireland, “the Wild O’Flahertys.” In choosing the name, his mother, the poet and grand dame of Dublin and London salons, Lady Jane Francesca Elgee “Speranza” Wilde noted that the name was “misty and Ossianic,” referencing the ancient Irish mythological character, Oisín of the Fianna. Two wonderful works on Speranza Wilde are *Mother of Oscar: Life of Jane Francesca Wilde* by Joy Melville and *Oscar Wilde and his Mother* by Anna Comtessa de Bremont and K.J. Pierce.

geography of the Empire” (*Orientalism* 49), existing both as the colonizer and the colonized depending on the historic juncture and individual predilections. Their rhetoric reflects the fluidity of their loyalties – allegiances torn between the desire to belong and the compulsion to reject “the other,” coupled with the necessity to maintain dominance and an elite status (Lennon qtd. in Carroll 138). Underlying this equivocation is the self-assuredness of the Anglo-Irish’s hegemony, which permits this meditation on, and experimentation with identity.

In the late eighteenth century, the Ascendency firmly believed that they were the natural paternalistic leaders of the Native Irish people, but how that role related to England was a subject of ongoing contention. The final years of the Irish Kingdom were marked by political dissatisfaction as Catholics and Presbyterians chafed against the Penal Laws²⁹ that disenfranchised and subjugated them politically and economically. At the same time, the Anglo-Irish sought greater autonomy from the Sovereign’s Privy Council, whose approval or denial of legislation essentially rendered the Irish parliament superfluous and ineffectual. In 1782, Irish House of Commons member Henry Grattan secured a new Constitution for the Irish Kingdom, known as Grattan’s Parliament, which permitted a period of legislative freedom. The new political sovereignty through Grattan’s Parliament failed to address the growing dissatisfaction of Roman Catholics and Dissenter Protestants. The Society of United Irishmen, founded in 1791, bridged sectarian divides to unite Catholics, Dissenters, and liberal minded Anglo-Irish towards the two common goals of complete Irish independence from Britain and Catholic and

²⁹ In Ireland, the Penal Laws were enacted, in several manifestations, from the 1600s to 1920 to ensure the subjugation of Roman Catholics and Dissenter Protestants, particularly Presbyterians, and to guarantee the unrivaled authority of the English, especially the Ascendency, in the Post-Cromwellian period.

Dissenter Emancipation. The United Irishmen led two failed rebellions in the 1790s, one in 1796 and one in 1798; both were easily and rapidly suppressed, but they prompted the movement towards the unification of the Kingdoms of Great Britain through the merger of their respective parliaments.

The mixed motivations behind support for and opposition towards the passage of the Act of Union (1800) foreshadowed the varied responses to the Union during the nineteenth century, particularly among the Anglo-Irish. Some members of the Ascendancy supported the Union because they feared the loss of their social status, choosing to support the merger as an outward gesture of loyalty to the Crown, which they believed would enable them to maintain their hegemony. Other members of the Ascendancy opposed the Union because they saw in the merger a loss of parliamentary authority at the local level that they thought would translate into the curtailment of their governing authority within Ireland. Those who supported Catholic Emancipation endorsed the Union, having been misled into believing that with the Union emancipation would follow, while those opposed to Catholic Emancipation voted against it. Thus, the Anglo-Irish were torn between opposing and backing Catholic Emancipation. Some believed that once Catholics gained political power, they would displace the Ascendancy by parliamentary means; others were so confident in the support of the Native Irish that they believed enfranchisement would ensure continued fidelity and bring peace from sectarian strife. Fears of the ideals of the French Revolution, so influential to the ethos of the United Irishmen and the potential for assistance from sympathetic continental countries, were rampant in England, and led to copious amounts of bribery and the promises of titles in the new United Kingdom. Most historians credit corruption with the

passage of the Acts of Union in 1800 and the unification of the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801.

After the Act of Union, the Anglo-Irish continued to dominate Ireland politically and economically, but their loyalty to England became even more complicated. Many who had opposed the Union submitted willingly to it after its enactment, supporting and defending the new system fully. At great expense to the collective Ascendancy inheritance, some members of the Ascendancy fled their lands to live as social leeches, stripping the paupers who worked their estates of any meager earnings to support lives of opulence in either Dublin or worse as Absentees among English society. These individuals embodied the basest stereotypes of the Anglo-Irish; unfortunately, this is the legacy that has been most perpetuated about the Ascendancy in popular historicizing. It is an unfair and inaccurate reduction of the Anglo-Irish contribution to Modern Ireland. The Ascendancy was never homogenous in their identifications, so no blanket assessment can really be made about them. Even though they are routinely positioned as culturally antithetical to Irishness in the Irish/English binary, they defy this identification more than they adhere to it.

Kiberd asserts that by the time Matthew Arnold published *On the Study of Celtic Literature* in 1867, the binary between Ireland and England had been fully constructed because “Victorian Imperialists attributed to the Irish all those emotions and impulses, which a harsh mercantile code had led them to suppress in themselves” (Kiberd 30). To establish their inferior and subordinate position, the Irish were labeled barbaric, pagan, feminine, and childish – entirely and in every way antithetical to the English (Cairns and Richards 7). As Amanda Third emphasizes in her article “Does the Rug Match the

Carpet?': Race, Gender, and the Redheaded Woman" in the collection, *The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture*:

The line that divides "us" and "them," colonizer and colonized, must be rigorously and repeatedly drawn. These boundaries are always blurred, but colonialism, in its anxious need to convince both itself and those it subjects of its right to power, constantly seeks to establish and police an order predicated on the hierarchal division between same and different.

(340)

There were those who staunchly upheld this binary, but there were many whose relationship with the Native Irish pushed against it from the very genesis of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy's inception. Just as some Anglo-Irish were profiting from and endorsing the Union, in 1803 the remaining members of the Society of the United Irishmen (led by the wealthy Anglican Robert Emmet), still eager to lay down their lives in the name of Irish sovereignty and universal brotherhood, staged an abortive rebellion. Martial law was regularly enforced in the early years of the new United Kingdom, with agitation against the government coming from Protestant Dissenters, Anglicans, and Catholics alike.

The Ascendancy would continue to contribute to the nascent Irish Republican movement throughout the coming century and beyond. They produced many of Ireland's most revered nationalists: most notably, Charles Stuart Parnell, Robert Erskine Chindlers, and Roger Casement, along with countless socialites, artists, and scholars of Anglo-Irish extraction who identified themselves from a distinctly "Irish" position and made

important contributions in Ireland, in Britain, and globally.³⁰ Lauding the achievements of the Anglo-Irish does not make me or any scholar an apologist for widespread abuse of power during their colonial hegemony, but offers this much maligned group the credit they rightly deserve for their many achievements. The political allegiance of the Anglo-Irish was complicated by the desire to preserve their comfortable economic status while navigating their Irish/English identity crisis. They did not identify with what many now perceive as the quintessential twentieth-century Irish Catholic Nationalist identity; rather, they sought an “Irishness” which respected their distinct position and supported their continuing hegemony either within the Union or in an independent Ireland, depending on personal opinion. Many became Irish cultural enthusiasts first and then “Irish Nationalists,” seeking greater autonomy for Ireland leading to Home Rule and eventual independence, but others did not.

Regardless, the belief that the Ascendancy universally removed to England after the Union to enjoy lives of opulence at the expense of the Irish peasantry who they oppressed and pauperized is only partially true. What is largely true though, is that in the nineteenth century, “Anglo-Irish intellectuals sought to reproduce forms of sentimental connection which would make it possible for the Ascendancy to assume the leadership of the people/nation with their material and cultural dominance preserved” (Cairns and Richards 20). Their literature reflects this desire to both legitimize their place in Irish history and establish their connection to the Irish experience, while reiterating their exclusive right to rule.

³⁰ The aesthete playwright and poet Oscar Wilde, and his ophthalmologist, archaeologist, folklorist father, Sir William Wilde, come to mind as famous examples of this type of Anglo-Irish figure.

As the nineteenth and twentieth centuries progressed, it became clear that in the Ireland of the future the reformed social hierarchy would not preserve the hegemony of the Anglo-Irish. Like the Anglo-Indians, many Anglo-Irish immigrated to England in the early twentieth century, especially after the formation of the Irish Republic. In 1925, the Nobel Prize winning poet laureate William Butler Yeats, in his address to the Seanad on the matter of the legalization of divorce, eulogized the Protestant Nation as it faded away:

I think it is tragic that within three years of this country gaining its independence we should be discussing a measure, which a minority of this nation considers to be grossly oppressive. I am proud to consider myself a typical man of that minority. We, against whom you have done this thing, are no petty people. We are one of the great stocks of Europe. We are the people of Burke; we are the people of Grattan; we are the people of Swift, the people of Emmet, the people of Parnell. We have created the most of the modern literature of this country. We have created the best of its political intelligence... If we have not lost our stamina then your victory will be brief, and your defeat final, and when it comes this nation may be transformed. (Seanad Resumes)

Instead of strengthening the imagined colonial binary, as their plantation was intended, the Ascendancy's existence, from their dubious origins in the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland onward, problematized the colonial relationship between the Irish and English. With the advent of the Free State, this prominent population virtually silenced. It is fitting that as the colonial period in Ireland came to a close, in the waning moments of the Protestant nation Yeats served as the collective voice of the Anglo-Irish. Yeats had been

amongst the most vocal artists of the Celtic Twilight. While he was reluctant to endorse the violence which characterized Irish Nationalism after 1916, he identified not only as an Irishman, but also as a Nationalist Republican.³¹ Like so many other Anglo-Irish poets and writers, it was Yeats' voice that had spoken for the colonized Irish, the people he had perceived as his countrymen. Yeats' speech in the Dáil exemplifies the liminality of the Anglo-Irish position.³²

³¹ Yeats' long artistic career was characterized by many different periods, and while his Irish nationalism is often credited for inspiring vast amounts of his enormous oeuvre, it often overshadows the important role Yeats played politically in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both as a civilian supporter and as a Senator in the Irish Free State from 1922 to 1928.

³² Kiberd notes that "Many [Irish] embraced the more insulting clichés of Anglo-Saxonist theory on the condition that they could reinterpret each in a more positive light the modern English, seeing themselves as secular, progressive, and rational, had deemed the neighboring islanders to be superstitious, backward, and irrational. The strategy of the revivalists thus became clear: for bad they substituted good, for superstitious used religious, for backward say traditional, for irrational suggest emotional, positive aspects of this maneuver was that it permitted Irish people to take many images that were rejected by English society, occupy them, reclaim them, and make them their own, but the negative aspect was painfully obvious in that the process left the English with the power of description and the Irish succumbing to the pictures which they had constructed" (32). At the same time, this "reinterpretation" was enacted both by the Native Irish and Anglo-Irish Revivalists alike in an act of cooption, which challenged English authority. While the English may have established these specific signifiers of Irishness, the shared Irish reaction and revised understanding of these signifiers united many across sectarian, political, economic, and linguistic divides. This appropriation positively validated the ways in which the Irish were differentiated from their colonizers despite the fact that they were not internally generated.

Chapter I:

"The English Edgeworth"- Austen's *Emma* and Edgeworth's *The Absentee*

"Pat, you would not be out of the fashion-- and you see, it's growing the fashion not to be an Absentee" (Edgeworth 257).

Jane Austen's works may ostensibly critique English society from within the four walls of the estate house, but Austen's world is not limited to the domestic sphere; rather, it is through the domestic, the microcosm of the home, that the complex structure of the British world, the Empire, reveals itself. Rooting Jane Austen's texts within a postcolonial framework and in conversation with contemporaries writing on coloniality, namely- Maria Edgeworth, permits an Irish reading of *Emma*. This Irish reading conceptualizes the text as responding to the post Act of Union relationship between England and Ireland. Like so many other readers during that period, we know that Austen read her Irish protégé, Edgeworth. Austen's father's library contained copies of both the fictional and educative works of Maria and her father, Richard. Austen references Edgeworth's work, alongside Frances Burney's in her famous defense of novels in *Northanger Abbey*.

"Oh! It is only a novel!...It is only *Cecelia*, or *Camilla*, or *Belinda*...some work in which the greatest powers of the mind are displayed, in which most thorough knowledge of human nature, the happiest delineation of its varieties, the liveliest effusions of wit and humor, are conveyed to the world in the best-chosen language." (*Northanger Abbey* 21).

Ironically, Edgeworth's reaction to Austen's *Emma* was far less complimentary. She drolly commented, "There is no story in it." For Edgeworth, the nuances of daily living

which Austen focused on, who fancied or affronted who or how to make gruel of the right watery consistency, were trifles in comparison to what Edgeworth believed were the "more important" larger political and moral questions that she so openly addressed in her own novels. Edgeworth's assumptions about Austen's focus were a bit off base, if not needlessly harsh.

It would be Austen's works which would find abiding success, eventually surpassing Edgeworth's in distinction and endurance to become the archetype of the early nineteenth-century British novel. Austen's approaches to the issues of her day were far more sophisticated and elegant than Edgeworth's blunt pedanticism. Edgeworth had underestimated and misconstrued Austen, in her criticism of Austen's works. Edgeworth believed that Austen's texts lacked social weightiness because she did not utilize didacticism in a similarly heavy-handed way. Edgeworth failed to read the political and social statements that Austen delicately and artfully filtered through her representation of the minutia of day-to-day life. As Edward Said in "Jane Austen and Empire" in *Culture and Imperialism* points out these subtexts, include an appraisal of the early Imperial world. Austen certainly assesses and opines successfully regarding the relationship between colonial Ireland and Britain just as Edgeworth herself did, but her tact led to these signifiers of Irishness being overlooked or misread even in her day. It is the goal of this dissertation chapter to draw out these signifiers of Irishness within Austen's *Emma* as an example of the author's engagement with the Irish issues prevalent during her lifetime. This discussion will further establish Austen's foundational role as a colonial author during the pre-Imperial period and continue the work initiated by Edward Said in his groundbreaking reading of *Manchester Park*. The insights into the Irish/ English colonial

relationship that this reading of *Emma* provides are of significance from historic, social, and literary perspectives.

While *Belinda* among Edgeworth's many works has most often been compared stylistically to Austen's oeuvre, it is instead, through a comparison between the second of Edgeworth's Irish novels, *The Absentee* and *Emma* that the most fruitful connections between the two authors can truly be drawn. Both texts, are united by the authors shared attention to and discussion of "The Irish Problem". Though their approaches are strikingly different, Edgeworth and Austen's concerns are one in the same; that the Irish position in the Union is reassessed and the evils of that ill-gotten and failing marriage between the Kingdoms resolved. Perhaps, in Austen's case, this interest in the marriage between Ireland and England was sparked by her own failed romance with Anglo-Irish lawyer, Thomas LeFroy, a match deemed financially inappropriate by LeFroy's family. The "appropriate" unions that emerge by the novels' ends, the marriages of the Knightlys and Dixons of *Emma* and the Clonbronzys and Brookes of *The Absentee*, represent the ideal social dynamic for post Act of Union English and Irish society.³³ These marriages will be the basis for the New Britain. Both Austen and Edgeworth approve cross ethnic marriages between individuals in the upper echelons of Irish society and members of the English new military middle class as lateral and fitting. It is in a synchronous discussion of both Edgeworth and Austen's texts that Austen's artistic choices can be properly situated within a postcolonial framework and supported and assessed by a combined application of postcolonial theories.

³³ In real-life, the romance between LeFroy and Austen did not hold the same potential.

which challenges Said's post-colonial reading and other interpretations of slavery perpetuated by many of Said's critical successors. Boulukos' discussion of the politics of slavery provides inroads into Austen's understanding of other oppressed peoples of the Empire, in particular the colonized Irish. Anglo-Irish authors writing during this time drew on many global historic and contemporary issues to represent Irish issues symbolically in their texts. A good example is Thomas Davis' 1844 poem, "The Sack of Baltimore" based on the siege of Baltimore in County Cork by the Barbary Pirates in the 17th century. Davis used the tale of the Irish residents enslaved by the Algerians as an allegory for the colonization and subjugation of the Irish race. So, texts, which relied on obscured signifiers of Irish problems, transferred into a larger milieu of humanitarian injustice, such as African slavery, was certainly not a technique foreign to Irish writers. However, Boulukos notes that in this sort of covert discussion, the commentary on Imperial issues requires not only an historic knowledge of events and culture, but also an ability to read between the lines. The "silence" in *Mansfield Park* is a primary example of one such textual occurrence whose significance resides in a seemingly blank space. First, Boulukos warns against equating "the silence" "to the 'silencing' of 'subalterns' themselves," then he questions the validity of reading Fanny's initiation of the topic of slavery as an act of resisting Imperial progress (Boulukos 391). He faults both these speculative approaches as "masking the specific ways in which Austen's novel imagines slavery and lends support to the enterprise of the Empire" (Boulukos 391). Boulukos insists that Fanny's references to slavery point to an understanding of slave politics familiar to Austen, her contemporaries, and her readership. John Wiltshire author of "Exploring *Mansfield Park*: In the Footsteps of Fanny Price" sets the main action of

Mansfield Park as occurring between 1807-09 contemporary with the 1807 Slave Trade Act which prohibited the slave trade in Britain and its colonies. "Amelioration" politics, the philosophy, which influenced both *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*, predates the eradication of the slave trade and the abolitionist movement. The Amelioration Act of 1789 was designed to impart some basic human rights to the enslaved in the British Caribbean, such as improved treatment, financial reimbursement for misuse and cruelty, better living conditions, and basic education. However, Imperial amelioration became a source of disagreement between the Colonial and Metropolitan representatives.

Colonial legislators believed that implementing the full range of reforms would seriously undermine the authority of slaveholders and perhaps ultimately lead to the dismantling of slavery (Paton 293).

At the same time, the notion of the paternalistic slaveholder who "cared" for his slaves as a father to hapless children lessened some of the moral ambiguity of slave ownership. In *Bertram's* case, this paternalistic master role is clear. When the patriarch is not in the West Indies to guide his slaves, chaos ensues. The same is true when he is absent from the children in his actual household. Back in England, the children's rebellion assumes the form of an illicit play rather than a potentially dangerous insurrection, but their actions are equally subversive to paternalistic authority, an authority to which both *Bertram's* slaves and his household must submit for their own good. The belief in the necessity of paternalistic supervision extends beyond just slaves to the all the colonized in general and was supportive of the Empire's subjugation of other lands and races. Amelioration was a position that was claimed by both the pro and anti-abolition movements because while it did focus on slavery, it was part of a larger justification for

the ethos of the entire nineteenth century. It is important to understand, therefore, that amelioration was not necessarily understood as a precursor to abolition or was indicative of a concession of authority. Many abolitionists recognized it as positive step in its conscious effort to better the lives of the enslaved, however, it was also understood by many as a means to consolidate authority over slaves under the guise of benevolent mastery and to mitigate some of the ignominy associated with slave ownership.

Beyond the cursory connections between slaves and the colonized interwoven into the justifications for both conditions espoused by colonizers and slaveholders, the colonized Irish had long been likened to the African slaves in the Americas. This is more than just a passing association as their English overlords had exiled thousands of Irish to the Caribbean as indentured servants or as slaves.³⁴ In the hierarchy of Pseudo-race Science, the Irish were considered the "white negroes of Europe". Their every quality was likened to that of dark skinned native peoples through phrenology and "anthropological science" to stereotype, discriminates against, and oppress. These tropes of the savage Irish had been evolving long before Edmund Spencer wrote *A View on the Present State of Ireland* in 1596 and were part of mainstream English perceptions regarding the Irish which helped justify subjugation of the Irish.³⁵ In his groundbreaking book, *How the Irish Became White*, Noel Ignatiev insists that the caste oppression and system of landlordism in place in Ireland by the nineteen-century created conditions, which made Irish peasant life, indeed comparable to that of enslaved Africans in America (Ignatiev 36). Members

³⁴ From 1652-1659 alone, over half a million Irish were transported as slaves to Barbados. Bred with enslaved Africans, their progeny produced a new biracial class born into permanent bondage by race. A thorough exploration of the lives of enslaved and indentured Irish in the Caribbean is *To Hell or Barbados: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ireland* by Sean O'Callaghan.

³⁵ He advocated for the near genocide of natives, stating that only through, "firm measures, ruthlessly applied... for completely submissive populations" could Elizabeth control the non-English Gaels.

of the Roman Catholic faith in Ireland, the preponderance of which, at the turn of the nineteenth century, were Irish speaking tenant farmers, were considered in racialized terms, rather than in national ones (Ignatiev 35). Like in other colonies, Post-Cromwellian Ireland saw Ireland's most extensive transfer of land from natives to foreign ownership- the Ascendency. Like other colonial masters throughout Empire, those they ruled outnumbered the new Anglo-Irish Ascendency. Like West Indian plantation owners, they lived with fears of insurrection on a grand scale. In 1798, the fears of the Anglo-Irish were confirmed when the United Irishmen Rebelled. Even after the rebellion was suppressed, they were plagued by daily low-level terrorist threats perpetrated by fraternal guerrilla organizations such as the Catholic Defenders, Ribbonmen and the Protestant Peep o' Day Boys. Without a doubt, despite the differences in location and population, there were many apt parallels to be drawn between the experiences of slaves and the plantation owners in the Caribbean and the native Irish and their Anglo-Irish masters.

Maria Edgeworth's treatment of both native Irish characters and African slaves reflects these paralleling histories that manifest themselves allegorically and literally within their texts through tropes of enslavement. Edgeworth, like Austen, was an ameliorist in regards to the treatment of African slaves. Her didactic short story, "The Grateful Negro" is a literary example of philosophy ameliorist politics in the West Indies. However, Elizabeth S. Kim points out in Maria Edgeworth's *The Grateful Negro: A Site for Rewriting Rebellion*, that "the Jamaican plantation setting serves as a veiled context for the real colonial drama that Edgeworth is seeking to address" (Kim 106). These tensions are Irish in origin. As a member of the Anglo-Irish Ascendency, Edgeworth

negotiates her personal, concerns about potential Irish Catholic peasant insurgency and tenuous colonial dominance, through the Jamaican slave uprising tale. Her story serves as both a commentary on Caribbean slavery, but also as an allegory for the Irish colonial situation, especially the relationship between the ruling Anglo-Irish gentry and their tenantry.

Textual evidence points to Jane Austen sharing Edgeworth's philosophies regarding the administration of African slaves in *Mansfield Park*. Their works advocate a beneficent noblesse oblige, which solidifies mastery over colonized and enslaved others. As Boulukos demonstrated, there is certainly clear textual evidence of Austen's ameliorist leanings in *Mansfield Park*. This same textual evidence is indeed present in several ways in *Emma*; it is implied by Knightly's paternalistic relationship towards his tenants and the townspeople of Hartfield, especially, the Bates, for example. Both authors utilize either traditional racial and cultural tropes to normalize the social order. Boulukos notes, "Postcolonial critics...interested in the large categories of empire and colonialism, collapse slavery and colonialism together under the title imperialism... which elides distinctions and forestalls a nuanced historical view" (Boulukos 367). While this may be reasonably true, this elision does indeed reveal the many commonalities between the two authors in regards to administration of, what from their prospective, were the underclasses, be they the colonized Irish, enslaved Africans, or the English lower-classes. This elision facilitates an Irish reading of *Emma* by teasing out the commonalities between imperialism, colonialism, and classism so that broad commentaries might be made based on the there's mutual commonalities.

“The Grateful Negro” and *Mansfield Park*

A brief examination of Edgeworth's short story, "The Grateful Negro" reveals the philosophical assumptions she shared with Austen. *Mansfield Park* is, in many ways, Austen's rendering of Edgeworth's same slave story. Connecting the two authors as ameliorist in regards to African slavery through "The Grateful Negro" and *Mansfield Park* does much to validate a parallel reading of Edgeworth's *The Absentee* and Austen's *Emma*. In both works, the authors locate the Anglo-Irish within and outside of British society and consider the administration of the native Irish through an ameliorist lens.

In "The Grateful Negro" (1804), Maria Edgeworth compares the administration of two plantations. "On one plantation the owner Mr. Jeffries, considered the Negroes as an inferior species, incapable of gratitude, disposed to treachery, and to be roused from their natural indolence only by force." (Edgeworth Loc. 6081). Jefferies abandons primary authority of his slaves to his cruel overseer, not out of his own malevolence, but out of disinterest to pursue his own extravagant diversions. On his plantation the overseer utilizes cruel and barbarous methods to enforce authority. Living way above their means, the Jefferies and their overseer press the slaves brutally in order to alleviate the family's debt. On the neighboring plantation, run by Mr. Edwards, the situation is quite different. Edwards treats his slaves with kindness and respect. He wishes that slavery did not exist and looks forward to the gradual emancipation of the enslaved. Edwards, like most ameliorists saw sudden emancipation as dangerous, likely to produce "violent agitation and revolution" (Austen Location 6093). His slaves are allotted their own lodgings and shares of land to cultivate. Any improvements made upon the land or lodgings were theirs to benefit from and enjoy. This is obviously a direct comparative allusion to the

situation of the peasant tenantry in Ireland, where it was routine for the landlord to seize land that had been improved in any way by his tenants only to lease the property to new tenants at a higher rate. This common practice towards the Irish Peasants is the focus of one of the subplots of *The Absentee*. The Anglo-Irish landlords' failure to nurture their tenantry through absenteeism - enabling exploitative middlemen, or simply through their own selfishness, they violated the paternalistic obligations of the upper class towards the lower, paralleling the abuses of the inhuman planters. In "The Grateful Negro" beneficent plantations owner, Edward hires an overseer whose actions reflect his master's virtues. On his paternalistic plantation, the slaves thrive and are contented, just as the Irish tenants under a caring Ascendency and agent would also be content. The plot of the short story revolves around a thwarted slave revolt. Mr. Edwards rescues Caesar and his fiancée, Clara from being auctioned at the slave market to repay the Jefferies' debts and brings them to work on his more egalitarian and humanely run plantation. Caesar's loyalty is immediately won over by the beneficent Mr. Edwards. Ameliorist slave policies are validated through his loyalty.

But, Caesar is torn. He is privy to the knowledge that plans for a slave revolt, born of despair and bent on revenge, was about to come to fruition. Like the guerilla violence perpetrated by Irish agrarian militants, the object of the slave's conspiracy was to murder all the whites on the island. Caesar is torn between his love for his childhood friend, Hector, the leader of the conspiracy, and gratitude to Mr. Edwards. After attempting to reason with Hector, Caesar is forced to take sides; his loyalty lies with his master. When made aware of the conspiracy plan, Mr. Edwards arms all of his slaves, confident in their devotion to him and the way of life he has facilitated for them. He knows that they will

not turn against him. The influential and beloved Mr. Edwards, is able to talk the insurgents down, preventing the rebellion from spreading to other estates. While modern readers may chafe at Edgeworth's heavy didacticism, her bombastic hammering home of the point of her short story served as powerful propaganda for the platform of slave amelioration even as it functions as a masked analogy for the similar Irish situation. Austen who shared Edgeworth's ameliorist beliefs, read and respected the work of Edgeworth and was without a doubt familiar with and inspired by the popularity of, "The Grateful Negro".³⁶ Austen's *Mansfield Park* represents her own didactic take on African slavery, and the treatment of those deemed "inferior"- whether racially or socially (i.e. Fanny Price). Her incorporation of a colonial subplot allows her to critique the colonial administration of the West Indian slave plantations and by proxy, colonial administration throughout the Empire in general, so that her assertions are applicable to other colonies, namely Ireland. "The Grateful Negro" takes place in Jamaica, while much of "The Absentee", transpires in Ireland within actual colonial spaces. There are in these works direct representations of interactions between the hegemony and the oppressed, between slaves and masters. Even within England, Edgeworth presents this engagement face to face; the Clonbrony's, members of the Irish Ascendancy engage vis-à-vis their English-social peers, superiors, and inferiors. Austen's texts differ in that they are firmly situated within the English domestic sphere; characters travel from one domestic sphere to the other. They may visit other locales within England, such as Bath or Plymouth but the action of the novel never takes place there. They may even move within the Empire to

³⁶ "Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) is mentioned twice in Jane Austen's letters. In a letter to Cassandra, written in 1813, Austen writes at rather dismissive, "The Clements are at home and are reduced to read. They have got Miss Edgeworth", but writing to her niece, Anna, the following year, Austen declares that "I have made up my mind to like no novels, really, but Miss Edgeworth's, yours and my own."

colonies such as Antiqua and Ireland, but these journeys, even if they occur within the plot of the work, are not directly represented; they are just alluded to within the text. All of these destinations are beyond the centrality of the "home", but remain within the Empire, even then they are marked with an air of foreignness. Perhaps, having never travelled beyond England, Austen struggled with representing directly a world, which she only knew through others. The engagement with the foreign, the colonial, the world outside the domestic space, is enacted in a wholly different way in Austen's texts than in Edgeworth's but is equally important as Said's reading points out. Through Austen's characters, her readers primarily engage with the world outside England through suggestion and analogy. Said calls these allusions, "counterpoints". He notes that these counterpoints are inherently spatial rather than temporal. They are employed strategically by writers to create "positive ideas of home, of a nation, and its language, of proper order, good behavior, moral values (*Culture and Imperialism* 81). These "counterpoints", however, should not be limited to juxtapositions as the word traditionally, and Said loosely implies. These counterpoints are more inclusive of allegories, metaphors, and metonymies; they are signifiers of coloniality, rather than direct references to it. It is through these signifiers that the colonial space and domestic space blur. This offers far richer and more expansive readings of Austen's texts beyond a conventional contrapuntal reading. This is not a deviation from Said's work, but an expansion on it. Both *Mansfield Park* and *Emma* are greatly enhanced by this sort of reading, a reading that represents the domestic and the world beyond the British Isles. A reading of this sort again links Austen's texts to the more didactic works of Edgeworth and facilitates an Irish cultural-

historicist reading of *Emma* where the signifiers of coloniality are specifically informed by the Irish colonial experience.

In *Mansfield Park*, the absentee plantation owner, Sir Thomas Bertram travels to his Antiguan plantation because of "recent losses" (Mansfield 23) and "poor returns" (29). It is implied that Sir Thomas has been called to his plantations to deal with a slave rebellion or its aftermath. However, the self-interest of his wife, poor behavior of his unrealistically romantic daughters and the excess of his oldest son, insinuate that some of the fault for the chaos in the colonial space lies with the disorder in the domestic space. The Bertram's have neglected to instill in their children, save Edmund, a strong moral compass. Just as they are absentee landlords to their plantation, so have they been absentee parents to their children, allowing the morally skewed, Mrs. Norris license to form their young characters. When Sir Thomas returns from his sojourn in the West Indies, he is greeted by a household in the throes of moral crisis- a somewhat illicit play is being produced amidst the dangerous flirtations of daughter, Maria and cad, Henry Crawford right under the nose of her fiancé, Mr. Rushworth. Just as in the colonial space, it is clear that absence of authority leads to chaos and moral corruption. Without authority, even the domestic space in *Mansfield Park*, can become like a poorly administered colonial space.

Upon his return Sir. Thomas's relationship with foster daughter, Fanny Price is greatly altered. Fanny's position in the Bertram household parallels that of not only the enslaved people in the Caribbean, all colonized people, for that matter. The change in Sir Bertram's approach to Fanny's presence denotes a moral epiphany after prolonged and continued engagement in ameliorist activities. Fanny not only benefits from Sir Bertram's

epiphany, but admires it and him, as well. When Fanny takes up the subject of slavery the tone of the conversation is not a confrontational one, but an inquisitive one, and one cognizant and respectful of the ameliorating mission with which Sir Thomas has been engaged. Said reads Fanny's and Austen's distaste for slavery in the very act of Fanny posing unanswerable questions regarding slavery. To the contrary, Fanny, according to Boulukos, considers her uncle, a "morally exemplary slave-owner." She is enthusiastic to hear of his improvements. Her interest endears her further to him. The "silence"- an embarrassed silence, is not a reflection of Fanny's disapproval or Sir Thomas' discomfort. The "silence" embodies the failings of Sir Thomas' children to take an interest in their father's ameliorative endeavors and reflects on his progeny's moral iniquity (Boulukos 362). The Bertram daughters and eldest son are present during the conversation, but are non-participatory. Their distressing disinterest is the "silence". It is a silence that reflects their moral and filial failings. Boulukos attacks Said's assertion that the silence indicates avoidance or a removal from "worldliness" necessary of an "artistic" masterpiece. While Austen's aesthetic choices differ greatly from Edgeworth, they in no way reflect a lack of moral and political didacticism in her texts but simply a different approach to that inculcation (Boulukos 366). Austen is, as much as Edgeworth, an author concerned with colonial questions. In this sense, the reference to the slave trade in Mansfield Park is not marginal, cryptic, or incomprehensible. "Instead, Austen could reasonably expect her readers to connect it to a familiar-- indeed a culturally central-- discourse" (Boulukos 366).

Emma Through The Absentee

In *Mansfield Park* the underlying discourse of the novel focuses on slavery, but in *Emma* and *The Absentee*, the central discourse focuses on the post Act of Union relationship between England and Ireland. Many of Austen's novels, *Emma*, specifically, could be described as a marriage plot with social, moral, and political implications. Edgeworth's *The Absentee* like many of her works is a highly didactic political novel with romantic and moral underpinnings, so it has not been read in juxtaposition with Austen's romantic comedy of manners, *Emma*. However, a closer examination of Edgeworth's biography and the text itself facilitates a discussion that places the two texts and authors in clear conversation with one another.

The Absentee functions as Maria Edgeworth's fictional platform for her ideas regarding Ireland. Her tale is dividable into two, near stand-alone parts- one plainly didactic in its examination of the effects of Anglo-Irish absenteeism, the other, a marriage plot, symbolic of the Union between England and Ireland. "The primary story of *The Absentee* is a very simple one, and concerns Irish landlords living in England, who ignore their natural duties and station in life, and whose chief ambition is to take their place in the English fashionable world" (Edgeworth 8). Like slavery, questions surrounding the status of Ireland and the Irish people, be they Anglo-Irish or native Irish were in no way foreign to Edgeworth's and Austen's readership. "Far from avoiding these issues so prominent in political and journalistic discourse, fiction writers considered them educational, topical, and even fashionable subjects" (Boulukos 365). It is unlikely, therefore, as Said suggests that the "silence" in *Mansfield Park* denotes any sort of guilty collaboration with slavery, rather, "it reminds us...of the culturally mainstream belief of

that time, when pursuing amelioration, owning slaves, if not trading in them-- was not only acceptable, but morally commendable (Boulukos 377). It appears that both Austen and Edgeworth were in consensus on this matter. Edgeworth is less subtle in her approach to both slavery and "The Irish Problem" than Austen. Like Austen's ameliorist subtext in *Mansfield Park*, *The Absentee* and *Emma* must be historicized rather than assessed through modern standards to deduce a response to the politics of Austen's age. As with her discussion of slavery in *Mansfield Park*, it is unlikely that Austen would seek to conceal other subjects, which might, through twenty-first century eyes be overlooked or seem taboo, specifically those which relate to the political and social marriage between the Irish and English. The textual evidence of Austen's interest in Ireland is not immediately apparent, but when paralleled with the work of Maria Edgeworth, specifically a pairing of Edgeworth's *The Absentee* and Austen's *Emma*, Austen's reflections on Ireland and Irishness become undeniable, as do the surprising, but incontrovertible similarities between the two texts.

Austen's understanding of the political and cultural relationship between England and Ireland did not exist in a vacuum, but was formed by the prevailing attitudes of the hegemony in both England and Ireland during her lifetime. Her novels exist in conversation with the texts of her contemporaries, politicians, sociologists, and fellow novelists, many of whom commented, directly or allegorically on the period and on the particularities of "The Irish Problem". As a novelist, she was far from alone in addressing Irish coloniality. Her opinions were not terribly unique when compared with her fellow English and Anglo-Irish peers, Maria Edgeworth, in particular. When Austen is put in conversation with her contemporary Edgeworth, we can best appreciate Austen's "take"

on Ireland. Austen did not just share philosophies and opinions with Edgeworth, but did indeed have some tangible connections to both Ireland and the Anglo-Irish. In both *The Absentee* and in *Emma*, Edgeworth and Austen explore the greater questions surrounding the marriage of Great Britain and Ireland through the romance plot. Maria Edgeworth's *The Absentee* that permits an Irish reading of *Emma*, one that conceptualizes the text as responding to the post Act of Union relationship between England and Ireland.

The Anglo-Irish Connections of Austen and Edgeworth

Austen's ties to Ireland are ostensibly vague, while Edgeworth's personal investment in Ireland is obvious. Born in Oxfordshire in 1768, young Maria's first sojourn at the family estate in Edgeworthstown in County Longford, was in 1773. Her initial time there was brief; from 1775-1781, she bounced between boarding schools in Derby and in London. After a prolonged illness, she returned home to be tutored by her father and to raise her younger siblings. The family estate had been mismanaged and fallen into disrepair during their absence in England from 1777-1782. Working first alongside her father, then her brother, Maria assisted in restoring and managing the estate. While she visited frequently throughout Britain and the continent, she would call Ireland her permanent home until her death in 1849. Maria was fascinated with Irish daily life, keenly observing and recording the cultural, moral, and economic habits of the native Irish and the Anglo-Irish alike. Her Irish fiction (*Castle Rackrent* (1800), *The Absentee* (1812), *Ormond* (1817)) and her *Essay on Irish Bulls* (1802) though written, of course, from the vantage point of an Anglo-Irish woman, rejects many English stereotypes of Irishmen. She puts particular emphasize on the dignity and keen wit of the

peasant classes.³⁷ Edgeworth's universal humanitarianism penned the members of Irish society as equals to their English counterparts, but did not envision universal equality among all men. Her vision was not of a class-free United Kingdom, but of one in which each class assumed and enacted their appropriate roles willingly and competently. Ireland, like the estates of the absentee landlords simply lacked proper governing. Fair paternalistic rule of the Irish would secure Irish loyalty and strengthen the Union. Edgeworth's people, the Anglo-Irish, were, of course, the predestined natural rulers of Ireland and her works, as generous as they may seem towards the native Irish, assert her own colonial class interest, i.e. their right to rule. Even so, her fiction critically represents those Anglo-Irish landlords and landladies "who fill their empty lives with conspicuous consumption, self-indulgence and emulation of all things English" (Edgeworth 111). In this way, Lady Clonbrony in *The Absentee*, though ultimately redeemable, bears many similarities to Mrs. Jefferies of *The Grateful Negro*. Edgeworth's Irish fiction reveals immediate parallels between the condition of the native Irish and that of West Indian slaves, just as the injustices heaped upon Caesar and his fellow slaves mirror those inflicted upon the Irish. Just as, she had condemned Caribbean plantation owners, she reproached abusive and negligent landlords and the failings of Ascendency absenteeism that led to the exploitation of the Irish peasant classes and bred sedition. Similar to the amelioration of African slaves, Edgeworth believed that the Catholic population in Ireland should be gradually emancipated but not before their loyalty to their Anglo-Irish rulers was tried and tested.

³⁷ In *Castle Rackrent* the loyal laborer Thady Kirk narrators the history of the Rackrent dynasty, a family that he serves as his lord and master. While Kirk is not critical of the Rackrents, his portrayal paints a clear picture of their iniquities and the inevitability of their downfall.

Edgeworth's philosophical conscience was closely aligned with her father's. They shared a bias toward, "the optimistic rationalism of the classical tradition derived from Locke... [with] no place in Edgeworth's mind for such dangerous ideas concerning the individual or the nation as began to develop in Ireland with the rebellion of 1798 and the Union of 1801" (*Mariah Edgeworth: A Literary Biography* 25). Both Edgeworths, father and daughter, identified strongly with Irish political theorist, philosopher, and statesman, Edmund Burke, who also advocated for a benevolent paternalistic approach to the administration of Ireland. Burke believed free trade with Ireland and Catholic Emancipation would alleviate much dissension and strengthen the country economically. A combination of compassionate responsibility for the people of Ireland both on a local and international level would result in a loyal colony and thriving population.

He believed that the link with England, though the cause of many woes, would be Ireland's only salvation...Conor Cruise O' Brien has inferred from this a conflict at the center of Burke's writings between outer Whig and inner Jacobite: while the English Burke may on the surface be saying one thing, the Irish Burke maybe implying quite another (Kiberd 19).

Burke identified as an "Englishman". He never denied his Irish origin or advocated for the separatist cause, but worked to establish the compatibility of Irishness within the larger identity of Englishness, essentially proclaiming his loyalty to England as in harmony with his Irish ties (Clark 25). This was an important identification for the Anglo-Irish, one to which the Edgeworth's similarly subscribed. Austen, likewise, echoes this distinction by her choices of names for characters. In particular, despite their Scottish

surnames Campbell and Dixon³⁸ (who is from Ireland) but are both irrefutably considered "Englishmen." "[Maria] Edgeworth used her writing to reconsider the meaning of the denomination 'Anglo-Irish' to reconstitute 'Anglo-Irish' less as a category than an ongoing meditation between borders" (Wohlgemut 655) . Just as Edgeworth's characters cross back and forth between the real and imagined divide between Ireland and England, so to do Austen's characters transcend borders both actual and metaphorical throughout the United Kingdom.

Regardless of how progressive Edgeworth's brand of paternalistic colonialism might have seemed in her day and her fiction, as reformist as it seems, ultimately supported the existing colonial system. Edgeworth was a far cry from today's conceptualization of the Irish Nationalist identity and her politics would be considered far closer to those of modern-day Loyalists rather than Republicans. The Edgeworths "were indebted to and dependent on those inhabitants of the country, whom through the cultivation of paternalism, they sought to constitute ideologically as wholly indebted to them" (Corbett 389).³⁹ Edgeworth's advocacy of humane and fair treatment towards the Irish was not without self-interest. Like the mutinous slaves in her short story, general Irish unrest and radicalism, both non-violent and violent, threatened the social order- a social order which the Edgeworth's, as Anglo-Irish landholders, topped. These were not

³⁸ To emphasize this point, Jane Fairfax's guardian, bears the archetypically Scottish surname, Campbell. Like Mr. Dixon, who is never overtly singled out as Irish, Colonel Campbell is never explicitly distinguished as a Scot, but bears the name of such a prominent clan; the Colonel's Scottish association begs no further explanation. He is not English in the traditional sense, but "English" in the sense that as a Scot he is a member of the United Kingdom. Dixon, itself is also a common, if less obviously, Scottish name, but it is a Lowland/ Border County surname that pervades throughout England, as well. Like his son-in-law, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Campbell is "English" in the same way that Edmund Burke recognized himself to be "English". Austen imagines both the Campbells and Dixons as part of a heterogeneous Britain, where to be Scottish or Irish is as acceptable as to be, like the Woodhouses, a native of Surrey.

³⁹ Edgeworth's intimate relationship with the colonized Irish may give insight into her artistic choice to use heavy didacticism and urgency versus Austen's more subtle approach.

empty concerns for Edgeworth, who had experienced first-hand unrest in Ireland during the Rebellion of 1798. The family estate in Edgeworthstown was only a few short miles from the invading forces of General Humbert- sent by France to assist the rebels. In an episode reminiscent of the uprising in "The Grateful Negro" the Edgeworth family fled their home, while Richard Edgeworth rallied his yeoman infantry. His corps, comprised of loyal Protestants and Catholics alike, was a testament to his liberalism and devotion to cultivating social unity. The British military suppressed the French at Ballinamuck before the arrival of the Edgeworth yeomen, but Richard Edgeworth and his men soon found themselves in even greater danger. Protestants viewed the mixed religion militia as an indication of sympathy with Irish rebels and briefly set upon them. For Maria, this "experience confirmed, rather than weakened her commitment to religious tolerance in Ireland, and made her more sympathetic to the 'rebels'" (Hollingworth 40) than many of her fellow Anglo-Irish. Clearly, Ascendancy hegemony faced threats from multiple sides- from without and within. Looking towards the political and economic stability after his experience during the Rebellion, Richard Edgeworth, who had formerly opposed the Act of Union, now advocated for it in his position as MP, His support changed when he realized the extent of corruption behind the 1799 Bill, a corruption he saw as indicative of the worst forms of governmental patronage and lies. Nevertheless, once the Act of Union was passed, the Edgeworth's outwardly supported and defended Ireland's place within the United Kingdom (*Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography* 43).

Castle Rackrent, Maria Edgeworth's first Irish novel, published after the Act of Union was approved, but before it was enacted, is the tale of the collapse of the Rackrent dynasty. While a satire, it nonetheless reveals many unfortunate truths about the Anglo-

Irish and warns of their potential fall from favor and power. Edgeworth's Irish novels were colored by her intimate personal experiences with Irish unrest and politics, with the management of the land, and with the Irish people- Anglo-Irish and native Irish alike. Her novels are not only the first British/ Irish regional novels in the vernacular, but are also the first of "the Big House" novels that focus on the Ascendency rather than the indigenous classes. Her primary concern for stability in Ireland was forever wed to preservation of Anglo-Irish rule, a position, after 1800, permanently tied to Ireland's status within the Union. Rebellion, be it slave or Irish, was postulated in Edgeworth's writing as avoidable; colonial masters need only to resort to paternalism to evade violence and military intervention and to remain secure in their control be it in Ireland or the Caribbean.

Edgeworth's primary objective in *The Absentee* is to emphasize her belief that the Anglo-Irish belong in and to Ireland; they are as much the custodians of Ireland's well-being as they are a product and part of Irish existence. The Ascendency must assume their predestined role in Irish society, within the United Kingdom, and within the Empire. When the Anglo-Irish Ascendency fails to govern the Irish people firsthand, Ireland falls into chaos and the native Irish become seditious mendicants. In this way, Irish colonial administration is linked to that of other colonies, the indigenous Irish to indigenous people worldwide, the mastery of the Anglo-Irish to that of other colonial masters- in particular, the mastery of slave ownership. Hence, the Irish peasant classes are likened to enslaved Africans and Irish governing policy tied to the philosophical trends relating to slavery, primarily amelioration. Unrest in Ireland denotes, on a larger scale, instability in the United Kingdom, i.e. problems within the Union. Furthermore, when the Anglo-Irish

abandon their responsibilities and assume lives in Britain, when they imitate their English counterparts, they both demean and deny their true selves as they fail as leaders and guardians of the Irish people. In the ersatz existence they create, they will never find satisfaction, success, or the respect of their English peers. Like the Ascendency among the English, these Irish social climbers, much like Mrs. Elton in *Emma*, succeed in becoming only foolish imitations of those they aspire to emulate. *The Absentee* and *Emma*, each consider the political and social implications of status mobility. In *Emma* characters that have been moved or attempt to move into social positions above their rank at birth, breed discord. Like the Irish absentees, when the adopted Jane Fairfax and Frank Churchill, Mrs. Elton, and Harriet Smith, each leave their class of origin, abandoning their predestined roles, and attempt to forge new lives in different places, they succeed only in producing social instability. While this imbroglio seems isolated, localized to the town of Highbury, it represents larger social discord, caused by in the Anglo-Irish disavowal of their lands in Ireland for a largely hedonistic existence in London.

The secondary plot, of *The Absentee*, the romantic tale, like the primary, overtly partisan driven plot, delivers its own moral, social, and political commentary. Most obviously, the emphasis on morally and socially appropriate matches importantly connects Edgeworth's sermonizing on the matter in *The Absentee* to Austen's similar homiletics in *Emma*. The marriage plots of importance in *The Absentee*, those of Lord Colambre and Grace Nugent and of Colambre's friend, British official Sir James Brooke who marries Lady Oranmore's second daughter, Lady Harriet, and Miss Broadhurt's redemptive union with Sir Arthur Berryl, reflect the same social and moral standards illustrated in Austen's final pairings in *Emma*, but are more obviously overt political

alliances. Edgeworth does little to hide the metaphorical significance of the English gentleman marrying the Irish woman- uniting England and Ireland. This convention was employed in Irish texts since before the Act of Union in 1707, which united England and Scotland. Swift's "The Story of an Injured Lady, Being a True Picture of Scotch Perfidy, Irish Poverty and English Partiality "(1706) uses sustained personification allegory to recount the historical lows of Ireland, the injured lady, at the hands of England her heartless seducer, and to describe Irish jealousies toward an apparently more favored Scotland, about to enter an official union with Britain" (Trumpener 133). A hundred years later in 1806, *The Wild Irish Girl* by Lady Morgan (Sydney Owenson) Horatio, the wayward son of an Anglo-Irish Earl is exiled to his father's estate in Connacht where he falls in love with Glorvina, daughter of a Gaelic king, deposed by Horatio's family. When the two marry, they unite the past and present rulers of Ireland- the Celtic chieftainships of yore with the contemporary Ascendancy. They reinforce the Union and restore the lands and castle to its former glory. This example from Owenson's text is significant because it represents an early example of symbolic marriage between the English and the Irish, which became a repeating trope in Anglo-Irish and English literatures as evinced by both Edgeworth and Austen. In the early nineteenth-century:

[the Anglo-Irish] national tale will present an increasingly stylized repetitions of this basic plot: the contrast, attraction, and union of disparate cultural world...Each national tale ends with the travelers marriage to his or her native guide, and a wedding that allegorically unites Britain's "national characters" (Trumpener 139).

While the political significance of marriages may not be as patent in Austen's texts, it is without a doubt present and central. *Emma* includes several fitting unions-- Emma and Knightly, parlor-boarder-Harriet and farmer- Robert Martin, adopted son- Frank Churchill and orphan- Jane Fairfax, the social-climbing reverend- Mr. Elton and nouveau-rich- Mrs. Elton, and finally, former governess- Miss Taylor and self-made, former military man- Mr. Weston. These fictional unions reflect ideal marriages based on the social status and moral compass of the betrothed. In examining the politically didactic unions in *The Absentee*, the veiled significance of these marriages in *Emma*, especially as they relate to the union between Ireland and England can be drawn out. Once manifest, the shared concerns and understandings of Edgeworth and Austen regarding the Union become clear. This allows for a new postcolonial discourse regarding Austen's texts focused on Ireland and the relationship between the England and Ireland of her time. *The Absentee* and *Emma* are united by their usage of marriage as a metaphor for political union where "matters of state are presented as private, familial, and sentimental problems" (Trumpener 133). Young Lord Colambre is faced with several marriage prospects - The heiress, Miss Broadhurst, The chimeral Lady Isabel Dashfort, and, of course, the irreproachable, but maliciously and erroneously defamed, Grace Nugent. However, only one of these unions promises an ideal outcome for Ireland- a marriage between Grace and Lord Colambre. Edgeworth explores all Colambre's prospects in order to disavow them and indicate why each would be a poor prospect for Ireland. The renewal of the Anglo-Irish Ascendency and enhancement of the Union is no small matter, even at the most personal, romantic level. Edgeworth draws out her romantic, secondary plot line with immense care and specificity, so that it is reflective of her overall focus on

Ireland's best interest and improvement. Austen's pairings likewise produce stable and similar couplings whose marriages and progeny will not disrupt the pre-existing class structure too significantly. These unions will enhance the governing classes morally. Austen is equally fixed on reproducing strong future generations in a safe productive England as Edgeworth is in the same way, centered on Ireland. Both authors in postulating such stability for their mutual countries, in turn, are conceptualizing universal stability in the Union as a whole; Edgeworth is as invested in England as Austen is in Ireland.

Austen did have tangential connections to Ireland and the Anglo-Irish, but it is, as with ameliorism, through shared philosophical understandings that she is most immediately linked to Edgeworth. Both *The Absentee* and *Emma* represent Austen and Edgeworth's mutual admiration of Burkean paternalism and individualism. As Marilyn Butler points out in *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, Austen is a decidedly Anti-Jacobin author and *Emma*, a particularly conservative novel, that reacts against, amongst other things, individualism. *The Absentee* is an Irish novel, but it is not a radical one. Edgeworth never questions the validity of The Act of Union, the hegemony of the Anglo-Irish, or the existing social order even as she advocates for humanistic reform. She is philanthropic towards the native Irish, tolerant of Catholics, but also a conservative, anti-Jacobin author, invested in preserving Ascendency authority. All of her opinions are reflected through Colambre's marriage. *The Absentee's* protagonist, Colambre, illustrates the precedence placed on maintenance of the social order over personal desire, in the

courtship plot, when he, for the good of family and country, suppresses his love for his cousin, Grace Nugent.⁴⁰

Emma as a courtship novel focuses on a period of considerable personal autonomy, and perhaps, one might add, potentially dangerous independence for its young, unwed characters. The text is equally focused on social stability and preservation of the status quo. At the conclusion of *Emma*, all the major characters willingly assume the most appropriate role denoted by their pre-existing social status. All the eligible singles opportunely marry individuals with whom they will perpetuate the existing social structure and with whom they will enact their roles and responsibilities most effectively. Of course, the plot's primary marriage, the union of Emma Woodhouse and Mr. Knightly, denotes archetypically, the necessity of the individuals' willing assumption of social responsibility in lieu of personal whim. The Woodhouses are not aristocrats of vast fortune, but they are amongst the wealthiest families in their community. As young as she is, Emma assumes the role of local leading lady in her social circle. In the absence of a mother figure and with a weak, hypochondriac father, she rules the household and has done so since childhood. Her enormous power and autonomy are potentially disastrous, as her unchecked, failed matchmaking attempts bear out. These inappropriate matches, had they come to fruition, would have imperiled the social order, just as if Colambre were to have married Grace without clearing her mother's name- Grace's mother is wrongly accused of having her daughter out of wedlock, the ignominy of union would have compromised the Clonbrons family blood-line and on a larger scale, morally weakened the Ascendency. In *Emma*, the Knightly family of the adjoining Donwell

⁴⁰ A marriage within the family would not benefit either party and in the case of Grace, would taint the Clonbrony bloodline compromising the virtue befitting their status as community leaders.

Abbey, is the only family of equivalent social status as the Woodhouses. Eldest son, Mr. George Knightly is the ideal Burkean landlord. Knightly's paternalistic approach to his lessors in Highbury indicates that this was, to Austen, a universal objective throughout a united Britain. He supervises his lands first-hand, implements methods to improve farming, and benevolently assists and supports his tenantry. From transporting the Bates ladies to the Highbury Ball, to visiting the infirm Mr. Woodhouse, and discussing agricultural advancement with Robert Martin, the sincere concern Mr. Knightly displays towards the townsfolk, especially his lessors, indicates his prioritization of the societal good over personal interest. Emma, his junior, grows throughout the novel towards this same understanding of her place within the larger society and learns the ramifications of her headstrong and impulsive behaviors. Beginning with filling Harriet's head with unsuitable marriage prospects, Emma's penchant towards gratifying her own capricious fancies, misguidedly ignorant of the expense her schemes pose towards others and herself, becomes increasingly dangerous when she is encouraged in them by the hedonistic, Frank Churchill. Mr. Knightly's remonstrance of Emma after she insults Mrs. Bates at the picnic at Box Hill finally jars Emma into an examination of the culpability she bears as a social leader. Emma is morally obligated to lead by example. This is a task imparted to her by her social status, a task she must embrace not only for herself, but also for those under her influence. It is only when she is no longer guided by her individual desires, but by those which will benefit her community, the community she and Knightly lead together, that Emma, as a consequence of paternalistic decision making, can find personal happiness. Faced with freedom of choice, these characters ultimately embrace

appropriate options, which not only benefit and please them privately, but also outwardly uphold the social order, and even improve it, as well.

Austen and Ireland

Beyond sharing philosophies with Edgeworth and an admiration of Burke, Jane Austen did indeed have some concrete connections to Ireland and the Anglo-Irish, which are worth briefly considering. In 1795, Jane met Irishman, Thomas LeFroy while he visited with family in Steventon.⁴¹ Tom was the nephew of the Reverend George LeFroy, neighbor and friend to the Austens. During his visit, Jane and Tom rapidly became the subject of much rumor- conversing intimately and dancing together at balls. The pair were seemingly attracted to one another, but Tom, still in the process of completing his schooling was not in the financial position to support a wife nor was fortune-less Jane an ideal prospect for an upwardly mobile young lawyer. It is likely that, if a dangerous attraction were present, Tom's savvy aunt and uncle, who were paying for his education, encouraged him to withdraw from contact with Jane or perhaps, he was already committed emotionally to Mary Paul, his future wife, whom he had met two years earlier. Austen clearly thought of him after he returned to Ireland. Amongst the "letters not destroyed by Cassandra after Jane's death, there is only one mention of, LeFroy...[Jane comments] that she is too proud to ask her friend Mrs. LeFroy about him" (Hawkrige 12), shortly after, Tom married Anglo-Irishwoman, Mary Paul. He eventually rose to become Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, an illustrious position for which he would have

⁴¹ Many speculate that Tom was the love of Jane's life, although there is no public record of anything but a casual romance, if that (Hawkrige 11). Years later, LeFroy admitted that he had once been "in love with Jane Austen" but qualified the statement, claiming that "it was a boys love "puppy love not mature love" (Austen-Leigh, William 89), to infer that theirs was, at the time, a relationship with serious intentions, on either Jane's or LeFroy's part, remains unsubstantiated.

been known on both sides of the Irish Sea. Jane easily could have followed his public career and, through her neighbors and his English family, his private life. Any sort of scholarship that seeks to reveal the machinations of the frequently fickle young heart is by nature speculative. Countless scholars have labored quite fruitlessly to recover the "true" nature of Tom and Jane's relationship. In regards to an Irish Cultural Historicist reading of *Emma*, the exact nature of the LeFroy/ Austen affair is irrelevant, because what postulations can be made based on sparse historical evidence is subjective and incomplete and does nothing to further enhance such a reading. Germane to an Irish reading is the fact that Jane had personal contact with members of the Anglo-Irish Ascendency beyond a superficial professional engagement and her admiration for Edgeworth and Burke. That this intimacy with individuals from Ireland might have spurred an increased interest in Irish affairs is a far less convoluted and flimsy assumption. The scholarship of Said and others who have already noted Austen's attention to slavery in the West Indies in *Mansfield Park*, regardless of interpretation, supports the notion that Austen was a politically and socially conscious individual. It is doubtful that she would have ignored news from Ireland, a "sister" country within the Union and one with which, through her relationship with the LeFroys, she had some familiarity, and through "friendship" more than a passing interest.

The Irish marriage plot is consequential in *Emma* even without assuming that the relationship between Jane and Thomas was more than simply platonic. It is possible to recognize threads of Austen's own possible attachment in *Emma*, through the romances of Jane Fairfax and her foster sister, Mrs. Dixon, nee. Campbell. Austen via Tom LeFroy is connected to the Anglo-Irish Ascendency. During the course of *Emma*, the newly wed

Mrs. Dixon is honeymooning in Ireland. Joined by her parents, they visit her husband's family on his home estates. While the Dixon's are never noted to be "Anglo-Irish Ascendency" or specifically from Ireland, for that matter, it is certainly understood that in holding land in Ireland, they are of the Irish landed class, understood in this time period to be Anglo-Irish. For his part, the charming young "Mr. Dixon does not seem in the least backward in any attention" (Austen Loc. 2018-2042). His behavior is even heroic in that he rescued Jane Fairfax from being tossed overboard on a boating excursion in Weymouth. It is small wonder that Emma initially imagines Jane, having acted as chaperone in the walking out of Miss Campbell and Mr. Dixon, becoming smitten with Mr. Dixon, as well. His amiable talk about Ireland is not without attraction either. It would seem that Jane has likewise been quite charmed by accounts of his Irish lands of which he spoke so naturally to herself and Ms. Campbell. "Of course, she heard everything he might be telling Miss Campbell about his own home in Ireland...that he had shown them some drawings of the place, views that he had taken himself" (Austen Loc. 2018-2042). All of which, as Ms. Bates notes, turns Jane's interest towards Ireland and fills her with longing to visit there. However, she does not join her foster parents, the Campbell's and the new Mr. and Mrs. Dixon for a guided tour of Dublin followed by a sojourn at the Dixon's countryseat, Bally-Craig. Emma was off base in her original reasoning behind Jane's failure to join the party to Ireland; erroneously pointing to an unrequited attraction to Mr. Dixon and then imagining an even more involved infatuation between the two, which lead to the gift of the pianoforte.⁴² Emma fails to discern the real

⁴² "I cannot help suspecting either that, after making his proposals to her friend, he had the misfortune to fall love with her, or that he became conscious of a little attachment on her side. One may guess twenty things without guessing exactly the right; but I am sure there was a particular cause for her

reason for Jane's respite in Highbury, her secret engagement to Frank Churchill, which stands between herself and a visit to Ireland. Described as a "beautiful place" (Austen Loc. 2018-2042) by Ms. Dixon, it is only for the love of Frank that she withstands the Campbells' and Dixons' pleas for her to join them, especially after extending their time in Baly-Craig⁴³ twice.

Ireland's relationship to England in *Emma* is alluded to amongst the scattered ramblings of the talkative Ms. Bates, whose dense loquacious chattering, so easily skimmed through, often reveals so very much. Ms. Bates' passing comment, "The Campbells are going to Ireland...which must make it very strange to be in different

choosing to come to Highbury instead of going with the Campbell's to Ireland. Here, she must be leading a life of probation and penance; there it would've been all enjoyment" (Austen Loc. 2799).

⁴³ Austen does not indicate any particular Irish county as the location of the Dixon's lands in Bally-Craig, but there is indeed a Bally-Craig in County Antrim. With a mere twelve miles across the Straits of Moyle between Antrim and the Mull of Kintyre in Scotland, County Antrim has borne close ties with Scotland since the Ulster Plantations of the 1600's. Antrim had been the destination of colonization for thousands of Lowland and Border Scots. Like Roman Catholics, Presbyterians in Ireland suffered under the Penal Laws. Their profound antagonism towards the Anglo-Irish continued even after the Toleration Act of 1719, which granted them freedom of worship. By the end of the eighteenth-century, Presbyterian dissatisfaction was integral in the formation of the United Irishmen; they had been major players in the 1798 Rebellion. That is not to imply that Catholics and Presbyterians cast aside sectarian conflict. If anything, during this same period, the seeds of the very conflict which perseveres today were planted as members of the Protestant fraternal organizations, the Protestant Peep o' Day Boys and Orange Order and the Catholic Defenders and Ribbonmen repeatedly engaged in violent conflict during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. When the Act of Union was passed in 1800, many Roman Catholics supported it, believing that the Union promised political and economic stability and the potential for Catholic Emancipation. The Orange Order, however, saw in it a threat to the hegemony of the Protestant Ascendancy and to their own status as Protestants in Ireland, all be they non-conformist. In light of all this, Austen's choices in *Emma* of the Campbell and Dixon surnames and of Bally-Craig as the location of the Dixon's country estate are even more noteworthy. While the specifics of this complex history might be lost on the modern reader, it is unlikely that Austen would be ignorant of these events. What makes the whole Ulster Scot connection intriguing is that it marks the shifting allegiances of that population from radical reformist, to loyal British citizen. In metaphorically wedding themselves to Anglican Protestants, Presbyterians hoped to ensure their economic survival as a minority group in the midst of a dramatically changing society. By penning characters with Scottish names in Ireland, Dixon and Campbell, Austen acknowledges the dynamics of this historic moment and approves of the growing pan-Protestant ties between the Anglo-Irish and Dissenters in Ireland of Scottish extraction. Austen is purposely ambiguous regarding Dixon. It is only implied by the fact that Dixon's family is landed that he is Anglo-Irish, but he could just as likely be a well off Irish Presbyterian of Scots extraction, more than capable of providing a comfortable life for the daughter of an army Colonel. In this way, Austen touches on the increasing heterogeneity of post-Act of Union Britain. Whether he is an Ulster Scot or Anglo-Irish, Mr. Dixon is a wholly appropriate mate for Ms. Campbell from an economic and social perspective.

kingdoms, I was going to say, but however different countries" (Austen Loc. 2018-2042) alludes to the united kingdoms of Ireland and Britain. Ireland, as she notes, remains a separate "country", a distinct place, similar to Wales, Cornwall, or Scotland within the union. In the geography of the novel, the Dixon's estate in Ireland is just as much an external location as the Sucklings' Maple Grove or the Churchill's Enscombe. Any place beyond the immediate confines of the district of Highbury is outside the domestic center and is, equally foreign. In this way, Highbury and the world outside of Highbury serve as a microcosm of the British Imperial world. At the same time, while Ireland is noted to be a separate country, it's not a different kingdom. This distinction is an important nuance in terms of conceptualizing location and belonging within the Empire. Ireland, no longer a separate kingdom, is geographically within the colonial center of Britain just as Weymouth in Dorsetshire, fictional Maple Grove in Gloucestershire, and Bath in Somersetshire. Baly-Craig in Ireland is outside the immediate confines of the domestic world of *Emma* but within the general confines of the United Kingdom as opposed to the far-off colonial world of the West Indies. It is indeed a separate country, but it is a different "country" in a local, familiar sense, rather than a truly foreign one. When Ms. Bates comments that the possibility of the Campbell's taking Jane to Ireland is "The very thing that we should always have been afraid of," the concern is not for her traveling to Ireland, but that she would have been "at such a distance...not able to come if anything has happened" (Austen Loc. 2045). Her lover, Churchill comes a great distance from those who control him in Enscombe so that he might be in close physical proximity to Jane. The ironic result of this is that in reducing physical distance, the emotional and social distance between the two and those around them is widened by their foolish

omission of the love affair. In *Emma*, this distance presents a far wider impasse than any geographic miles, than those in colonial spaces. The oppression of social and emotional distance is greater than that between Ireland and England, two countries united in an uneven partnership similar to that between Frank and Jane. Frank, whose whims are backed by the security of his inheritance, dominates the relationship. Even when Jane acts with some license, the only option she can provide herself with is that of a dreaded governess position. In conceptualizing the marriage plot in broad colonial terms, it is the possibility of equality between those united that determines success. To be of the same Kingdom is only the first of many steps towards an propitious union.

Miss Campbell's marriage to an Irishman, is not only a good match, but in the case of the Campbell's an extremely welcome one. Truly, theirs is a marriage between the emerging upper middle class and the Irish Ascendency, a union Austen approves. Noble Colonel Campbell, having felt indebted to the late Lieutenant Fairfax, Jane's father, for saving his life during a camp-fever (Austen Loc. 2084) was more than willing to finance Jane's education and to welcome her as a beloved foster-daughter. It was necessary, though, that Jane be groomed as an educator, as her inheritance was small, and "to provide for her otherwise was out of Colonel Campbell's power; for though his income, by pay and appointments, was handsome, his fortune was moderate and must be all his daughter's (Austen Loc. 2095). The arrangement between the Campbells and Jane Fairfax bear many resemblances to that between England and Ireland. While the Campbells willingly bring Jane under their roof, they simply cannot offer her equal treatment, just as Britain cannot provide all the resources necessary to remedy all Ireland's ills, poverty especially. The Campbells have more than ample means to provide Jane with a

comfortable home in London where she received "every advantage of discipline and culture," as well as "first-rate masters" to cultivate her talents. "As long as they lived, no exertions would be necessary, their home might be hers forever; and for their own comfort they would have retained her wholly" (Austen loc. 2112). Their love for her is never the question, despite the regrets the Campbell's harbor regarding Jane. However, they recognize that they have given her a glimpse of a life of ease to which she is not entitled. With their adequate means, they have reared Jane towards a life of self-sufficiency in a career as a governess, but they are financially restricted in affording her the promise of a leisured future they can offer their own child. The life of honest labor towards financial solvency, which the Campbell's furnish Jane, is like the life offered by Union to the colonized Irish. Through industriousness and sacrifice they, Jane and the Irish, can survive. These native Irish cannot be afforded the same promise provided to the natural children of the Union, the English and Anglo-Irish other. The discussion of Jane's future career so couched in language rife with slavery metaphors, connects her not only to the enslaved in the Caribbean, but also the colonized Irish, whose toil and subservience is demanded for their survival within the Union. In this way, Austen's linking of Jane's servitude to slavery and the Irish, accordingly, does not overtly challenge the social order, but offers avenues for consideration of specific deficiencies.

The Campbells cannot gift Jane a fortune similar to the one, which they furnish for their own daughter. Their money guarantees Miss Campbell's upward mobility and secures her in a life of leisure as the wife of a landed Irishman. Her fortune is what makes the union between Mr. Dixon and Miss Campbell appropriate. Jane's want of fortune is what makes the union between her, also the daughter of an Army officer, and Frank

Churchill, who stands to inherit handsomely from his adoptive parents, different from that of Ms. Campbell and Mr. Dixon. Jane's lack of inheritance makes her engagement to Frank inappropriate and necessitates their secret betrothal. Their union must be clandestine because it is not natural. Neither Jane nor Frank is the natural child of their parents, the Campbells or the Churchills, so that the outcome of their destinies will in turn be problematic - uncertain because they have assumed inappropriate roles. Jane is not by nature an appropriate match for an Anglo-Irishman because her finances preclude the match. Jane's personal scenario in regards to both Mr. Dixon and Frank replicates Jane Austen's own sad marital marketability. Mr. Dixon is said to have been attracted to "the moderate" Miss Campbell rather than "the superior" Miss Fairfax whose beauty and talent are finer than that of her foster-sister, but the latter's financial situation undoubtedly played a part in the prudent Mr. Dixon's preference. In imagining a romantic connection between Jane and Mr. Dixon, Emma is quick to recognize that "Mr. Dixon, perhaps, had been...fixed only to Miss Campbell, for the sake of the future twelve thousand pounds" (Austen Loc. 2167).

Austen's own circumstances and marriage prospects resembled that of the fortune-less Jane Fairfax's far more than those of her protagonist, the wealthy Emma Woodhouse. Jane Fairfax's episodes are also a reference to Austen's own predicament - one shares many parallels with her namesake's. Were a union ever to have been possible between Austen and LeFroy or any other imaginable Anglo-Irish suitor, Austen's financial state, similar to Fairfax's would impede their potential marriage. What does and does not constitute an "appropriate" union on a personal level also indicates opportune or discouraging of cross-national social and political alliance on the national scale. It is

through these fictional romances in *Emma*, that Austen explores the larger questions surrounding the marriage of Great Britain and Ireland. The marriage between the well-groomed daughter of a successful army officer, Miss Campbell and the Irish landlord Mr. Dixon, imagines the Irish landed classes on a congruent social tier with the increasingly respected military officer class and their families. A similar marriage appears in *The Absentee* between English officer Sir James Brooke and Lady Harriet, the daughter the Anglo-Irish matriarch, Lady Oranmore. Grace is the daughter of an army officer, Captain Reynolds, whose widow marries another Irish Lord, Colambre's Uncle Nugent. Grace, in turn, marries an Irish Lord, her cousin Colambre. Likewise, *The Absentee's* protagonist, Colambre explores the option of military service as a means to forget his infatuation with Grace Nugent. Both Austen and Edgeworth approve these cross ethnic marriages between individuals in the upper echelons of Irish society and members of the English new military middle class as lateral and fitting.

However, this is not true of all potential marriages between members of the military and their social betters in England. The failure of the marriage of Mr. Weston, formerly Captain Weston, to the daughter of Miss Churchill, indicates that while the Westons of Highbury had been rising over several generations, they were not of a status akin to the Churchills, "a great Yorkshire family" (Austen Loc. 183). While it was no surprise that the cheerful and sociable Captain Weston would win Miss Churchill's heart, it is an immediately obvious violation of social and financial mores to her fiscally minded and class-conscious brother and his wife. Inasmuch as Austen calls the response of the Churchills to their marriage, "unreasonable" but then acknowledges the marriages general failure. In short order, the young, first Mrs. Weston soon misses the luxuries of her

former life and is not content with her amiable and secure, if not wealthy, husband. The Westons, living above their means, rapidly fall into debt. When Mrs. Weston dies, her infant son and husband are so financially depleted from overspending that the adoption of Frank Churchill by his uncle and aunt at Enscombe becomes the only means by which Weston can begin to reinvent and improve himself. There are intuitions that this scenario will repeat itself in the marriage of Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax. Jane, the daughter and foster daughter of military men, while beautiful, educated, and poised, has been raised with a level of fiscal prudence that Frank, as the pampered adopted son of aristocrats, has not. Their engagement must initially be clandestine because it is unlikely to secure the Churchill's approval. Spoiled by the luxuries their money has provided, it would be impossible for Frank to find long-term happiness in his marriage to Jane if it meant foregoing his inheritance. With the military associated not only with the proverbial marriage market of the landed Irish, but also actual military engagement in Ireland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the two groups are intrinsically aligned, inseparable, and equivalent. Weston's first marriage and the marriage of Frank and Jane, are essentially marriages between the military and the English landed classes that cannot succeed without intensive monetary assistance. They are "inappropriate" unions. Discordant unions enforce the legitimacy of appropriate marriages that embody the new social dynamic of post Act of Union English and Irish society. The marriages that will succeed are the Dixons of *Emma* and the Clonbrons and Brookes of *The Absentee*; for instance are all in some way between the Anglo-Irish and the military.⁴⁴ They represent

⁴⁴ Mr. Dixon marries Miss Campbell, daughter of Colonel Campbell; Colambre marries Grace Nugent, daughter of Captain Reynolds. James Brooke is an Army officer who marries the second daughter of Lady Oranmore.

an acceptable development in post-Act of Union society, one that postulates military officers and their families on the same social tier as the Anglo-Irish.

The Absentee through Emma

With the Union came a more visible Anglo-Irish community in England. While *Emma* points to this change periphrastically, *The Absentee* centers on the Anglo-Irish experience both in England and Ireland. At the start of the novel, the Irish Ascendency Clonbrony family has been living extravagantly beyond their means in London. It is assumed that they absented themselves from Ireland after the Act of Union like so many real-life Anglo-Irish who fled the country in droves after 1800. Their absence is perpetuated by the upwardly mobile Lady Clonbrony, who is determined to break into London Society. She is in the grip of what Edgeworth dubs, "Londonmania". She cries, "I shall stay in England...as long as I can afford it; and when I cannot afford to live here, I hope that I shall not live anywhere" (74). The grand English ladies, for whom Lady Clonbrony is a source of amusement, remark sardonically of her, "if you knew all she endures to look, speak, move, breathe like an Englishwoman, you would pity her" (8). Lady Clonbrony succeeds only in making a fool of herself regularly, fueling the family's debt, and unbeknownst to her, through prolific spending, forfeiting large parts of her son's inheritance and impoverishing her tenantry in Ireland. Lady Clonbrony's desperate attempts to ingratiate herself amongst the upper-class set by renouncing Ireland, lead her to alienate those Anglo-Irish who have gained acceptance with their English peers and to appear farcically indiscreet in her heedless, desperate defamation of her homeland. "Lady Clonbrony...denied it to be her country, and went on to depreciate and abuse everything

Irish; to declare that there was no possibility of living in Ireland" (Edgeworth 61).⁴⁵ Her husband, Lord Clonbrony, likewise, falls into a life of dissipation, gambling and gaming with his ne'er-do-well cohort, the smarmy, Sir Terence O'Fay. When their son and heir, Colambre, about to come of age, returns from Oxford, he is appalled by the contempt with which his family is held in English society. He realizes that when the Clonbrony's financial solvency is rightfully, if not maliciously, questioned by their English peers, it is really their place in English society that is suspect.⁴⁶ They are clearly either *persona non-gratis* among their English peers or a source of amusement. One of the Ladies whose friendship Lady Clonbrony courts, proclaims, "I know nothing about them-have no acquaintances among the Irish...Positively, I could not for anybody-- much less for that sort of person - extend the circle of my acquaintance" (Edgeworth 7). Her espousal illustrates the prevailing provincialism experienced by many Anglo-Irish in England.⁴⁷ Lady Clonbrony's failing attempt to assimilate and be accepted in English society is indicative of the social situation faced by all Anglo-Irish, especially absentees. They are not English, but nor are they Irish in the indigenous understanding of the term.

Emma features a character, Mrs. Elton, who at first glance bears many similarities to Lady Clonbrony. After being rejected by Emma and rejecting Harriet, in turn,

⁴⁵ The outlandish Lady Clonbrony bears many similarities to the pretentious Mrs. Elton of *Emma*, save one- Lady Clonbrony's offensive behavior is curable with repatriation, there's no remedy for *nouveau riche* vaingloriousness.

⁴⁶"Everybody who comes from Ireland will have a fine estate when somebody dies...but what have they in the present?" (Edgeworth7).

⁴⁷ Lady Clonbrony's attempts to conceal her Hiberno-Irish accent are openly mocked- "You cawn't conceive the peens she teekes to talk of the teebls and cheers, and to thank Q, and with so much teeste, to speak pure English" (Edgeworth 8). Edgeworth was a master at vernacular English, especially Hiberno-English; her first novel *Castle Rackrent* was written entirely in Hiberno-English- Anglo-Irish and peasant patois alike. In caricaturing Lady Clonbrony's feeble exertions at an upper-crust English accent, Edgeworth emphasizes Clonbrony's intrinsic denial of her Irish identity while also casting disdain towards those members of English society who would scorn Anglo-Irish Hiberno-Speech.

Highbury vicar, Mr. Elton marries Miss Hawkins, daughter of a Bristol merchant. "She brought no name, no blood, no alliance...all the grandeur of the connection seemed dependent on the elder sister who was *very well* married to a gentleman in a *great way*" (Austen Loc. 2350). A brief interview leads Emma to surmise that the new Mrs. Elton is indeed vain, self-important, superior, and impertinent; if not foolish, ignorant (Austen Loc. 3501). Mrs. Elton is as desperate to break into the Highbury set as Lady Clonbrony is amongst the English aristocracy. Rather than seen as inviting her advances are met with disgust. When Mrs. Elton offers to find Jane Fairfax a governess position, her association with the slave trade through her brother-in-law, Mr. Suckling, positions her among those same morally questionable members of English society who barter in human flesh (Loc. 3885). Recalling that *Emma* was penned after the 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade, explains Mrs. Elton's rapid repudiation of Mr. Suckling's potential association with the now illegal pursuit. She defends his money stating that her brother-in-law "was always rather a friend to the abolition" (Austen Loc. 3886). It would seem that this is a case of "the lady doth protest too much" and her outcry has quite the opposite effect, confirming Mr. Suckling's involvement with slavery. If Mrs. Elton's social climbing is any reflection of Mr. Suckling's economic opportunism, then it is doubtful that he is a paternalistic slave holder in the vein of *Mansfield Park's* Sir Thomas Bertram. Beyond any of Mrs. Elton's other pretensions, it is this infraction, which although she denies it, most defines her. It is in this association that all of Mrs. Elton's actions, regardless of how benevolent they may seem, are tempered by an underlying sense that they are intended in some way denigrate those around her. As her objective is superiority, so then, must her actions confirm the inferiority of others. In claiming to want to draw Jane out

and assist her, she is really establishing her mastery over someone she recognizes as a more beautiful and talented rival. In regards to Emma, all Mrs. Elton's attempts at social dominance ultimately fail. When Emma finally learns to modulate her partiality, when she can accept the erroneousness in her attempt to elevate Harriet, and diminish Miss Bates, when she understands the benefit of preserving the social structure, then, she is morally fit to lead Highbury. Mrs. Elton never evolves to this level and the novel closes with her petty criticism of the lack of lace and satin at Emma and Knightly's wedding. Like, Emma, Lady Clonbrony also shuns her egocentric and biased ways at the close of *The Absentee*, returning to Ireland with her husband for the benefit of both her family and tenantry, a tenantry whose happiness and security she values and protects.

Emma and Lady Clonbrony are each fallible in their own ways, but during the course of their tales, are able to overcome their weaknesses to grow to become the leaders their classes, communities, and countries need them to be. Emma briefly contemplates a relationship with Frank Churchill, but it becomes clear, even before Frank's engagement to Jane is revealed, that a marriage to Mr. Knightly is what she has always subconsciously desired. This union is, of course, the most obviously equivalent alliance. Mr. Knightly and Emma will guide England just as Colambre and Grace will Ireland. Emma grows into this role in the course of the text. Neither Jane nor Frank is an appropriate mate for Mr. Knightly. The parallel union of adopted children, Jane and Frank, stand-ins for the Anglo-Irish others, is like the Irish union of Grace and Colambre. Neither Jane nor Frank are wholly appropriate for Mr. Knightly or Emma because a marriage to them would not offer Highbury its most ideal leadership.

endanger his tenantry and his son's inheritance. The secret marriage of the Reynolds, Grace Nugent's parents, has immediate and long-term repercussions. Emma's friend, Harriet Smith, like Grace Nugent, is also the product of a morally suspect relationship that precludes her from several propitious relationships. The sub-rosa affairs of the characters are anything but personal; they represent ethical infractions that weaken the social and even the political order. In both novels, the marriage plots between Emma and Knightly and Jane and Frank, and Lord Colambre and Grace Nugent are allegories of Union between England and Ireland and the deceptions linked to the coupling of these characters points to weakness within the Union.

In *Emma*, there is a similar correlation between removal and chaos as appears in both *Mansfield Park* and *The Absentee*. Locations outside Highbury are mentioned throughout *Emma*, but Highbury, Hartfield in particular, is at the center of the text; it is the center of the domestic space and the center of the Imperial and Colonial world and Emma and Knightly are its rulers. Emma, however, is a problematic leader. Austen's fallible heroine perpetrates error after error, as she must learn to administer her position appropriately and assume responsibility for her actions. Her hypochondriac father and weak mother-substitute, Mrs. Weston, have allowed her to assume authority before she is mature. They are parental absentees similar to the Bertrams. In *Mansfield Park*, misguidance comes from the invidious Mrs. Norris, but in *Emma*, it is the main character's active imagination that compromises her judgments. Through trial and error during the course of the novel, "Emma matures by submitting her imaginings to common

sense, and to evidence" (*Jane Austen and The War of Ideas* 274), but also by wedding herself to the objective and reasonable guidance of Mr. Knightly.⁴⁸

Mr. Woodhouse and Mrs. Weston are not the only proverbial "absentees" in Highbury though. Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax are both of Highbury by birth, but when they return to Highbury they are each outside their respective domestic spaces; in Jane's case, the home of the Campbell's and in Frank's - Enscombe. Like colonized natives, they are both adopted children. When beyond the constraints of their adoptive parents, Frank and Jane rebel like the slaves in "The Grateful Negro". Their crime, concealing their engagement and in Frank's case, misleading Emma regarding his affections, are both a moral and a social infraction. Emma summarizes Frank's transgression, noting that he has displayed qualities as "So unlike what a man should be! None of that upright integrity, that strict adherence to truth and principle, that disdain of trick and littleness, which a man should display in every transaction in his life" (Austen Loc. 5150). His behavior has bred disorder and embarrassment amongst the Highbury set. Jane Fairfax is both a conspirator and fellow victim of her own parental and societal rebellion. She suffers greatly for her lapse in judgment. In accepting a clandestine engagement to Frank, she has essentially enslaved herself, to the perpetuation and maintenance of the secret. Her silence is tested multiple times throughout the text- when Frank continually flirts with Emma and during the whole pianoforte debacle and the many rumors that follow it. She is also enslaved to a man of wealth who demands silence, for his own financial gain. Jane also faces a future of professional "enslavement" as a governess a sad circumstance which Mrs. Elton never fails to remind her about. Mrs.

⁴⁸ While Mr. Knightly's distaste for Frank Churchill could be viewed as subjective in light of his affection for Emma, the dishonesty of Frank's secret engagement validates Knightly's distrust. Likewise, Frank's encouragement of Emma's assumption and teasing of Mrs. Bates is any way admirable.

Elton's maneuverings to find Jane a position as a governess only fuel Jane's anxiety about her secret arrangement with Frank. The clandestine engagement of Frank and Jane misleads numerous characters, but the one who suffers the most is Jane herself. Jane is plagued by ill health and anxiety during the perpetuation of the ruse indicating that furtive behavior is not only morally suspect, but also detrimental to one's health.

The silence in *Mansfield Park* is not the only manifestation of a didactic silence in Austen's works; Jane Fairfax's silence in *Emma* provides an equally moralistic and politically pertinent message. Jane is clearly not comfortable concealing her engagement to Frank Churchill. Frank and Jane are involved in a lie of omission. She may not overtly deny her native land like Lady Clonbrony, but with Frank, she purposefully deceives the entire community of Highbury. It is initially assumed that Jane has visited Highbury to restore her health. Certainly, a homecoming, a return to the colonial center, offers a restorative form of cultural re-inculcation. But for Jane her homecoming is really an opportunity to spend time with her beloved and the silence surrounding her engagement and the stress of concealing so large a secret clearly compromises her health throughout the text. Her coolness and reserve, which Emma finds so unattractive, are an extension of her obligatory silence, a requirement that alienates Jane from Emma, her strongest possible ally. The necessity of Jane's silence inhibits the development of warm feelings between herself and Emma, the leading lady of Highbury, and the matriarch of the English domestic center, in a way, she is like Britannia herself. Jane's silence is rooted in a failure of virtue, in deceit. Frank and Jane have colluded to deceive others regarding their relationship. While her rebellion, unlike that of Caesar in "The Grateful Slave" is

not violent by nature, it is by nature, born in the silence of secrecy, a secrecy that defies authority and convention and that spreads social upheaval.

Jane, the rebellious child, is linked to all the rebellious children of the Empire, but in her case, the Irish in particular. Like the Irish and all her colonized brethren she is an adopted child. She is, indeed, the character in the text most comparable to Fanny who critics, Edward Said foremost among them, almost universally equate with the colonized other. While Fanny is linked with Antigua, Jane is, through her guardian's sojourn in Ireland, linked with the Irish. She is associated with Ireland in the music which she plays, the way in which she styles her hair, her intimate knowledge of the Irish post, and most of all, with the fact that her adoptive family is actually removed to Ireland during the entire course of the novel. While her lover, Frank, enacts the same lies, he has only to withdraw his clandestine proposal to ensure his inheritance and preserve his future. The stakes are far higher for Jane. In an act of defiance, she has accepted Frank without her guardian's permission. Frank issues the proposal, also without his guardian's consent, knowing full well that his fortune-less fiancé would fail to garner the Churchill's approval and would result in his possible disinheritance. Jane is quite cognizant of this limitation on Frank's part, but accepts anyway. Jane's reputation risks being tarnished by her impetuous agreement. Jane's sudden presence in Highbury and standoffish manner rapidly becomes the object of Emma's imagination. Emma weaves a narrative, which postulates the possibility of romantic or even sexual impropriety between Jane and Mr. Dixon. The fact that Jane and Frank keep their relationship secret and then collude to be in Highbury together implies that the same impropriety possibly underlies their physical proximity to one another. Jane and Frank risk a fall from grace equivalent to that which

Grace Nugent's mother underwent when she wed secretly and could not prove her daughter's legitimacy when her husband, Captain Reynolds died suddenly in battle. On a broader symbolic level, *Emma's* two adopted characters, Jane directly associated with Ireland and Frank linked to Ireland by his engagement, are the disobedient colonized. Their union is unsanctioned by the parents who adopted, loved, and lavished them with privileges beyond their original means. Regardless of how villainously Mrs. Churchill is painted, the Churchill's clearly have treasured Frank and would, like the Campbell's, be publicly shamed if Jane and Frank were caught in further indiscretions, such as befell Miss St. Omar, Grace's mother. Like the Anglo-Irish absentees, Frank and Jane disrupt order in Highbury and endanger themselves through their dissimulation. In *The Absentee*, Colambre uncovers the truth behind Grace's mother's silence, but not before the depth of her assumed sin, bearing a child out of wedlock leads him to nearly eschew his beloved. Jane and Frank learn the dangers of deception, but there is somewhat of a sense that the spoiled Frank leaves the experience a good deal less changed than Jane.

For Edgeworth, the quiet complacency of the Anglo-Irish absentees in both the destruction of Ireland and is a silence that must be broken and which takes precedence over the symbolic union of the Anglo-Irish Lord with his Anglo-Irish love. Colambre unearths the financial trouble wrought upon the Clonbrons both in London and in Ireland. Visiting in Ireland, he discovers the depth of their dereliction. The deceptions of his father and his unscrupulous land agents have immense repercussions. On a grand scale, the ills that have been concealed are detrimental to the social and political order of the United Kingdom. The expatriation and fiscal failure of Ascendancy is indicative of administrative instability within Ireland. These failings are at the root of the political

upheaval and humanitarian disasters, which will plague Ireland throughout the nineteenth-century. Colambre's journey to Ireland represents the two possible fates that await Ireland; a cozy productive haven or a hell on earth, one is the product of an aristocracy invested in promoting the well-being of the peasant classes through paternalistic landlordism, the other is the fruits of absenteeism, hedonistic self-interest, and disavowal of Ireland by the Anglo-Irish. One option represents a strong and productive Ireland, the other, an Ireland that will be a drain on the United Kingdom.

In the town of Colambre, the aptly named estate agent, the gentlemanly Mr. Burke, has brought great improved to the town and to the lives of its occupants despite the deficiencies of the Clonbronys:

I don't know why God was so kind to give so good an agent to an absentee like Lord Clonbrony, except it was for the sake of us, who is under him...And that's what few can boast, especially when the landlord's living over the sea (Edgeworth 129).

On their other estate, administered by the money grubbing and licentious Garraghty Brothers, Old Nick and Saint Dennis, Clonbrony Castle is in ruins and the lands around it are a virtual wasteland of felled forests, barren fields, and tumble down cottages.⁴⁹ The cottiers are destitute, both financially and spiritually, many have been forced into beggary, fallen victim to alcoholism, or have emigrated, leaving behind their downtrodden and heartbroken families. Colambre refuses to take this "spec for the whole", instead placing the blame for the cottiers indigence squarely on the backs of the Anglo-Irish:

⁴⁹ For his service, Burke is fired via letter penned by Sir Terence and inadvertently and carelessly endorsed by Lord Clonbrony; his fault - not squeezing more money out of the tenantry.

What I have just seen is the picture only of that to which an Irish estate and Irish tenantry may be degraded in the absence of those whose duty and interest it is to reside in Ireland, to uphold justice by example and authority; but who, neglecting this duty, commit power to bad hands and bad hearts – abandon their tenantry to oppression, and their property to ruin. (Edgeworth 160)

The O'Neil Family holding on the Clonbrony estate represents one of the few bastions of civility in Ireland that Colambre encounters. Edgeworth's pious, honest, hardworking O'Neil's with their bucolic and industriously improved cottage, represent an entirely different portrayal of the indigenous peasants. This flattering, but platitudinous portrayal would come to be co-opted, promulgated, and lauded by the Irish Nationalist movement throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Already, in 1812, the year of *The Absentee's* publication, the O'Neil's and their fictional and real-life counterparts became emblematic of the innate purity and goodness of the Irish lower classes. Unlike the indigent paupers displayed to Colambre in Kilpatrick's Town by the scheming Lady Dashfort to sway him against the Irish, the O'Neil's have not been debased by the systematic ills of a flawed colonial system that drove others to beggary. The Irish of Kilpatrick's town resembles the mutinous slaves on the Jefferies plantation in the "Grateful Negro" much more than their fellow Irish peasants, the O'Neils. They are self-contradicting, servile, flattering, litigious, and encroaching (109).

The O'Neils are dignified, industrious, and content like their English counterparts in *Emma*, the Martins. Robert Martin of the comfortable, bucolic Abbey-Mill Farm is neat, open, straightforward, and well judging, if not advantaged monetarily or educationally

(Austen Loc. 406). He has the good sense to ask the wise Mr. Knightly's council in regards to his intended proposal to Harriet Smith. Knightly views Martin wholly worthy of social elevation (Austen Loc. 6141). The attention Knightly offers his tenants towards the improvement of their farming methods displays his sincere commitment to bettering their lives. The O'Neils and Burke's of Ireland and the Martins and Knightlys of England represent prototypical models for the ideal tenant/ overseer-landlord relationship, a relationship which is not only mutually beneficial on a personal and local level, but enriches all of British society by cultivating a healthy, happy, and industrious peasant class amongst its membership. This class is necessary for the functioning of the countries within the United Kingdom, but also for the Kingdom as a whole. In order for Ireland to be a compliant and productive member of a united Britain, the Anglo-Irish must model successful landlord/ Tenant relationships like that of their English counterparts as exemplified by Mr. Knightly and Robert Martin. This is the objective behind Edgeworth's novel. Young Lord Colambre's journey to Ireland and his family's experiences in England point to the necessity of the Anglo-Irish actively assuming these leadership positions within their home country as hands-on landlords in immediate contact with benevolent and likeminded overseers. The loyal, diligent O'Neils must become the norm in Ireland rather than the exception.

The Racialized Irish Through the Gypsies

Both *The Absentee* and *Emma* provide examples of individuals who are not and cannot become contributing members to a functional post Union society. In *The Absentee*, these include the aforementioned peasants in Kilpatrick's town displayed to Colambre by the equally inappropriate Lady Dashfort and her gold-digging daughter and

the Garraghty brothers who mismanage the Clonbrony estate and abuse and cheat its tenants. In *Emma*, a powerful representation of dissolute characters who live within England, as social outsiders, are the gypsies who Harriet Smith encounters in Chapter 3.

While walking along a retired stretch of road, shortly after the Highbury dance, Harriet and her fellow parlour boarder at Mrs. Goddard's school, Miss Bickerton, are set upon by a party of gypsies begging. Terrified, Miss Bickerton flees, but hobbled from dancing, the powerless Harriet is enveloped by a "clamorous" and "impertinent" mob demanding money. Even after ponying up a schilling, Harriet remains the object of the gypsies torment. It is at that opportune moment that Frank Churchill's path intercepts with Harriet's and he is able to disperse the gypsy mob so that they remove hurriedly from the countryside even before justice can be served (Austen Loc. 4293-4336). Churchill's rescue spurs Emma to imagine an attraction between him and Harriet, but the encounter represents much more than this simple romantic plot twist. Harriet is the "natural daughter of somebody" (Austen Loc. 290). Her illegitimacy and the mystery that surrounds her parentage make her social acceptability borderline. Her status as a non-member within the community actually bears close similarities to the itinerant foreign gypsies. She is not of Highbury, but was placed at Mrs. Goddard's school, by "a tradesman, rich enough to afford her the comfortable maintenance which had ever been hers, and decent enough to have always wished for concealment" (Austen Loc. 6264). Like the Romani gypsies, who reside in England, but are not part of English society, Harriet is both an insider and an outsider to Highbury. The gypsies' presence "suggests that by the dawn of the 19th century, England's population is no longer publicly imagined as ethnically homogenous...and the proximity of this foreign people would encourage

England to isolate a distinctive native race" (Kramp 148). Despite the isolating blemish of her illegitimacy, the encounter between Harriet and the gypsies divides those who might be incorporated into English society from those who never can be. Harriet's positive qualities attract the attention of Emma Woodhouse who schemes to cultivate and elevate her. At the same time, her attributes also grab the attention of Robert Martin who deigns to marry her. Although not clever, she is well mannered, pretty, and sweet. Both Emma and Martin can overlook her illegitimacy and lack of connection, but not everyone. Emma's Pygmalion like project rapidly backfires. After Mr. Elton, who like Harriet sought to elevate himself above his stature by pursuing Emma, rejects Harriet, Harriet sets her sights on Mr. Knightly. Emma finally realizes that she has done Harriet a disservice of permitting her to imagine so utterly impossible and inappropriate an elevation. She is thrilled when Harriet agrees to marry the noble farmer, Martin, whom with Emma's encouragement, she had initially rejected. In her marriage to Robert Martin, Harriet eschews the stain of her ignominious birth and is incorporated into English society at a functional, productive, and proper station. She is a member of a heterogeneous English society that while it may not include the gypsies, does make allowances for those of dubious origin. In *The Absentee*, it is suggested that Grace Nugent would marry very well considering her questionable legitimacy if she were to accept the proposal of the agreeable Mr. Salisbury, a middle-aged gentleman of no rank, who is worldly enough to overlook her fault. Like Harriet, she would not be an appropriate match for someone of a higher stature, like her beloved cousin, Lord Colambre if her legitimacy could not be verified.

Michael Kramp in his article, "The Woman, the Gypsies, and England: Harriet Smith's National Role" argues that the encounter between the "white" woman, Anglo-Saxon Harriet and the gypsies, points to a conceptualization of Englishness that is innately racialized. "Austen presents Harriet as the 'natural' embodiment of England's future national race who is threatened by the dark nomadic foreigner" (Kramp 151). The emerging post-Union British national identity includes members from throughout Britain, members who, by nineteenth-century taxonomies, as Celts, were racialized others. Austen never refers to the Irish, or Scottish, if Captain Campbell were Scots, and Dixon Irish in ethnic (racialized) terms. Edgeworth does so only once and it is to reference the inhabitants of Kilpatrick's Town, members of an old, uneducated, and indolent race (Edgeworth 108). Encouraged in their indigence, by the absentee system, they, like the throng of beggars who meet Lord Clonbrony at the docks on his arrival, represent the uncludable members of British society in Ireland. The juxtaposition between Harriet and the Gypsies is similar to that between O'Neils and the Kilpatrick's town peasants and between Mr. Burke and the Gerraghty Brothers. The Kilpatrick's town peasants and the Gerraghtys can never become productive members of British society. They are outsiders within, like the gypsies. The squalor of the Kilpatrick's town peasants and the blackness of the Gerraghtys' hearts are symbolically linked to the traditionally dark-skinned gypsies. Terry Eagleton in *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* draws metaphorical connections between the Irish and gypsies through the dark-skinned foundling Heathcliff. Eagleton maintains that the protagonist of Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights* was inspired by the many Irish famine victims her brother, Branwell encountered on a trip to Liverpool. In the novel, Old Earnshaw returns from Liverpool with a starving "dirty,

ragged, black-haired child" who speaks some kind of "gibberish". Like the gypsies, these Irish speaking Irish have black hair and swarthy skin. They are dark and foreign like the colonized others of distant lands, but they are a specific sort of colonized other. They represent an "other" which is both literal in terms of nineteenth-century racial taxonomies and figurative in terms of identity and social productivity.

Fair Harriet, the Burkes and O'Neils, in their bright clean white-washed cottage, represent an alternative to these societal others. They are "white". Harriet can overcome the deficits of her birth to be an appropriate wife of a noble farmer, who will perpetuate her class by producing a purer British national race unadulterated by the darker nonconformist lifestyles of the gypsies and their ilk. She can break the polluting cycle of illegitimacy that has marginalized her, "racialized" her. An engaged Anglo-Irish Ascendency, active in their roles, can, likewise, lead the righteous members of Irish society, the Burkes and O'Neil, towards a more productive peaceful Ireland, strengthening the Union. Knightly's overtures towards fostering an engagement between Harriet and Robert Martin is part of his pastoral obligations as landlord, in the same way that ensuring the perpetuation of the O'Brien family's lease and the continuation of Mr. Burke's employment are Lord Colambre's responsibility. There are "others" within Ireland and England who are indeed inculpable, serviceable, and even necessary.

Just as the itinerant gypsies, who weaken society and fail to contribute to a positive national identity, move on, so to must those who fail to uphold positive social growth in *The Absentee*, the Garraghty brothers, among others, also remove. These are the racialized others, the gypsies and the non-conforming Natives of Ireland have no place in Post-Union Britain. They are the ones who are unmarriageable, because they do

not perpetuate the emerging ideal English national identity. This identity that is in actually quite heterogeneous and can be “stretched” to include them. It is imperative that both novels vanquish these dark others from their societies in order to realize this new, diverse yet distinctly British post-Union identity. In *Emma* the gypsies are run off and Harriet's illegitimacy is expurgated through her marriage to the honorable and industrious Robert Martin. In *The Absentee*, when the wicked Garraghtys attempt to cheat the guileless O'Neil's out of their lease, Lord Colambre, comes to their aid. Colambre speeds to London to prevent his father from authorizing the contracts making the Garraghtys his universal agents. The Garraghty brothers are dismissed and the capable land agent, Burke is awarded the management of both the Clonbrony and Colambre estates. With the black-hearted Gerraghtys vanquished, Lord Clonbrony comes clean regarding the length and breadth of his debt and Lady Clonbrony is finally convinced to eschew London society and return to Ireland.⁵⁰ The pall of debt and dissipation, which hung over the family in London and their lands and tenants in Ireland, is finally lifted.

Only the secondary romantic plot line remains in need of resolution as the Clonbrony's prepare for their departure home. It is at this point that Colambre's choice of spouse, an issue that has shadowed the hero throughout the text, becomes central to the future survival of Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and recovery of Ireland. Just as the class congruent unions in *Emma* look forward to the successful perpetuation of a positive post-Union national identity, the unions Edgeworth imagines in *The Absentee* are designed to

⁵⁰ Colambre's plea towards his mother plays on both her emotional and fiscal sensibilities- "We may boast that we have vied with those whom we could never equal...at the expense of a great part of your timber, the growth of a century—swallowed in the entertainments of one winter in London! Our hills to be bare for another half century to come!...I think more of your tenants—of those left under the tyranny of a bad agent, at the expense of every comfort, every hope they enjoyed!—tenants, who were thriving and prosperous; who used to smile upon you, and to bless you both!" (194).

maintain order and reinvent the Irish/ Anglo-Irish/ British relationship. The success of Colambre's union will anticipate a flourishing Union and the remission from the ills of the post-Union period. Colambre's potential mates offer more than several options for a spouse, they offer options for Ireland's future.

In the case of *The Absentee*, Colambre and Grace are the ideal couple to lead Clonbrony. The potential English mates, good or bad that Colambre encounters are as inappropriate for him as Jane would be for Knightly and Frank for Emma. The cool, intelligent, and wealthy Miss Broadhurst, represents Colambre's most financially providential prospect. She is as morally opposed to deceit and flattery as he is and shares many of his values. Miss Broadhurst admires Colambre's character and rewards it by being loyal and supportive of the Clonbrony clan, especially Grace Nugent who she realizes is the object of Colambre's love, even before Grace is cognizant of his affections herself. Miss Broadhurst is symbolic of the ideal English woman; she is who Emma learns to be over the course of the novel. A union with Miss Broadhurst would indeed be a union reminiscent of The Union, but it would keep Colambre in England. Miss Broadhurst is so emblematic of England that she cannot become an absentee herself and Colambre must return to his obligations in Ireland, so they cannot marry. Therefore, even though Miss Broadhurst has feelings for Colambre, she gives him up to his true partner- a woman equally tied to Ireland- Grace Nugent. The wise Miss Broadhurst, always the independent minded woman, eventually marries for love and continues to lend her warm council to both Colambre and Grace. Emblematic of England, she supports her Irish counterparts until they can realize their destinies and assume control of and rehabilitate their native

land. Rather than draw Colambre away from Ireland, Miss Broadhurst draws him towards reconciliation with his native land in her championing of Grace Nugent.

Before Colambre can be convinced of Grace's virtue and reciprocation of his love, he falls under the sphinx-like influences of the disingenuous Dashfort's, both the designing mother and the widowed daughter- the lovely and mysterious, Lady Isabel, of whom it is said "if Lady Isabel sets her eyes upon you, no basilisks is surer" (92). Lady Isabel is the dark temptress of *The Absentee*. As Grace Nugent is honesty, loyalty, and sacrifice embodied; Lady Isabel, is, in contrast, an opportunistic beguiling deceiver. She, with the help of her mother, is the only true impediment to both his union with Grace and return to Ireland. Lady Dashfort schemingly cultivates a relationship between Isabel and Colambre, all the while disparaging Ireland and the Irish in an effort to steal the young Lord's attention and affections away from his land and the possibility of taking up residence again on his estates. Sensing the potential for romance between Colambre and Grace Nugent, Lady Dashford sets about besmirching Grace's lineage. Grace's late mother, Colambre's aunt by marriage, had been married to a Nugent, a relative of Lady Clonbrony's. Parentless at an early age, Grace was taken in by the Clonbrony's and reared as a beloved niece and companion to Colambre. Attempting to blacken Grace's character, Lady Dashford reveals that Grace is not Nugent's child, but rather the illegitimate daughter of a soldier, one Mr. Reynolds, killed in the Napoleonic Wars. Adding to the opprobrium, Grace's mother, Ms. St. Omar claimed that she married her daughter's late-father before her child's birth, but no record of the union was ever found and the mother and daughter had been denied by the soldier's family and bereft of the inheritance owed them. Mother and child were left disgraced by the suspicion of Ms. St. Omar's perceived

sin and her child, the assumed stain of illegitimacy. Through good fortune, Ms. St. Omar married into the Nugent Clan in Ireland, an ancient and aristocratic line, who willingly claimed Grace. Mrs. Dashford's revelation shatters Colambre's perception of Grace. Lady Clonbrony, who, despite any of her faults loves Grace confirms the long hidden truth of Grace's ignominious background.⁵¹ "Lord Colambre had the greatest dread of marrying any woman whose mother had conducted herself ill" (111). As a young Lord, Colambre believes it his moral obligation to marry a woman of respectable family; tainted by the sins of her mother and the sordidness of her birth, Grace's virtue is compromised so that their union becomes impossible. As fortune would have it, Colambre's Irish acquaintance, Count O'Halloran, visiting in London, reveals the long hidden truth- Grace is indeed legitimate. It comes as no shock though, that the devoted and unselfish Grace should also be above the corruption of a false history and illicit birth. They return to Ireland together where their impending nuptials at the restored Clonbrony Castle are greeted with no less enthusiasm than had they been English royals.

Grace Nugent is not Miss Broadhurt's Irish alter ego though. Her identity is far more complicated than to be enclosed in an English/Irish binary. Her heterogeneous identity points to a more heterogeneous understanding of what it means to be Anglo-Irish. Lady Isabel's pairing with Grace, emphasizes the irony of the latter's illegitimate birth as compared with the former's pedigree which includes several noble and royal names. Each, however, shares ancestors from amongst the French Jacobin St. Omar family.

⁵¹ "Her mother's maiden name was St. Omar; and there was a FAUX PAS, certainly...there was an affair with a Captain Reynolds...she brought an infant with her [to England] and took the name of Reynolds- but none of the family would acknowledge her...'til your uncle Nugent saw her, fell in love with her, and (knowing her whole history) married her. He adopted the child, gave her his name...Nothing could be more disadvantageous to Grace then to have it revealed" (122).

While Grace, clearly has risen above the behaviors associated with her St. Omar forebearers, Lady Isabel has not. Lady Isabel is a coquette who seduces men for her own gain. The smatterings of broken French that both she and her mother sprinkle through conversations indicate their un-English qualities. Like Frank Churchill, who Mr. Knightly remarks "can only be amicable in French" because "he can have no English delicacies towards the feelings of other people" (Austen Loc. 1943). The Dashforts do not embody the qualities or manners associated with nineteenth-century England. They are deceivers and opportunists who use all in their paths. Grace, on the other hand, repeatedly sacrifices her own happiness for that of those she loves. Grace cares for Lady Clonbrony in her many illnesses. When their relationship appears impossible, rather than continue to tempt him, she volunteers to remain in England so that Colambre can return to Ireland. Unlike the stereotypical French Jacobin revolutionary character, she is selfless and community minded, rather than personally motivated. Although her mother was French, she is not a French character. The Dashfort's who even acquire the Clonbrony's French maid Petito, are purposely aligned with France, even as they attempt to situated their identity amongst the Anglo-Irish. While Colambre first encounters them in Ireland, where they are active in a lawsuit, they are never quantified specifically as being Irish. Lady Dashfort has intimate knowledge of Kilpatrick's Town and is a master of Irish brogues, but she bears no love towards Ireland and does not foresee a future there for herself or her daughter. The Dashfort's have friends between the Anglo-Irish, specifically Colonel O'Halloran, who reveals the truth about Grace's parentage, but their Ascendancy allies drop them as soon as their true nature is revealed. In his final encounter with them, he finds them in the home of Grace's estranged grandfather, Mr. Reynold's posing as long-lost relations of the

wealthy Englishman. Mr. Reynold's rejects them, as well, so that they are like the gypsies in Emma. The Dashforts are the dark "foreign" others within both Ireland and England. They cut a swathe of disorder through both countries and then disappear taking all their ignominy with them. They are the unmarriageable that cannot reproduce lest they continue to poison society. Their progeny will not embody the new post-Union identity. They are insidious and, like the threat represent the seeds of rebellion and discontent.

Grace's identity, however, is as complicated as the Dashforts'. She was born in France to a French mother and English father, yet she identifies Ireland as her home and "native" land. She defends Ireland and aspires to return there throughout the text. In the household of the O'Neils, the son's comely fiancé is named "Grace" in honor of Grace Nugent. In a way, even as an absentee, Grace Nugent never fully abandoned Ireland. She is deeply attached to Ireland, first through her stepfather, Lord Nugent and then through the Clonbrons, more so even than any of the other characters in the novel. Of her own volition, Grace has accepted that she is a member of the Ascendency. She has chosen to become of Ireland. While Emma must grow into her role as a leader and helpmate to Mr. Knightly so that together they can lead England, both Grace and Colambre must accept their roles as the rightful leaders of the Irish. Colambre must renounce the life of an absentee and all the excesses, which accompany it. He must turn aside from the vipers (the Dashforts) that seek to bamboozle him into remaining in England. Grace must accept that the feelings of attachment that she bears for both Ireland and for Colambre are legitimate. Her claim to Ireland, the Anglo-Irish claim, the cross-cultural and cross-country claim is real.

Edgeworth and Austen approach the political nature of marriage in ways that beg attention. It is through a comparison of *The Absentee* and *Emma* that these similarities can be seen, especially with attention to their mutual discussion of "The Irish Problem" during the Post-Act of Union period. The under-examined discussion of Ireland in Austen's works is drawn out and her interpretations and assessments may be evaluated for both their historical importance and their relevance towards pre-postcolonial literatures. Each novel not only provides a guide for marrying well, but also provides a framework for creating a society, which will support the colonial and Imperial project by strengthening the Union between England and Ireland. Read in conjunction, *The Absentee* facilitates this reading of *Emma*, so that it can be surmised that Colambre and Grace's union and Emma and Knightly's union, will ensure the successful future of the Union.

Chapter II:

Jane Eyre and An Gorta Mór: Towards an Irish Studies Reading of *Jane Eyre*

“Consider that eye: consider the resolute, wild, free thing looking out of it, defying me,
with more than courage with a stern triumph” (Brontë 271)

Charlotte Brontë’s masterpiece, *Jane Eyre*, was begun on the twenty-fifth of August 1846, in the second year of *Án Gorta Mór*, the Great Irish Famine⁵² (1845-1852). Penned during the natural disaster that has since defined British/Irish relations both in the home countries and among the diaspora, the work makes but a single direct reference to the monumental events transpiring in Ireland. Yet, as this chapter demonstrates, this reference to the Irish Famine underway at the time of the novel’s publication is central to our understanding of it. The reference to the Famine is embedded in a sardonic interchange – Jane’s employer and later, her lover, Edward Fairfax Rochester, roguishly deceives Jane with the cruel prospect of a new position, “to undertake the education of the five daughters of Mrs. Dionysius O’Gall of Bitternut Lodge, Connaught, Ireland” (Brontë 175). Brontë’s contemporaries, all too aware of the events occurring just across the Irish Sea in Britain’s closest, oldest, and most problematic colony, would readily see the dark humor and spitefulness of Rochester’s proposal. He presents Jane with exile in the providence, which since Cromwellian days was synonymous with hell on earth,⁵³ the

⁵² For a fascinating and informative sampling of Irish revisionist interpretations of the Famine see Tim Pat Coogan’s *The Famine Plot: England’s Role in Ireland’s Greatest Tragedy*, James S. Donnelly’s *The Great Irish Potato Famine*, Cormac O. Gráda’s *Black ‘47 and Beyond: The Great Irish Famine in History, Economy, and Memory*, Thomas Keneally’s *The Great Shame: And the Triumph of the Irish in the English-Speaking World*, and Peter Grey’s wonderful article “Potatoes and Providence: British Government Responses to the Great Famine” published in *Bullán*.

⁵³ During Oliver Cromwell’s Irish Campaign in 1649-1650, the expression “to Hell or to Connaught” was used to denote the choice offered to Catholic landowners – either sacrifice their holdings in more fertile parts of Ireland and move westward to the barren lands of the province of Connaught, or “go to hell,” essentially, accept death for non-compliance.

proverbial ground zero of the greatest humanitarian crisis of the nineteenth-century. Brontë does little to hide the significance behind her naming of Jane's would-be master and home. At Bitternut Lodge, the Greek god of wine, Dionysius, is an Irishman, Dionysius O'Gall, who offers her naught but bitter gall to drink.⁵⁴ "You'll like Ireland," Rochester continues, "They're such warm hearted people there, they say" (175). His words are paradoxical in light of the current catastrophe. They seem contemptuous, both of Jane and of the Irish, and reflect the pervasive English xenophobia towards the Irish (Milchie 126). Yet, these quotations are not merely Rochester's words, or merely a reflection of Brontë's position as an author living in England, but rather represent a thinly veiled nod to the underlying Irish concerns underlying the novel itself.

Despite the fact that Brontë chose to incorporate but one direct reference to Ireland in this novel, Ireland, particularly the Ireland of the Famine, is the driving force behind *Jane Eyre*. Indeed, it is one of Brontë's primary goals to make her audience empathize with the Irish, to like those "warm hearted people" and to re-imagine their place within mid-nineteen century Britain and the world. Brontë had more than just a passing interest in the situation in Ireland. Charlotte Brontë was the daughter of a first generation immigrant from County Down. She maintained lifelong contact with her family in Ireland, and advocated for humanitarian relief for the Irish during the Famine. She drew inspiration from contemporary Anglo-Irish writers like Maria Edgeworth and those published in the *Dublin University Magazine*. Overshadowed by her status as one of England's most successful women writers of the nineteenth century, her connection to Ireland has only garnered minor interest, and the signifiers of Ireland she incorporated

⁵⁴ Paraphrased from Deuteronomy xxxii, Psalm 69, and Matthew 27. Denis is an Irishization of the name Dionysius and remains a stereotypical Irish name even today.

within her texts have gone largely under-read. In *Jane Eyre*, Brontë directs her readership's attention specifically towards the Irish. Written for an English audience, it is their approval she seeks for the Irish. In trusting that Brontë's motivation in *Jane Eyre* was to convert English affections in order to establish a new consensus on the place of Ireland within the Union, my argument does not disavow the way other critics, in particular feminist critics like Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, Marxist critics like Terry Eagleton, or postcolonial critics like Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak, have already dealt with the thematics of the text. Rather, an Irish reading of *Jane Eyre* situates many of these earlier assertions within the historic framework of Brontë's lifetime, and ties her personal history to the concerns she expresses within the text in a concrete and meaningful, rather than a theoretical way.

There have been some attempts to capitalize on the Brontës' Irish connections. One can even go so far as to follow a scenic drive or walking tour through the ancestral homelands of the Brontës in the North of Ireland, including a visit to the old family homestead, but these tangential connections have not been aligned much on in critical analysis on a textual level. Despite the many proofs of Brontë's tendency to link her personal and artistic lives, inquiry into her Irish connections and the way her ties to Ireland manifest themselves within her work is largely limited to noting her father's Irish background and the ways in which his personal opinions influenced the mindset of his famous daughter. This is an enormous oversight. Charlotte Brontë's opinions were shaped both actively and passively by an Irish inheritance, despite any attempts her father made to leave behind his past in Derry. In this chapter, I demonstrate that Brontë

purposefully incorporated signifiers of Ireland in *Jane Eyre*, and that the entire work is an allegory for the Irish Famine.

These Irish signifiers begin with the reader's first confrontation with the novel – the very title of *Jane Eyre*. Brontë's choice of both the main character's name and the work's title immediately establishes the dual nature of the eponymous narrator and asserts her symbolic nature. The name "Jane" has long been synonymous with an ordinary, typical female, an anonymous woman or girl. Like Fielding's foundling Tom Jones, Brontë's choice of so banal a name as "Jane" for her orphaned heroine reflects her significance. *Jane Eyre* is not "Jane Doe," a common English girl. As with Brontë herself, *Jane Eyre*'s Englishness was "the truth – though not the whole truth" when it came to matters of association (Constable 104). *Jane Eyre* herself is Brontë's symbol of Ireland and the Irish, the child whose very surname "Eyre" resembles the Irish name for Ireland, Éire. Ireland symbolically embodied as a woman, from Mother Ériu to Kathleen Ni Houlihan, is, as Declan Kiberd and so many others have noted, "one of the most ancient...and subversive conceits in bardic tradition" (Foster 283).⁵⁵ Long before the Celtic Twilight, the Irish-Woman symbolic was commonplace in Irish and British fiction (Reilly 135). As a reader of the *Dublin University Magazine*, Brontë would no doubt have been familiar with the resurgent popularity of the ancient moniker for Ireland, Éire, and knowingly and deliberately bestowed it on her female protagonist as the symbolic representation for that land. Jane, her very self, is a politicized signifier, a site of protest for the Irish (Plasa 121) just as the Reeds, the Reverend Brocklehurst, Mr. Rochester, and St. John River all signify the British. Jane is Ireland.

⁵⁵ For a more complete analysis of the Irish woman symbolic see M.J. Burgess' article "Violent Translations: Allegory, Gender, and Cultural Nationalism in Ireland, 1796-1806."

In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said argues that the Irish can never be English (Said 275). This appraisal is particularly applicable to Jane. Throughout the text, though she is often tempted, Jane never compromises her own identity to belong. When Rochester calls her the “soon to be Jane Rochester’s” her reaction is “something stronger than was consistent with joy – something that smote and stunned...almost fear” (Brontë 220). The conversation deteriorates into an interchange about mastery – first, Jane’s mastery of Rochester, then Rochester’s desire to “claim” Jane. Inasmuch as Rochester claims that Jane has mastered him, he is really only obsessed with attaining and essentially possessing her. She remains an object, a commodity to be procured, which, like colonial possession, gratifies the colonizer rather than improves the colonized. Jane however, despite bouts of self-effacement, understands her intrinsic value as an individual. Had she not, she would have perpetually acquiesced to the will of those in authority over her, rather than, challenged it as she does.

The trajectory of Jane’s growth is personally motivated. Jane must overcome doubts about her value to envision and defend her inherent worth as both an individual and as a member of a collective group – literally, as the poor, unprotected, and female and symbolically as the colonized Irish. In establishing her own sense of personal and social significance, Jane compels both those she encounters within the novel and her readership to recognize the intrinsic value of the nation she literally and symbolically represents. Ultimately, Jane is not embraced by every other character; despite this,⁵⁶ Jane

⁵⁶ Jane’s Aunt Reed is never able to overcome her distaste for Jane – a revulsion that replicates many trite criticisms of the Irish by the English. Mrs. Reed condemns her as an outsider and pins on Jane a wide range of offenses, from dependency and indigence to volatility and unattractiveness, and espouses Jane’s ability to corrupt the Reed household, especially her fellow children. Jane petitions Mrs. Reed, “Dear Mrs. Reed...think no more of all this, let it pass away from your mind. Forgive me for my passionate

does succeed in upsetting and even transforming some of the English characters she engages with along her journey. Although *Jane Eyre* is a *bildungsroman* about the changes experienced by the title character, by the end of the novel Jane's future husband, Rochester is equally changed in positive ways. Rochester's character, like Jane's, is symbolic. He is, more than any of the other English characters, England to her Ireland. When Rochester tauntingly exhorts Jane to take what he knows is a dangerous position in a famine beleaguered land, he is really attempting to force a confession of her affections for him. He is echoing the Cromwellian cry, "to Hell or to Connacht" – submission or death. Their relationship is initially predicated completely on Rochester's infatuation and his need to control Jane, but at the novel's conclusion, their marriage functions as a model of equality, power-sharing, and mutual respect. They are both changed but unchanged. Jane remains Irish and Rochester English, as per Said's assertion, but their relationship has been transformed into one of equity.

Other relationships with English characters that Jane forms in the course of text, namely those with Aunt Reed, Reverend Brocklehurst, and St. John Rivers, attest to the impermeability of ethnic identity, but unlike in the case of Jane and Rochester, these other English individuals fail to grow on personal levels, which would have fostered positive growth in their relationships with Jane and in a symbolic sense, would have been indicative of national growth. As the novel's representatives of Englishness, they demonstrate the ways in which England has failed to adopt a progressive position in the Union with Ireland-Jane. Throughout *Jane Eyre*, Ireland confronts England and attempts a mediation of their acerbic marriage – a Union plagued with problems and in need of

language" (Brontë 204). She is met with only a litany of criticism and her face, presented for a kiss, is turned away.

reformation and improvement. Jane does not have to sacrifice her individuality, her symbolic Irishness, nor do the English characters have to sacrifice their innate Englishness, but they do have to create an environment of respect and mutual understanding in order to successfully coexist and thrive for their respective and for the collective good. These are the goal Brontë was espousing when she crafted the allegories of Famine besieged Ireland in *Jane Eyre*.

The Reverend Patrick Brontë, Charlotte, and Ireland

Brontë was not just any woman living and writing in the Mid-Lands of England during the Great Famine period; she had many personal reasons to be heavily invested in the situation in Ireland, and actively chose to include references to it in her work.

Although born in Thornton in Yorkshire, Brontë was of Celtic background on both sides - her mother, Maria Branwell, was Cornish, and her father, the Reverend Patrick Brontë, was from County Down in the north of Ireland. After Maria's premature death, Patrick Brontë became not only the sole parent of the six Brontë children, but their primary educator and mentor as well. The biographies of his offspring reflect his powerful, distinctly Irish influence. "As Anglicized as they became... the Brontë children all spoke with Irish accents when they were young" (Schorn 355). Their childhood writing is littered with Irish folklore and cultural references, and features words and idioms in Irish [Gaelic] (Constable 101). Kathleen Constable explains:

Their creative imaginations were split between a secret green land peopled in part by Irish-born heroes, and a public world of explicitly English politics and sentiments. Within this unique set of parameters, the young

siblings casually crossed back and forth between their diverse universes in their tale telling. (98)

The Brontës' political loyalties and their personal histories did indeed straddle both worlds, and this split is reflected across/throughout their combined/collective oeuvre. Terry Eagleton has already gone to great lengths to establish the connections between the Brontës' Irish heritage and their literary works. In *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* he explores the underlying Irish subtext in *Wuthering Heights* by Charlotte's sister, Emily. So, while this subject has been under-explored, particularly in regards to Charlotte's oeuvre, it is in no way a radical notion. Parallels have long been drawn between Brontë's biography and her works, so that the assertion that Brontë's literary inspirations would originate from her personal experiences and opinions is far from unprecedented.⁵⁷

Among these biographical connections is the correlation between the fictional Lowood School and the historical Cowan Bridge School for daughters of clergymen. It was there that Brontë experienced a typhoid epidemic first-hand, similar to the one endured by the Lowood students. Furthermore, it was at Cowan Bridge that her sisters Maria and Elizabeth contracted tuberculosis, which like the fictional Helen Burns of *Jane Eyre*, led to their deaths. Another similarity between the fictionalized and lived school experiences is that under Reverend Brocklehurst's care, Jane and her classmates were nourished with little or rancid food, so that they bore starvation like conditions too. Food deprivation is a theme that occurs not only in *Jane Eyre*, but in Brontë's later novels *Shirley* and *Villette* too. It has been inferred that Brontë and her sisters may have suffered

⁵⁷ In addition to the many works mentioned in this dissertation, some other valuable sources on the Brontës, Charlotte in particular, are *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* by Christine Anne Alexander and Margaret Smith, *The Cambridge Companion to the Brontës* by Heather Glen, *The Brontës of Haworth: Yorkshire's Literary Giants – Their Lives, Works, Influences and Inspirations* by David W. Harrison, and *Charlotte Brontë: Truculent Spirit* by Valerie Grosvenor Myer.

from eating disorders, so that *Shirley*'s Caroline Helstone's brush with death after a long period without food reenacts Charlotte Brontë's own affliction and the illnesses and deaths of her sisters. Food deprivation, as the critic Deirdre Lashgari discusses in "What Some Women Can't Swallow: Hunger as Protest in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*" might be related to Brontë's desire to strike a blow against female dependency. Lashgari asserts that Brontë's use of anorexia and food deprivation exacerbated illnesses are to be read as forms of protest and female empowerment. Similarly, while not a form of womanly license, in *Jane Eyre*, Brocklehurst's ability to limit the girls' food is a method by which he controls them. This idea will be discussed in greater depth when considered in conjunction to the Lowood School as a representation of the Famine Workhouse later in the chapter.

Another biographical connection between Brontë's life and her fictional works is in attitudes towards marriage. For example, in *Shirley*, Brontë explores the politically oppressive nature of marriage towards women, while in *Jane Eyre*, a similar sentiment manifests as Jane's fear of relinquishing full autonomy, both personal and financial. In both cases, these fictional anxieties reflect Brontë's own reluctance to marry the Reverend Arthur Nichols. Likewise, drawing on Brontë's biography, her first novel *The Professor* (written in 1846, but published posthumously) and the later work *Villette* both reflect Brontë's experiences in Brussels, where she became infatuated with her headmaster, Monsieur Heger of the Pensionnat Heger, under whose tutelage she had hoped to increase her foreign language mastery and hone her teaching skills. There are certainly shades of a similar enchantment in the relationship between Jane as employee

and Rochester as employer in *Jane Eyre*. Brontë drew heavily on her own life experiences and concerns to enhance her literary work.

Brontë's works touch on specific political and social events as well. In *Myths of Power: A Marxist Study of the Brontës*, Eagleton explores the connections between the Chartist protests of the 1840s (including its use of staged demonstrations) and the representations of the Luddite Rebellions of 1812 featured in *Shirley*.⁵⁸ Eagleton connects Brontë's concerns over violent class-conflict with the plot of her novel. *Shirley* is set against the early nineteenth-century Luddite Rebellion, but its prognostications about the rebellion are readily transferrable to the Chartism movement contemporaneous with Brontë's writing of the text. Eagleton argues that Brontë likely set the novel back in time in order to deflect any disagreement that might arise from positing strong opinions about current events. She chooses a similar approach in *Jane Eyre* by dealing with the contemporaneous tragedy of the Famine symbolically rather than directly.

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⁵⁸ In a moment reminiscent of the plot of the Brontë's *Shirley*, Elizabeth Gaskell describes Reverend Brontë's first-hand experiences during the Luddites Rebellion as, "He fearlessly took whatever side in local or national politics appeared to him right. In the days of the Luddites, he had been for the peremptory interference of the law, at a time when no magistrate could be found to act, and all the property of the West Riding was in terrible danger. He became unpopular then among the millworkers, and he esteemed his life unsafe if he took his long and lonely walks unarmed; so he began the habit, which has continued to this day, of invariably carrying a pistol about with him. It lay on his dressing-table with his watch; with his watch it was put on in the morning; with his watch it was taken off at night" (Gaskell *Locations* 618-623).

within her work is largely limited to noting her father's Irish background and the ways in which his personal opinions influenced the mindset of his famous daughter. This is an enormous oversight. Charlotte Brontë's opinions were shaped both actively and passively by an Irish inheritance, despite any attempts her father made to leave behind his past in Derry. In this chapter, I demonstrate that Brontë purposefully incorporated signifiers of Ireland in *Jane Eyre*, and that the entire work is an allegory for the Irish Famine.

Unfortunately, the post-mortem destruction of much of Brontë's personal letters at the hands of her family and friends means that a good deal of Brontë's biographical scholarship, like that of many authors of the past, is in part speculative. Although many of her letters remain, an inestimable amount of insights into her private life have been lost. Her biographers, in particular, her first biographer Elizabeth Gaskell, sanitized her image, almost from the moment of her death. Despite Gaskell's noble efforts to represent Brontë as truthfully as possible, Gaskell's primary concern in eulogizing her friend was to defend her from accusations of impropriety originating from criticism of some of the more risqué topics upon which her texts touched. According to Angus Easson, an editor of Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, "the biography was not, could not be, an objective memoir. From the very first, it was meant to be a defense and a vindication to show Charlotte as a 'noble true and tender woman'" (xi).⁵⁹ Part of Gaskell's refining of Brontë's biography was to reduce any Irish connections to a parenthetical.⁶⁰ Going a step further, Gaskell elevated Brontë even further at the expense of her Irish father, painting

⁵⁹ Easson also explains that "[Gaskell] had recognized the need for delicacy in writing about Patrick Brontë, about Nichols, about Hegers. But she had also set herself to defend and vindicate Charlotte by telling the truth in ways that might well give offence" (xvi).

⁶⁰ For example, Gaskell writes that Reverend Brontë was "far removed from his birth-place and all his Irish connections; with whom, indeed, he cared little to keep up any intercourse, and whom he never, I believe, revisited after becoming a student at Cambridge" (*Locations* 452-454).

him as irritable, controlling, and given to extremes of passion, all of which she linked unflatteringly to his Irish birth.⁶¹ In this way, she set the precedence for critics to abjure Irishness in Brontë's work as nothing more than an affliction Charlotte Brontë had fortunately overcome. Nonetheless, Gaskell, in her largely unflattering portrayal of Reverend Brontë, begrudgingly acknowledges the importance of Reverend Brontë's influence on his daughter:

His opinions might be often both wild and erroneous, his principles of action eccentric and strange, his views of life partial, and almost misanthropical...But I do not pretend to be able to harmonize points of character, and account for them, and bring them all into one consistent and intelligible whole. The family with whom I have now to do shot their roots down deeper than I can penetrate. I cannot measure them, much less is it for me to judge them. I have named these instances of eccentricity in the father because I hold the knowledge of them to be necessary for a right understanding of the life of his daughter. (Locations 627-635)

The "right understanding" of Brontë's life which Gaskell postulates is one based on modesty and decency so as to remove any shadow of unseemliness that the more indecorous subjects fictionally explored casts upon Charlotte Brontë herself. Given prevailing representations of the Irish, it is little wonder that this defense of Brontë's character would extend to a disavowal of her Irish connections. Gaskell distances Brontë

⁶¹ For instance, Gaskell writes "He was not naturally fond of children, and felt their frequent appearance on the scene as a drag both on his wife's strength, and as an interruption to the comfort of the household (*Locations* 554-555). Later, Gaskell describes how "His strong, passionate, Irish nature was, in general, compressed down with resolute stoicism...he did not speak when he was annoyed or displeased. Mrs. Brontë, whose sweet nature thought invariably of the bright side, would say, 'Ought I not to be thankful that he never gave me an angry word?'" (*Locations* 613-615).

from the Irish Reverend Brontë by postulating the author's "English" identity as being antithetical to her father's Irish one, an identification which he, as Gaskell asserts, also attempted to abjure. What remains, however, is Gaskell's admittance of an inability to penetrate and to evaluate this layer of the Brontës' collective biographies, a statement that reflects her failure to understand the complexity of their Irish/English existence.

Charlotte Brontë's personal relationship with her Irish background and the way that Irish issues are manifested within her literary oeuvre remain largely under explored in the criticism of Brontë's texts. A scant collection of works on the subject, including John Canon's *The Road to Haworth: The Story of the Brontë's Irish Ancestry* and Kathleen Constable's *A Stranger at the Gates: Charlotte Brontë and Victorian Irishness*, largely focus on Brontë's Irish background and, while they do theorize some connections between Ireland and her work, they are not exclusive to any specific text or commentary on the Irish "problem" or any particular Irish subject. As I demonstrate, there is sufficient evidence within Brontë's biography to support the assertion that *Jane Eyre* in particular is an expression of Brontë's unique relationship with Famine ravished Ireland. Brontë utilizes both literal and metaphorical language to accomplish this task, so her intentions are indeed, masked.

Gaskell's biography of Brontë paints a very different picture of the author than subsequent biographers. As the *New York Times* book reviewer N. John Hall points out in his appraisal of *Charlotte Brontë: A Passionate Life*, the biographer Lyndall Gordon "saw Brontë not as a victim of loss and grief, but as a woman before her time: a determinedly professional writer who was impatient, sarcastic, strong in spirit, with an unquenchable fire" (Gordon 4). These qualities bear more of a resemblance to Gaskell's

portrayal of Patrick Brontë, as well as to the pre-existing stereotypes of Irishness, than to the Charlotte of Gaskell's work. Certainly, if these liberties can be taken regarding Brontë's personality then supportable claims vis-à-vis her relationship with the Irish are far from implausible.

Reinterpreting *Jane Eyre* through an Irish cultural historicist perspective does significantly more than search for Brontë's biographical references within her stories. Brontë's treatment of the Irish Problem is far subtler than any readily evident biographical connection, and speaks volumes about the social and political problems between Ireland and Britain. For self-preservation's sake, it was necessary that Irish references be symbolic rather than direct. In the time period during which *Jane Eyre* was written, Brontë's preoccupation with the welfare of the land of her ancestors and its people could not have been represented directly, lest the Brontës' social position be endangered. Like so many other Irish Protestants, particularly those living in England who were not members of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and who were often little better off financially than their native peers, the Brontës occupied a precarious place in British society, one of belonging and of not belonging. Jane, herself, is a reflection of a similar social instability. As a governess, she occupies a marginalized position. She is more than just a member of the household staff; she is in many ways a second mother to the children, as well as their primary educator. She resides on the fringes of the family just as Ireland exists in the space just outside the colonial periphery. Certainly, the Brontës could empathize with the same positionality of Jane the governess, belonging and not belonging, just as the Irish (especially the Anglo-Irish) both belonged and did not belong within the colonial center of Great Britain.

For this reason, Gaskell misinterprets the Brontës' reluctance to engage with the community of Haworth when she writes:

Mr. Brontë was faithful in visiting the sick and all those who sent for him, and diligent in attendance at the schools; and so was his daughter Charlotte too; but, cherishing and valuing privacy themselves, they were perhaps over-delicate in not intruding upon the privacy of others (Locations 580-582).

Their "delicacy" is not an example of their desire for solitude, but is emblematic of the seclusion they experienced because of Reverend Brontë's status as an Irish transplant despite his position in the community. Tom Winnifirth in *Brontë Facts and Brontë Problems* implies that the Brontës' exclusivity was class related, contending that it was the Reverend's obscure birth which prompted his restricted social interactions (77). This, however, would not justify Reverend Brontë's decision to change his surname from the distinctly Irish Prunty or Brunty to Brontë. Brontë appears to have been determined not to be "othered" by his Irishness in his new life as an Anglican minister in England (Constable 39) which necessitated he "overcome" the limitations of his birth in Ireland. What Winnifirth considers "snobbery" originated as a defense rather than from Reverend Brontë's pretensions.

Gaskell's 1857 biography of Charlotte Brontë went to great lengths to obscure and downplay the extent to which the Reverend Brontë retained vestiges of his Irish birth. Gaskell referenced them as justification for his eccentricities and to stress that his children had transcended the condition of their father's "foreign" birth and were wholly English, but there is significant evidence to the contrary. Critics such as Canon and

Constable have continued to advance theories regarding the significance of the Reverend's homeland and his sway within the minds and literary legacies of his children. Charlotte as his most successful progeny viewed herself as her father's intellectual heir, and aligned herself politically with him throughout her lifetime. Like Patrick Brontë, she became an avowed Tory, supported Catholic Emancipation, and applauded the peaceful reform efforts of Daniel O'Connell (Schorn 355).⁶² She was extremely responsive to the Irish both on a public and a private level. During the Famine, the Brontës aided the beleaguered Irish by soliciting donations and offering their personal savings to relief organizations (Alexander 87). Charlotte Brontë maintained contact with her Irish relatives, receiving them in her home, and eventually she married an Irishman, the Reverend Arthur B. Nicholls, with whom she honeymooned in the Irish countryside in 1854.

In addition to sharing many of the same ideals as her Irish father, Brontë was philosophically and artistically in agreement with Ireland's literary elite. Reverend Brontë and Charlotte were both "constant and grateful readers" (Constable 99) of the *Dublin University Magazine (DUM)*. Initially begun by Trinity College students as a political forum for conservative, Unionist ideals, its most widely noted success was as a venue for such literary geniuses as Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, William Carleton, Samuel

⁶² Charlotte Brontë and her father were both admirers of Daniel O'Connell. In *Shirley*, she describes the Irish curate, Malone, as a "tall, strongly-built personage, with real Irish legs and arms, and a face as genuinely national – not the Milesian face, not Daniel O'Connell's style, but the high-featured, North-American-Indian sort of visage, which belongs to a certain class of the Irish gentry, and has a petrified and proud look, better suited to the owner of an estate of slaves than to the landlord of a free peasantry. Mr. Malone's father termed himself a gentleman: he was poor and in debt, and besottedly arrogant; and his son was like him" (3). Malone as an Irishman is understood to not only be antithetical to *Shirley's* other clergy members, Mr. Donne and Mr. Sweeting - Englishmen both, but is representative of a negative element among the Irish. He is not the "good" Irish like O'Connell, but embodies many of the stereotypes of the Anglo-Irish and the middle-class agents of landlords who exploit and terrorize their tenants and charges.

Ferguson, James Clarence Mangan, Elizabeth Gaskell, and eventually a young Oscar Wilde (Bigelow 687). A predominantly Anglo-Irish publication, *DUM* became the vehicle by which the upper and middle classes of that population engaged themselves intellectually with their unique social predicament. Neither English nor “native” Roman Catholic Irish, they were contradistinguished from their English counterparts as a distinctly Irish social group. The Anglo-Irish sought for themselves a romanticized Ireland and an inclusive sort of Irishness which, while allowing them to maintain their hegemony, would also cement their place in Irish society. Relying on ancient history, mythology, folklore, and landscape, they found a niche for themselves literarily and, by proxy, politically in the Irish press, thereby setting the stage for the Celtic Twilight of Yeats, Synge, O’Casey, and so many others. *DUM*’s “lure was profound to someone like [Charlotte] Brontë, who trod a minefield of class, cultural, and religious contentiousness as she worked to realize her own creative identity” (Constable 100). As the child of an expatriate, Brontë was torn among the attachments she bore towards Ireland, the commonalities she saw between herself and the Anglo-Irish, the immigrant imaginings of Ireland passed down from her father, and the anti-Irish climate by which she was surrounded. Just as *DUM* allowed so many Anglo-Irish authors an opportunity to express their emotional attachment and civic concern for Ireland, so too did it embolden Brontë and provided her with like-minded artists and philosophers to emulate.

There is little doubt that Brontë would seek out not only artist mentors, but also individuals who shared similar tenuous backgrounds. Brontë’s most prominent influence was of course her father. Despite the Anglicizing mission of Gaskell and many of the subsequent critics who took her lead, Reverend Patrick Brontë never fully abandoned the

country of his birth in either his public or his private life, even after initially going to some lengths to eschew his Irish background, changing his name from Prunty to Brontë and drilling with the British volunteers at Cambridge. Although an Anglican minister and a long-term religious leader in the Haworth community, Reverend Brontë remained somewhat on the fringes of Yorkshire society, even within his own parish. His children were likewise marginalized. It is not fanciful to “speculate about the prejudices and feelings of rejection by the English to which the entire family must have been exposed” (Navarro 6). Constable applies Said’s term “punishing destiny” to the Brontës in England. She conjectures that the Brontës were sensitive to the debasement of the Irish and understood that the social system in England fueled stereotypes and discriminated against all levels of Irish society. The Brontë family found themselves on the periphery of the Haworth community, both unable and unwilling to fully enter (Constable 102). Similarly, Eagleton illustrates the uncertain nature of the Brontës’ social position as an Irish family by referencing the incident when, the oldest son Branwell Brontë was burnt in effigy for defending his father’s political position, likely as it related to Catholic Emancipation. The effigy clutched in one hand a potato, in the other, a herring, both symbols of Irishness and Catholicism (Eagleton 2).

It is essential to understand the social and political situation in nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland in order to fully appreciate the significance of the specific image of Branwell Brontë chosen by the members of the Haworth community. Branwell Brontë was not in their eyes, an Englishman. His status was problematic, just as the place of Ireland within the Union during the nineteenth century was indeed problematic at best. The incident with Branwell Brontë serves as a good illustration of not only the Brontës’

marginalization within Britain, but also the marginalization of the Irish within the Union. Frequently under examined, the years after the creation of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland set the stage for the events of the next two centuries. Post-Act of Union policy towards Ireland was largely determined by mutual antagonism born from the bloody legacy of the 1798 United Irishman Rebellion and the loss of Irish parliamentary autonomy with the abolition of Grattan's parliament. The administration of Ireland during the approximately fifty years after the Act of Union was based on a colonial model, rather than one which incorporated Ireland fully within the United Kingdom in the same vein as the relationship between Westminster and the local governments of Wales and Scotland. While the King and Prime Minister appointed The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Chief Secretary for Ireland respectively, it was the separate Irish administration at Dublin Castle, controlled by the Anglo-Irish that retained real, highly interventionist authority over the country. At the same time, the mass exodus of Ascendency Protestants to the mainland initiated a period of absenteeism. Coupled with the widespread greed of estate managers and middlemen, this situation led to the multiple divisions of holdings. Large sections of the population, mostly Catholics, were relegated to lives of abject poverty on over-priced tenancies, and were forced into subsistence farming, becoming dependent on the potato crop as their primary source of food. The frequent suspension of habeas corpus during these years reflects concerns regarding the volatility of the native Irish population and fears of a last gasp grab by the Anglo-Irish to re-establish unilateral control of Ireland.

Even though the dominant Irish political figure of the early nineteenth-century Daniel O'Connell was a pioneer of peaceful protest, the period was plagued by sectarian,

economic, and political violence. The formation of the Presbyterian organization, the Orange Order, at the end of the eighteenth century fueled guerilla unrest between religious agrarian militant societies after the turn of the century, although it is also prudent to remember that “the extent of agrarian crime may have been exaggerated, especially in British newspapers [as] Irish landlords used the actions of secret societies as a means of persuading the Government to take repressive coercive measures” (Kineally). Beginning shortly after the Act of Union, the remnants of the United Irishmen led by Robert Emmet staged a poorly supported and disorganized rebellion in Dublin in 1803, resulting in the death of the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, Lord Kilwarden. Emmet and his comrades were executed for treason, but his revolt reignited fears of French-supported Irish insurrection and his famous speech from the dock immortalized not only his rebellion, but also ingrained in folk-memory the understanding that Ireland had the right to cast off her oppressors.⁶³ O’Connell condemned Emmet, choosing instead political strategizing to initiate electoral and social reform mobilizing the bulk of the Irish population, in his peaceful protests against Britain.

Charlotte Brontë and her father were particular admirers of O’Connell and supported his Catholic Emancipation movement. Emancipation was finally enacted in parliament 1829, but enfranchisement remained determined by property ownership. Despite the enormous popularity and success of O’Connell’s non-violent methods, the

⁶³ From the dock as he was sentenced to execution, Emmet proclaimed, “I looked, indeed, for the assistance of France; but I wished to prove to France and to the world that Irishmen deserved to be assisted – that they were indignant at slavery, and ready to assert the independence and liberty of their country; I wished to procure for my country the guarantee which Washington procured for America – to procure an aid which, by its example, would be as important as its valor; disciplined, gallant, pregnant with science and experience; that of a people who would perceive the good, and polish the rough points of our character. They would come to us as strangers, and leave us as friends, after sharing in our perils and elevating our destiny. These were my objects; not to receive new taskmasters, but to expel old tyrants. It was for these ends I sought aid from France; because France, even as an enemy, could not be more implacable than the enemy already in the bosom of my country” (Emmett).

years that followed were characterized by sporadic bloodshed. During the next decade, reform efforts focused on commuting the obligatory tithe paid to the Church of Ireland, an issue that was only partially resolved in 1838 with the Tithe Commutation Act for Ireland, but not fully put to rest until Gladstone disestablished the church in 1869. Unrest had always surrounded the issue, but boycotts and violence specific to the collection of tithes, especially led by agrarian insurrectionist societies, escalated during this period in what is known as the Tithe Wars. The potential for a change in land ownership posed a direct and imminent threat to Anglo-Irish hegemony.

Throughout the 1830s, a formal movement towards repeal of the Act of Union began to coalesce. O'Connell's Repeal Association pushed to reinstate Ireland's independent government as it had existed during the period of Grattan's Parliament. They staged "Monster Meetings" throughout Ireland, organizing tens of thousands of people. Although peaceful, these meetings were a powder keg waiting to explode. They represented a clearly mobilized threat to British authority - one that Peel recognized and moved against in 1843 when he banned the largest of O'Connell's planned rallies at the Hill of Tara (Kinneally). Arrested for conspiracy, tried, and briefly sentenced to prison, O'Connell, amidst criticism of having bowed to Peel, largely faded from the public eye, dying four years later. These events are important not only in relation to the grand arc of British history in the nineteenth century, but also in relation to the personal investment the Brontës' had in the events transpiring in Ireland. The Brontës however were not alone in feeling the enormity of the events transpiring in Ireland. O'Connell's homegrown following posed a real and imminent threat to English hegemony which reverberated throughout the Empire. As Brontë penned her novels, the passage of Catholic

Emancipation and the awesome possibilities implicit in O'Connell's immensely successful movement likely remained foremost in her thoughts.

Corresponding to the formation of O'Connell's Repeal Association, a group composed largely of Protestants formed the Young Ireland Movement. The Young Irelanders were concerned that the Irish Nationalist identity was being co-opted by Roman Catholics and feared that in the Ireland of the future leadership would remain divided along sectarian lines. While they supported O'Connell's use of peaceful protest and political reform, they believed that violence would ultimately be necessary to achieve their objectives. By 1846, Young Ireland had broken from O'Connell's Repeal Association to form the Irish Confederation. Their rhetoric had become increasingly violent as the Famine progressed and in 1848, inspired by revolutions throughout Europe, they engaged in a failed rebellion in Tipperary. While the Young Ireland Rebellion was unsuccessful, it represents the culmination of years of increasing dissatisfaction.

When Brontë penned *Jane Eyre* in 1846 and 1847, she was conscious that Ireland was a powder keg ready to explode, which indeed it did in 1848, the same year as the publication of *Jane Eyre*. The influence between these dates is no coincidence; the primacy of the on-going turbulence in Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century was coming to a head, a fact the Brontës had long anticipated. The Irish signifiers that she included in order to represent an allegorical consideration of the "Irish Problem" permitted her the opportunity to expound on the historical, political, and social crises in Post-Union Ireland that together cumulated in the disaster of the Great Famine.

Jane's Irishness: the Rebellious Irish Other

It goes without saying that Brontë had a significant task at hand in endeavoring to write an allegory for the relationship between Ireland and England. She expressed her broad concerns in circumlocutious ways not only to protect her personal integrity and familial position, but also because of the sheer enormity of the topics upon which *Jane Eyre* touches. The Union between Ireland with England was, as it had been in Maria Edgeworth's *The Absentee* and Jane Austen's *Emma*, allegorized as a marriage plot. In the failed union between Rochester and Bertha, Brontë demonstrates the dangers of inappropriate matches, particularly ones born in inequality. Additionally, Brontë makes connections between the West Indian first Mrs. Rochester and poor orphaned Jane – Brontë's symbolic representation of Ireland. In doing so, these doubles draw the colonial world into the domestic space so that the "others" of the Empire are collectively thrust into the center of the Imperial world. Jane's rejection and persecution in the home of the Reeds likewise mirrors the exclusion of the Irish from power or even acceptance in the larger British world. Perhaps most importantly, as Chapter III of this dissertation, entitled "The Christianizing Impulse of Evangelical Anglicanism and the Irish Colonial Project," will explore, Brontë symbolizes the horrors of the Famine, the failures of The Poor Laws, and the limitation of the Workhouse System through Jane's experiences at the Lowood School, specifically where Brontë challenges Malthusian economics and contemporary understandings of Christian culpability. As a symbol of Ireland, Jane's experiences at Gateshead and Lowood capture the systematic abuse and disenfranchisement of the Irish post the Act of Union, especially during the Famine. Jane's interactions with Reverend Brocklehurst and St. John Rivers likewise portray theological conflicts within

Anglicanism. Throughout the text, Jane remains indistinguishable from not only her specifically Irish symbolic identity, but also from the particular historic and political moment during which the work was written (Plasa 111). Jane, at her most basic level, is a site of protest against the ills endured by the Irish during the 1840s (Plasa 121). The entire novel is a platform for Brontë's defense of the Irish and the means by which she expresses her solution to the "Irish Problem."

Like Brontë herself, Jane stands apart from her British counterparts because she is inherently different, a fact she recognizes from infancy. She is distinguished as representative of a specific cultural identity, the Irish, but more importantly, that identity within a particular political and historic moment (Plasa 111). As the novel progresses, Jane finds herself either excluded or in friction with all of the secondary characters she encounters from the Reeds onward. Jane struggles with authority at Gateshead and Lowood and in her relationships with Mr. Rochester and St. John Rivers not only because she is "naturally rebellious" but because she is forced to confront their treatment of her. As Claire Carroll and Patricia King point out in the introduction to *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, the Irish were "inherently warlike and nomadic in the colonizer's characterizations of them as 'natural' slaves" (Carroll and King 3).⁶⁴ In the same way, Ireland engages with and reacts to England's frequently unfair treatment. When finally pushed to rebellion, Ireland is chastised with an opprobrium that fails to acknowledge her well-warranted grievances. She is an interloper in the English world to be alienated and abused lest her presence alter the status quo. As Nicholas Canny notes, Jane's surname Eyre is mispronounced by Adèle as "aire," the Irish Gaelic word for "to be on guard" or

⁶⁴ Carroll and King go on to express how this characterization of the Irish was deployed to portray the other colonized people the British would encounter throughout the world.

“attention.” Even as Jane assumes a peripheral position, hiding alone to read or observing a soiree, she is the elephant in the room that distracts, disrupts, and garners attention, be it that of young Master John Reed or Rochester’s party guests. The English characters that she encounters should be on guard as Jane’s Irish presence as an outsider within their domestic space upsets and questions the order upon which their society is built and maintains its hegemony.

Jane can never be a member of the Reed household. Although she is not a blood relation of Mrs. Reed and, as a poor orphan is financially dependent upon Mr. Reed, her exclusion is rooted in something greater than the tangibility of kinship and wealth. Jane’s rejection is rooted in her intrinsic otherness, her Irishness. “I was nothing there,” Jane wails, “I had nothing in harmony with Mrs. Reed or her children or her chosen vassalage” (Brontë 15). Jane’s journey throughout the text includes confronting again and again places and people where and with whom she does not belong. Jane cannot be one of them and, at the heart of the matter - she does not want to be. Jane must be true to herself, she must be tested to prove her self-loyalty. Her journey’s reward will be acceptance on her own terms, an acceptance that comes without compromising her identity or values.

Brontë’s examination of the Irish and their position within the Union is reliant upon the language of Said’s *Orientalism* in that Jane is not only “othered,” but she is constantly embroiled in a struggle between subjugation and mastery. Fundamentally, this conflict is about acceptance or rejection of Jane – her past, her social position, her economic status, her physicality, and all that she symbolizes. To subjugate Jane implies that in a quest to dominate her, the rejection of all that she signifies must be complete. Jane adamantly rejects this external demand to alter herself, proclaiming, “I am not an

angel...I will not be one till I die: I will be myself" (221). It is expected and all but demanded that any of the ways in which Jane is othered must be expunged in order for her to be united with Rochester. Essentially, Jane must reject her identity as it exists in order to accept the new identity envisioned for her by her husband and master. Jane refuses to comply and, in essence, embraces her status as a societal "other." When Rochester refers to her by her soon-to-be married name she reacts with fear, affirming, "It can never be, sir; it does not seem likely" (220). She denies the possibility of a union with Rochester, which would include her total transformation. The metamorphosis that Jane shuns is not simply a dismissal of demands to change as an individual, but, in acknowledging Jane's metaphorical significance, her refusal reflects solidarity with Irish opposition to assimilation. When Jane states "I was not born for a different destiny to the rest of my species" (220), she professes her disbelief of the fairy-tale life Rochester offers. Jane embraces her otherness, her Irishness.

Even without the hindsight that nearly two centuries has afforded historians, Brontë recognized that An Gorta Mór represented the most base moment in Ireland's subjugation by English over-lordship, what for many is viewed, even today, as a complete dehumanization and devaluing of the Irish people. The Irish, like Jane in the home of the Reeds, were painted as innately different and, like Jane, their difference was depicted as an indication of their contrary and aberrant natures. As Lord Charles Edward Trevelyan, Assistant Secretary to the Treasury during the Famine wrote in an 1846 letter to Irish Landlord Thomas Spring-Rice, Lord Mounteagle:

The judgment of God sent the calamity to teach the Irish a lesson, that calamity must not be too much mitigated. ... The real evil with which we

have to contend is not the physical evil of the Famine, but the moral evil of the selfish, perverse and turbulent character of the people. (Trevelyan qtd. in O’Riordan)

Like Trevelyan, there were those in British society who believed that the Famine was a deserving plague wrought upon a disobedient and immoral people. It would seem that by 1847 the Irish had ceased, in the eyes of many in power in Westminster, to be worthy of even the most basic of humanitarian aid.⁶⁵

There were, of course, many benevolent landlords and private relief efforts not only from Britain, but from all corners of the globe. Unfortunately, the popular mythologizing of the Famine all but fails to acknowledge any futile but well-intentioned philanthropic efforts. The Famine is frequently painted as the “Irish Holocaust” during which the Irish starved while the world, especially England, idly watched. This reduction of the complexities of the Famine period often results in the erroneous assumption that

⁶⁵ Prime Minister Robert Peel’s initial responses during the first years of the Famine were well intentioned, but inefficacious. Peel’s largely clandestine venture to purchase Indian Maize from America in response to the crop failure was an epic failure that lingers in folk-memory as the insult of “Peel’s Brimstone.” The Repeal of the Corn Laws, which allowed for the free importation of grain, came too late to reverse the rising tide of starvation, disease, and mass emigration. The Irish Coercion Bill of 1846, which would have essentially allowed the government to establish martial law in Ireland and administer the Famine in a direct and aggressive way, was defeated in Parliament as too interventionist and over-reactionary. Peel’s Ministry fell, ironically, over measures that would have proven far too conservative to be effectual anyway. The Whig leader Lord John Russell succeeded Peel. Russell’s oft-times demonized administration has received the lion’s share of retrospective blame for Britain’s inadequate Famine response, including, at its most extreme, indictments of premeditated genocide. Russell was a staunch adherent to the philosophy of laissez-faire economics, and the relief programs commissioned under his ministry certainly reflected a minimally interventionist approach. The Whigs continued public work projects established by the Peel administration and formed a central Relief Commission with local satellite chapters, but culpability for and distribution of aid fell largely on the shoulders of landlords, the clergy, and other charitable organizations that were ill-equipped to deal with the cataclysmic and overwhelming events of the late 1840s. Understaffing and excessive numbers of unemployed applicants resulted in a gridlock rife with civil unrest. While it had been intended that landlords would fund relief efforts on their own estates and that their efforts would be matched with government handouts, all-too-many landlords, more often than not absentees who were already divorced from their responsibilities in Ireland, failed to contribute even remotely sufficient funds to ameliorate the suffering from hunger and famine borne diseases. Many peasants, unable to pay rent, were evicted from their holdings and their cottages razed, contributing to the growing indigence of the native population and fueling resentments leading to violent rebellions.

the English bore so great an animosity to their Irish neighbors that they welcomed the Famine (even generated it) in order to exterminate their colonists. A small minority did express these views and, as a consequence, this reactionary and flawed understanding proved a catalyst for much turmoil and animosity that lingers even today.

Brontë, however, understood the complexity of the English response, a reaction that, while certainly influenced by historic hostility and abhorrence towards the Irish, was as much a product of eighteenth-century economics as it was racism. In “Punish Her Body to Save Her Soul,” Susan Schorn asserts that Brontë’s dissatisfaction with the Famine’s administration can be readily inferred. She notes that in *Shirley* Brontë tactfully strips away all allusions to Irish nationalism from the Famine, instead treating the Famine policy metaphorically (Schorn 351). Brontë treats the Famine in the same way in *Jane Eyre*. While she does not openly condemn the administration of the disaster, her metaphors lend themselves to readily imply her condemnation of its failings. In essence, the Irish were largely casualties of the British post-Enlightenment free-market laissez-faire economy and Malthusian theory coupled with the reality of socially ingrained historic enmity towards the colonized Irish.

Jane Eyre is an allegory for the colonized Irish in which the main character, Jane, the symbolic representation of Ireland, navigates the Famine Period. Jane is described from the earliest moments of the text as “rebellious,” though “strong-willed” would probably be a more accurate term. Upon Jane is inscribed all the characteristics of the colonized Irish. During the course of the novel, Brontë illuminates the ways in which Jane’s behaviors are often reactionary to the injustices she suffers. Likewise, qualities

such as Jane's inner-strength (mischaracterized as stubbornness) enable her to support her own, morally correct appraisals rather than yielding to the poor judgments of others.

What is at stake in the novel is a disavowal of the nineteenth-century colonial conceptualization of Irishness, rooted in an otherness that is both recalcitrant and dangerously subversive. Jane is associated with the foreignness of the East from the first moments of the text, when she sits "cross legged like a Turk" (Brontë 5) in solitude behind a red moreen curtained window seat. She is not only excluded, but she is orientalized. During the nineteenth century, an exoticized and ancient Ireland was linked to the Orient through the literary works of Thomas Moore and James Clarence Mangan (both writers for *DUM*). The metaphor that compares her to a Turk also connects her to other outsiders. In Jane's case, the relationship between Orientalism and Celticism provides the first symbolic connection between Jane and Irishness. These become clearer throughout the novel as Brontë builds on and reiterates Jane's Irish symbolic associations.

Jane's perceived recalcitrance in the house of her Aunt Reed threatens the peaceful domesticity of the quintessential English home. The potential agitation her presence raises mirrors that which is used to describe the alleged duplicity and inherent seditiousness of the Irish that should perpetually be anticipated by their colonizers. As Miss Abbott of Gravesend reproved, "She's an underhand little thing; I never saw a girl her age with so much cover" (Brontë 10). Jane perceives this when she narrates how "Abbot...gave me credit for being a sort of infantine Guy Fawkes" (9). Her seditiousness is a quality instilled upon Jane's character by both the servants and the mistress of the house with no justification save the incident with John Reed, an event he provoked.

Jane's presence at Gateshead resembles that of Ireland within the Union; she is an unwanted and a suspect ward, a burden. The paramount event in Jane's childhood amongst the Reeds is the Red Room incident. More important to my reading of the novel are the events leading up to, during, and after Jane's imprisonment in the Red Room, as these moments offer substantial examples of the thematic of Irish othering. In these early episodes, Brontë introduces themes that she expounds upon more fully throughout the novel via Jane's physical and spiritual journey from her unhappy childhood at Gateshead to married bliss at Ferndean. From the very first lines in the first chapter of the novel, Brontë is heavy handed in saturating early moments with deeper meaning as they build towards Jane's imprisonment in the Red Room. The room itself is, of course, pregnant with a myriad of meanings, none more obvious, or in my reading more important, than the literal and symbolic segregation it denotes between Jane and the Reeds.

Leading up to her actual imprisonment, Jane is established as an outsider in the household of her Aunt Reed. As the novel opens, Jane has been freed by the inclement weather from the torture of a winter walk. Even in childhood Jane believes herself to be less hearty than her Reed cousins; her relief at escaping a long frigid walk suggests that the Reed children can easily endure that sort of exertion and exposure. That exposure to the elements is just as threatening to the young Jane as being confined at Gateshead is often overlooked. During the Famine, the Irish were victims of the elements, the victims of a vengeful natural world beyond their or their colonizers' control. Later in the text, Jane's health is a major concern to the Rivers sisters and to Rochester – ironic considering that she survives starvation and typhus at Lowood and the hazards of the elements and want after fleeing Thornfield. Jane is not actually sickly, just perceived to

be “inferior” in an indefinite, nondescript way that makes her lack of robustness seem somehow less English, more in-line with the physical and mental imperfection inscribed upon the colonized. This perception of Jane’s inferiority, both private and public, begins in the household of the Reeds and continues until Jane frees herself psychologically from its encumbrances when she flees Thornfield. The insecurities Jane develops as a result of the way she is treated and perceived are ingrained on her psyche. Jane believes herself to be “an interloper not of [Mrs. Reed’s] race...a strange child she could not love...an uncongenial alien permanently intruded on her own family group” (Brontë 13).

In the first moments of the novel Jane is alone, removed from her cousins’ presence at her aunt’s behest. Jane recalls how “she regretted to be under the necessity of keeping me at a distance...but [until Jane] acquired a more sociable and childlike disposition...more natural, as it were, she really must exclude me from privileges” (5). Any specific offense or offenses for which Jane must be removed from her family go unnamed because the determiners behind her ostracization are ambiguous. Clarifying the many generalized reasons behind Jane’s marginalization enables a more specific examination of Irish othering, read through Jane’s experiences as symbolic of Ireland and the Irish. Like Ireland, Jane is dependent on a resentful matriarch. Mrs. Reed provides for her basic needs, but does so with umbrage. She demonizes Jane and questions her worthiness. Jane is not one of Mrs. Reeds own and worse, she is penniless and needy. The negative behaviors Mrs. Reed and the staff attribute to Jane, whether real or fabricated, serve as justification for her treatment and especially for her exclusion from family life.

In an Irish postcolonial reading, Jane embodies all the qualities of the Irish poor in particular, and carries the same marks of their imagined iniquities. The somewhat occluded nature of the Irish allegory points to a climate wholly inhospitable and unsympathetic to the impoverished Irish. The Brontës' social position was undoubtedly undermined by Reverend Patrick Brontë's Irish origins, but also by all the negative stigmas of poverty that flooded across the channel as waves of destitute and starving Irish poured into British ports. Charlotte Brontë might have identified with the writers of *DUM* and the Anglo-Irish literary, cultural, and political intelligentsia, but her family's Irish background was certainly not one of opulence. Born on a County Down farm, Patrick Brontë's family had profited from the "Custom of Ulster" which, in contrast to the rest of Ireland, offered greater security to rural tenants. Like many of the Native Ulster Protestant families they were of mixed origin; however, Patrick's father Hugh Prunty's decision to pledge membership to the Church of Ireland entitled his family to securities such as livestock ownership which were, for their Catholic neighbors, legally limited. While frugally comfortable in England, Reverend Patrick Brontë never rose beyond the status of parish vicar to achieve anything more than a relatively cozy livelihood. The Brontës in both Ireland and England were humble, but not indigent; nonetheless, their Irishness further linked them to the impoverished Irish, spreading out like a contagion on both sides of the channel in response to the Famine hardships.

On the purely literal level of the text, Jane offends because she is unwanted. Jane is the child of Mrs. Reed's disowned sister-in-law; she is a relative of her aunt by marriage only. Mrs. Reed harbors intense jealousy at her late husband's affections for the child, and throughout the novel resents being forced to provide a home for this pauper

babe, a product of the lower classes. A Marxist examination of *Jane Eyre* similar to Eagleton's reading of *Manchester Park* in *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* would point to the class issues involved in Mrs. Reed's displaced anger towards the dependent child, specifically when they function as justification for Jane's segregation from the family. That assumption of the primacy of class issues overlooks Jane's Irish symbolic significance, even if it does demonstrate the relationship between the novel and the larger economic structural conditions of nineteenth-century England. Brontë, coming from a background of Christian altruism, did not harbor acrimony towards the poor; accordingly, the few misjudgments regarding the lower classes that Jane makes during the novel do not reflect the author's personal feelings, but are intended to be didactic.⁶⁶ Poverty, both rural and urban, was a universal problem throughout Britain in Brontë's age, and was without a doubt a major topic of social and political concern.

These topics are part of the larger focus of the novel – the Famine. During the Famine, increased migration to Britain led to fears of the mainland being over-run with starving Irish peasants. Jane's experiences with the poor represent a direct confrontation with endemic poverty in both Britain and Ireland, in particular the crisis of Irish poverty. Jane's experiences with the poor teach her that the allegations of the poor's "laziness" and "amorality" are largely untrue. Broad fallacious assertions made about the poor are disproved through Jane, but also in spite of and in opposition to young Jane's own sophisticated understanding of the nature of the poor. As Jane grows in experience, her beliefs regarding the poor are transformed. In this way, Brontë addresses and disproves

⁶⁶ A more extensive discussion of the Anglican response to poverty is contained in Chapter III of this dissertation.

reports of Irish indigence and immorality.⁶⁷ At Gateshead, the poor Irish ward symbolized by Jane is a burden thrust upon an unwilling host. The negative response intended to be gathered by the Reeds' behavior critiques the English response to the Irish colonized.

Brontë lays the framework for this sort of interpretation throughout the text, littering the novel with moments of conflict relating to class. When Mr. Lloyd proposes that Jane might possibly return to her family, she shuns the idea stating, "I was not heroic enough to purchase liberty at the expense of cast" (20). Jane's experiences at the charity school alter her conceptualization of the poorer classes. Jane herself proves reflective, intelligent, and talented, and serves as a model Christian – flawed but conscientious, penitent, and perpetually striving towards higher virtue. Later, when Jane takes up the position as village schoolmistress in Morton, her understanding of her impoverished pupils evolves. They are not the "dull" or "torpid" rustics she first imagined, but instead are "sharp-witted," "obliging," and "amiable." In their parents, she notes the same "estimable characters desirous of information and disposed for improvement." In this way, Jane's and the reader's opinions of the lower classes are altered. Jane's humane treatment towards the Morton poor serves as a catalyst towards their betterment. She treats them with a "a scrupulous regard to their feelings – to which they were not, perhaps, at all times accustomed, and which both charmed and benefited them; because, while it elevated them in their own eyes, it made them emulous to merit the deferential

⁶⁷ When questioned by Mr. Lloyd, the apothecary, about the possibility of rejoining her likely impoverished biological family, she replies, "Poverty looks grim to grown people; still more so to children: they have not much idea of industrious, working, respectable poverty; They think of the word only as connected with ragged clothes, scanty food, fireless grates, rude manners, and debasing vices: poverty for me was synonymous with degradation" (Brontë 96). After working in the Morton School, Jane's perception of her students is greatly altered. She notes "I discovered among them not a few examples of natural politeness and innate self-respect, as well as, of excellent capacity, that won both my goodwill and my admiration" (312).

treatment they received” (312). The poor are more than capable of striving for improvement when they live under a hegemony that encourages their advancement.

The ambiguity of Jane’s class status permits her to function as an intermediary between the upper and the lower classes, so that her appraisals on the nature of the poor and the proper management of them bear a far greater weight than negative prognostications against them made by those without any familiarity with the day to day workings of their lives. Her experiences with poverty, both her own and that of others, ultimately points to the conclusion that lack of respect is at the heart of failures in the management of the poor. In underestimating the poor and perpetuating damning misconceptions regarding their virtue and work ethic, the upper classes engender and maintain an erroneous sense of superiority coupled with resentment of their “obligations” towards those less fortunate. At the same time, the behaviors of the upper classes breed rancor amongst the poor and fuel seditious impulses.

The social egalitarian aspects of *Jane Eyre* that speak to the injustices of class abuse in the present system are ultimately undermined by Jane’s fortuitous inheritance. Jane’s lingering preoccupation with acquiring an income of her own in order to achieve some sort of financial equality with Rochester and personal solvency emphasize money’s supreme importance. When Jane’s dream comes true and she inherits her long-lost uncle’s estate, she is preserving and supporting the status quo. When Jane generously divides her money amongst her cousins she becomes solvent (but not rich), so that the economic elevation she experiences is moderate and within reason. The incorporation of the inheritance plot attenuates any of her positive appraisals of the merits of poverty. As noble as poverty is discovered by Jane to be, Jane does not want to be poor. *Jane Eyre*

validates the status quo because elevation through fortuitous acquisition of wealth trumps meritocracy.

Marxist critics were the first to point out the conservative implications of unexpected wealth acquisition in literature. From an Irish perspective, *Jane Eyre* supports the Irish class system through the text's endorsement of the economic hegemony, even as it draws attention to the plight of the poor and attempts to dispel damning stereotypes regarding them. The marriage of Rochester and Jane is not about economics, but about colonial politics. Jane's inheritance allows her self-sufficiency, and her finances permit a relative level of social acceptability among the upper classes, even if her background does not. The economic impediments behind their union are secondary to the symbolic natures of each character, Jane as Ireland and Rochester as England. While money is a component in the equalization of power that must transpire in order for Rochester and Jane to enter into a successful union, the power disparity between the colonizer nation and the colony represents a far larger divide. This divide is bridged by the essential maiming of colonial Britain embodied in the blind and dependent Rochester who must lean on his partner to be led.

Previous to Jane's rebellion against John Reed, she rationalizes her estrangement from the Reeds as stemming from her forced adoption and plain appearance.⁶⁸ Jane is always cognizant of the fact that she has been purposefully excluded from any possibility of incorporation within the family circle. Even though Jane is the niece of the late Mr. Reed, she knows that Gateshead is not her house and that she has less right to be there than a servant (85). Jane's mother, in marrying a poor clergyman, was disowned by her

⁶⁸Abbott remarks, "if she were a nice, pretty child, one might compassionate her forlornness, but one cannot care for such a little toad as that" (92).

enraged father. Her loving brother Mr. Reed, however, mourned her early death from typhus and took in her infant, Jane, to rear as his own among his children. This infuriates his wife, who harbors feelings of jealousy towards her husband's affection for Jane's mother, his only sister.⁶⁹ She is angered by his emotional and unmanly response to his sister's early death and his affection for his niece. His behavior, in a colonial sense, toes too soft a line.

Mrs. Reed's approach reflects a strong, authorial stance that distances her from emotional attachment to the Irish. Mrs. Reed immediately transposes her resentment onto the infant, a distaste made only worse by Mrs. Reed's forced pledge at her husband's deathbed to rear the child.⁷⁰ Mrs. Reed's selfish and irrational hatred of Jane dictates both her children's and the servants' impressions of and reactions to Jane. The servants indeed, make Jane into the "scapegoat of the nursery"; she is bullied, punished, and terrorized by John Reed, and ostracized by his sisters, Georgiana and Eliza. A host of negative qualities are readily pinned upon her, and her actions are twisted and construed to fit the negative assumptions heaped upon her character. Likewise, Jane is not a great beauty like Georgiana. As the maid, Miss Abbott describes her, she is "a little toad" (92).

There is much more to be garnered from Brontë's physical description of her main character. Jane's perceived lack of physical appeal correlates to the disgust with

⁶⁹ In Mrs. Reed's own words: "I had a dislike for her mother always; for she was my husband's only sister, and a great favorite with him: he opposed the family's disowning her when she made a low marriage; and when news came of her death, he wept like a simpleton. He would send for the baby; though I entreated him rather to put it out to nurse and pay for its maintenance. I hated it the first time I set my eyes on it- a sickly, whining pining thing!" (746).

⁷⁰ "Reed pitied it; and he used to nurse it and notice it as if it had been his own: more, indeed, than he ever noticed his own at that age. He would try to make my children friendly to the little beggar: the darlings could not bear it, and he was angry with them when they showed their dislike...an hour before he died, he bound me by vow to keep the creature" (746).

which she is treated. As an “ugly” child, she is not only unworthy of affection, but affection is not expected to be given towards her. In a way, her failure to be adorable exculpates those around her from the obligation to include her and treat her with kindness. Jane’s speculation that had she “been a sanguine, brilliant, careless, exacting, handsome, romping child, though equally dependent and friendless – Mrs. Reed would have endured [her] presence more complacently” (Brontë 15) is as immature as her own untamed emotions. Mrs. Reed’s distaste for the child is rooted in much more than her appearance. Regardless of the child Jane’s physicality, she would have been hated and abused by Mrs. Reed because she is an interloper. Moreover, Jane’s “lack of beauty” emphasizes her outsider status. Jane is a Turk. She is not like the English; she is Irish and consequently deserves exclusion. Her presence and the minimal amount of care that has gone into her upbringing is heartily resented so all of her actions and behaviors can be demonized to emphasize the burden placed upon her unwilling caregivers of this Irish changeling in an English household. Jane plays on the fear of a colonial takeover. She is the colonized who has infiltrated the domestic space and, as such, Mrs. Reed must keep her at bay.⁷¹

The Reeds are the first of several English characters who act as foils for the Irish Jane. Brontë’s entire tale is in fact a meditation on the nature of Ireland’s relationship with England, its place within mid nineteenth-century Britain and its Famine experience. Seen through Jane’s narrative voice, the inequalities and harsh treatment that she endures

⁷¹ “I have had more trouble with that child than anyone would believe. Such a burden to be left on my hands – and so much annoyance as she caused me, daily and hourly, with her incomprehensible disposition, and her sudden starts of temper, and her continual, unnatural watchings of one’s movements! I declare she talked to me once like something mad, or like a fiend – no child ever spoke or looked as she did” (745).

resonate as all the more unjust. Brontë's readers cannot help but believe Jane's side of the story and are hard pressed not to empathize with Jane, despite the accusations hurled against her. As a literary representation of Ireland, it becomes difficult for the readership to separate their sympathy for Jane from that of the land and people she represents. Brontë turns the British gaze inwards so that her readership must confront the humanitarian disaster of The Famine administration, the general failings of Irish colonial relations with Britain, and the unequal and disastrous marriage of England and Ireland. Jane is not a "natural" Reed and, consequently, all that she is and does is viewed as inappropriate, distasteful, and unnatural, so that her exclusion from the family is perceived to be warranted.⁷² Jane occupies a place that Homi K. Bhabha describes as "not quite/not white" (Bhabha 131). She is a "menace" to harmony in the Reed's home (*Culture and Imperialism* 132). Like the Irish, Jane seems like the Reeds, but she is not one of them and is regarded as a threat to their way of life. The Reeds' awareness of Jane's sameness, a sameness that camouflages her otherness, also reveals fears of Jane's suspected insidious nature and intentions.

Jane must occupy a tenuous social position in order to facilitate this discussion. Being reared in the home of wealthy relations and trained as a governess, Jane has intimate access to the upper classes, but her dependency aligns her with the poorer classes despite her education and wealthy connections. Fathered by an impoverished clergyman, Jane is born into poverty, so that despite any of the talents she exhibits, she is restricted and isolated by her finances and identified as intrinsically different, lesser than the young Reeds. Just as Jane's mother was "corrupted" by her poor husband, leading to

⁷² "She regretted to be under the necessity of keeping me at a distance...she really must exclude me from privileges intended for only content happy little children" (9).

her social descent, struggles with poverty, and ultimately precipitating her early death, so too does Jane's presence threaten her cousins' futures. Jane is not only an interloper at Gateshead, but she does not "know her place," an accusation that Jane herself proves when she responds to John Reed's torments and verbally excoriates Mrs. Reed. As Bessie puts it, she inappropriately questions the behaviors of her elders, albeit not without good reason. Her experiences at Gateshead and the Red Room incident provide entrance into an Irish Studies reading of the text in two ways. First, Jane's parents' history functions as a parable against cross class love, a fable that Jane's own love affair neither succeeds nor fails to dispel. In these marriages lies the larger discussion of the equality of Ireland as a Kingdom within the Union. Secondly, the domestic strife generated by Jane's presence at Gateshead, especially her real and conflated rebellions (both verbal and physical), cause disharmony in the home of her benefactress. She is like the Irish in rebellion. Brontë does not necessarily attempt to excuse the injustices that are perpetrated against Jane, but provides plenty of insight into the motivations of those who enact abuses against her so that the readers can formulate their own judgments of her persecutors.

From her childhood, Jane is cognizant of a litany of justifications for her position and treatment. The Reeds and the help at Gateshead, Mr. Brocklehurst, and the Ingrams readily illuminate Jane as to the rationality behind their conduct towards her. Jane's character and temperament, physical appearance, and worth as measured by her finances and connections or lack thereof, are all manipulated to serve to devalue her and to defend exclusionary and cruel behaviors towards her. That she is symbolic of Ireland suggests that the novel is an attempt to articulate England's persecution of Ireland – to both criticize it and acknowledge it and to express and ruminate on England's possible

motivations for this treatment. Jane's treatment at the hands of others throughout the text is streamed through the prism of her Irish signification. What results is an opportunity to examine individually and collectively the character charges brought against Jane and by proxy, the Irish. In this way, the motivation behind England's treatment of Ireland, specifically during the Famine, and the resultant turmoil that ensues is made obvious so that it might be managed in more positive ways. Jane's reactions to wrongs and criticism suggest Irish responses – both external, in the form of sedition and protest, and internal, in the form of self-hatred and doubt. For her part, Jane accepts as true some of their assertions and chafes against others. She is, for instance, relatively self-assured of her educative and artistic accomplishments, which make her a more than adequate tutor for Adèle and engaging conversationalist for Rochester. At the same time, she absorbs and accepts the commentary on her physicality and status that spurs her to erroneously acknowledge the beautiful Blanche Ingram as the intended mate of Rochester. In an exercise that forces her feelings to submit to discipline and rationality (Brontë 137), Jane creates comparative portraits of herself and Blanche. These pictures function as a form of flagellation, cleansing Jane of her presumption and restoring her to a place of subservience and exclusion. In this scene, Jane renounces her presumptive fantasies and embraces the claims of others intended to foster acceptance of her inherent servility: “Reason having come forward and told in her own quiet way, a plain, unvarnished tale, showing how I had rejected the real: rabidly devoured the ideal” (136).

In spite of this avowal, Jane continues to love Rochester and when offered does accept his proposal of an unconventional marriage. When the reality of Rochester's existing marriage to Bertha clashes with Jane's ethics, she exhibits a superior personal

moral fortitude that indicates a sense of self-worth far greater than the worth allocated her by society. She is not the mere thrall that the likes of Aunt Reed and Mrs. Ingram pronounced her to be and that she sometimes even sees in herself. She embraces painful consequences to preserve her principles rather than satiate her desires and lead a life of ignominy by living as Rochester's common-law-wife. Proof of the rectitude of her behaviors is the validation of the reoccurring "Voice" which guides Jane's decisions, all of which lead to the ultimate rewards of wealth and happiness reaped by Jane at the novel's conclusion. Jane's principles are vindicated so that the judgments of others might be questioned and rebutted. Brontë first conveys, through Jane, scenarios reflective of the Irish situation, then depicts the ways that they were mismanaged or positively resolved to articulate the failures in Famine administration and in the larger context, inequalities with the Union.

Colonial Doubles – Jane and Bertha

Jane's multiple moments of rebellion and punishment throughout the text have been read from feminist, Marxist, and postcolonial perspectives; it is Gayatri Spivak's landmark linking of feminism, liberal individualism, and imperialism that is most persuasive in its claim that the master narrative of the nineteenth century is imperialism (Freegood 44). It is via the theoretical framework created by these earlier criticisms of *Jane Eyre* that the work's full allegorical intentions are most clearly and fully realized in an Irish reading. At heart, these earlier readings focus on the insidiousness of the colonized; whether they concern themselves with gender, economic, or colonial disempowerment, they are each centered on the dangers of subjugated others rising in resistance to the authority that disenfranchises them. In unjust and arbitrary suppression

lies the imminent seed of rebellion. An Irish reading draws from all of these sources to elucidate Brontë's intentions using the theoretically sound and accepted assertions of earlier critics. This facilitates, as Eagleton explains, the opportunity "to identify the inner ideological structure of a work and to expose its relations both to what we call literary 'form' and to an actual history" (4). While feminist, Marxist, and postcolonial readings do take into account the historical context under which the text was written, an Irish reading situates the text firmly within the historical moment to draw specific, rather than general, connections and conclusions. These conjectures point to the precise causes of Irish embitterment to justify their desire to rebel against their colonial masters. Brontë's readers are privy to the abuse and unfairness Jane endures at the hands of the Reeds and their staff, so that rather than perceive her as rebellious, they recognize her behavior as an expected, if not an acceptable response to the provocation she endures.

Again, the accuracy of the Irish reading in no way denigrates the importance of the conclusions drawn by earlier critics, but rather, brings their ideas to fruition. Feminist assertions regarding *Jane Eyre* are foundational to Marxist and postcolonial readings, but have a special significance in Irish readings in which the tropes of courtship and marriage are inherently linked to the proverbial marriage of the Kingdoms in the Act of Union and the questions of Irish/British equality within their existing union. This is particularly important when considered in conjunction with Jane's relationship with Rochester, but also with his wife by his first failed marriage, Bertha. It is by the failure of Bertha and Rochester's marriage that the success of Jane and Rochester's marriage is measured. Gilbert and Gubar's assertion of Jane and Bertha's doubling first introduced the subject of Jane's dichotomous symbolism into discussions of the text. They write "Bertha...is

Jane's truest and darkest double: she is the angry aspect of the orphan child, the ferocious secret self, Jane has been trying to repress ever since her days at Gateshead" (Gilbert and Gubar 61). In a feminist reading, the personas in apposition are that of the acceptable, passive, and socially appropriate woman, in the case of a Marxist reading, the submissive proletariat set against the discontented and mutinous plebians, and in the postcolonial reading the colonizers contrasted with the colonized.⁷³

All of these juxtapositions are based on authority/subservience relationships contrasting Bertha and Jane as antithetical to one another in their reactions to this binary. Bertha is wild, uncouth, and sexualized, Jane is reserved, introspective, and mistress of her own sexuality, but they are united by their shared status as women and as Rochester's lovers so that rather than maintaining a sense of being eternally antithetical to one another, there is a fear of "crossing-over." Utilizing the trope of the mirror, their identities are fused, so that they are read as versions of each other. Jane can de-evolve into Bertha and throughout the text frequently teeters on that abyss, just as recalcitrant Ireland hovers in a perpetual state of impending rebellion. As Spivak notes, a feminist reading focused on feminist individualism still needs to be situated in its historical determination rather than singularly used to canonize feminism (799). For Spivak, Feminist readings are themselves politically implicated in colonialism because they privilege the white woman at the expense of the colonial. In an Irish reading, the female character is not just a woman, but is, as per Irish tradition, symbolic of colonial Ireland as

⁷³ Feminists have read this doubling as proof of Jane's inner conflict as a woman and indicative of her desire to rebel against the limitations of patriarchy that repress women. Jane's rebellion against the malicious John Reed is magnified by the animalistic presence of Bertha whose numerous violent attacks enact Jane's seething discontent. The repressions of society towards women that plague Jane are literalized in Bertha's imprisonment. Jane and Bertha's mutual constraints are physical, emotional, and financial. The ways in which these limitations determine their divergent existences, whether by free will or fate, are the bases for their juxtaposition.

a whole. The British Imperial Century and the universalizing thematic behind *Jane Eyre* was Imperialism, as Spivak notes, but more specifically, the current relationship between England and Ireland. Spivak's claim that "The manipulation of the domestic inscription of space within the upwardly mobilizing currents of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century bourgeoisie in England" (800) shifts to the urgency of the Imperial project in general. While this shift without a doubt extends to the entire Imperial world, inclusive and pertinent to the Caribbean world of the literal Bertha, in *Jane Eyre* this shift is also unambiguously specific to the Irish.

In *Jane Eyre*, the crisis of the Potato Famine is the paramount external event that shapes Brontë's artistic choices throughout the novel, and that specific historical context of the Great Irish Famine is much more germane to Brontë's cultural and historical preoccupations than the crisis of African slavery, a topic which though pertinent, she had less tangible connections than with the Irish Crisis. The link between Jane- Ireland and Bertha-Africa is not meant to point solely to abolitionism, but to the spiritual and physical enslavement shared by the colonized Irish and the Africans in the West Indies. The Irish are connected to the enslaved to emphasize the inhumanity of the Irish experience, not the African one. The Irish problem is the one thematic that occurs consistently throughout the novel through Jane as the protagonist and symbol of the Irish and Ireland. As the focus of the novel, her specific colonial conflict is the center of the novel's symbolic subplot and all the symbolic representations Brontë produces, though linked to other societal problems, are in fact responses to the specific crisis of the Irish Famine and the status of the Irish. Therefore, while concerns over female autonomy and the status of colonized others of color are indeed also a small part of Brontë's tale, to

imagine them as her focus is to fall far short of acknowledging the historic event to which her novel directly responds. Brontë's need to veil her concerns requires that the modern reader do some excavating past what they would perceive to be the preeminent problems of the day – women's rights and African slavery – to unearth the issue most dear to an author constrained by a need to preserve her social status while still expressing her disquietude over the Famine.

While a postcolonial perspective links Jane to colonized others and colonial mastery, it tends to become simplified into discussions of West Indian colonization and slavery. Like in a feminist reading, it imagines Bertha, Rochester's mad Creole wife⁷⁴ as Jane's dark double from her very first appearance in Jane's bedroom on the eve of the wedding. In both a literal and in a figurative sense Bertha, first revealed as an image in the looking glass darkly, is the other Jane, just as the reflection of Jane in the Red Room mirror returns the angry and revengeful girl that Jane, in her conflict with John Reed, readily becomes.⁷⁵ The postcolonial reading relies on Bertha's status as a "non-white" from the Caribbean and highlights her rebellions, in particular her madness and her pyromania, as part of a colonial and racial struggle.

⁷⁴Bertha occupies an ambiguous position in regards to race and ethnicity, a fact, which Brontë undoubtedly crafted into her novel intentionally. As a Creole from the West Indies, Bertha is of both French and English extraction, but there is the looming possibility that she might be of mixed race, the product of a relationship between ancestors of both European and African backgrounds. Being of French ancestry bears plenty of ignominy of its own accord in the post-Napoleonic Era, as does being from the ungodly and devolving tropical climes of the Caribbean, but potentially sharing connections with the enslaved only compounds the "sordidness" of Bertha's lineage. Much textual evidence does support the latter theory in regard to Brontë's intentions for Bertha's origins. To pen a marriage between a white gentleman and a mixed race woman would likely garner much unwanted criticism in an age of scientifically endorsed racism and anti-miscegenation. The author's subtle implication of Bertha's African origins exemplifies Brontë's sophisticated ability to write on inflammatory subjects in a veiled way so as to not arouse ire that would prove damning.

⁷⁵ "Returning, I had to cross before the looking-glass; my fascinated glance involuntarily explored the depth it revealed. All looked colder and darker in that visionary hollow than in reality" (Brontë 11).

Bertha is beyond a doubt a doppelganger for Jane:⁷⁶

Presently, she took my veil from its place...threw it over her head...and turned to the mirror. At that moment I saw the reflection of the visage and features quite distinctly in the dark oblong glass...fearful and ghastly to me. It was a discolored face – a savage face. I wish I could forget the roll of the red eyes and the fearful blackened inflation of the lineament...Shall I tell you of what it reminded me? Of the foul German spectre – the Vampyre. (Brontë 242)

The image young Jane earlier recognizes as a sinister version of herself is equally monstrous. In Uncle Reed's mirror she sees a "strange little figure... like one of the tiny phantoms, half fairy, half imp...coming out of lone, ferny dells in moors, and appearing before the eyes of belated travellers" (11). This is not the image of a benign tiny sprite but bears a closer resemblance to the treacherous and dissolute leprechauns of Irish folk culture. Rochester essentially calls Jane a leprechaun when interviewing her at Thornfield after his fall from his horse: "You were waiting for your people when you sat on the stile...For the men in green: it was a proper moonlight evening for them. Did I break through one of your [fairy] rings, that you spread that damned ice on the causeway?"

⁷⁶ In postcolonial readings, it is not only Jane's gender but also her social outsider status as a colonized other that links her to Bertha. The colonized are often feminized; their symbolic embodiment as a women – Bertha and Jane – fits neatly with that convention, so that the postcolonial reading builds on feminist interpretations.

(104).⁷⁷ Both Jane the leprechaun and Bertha the vampire are saddled with socially destructive and perverted symbolic other-wordly associations.⁷⁸

The colonized too are viewed as degenerate and beastly, characteristics, which Bertha explicitly embodies and Jane possesses in her moments of rebellion, or is at least accused of exhibiting. A dark-skinned insane violent rebellious woman is the archetype of the problematic, unpredictable, and volatile colonized, just as she is also emblematic of the disenfranchised nineteenth-century female. But this colonized individual, while specific in the character of Bertha to the West Indies, is also representative of the colonized of color throughout the Empire. Bertha is indeed very much the dark double to the white-skinned Jane, the symbolic representative of the other colonized race, the Irish, so that their shared and disparate experiences as Mrs. Rochester speak to the similarities between colonized others.

The success of Jane's marriage versus the failure of Bertha's also differentiates the Irish condition from that of their fellow colonized of color. This distinction is represented in the different outcomes of Rochester's first and second marriages. Bertha dies in a state of rebellion as *Thornfield* is consumed by flames, reminiscent of the symbolic inferno of the Red Room in which Jane rebelled against Mrs. Reed and the injustices of life at Gateshead. Jane, on the other hand, realizes an idyllic and egalitarian marriage in a pastoral setting. Clearly, a distinction is being made between the two types of colonized "other"; the Irish, as recalcitrant on first glance as they may appear, are

⁷⁷ Traditionally, leprechauns dance in fairy rings under the moonlight and make mischief for those who come upon them.

⁷⁸ Later in the century, the Irish authors Sheridan LeFanu (*Carmilla* 1871) and Bram Stoker (*Dracula* 1897) would write novels about the plague of a woman vampire who disrupts civil society.

ultimately capable of forging positive partnerships with their colonizers while the capacity of the colonized of color to do the same remains, in Brontë's mind, uncertain.

It is through Brontë's heritage that Jane, the symbolic link to Ireland, enters into the tradition of the racialized Celtic peoples. From there, she is solidly linked to colonial others of color like Bertha, others whose existence her life experiences reflect allegorically. Although Gilbert and Gubar's and Spivak's readings are at odds with one another, they are both foundational examples of this sort of Bertha-centric postcolonial reading. In this reading, the two Mrs. Rochester's rebellions are rooted in female ownership, marriage rights, problems of colonial mastery, and race. Jane is linked to both the disenfranchisement of women and that of the feminized "lower" races. Through her double, the clearly racialized Bertha, Jane's ever-present otherness, takes on the colonial dimension facilitating Jane's Irish allegorical nature. An Irish Cultural Historicist reading of *Jane Eyre* builds on and enhances feminist and postcolonial models, which center on women's autonomy, Caribbean colonialism, and racial apartheid. Jane, the Irish woman, is inseparable from her racially othered Creole twin Bertha, even though unlike Bertha Jane can seemingly eschew her ignominious status and "pass." Bertha and Jane's irrevocably intertwined existences enhance the reader's understanding of the complexities of Irish racialization and the grievances shared, across culture and color, between the colonized.

Postcolonial theorists discern links between Bertha and enslaved Africans in the Caribbean in order to connect Jane to Bertha as a disenfranchised other. Bertha's position in the West Indian qualifies her as a colonized individual. Bertha is Rochester's living deranged, wife. Jane's impending marriage to the power-seeking Rochester solidifies her

connection to Bertha. Notwithstanding an Irish reading of *Jane Eyre* that proposes a specific colonial identity for Jane, postcolonial critics point to Jane's disenfranchisement as a poor woman as sufficient evidence of her kinship with Bertha as an othered individual. They are indeed doubles of each other. Their shared resistance to Rochester's desires is, undoubtedly, as much about colonial and racial mastery as it is about patriarchy. That being said, while a feminist reading certainly reveals some of the symbolic intentions behind Brontë's novel, it is incomplete in its imaginings of Jane's and Bertha's rebellions as simply about female autonomy. Women's rights do seem to be one of Brontë's concerns as countless feminist critics identify, but to envision them as her singular focus would be a gross over-simplification of the conflicts Jane encounters. A postcolonial reading that is Caribbean-centric when focused through the lens of Bertha's Jamaican background is likewise underdeveloped in that it fails to identify Jane's much more apparent symbolic connection, her alignment with the Irish. An Irish postcolonial reading that seeks to reveal the many ways in which Jane is linked to the Ireland of the Famine is indebted to and expands on feminist and earlier postcolonial readings. It builds on the assertions initiated by these readings in a more complete and comprehensive way through the historical moment of the Famine during which *Jane Eyre* was written and takes into account Brontë's real Irish connections and concerns.

The Act of Union - Rochester and Jane

The success of an Irish reading is contingent on Jane's disenfranchisement resulting from her social position, not just her racialization. Jane as a respectable woman, skilled in all the lady's arts, must work for her income. Like Mrs. Fairfax, who Jane originally mistakes for the mistress of Thornfield and her employer, Jane's social status

confuses the traditional hierarchy. Jane is privy to the lifestyles and needs of the upper classes, grooming their children, and sharing their home. She is more than a mere uneducated servant, but less than an equal. Jane's relationship with Rochester as her employer is atypical, a fact that Brontë undoubtedly understood all too well from her personal experiences as a governess. The Ingrams' appraisal of their employment of governesses paints a very different picture from the situation offered to Jane as Adèle's teacher and Rochester's de facto companion and confidant. The Ingrams demonstrate the "appropriate" antagonistic relationship between the governess and her employers, one characterized by the power struggle between the authority of the governess as an educator and that of her charges as members of a "superior" class.⁷⁹

When Rochester grants Jane entrance to his soiree as his personal guest, he does so in defiance of her clearly defined social inequality; his other partygoers are less generous in their dismissal of her status. Lady Ingram notes of Jane, "I am a judge of physiognomy, and in hers I see all the faults of her class" (151). Later, Lady Ingram precludes Jane from joining the party in charades, proclaiming, "She looks too stupid for any game of that sort" (155). Both of these appraisals of governesses are readily applicable to the Irish.⁸⁰ In *Uneven Developments* (1988), Mary Poovey discusses the liminality of the governess:

⁷⁹ Lady Ingram bemoans, "My dearest, don't mention governesses...I have suffered a martyrdom from their incompetency and caprice." Her daughter Blanche concurs, "They are a nuisance. Not that I ever suffered much from them; I took care to turn the tables...we sermonized her on the presumption to teach such clever blades as we were, when she was herself so ignorant" (150-151).

⁸⁰ In a comment applicable to the employment of Irish signifiers in *Jane Eyre* (Jane in particular), Freegood asserts that the usage of "Literal women as opposed to female figures, literal slaves as opposed to metaphorical bondsman...violates the decorous reading practices that have often rendered the study of literature (and philosophy) a form of moral and political hygiene... And expands the possibilities for making legitimate interpretations out of the vagrant processes of what might be called the metonymic imagination (21).

The governess epitomized the domestic ideal, and the figure that threatened to destroy it. Because the governess was like the middle-class mother in the work she performed but like both a working-class woman and man in the wages she received, the very figure who theoretically should have defended the naturalness of separate spheres threatened to collapse the difference between them. (127)

Like the governess, the Irish have similar access to the English sphere, especially those members of the ambiguous Anglo-Irish class. The Ascendancy functions as a buffer between the English colonial center and the Irish Gaelic periphery. As a female employee with access to the domestic sphere Jane represents the same threat to the Imperial center as that posed by the Irish, paused at the peripheries, but with ready access to heart of the Empire. Jane's relationship with her employer-lover Rochester proves even more alarming because it breaches the cross-class boundaries damning the unions between servants and masters. Their attraction elucidates the specifically insidious nature of the governess, a woman who is a second mother to the master and mistress' children and in the absence of a true mistress of the house, can usurp that position, just as Jane ultimately does in the House of Rochester.

Moreover, as Freegood explains, "Mary Poovey took the problem of governessing in *Jane Eyre* literally, rather than as a metaphor for some larger condition of human bondage" (20). Poovey's assertions, centered on class and gender expose the threat to the status quo contained in the governess' ambiguous position; these same assertions are readily applicable to the menacing Irish presence embodied in Jane. Ironically, the status that Poovey uses literally, rather than as part of a larger metaphor, can be used to discuss

how symbolic Ireland as a woman in servitude challenges hegemonic authority and disrupts the social order. By defying her “betters” and marrying above her, Ireland becomes not England’s concubine, but the wife and partner. Jane is the incarnation of the Irish colony, Britannia’s feminine other that is for the moment oppressed in a slavish marriage, but who is destined not only to disrupt the colonizer/colonist binary, but also to master the master.

Rochester as England

Rochester is Britain to Jane’s Ireland. Rochester, with his illicit past and arrogant persona, is desperate in his need to master Jane. Jane has un-designedly infatuated him – completely and dangerously. Rochester, just like the nation that he represents, is anything but a simple character. He has historically behaved in ways that have not only diminished his honor, but were unarguably immoral by nature. Throughout the text, Rochester continues to behave in ways that are unbecoming and unprincipled; he poses as a gypsy to trick Jane and Blanche Ingram into revealing their true intentions towards him, he tricks Jane into believing that he has become engaged to Blanche so that she will confess her affections for him, and especially when he attempts to marry Jane while his wife resides in captivity under the same roof. Besides all of these clandestine acts are the debaucheries he fully admits to – marrying a virtual stranger for money and engaging in sexually promiscuous adventures with women of more than questionable characters that may or may not have resulted in the issue of Adèle Varens. These are no small failings even by nineteenth-century standards.

Yet, Jane discerns nobility in Rochester beyond the status provided him by wealth and birth, so that her initial fascination for him turns first to love then to idolization.

While Rochester enjoys Jane's resistance, what underlies his tolerance of her rejections during their engagement period is his full expectation of dominance over her during their subsequent marriage. Jane recognizes that in deifying Rochester her identity will be subsumed, so that her struggle is between intense attraction and the self-preservation of flight. It is during the scenes preceding the exposure of Rochester's living wife that Jane's desire to both please and even worship her lover is most evident:

My future husband was becoming to me my whole world; and more than the world: almost my hope of heaven. He stood between me and every thought of religion...I could not in those days, see God for his creature: of whom I had made an idol. (Brontë 234)

At the same time, Rochester's profound need to be idolized and to dominate Jane grows to pathological proportions. In a direct reference to enslavement and ownership, Rochester menaces Jane saying, "It is your time, little tyrant, but...once I have fairly seized you, to have and to hold, I'll just – figuratively speaking – attach you to a chain" (231).⁸¹ His mordant jest certainly echoes the Irish colonial experience, which since the late eighteenth century utilized analogies of bondage and enslavement. When his bigamous plot fails and Jane refuses his proposition to live a wanton, albeit closeted life as his mistress, his world crumbles.⁸² Rochester needs to be both worshipped and obeyed, and he is driven by this need. Rochester is innately undeserving of Jane and knows that it

⁸¹ The ballad "Long Held in Chains" which detailed the United Irishmen Rebellion of 1798 included the lyrics, "Ireland, Ireland long held in chains, never defeated we've risen again." The hugely popular "The Minstrel Boy," also penned in response to the rising of 1798, likewise featured allusions to chains and slavery.

⁸² Rochester describes agony resulting from Jane's abandonment of him, explaining, "I was desolate and abandoned – my life dark, lonely, hopeless – my soul athirst and forbidden to drink – my heart famished never to be fed" (370).

is only by force that can he have her. Jane, poor, plain, and unconnected, in spite of her sometimes uncontrollable passions is morally superior to Rochester. It is only when Rochester is forced to reveal his marriage to Bertha that Jane, in spite of her continuing intense love for Rochester, is totally freed from feelings of veneration for her would-be-husband. When Jane exercises her discretion and flees Thornfield, she proves herself to be incorruptible. When she establishes herself in Morton as a teacher, even before she receives her inheritance from her uncle, Jane shows that dependence is not a prerequisite for her survival and success. On the contrary, Jane's absence leaves Rochester rudderless, essentially unable to function. Later, when he is maimed in the fire at Thornfield, he physically bears the marks of his ignobility. The loss of his hand and sight represent the corporeal evidence of his sins and his dependence on Jane.

Rochester instinctively seeks to control others and acquire wealth. As a second son, he has been forever cognizant of the insecurity of his position. In order to maintain his lifestyle within the class he was born, he has to acquire wealth through marriage, which he succeeds in doing through his marriage to Bertha Mason. Inasmuch as Rochester maintains the duplicity of his father and brother for the part in his betrothal to Bertha, there is little doubt that he fully understood the implications of such a union. Rochester's marriage to Bertha was necessitated by his desire to preserve his social authority and elite and privileged position through the acquisition of material wealth. When Bertha proves mentally unstable, her behaviors threaten to erode his status. Bertha's behaviors represent the ultimate flouncing of Rochester's authority. Her insanity and her infidelity, in particular, is the most base of rebellious activities. There are many ways in which Bertha and Jane are linked, but at the core of their similarities is their

shared rebellion against Rochester, Brontë's agent of British authority. For Jane, this rebellion takes the shape of her tormenting Rochester during their engagement by withholding affection.

When Jane does marry the penitent Rochester, their social and economic differences have been significantly reduced. Their marriage could have only existed, and had the potential for success, after their situations, both personal and financial, had been radically altered. Jane's love for Rochester was never hampered by the failings of his former life. Even after she declined his offer to cohabit with him as his de facto wife and fled Thornfield, Jane continued to love and pray for Rochester's salvation. Wed to Bertha, Rochester and Jane's union had been hampered by the legal ramifications of bigamy and by the questionable morality of continuing their relationship as common-law partners. Even before his marriage to Bertha is revealed, his relationship to Jane is problematic on several levels. When their love affair is discovered, Mrs. Fairfax's immediate questioning of the validity of Rochester and Jane's engagement points to the obvious inequality of their relationship. Indeed, this is as much an obstacle to their future together as is Rochester's living wife. Until Jane receives her unforeseen colonial inheritance from her wine merchant uncle, she would, in marrying Rochester, always have been completely dependent on him. A marriage originating from such gross discrepancies in wealth places one partner in a position of utter servitude, necessitates perpetual gratitude, and leaves no room for partnership and reciprocity. Through Rochester and Jane, Brontë espouses that power sharing and equality are at the heart of a successful union, without which both partners are debased.

As symbolic of England and Ireland, respectively, Rochester and Jane's marriage represents the Union between the two nations. Rochester's deficits are emblematic of a multitude of social, political, and historical failures, which injure both England and Ireland. These deficiencies do not refute England's innate nobility nor dampen Ireland's intrinsic attachment to her preordained spouse, but bring to light these failings so that a stronger union between the two nations might be established. Jane as Ireland, after all, is not without her own faults. Jane is passionate and rebellious. The novel is as much about Jane's spiritual growth as it is about chastising Rochester. Ireland must also curb its emotional and confrontational tendencies and assume a position of pious rationalism so that it can engage in a healthy relationship with its British counterpart. However, as Jane demonstrates, many of Ireland's behaviors are reactions to the way she is treated and perceived, not representations of some innate character flaw. While she is intrinsically emotional, she is not recalcitrant by nature, so that when Jane is eventually able to master herself, she can perceive and understand the origins of her persecution and, guided by strong Christian morality, implement rational responses.

When Jane, as symbolic of Ireland, marries the now disabled, dependent, and shattered Rochester, her seizure of power is potentially both terrifying and complete. The ramifications of a reversal of authority and dependency between the master and the servant when viewed through the colonial lens prophesizes an even more disturbing scenario, one in which the Irish bride of the Union will one day achieve her own, uncheckable authority, or even master her English husband. However, Jane unlike Rochester reiterates again and again the power-sharing nature and mutual need of their relationship. They are truly partners. For all intents and purposes, the marriage between

Jane and Rochester reads like a fairytale ending. Jane professes, “All my confidence is bestowed on him; all his confidence is devoted to me; we are precisely suited in character – perfect concord is the result” (384). Certainly, the development of an ideal union between Ireland and England, one that could espouse the same virtues as the marriage of Jane and Rochester, would be a welcome resolution to the discord produced by over several hundred years of animosity and instability. However, to attain that fantastic status where each nation might claim themselves, bone of each other’s bone and flesh of each other flesh, the distribution of power and dependency would require a reversal to which few in authority in England would agree. In Jane’s case, Rochester’s blinding and maiming in the fire that consumed Thornfield necessitates the power sharing that allows her to serve as his “right hand” and the literal “apple of his eye” (384). This relinquishment of power is obligatory; his condition forces him to enter into an equal relationship with his former servant.

It is an arrangement that could never have manifested itself had it not been for the presumptive and subversive position Jane formerly occupied as a governess. From a feminist perspective, this is the danger of Jane’s unchecked female autonomy – through education, employment, and access to the world of the upper classes she not only upsets the status quo, but also redefines it. From a postcolonial perspective, Jane’s transformation from unwanted, rebellious orphan to the lady of the house who is also the real head of the household reimagines the colonizer\colonized relationship.⁸³ Previous critics, however, have failed to consider the way in which Jane as a signifier of Ireland challenges that relationship in a very specific way. The development of Jane and

⁸³ Spivak condemns the colonial politics of Jane’s rise, since it seemingly comes at the sacrifice of the colonized other, Bertha. She rejects the reading that aligns Jane with the colonized. In an Irish reading of *Jane Eyre*, however, Jane is as much representative of the colonized as Bertha.

Rochester's successful marriage envisions a resolution to the disharmony that categorized the Union's first four decades. It is a transformation which would demand tremendous relinquishment of authority on the part of Britain and a willingness to enter into a more equal and co-reliant relationship with its former colony. For said union to be achieved, Britain would need to suffer losses commensurate to Rochester's wounds, facilitating dependency and prompting a willingness to share and succeed power. This symbolic union can only be completed through the equality of the partners in the marriage. Jane must first achieve the feminist ideal of independence as a woman who makes her own income and then as an heiress. Her status as a woman, however, is a vehicle towards the specifically Irish colonial metaphor for the Act of Union, which underlies many of Brontë's literary choices in *Jane Eyre*.

Towards an Irish Studies Reading of *Jane Eyre*

Brontë addresses the Famine in *Jane Eyre* wholly mindful of the multidimensional nature of accusation, blame, and victimization that surrounds the event. Historically, the government at Westminster has been saddled with a legacy of guilt for the catastrophe, dodging accusations ranging from incompetency to premeditated genocide. The situation requires considerably more unpacking than is offered in a simple, reductive version of the events. Much of what transpired, or backfired, in regards to the Famine administration was causal to failures in the colonial administration and the culture of the day rather than premeditated attempts to further oppress or even exterminate the Irish as some Irish nationalists would attest. These causes and their results will be discussed in the following chapter, "The Christianizing Impulse of Evangelical Anglicanism: *Jane Eyre* and the Irish Colonial Project." If Jane, as a

signifier of Ireland, reflects the author's feelings on the failure of Famine administration and colonial approach to Ireland, it appears that Brontë was not bitter, but rather critical of policy failures and demanding of an immediate reformation of these programs to alleviate Irish suffering. Brontë indicates Jane's ability to confront and move beyond problems in a positive way. Jane's ability to come to Mrs. Reed's deathbed and to forgive her, even as she berates Jane, is intended to demonstrate the Irish's desire to pardon and be at peace with their oppressors. Using an approach Jane learned from the sage-like Helen Burns, Brontë demonstrates the resilience and clemency the Irish must show their oppressors. At the same time, she does not excuse their behaviors. The mutual compassion with which both parties must engage with one another to foster a successful Union is directly linked to the implementation of Christian dogma amidst a climate of Imperial expansion and dominated economically by Malthusian philosophies.

In Mrs. Reed's deathbed scene, it is quite clear whose behavior is morally and socially correct – Ireland's, not England's. Herein is Brontë's subtle reproach of British conduct. The problems relating to colonial hegemony and Ireland's place within the Union can be read both within the context of the Famine and through a consideration of Ireland's relationship symbolized in the relationship and later in the marriage between Rochester and Jane. In this marriage Ireland is charged with the task of forgiving England, an undertaking which some might read as excessive. England, however, is commissioned to recognize wrongdoings and immoral judgments, to repent, to change and to accept dependence on their former colonial serfs. Only when Rochester is symbolically converted is his desire for union with Jane achieved.

**Chapter III: The Christianizing Impulse of Evangelical Anglicanism: *Jane Eyre* and
the Irish Colonial Project**

“Conventionality is not morality. Self-Righteousness is not religion...To pluck the mask from the face of the Pharisee, is not to lift and impious hand to the Crown of Thorns.”

-Curren Bell, December 21, 1847

Nineteenth Century Anglican Evangelicalism¹¹¹ played an important role in British domestic and international policy as well as in the personal life of author Charlotte Brontë. Attention to Christian trends of that period should be offered a prominent role in any of Brontë’s fictions, but especially in an Irish post-colonialist reading of *Jane Eyre* focused on exploring the presence of the Famine. Contemporaneous religious trends informed political and humanitarian responses to the Famine and Brontë incorporates a full discussion of these trends within her novel. As David Bebbington notes in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, the evangelical experience was characterized by conversion, the propagation of the faith throughout the world by spreading the Good News of the Gospel, evangelizing and proselytizing the need to enact Christ’s message through charitable works, and the centrality of Jesus’ redemption of an inherently sinful humanity through the Crucifixion. In concurrence with Bebbington, none of these concepts or objectives were antithetical to the Imperial project (Bebbington 2-3). In fact, the realization of these objectives at any cost provides the moral justification for both the expansion of the Empire and

¹¹¹ Evangelicalism is a vastly important and influential movement beginning in the eighteenth century. It encompasses many varied manifestations, which would require significantly more attention than a brief rendering allows, so that some generalizations are necessary. With this in mind, Evangelicalism with a capital “e” or where specified as Anglican Evangelicalism refers specifically to the Evangelical movement within the Church of England separate from that of Methodism or other dissenter Protestant groups. While the Methodist Church technically split from the Church of England after Wesley’s death, I would note that in England parishioners identifying as Anglicans regularly continued to attend Methodist revivals and meetings well into the nineteenth century.

administration of colonized spaces. By upholding Anglican Evangelicalism, Brontë issues her de-facto support to the global Christianizing initiative. Even when Brontë uses her novel as a platform to pass disapproving judgment on the failures in application of Christian theologies in regards to the administration of the Irish colony during the Famine crisis, she continues to champion Evangelical Anglicanism and defend its imperialist entitlements.

Brontë endorses Anglican Evangelicalisms in the ultimate positive resolution to her main character's story. Jane is a successful Evangelical Christian. Her journey is fraught with temptation and tribulations. Her personal relationship with the Divine is evinced through multiple episodes where the Spirit guides her forward on her journey towards the life of happiness, love, and fulfillment for which she is destined. Despite the bleakness of the situation in which she is embroiled, the ultimate success of Jane's journeying, realized in her egalitarian marriage to Rochester, reinforces the understanding that the promise of the Divine's plan contained within Christianity is achieved by the faithful. Rochester's conversion and reward, likewise, validate the understanding of the beneficent God of Evangelicalism. Anglicanism was far from homogeneous by the mid-century. It had a broad spectrum of beliefs and factions, most important among them Tractarianism and Evangelicalism, grossly synonymous with High and Low Churchism. Although the state and majority religion in England, Anglicanism had numerous schismatic divisions. Competing factions vied to shape cultural and worship practices and even the very dogma of the church.

One misconception that often misleads modern readers of *Jane Eyre* is the erroneous belief that the text's Christianity is Calvinist in origin. Despite the "fire and

brimstone” rhetoric that frequently characterized Low Church sermons like those of *Jane Eyre*’s Reverend Brocklehurst, English Evangelical Protestantism is, by origin, very different. It is theologically Arminianist. *Jane Eyre*, like the Evangelicalism of the Brontë household, is informed by the doctrines of Arminianism, rather than the stringency of Calvinism. This is important because Arminianism resists the Calvinist doctrines of Sola Fide, salvation by “faith alone” exclusive of any good works and Predestination (Unconditional Election). Calvinism is Monergistic, espousing that conversion and redemption are initiated through the intervention of the Holy Spirit alone. This is in opposition to the Synergism of Arminianism, which espouses that humans, endowed with the gift of free will, must accept and cooperate with the Holy Spirit to initiate conversion and be redeemed. Finally, Arminianism refuses the Calvinist principle of Eternal Security; the understanding that those who have been “saved” will always be “saved.” Arminianist understandings may have spurred the “word-on-fire” orating of both Methodism and Evangelical Anglicanism, but even as they stylistically and doctrinally shared some of the characteristics of the “fire and brimstone” preaching of Calvinistic sects such as the Presbyterians, they were dogmatically very different.

Recognition of these doctrinal differences is especially important in consideration of the preeminence of Evangelical thought which dominated the established religion of Ireland and England during the Famine. This understanding of Anglican Evangelicalism is important in *Jane Eyre* because it justifies Brontë’s criticism of the Famine’s administration. The English government relied on a far more Calvinistic-Synergistic approach to rationalize its response to the starving Irish. Brontë understood the origins of this response, but saw it as antithetical to English Christianity.

Brontë was raised during the heyday of Anglican Evangelicalism in a household where its ideals took precedence over all others. Reverend Patrick Brontë¹¹² had been immersed in the Evangelical movement since his youth in Northern Ireland, initially fostering relationships with Presbyterians before rejecting Calvinism for Evangelical Arminianist Anglicanism. Brontë's mentor, Reverend Thomas Tighe, was a close friend of Wesley, even sponsoring him on his Irish visits (Baumber 28). It was Tighe who helped Brontë secure an opportunity as a Sizar at Cambridge (Cameron 87). He attended Cambridge during the heyday of Anglo-Evangelicalism and it was that movement, rather than the simultaneously occurring Oxford Movement, which guided his religiosity throughout his career in the Church of England. At Haworth, he was one of the succeeding curates of William Grimshaw, whose philosophies were foundational to both Methodism and Evangelical Anglicanism. Brontë perpetuated Grimshaw's legacy by maintaining Evangelical practices and philosophies throughout his tenancy as rector and by preserving strong ecumenical connections between the Anglicans and Methodists in Haworth. Brontë developed a growing aversion to Calvinism, having both doctrinal and literal conflicts with the Calvinist sects in the Haworth community. He rejected Tractarianism with all its "Catholic" trappings, and envisioned that Catholic holdouts would ultimately undergo an eventual and long awaited conversion to Anglicanism (Baumber 25-29). Patrick Brontë's religious beliefs greatly influenced his daughter:

¹¹² For more on Patrick Brontë's relationship with Evangelical Anglicanism see, Michael Baumber's article "William Grimshaw, Patrick Brontë, and the Evangelical Revival." To foster a greater understanding of the period, see Mark A. Noll's *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys*, Keith Robbins *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c. 1750–c. 1950*, Mark Smith's *British Evangelical Identities Past and Present: Aspects of the History and Sociology of Evangelicalism in Britain and Ireland*, and the foundational text of D. W. Bebbington's, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*.

Charlotte was the closest to her father. She acquired his antipathy to Calvinist ideas as a result of her experiences at the Cowan Bridge school...Like her father she condemned Sectarianism of every kind...She told Ellen Nussey, 'I consider Methodism, Dissenterism, Quakerism, and the extremes of High and Low Churchism foolish [adding] but Roman Catholicism beats them all.' (Baumber 30)

On the matter of Divine punishment, both Brontës assumed a position in which, "more stress was laid on God as a father and less on damnation for sinners" (Baumber 30).

This shift is notable in Charlotte Brontë's works in her negative depictions of reproachful Calvinistic clergymen, including Brocklehurst and St. John Rivers. Despite his portrayal by Elizabeth Gaskell, Patrick Brontë and his sister-in-law, the Methodist Elizabeth Branwell, appear to have fostered a nurturing and pleasant home environment for the Brontë children, guided by their mutual interpretations of Evangelical principles. Brontë's novel supports the creation of Christian environments similar to the one created by her aunt and father. For instance, when Jane is absent from Adèle's life, Rochester places her in a boarding school that is too strict and severe, so that the once cheeky and vibrant child fails, becoming pale and thin¹¹³. A more indulgent system is necessary for Adèle to progress towards becoming "a pleasing and obliging companion: docile, good-tempered, and well principled" (Brontë 383).

Adèle's failing in an overly strict Calvinist environment is an analogy for the position of colonized people. Brontë means for us to understand that proper management of the colonized depends upon an Evangelical Christian orientation rather than a

¹¹³She looked pale and thin: she said she was not happy. I found the rules of the establishment too strict, its course of study too severe for a child of her age" (Brontë 383).

Calvinistic one. Jane Eyre's success in "civilizing" the wild French Adèle, in making her an English woman, is reinforced by the fact that she did not flourish in a school that, like Lowood, was Calvinistic. Adèle, being from France, is like the colonized "others" of Ireland and natives in other colonies within the Imperial world. She is primitive and wild, but malleable. Under the right conditions Adèle flourishes, just as the Irish, in spite of the Famine, would thrive under policies guided by Evangelical Christianity. Jane boasts, "As she grew up, a sound English education corrected in a great measure her French defects" (383). Adèle is converted from the influences of her French former life, (a reference to the taint of Catholicism which, like with Irishness, inevitably accompanies Frenchness). Like Adèle, the Irish were far from a lost cause and with hard work could be successfully integrated.

The Brontës were somewhat ahead of their time in entertaining these progressive notions, especially ones that diminished the understanding of "Total Depravity." "Total Depravity" refers to the belief that all men are born sinful and set apart from God's grace because of the Sin of Adam and Eve. Humans are naturally selfish and disinclined towards a love of God, so that God predestines some individually, offering only the elect the possibility of salvation. Calvinist dogma, though intrinsically different from Arminianistic Christianity, continued to influence Evangelicalism, but to a lessening degree after the middle of the century (Knight 128). In *Jane Eyre*, Brontë "seems to attack localized expressions of religion" and the idea that salvation is solely "a gift of grace rather than something that individual's merit" (Knight 129). She challenges the widely accepted Calvinistic tenets still erroneously accepted by many who considered themselves Anglican Evangelicals during her time. Brocklehurst's Christianity creates a

very different environment for the girls at Lowood than the one in which Brontë herself thrived. Likewise, the hypothetical marriage of Christian service St. John offers Jane is a union that holds nothing but oppression and suffering. Both are evidence of the disconnect between Patrick and Charlotte Brontë's Christianity and that of Brocklehurst and St. John.

Jane Eyre and Anglican Evangelicalism

The disapproval that many often read in Brontë's ostensibly negative portrayal of Brocklehurst and St. John was never intended to disavow Christianity in any way, particularly the beliefs of Anglican Evangelicalism. Rather, it was designed to point out flaws in the implementation of the Christian message. In both the cases, for Brocklehurst and St. John, reliance on a significantly more Calvinistic approach results in a failure to elicit Jane's compliance with their agendas. The "conversion" they envision for her salvation, if they even envision redemption for Jane is attainable at all, fails. As symbolic of Ireland, Jane's failure to comply echoes the Irish's failure both to convert to Protestantism and to submit to colonial authority. For example, when Jane as a child first encounters Brocklehurst, he prescribes a necessary "change of heart" to ensure the preservation of her soul from the depths of hell. Brocklehurst condemns Jane saying, "You have a wicked heart; and you must prove to God to change it: to give you a new and clean one..." (Brontë 27). In response, Jane wonders, "I was about to propound a question, touching the manner in which that operation of changing my heart was to be performed"(Brontë 27). Brontë is parodying Low Church Anglicanism. This is ironic, considering that her own father was very Low Church in his approach to ritual and in his ties to Methodism. What Brontë is critiquing is Low Churchism that is Calvinistic rather

than Arminianistic. This religious subtlety, overlooked by modern readers, would be relatively apparent to those familiar with the nuances of beliefs, which divided religious factions in nineteenth-century English Christianity. As an Evangelical, Brontë would have recognized this conversion as stemming from a synergistic encounter with the Divine. Such an encounter would originate from an Arminianistic relationship with Christianity, not a Calvinist one such as her character encounters.

Without a doubt, both Brocklehurst and St. John are more like Calvinists than Arminianists, especially with their emphasis on the “Total Depravity” of the soul. When Brocklehurst reads Jane out before her peers based on the lies told about her to him by Mrs. Reed, his comments relegate Jane to a fixed status of inherent irredeemableness:

God has graciously given her the shape that he has given all of us; no signal deformity points her out as a marked character. Who would think that the Evil One had already found a servant and agent in her?...not a member of the true flock...worse than many a little heathen who says its prayers to Brahma and kneels before a Juggernaut. (Brontë 56)

Brocklehurst notes Jane’s ingratitude towards her “pious and charitable” benefactress and warns against the contamination of corruption she will inevitably spread to those who do not adequately guard against her. As discussed in the previous chapter, Jane was intended by Brontë to be symbolic of the Irish. Brocklehurst’s exclusion of Jane reiterates her outsider status. Moreover, his strong warning against her in religious terms corroborates the dangers of her colonial non-conformity that threaten to weaken the Empire. The colonized are insidious. The colonized’s corruption of colonizers causes them to “go native” which in due course, damages the Empire as a whole. Jane’s

“rebellious” nature represents the menace of Ireland’s failure to submit; cloaked in the guise of her religious unorthodoxy, her non-conforming presence is an overt challenge to authority. Similarly the Irish’s failure to convert from Catholicism represents a blatant rejection of English control through their Catholicism. Brocklehurst’s criticism validates accusations of innate and definite Irish religious deficiency and by suggestion, moral laxity, which in turn provides justification for administrative policy rooted in the ironclad permanency of Calvinistic moral theology rather than Arminianism.

Brontë provides plenty of textual evidence of her disapprobation of this Calvinistic approach to the Irish moral state by penning characters with a Calvinist bent as set in opposition to Jane’s personal sense of righteousness and fixed on manipulating her forcibly into submission. Jane notes of St. John’s preaching, “there was a strange bitterness; an absence of consolatory gentleness; stern allusions to Calvinistic doctrines, election, predestination, reprobation...each reference...like a sentence pronounced for doom” (300).¹¹⁴ She is not enlightened by his words, but disturbed. It is important to remember that it is in not heeding St. John’s mentorship or that of Brocklehurst that Jane achieves happiness in this world in the form of marriage to her beloved. This is not a “worldly” happiness alone, but one that is of both this world and also promising of salvation in the next. Rochester, on securing Jane’s hand, proclaims:

I thank my Maker that, in the midst of judgment, he has remembered mercy. I humbly entreat my Redeemer to give me the strength to lead henceforth a purer life than I have done heretofore. (335)

¹¹⁴Another proof of Brontë’s intentions to link St. John with Calvinism is the immense confidence he exudes in his internal security. Jane notes, “[St. John] believed his name was already written in the Lamb’s book of life, and he yearned after the hour which should admit him to the city to which the kings of the earth bring their glory and honour...because the glory of God lightens it, and the Lamb is the light thereof” (Brontë 355).

Rochester's vow foreshadows his future salvation, a destiny his wife will inevitably share. Jane, in speaking about her marriage effuses, "I hold myself supremely blest — blest beyond what language can express" (340). Theirs is both a temporal and a celestial union preordained and integral to their mutual salvation.

Jane's conversion is synergistic and her reward is indicative of her salvation. Her conversion does not occur spontaneously, but through on-going encounters with the Divine as manifested in her interactions with the kind Dr. Lloyd, the sagely Helen Burns, and the accepting Rivers sisters, as well as through her visionary experiences with the Spirit, as when she is led to seek work outside of Lowood, flees in the wake of her failed wedding, and returns to Thornfield in search of her beloved. The Holy Spirit at all times guides her forward on her journey and towards her conversion. In the doctrine of Synergistic Conversion, the faithful of their own free will and guided by the Holy Spirit (Prevenient Grace) seek redemption of their sins, including the Sin of the First Parents. Salvation is conditional, based on an individual's faith and actions, so that with God's approval, all might be saved. An individual can embrace Christ just as readily as they can renounce Him formally through their words and actions. The legitimacy of a forced conversion by another, in Jane's case, by Brocklehurst or St. John, is suspect. Ireland's acquiescence to English domination during the Famine, wrought from administrative choices that force an already downtrodden people into obedience, are similarly a weak deception to be renounced at the first opportunity. Irish compliance during the subjugation of the Famine should be suspect, because it is insecure. Everything that Brocklehurst and St. John do throughout the text seemingly supports the ethos of Evangelicalism, but it does so in a way that alienates and injures Jane because their

methodology is Calvinist at heart and their tactics seek submission by threat rather than free-will. Brontë's text does not support this sort of evangelizing because it cannot successfully Christianize and unite the Empire. *Jane Eyre*, as a text, uses the error of forced conversion in the novel as an analogy for artificial Irish compliance. Attempting to initiate Jane's conversion via force is equivalent to the failure of the imperial project, to bring Ireland under English control. The principles of Arminianism imparted fruitfully by others, Mr. Lloyd, Helen Burns, and Miss Temple, guide Jane's growth and survival. She is led to salvation by her personal encounters with The Spirit wherein she accepts the Spirit's direction of her own accord.

Guided willingly by The Spirit, Jane navigates temptation, first, in the form of her own passions, then in Rochester's proposition to be his mistress, and finally, in St. John's loveless proposal. When he issues his proposal, Jane notes:

It was as if I had heard a summons from Heaven — as if a visionary messenger, like him of Macedonia had enounced, 'Come over and help!'
But I was no apostle — I could not behold the herald — I could not receive his call. (Brontë Loc. 1278)

This messenger is not the Spirit. It is St. John and the missive he proclaims is not intended for Jane to heed.¹¹⁵ St. John's conceptualization of marriage is also antithetical to Jane's. St. John refuses Jane's offer to accompany him to India as his sister, rather than his wife, declaring, "I want a wife: the sole helpmeet I can influence efficiently in life, and retain absolutely till death" (Brontë Loc.1292). Jane shudders at his pronouncement.

¹¹⁵"But my powers — where are they for this undertaking? I do not feel them. Nothing speaks or stirs in me while you talk. I am sensible of no light kindling — no life quickening — no voice counseling or cheering"(Brontë Loc. 1282).

To St. John, Jane's desire to retain a semblance of her autonomy makes her sacrifice unworthy. She is "half an oblation," "a mutilated sacrifice" (Brontë 1278).

Jane is like an Ireland that is still Irish. Her sacrifice is incomplete until she has been fully subsumed in a marriage to St. John, just as Ireland cannot exist autonomously within the Union. Ireland must be fully subjugated. For St. John, marriage is "the only union that gives a character of permanent conformity to the destinies and designs of human beings" (Brontë Loc. 1296). Jane knows that she cannot suffer such an existence.¹¹⁶ She endures the onslaught of St. John's demands to be consumed by him - as he stipulated, "Part of me you must become" (Brontë Loc. 1299). Instead, she scorns his concept of love. He proclaims her destined "forever to a track of selfish ease and barren obscurity...numbered with those who have denied the faith, and are worse than infidels" (Brontë Loc. 1303). "Worse than infidels" was an insult frequently hurled upon the Irish for their failure to accept Protestantism. She describes his displeasure at her rejection as that "of an austere and despotic nature, which has met resistance where it expected submission...as a man, he would have wished to coerce me into obedience" (Brontë Loc. 1304). In his manner towards Jane thereafter, St. John does not exude Christian forgiveness. Jane's claim that he did not harbor "a spirit of unchristian vindictiveness" and "was superior to the mean gratification of vengeance" rings hollow and seems ironic considering the way he shuns and psychologically manipulates Jane with his presence until in a moment of weakness she is on the verge of retracting her

¹¹⁶As his wife — at his side always, and always restrained, and always checked — forced to keep the fire of my nature continually low, to compel it to burn inwardly and never utter a cry, though the imprisoned flame consumed vital after vital — THIS would be unendurable" (Brontë Loc. 1298).

wishes and yielding to his demands (Brontë Loc. 1307).¹¹⁷ Her relationship with St. John is distinctly altered by her refusal to surrender to his authority. She describes him saying:

I fear the corrupt man within him had a pleasure unimparted to and shared by the pure Christian...he was in reality no longer flesh, but marble...this man...could soon kill me, without drawing from my veins a single drop of blood, or receiving on his own crystal conscience the faint stain of crime.

(Brontë Loc.1309)

Ireland is punished with a similar coldness. The sense of exclusion and disapproval that Britain exudes towards the Irish partner indicates Britain's disgust and condemnation of the Irish colony's failure to be wholly subjugated and to conform. Like with St. John, Britain's perceived understanding of their innate virtue and rectitude blinds them to the faults of their treatment, a conduct that is indeed un-Christian.¹¹⁸ Jane begs that St. John treat her as a kinswoman with "more of affection than that sort of general philanthropy you extend to mere strangers" (Brontë Loc. 1312), but his cool response to engage only in a relationship "greater than strangers," confirms the distance between them. They are as foreign to each other as the colonies to the Motherland; they are not truly intimate.

St. John cannot even phantom the pain of his behavior. When Jane proclaims that he is killing her, he declares her words, "violent, unfeminine, and untrue," continuing "They betray an unfortunate state of mind: they merit severe reproof" (Brontë Loc.

¹¹⁷He had forgiven me for saying I scorned him and his love, but he had not forgotten the words; and as long as he and I lived he never would forget them" (Brontë Loc. 1308).

¹¹⁸ Jane notes that "To his [two] sisters, meantime, he was somewhat kinder than usual; as if afraid that mere coldness would not sufficiently convince me how completely I was banished and banned, he added the force of contrast; and this I am sure he did not by force, but on principle" (Brontë Loc. 1310). From a colonial perspective these two sisters, are the fellow Kingdoms of Scotland and Wales, privileged in the Union for their submission over a recalcitrant Ireland.

1314). St. John, as a stand-in for the colonial mastery of Britain, evinced through the figure of Lord Charles Edward Trevelyan, cannot even fathom the damaging effects of the cruel rigidity of his response or the possibility of the accuracy of Jane's criticism. He flips her reproach back onto the colonized Jane as an indication of her own defects. Likewise, Britain chooses not to recognize that part of the failure of the Union lies with them, just as St. John ignores the possibility of the Divine's Hand in Jane's rejection, choosing rather to fault Jane.¹¹⁹ Jane however, recognizes behind St. John's response the concealed understanding of her position, retorting, "You pretend to be shocked by what I have said. You are not really shocked: for with your superior mind, you cannot be either so dull or so conceited as to misunderstand my meaning" (Brontë Loc. 1316). The colonial government's concern over general Irish discontent and lingering fears of seditiousness were certainly not unwarranted and they were indeed cognizant that failures in their colonial policy engendered and perpetuated these administrative problems.

Finally, the Divine, in the voice of Rochester at prayer, summons Jane to her destiny. It is clear just how incompatible with God's plan for Jane's life that St. John's proposition was with the divine plan. Jane is transformed of her own accord, having been provided with the tools towards this conversion by characters that reflect the spirit of Evangelical Christianity. She has essentially been led, but not forced. It is the Divine that gives Jane authority over St. John: "It was MY time to assume ascendancy. MY powers were in play and in force...He obeyed at once. Where there is energy to command well enough, obedience never fails" (Brontë Loc. 1339). Jane uses the language of Irish hegemony, ascending to authority, just as the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy rules Ireland. St.

¹¹⁹"I had thought I recognized in you one of the chosen. But God sees not as man sees: HIS will be done" (Brontë Loc. 1320).

John yields to her Divinely granted power so that Jane might seek a more perfect egalitarian union with Rochester, a marriage worthy of the Union.

The ways in which Brocklehurst and St. John enact Christ's message prove ineffectual towards Jane's conversion. Their approach illustrates how the Evangelical ideology, underlying colonial administration and driving Imperialism through the Christianizing impulse, has been modified so that it fails to elicit a sincere response. Humiliation does not spur Jane's conversion. Nor do Brocklehurst and St. John's attempts to control her behaviors and orchestrate her regeneration and salvation. Jane, using the truths of Evangelicalism, becomes the agent of her own deliverance that she chooses but to which she is not predestined. The teachers who successfully grow Jane's faith do so with didactic arguments, allowing her the freedom to discuss, accept, or reject their message. They do so without compulsion, without shaming, and without the false guise of piety or the promise of heaven or threats of hell because a conversion produced in the latter way is invalid. This is the way the text proposes to complete the mighty task of converting the colonized, growing the Empire geographically and spiritually, and of course, administering appropriately the Famine disaster.

Brontë's contemporaneous rumination somewhat ameliorates the historically harsh, villainous characterizations of the English and Anglo-Irish participants while situating their response within the culture of the period. The perplexing behaviors that Reverend Brocklehurst, St. John Rivers, and Mr. Rochester display mirror the sophisticated and often contradictory nature of the English and England towards the colonized. These characters serve as stand-ins for the English presence and explain, if not excuse, the motivation behind their own behaviors. They also illuminate England's

beliefs reflective of the prevailing social and religious culture. In considering the English component, Brontë sheds light on the position of the colonized Irish, as well as the Irish's suffering due to bad policy, both political and religious. Like Jane, the Irish are neither by nature victims nor revolutionaries, but are a people of agency struggling amidst a flawed system in the face of a natural disaster.

Rereading Helen and Brocklehurst:

The Lowood School and the Irish Colonial Context

Reverend William Carus Wilson, Director of the Cowan Bridge School, inspired the fictional Brocklehurst. It was at his school that Maria and Elizabeth contracted their fatal illnesses.¹²⁰ Carew's "fire and brimstone" Christianity and the fatal austerity with which he ran the unfortunate Cowan Bridge School likely made him the monster of Charlotte Brontë's childhood, similar to the terrible Reverend Brocklehurst who haunts the pages of *Jane Eyre*. On a surface level, it would seem that Brontë's critique of Evangelicals like Brocklehurst and St. John is focused on the failures of their Christian humanitarianism. In a post-colonial reading, the consequences of Evangelicalism on the individual and domestic level shifts focus to the international Christianizing objectives of the Imperial project. Brontë's critique is far broader and has larger political and social implications beyond just the saving of individual souls. Thus, the failure of Anglican Evangelicalism is tied directly to the failure of colonial administrations and poses a direct threat to the stability and longevity of the Empire.

¹²⁰ Edward Carus Wilson, grandson of Reverend William Carus Wilson, claimed that his grandfather, upset by Brontë's depiction of the school, was advised, "to take it up publicly." Carus Wilson further claimed that, "He ... wrote to Charlotte Brontë to remonstrate with her and the result was that she wrote the sketch that I have in my possession, retracting a good deal of what she had formerly written about the school in *Jane Eyre*." He went on to assert that he had been given permission to publish it, but never did so and the document was ultimately lost in time (Herbert).

Without that threat in mind, the Lowood episode could simply be dismissed as a criticism of the Christian domestic outreach towards the children of the poor. This assumes a classist, condemnatory, and cruel approach. However, the broader critique that Brontë attempts to make through Jane's sojourn at Lowood has been overlooked in this microcosmic examination of the poor that fails to read their larger colonial symbolism. The disastrous treatment of the poor girls is meant to initiate a discussion of the status of the lower classes of the entire kingdom, in particular the pauperized Irish, but not exclusively the English poor. This broader understanding of the recipients of charity permits an analysis that includes a discussion of the Christian ethos behind Imperialism and the administration of the poor in Ireland. This is relevant in light of the excess of poverty during the Famine period. Not only is Jane symbolic of the Irish in this instance, but at Lowood, Jane and her peers endure the Famine experience metaphorically. The privation and abuse that the girls suffer both physically and mentally in Lowood and at the hands of Brocklehurst represents that of the Irish, just across the Channel. In this way, the contrasts Brontë offers between the Christianity enacted by Brocklehurst and that exhibited by Helen Burns and Miss Temple are critiques not only of a certain execution of Evangelical Christianity, but through them Evangelical ideologies behind much of the Famine administration. By means of Brocklehurst and St. John, Brontë pinpoints the failings of the Evangelical Movement, particularly in the treatment of the poor who double as the colonized.

Although Brontë does not condemn the Christianizing impulse, she raises concerns regarding the method by which the colonized are won to compliance - as members of the faith and as participants and supporters of the colonial project. A good

textual example is the obvious false religiosity of the boy Brocklehurst describes who would rather have verses of Psalms to learn than ginger-nuts to eat (Brontë 27). The Reverend glorifies him as a model of faith and offers him double the sweets for his piety, failing to recognize that the boy's zeal for the Psalms is not indicative of his conversion, but his manipulation of the source of reward in the form of ginger-nuts. The example of the false conversion of the Psalm-loving-boy is an analogy for contrived loyalty in general. If compliance is predicated only on the possibility of temporary personal gain, rather than on sincere, self-recognized adherence to authority, then it is not only for naught, but it is dangerous. Ill-gotten obedience, easily lost, is likely to be retaliatory in response to the oppressive ways in which loyalty was initially speciously won.

The Lowood charity institution to which Jane is sent by her aunt is intended to resemble the workhouses established by both the English and Irish Poor Laws of the 1830s. The system was such that it was prudent for landlords to immediately evict small plot holders who were unable to pay their rents after the crop failure. In this way, landlords both shirked paying mandatory poor rates (taxes for leasing small shares to the impoverished) from their own pockets and avoided caring for their dependent, starving former tenants, to whom they risked being truly culpable during the Famine. Once homeless, the destitute Irish were eligible for entrance into the state-run workhouses.¹²¹ As the Famine progressed, the population of inmates in the government run charity facilities skyrocketed, as did the unsanitary and brutal conditions within the facilities, which lead to epidemics and death. Situated outside of towns and segregated from the rest of society, the workhouses were truly a last resort for the poor, but to landlords they

¹²¹ By 1847 the system for care of the displaced poor in Famine ravaged Ireland was already at its breaking point. In order to receive relief from the state run workhouses, applicants were forbidden to occupy land exceeding a quarter of an acre.

offered a “humane” solution to a bothersome and costly problem. Mrs. Reed chooses the Lowood establishment for Jane’s education because she seeks to expel Jane permanently from the family circle and will not extend herself financially in any way to ensure the child’s comfort in her new school-home. Like the Irish Landlords, Mrs. Reed has demonized the undeserving Jane, so as to justify her decision to remove the girl from Gateshead. The Irish had long been established in England as base and antithetical in nature to the English, so that their exclusion, vilification, and maltreatment might be countenanced. Not only would it be a financial drain on the Ascendency to support the starving Irish, but they would in essence be supporting individuals wholly underserving and unworthy of their resources.

Through that lens, the Workhouse is undoubtedly the best option all around for the subversive, undeserving, and ungrateful, Irish. Mrs. Reed and Reverend Brocklehurst construct a similar narrative to validate the removal of Jane to Lowood which begins with her dependency and is bolstered by her perceived naughty nature and wicked heart (Brontë 26-27). As Jane learns soon after her arrival, Lowood is called an “institution” because it is different from other schools. Life for the children at Lowood certainly mirrored that of workhouse inmates. Like the Reverend Brocklehurst, the Guardian of the workhouse was responsible for the general administration of the facility. Similar to Miss Temple, the Superintendent of Lowood, the Matron supervised the female inmates. Helen describes Brocklehurst, the son of the woman who built the new part of the house, as a clergyman who “is said to do a great deal of good.” He overlooks and directs everything at Lowood. He is both the treasurer and the manager of the establishment who buys all the girls food and clothing. Good and clever Miss Temple, who Jane initially mistakes as

the owner of the house, is above the other teachers because “she knows more than them” (Brontë 42-43). Miss Temple asserts her authority by taking the initiative of ordering a lunch for the girls after their breakfast of porridge proves rank and inedible, and she proves herself repeatedly to be the primary maternal figure in the girls’ lives, especially, Jane’s and Helen’s. As Helen Burns informs her, “It is partly a charity school: you and I, and all the rest of us, are charity children” (42). They are set apart by their poverty and by their position as “orphans”. Like the displaced Irish, Helen and Jane theoretically should have guardianship and protection in their families, Helen with her widowed father and Jane in the home of her aunt by marriage, but instead they find themselves sustained largely by the philanthropy of private benefactors at Lowood rather than by their obvious familial support networks. With the absencing of the Ascendency from Ireland, the Irish peasantry faced the same failure of traditionally paternalistic over-lordship forcing them into dependency on the state.

In this way, the Lowood episode functions as a colonial analogy that considers the misuse of Evangelicalism as a tool for suppression to elicit the compliance of the poor who are permanently linked to the colonized Irish. The deprivation and fear tactics used to coerce the Lowood students into conversion in *Jane Eyre* reflect the same methods utilized in Famine ravished Ireland to subdue dissonance and win colonial allegiance. Brontë’s carefully developed meditation on the distortion of Evangelical precepts functions as a criticism of the way in which her beloved faith is adulterated from a path to salvation into a weapon of punishment and control. The proselytizing impulses of Evangelicalism, attenuated towards harsher more Calvinist doctrine, were used to justify the government’s approach to the humanitarian problem of the starving Irish. When

coupled with the acceptance of Malthusian¹²² and Laissez Faire economics, these administrative choices were understood not only as inevitable and prudent, but were identified as divinely blessed. The failure of Brocklehurst's methods to convert Jane, therefore, indicates a larger failure when considered in conjunction with her symbolic Irish identity. Brocklehurst's, (and later St. John's) inadequacies question the efficacy of the methods by which colonial spaces are Christianized in general, but they particularly respond to the situation in Ireland. The deficiencies in Brocklehurst's Christianity lead to the torture and death of many of the Lowood girls. Likewise, the way in which the Irish are treated, with the presupposition of their sinful nature, the need for their mortification, and their repentance, bears close similarities to what Jane endures under Brocklehurst.

The character of Helen serves multiple functions in the novel. Most apparent is that she tacitly condones the social situations that place the girls at Lowood and approves the treatment they receive there. Helen understands the utility of her stay at the school, (to get an education) and recognizes her marginalized place in her newly blended family that necessitates her removal to a new location. What is even more important though is that Helen is able to rationalize the unarguably cruel treatment lavished upon the children at the school. Similar to workhouse relocations, the school serves as a necessary point of exile. Her acceptance of Brocklehurst's regime is not defeatist, but indicative of a Christian message, which Helen both understands and embodies. As she tells Jane:

It is not violence that best overcomes hate — nor vengeance that most certainly heals injury...Read the New Testament and observe what Christ says, and how He acts; make His word your rule, and His conduct your

¹²² Gordon Bigelow's *Fiction, Famine and the Rise of Economics in Victorian Britain and Ireland* is an excellent source for an examination of the ways in which economic policy in the nineteenth century was represented in fiction, especially during periods of food shortage.

example...Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you and despitefully use you. (Brontë 196)

But inasmuch as Christ advised, “Turn the other cheek,” He likewise preached against injustices, especially those perpetrated against the poor. This aspect of Christ’s theology has been disciplined out of Helen, but not Jane. Jane, however, must learn to moderate her impulses and seek positive outlets for justice rather than resorting to violence and hatred.¹²³

The girls at the Lowood School represent individuals subdued by Calvinist theology-driven authoritarianism. Helen in her willingness to acquiesce without a fight, to find fault in herself, and to aspire willingly to the standards of her subjugator, offers an unrealistic version of the colonized. Through her connection to Jane she is symbolically related to the Irish. Jane, on the other hand, represents both physically and emotionally the realities of Irish disenfranchisement. Jane is oppressed and rebellious. As she is shaped in the *bildungsroman*, Jane is transformed. She begins the novel as an example of Irish volatility as she rebels against the injustices at Gateshead and Lowood. As she undergoes her conversion experience, she is able to rationalize her experiences and work within the “colonial” framework of her life. Of course, in Jane’s case, that framework is engineered by the Divine and guided by the hand of a benevolent God so that rewards befall the Christian Jane. The growth that Jane experiences plays out in the plot of the novel as Jane navigates the confused, self-aggrandizing, selfish, and frequently competing demands of the symbolically English characters she encounters.

¹²³ Jane tells Helen, “I must dislike those who, whatever I do to please them persist in disliking me; I must resist those who punish me unjustly. It is as natural as that I should love those who show me affection, or submit to punishment when I feel it is deserved.” To which Helen cautions, “Heathens and savage tribes hold that doctrine, but Christians and civilized nations disown it” (Brontë 196).

In achieving this new level of consciousness, Jane can finally construct a positive relationship with Rochester, Brontë's final and most important representative of colonial authority. Helen's role as a foil for Brocklehurst serves the important function of enacting the Christian ethos in a way that supports the colonial project and encourages collaboration between the colonized and colonizer. Helen Burns aids Jane's conversion, by assisting first in placating Jane's rebellious inclinations, then in modeling true humility and penitence and preaching a Christian message of salvation through a personal relationship with the Divine that speaks to Jane and drives her to action rather than alienating her and fueling her negative impulses. Helen is in many ways a martyr to a Christian ideal that is not wholly tenable within the "real" world. The Evangelical Christianity that Jane embodies is heartier. It is of both this earth and the next, so that it can initiate change in this very corporeal place as a tool of Imperial expansion. Helen captures many of the precepts of Evangelicalism, but fails in this regard. She does not see the world of the now, just that of the eternal. Jane learns from Helen, but engages in a tangible way with the afflictions of this world rather than succumbing sacrificially to injustice. Jane's response to the cruel and hypocritical treatment the girls receive captures the Evangelical spirit that will proselytize the colonized making Jane a better example of Evangelicalism than the pious Helen.

When Jane professes that she would strike back at Miss Scatcherd if she were beaten as her schoolmate has been, Helen replies:

Mr. Brocklehurst would expel you from the school; that would be a great grief to your relations. It is far better to endure patiently a smart which nobody feels but yourself, than to commit a hasty action whose evil

consequences will extend to all connected with you; and besides, the Bible bids us return good for evil. (Brontë 47)

There are several important understandings at work in her statements. First, there is a commentary on the repercussions of rebellion and reprisal. Symbolically speaking, Irish revolts injure the perpetrators far more than the colonial authority against whom they rebel because they damage their place within the Union and require justified punishment. Brontë is correct in warning of the consequences of such rashness and lauding the benefits of restraint. Ireland during the Famine was clearly journeying towards an uprising fifty years in the making. *Jane Eyre* makes a strong stand against violent defiance and the inevitably negative and far-reaching repercussions faced by those who defy authority in that way. Jane's attack on John Reed and Bertha's violent outbursts do nothing to aid either woman in her plight. Rather, their behaviors lead to imprisonment, heap opprobrium onto their characters, and alienate them. Sectarian and agrarian insurrection only draws Ireland away from the peace offered by the Union and into further chaos.

Helen's comments on Charles the First's reign and execution correlates to the contemporary crisis in Ireland. Helen ruminates on how someone with both integrity and conscientiousness could behave so unjustly and unwisely, seeing no further than the "prerogatives of the crown" (48). His greatest deficiency, she surmises, was in lacking prescience such as to recognize the "spirit of the age." Despite her disparagement of the former monarch's foibles, she denounces his execution, saying, "Still, I like Charles—I respect him...his enemies are the worst: they shed blood they have no right to shed. How dared they kill him!" (48). It is acceptable to find fault in an administration without

violating the sacred bond between those in authority and the submissive masses, but intolerable to condone bloody rebellion. Brontë herself said as much directly in her letters proclaiming, “That England may be spared the spasms, cramps, and frenzy-fits now contorting the Continent and threatening Ireland, I earnestly pray! With the French and Irish I have no sympathy” (*Shorter Letters I* 407). In the same breath, Helen’s speech alludes to 1 Peter 3:9, “Render no evil for evil...but on the contrary blessing.” Implied in this is a subtle acknowledgement of the indecency of the oppressors’ actions. This is a dexterous way of condemning the behaviors of the staff at Lowood and equivalently, the actions of the English towards the Irish. Religion becomes the primary vehicle through which Brontë critiques the Famine administration and the inflammatory Irish reaction to its failings.

Helen is a cypher, a mouthpiece for a theology, which would be consumed amidst Brocklehurst’s fiery rhetoric. Helen is a model of Christian endurance and sympathy. The seeds of her faith initially fall on fields scorched by Jane’s abusive past, but soon find fertile ground. Helen is responsible for growing Jane’s nascent conscience, forming her as a Christian adult. Helen discusses the burdens of nursing injustices¹²⁴, as well as the rewards of restraint¹²⁵, on the plentitude of resources bestowed by the constant presence of the Divine, especially during moments of solitude and persecution¹²⁶, the heavenly recognition of innocence in the face of condemnation and the accompanying eternal

¹²⁴ “Life appears to me to be too short to be spent in nursing animosity, or registering wrongs” (49).

¹²⁵ “It is not violence that best overcomes hate — nor vengeance that most certainly heals injury” (49). “I resolved in the depth of my heart that I would be most moderate...and mindful of Helen’s warnings against the indulgence of resentment” (60).

¹²⁶ “You think too much of the love of human beings...there is an invisible world and a kingdom of spirits...commissioned to guard us” (59).

reward of eternal life with the Creator.¹²⁷ Despite the obviously intentional phonetic irony of her name, Helen, rather than destined for the flames of hell, is angelic. She bears Miss Scatcherd's humiliating and visceral criticisms and rationalizes the mortifications she receives as justified responses to her personal failings, issued concernedly, with her improvement in mind. Helen, as pure and enlightened as she might seem, does not shirk the reality of her faults. As a stand-in for Ireland, Helen offers supraliminal perception of both her flaws and those of her colonial master, symbolically present in both her allusion to Charles I and through the characters of Miss Scatcherd and Reverend Brocklehurst. She is an important model for Jane, the protagonist, to emulate, but ultimately Jane's Christianity, while building on much of Helen's, and even Brocklehurst's for that matter, develops their ideas to demand far greater capitulation to differences of position.

In *Jane Eyre* these distinctions, on the surface level, appear to be class related, but when considered in the light of Jane's symbolic identity, the primary societal schism addressed in the novel is how Ireland is administered as a colony versus how it should be administered. This problem encompasses many smaller issues, among them ethnic and religious conflicts and class inequity and the accompanying discrimination between the haves and have-nots. What unites all these incongruities is the way in which they were often prejudicially and indecorously managed. The force behind the transgressions in colonial administration is Calvinism-informed-Christianity. It is not the Christianity of Helen or the enlightened adult Jane, but that of Reverend Brocklehurst, Miss Scatcherd, and their ilk that is problematic. The way in which the Christian message is administered through them fails to correct Irish maladies and widens the schism between the peoples of

¹²⁷ "Angels see our tortures and recognize our innocence... God waits only the separation of the spirit from the flesh to crown us with a full reward" (59).

the two nations rather than, under Christ's aegis, drawing them together as one United Kingdom. Jane's Christianity takes much from Helen's, but adds to it self-determination, born from a strong sense of free will. She is compelled to articulate her views, defend her position, and govern her destiny rather than acquiesce to authority. Her Christianity guides her to be humble and forgiving, while also supporting her desire to actively better her existence. This is the sort of Christianizing impulse that should guide policy and humanitarian outreach to the Irish as it would foster self-motivated improvements rooted in rational responses rather than revolution. This is Brontë's ideal; to her it is integral to not only the success of the union with Ireland, but also all colonizing initiatives, as dissemination of Anglican Evangelical Christianity is central to British Imperial project.

Brocklehurst demonstrates the wrong way to foster Evangelical Christianity, so that it is despite him that Jane becomes the model specimen of a true Christian. As an outward sign of his conversion, Brocklehurst, the son of the lady benefactress who rebuilt the institution, continues the tradition his mother initiated, fulfilling his Christian obligations to those less fortunate, by educating impoverished and orphaned female students, but with a flawed approach. Brocklehurst's interactions with his poor students are guided by his understanding that they are in need of redemption. Tainted by the sin of Adam and Eve, their poverty is the mark of their evil and unrepentant natures. Were they not sinful, they would have been blessed with all the same plentitude Brocklehurst and his family enjoy.¹²⁸ It is obvious that the visit of Brocklehurst's wife and daughters to the school are proof of his hypocrisy. His family arrives dressed in furs while his student

¹²⁸ At the turn of the twentieth century, the German sociologist Max Weber formally outlined how the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination manifested itself economically in his book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. The predestined, assured of their salvation, would exhibit a strong sense of the certainty of their success in all areas of their lives, economic specifically. In the same way, they would be thoroughly entitled to any of the worldly rewards through their diligence and hard work aided by frugality.

charges wear virtual sackcloth. Brocklehurst, however, is not the hypocrite many have labeled him. What critics overlook is that Brocklehurst's behavior is fully consistent with nineteenth-century Christianity shared by both Calvinist denominations and the Evangelical Anglicanism, into which Brontë was born. Brocklehurst's family is understood as deserving of luxury, because of the favor he has won for them through his humanitarian endeavors to educate and convert the poor. They are entitled to material wealth, just as the Lowood girls are deserving of the draconian treatment they undergo to purify their sinful souls. By contemporary standards, this logic appears misguided, but his belief in the necessity of mollification of pride and vanity, especially in the poor, is sincere and for their own good. That is not to say that he is not excessive, cruel, or indeed, hypocritical; however there is a justification for his actions towards the girls, that in his time, is quite valid. Brontë in a less harsh, more auspicious way endorses the philosophy that the spiritually "good" and "deserving" will be rewarded in this life and in eternity too. Brontë continually rewards Jane for prudent choices. For example, Jane is reunited and sheltered by her cousins and inherits her uncle's fortune after she flees Thornefield and the potentially sinful future as a kept woman.

According to the logic of Brocklehurst's theology, the girls must be mortified to purify their sinful souls and Brocklehurst sees himself as the agent by which they are mortified and come to Christ. His humiliation of the children purifies them and appeases a puritanical and vengeful God. His emphasis on the reality of the dangers of hell certainly seem Calvinistic, but Brocklehurst is the intermediary of a conversion among beings of free will who must choose to enter onto the path of salvation. However, it is the lingering sense that Brocklehurst does not truly believe the girls, especially Jane, capable

or worthy of conversion. They are predestined. This is where Brocklehurst lapses from Arminianism to Calvinism and fails as a Christian leader. As cruel as Brocklehurst's approach is, he remains certain of the righteousness of it. Brontë, however, wants her readership to be repulsed and distrustful of his approach, so that she will sway readers through more subtle examples of a positive Anglican Evangelical Christian model. While many might read his penny-pinching on food and clothing and his intolerance of "immodest" dress or hairstyle as a means to line his personal coffers and sadistically control the girls, the intentions behind his administrative choices are sincerely rooted in a desire to foster the girls' conversion. His own salvation hinges on the successful regeneration of his students' souls, but his methods are deeply and sadly flawed by the Calvinism that underlies them.

By Brocklehurst's logic, it is by deprivation of food and worldly comforts that pride and vanity are diminished and individuals are drawn closer to God. From a symbolic perspective, it is during these trials that Jane's persecution most resembles that of the Irish during the Famine. Jane's salvation is won as a reaction to Brocklehurst's Christianity, rather than as a result of it. Brontë's circumlocutious criticism, therefore, is not of Evangelicalism itself, or of Christianity in general, but is solely of its implementation towards social control and the betterment of populations, specifically the Irish. Allowing the Famine response to be modeled after Brocklehurst's school is to allow the Christianizing impulse of Evangelicalism to fail. The Irish, although predominantly Catholic already, must be brought to a new conversion, one that would unite the kingdom doctrinally; this cannot happen under such improper implementation, a fact Brontë recognizes.

Flawed Evangelicalism: Reading St. John through Trevelyan and the Famine

Throughout the text, the inter-agents of Jane's conversion take the form of the apothecary, Mr. Lloyd, Helen, Miss Temple, and finally, Jane's cousin and would-be-husband, Reverend St. John Rivers. St. John presents a flawed representation of Evangelicalism, as does Brocklehurst, and is without doubt one of the novel's most important and fascinating characters. St. John does not simply further validate Brontë's point about the failings of Evangelical Anglicanism to impart the values of English Christianity to the colonized. The evangelizing intentions of St. John Rivers reflect the driving force behind Britannia's nineteenth-century expansionist impulses. The native Irish had throughout Ireland's colonization predominantly retained their Roman Catholic faith and in so doing, theoretically resisted the Evangelical call to conversion, essentially barring themselves from full inclusion within the Kingdom. Even after Catholic Emancipation, which enfranchised huge portions of the population, the Irish remained set apart and suspect. The conversion experience which St. John brings to the Indians, mirrors that already rejected by their fellow, colonized others, the Irish. Brontë doesn't fully endorse nor does she condemn St. John's proselytizing initiative and by proxy, British Imperialism, but implies a lack of confidence in the execution of a conversion pathway to the colonized. She clearly does not support forced conversion or conversion under duress as would be produced by failures in the administration of humanitarian treatment to the afflicted. It is in the moments during which Jane undergoes the most severe deprivations, physically and emotionally, that she is most cognizant of the Spirit and through His intercessors, through dreams, and of her own accord and when she hears His voice, that she achieves the highest levels of clarity, and acts with volition in positive

ways. This is a far cry from the guilt and privation of Gateshead and Lowood that fails to convert Jane.

Just as Brocklehurst was modeled after the Reverend Carus Wilson, so too is St. John Rivers representative of a specific individual during a particular moment in the *Famine*. St. John Rivers is clearly modeled on Lord Trevelyan Assistant Secretary to HM Treasury and Administrator of Famine Relief under Prime Minister Russell. The physical similarities between Trevelyan's and St. John's portraits alone are enough to convince anyone of Brontë's intention to link her character with the historical figure. Brontë sketches St. John as, "Tall, slender, his face...it was like a Greek face, very pure in outline: quite a straight, classic nose; quite an Athenian mouth and chin...His eyes were large and blue, with brown lashes; his high forehead, colourless as ivory, was partially streaked over by careless locks of fair hair" (Brontë 294). The image she creates of St. John could readily be used to describe a widely circulated lithograph of Trevelyan from the 1840s.

Lord Trevelyan and Charlotte Brontë shared more than just their preoccupation with the *Famine*. The Trevelayans were, like Charlotte's maternal side, of Celtic background from Cornwall. The family bore great pride in their ancient origins (L. Trevelyan 8) and in their long established barony in Northumberland near the Scottish borders. Like Brontë, Trevelyan was the child of an Evangelical clergyman, the Archdeacon of Taunton. It was his sense of superiority gained through ancient connections and his surety in the Evangelical message that encouraged Trevelyan's certainty of Britain's right to rule. This resulted in his enthusiasm for the Imperial project and shaped his approaches. In his experiences as an administrator in India and Ireland,

Trevelyan's policies reflected the necessity of the Christian conversion experience in order to establish authority coupled with the support and active participation of those already in power. Control hinged on universal morality established through the Evangelical message.

Rivers' complex enigmatic character reflects the equally complicated motivations behind Trevelyan's behaviors, behaviors that cannot be dismissed by simply demonizing him as the boogiemán of the Famine. Trevelyan became the historic scapegoat of England's much lamented administrative choices¹²⁹ and his lasting legacy is as bleak in Ireland as that of Cromwell. Lauren Goodlad refers to him as "the archetype for his times" (Goodlad 46). It is essential to understand Trevelyan's motivations, not only to better comprehend the nuances of the culture that dictated the decision-making behind England's distressingly inadequate and genuinely inhumane relief measures, but also to

¹²⁹ There are many criticisms of the Famine administration, some biased and conflated, others, substantial and rational. It is essential not to remove the administrative choices from the period during which they were implemented, but to recognize the limitations created by the dominant ideologies of the period. Notwithstanding an acknowledgement of these ideologies and the modern gaze, there remain legitimate humanitarian criticisms of Britain's Famine policy - concerns that did preoccupy many contemporaries of the period, both English and Irish. The Poor Laws and Work House System created a two-fold problem. First, in an attempt to limit the cost of feeding and housing Famine victims and in a misguided attempt to weed the deserving poor from the industrious deserving few, qualifying for relief was extremely difficult to the point where applicants had to be virtually indigent before receiving any charity. At the same time, the strict qualifications, coupled with landlord absenteeism, corrupt land agents, and taxation on tenants, which few landlords or shareholders could afford, encouraged evictions. The government did nothing to intervene to stave evictions. This large population of displaced persons had few options. Many people died shelter-less on the roadsides rather than become wards of the Work Houses. There were some very limited government supported emigration schemes to Canada and Australia, but nearly universally, those who chose emigration did so at their own expense, often fatally embarking on "coffin ships." Cheap and effective soup kitchens, established under Peel, were dismantled prematurely in early 1848, in the throes of extreme deficit after the failure of the harvest of 1847. The grain harvest was unaffected by the potato blight and prohibition of grain exportation would have increased food availability, but it would not have alleviated hunger unless coupled with an increase in milling facilities, even-handed distribution, and pricing affordable by the wage standards of public works. Ultimately, the Imperial government needed to fund an extensive relief effort, but the situation was such that despite any lip service to the Union, guided by the prevailing ideologies of the day and deep seeded prejudices, Westminster simply did not deem the Irish worth the expense. An Gorta Mór was not a man-made Famine, nor was it a premeditated genocide, but it was grossly mismanaged at the expense of millions of lives and the tremendous animosity that remains regarding it, even today, is not without warrant.

link Trevelyan through St. John to larger questions about Evangelicalism and coloniality in *Jane Eyre*. From a theological perspective, it is in deviating from Arminianism and being led by the principles of Calvinism in his approach to the Irish Famine that Trevelyan disappoints as both an administrator and an Evangelical Christian.

In an act that frequently leaves many readers confused and cold, Brontë permits St. John the closing words of her novel. Although he plays a fairly major role in the final chapters of the text, it seems an odd choice considering his status at the conclusion. While he is still Jane's cousin and a man whose religious commitment she admires, he is, by that time, her rebuffed suitor, a missionary outside the domestic realm in far away India. The reason for this textual privileging, arguably, is that St. John's status as an Evangelist to the colonized Indians links him even more closely to Trevelyan who spent most of his career in India¹³⁰ and was a proponent of Evangelical Christianity. Brontë gives St. John the last word in the text as a way of reinforcing her support of the Christianizing initiative of the Empire. As St. John is representational of Lord Trevelyan, Brontë, likewise, endorses the imperial impulses of Trevelyan's proselytization and conversion of colonized people. However, her endorsement is not complete and, in the failure of St. John as Jane's suitor, Brontë critiques the failings in Trevelyan's policies. In deviating from Arminianism and being led by the principles of Calvinism in his approach to the Irish Famine, Trevelyan disappoints as both an administrator and an Evangelical Christian. Brontë, likewise, would be hard-pressed to support what

¹³⁰ Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, Trevelyan worked in India, first for the East India Company and then as an administrator for the Imperial Government. He served in Delhi and Calcutta holding a wide range of positions relating to civic, governmental, and financial planning. After the Famine, in 1853, he was essential to the organization of the British Civil Service. In the late 1850s he returned to India, where first he served as the governor of Madras and later as the Minister of Finance (Jayapalan 55). For more on the history of education in British India see *Problems in Indian Education* by N. Jayapalan.

Trevelyan perceived as the “sacrosanct civilizing mission” of the English not only to educate and convert, but also to Anglicize (Viswanathan 88). As a symbolic representation of Ireland, Jane ultimately, rather than be subsumed, preserves her individual identity despite her marriage. So, too must a converted Ireland retain its Irish individuality as England’s loved and respected partner. This is a union formed enthusiastically, not by force, but, like Jane’s conversion, is similarly self-motivated and personally realized. Trevelyan’s Calvinistic approach to the Famine administration does not speak to a relationship predicated on mutual respect and loyalty.

Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan has historically been remembered for his many anti-Irish remarks, and while the records of his personal opinions support them to that assertion, his opinions were not uncommon amongst a section of like-minded Victorians. It is important to consider Trevelyan as a product of his age, not necessarily to exonerate him, but to understand the world that created him and to recognize his historical significance more objectively. The poet Edmund Spenser was the de-facto father of English colonial culture and certainly many of Trevelyan’s comments on the Irish do reflect the tradition Spenser established. Spenser was quite sincere in the prescriptions that he set forth in his infamous *A View of the Present State of Ireland* in 1596 advocating for the genocide of the barbarous Irish through famine. In fact, the legacy of this particular work was truly foundational for differentiating the Irish from the English and justifying their maltreatment as savage others, incompatible with the English and wholly inassimilable.¹³¹ Trevelyan’s statements may reflect the legacy of Spenser, but they were

¹³¹ In 1633 version of Spenser’s text re-titled *A View of the State of Ireland* was published in Dublin as part of a collection of *Ancient Irish Chronicles* edited by the English colonist and antiquarian, Sir James Ware. For the previous thirty years it had circulated widely in manuscript form, influencing other English colonial commentators such as Sir John Davies and Fynes Moryson; the belated appearance of

not extraordinarily condemnatory by the standards of his day, nor did he ever openly advocate for the extirpation of the Irish through the Famine as Spencer did. What was significant about Trevelyan and his prejudices was the power he yielded over the starving Irish while maintaining inarguable distaste for the native Irish and Roman Catholics. Trevelyan also maintained a particular disgust for the Ascendancy whom he considered nothing short of parasitic, a fact that is evident in St. John's distaste for the financially well-off Rochester and even St. John's rejection of the lovely Rosamond Oliver.

Noting that Trevelyan's administrative choices during the Famine were in large part guided by the contemporary influences of Malthusian/Laissez Faire economics does not exonerate him from the humanitarian suffering that ensued when those ideologies prescribed reserved relief efforts leading to over a million deaths and mass immigration. Similarly, Brontë makes certain that no one thinks favorably of Brocklehurst's decisions to limit food and clothing to mortify the girls in his care. St. John enacts similar mortifications of the body when he rejects the love of Rosamond. Both incidences paint the Calvinistic ministers in a negative light as unyielding and cruel. Nonetheless, there is some considerable evidence from among Trevelyan's personal papers that point to the care he took in minimizing affliction, if not alleviating it through direct intervention. He did not, however, place emphasis on relief at all costs and this, from a present-day perspective, denotes a major failure in his humanity that was readily rationalized in the nineteenth century. Robin Haines, in her groundbreaking biography of Trevelyan, *Charles Trevelyan and the Great Irish Famine*, advances the idea that, though far from

Ware's edition insured the longevity of Spenser's depiction of the 'very wilde [Catholic] Irish' well into the nineteenth century" (Edwards).

uncensurable, he unfairly bears the brunt of blame and criticism for the disaster that was An Gorta Mór:

Scrutiny of the unpublished and published correspondence demonstrates the extent to which Trevelyan, although an influential advisor, was carrying out the wishes of his departmental head during the Famine... They, in turn, were guided by the advice, both political and economic, of their respective cabinets. (Haines 204)

Haines does not exonerate Trevelyan, but notes the erroneous miscalculation of his absolute administrative authority. While he was a central figure during the Famine, he certainly did not function alone or in a vacuum of power. Trevelyan was the mouthpiece for a host of others and for an ideology that dominated political thought. His assertions, taken out of context, and often misapplied,¹³² have served to support arguments of a racially motivated British attempt to exterminate the Irish through the Famine. There may still be some validity behind these reactionary accusations, but the real legacy of Trevelyan's demonization stems from two primary sources: a history of Irish othering that polarized the differences between the English and the Irish, Native and Anglo-Irish alike, and the way in which Trevelyan interpreted the events of the Famine through a specific lens that was Evangelical in its emphasis on conversion, but Calvinistic in its execution.

¹³² Many of Trevelyan's comments used to paint him as a wholly anti-Irish racist were directed specifically towards the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy who he believed were shirking their responsibilities and living lives of excess and were not meant to be taken as generalizations. In *Charles Trevelyan and the Irish Famine*, the historian Robin Haines notes that Trevelyan characterized the Ascendancy as "profligate." Trevelyan believed that Irish tenants were adverse to independent self-improvement and hard work, the blame lay primarily with their social superiors" (Haines 27).

Both Peel's and Russell's administrations regarded the Famine as an act of Providence. Providentialists held that Divine Agency directed all affairs for man's good. This Divine Agency was manifest in the "natural" order of the world, especially present in extraordinary events intended to punish iniquities, personal or national. Justification by the Will of Providence offered a Christian rationale to support a Malthusian led economy and couched laissez-faire detachment as morality. Likewise, morality was no longer a personal issue, but a public one, discernible by the way in which Providence had blessed or punished a nation. From the start, the Famine disaster was viewed as the product of Divine Agency, but the event was interpreted in two very different ways. Providence had determined fit to curse the land of Ireland with Famine. In Peel's mind the question remained, who was being condemned and how were they meant to respond to the Divine's message? Writing in fall 1845, Prime Minister Peel lamented:

It is awful to observe how the Almighty humbles the pride of Nations. The Sword, the Pestilence and Famine are the instruments of his displeasure...a single crop is blighted; and we see a Nation prostrate, stretching out its Hands for Bread. These are solemn warnings, and they fill me with reverence; they proclaim with a voice not to be mistaken, that 'doubtless there is a God who judgeth the Earth!' (Peel qtd. in Kemp)

Whether or not Peel believed that the Irish were somehow deserving of punishment appears to have been less relevant to him than remedying the source of Providence's displeasure. His solution was to repeal the Corn Laws because they interfered with the natural processes of economics and created artificially high prices leading to Irish reliance on the potato and starvation in the face of the potato blight. Not only would

removal of the tariffs be the most merciful course of action, but failure to do so would overtly deny the Irish access to God's bounty. The Famine was clearly a curse for having artificially manipulated the economy. Before their sins could be visited upon them with a similar Famine or equivalent punishment, it was necessary that the English atone. The disastrous dependency on the potato, replete with all the social ills it had encouraged was artificially produced, against Providence's Will by the historic mismanagement of Ireland by the Ascendency and Colonial Government. Through the abolition of immoral economic practices, the English would win Divine favor. The Famine would teach Ireland the moderation and abstinence they had previously lacked, assuaging English abhorrence for the Irish and leading the English to be more generous to their Irish brethren. Ireland would be transformed by the Famine; landlords would foster Anglicized agricultural practices that would ensure the food supply, while limiting excessive population growth and inevitable peace and stability would ensue fostering the success of the Union.

When Russell assumed leadership in 1846, his Famine management plans deviated little from that which Peel had previously implemented. However, under Russell, the consensus on the object of Providence's wrath shifted back onto the Irish, notably emphasizing the need for the Divine to punish the excesses of the Anglo-Irish as well. The Famine was understood to be an Irish problem that necessitated that the Irish leadership, especially the landed classes, assume primary responsibility for relief. Correspondingly, it was only logical that Westminster maintain relatively minimal involvement in Ireland's internal disaster. Trevelyan was a vocal leader amongst providential moralists who not only assumed an important position in the Famine

administration, but who summarized their understanding in his speeches and especially in his treatise on the subject, *The Irish Crisis*.¹³³ When the Whigs rose to power in 1847, Trevelyan advocated for “first the soup kitchen mechanism [to be dismantled] and then the poor law primarily as opportunities to enforce just such moral tests - against both the ‘undeserving poor’ and the ‘irresponsible owners of Irish property’” (Grey 81).

According to the Whigs, Ireland required a radical transformation and the Visitation of the Famine was the tool by which the necessary changes would be instituted. The short-lived suffering caused by starvation and disease would give way to enduring peace for a virtuous society thriving under a modern incorruptible economy and moral governance. This would require universal conversion among the Irish, rich and poor alike. Without penance through exertion and suffering, the Irish could not achieve salvation, temporary or eternal. Irish pleas for assistance became synonymous with unrepentant indigence. A charitable approach to Ireland’s problems was viewed as only perpetuating and encouraging Irish iniquities. Dependency of any sort was used to support stereotypes of Irish laziness, immorality, and intractability. The solution was to make the qualifications for any sort of public assistance, such that it would require forfeiture of all properties, owned or leased and the sale of even the most meager livestock and possessions. As at

¹³³ Trevelyan often simply reasserted opinions popular among his class and among likeminded Englishmen. He blamed the Catholic clergy, for instance, for encouraging early marriage, large families, and for discouraging emigration in order to continually increase their congregants. This was, however, one of many anti-Catholic assertions that common during the period. It is important to note that while the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism was sectarian in nature, it was, more importantly, the vehicle for a larger political and economic conflict. Underlying the vast majority of anti-Catholicism was the very fact that continued adherence to Catholicism, especially in Ireland, was understood to be subversive and dangerous. Historically, this perceived disloyalty to the Crown and the Union was as inherently membership to other Dissenter Protestant religions, but it never bore the same ignominy associated with Rome. By the start of the eighteenth century, Irish Dissenter Protestants had begun to solidify their loyalty to the Crown. This firm allegiance that continues among most Ulster Protestants today and even by the time of the Famine was well established especially in the North of Ireland where difference in religious subscription, landownership, and tenant/ landlord practices ameliorated some of the suffering of the Famine victims.

the Lowood School, the Workhouse was more a prison than a haven, where inmates performed hard labor for long hours under atrocious conditions, which bred disease and contempt. Likewise, public work projects with payments determined by the task rather than a fixed wage generated little income for the starving Famine victims. Initiatives intended to stimulate the reorganization of society and eradicate Irish slothfulness were ineffectual, just as similar methods employed to artificially motivate the conversion experience of the Lowood girls, Jane, in particular, failed to create a sincere transfiguration.

Jane Eyre's interactions with both Brocklehurst and St. John Rivers reflect problems in the fostering of conversion that equivalently represent failings in the Famine administration and approach to Irish reform. St. John, unlike Brocklehurst, is, from his inception, intended to specifically resemble Trevelyan. Brontë's concerns with the Evangelical approach to the Famine and the colonies in general, but Ireland in particular, while wide-ranging, were also specific to Trevelyan and his policies, hence St. John is Trevelyan. Trevelyan appears to have been as confounding an individual to Brontë as St. John has proved to be to countless readers of *Jane Eyre*. It is not only Trevelyan himself, symbolized by the Reverend Rivers, but the Evangelical approach to colonized people and the Christianization of the Empire that comes under Brontë's scrutiny through St. John. St. John is the instrument of Imperial Evangelicalism, in the same way that Lord Trevelyan was behind moralist educational reform in India and "moral" economic policy in Famine ravished Ireland. In analogizing Trevelyan through St. John, Brontë both questions and supports the legitimacy and the effectiveness of his policies.

Brontë and Trevelyan: *Jane Eyre* and the Policies of the Famine

In *Jane Eyre*, Brontë's assumption of the role as teacher at the charity school at Morton funded by the benevolence of the wealthy Oliver family echoes Trevelyan's childhood experience of visiting the parish school established by his clergyman father for the education¹³⁴ of the poor. Education of the poor, Charles Trevelyan once remarked, was a "favourite pursuit" of his family (Hilliker 279). As an educational reformer for the East India Company in the 1830s, Trevelyan became a leading Anglicist. To generalize, Orientalists assert that non-Western societies were at one time comparable in "greatness" to Western Civilizations before they inevitably degenerated and declined. Still, they believe the language, culture, and artifacts of that society worth studying and preserving. From a colonial perspective, in order to foster successful administration of the colonized, Orientalists advocated for an administration that acknowledged vernacular languages and culture, albeit in a flawed and Eurocentric way. Anglicists, on the other hand, subscribed to the utilitarian philosophies of James Mill, espoused in his hugely influential *History of India* (1818), which grossly demeans Indian culture and history, criticizes Britain's existing colonial administrative choices, and proposes policy reform. Among Anglicists, the primary concern was the necessity of creating an English language higher education system to groom natives for the civil service. This was ironic considering that Trevelyan himself was fluent in several Asiatic languages indigenous to India, a fact that undoubtedly assisted in his acquiring and maintaining his position in India.¹³⁵ Along with

¹³⁴ For more on Trevelyan's relationship with the Anglicist/Orientalist conflicts in India, especially as they relate to education, see, Aparna Basu's *Essays in the History of Indian Education*.

¹³⁵ J.F. Hilliker notes that "At the College of Fort William in Calcutta, he distinguished himself as a student of both Persian and Hindi, but his experience there did not dispose him favorably towards Indian culture" (279).

his highly influential brother-in-law, Thomas Babington Macaulay, member of the Governor-General's Council of India and author of "Minute on Indian Education" which outlined the Anglicist approach, Trevelyan's pre-Famine experience in India was focused on creating a class of English educated and acculturated Indians to act as loyal intermediaries between the natives and the ruling colonial government.¹³⁶ In effect, their policies initiated among many problems, including the phenomena of hybridity and mimicry so elegantly explored by Home K. Bhabha in *The Location of Culture*.

Hand-in-hand with the linguistic and cultural Anglicization of the Indians was the necessity for the religious and moral conversions of the colonized:

For the evangelicals and other missionaries English education was important for dispelling 'darkness and superstition' and for spreading the true light of Christianity...thus the decision to introduce English education in 1835 was the result of a combination of complex administrative, economic, cultural, political, and religious motives (Basu 64).

Christian Evangelicalism provided the moral support behind the government's emphasis on English language Education. In *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India, 1765 to 1858*, Joseph Sramek notes that "Colonial officials and authors of Indian tracts alike agreed that Britain would only maintain control over India if the agents of empire earned the deference and loyalty of Indians through proper moral conduct" (162). Hence, Trevelyan advocated for English language education for ten years, confident that the

¹³⁶ As M.S. Mahdi put it in her reading of *The Thousand and One Nights* and European Orientalism, "The mission of the [proposed English language] college was to help evangelize the Indians, not to Indianize the evangelicals (109).

government, through the implementation of English only higher education, would further the cause closest to his heart, the conversion of India to Christianity (Hilliker 291).

The Orientalist - Anglicist Controversy was about two conflicting approaches to the preservation and extension of British authority in the colonies. The philosophies of Trevelyan's Anglicists ultimately came to determine British colonial policy in India throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. The education of natives and the restructuring of Indian society through Anglicization, especially English language education, were reflected in colonial policy throughout the British Empire. J.F. Hilliker in his article "Charles Edward Trevelyan as an Educational Reformer in India 1827-1831" notes that the policies Trevelyan advocated after he returned to England in 1838 were consistent with those which he had supported during his time in India. His arrogant and prejudicial understanding of the superiority of British culture over that of the Indian colonized was behind his administrative decision-making in Ireland too.¹³⁷ Trevelyan's approach to Famine relief was moralized by necessitating of the Evangelical conversion/salvation experience of the Irish colonized, just as it had been towards Indians. Relief efforts were less about the immediate crisis of the Famine and the need to alleviate suffering and more about the opportunity to convert and reform a broken people into an Anglicized population. The Famine was the fortuitous moment gifted to the English. Through the Famine, the Irish could be converted and saved. They would become Anglicized, de-othered, conciliatory, subjects grateful to their benefactors. So, when Trevelyan commented in an 1848 interview for the *Edinburgh Review* "The greatest evil we have to face is not the physical evil of the Famine, but the moral evil of the selfish,

¹³⁷ There are countless similarities between the colonial administration of Ireland and India. Both countries had similar Penal Code policies implemented to control and Anglicize the native populations.

perverse and turbulent character of the Irish people,” he was providing a Christian moralist justification for his apathetic response to the Famine. The three primary reasons behind his decision-making were, the innate sinfulness of the Irish people, which rightly elicited Divine retribution, the necessity of their penitence and conversion, only facilitated by allowing them to experience the depths of their Divinely wrought punishment, and finally, the grace that Famine conversion would initiate in the form of increased Anglicization of Ireland bringing the colony into line and strengthening the bonds of Union.

In *Jane Eyre*, all of these reasons behind Trevelyan’s Famine policy are symbolized in the Marsh End and the Morton episodes amongst the Rivers. St. John represents all the disquieting religious zeal and certainty of Trevelyan conflicting with the reticence of Jane, who in turn embodies a self-reliant and autonomous Ireland determined to form moral judgments based on her own subjective sense of righteousness. Despite being tempted to yield to St. John’s powerful will, Jane must select her own path. It is only through Jane’s freely willed determinacies that she achieves salvation. Her salvation is as individualized as the broken thoroughfare of her life and her conversion uncompelled by the external machinations of either St. John or Brocklehurst. It is only in the moments of totally unbidden voluntary surrender that Jane hears “The Voice” which guides her toward her destiny. Jane’s final calling, to marry Rochester and live in wedded bliss, is intended as a reward for her sincere conversion and as proof of her salvation. That Jane achieves this without and often in spite of the efforts of the text’s representatives of Evangelical clerics speaks to Brontë’s concern regarding the methods of Trevelyan and his ilk. She is concerned for the successful implementation of the

Imperial Christianizing efforts in general, even as she lauds the essential nature of the endeavor. Brontë created tangible links between the fictional impassioned Evangelical minister St. John and the fiery zealot, to highlight the failing attempts by Trevelyan to orchestrate Irish conversion through requisite suffering, a tactic Brontë's text does not condone. Jane's experiences with Brocklehurst and St. John are illustrative of the adverse effects of their faulty attempts. Despite disavowing St. John, Brontë does not reject the Christianizing of the colonized. Hence, the closing words of the novel, words that forward the Christian ethos, words that reach outward towards the furthest recesses of the Empire are spoken by God's flawed but anointed minister, St. John. The methods utilized by those in power might be imperfect to the point of catastrophe, as in the misconception that only those made "worthy" through suffering and penance should be eligible for Famine charity, but that does not foreswear the inherent necessity of evangelization and proselytization, which is not only indispensable to the success of the Imperial project, but at the root of all colonial endeavors.

Rochester, Evangelical Anglicanism, and the Success of Colonialism

While it is never in doubt that Jane's destiny lies with Rochester, the authorial decision to allow St. John the last words in the text displaces his prominence in a jarring way. St. John seeks to manipulate Jane and essentially bully her into complying with his world vision. This vision is reflective of the British dream for Ireland, but in this dream, the path that St. John offers is not the one that Jane accepts and chooses to follow. For Brontë, submission that sacrifices the Irish identity, rather than establishes a true partnership, is not the destiny she envisions for the Irish colony. In this way, Ireland rejects the specific constraints placed upon her by Britain, but forges instead a more

appropriate match, a better, more egalitarian marriage. Jane's and Rochester's actions cannot be condemned, nor can the validity of St. John's plan for Jane be reproached though his methods are condemned. While Jane remains the protagonist, her conversion is somewhat overshadowed by that of the errant Rochester whose life arc embraces first the whole gamut of sinful rejection of the Divine's will and includes punishment, penitence, and finally conversion and reward. *Jane Eyre* witnesses these intentions through several characters, but Rochester, as symbolic of England, especially bears witness to the goals of Evangelicalism.

Since Rochester is an allegorical representation of England, his conversion points to the necessity for an English conversion experience that would mirror Ireland's (Jane's) so that the union of their romantic and symbolic political marriage could be achieved in the most ideal way. St. John, as a representational English character, despite his journey to the Indian colony, is largely unchanged. The allegorical marriage that could potentially have existed between St. John and Jane would replicate the current political imbalance between England and Ireland and duplicate the policy mistakes which have fueled Irish resentment. Ireland requires a partner penitent of their mistakes and eager to share authority rather than one inflexible, psychologically manipulative, and insensitive to the desires and differences of opinion and identifications of their partner. Rochester, in spite of his checkered past, like Jane, represents an ideal Evangelical Christian. The Calvinistic St. John Rivers, regardless of his noble intentions, embodies a less dynamic and adaptive version of Christianity, one that in its Monergistic theology is not suited to the realities of life and marriage in the nineteenth century. This Arminianistic approach to redemption and salvation informs all aspects of life, in particular, the administration of colonies. It is

through these tenets that the successful union between colonized Ireland and England will be realized so that a marriage of countries as Christian equals can be achieved.

It is essential, therefore, that readers of Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, particularly post-colonial and Irish historicist minded readers, understand the theological trends within Anglicanism during her time. In examining the Famine narrative contained symbolically within the text, an appreciation of contemporaneous religious factions and dominant economic theories will illuminate the political and humanitarian responses to the Famine in a complete way, especially in regards to the policies of Lord Trevelyan. Brontë uses her novel to critique the administration of the Irish colony during the Famine crisis, but her criticism in no way reflects a failure to support Evangelical Anglicanism or to disavow Britain's imperialist entitlements, a fact that she makes clear at the conclusion of the novel when she laud's St. John's endeavors in India and allows his voice to close the text. Brontë supported the global Christianizing initiative and believed Evangelical Anglicanism a necessary tool towards the completion of that mission. Brontë confirms the validity of her beliefs in the ultimate positive resolution to Jane's story, a story that allegorically postulates a happier future for the colonial engagement between Ireland and England. As a symbolic representation of Ireland, Jane's conversion and the reward of her thriving marriage to Rochester analogize the potential that awaits the Union if both an Evangelical Anglican England and colonized Ireland truly embrace Arminianist dogma.

late nineteenth and early twentieth century foreshadowed the end of Ascendancy hegemony. Kipling was very much cognizant of the threat of extermination settler colonist populations throughout the Empire faced. The waning power of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, since the Act of Union, prefigured the collapse of the Anglo-Indian hegemony. This intersection between the reality of colonial history's inevitable trajectory towards Imperial collapse and Kipling's fantasy of an Empire upon which "the Sun never sets" manifests itself in the ambiguity of the final moments of the novel. Kipling simply cannot write an ending that defies the inevitability of the challenges Imperial authority will clearly face in the coming decades because it would undermine the realist nature of his text. At the same time, Kipling's terror at this foreseeable breakdown compels him to seek a personally palatable conclusion for the text. What results is an open-ended fantasy ending that frequently leaves readers perplexed. This evasion signals Kipling's unwilling acceptance of the clear indications of looming Imperial disintegration. The ending's ambiguity denotes his unwillingness to pen that realization, but that insight only becomes plain as the text progresses. Instead, the voice of the Teshoo Lama concludes the text, urging Kim and the reader into a mystical, intangible world far from the palpable reality of nineteenth-century colonialism. Kipling's ending is a diversion and an illusion. The problems with *Kim*'s ending have a clear root. They are encoded within the text from the very first page and rest specifically with the title character, the Irish street-urchin turned British spy, Kim O'Hara.

When Kipling began his novel, he likely did not envision it ending esoterically as it does with *Kim*, almost writing its own conclusion in defiance of Kipling's personal

Victorian Raj by David Gilmour, *Plain Tales from the Raj: Images of British India in the 20th Century* by Charles Allen, and *Women of the Raj: The Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the British Empire in India* by Margaret MacMillan, among many other wonderful works.

desires. In the final chapters of the text, Kim and his team of fellow spies “The Babu” and Mahbub Ali are able to successfully complete their mission to attain documents from Russian spies in the Himalayas and transfer them to the British colonial government. At the same time, Kim and the Lama have both fallen ill and are seemingly nursed back to health by the Sahiba (the Kulu woman) - Kim’s mother figure. While Kim is still recovering, the Lama fasts and meditates until he undergoes a transcendent experience that concludes his spiritual journey to find “The River of the Arrow” and attain “enlightenment.” The Lama literally is fished from the River and returns to share his spiritual knowledge with his beloved servant Kim. While the conclusion of the novel is ostensibly straightforward, it is upon closer inspection far more esoteric and complicated than it initially seems. The object of this dissertation chapter is to unravel and examine the factors that obfuscate the novel’s ending, some of which are within the author’s control, while others, namely the reality of Imperial life, are beyond Kipling’s manipulation. Kipling was a realist, and while he desired to write a novel that glorified the Empire thus affirming the status quo and establishing the colonized as compliant and participatory in the colonial project, he could not fail to acknowledge that the future seemed to indicate quite the opposite. Rather than force an ending that affirms his fantasy of Imperial harmony and prosperity or that reflects an accurate portrayal of colonial progression, he avoids a conclusions that would either be inaccurate or would violate his own sensibilities by lapsing into mysticism. He ends the book ambiguously with the Lama eager to pass on to Kim the undisclosed knowledge that will ensure Kim’s salvation.

Kipling desired to write a novel in which the Irish hero serves as an example of the colonial loyalty of the colonized, but he could not fully realize this ambition. Ireland is clearly creeping, once more, towards rebellion, and Anglo-India, which bears so many ties with the colonial Ireland of the Ascendancy, will follow a similar trajectory. Kipling foresees this. At the same time, he overloads the text in his attempt to convey multiple personal and political concerns. In *Kim*, Kipling unites the India of his birth with the Britain of his inheritance and endeavors to mediate his own liminal position as an Anglo-Indian. He seeks to ameliorate not only his own concerns, but Anglo-India's collective Imperial angst. Additionally, Kim's journey throughout India and his engagement as a British spy against Russian incursions on the Empire in East Central Asia enacts Kipling's Indian and Imperial fantasies of colonials' loyalty. He imagines that the unity of the Empire, the presence of and the combined power of the hegemony and the colonials will subvert the enemies of Britain. Foremost though, among Kipling's political purposes for the novel is his attempt to "essentialize" the Irish within the Imperial apparatus of both colonial India and the Empire. The Irish are not mere colonials. They are indispensable to the successful functioning and expansion of the Empire abroad.

From an Imperial perspective the implication that the colonized Irish could share this same status as the colonizing English is highly problematic. Kipling makes a point of maintaining Irish individuality to distinguish them as a group. He does not envision them assuming the English identity, but maintaining their own within the Imperial setting. The Irish Kipling pens are distinctly ethnic in character - stereotypically so, as they are pugnacious, superstitious, emotional, and enjoy a drink. They are distinctly un-English. These Irish retain strong ties of loyalty not only to their homeland, but also to their Irish

regiments within the British military. In spite of occasional grumblings of discontent about the administration of the home colony, they are universally loyal to the Crown in India. Kipling calculatedly pens Kim as of Irish background because he has many assertions about the Irish and about colonials in general which he seeks to validate in *Kim* through his title character. However, Kim is too complex; he is, despite the fanciful nature of the novel's adventure plot, too real, in particular, too Irish. The very points Kipling sets out to prove about Irish loyalty to the Empire as validated through the Irish character Kim, actually hinder the creation of a text which represents his fantasy. The Irish character thwarts Kipling's objectives. Kim resists Kipling's best efforts to pen an Irish hero who supports the author's vision of an Ireland fully compliant and supportive of Imperial expansion. Kim's vacillating over his identity is proof of his resistance. This challenge undermines Kipling's fictional attempts to force order, colonial compliance, and longevity onto the framework of the Empire at the turn of the century, driving the open-ended conclusion of the novel. On a larger level, this failing reverberates throughout the Empire. The failure to induce the Irish character into full submission implies the whole-scale ineffectiveness of colonial authority, in Ireland, in India, and beyond.

Kim concludes in the plains of Doon far from the Himalayan Mountains where the climactic struggle between British India and the legions of the Empire's Russian led enemies collide. In the final chapter, Kim's identity crisis comes to a head. After being nursed through his illness by the mother-like love of the Sahiba, Kim has an epiphany:

‘I am Kim. I am Kim. And what is Kim?’ His soul repeated it again and again. He did not want to cry - he had never felt less like crying in his life

- but of a sudden easy, stupid tears trickled down his nose and with an almost audible click he felt the wheels of his being lock up anew on the world without. Things that rode meaningless on the eyeball an instant before slid into proper proportion. Roads were meant to be walked upon, houses to be lived in... They were real and true... Said the Sahiba.... 'Let him go. I have done my share. Mother Earth will do the rest...' (Kipling 234-35)

It would seem that Kim's journey towards self-understanding has yielded, through his experience, some fruit. Kim is on the cusp of adulthood and his monologue points to an epiphany regarding his place in the physical world of colonial India rather than in the esoteric world of his Buddhist master, the Teshoo Lama. The language initially implies an acceptance of ownership and mastery that underlies Kim's assumption of a permanent and active role in the colonial machinery of the Indian Raj. His newly awoken temporal self is immediately obscured by the return of the Buddhist Lama, Kim's "spiritual" guide. While the Lama is a spiritual guide, his relationship to Kim in a religious sense is complicated. Truly, the values of Buddhism are embodied in the Teshoo Lama, but Buddhism in the text is not about the specific tenets and rituals of the religion itself. Rather, *Kim's* Buddhism concerns the possibility of transcendence into a world removed from the physicality of the present. To call Kim the Lama's religious follower would imply a level of temporality to the Lama and his philosophies, which his entire quest for enlightenment continually seeks to eschew. Kim is the Lama's chela, his servant and disciple, but the service he provides the Lama in the physical world to sustain life is negligible by comparison to the metaphysical guidance the Lama offers Kim. There is no

exchange of tangible religious sacramentals between them nor are there bodily rituals of belonging. It is important to note that while Kipling was fascinated with Asian religions, he “made little if any distinction between God as manifest in different traditions” (Allen 10). The relationship between the Lama and Kim is timeless, as evinced by the Lama’s return to earth from a place outside of time and corporality to ensure the promise of a similar eternity for Kim. During Kim’s illness, the Lama, having fasted and meditated throughout, attains salvation. Out of concern for Kim, he returns to his body free of sin, reborn in the River of the Arrow. He has returned to liberate his beloved chela, Kim from “the Wheel of Life”. Kipling’s conclusion is puzzling. But, it is not a religious experience that the Lama promises; rather his presence continually reiterates Kim’s confusion and split loyalties.

The lama in speaking of himself vacillates between first and third person. “I remember that the *hakim* was concerned for the body of the Teshoo Lama. He haled it out of the holy water in his hands...and they put the body on the cot...I was meditating in that body and did not hear” (240). The physical state of the lama, through the use of first and third person, is concerning. Several interpretations present themselves - first, that the Lama is alive, second that the Lama is dead and that the bereaved Kim imagines the conversation, third that the Lama and Kim have both died and that the Lama’s soul (the Lama having died earlier) has returned from Nirvana to guide Kim’s soul to enlightenment, and finally, that the Lama has died and Kim, insane after his illness, imagines the whole interchange as proof of the failure of his hybridity. Chapter 15 of *Kim* presents an odd shift from the reality of the spy plot to the esotericism of the Lama’s final attainment of spiritual freedom, one which is impossible to segregate into separate

resolutions for Kim's story. The final line of the novel leaves the reader with the image of the triumphant Lama cross-legged and smiling at the salvation he has just won for himself and his beloved, but it is an ending that leaves the reader with far more questions about Kim's present and future than it answers.¹⁴⁰

This Buddha-like image that both lauds and satirizes the Orient is cryptic and vague. Even dispelling with the readings that construe the vision of the Lama as indicative of the Lama's and/or Kim's death, the novel's final moments remain equally disconcerting. The resurrection of the Lama obscures the clear path that Kim's epiphany seemingly establishes. Kipling wants Kim to assume his rightful place within the white leadership of the Raj. Kim cannot reject the Lama's return, nor does Kipling wish for Kim to deny the Lama who at that moment embodies all of Kim's ties to the East, to the India of his birth, and to his fellow colonials, both Irish and Indian, because to do so would be to deny his circumstances and hence, himself. Kim can accept a role within the administration of India, he can become a Sahib, because it is his right, despite being Irish. The spy plot of Kim has demonstrated the indispensability of the Irish Kim. To reject the opportunity to continue to participate in the colonial apparatus of the Empire requires a rejection of the Lama, but to side with the Lama is a rejection of the leadership position in India which Kipling sought to validate through Kim. At the same time, the actual

¹⁴⁰ The Lama explains his salvation experience to Kim by saying, "Upon the second night - so great was my reward - the wise Soul loosed itself from the sill Body and went free...As a drop draws to water so my soul drew near to the Great Soul...I knew the Soul had passed beyond the illusion of Time and Space and of Things. By this time I knew that I was free...Also I saw the stupid body of Teshoo Lama lying down...Then a voice cried: 'What shall come to the boy if thou are dead?'...I pushed aside world upon world for thy sake...I saw the River below me - the River of the Arrow - and descending, the waters of it closed over me; behold I was again in the body of the Teshoo Lama...I remember the *hakim* [the Babu] was concerned for the body...He haled it out of the holy water in his hands...I was meditating in the body and did not hear. So thus the search is ended...Son of my soul, I have wrenched my Soul back from the Threshold of Freedom to free them from all sin - as I am free and sinless! Just is the Wheel! Certain is our deliverance. Come!" (Kipling 322)

trajectory of Irish cultural, social, and political history has assumed a shape, which contradicts Kipling's views regarding Irish obedience and support of Imperial objectives. Kim cannot end in a definitive way because Kipling cannot endorse the realistic social and political situation imminent at the start of the twentieth century that will lead to the collapse of the British Empire. The abstraction of the novel's final moments serves as the perfect out for the author who has clearly written himself into a corner. This is not Kipling being more liberal than the modern reader gives him credit for; this is him reacting conservatively to the certainty of impending disaster in the Empire. He does not want to write an ending that is realistic in regards to colonialism, so he writes an esoteric conclusion that offers Kim an "out" from his obligations as a spy and as an "Englishmen" to continue onward as a chela to the Lama.

Kim himself provides both the impetus behind the plot and the confusion that renders the tale "unresolved" with the harmonious Imperial utopia Kipling seemingly set out to pen. Kipling's herculean textual goals would prove an impossible feat for any character to execute, never mind a central character plagued with sundry and often incompatible identities, especially a highly problematic Irish connection. In this chapter, I demonstrate that Kipling's choice of an Irish protagonist is at the root of any of the discrepancies in the colonial and cultural philosophies he attempts to espouse via the text. The Irish Kim ensnares and undoes the author's assertions and multiple symbolic objectives muddling the novel's ending. This is a reading that Zohreh T. Sullivan in *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Kim* has argued marks Kim as profoundly ambivalent: "the heart of Kim's ambivalence is a profound moment of personal, and historical anguish - to be a Sahib he must allow the 'two sides' of his head to evolve and

internalize the contradictions of what Bhabha calls the ‘colonial moment’” (154). He is, as Eric Hobsbawm notes, the “victim of the very contradictions inherent in [his] advance (10). For this reason, Kim cannot enact Kipling’s colonial fantasy, a fact that the author’s ambiguous ending acknowledges and finally accepts.

In this chapter, I add to this critical conversation by examining how the character Kim is an extension of Kipling’s *weltschmerz*.¹⁴¹ That is, Kipling’s nostalgia reflects his biography, and we cannot understand Kim without returning the text to its authorial context, for in failing to do so we do violence to the complicated historical and racial identity of Kipling. *Kim* is at heart Kipling’s celebration of the India of his childhood. Kipling is nostalgic - he yearns for India with both a sense of homesickness and a longing for the past. This nostalgia for the India of Kipling’s fantasies is personal, but also political. In many ways, Kipling does not choose to write *Kim*, rather he must write *Kim* in order to fulfill his own sense of longing. In his fancies he yearns for a specific future for India. The India of his dreams will remain a colony of Great Britain, populated by loyal natives and Anglo-Indians, each equally proud to fulfill their duties to the Raj and Empire. By the turn of the twentieth century there were already clear rumblings of disconnect in India as well as in other colonies, Ireland in particular. The world Kipling knew, the land and people whose continuous allegiance to their colonial masters he demanded, was charting an opposite course. *Kim* is a novel that is symptomatic of Kipling being consumed with great anxiety for the land of his birth and his people, the Anglo-Indians who he fears will be either see their power eroded by time’s progression

¹⁴¹ A term attributed to the German Romantic writer Jean Paul Richter to describe a pessimistic attitude, a vague yearning, which comes from an understanding that reality can never truly satisfy one’s fantasies or imagined interpretations of outcomes.

or eradicated entirely. Kipling's work could not escape the reality of this historical progression, but he could attempt to force his perspective through *Kim*. This is not only an artistic choice, but also a political one. *Kim* sheds its sense of realism entirely at its conclusion when it is clear that Kipling's fantasies for India and Ireland are not plausible. In the following sections of this chapter, I argue that the picaresque nature of the text obfuscates Kipling's pessimism, a pessimism born of the tension arising from both the confluence and conflict between historical reality and personal fantasy for India and Ireland.

Kipling's India

Harry Rickett, the author of *Rudyard Kipling: A Life*, asserts that "At every stage of his life, a number of Rudyard Kipling's coexisted in varying degrees of compatibility with each other" (Ricketts xi).¹⁴² These contradictions manifest themselves in *Kim* and are rooted directly in Kipling's own biography, a biography problematized by his race, his birth in India, and the historical moment in which he lived. To begin to understand Kipling's work, it is necessary to understand the world in which he wrote and the unique position he held. I argue that any attempt at close readings of the text without a strong understanding of the author's biography, as well as his period, fails to do the writings justice - in fact, I believe that biographical detail illuminates the subtlety of the novel and its particular importance as a late nineteenth century representation of the Indian colony and its people, both native and the colonist ruling class.

¹⁴² Similarly, Said notes "Kipling was a historical being, albeit a major artist. *Kim* was written at a specific moment in his career, at a particular time in the changing relationship between the British and the Indian people. And even though Kipling resisted the notion, India was already well into the dynamic of outright opposition to British rule" (Kipling 3 10).

Born in Bombay, Kipling's early childhood was idyllic.¹⁴³ In his autobiography, *Something of Myself*, Kipling begins by describing the halting English (his second language - Hindi being his first) that he used when speaking to Mamma and Papa, the diversity of India, and the storytelling of his Aya and Hindu bearer.¹⁴⁴ At the age of six, he was "exiled," as was customary among many Anglo-Indian families, to the fosterage of the Holloway family in Southsea, England (*Something of Myself* 3).¹⁴⁵ As David Gilmour notes in *The Long Recessional: The Imperial Life of Rudyard Kipling*, this common practice of sending Indian born children to relatives, boarding houses, and schools in England was important to the formation of Anglo-Indian children and the preservation of their "Englishness." Gilmour continues, "It was 'inexpedient' to create little Orientalized pashas coddled by servants, enervated by the climate and thinking of India as 'home.' Expediency required them to be sent to real 'home' [and] learn austere Victorian virtues" (8). Along with his sister, Kipling endured years of physical and emotional torment at Southsea. Of this house of desolation, he wrote, "I had never heard of Hell, so I was introduced to all its terrors..." His boarding school experience in North

¹⁴³ Some recent biographies of Kipling which seek especially to investigate his complicated location as an Imperialist and his place within the colonial literary canon, include *Kipling* by Jad Adams, *Kipling Sahib: India and the Making of Rudyard Kipling* by Charles Allen, *The Long Recessional: The Imperial Life of Rudyard Kipling* by David Gilmour, *Rudyard Kipling: A Life* by Harry Ricketts, and *Rudyard Kipling* by Andrew Lycett.

¹⁴⁴ David Gilmour explains, "Like many Anglo-Indian children, he spent most of his time with servants and spoke Hindustani as his first language...he would accompany members of the household wherever they went, becoming as was as a 'native child' about the 'elementary facts of life' and on good terms with 'Hindu dieties'" (Gilmour 7).

¹⁴⁵ In *The Long Recessional: The Imperial Life of Rudyard Kipling*, Gilmour draws attention to the Jesuit quote Kipling references at the start of his autobiography: "Give me the first six years of a child's life and you can have the rest" (6). He emphasizes that the formative years of Kipling's life, spent in India, were crucial to his development and the influence behind this "myth making."

Devon was equally abusive. It was eleven years before he was free to return to India (*Something of Myself* 3).¹⁴⁶

Kipling's first novel, *The Light that Failed*, offers a thinly veiled biographical account of the abuse he endured at Southsea. The incidents of cruelty that the flawed protagonist Dick Helder endures in foster-care and boarding school provide insight not only into the character, but into Kipling himself, for whom Helder acts as a stand-in. Importantly, *Kim* is not Kipling's first-character to act as a surrogate literary representation of the author. *Kim* differs from Dick in that he is the vehicle through which Kipling combines his real and imagined understandings of India to live vicariously. One of the functions of *Kim*, the free and wandering urchin, is to execute the fantasies of the young, exiled Kipling in the land at the root of his happiness and desires. *Kim* is a rich, exotic spectacle, a recreation of the halcyon days of Kipling's own childhood.

When Kipling published *Kim* in 1901, he was a highly accomplished and acclaimed writer and journalist. He was a world traveler, a husband, a father. He had suffered a nervous breakdown, lost a child, and penned the poem "The White Man's Burden," which forever wed his name with Imperialism. *Kim*, his last work to take India as its subject matter, was completed in expatriation, begun in Vermont and finished in East Sussex where the Kiplings had by then settled. Kipling had seen his beloved India for what would be the last time in 1891. *Kim* was his paean to the world he had left behind, a world drawn from memory. Unlike memories, *Kim*'s India, Kipling's India, is not stagnant or complete. Kipling's India is based on his real-life encounters in the land of his

¹⁴⁶ "After these my English years fell away, nor ever, I think, came back in full strength. That was a joyous homecoming." (*Something of Myself* 5)

birth and is colored by his status as a Sahib, white of European descent, an Anglo-Indian. His assessments are a strange mix. In one moment, Kipling's works are the embodiment of Imperialist stereotypes; in the next he sensitively captures the diversity of India during the Raj with pride in both colonial and native culture and achievements. Kipling's understanding of the reciprocal relationship between natives and colonials is, likewise, constantly evolving. Without an acceptance of the mutability of his mindset, it would be impossible to consider *Kim* from an Irish postcolonial lens, nor to understand Kipling's later seeming animosity towards the Irish. His individual biases and personal journey colored everything he wrote.

The penning of *Kim* coincided with the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and the Liberal Government's support of the failed first and second Irish Home Rule Bill in 1886 and 1893¹⁴⁷ coupled with the general, ever-present threat of insurrectionist activities of both Irish and Indian origins. The brutal and lengthy, Boer Wars in South Africa, similarly, had a profound influence on Kipling's *Kim* too. As a journalist, Kipling had visited South Africa and he had a personal and professional relationship with Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of Cape Town¹⁴⁸. Kipling was invested in the crisis in South Africa in more than just a casual way and internalized each defeat as a humiliating and dangerous attack on the solidarity and durability of the Empire as a

¹⁴⁷ Irish Home Rule Bills, introduced to the House in 1886 and 1893 respectively, sought to reverse the 1800 Acts of Union. The former was defeated in the House of Commons, the latter in the House of Lords.

¹⁴⁸ Cecil Rhodes was an Imperialist British mining magnate and politician. He was Prime Minister of Cape Town and founded Rhodesia. Kipling greatly admired Rhodes and memorialized him in the poem, "Burial" (1902), the last line of which is inscribed on the Rhodes memorial in Devil's Peak in Cape Town, South Africa: "The immense and brooding spirit still / Shall quicken and control. / Living he was the land, and dead, / His soul shall be her soul!" For an excellent recent revisionist biography of Rhodes, see Brian Roberts' *Cecil Rhodes: Flawed Colossus*.

whole. While the South African crisis does not figure literally within the text of *Kim*, it is important to note its influence, especially in terms of the thematics of rebirth, healing, and change. Kipling's dismay over the events in South Africa is overtly nodded to in the incongruous naming of the novel main character - Kimball O'Hara. While his surname speaks to his Irish ancestry, the uncommon forename - Kimball, arguably of either or both Celtic or Anglo-Saxon origins, means "warrior chieftain or leader"¹⁴⁹ a moniker, which, quiet aptly, describes Kim. More importantly, the name Kimball is similar to "Kimberely" the South African town where the British and united Orange State and Transvaal forces clashed during the Siege of Kimberley from October 1899 to February 1900, just previous to *Kim's* publication. The Siege of Kimberley, in which Kipling's friend Rhodes was directly involved, marked a strategic shift in the British approach to the war, which was reflected in tremendous changes in Kipling's approach to the colonized.

Kim would be the last in Kipling's long line of representations of the Irish in India as essential citizens of the Empire because the strength of Irish and Indian nationalism united through colonial analogies would come to supersede any of Kipling's vision for Irish Imperial inclusion. As Kaori Nagai argues, "India was no longer a safe representational space in which the unshakeable solidarity of the whole Empire could be shown through the use of intra-imperial analogies" (119). The erroneous belief that the various ethnic groups of the British Isles could be harmoniously incorporated within the Empire was by this time clearly proven false. This failure was repeated again and again on the global canvas of the British Empire, but in India there is a particular case to be made for the complexity of representing India. India historically has not been

¹⁴⁹Information on the name "Kimberley" found on the web resource www.thinkbabynames.com.

homogeneous in ethnicity, religion, or history, even prior to British imperialism. Kipling makes a valiant attempt to create, in a very general sense, a text that represents some of the diversity of India, even if it only validates the reality that India is heterogeneous.

Without historicizing Kipling's biography and his period, any evaluations of his oeuvre fall short. Kipling's texts in the early postcolonial critical era were justly subject to rereading that emphasized the ways in which Kipling participated in British imperialism. These early post-colonial readings reduce him to something of a caricature: the "White Man's mouthpiece of Imperialism, both political and cultural". Even later criticism, which recognizes the complexities of Kipling's work, is still influenced by these earlier interpretations. Although Kipling was certainly racist in our modern understanding of the term, and while we must recognize this in both nineteenth century and contemporary contexts, neither the author nor his writings should be "flattened out" into stereotypes. Misread in this oversimplification, the nuances of Kipling's work are lost- these nuances that are at the heart of Kipling's importance as an Anglo-Indian writer of the late nineteenth century. In excavating the biographical and historical contexts of *Kim*, we can better understand Kipling as a valuable product of his age; therein lays the most fascinating aspect of both his personal history and his works. This approach also teaches us ways in which we can sensitize ourselves to similar assumptions and privileges in our own historical moment. Kipling captures a moment and a perspective that cannot be recouped because the trajectory of history has eliminated it.

Generalizations surrounding Kipling's legacy must first be peeled away, and in doing so a rich context to the novel can be excavated. This reading, which puts into play what I

would call an “Irish cultural-historicist reading,” has the advantage of also offering a rigorous answer to the problem of the collapse of *Kim*'s ending.

Edward Said calls *Kim* "a major contribution to this Orientalized India of the imagination" (*Culture and Imperialism* 227). His India, though drawn from memory, is far from timeless and immutable as an Orientalist reading implies. In *Orientalism*, Said contributes an essential rereading of the Orient in English literary and cultural imaginations, but his response to *Kim* vacillates between confidence and reticence. *Kim*'s complexity is reduced when it becomes one of Said's canonical examples of an imagined India, but in the same essay, Said acknowledges, “Yet so large in perspective and strangely sensitive is Kipling to the range of human possibilities that he gives another of his emotional predilections relatively full rein” (Said qtd. in Kipling 10). Of the relationship between *Kim* and the Lama, Said writes:

Kipling, I think, does not condescend to the old man's search. He follows him wherever he goes in his wish to be freed from ‘the delusions of the Body’, and it is surely a part of our engagement in the novel's Eastern dimension, which Kipling renders with little false exoticism, that we are able to believe in the novelist's respect for this particular pilgrim. (Said qtd. in Kipling 16)

I would argue that to dismiss Kipling's works simply as Orientalist not only fails to acknowledge the complexity of his relationship with India, England, and the other colonies of the Empire reflected in his oeuvre, but it also fails to read the intricacy of Said's reading. He is biographically too enmeshed in India to be positioned on one side of a binary between the Orient and the Occident, which fails to acknowledge Kipling's

diverse past and his contemporaneous multilayered and varying identifications with both colonial and colonist factions. Kipling himself defies his own assertion about the meeting of East and West and Said, though he pegs Kipling as an Imperialist (rightly so) cannot help but acknowledge the strange complications of Kipling's position.

This is not to say that Kipling identified himself as being anything but a member of the white ruling elite - his experiences in England as a child had certainly inculcated him adequately. Nonetheless, he was very conscious that the circumstances of his birth and life in India differentiated him. His identity was a hybridization of the intersection between England and India. His position and those of others whose locus is a hybridization somewhere between those two extremes demands a reconceptualization of the term: Orientalist." Stephen Howe describes Kipling by noting:

It is true [he] did not see Indians as particularly oppressed and I am as ready as the next liberal radical to deplore this failure; but he did see the people of India as vigorous full of humor and energy, deeply worthy. How are we to explain that in the pages of this apologist for imperialism the masses of India seem more alive, more autonomous than the pages of writers claiming political correctness? (Howe 333)

Howe grants that Kipling is an apologist for Imperialism, but argues persuasively that the Indian people Kipling creates are too "alive" to be the caricatures of an Orientalist agenda. I agree with Howe, they are indeed stereotypical, but they are at the same time rich and human.

Rather than being an Orientalist text, I would argue that *Kim* is full of ambiguity.

As Homi Bhabha has argued, Kipling's India is "at once 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible" (71). The stereotypes of native Indians refuse to assume fixed positions. At the same time, the mimicry of the Anglicized Indians are, indeed, threatening. Bhabha is clearly not wrong; *Kim* is very much a novel written by a representative of the white colonial economic and military hegemony. However, the difference between *Kim* and other texts by Imperialist and colonialist writers is that Kipling is aware of not only the colonial ambivalence of native peoples, but also of the white "natives" of India like himself. He is part of the Indian world in a way that the English born Englishman can never be. Kipling writes *Kim* in a very self-conscious way, always seeking to validate both his outsider and insider statuses through his protagonist. His repetition of stereotypes is indeed a failed attempt to fix his characters within their appropriate, differentiated positions as Bhabha postulates, but it is also Kipling's attempt to validate these positions.

This fixing is as much about the colonized as it is about the colonizers. Kipling's colonizers are differentiated in their roles to denote who is worthy of being of India and who is not. Colonel Creighton's words of advice on Kim's departure to St. Xavier's embody the principles which should guide him: "There are many boys who despise the black men...Do not at any time be led to condemn the black men...There is no sin so great as ignorance" (102). *Kim*'s white leaders know India in a way that is very different from that of Said's Orientalists because they are connected with an India that is of their reality. The St. Xavier's boys who Kim finds kinship with at boarding school reflect the hybridity with which Kipling glorifies and identifies himself:

A few were cadets of the old Eurasian houses...Their parents could well have educated them in England, but they loved the school that had served their youth, and generation followed fallow-hued generation to St. Xavier's...The mere story of their adventures...would crisp a Western boy's hair...And every tale was told in the even passionless speech of the native-born, mixed with quaint reflections borrowed unconsciously from native foster-mothers, and turns of speech that showed they had been that instant translated from the vernacular...[but] St. Xavier's looks down on boys who 'go native all together.' One must never forget that one is a Sahib, and that someday...one will command natives. (107)

Kipling identified with this world, even though Kim's experience at St. Xavier's had been robbed from Kipling in his Anglicizing exile in English boarding schools. There is camaraderie at the fictional St. Xavier's that Kim had never known and which Kipling yearned for. It is a place between East and West. It is the interstice for those who occupy both and neither worlds. They are very much insiders, but they are also European masters. Like the St. Xavier's boys and Kim, Kipling has a strange relationship with Orientalism as an academic discipline because he is also in many ways as odd of an Englishman as he is an unconventional Oriental.

Kipling did still maintain connections with individuals considered to be, in the most traditional sense of the word, the foremost "Orientalist" scholars of their day, amongst them his own father, John Lockwood Kipling- artist, educator, and museum scholar. In the first chapter of *Thirteen of Kim*, Lockwood is immortalized as the kind and wise curator of the Wonder House, the Lahore Museum, where he indeed served as

curator. The Curator's interactions with the Lama, are characterized by mutual admiration and respect. Their's is a meeting of equals, the first of several that occur between the Lama and European characters throughout the text. It is the Curator who recognizes the Lama as a fellow scholar¹⁵⁰ addresses him as "brother," and concerns himself with the Lama's comfort by gifting his own good spectacles in exchange for the Lama's scratched and worn ones¹⁵¹. He accepts in return the Lama's iron pen case "as a sign of friendship between priest and priest" (Kipling 19). Kipling's portrayal of the meeting of equals between the Curator and the Lama, runs countercurrent to many of Said's dictums about Orientalists as racist, ethnocentric, domineering, etc. Additionally, the legitimacy of institutionalized Orientalist knowledge is undermined throughout *Kim*; when the Curator fails to know the location of "The River of the Arrow"¹⁵² serves as just one example. "The Lama brought his thousand-wrinkled face once more hands-breath from the Englishman's. 'I see thou dost not know. Not being of the law, the matter is hid from thee'" (Kipling 12). The Curator as a collector of all things Indian would seemingly embody the academic discipline and categorizing of Western perceptions and interpretations of the Orient, but even he does not. In an Orientalist reading, his "possessing" of these treasures of the exotic East would serve to validate his fanciful assumptions of having ownership of knowledge. While he keeps the museum, "The Wonder House" he delights in that world in a way that is based in accuracy rather than

¹⁵⁰ "In a few minutes the Curator saw that his guest was no mere bead-telling mendicant, but a scholar of parts" (Kipling 10)

¹⁵¹ "Now lend me thy spectacles." The Curator looked through them. They were heavily scratched but the power was almost exactly that of his own pair, which he slid into the lama's hand, saying: "Try these." (Kipling, 13)

¹⁵² The search for "The River of the Arrow" is the impetus behind *Kim* and the Lama's multi-year journey throughout India.

fantasy. He is certainly in awe of the wonders of the East, but so is the Lama, who represents Eastern scholarship. Just like the Lama, the Curator's India is tangible, based on methodical research and accuracy born from first hand experiences. It is not a construct of Western fantasy or, more accurately, any fantasy. Unlike the Lama's India, there is no transcendental India for the curator. It is for this reason that while he can reiterate the tale of Siddhartha and the Test of the Bow,¹⁵³ he cannot free himself from "being bound to the Wheel of Life" as the Lama calls it. He does not know where the Sacred River is because it is part of fantasy, (it is not part of the physical here and now), and not because he is a Sahib, but because he is not of "the way" in a spiritual sense. The Curator does not engage in a world that is mystical because his India is not the Orientalist India of the imagination; it is a real place.

In these early moments of the novel, in this scene between the Lama and the Curator, Kipling demonstrates that the "Orientalist" Curator is not guided by the assumptions of *latent* Orientalism, nor is he an impassive victim of historical manifestations of Orientalist knowledge. He "does not know" because he is a student, a fellow traveler on "the way" growing in merit and understanding; even if his "way" is wholly earthbound. He has not achieved the spiritual illumination of the Lama but because he can engage in a mutually respectful exchange of knowledge with the Lama, the Curator maintains his status and does not find himself authoritatively located below the indigenous holy man. The Lama is not the Curator's inferior nor is the East judged or corrected in their interaction. If the Curator is Kipling's representative of Academic Orientalism, he is a far cry from Said's Orientalist who "places things Oriental in class,

¹⁵³ "The Tale of The Test of the Bow" or "The River of the Arrow" is adapted from several Buddhist folktales and location of which is used as by Kipling as the motivation behind the Lama and Kim's quest. Likewise, the River is symbolic of rebirth.

court, prison, or manual for scrutiny, judgment, discipline, or governing” (*Orientalism* 40-41). Rather, the interaction between the Curator and the Lama is evidence “of the unmapped and the (un)mappable within the cartography of imperialism” (Baucom 94). This scenario of knowledge exchange underlies the existence of constant power sharing that occurs again and again throughout *Kim* between whites and natives, whites and whites, and natives and natives, alike and muddles the binary between submission and dominance between the colonizers and the colonized. The Curator is just one example of Kipling's repeated obscuring of this dichotomy, which permits the existence of Kim and characters like him. Kipling reiterates and emphasizes the existence of these characters that exist within a grey area to naturalize them within their space, to fix them within the colonial world. In doing this with his peripheral white characters, Kipling continually supports all his assertions regarding Kim, the Irish Child of Empire in Ireland and justifies his locating of Kim within the Imperial hegemony.

Kim is littered with white characters, like the Curator, who, though not native, have clear and irrefutable ties to India, who defer to the expertise of natives, and who engage with them in mutually respectful ways. An acknowledgement of this does not make Kim any less an apologist for Imperialism, but it does re-conceptualize Kipling as an author who wrote about India and whose relationship with the land and colonials was intimate and affectionate, if not to a certain degree condescending and generalizing. These characters are part of an encounter between East and West that is intimate and reflects a sense of permanency. Many of the positively portrayed white characters in *Kim* are not transients. Those who are blow-ins or not amenable to adjusting themselves to Indian society are penned in a critical, distrustful light. A good example of a Sahib who

engages in a mutually respectful way with natives and is clearly a permanent fixture in India, appears in Chapter Four in the form of the District Superintendent of Police who jokes familiarly with the rich old lady from the Kulu hills. The Kulu woman remarks of the policeman: "These be the sort to oversee justice. They know the land and the customs of the land. The others, all new from Europe, suckled by white woman and learning our tongues from books, are worse than the pestilence. They do harm to Kings" (Kipling 67). Another example would be the contrast between Father Victor and the Reverend Bennett of the Church of England. Upon revealing the details of Kim and the Lama's search for "The River of the Arrow," Reverend Bennett reacts with cries of blasphemy. Father Victor, on the contrary, treats the Lama with reverence and displays genuine interest in native culture and language, and in their search for the River. "Said Father Victor sympathetically, 'I'd give a good deal to be able to talk the vernacular. A river that washes away sin! And how long have you two been looking for it?'" (Kipling 78). Like their native counterparts, Kim, the policeman, and Father Victor belong in India and are part of the fabric of Indian society. During this period, Kipling saw India as a settler colony that was not only heterogeneous in regards to native groups, religions, and castes, but among its white population too.

Kipling certainly envisioned himself, as part of India's heterogeneous make-up even as he accepted the privileges of being white and male within that society. Edward Said in writing about Kipling as an archetype of Orientalists still concedes that Kipling was no outsider: "Kipling not only wrote about India, but was *of it*" (*Culture and Imperialism* 134). Like the native and white "Indian" characters in *Kim*, Kipling belongs in India. His gaze, the gaze through whom the story of Kim is told, is his personal

interpretation as a member of Anglo-Indian society. Said's reading sees Kipling's text as one that upholds the Empire, and in so doing he reads it as clearly "Orientalist. I would argue that Kipling makes for an odd Orientalist. Just as Aijaz Ahmad attacks Said as having failed to consider ways in which the colonized intelligentsia "received, accepted, modified, challenged, or reproduced Western knowledge" (Ahmad 172) so too, does Said fail to explore the diversity in Western interpretations of the East and of the West's representations in the Imperial system. The images of "white" India that Kipling paints are just as varying as those of the colonized peoples and this is problematic for the black and white dichotomy of colonized and colonizer that Said establishes. Kipling's marginality as a member of the Anglo-Indian community in India is relevant here, and must be excavated to fully appreciate the diversity which Kipling attempts, albeit imperfectly, to express in *Kim*.

David Scott makes a major intervention into Said's reading of the Orientalist Kipling in, "Kipling, the Orient, and Orientals: 'Orientalism' Reoriented." Scott does not dismiss any of Kipling's frequent and sweeping generalizations about the "Orient" and "Orientals" but notes that Said's generalizations in the bestowing of the appellation Orientalist are equally sweeping (Scott 320). To call Kipling, simply, an Orientalist limits any true postcolonialist and historicist readings of his work and precludes serious discussion of the historical, social, political intricacies of colonial society, which they reveal. Again, an Irish reading of *Kim*, routed in the grey areas of cultural and historic intersections cannot be put forth without a reconsideration of these enormous dichotomous divisions.

Kim's India represents Kipling's personal responses to the historical moment in time during which the novel was written. As Said points out, the late nineteenth-century was marked by change and tensions in India's colonial system, specifically via the threat posed by the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. He writes,

A remarkable, complex novel like *Kim* is a very illuminating part of that history, filled with emphases, inflections, deliberate inclusions and exclusions as any great work of art is, and made more interesting because Kipling was not a neutral figure in the Anglo-Indian situation, but a prominent actor in it. ("*Kim* as Imperialist Novel" 135)

By the time of *Kim's* publication, Kipling was a prominent literary figure and vocal supporter of the Empire. It is important to emphasize that Kipling was not above the racism and jingoism dominated the thinking of his day. His attitudes and the language in which he assesses the world around him were, despite growing dissent, commonplace and largely drawn from pseudo-scientific racial theories of the nineteenth-century. His understanding of global colonial situations is defined, first and foremost, by his fierce belief in the imperishability of the Empire, an Empire, at the turn of the century, facing multiple threats from within and without. *Kim's* involvement in "The Great Game" serves to position the greatest present threat to the Empire as external, but his encounter with the Old Soldier is a reminder that sedition is just as likely to arise from the disgruntled within. Kipling's reading of India, however, is not a retrogressive one, but forward looking. *Kim's* India is shaped by Kipling's memories of his experiences from his position as an Anglo-Indian, as a Sahib, as a lover of India, and as a colonialist but it is not an account immemorial. *Kim* and Kipling's India is a colony in flux, progressing towards its

inevitable destiny. Kipling's failed attempt to shape India's future through *Kim*, as demonstrated in the ambiguity of the novel's ending, is proof of the boundlessness of Kipling's India. India in *Kim* is not a closed specimen as an Orientalist reading suggests. It is a living entity. Its trajectory, though predictable, is not resolute. An Irish historicist and postcolonialist reading embraces the mutability of *Kim's* world. Kipling accepted the uncertainty of outcomes in penning *Kim's* ending. While he could not bring himself to end the novel in a way that reflected the trajectory of history, a trajectory he had not endorsed, he understands that the turn of historic events is beyond his control and acknowledges that without approving them through ambiguity of his ending.

The Other Martial Race: Kim's Irishness and Colonial Mastery

At the most obvious level, the existence of the boy, Kim, straddles two worlds - that of the white English colonizer and that of the colonized people of India. Criticism, specifically postcolonial criticism that approaches Kim's identity in this way has been extensive, and is central to an Irish Historicist reading of *Kim* as it offers the basis for a broader consideration of Kim, a white and Irish boy, within the colonial context, rather than an English one. Only a few lines into the novel, Kipling proclaims, "The English held the Punjab and Kim was English...Kim was white..." (Kipling 3). However, almost immediately after bestowing the appellation "Englishman" upon Kim, Kipling notes that the boy's late parents, the senior Kim, Sgt. Kimball O'Hara had been a color sergeant in an Irish regiment and that young Kim's mother, also Irish, was a nursemaid in a colonel's family. Recurrent references to the Irishness of Kim are unflattering and complicates young Kim's colonizer/colonized identity conundrum. For example, Kim is "Irish enough by birth" to understand that money should be involved in his delivery of Mabub Ali's

message to Colonel Creighton (Kipling 34) implying that the Irish, like the Scots, are overly concerned with money and wholly unmotivated to do anything without its promise. Kim, to be pedantic, is therefore not actually English, but, for good or bad, Irish. Kipling liberally uses the category "English" as synonymous with "British" to include the Irish, Welsh, and Scottish inhabitants of the United Kingdom (Keating 16). These "English" Irishmen are accordingly positioned in the role of colonizer within the Imperial apparatus in India in juxtaposition to their roles as colonized natives in their home country. This fact of the Irish colonial existence in India underlies the entire novel. Kim's identification is confusing, a conglomeration of Kipling's ideal colonizers and colonials so that it is no wonder that the central and repeating question of the novel is, "Who is Kim?" This is the central question of the text, it is a question that Kipling does not ultimately answer because who the Irish have become is not who he imaged they were. This is the question that will leave the text open-ended.

All the same, Kim's Irishness:

Is an enabling factor freeing him from the constraints imposed by the role of the colonizer. Occupying as he does a place below Col. Creighton and Strickland on the hierarchy of nationalities, as well as, the hierarchy of social class, Kim can be permitted to go among the natives as one of them without jeopardizing British prestige or racial exclusiveness (Keating 21).

To dispel any confusion regarding Kim's Irishness and his position of authority among Indian natives though, Kipling makes sure to immediately establish his protagonist hero, as a leader among his childhood companions by linking him from the very first scene to the controlling power of the English colonizers through his position on the cannon, Zam-

Zammah. It would appear that Kipling was drawn to pen Kim upon Zam-Zammah because the cannon resided at the time of the author's return from England in front of the Lahore museum where his father was curator. The cannon is, however, endowed with far greater symbolic meanings beyond its fortuitous location. The English control of India through their military success is embodied in the cannon. Kim secures this same authority over his playmates by winning for himself the position of "king of the hill" atop the English cannon Zam-Zammah. This cannon, in particular, dates from the eighteenth-century and had been decommissioned since 1860. At the time the novel was penned, Zam-Zammah was already an antique, a throwback to the heydays of British military action in India. Kim teases his friends, Abdullah and Chota Lal, from his perch, "All Mussalman's fell off Zam-Zammah...The Hindus fell of Zam-Zammah too" (6). As an "English" boy, Kim's ownership of the canon is incontestable, just as England's dominion over Indians - Muslims and Hindus alike, was settled long ago. While Kim and the Lama share their first meal together, "the shadow of Zam-Zammah [grows] long" (Kipling 16). The sun is setting on the legacy of martial control in India, but will not set on the Empire. While the cannon already maintained its tremendous historical significance, it was by Kipling's time ripe for new and multiple metonymic interpretations.

Still, the cannon remains all too clearly a phallic symbol of both England's and Kim's manhood. It is imbued with the understanding of the inherent right of the masculine English to subjugate and control. As *Kim* is a bildungsroman, the cannon foreshadows Kim's journey from boyhood into manhood, a manhood in which he will rise to a position of leadership because he is a white, because he is connected with Englishness, and despite all the ways his many personal qualities, save his whiteness,

invalidate him from that destiny. Kim is straddling the cannon; he sits "astride" Zam-Zammah, so that his small body actually denotes the ambiguity of his status at the start of the novel. As his legs dangle one on either side, he physically and symbolically teeters between two worlds, that of white colonist and that of native India. Still, Kipling makes it evident, that even as Kim oscillates between these two worlds, he as master of the cannon, and hence both worlds are his domain. Kim represents a new sort of "Englishman" one who while irrefutably meant to rule, bears a complicated identity. Kim is "white" because it links him undeniably with English hegemony, but he is Irish because it links him to the colonized, both Irish and Indian. Like his Anglo-Indian creator, Kim isn't a model Englishman at all, but through his possession of the canon, his masculinity, his authority, and his destiny are ensured.

Only equivocally English, Kim must first be "validated" as white, as a member of the ruling race, to permit a reconceptualization of the roles played by individuals of varying races and ethnicities within the Empire. By establishing Kim's race, his status-the standing of those he interacts with can be reassessed. That Kim's race must be defined is not exceptional to Kipling, but indicative of his period and situation in a world in which all people were defined along racial lines. For the Irish, as a colonized people and racialized others, their social reconfiguration in Kipling's novel and his grand vision, depends on the acceptance of Kim, an Irish boy, as "white" which in turn, establishes the Irish as "white". In Ireland, the native Irish were the exception to the rule that to be white in the contemporary colonial context was an indication of entitlement. In fact, the Irish, in Kipling's day were not considered white in the same sense that our modern understandings would categorize them at all. The Irish situation was far more complex

and demands clarification in order to understand Kipling's artistic choices in the novel and why and how Kipling attempts to (re)inscribe Irishness within India to understand Kim's contribution to the failed ending.

[The Irish] were not in fact considered to be racially identical with 'Anglo-Saxons' or other Europeans. On the contrary, their capacity to become colonizers involved, as many have shown, a considerable labor of re-identification and of racist self-differentiation from the nonwhite populations of their nations. (Lloyd 51)

"Racism" directed against the Irish was only marginally about exaggerated and imagined phenotype differences from Anglo-Saxons. As these differences were, in actuality, based in socioeconomic and political differences, the pseudo-race differentiation, which aligned them the dark skinned, colonized could be eschewed. Noel Ignatiev's, *How the Irish Became White* explores in depth how Irish immigrant populations in the United States positioned themselves alongside the existing white American hierarchy to differentiate themselves from and oppress African Americans and to facilitate their own social climb. In the same way, for *Kim*, to assume any sort of authority in India, far from his ancestral colony of ethnic origin, the color of his skin must take precedence over his Irishness. Kim must be differentiated from Indian natives as "white" and then by proxy, "English," rather than Irish. "English" is used in a loose synonymous way with whiteness. Again, the logic follows that - Kim is white so Kim is "English" ergo, as Kim is Irish, the Irish are "white". In this way, Kipling both upholds and explodes the racial theories of his day. If whites, as exemplified by the English, who were at the theoretical apex of racial evolutionary development, than the Irish, as whites too, shared this pinnacle of

prominence from which they were endowed to rule all other races. Irish Kim's existence in the liminal space of India facilitates Kipling's assertion of Irish equality and functionality while his whiteness frees the Irish Kim to govern his fellow colonial natives of darker skin.

From an Imperial perspective the implication that the colonized Irish could share this same status as the colonizing English is highly problematic. In *Kim*, Kipling, attempts to advance numerous theories regarding the Irish which often contradict one another. His first assertion is that for the Irish, ethnicity both does and does not matter. In India, the white Irish are representatives of the Imperial government and hence, "English." At the same time, Kipling's Irish characters are, indeed, distinctly Irish. They bear Irish names and present a host of stereotypical, frequently unflattering, qualities associated with the Irish. Even as they are called Englishmen, they are clearly meant to be distinguished as Irishmen from English natives and the Anglo-Indian children of the English. Just as Kipling dares to use the designation "English" with such liberality (more as a surrogate for British) his conscientious and careful sculpting of his Irish characters denotes that their Irishness does very much still matter, especially in India. In India, they may be freed of the restrictions of their Irishness, but this freedom is didactic. In India, Irishmen, already identified by their race as agents of the Crown, must learn to further differentiate themselves from the politics of Irish Nationalism by proving again and again their unwavering loyalty to Imperial ideals.

By superimposing an Irish space on India, Kipling purposefully creates a combination of India and Ireland in his literary world to reproduce the sense of imperial integrity, which Indo-Irish connections traditionally

represented, and also to reject the rebellious connections between the two colonies as treacherous and inauthentic. (Nagai 3)

In this way, these "good" Irishmen are rewarded for their incorruptibility, blessed with the privileges of being white and English, and reap their share in Imperial glory. Kim must accept Catholicism and his status as a white man. "As far as Kim could gather, he was to be diligent and enter the Survey of India as a chain-man. If he was very good...He could earn thirty rupees a month at seventeen years old and Colonel Creighton would see that he found suitable employment" (Kipling 101). This would be Kim's reward. In order to reify this revised position of the Irish though, these Irish servants of the Crown must retain the trappings of Irishness while performing as white Englishmen. They must do double duty, interchanging their roles as colonizer and colonized. Herein lies the root of Kim's confusion:

"I am to pray to Bibi Miriam, and I am a Sahib...No, I am Kim. This is the great world and I am only Kim. Who is Kim?" He considered his own identity, a thing he had never done before, till his head swam. He was only one insignificant person in all this roaring whirl of India, going southward to he knew not what fate. (Kipling 101)

Kim may represent the way that Kipling wants the Irish to be portrayed, but it is only one expression of the possible fates that await the Irish in the twentieth century. Kim's uncertainty is an extension of Kipling's own foreboding. In the 1890's there were several perceivable trajectories for the course of Irish history and the one Kipling presents, the one he advocates for, the one he envisions for his protagonist, is ultimately not the one that comes to fruition.

Historically, many of the Irish did, without question, participate in and benefit from British Imperialism. In India, the Anglo-Irish served in positions of administrative, religious, and military authority, but by the last quarter of the nineteenth century substantial numbers of native Irish had flooded to the ranks in the colony. Kipling understood the Irish as serving a vital role in the military, especially in India. That Kim's father was an Irishman serving in an Irish regiment is unexceptional and accurately reflects the disproportionate numbers of Irish in military service in India and elsewhere within the Empire during that period.¹⁵⁴ Kipling's portrayal of the Irish soldier, though flawed by stereotypes, does indeed presents a fairly accurate presentation of Irish regimental life in India. The men of Kim's father's unit which he comes upon in Chapter 5, despite Oirish¹⁵⁵ speech dialogues, pugnacious but pious Catholic priests and intoxicated, jocular Irishmen, is a symbol of colonial authority. Even as the regimental band and men march into camp to the comic tune, "The Mulligan Guards"¹⁵⁶ the Irish soldiers are clearly representative of white power in India and for Kim, are simultaneously suggestive of his obligations and allegiances to the Crown as a loyal "Englishman" in the colonies (Kipling 71). Kipling's representations of the Irish paint

¹⁵⁴ For more on Irish regimental life in India during the Raj and the connections between Irish and Indian nationalist, particularly those with shared military origins, see *Ireland and India: Nationalism, Empire and Memory* by Michael Silvestri and Terence Denman's article, "'Ethnic Soldiers Pure and Simple'? The Irish in the Late Victorian British Army".

¹⁵⁵ Oirish is a caricature of Hiberno-English. Hiberno-English is Modern English spoken in Ireland. It borrows vocabulary, grammatical structures, rhythm, pronunciation, and metaphor from the Irish language.

¹⁵⁶ Tony Hart and Ned Harrigan internationally popular 1878 comedic musical depicted the Mulligan Guards, a local militia unit in New York City. These units, known more for their debauchery and drunkenness than soldiering, bore a closer resemblance to social clubs than true military brigades. That Kipling's Mavericks arrive in the novel, marching to a tune from Hart and Harrigan's musical strongly linked the Maverick's and the satirical Mulligan Guards in the minds of the contemporary readership. (Cullen 485)

their loyalties as they regularly did appear in India and as he would wish to see them more frequently.

After the Rebellion of 1857, native soldiers were viewed with apprehension. The British Army, for recruitment purposes classified native groups into one of two categories, 'martial' (brave and able fighters) and 'non-martial' (unfit for service). This was a theory, which Kipling supported and reiterated repeatedly throughout his body of work (Kling 306). While this classification emerged initially to laud the loyalty and fighting prowess of Scottish Highlanders within the British ranks, it was applied extensively in India, post the Indian Rebellion of 1857¹⁵⁷ towards the enlistment of native soldiers (Denham 254). Among Indian groups- Bengalis, Brahmins, and other Anglicized Indians were excluded from service as two cateialies, 'martial' (brave and able fighters) and 'nooups, were considered "martial" and preferred as native recruits (Kling 306). Beginning in the first two chapters of the novel, the native soldiers who Kim encounters on his journeys with the Lama reflect this generalization - the constable at the Lahore museum is Punjabi (Kipling 7) and the soldier on the train to Benares is Sikh (Kipling 26).

The Old Soldier whom Kim and the Lama encounter on the road to Benares exemplifies the qualities of a marital Indian recruit. For his service during the Indian

¹⁵⁷ The Indian Rebellion of 1857, (India's First War of Independence, The Rebellion of 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny, The Great Rebellion, The Revolt/ Uprising of 1857) was fueled by various grievances, but was ignited when Sepoy soldiers employed by the East India Company's army mutinied when they were required to use beef and pig and cow fat greased rifle cartridges. Other mutinies and civilian rebellions erupted throughout Central India, Rajputna, and Bengal. What began in the garrison in Meerut, lasted six months and resulted in the deaths of over two hundred colonists- men, women, and children and the equally brutal and indiscriminate reprisal deaths of hundreds of native soldiers and civilians. Following the Rebellion, the East Indian Company, which had controlled India for over two hundred and fifty years, was dissolved and The Crown assumed direct administration of the colony. Queen Victoria assumed the title "Empress of India". For more on the Rebellion see *The Indian Mutiny 1857-58* by Gregory Fremont-Barnes and *Great Mutiny: India 1857* by Christopher Hibbert.

Mutiny of 1857-1858, the Old Soldier was compensated in land and his children's futures secured. Years later, he remains revered by the English officials and is privileged above other natives to bear arms (Kipling 42-48). In discussing the Mutiny itself, he remains scornful of those natives who rose up against their colonial masters. While his comrades slaughtered men, women, and children alike, he "rode seventy miles with an English Memsahib and her babe" (Kipling 48). Though an outcast among his own kind, the accolades he receives, including the Order of the British Empire, evince the reciprocal rewards of his lifelong loyalty to the British Crown. The Old Soldier is a model for the indigenous military servant, a sterling example of the martial native enlistee. The trusty Irish soldier in Kipling's eyes shares the same status as the stalwart Old Soldier. In this moment, the native unrest of the second half of the nineteenth-century, both Indian and Irish in origin, is contained in this simultaneous moment in the acknowledged loyalty of the Old Soldier and of Irish Kim- both clearly martial servants of the Crown. As he relates this story to Kim, the young Irish citizen of the Raj, the Old Soldier, inculcates Kim so that he will embody the same loyalty and willingly, when his moment comes, serve as "native" protection of the Colony.

In a broader colonial consideration, Kipling included the Irish, with the Scots, amongst the martial races. Again, while the whiteness of the Irish could be argued for, as Celtic people, they were by contemporaneous standards conceived of as being not only ethnically but also racially more akin to other darker skinned colonized people than their Anglo-Saxon overlords. Kipling's inclusion of the Irish among the martial races deviates even more so than just from prevailing colonial perceptions of Irish nature and efficacy and like "trusted" Indian native groups, required scrutiny before inclusion amongst the

martial races. Kipling's portrayal of masculine and brave Irishmen was a divergence from the Victorian notion of the feminized Celt. While the theory of Martial Races lauded the Scottish Highlander as the model colonial subject, the good Celt- the Irish were largely unable to escape the emasculating oversensitive reading of Celts popularized by Matthew Arnold's 1866 *On the Study of Celtic Literature*. This attitude shifted in the 1880's following the restructuring of British regimental units. Increasing numbers of "Irish" regiments, such as Kipling's fictional "Mavericks," (to which Kim's father belonged) were centered on regional identity, providing a sense of belonging for the native Irish enlistee. The Irish were categorized alongside other Martial races to form what were essentially units of irregulars within the British occupying army (Enloe 46-7). This was a premeditated effort by the Crown to offer the Irish a small share in Imperial grandeur while capitalizing on their "natural" soldiering instincts. It was believed that within the military, the intrinsically emotional and pugnacious Irish could find the discipline they needed to cultivate these tendencies for their own betterment and towards the growth and protection of the Empire. These Irish regiments often mirrored Irish class divisions, with members of the Anglo-Irish gentry serving as officers (Denman 257) and peasants, drawn from both urban¹⁵⁸ and rural locales within Ireland and Irish Immigrant ghettos throughout Britain, serving as foot soldiers (258). Throughout the nineteenth century, Anglo-Irish hegemony in Ireland eroded exponentially. In India, the Anglo-Irish were able maintain their prestige and status as authority figures, while the peasant classes

¹⁵⁸ The drummer boy Kim encounters in the regiment hails from the suburbs of Liverpool. His speech resembles a cockney-like accent, "I should think I 'ave been in England (Kipling 89), but the fact that he is serving in an Irish regiment and that Liverpool was a center of Irish immigration into England, denote that he is like Kim of Irish background born abroad. Irish urban peasants were not necessarily Irish born and often times, they represented the most insidious of Irish nationalists. The Irish-American Fenian villain of, "The Mutiny of the Mavericks" reflects Kipling's understanding of this phenomenon. That a first generation Liverpool Irish boy identifies so strongly with being of England is very telling.

found employment and purpose abroad (Denman 258). By sending these individuals into the colonial space, the British Isles was not only rid of two potentially insurgent populations, but also profited from them through their loyalty in military service.

Kipling establishes his Irish soldiers as implicitly supportive of the British presence in India and as integral towards the functioning and protection of the colony. This was not a novel assumption, but was an understanding shared by both British and Irish Nationalist factions. As soldiers in India, the Irish were identified by the colonized as representatives of the British state. Likewise, regardless of any personal animosities individuals might have borne towards the British government in Ireland, they too recognized themselves as servants and agents of the Crown in their military duties to the Raj. It was upon this understanding of the Irish soldier in India mentality, that Kipling based his characters. While they are differentiated by their Irish qualities, their Irishness does not preclude them from being steadfast soldiers, essentially Englishmen in their roles and at heart (Ní Fhlathúin 22).

Evolving Identity: The Nebulous Nationalism of the Irish, Kim and the Mavericks

The notion of Irishness during the nineteenth century was still in a formative, nebulous stage. Our present - day fuller - fledged understanding of Irish identity that is distinct, but rightfully, independent of that of Englishness was far from fruition. Without Home Rule, Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom and its citizens were entitled to their share in the glories of the Empire. Amitav Ghosh notes in "Mutinies India, Ireland, and Imperialism" that "while in Britain's service Indian (and Irish soldiers) were almost always on the winning side" an inarguable psychological benefit to peoples bereft of their sovereignty and more frequently than not their solvency and culture. Enlistment was, for

most, only a means for escaping poverty and unemployment, but it was still an opportunity which was every much the Irishman's right as an Imperial citizen. While even Irish Nationalists acknowledged this, they also saw Irish soldiering in the British forces as a form of usury that further exploited their colonized sons. Still, there was little on a practical level that Nationalist factions could do to thwart enlistment. Rather, they championed equality amongst varying classes and religions in the regiments, and pushed to ensure that ethnic regiments maintained a distinctly Irish character. In turn, the military hierarchy rewarded Irish regiments by permitting the display of many vestiges of Irishness, from wolfhounds to standards and uniforms littered with Irish symbology such as shamrocks and harps. Ensuring a sense of Irish inclusivity struck a blow against Fenianism but perpetuated the distinguishing qualities of the Irish was also risky.

The standards of Kim's father's regiment, which becomes part of the prophecy of the destiny Kim follows throughout his journey, is a red bull upon a field of Irish green. The regiment is aptly named "The Mavericks" and was first introduced in his 1891 short story "The Mutiny of Mavericks". By the time Kipling used the word *maverick* in 1891, the expression, which had been coined in 1860's Texas to describe unbranded rogue cattle, had become synonymous with nonconformist behavior and individualism. To name the late Sgt. Kimball O'Hara's regiment, The Mavericks, not only reflects the senior Kim's character and that of his young son, but also the perceived nature of the Irish in general as bullish, strong-willed, and uncompromising. Bulls have always had an important significance in Irish culture and mythology. The earliest Irish epic, the *Táin Bó Cúailgne*, (*The Cattle Raid of Cooley*) was about the theft of the Donn Cúailgne, The great Brown Bull of Ulster. In Ireland, the color red has always been linked to the Lámh

Dhearg Uladh, The Red Hand of Ulster. This symbol of a red hand is associated with several myths all pertaining to the hand that denotes the rightful ruler of Ulster. The province of Ulster became a major focus of concern for Kipling in the early twentieth century and eventually, he would express the plight of Ulster loyalists in the poem, "Ulster 1912". Certainly, the redness of the bull, also denotes the supposed hot-headed tempers of the Irish while the green background points to the Irish national color and the background of the traditional Harp and Shamrock flag. The Mavericks were very much an apt moniker to bestow upon the ragtag disorderly Irish regiment in Kipling's short story. When courted by an Irish-American insurrectionist, they prove their loyalty to the Empire. Their behaviors throughout the tale from cursing the Queen to excess of drink are *maverick* in the unorthodox sense of the word. Their ultimate decision to defy stereotypes of the treacherousness of the Irish, by remaining loyal to the crown is, ironically, their most *maverick* act of all; the Mavericks loyalty to their regiment and by proxy the Crown, challenges prevailing assumptions regarding the Irish character. This is the legacy that The Maverick's pass on to Kim. While the Fenian conspirator is at one point convinced of The Maverick's support of his plan to mutiny, any seeming support of his endeavor is simply the cunning Irish conning him into purchasing them of liquor. Dan Grady's reverential withdrawal of the regimental colors from their case and rehashing of the regiment's past glories reaffirms the Maverick's loyalty. "The Mut'ny think o' that...an' for that an' these an' those" -- Dan pointed to the names of the glorious battles [in which they had defended the Empire] - "that Yankee man with the partin' in his hair comes an' says as easy as 'have a drink' ("The Mutiny of the Mavericks" 2) imagines he can buy

their sedition. They are tested immediately afterwards at the front where they terrorize the traitor insurrectionist Mulcahy until he runs headlong to his death across the enemy lines.

Notwithstanding his willing reinvention of the Irish, especially in terms of their martial status, Kipling was very concerned about the real danger posed by Irish terrorists and nationalists from amongst both the native population in Ireland and from America that threatened to undermine order in the Realm. During the last half of the nineteenth century, increasingly aggressive Irish republicanism was winning and mobilizing large numbers of supporters in Ireland and amongst the Irish diaspora abroad. The agrarian unrest of the Land Wars¹⁵⁹ and the horror of the Phoenix Park Murders¹⁶⁰ contributed to fears of violent insurrection. Even though, at the time of "The Maverick's" publication, Parnell's Parliamentary Party was on the verge of collapse, the legitimate threat it had posted to parliamentary authority in Ireland had led many to question the certainty of British hegemony throughout the Empire. Parnell had resurrected and revitalized the Home Rule Movement. While the Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893, were both defeated and the Parliamentary Party divided, its successes had forced the Irish Question to the fore amongst both Conservative and Liberal parliamentarians alike.

The year, 1891 marked the publication of "The Mutiny of the Mavericks" and the death of Parnell. The fragmentation in Irish leadership and conflicting objectives ensured

¹⁵⁹ During The Land Wars (1879-1882) tenants organized to challenge landownership. Led by The Land League under the aegis of Charles Stuart Parnell, Michael Davitt, Thomas Brennan, Michael Sullivan, and Matthew Harris, amongst others, the movement drew over 200,000 supporters at its height. Characterized by mass meetings, boycotts, obstruction of evictions, general resistance, terrorism, and parliamentary pressure, the wars resulted in the Land Acts of 1881 and 1887 which would eventually circumscribe Irish landlordism in the 20th century.

¹⁶⁰ On May 6, 1882, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish and his Undersecretary, Thomas Henry Burke were murdered by the Irish National Invincibles, a radical offshoot of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, in Phoenix Park in Dublin. For a classic history of the Land Wars see by James Godkin's *The Land Wars in Ireland 1870- A History for the Times*.

the death of the Home Rule Movement in the last decade of the nineteenth-century, so that even with the return of Gladstone's Liberal Party and the Home Rule Bill of 1893, many Irish concerns inevitably remained unaddressed and unresolved. So, when Kipling penned the "The Mutiny of the Mavericks" and *Kim*, an ominous cloud of potential Irish insurgence from those in Ireland and also from Irish-American insurrectionaries abroad remained over the Empire. Despite nearly a decade long calm between Great Britain and Ireland, the reappearance of the fictional regiment the Mavericks in *Kim*, nearly ten years after its first incarnation, speaks of continued concern regarding the status of the Irish as colonial subjects and the need to quantify and continually shape Irish loyalty. In India, the ambiguity of the Irish position was particularly concerning because of the immense role Irish soldiers, administrators, and clergy played in the operation of the colonial project. To the colonized Indians, the Irish, as English speaking whites, were agents of the British Government. While Kipling's Irish may be pugnacious Papist drinkers, they are also fiercely loyal, clever, and competent adventurers, soldiers, and spies as both the Mavericks and *Kim*, along with numerous other Irish characters throughout Kipling's oeuvre prove. He uses Oirish speech in their dialogue and reiterates the prevailing stereotypes of Irishness to fix their identity, at the same time, attempting to dispel the notion of the Irish menace. His divergence from readings of the Irish as feminized Celts and scheming revolutionaries speaks to a desire to include the Irish as active participants in colonial rule. His portrayal quantifies and shapes Irish Imperial loyalty to reflect Kipling's desires for a more harmonious Empire in many ways dependent upon the fuller inclusion of the Irish - particularly, in India. Kipling's writings are remarkable for their insistence on delineating the Irish as valuable, albeit flawed, instruments of colonial rule

(Ní Fhlathúin 23). In linking Kim to the heroics of the Mavericks, Kipling establishes Kim as being from a legacy of Irish military bravery and loyalty to the Crown, while at the same time highlighting that tradition.

Kim is not only Irish by virtue of his parentage, but a very specific sort of Irish. Kim is not Anglo-Irish - a child of the Ascendancy. He is not Scotch-Irish of Dissenter Protestant stock. Kim is Irish and Roman Catholic specifically; he is not only ethnically, but also religiously part of the tradition of native Irishness. The debatable subjugation of these sort of Irish, as differentiated from the Anglo-Irish and Scotch Irish is strongly linked to their religion, their Irish language, and their mysterious folk culture and mythology. They bear little resemblance to their English overlords. They are clearly a distinct native people. Establishing Kim thus is important as it lends support to Kipling's pronouncements defending Irish inclusion despite differentiating them clearly from the "real" English. All the same, Kipling's casting of his hero as native Irish, undoes his ability to bring his theme to fruition at the novel's conclusion.

Save his name, Kim's parents left him only two objects - his Baptismal Record and his membership papers to the Masonic Lodge. When Kim is captured by his father's regiment, these papers serve to identify him as the son of Kimball O'Hara. These papers represent the two alternatives for Kim's future. That membership in Masonic Orders and in the Roman Catholic Church are antithetical to one another, lends a level of ironic humor to the Senior Kim's membership in both and diminishes the seriousness of Kim's Papist background. In the Masonic orphanage, he will be inculcated as an Anglican and trained as a soldier. As a Roman Catholic, he will be educated at St. Xavier's to assume a governmental position in India. Kim's fate is a matter of money though. It is really not a

matter of faith, a faith that even Father Dennis is willing to "temporize" as he calls it. When the Lama produces the funds for Kim to attend St. Xavier's, Father Dennis is uncertain of the outcome of Kim's future as a Catholic, "I don't know whether it will be a greater relief to me to get him back or to have him lost. He's beyond my comprehension"(92). Kim's return to his father's regiment contains many parallels to the Biblical parable of the Prodigal Son and is even prefaced with an excerpt from Kipling's own poem "The Prodigal Son" from *Songs from Books*. So, while Father Dennis might question Kim's return, it is clear that Kipling was confident in his finally being back where he belonged. The Reverend Bennet who forwards the Anglican option, is painted as uncharitable and myopic. Kipling was very critical of Anglican evangelization and attitudes towards native religions. It's no wonder then that the primary plot of the novel is the religious pilgrimage of a Buddhist monk and his chela, Kim. Kipling would never have written a novel about his own Methodist and Church of England roots. Bennet's shortsightedness regarding the hero of the novel's future speaks to Kipling's distaste for the Church of England. Kim's going to the Masonic orphanage is never really an option to Kipling. Likewise, as Kim's "guardian" and benefactor, the Lama, to acquire merit through the education of Kim, seeks only the best - St. Xavier's. The Catholic alternative offers a far more promising future.

Kipling's positive portrayal of the Catholic priest, Father Victor and the positive options offered by an education in a Jesuit run college endorses and validates membership in the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, Kipling traces a direct pathway from Kim's acceptance as a Roman Catholic of Irish decent to his assumption of authority within the Imperial system. Throughout the nineteenth-century, Roman Catholicism in

Great Britain had become increasingly visible and vocal. Even as the enormous influx of Irish onto the British mainland, especially during the mid-century famine, spurred waves of anti-Catholic bigotry, the prominence of the Oxford Movement¹⁶¹ and restoration of the Catholic church in England¹⁶² did much to counter those sentiments, especially among the middle and upper classes. However, in the 1870's the Papal Decree regarding the infallibility of the Pope ignited old fears of Catholic seditiousness. Gladstone's pamphlet, "*The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: A Political Expostulatio*" resurrected the insidious Catholic specter. Kipling's incorporation of positive representations of Roman Catholicism in *Kim* attempted to legitimize Roman Catholicism as an acceptable minority religion in the United Kingdom and Empire. This is not to be confused with an endorsement of Catholicism, but rather an approval of the harmony that could be achieved through a tolerance of Catholicism. The Reverend Bennet's quiet regard for Father Dennis illustrates Kipling's intention of fostering objectivity and endorsing the utility of the Church of Rome as a civilizing element among the Irish.

Between himself and the Roman Catholic Church Chaplain of the Irish contingent lay, as Bennet believed an unbridgeable gulf, but it was

¹⁶¹ The Oxford movement or Tractarianism (circa 1833-1845) led by John Henry Newman, Edward Bouverie Pusey, and John Keble focused on a reinstatement of "catholic" values and rituals to the Anglican Church to support assertions of the true apostolic succession of the bishops of the Church of England from the Apostles. Newman and many other Anglicans in attempting to validate the church's succession were converted to Roman Catholicism instead and emerged as prominent Roman Catholic clergymen, in particular, Newman, who was recently beatified.

¹⁶² The Catholic Relief Act of 1828 repealed most of the restrictions placed on Roman Catholics. In 1850 Pope Pius' papal bull *Universalis Ecclesiae* re-established the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England. This resulted in a tide of anti-Catholic effigies and vandalizations of churches. For an excellent analysis of the Oxford movement or Tractarianism that considers its theological, political, and cultural aspects see *The Oxford Movement: A Thematic History of the Tractarians and Their Times* by C. Brad Faught.

noticeable that whenever Church of England dealt with a human problem she was very likely to call in the Church of Rome. Bennett's official abhorrence of the Scarlet Woman in all her ways was only equaled by his private respect for Father Victor. (74)

Like the clear allegiance of Father Victor and that of the Mavericks, Kim's loyalty to the Crown as a spy in the Great Game refutes any allegations of Catholic fidelity being singular to the papacy. Roman Catholic apologist, Cardinal John Henry Newman's in his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* and in his public arguments between himself, Cardinal Manning and former Prime Minister Gladstone on the infallibility of the Pope vs. loyalty to the Crown publicly re-imagined the English Roman Catholic conscience. The inclusion of Roman Catholics, for Kipling, was not about endorsing the religion, but rather a reiteration of his avocation for harmonious inclusion of others in the Empire. By tolerating Catholics, they would become compliant rather than oppositional.

Moreover, while modern readers immediately identify Irish Nationalism with Catholicism, during the nineteenth-century, many of the most outspoken and radical of Irish Republican leaders sprung from the Protestant Ascendancy. Distrust for the native Irish ran high, and certainly not without good reason but sedition was, throughout much of the century, likely to spring from either camp. Native insurgents, for the most part, resorted to random terrorist activities, intimidation, and destruction of property. Upper and middle class leaders of both Catholic and Anglican stock with their largely peaceful coordination of political reforms posed a far greater threat to the colonial status quo in Ireland. By the turn of the century, the founding of the Gaelic League and the increased interest in differentiating Irish traditional culture and language from that of England, was

serving as a uniting force between all Irish classes regardless of religion. Kim's fulfillment of his duties related to the Great Game (the espionage/ spy "game" between super powers Russia and Britain) similar to the loyalty of the Mavericks, negates the shadow of this self-identified Irish Catholic menace from India by penning their devotion while acknowledging their valid and unique identity. Kipling's vision is of a heterogeneous, but united Empire of loyal Irish servants.

Linking him further to the native Irish is that Kim embodies many of their "mystical qualities". He is connected throughout the text to "mystical abilities" such as clairvoyance, magic, and fantastic healing. The Pre-Christian Celtic tradition of Ireland, its mythologies, symbolism, and Druidic shamanism, rife with tales of magic and extra sensory perception, was garnering renewed interest with Irish artists of this period, foremost among them W.B. Yeats. Kim reflects many of the conventions popular at this time amongst the writers of the Celtic Twilight, especially those linking him to magic and the occult. Kim is the "Son of the Charm" (154). He is able to move among crowds of diverse peoples undetected, to "shape shift" essentially. Myths such as "The Children of Lir," "Túan Mac Cairil," and "The Wooing of Etain," all feature shape shifting. His metamorphosis from St. Xavier's student to Hindu boy each summer on his school holidays (107) is just one example of his transformative power and his ability to elude being bound to one specific identity. Kim's life has been foretold by a pseudo - prophecy, a twisting of his dying father's words by the half-caste woman who cared for him, but a prophecy none-the-less:

"And some day," she said, confusedly remembering O'Hara's prophecies,

"There will come for you a great Red Bull on a green field, and the

Colonel riding on his tall horse, yes, and" --dropping into English--"nine hundred devils." (4)

Again, his destiny is prophesied by the Sarsut Brahim in Umballa (36-37). "Thus say the stars. Within three days come the two men to make all things ready. After them follows the Bull; but the sign over against him is the sign of War and armed men" (37). Kim's inadvertent return to his father's regiment is seen as miraculous. Father Victor likens his "homecoming" to a miracle from Providence (75):

It looked as though the Umballa horoscope and the few words that he could remember of his father's maunderings fitted in most miraculously. Else, why did the fat padre seem so impressed...the boy's coming here-- to his own Regiment-- in search of his Red Bull is in the nature of a miracle...This one boy in all of India...It's predestined on the face of it...it's kismet. (75-78)

Kim, knows how to play the mystics part and presents his insider knowledge of the upcoming war as prophecy to add to his mystique. "I know that you are not at the war now; but I tell *you* as soon as you get to Umballa you will be sent to war-- the new war...eighty thousand men beside guns. I tell you? (84) Lurgan Sahib, who is enlisted to train Kim for the great game, is likewise, a master of magic and deception. Kim's experiences in Lurgan's house as he trains his "spy's mind" are surreal and mystical. Kim's ability to resist Lurgan's mind games is superhuman. "I tried him in every way; he is the only boy I could not make see things" (146). He has special powers and protection. The Mistress of *Dawut*, Huneefa charmed him against "all devils and all dangers – in the name of her devils" (152-153).

The Celtic School was fascinated with Irish pleasantries beliefs in charms, supernatural occurrences, and the paranormal. Jane Francesca "Speranza" Elgee Wilde, mother of Oscar Wilde, wrote earlier in the nineteenth-century in *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*, "The superstitions, then, of the Irish peasant is the indistinctive belief in the existence of certain unseen agencies that influence human life" (Wilde 2). Speranza, like so many other nineteenth century Celticists, emphasized the supposed Eastern origins of the Irish linking them to native peoples of the East primarily through their supposed mystic qualities. Kim exemplifies this connection.

The Irish and Indian, the two most supernatural elements found in the British Empire, geographically far apart, are in Kipling's work, summoned, deliberately overlapped, and almost identified in order to naturalize the Irish presence in India, which make possible only as a result of British rule in both countries. (Nagai 2)

By cultivating this shared relationship with the supernatural, the Irish, could be catalogued as another Oriental race, categorizable, therefore understandable and governable (24). The Irish and Indian shared connection with unknowable forces, represents a threat to colonial mastery similar to the Curator's admittance of ignorance to the Lama and draws them closer to the invisible world of Indian natives in a way dangerous to authority.

Kim's fluency in an array of native languages engenders an equivalent loss of authority for the colonizers. Similarly in Ireland, the Irish language, Gaeilge, created a linguistic space impenetrable to the English colonizers. By the late 1800's, Irish was already a minority language that was dying rapidly; the Penal Codes and aggressive

discrimination against the use of Irish by the English colonizers, Irish politicians, and in the Roman Catholic run National Schools and the ravishing of the Irish speaking populations through The Famine and Emigration had greatly diminished the number of Irish speakers.¹⁶³ The Gaelic Revival (the revival of the Irish language) was at the heart of the movement to (de)Anglicize, Ireland. By promoting the Irish language, members of the Ascendency, aligned themselves through Irish with Roman Catholic, native Irish speakers to strike a very powerful blow against English rule in Ireland through cultural solidarity. Kim does not speak Irish, but his ability to converse in a plethora of native Indian languages permits him tremendous mastery over those in positions of authority both colonials and natives. "They cannot talk Hindi." He exclaims introducing the Lama to Father Victor and the Reverend Bennett. "They are only uncurried donkeys!" (77) He terrorizes and confuses native letter writers and servants by vacillating back and forth in his roles, first as their equal than as their superior. Kipling's fluency which allows to occupy both spaces. "What manner of white boy art thou?...Thou art as clever as Husain Bux that forged the Treasury stamps at Nucklao" (87-88). Unlike the Babu, who shows off his unnatural mastery of English, Kim has a natural right to English, but also to the vernaculars of India, especially, Hindi, his first language. Colonel Creighton recognizes that Kim's ownership of native languages, which illustrates his imitate relationship with the colonized, is an invaluable weapon to be harnessed in the Great Game. Kim must first be Anglicized, then allowed to (de)Anglicized after his loyalty was secured so that he could then hone his native connections sure of his Englishness. He is told, "You

¹⁶³ The preservation of the Irish language owes much to the tireless efforts of Anglo-Irish Protestants such as William Wilde, Samuel Ferguson, Charlotte Brookes and Douglas Hyde- the founder of Conradh na Gaeilge, (The Gaelic League), to name but a few. Working in the mid and late century, these scholars bore more than just an academic interest in Irish but saw Irish as essential to the preservation of Irish identity.

are...quite [a] unique specimen. If you were Asiatic of birth you might be employed right off; but this half-year of leave is to make you de-Englishized, you see?" (155). His close connection with the native population through language is prized by his colonial directors, but their control of his abilities is always tenuous. "Each long, perfect day rose behind Kim for a barrier to cut him off from his race and his mother-tongue. He slipped back to thinking and dreaming in the vernacular..." (179). This Irish Catholic Kim, this Irish native Kim, is inextricably linked to the indigenous peoples of India. He will always (de)Anglicize naturally and his loyalty will never fully be secured. Kim's service to the Crown exemplifies how his "native" qualities can be cultivated towards forwarding Imperial interests, which translates into a broad endorsement for the utility of native peoples, not as pseudo-Englishmen, but as themselves. Still, Kipling acknowledges the precariousness of Kim's desire to be an insider for the outsiders. His commitment, if not his loyalty entirely, is always a little suspect.

Authority and Otherness: Irishmen and Anglicized Indians

Kipling's affinity for the Irish was in stark contrast to the distaste with which he viewed another group of colonials, the Anglicized Indians. During the Raj, English educated Indians played a large and essential role in the running of government agencies and services throughout the colony. By the mid 1800's this elite group of Indians represented an increasingly vocal middle class whose demands for greater equality posed a looming threat to the peaceful operation of domestic and imperial life. Colonialist concerns about these English educated Indian middlemen were well founded. In 1885, they established the Indian National Congress, to press for a larger role in the governing and policy making of India. Like other likeminded Anglo-Indians, Kipling had long

recognized the enormous risk to the colony posed by relying on the assistance of an increasingly disgruntled underclass of western-educated Indians, pseudo-Englishmen. Kipling lived long enough to witness the Indian National Congress assume an important leadership role in the independence movement, but he died before the enactment of the Indian Independence Act in 1847. In *Kim*, the character of the civil servant, Huree Chunder Mookerjee, unflatteringly nicknamed "The Babu" reveals Kipling's discomfort concerning these mimic men of the Raj and paints them as dissatisfied and potentially dangerous.

He became thickly treasonous, and spoke in terms of sweeping indecency of a Government which had forced upon him a white man's education and neglected to supply him with a white man's salary. Never was so unfortunate a product of English rule in India more unhappily thrust upon aliens. (Kipling 198)

Kipling's distrust for the real-life Mookerjee's of his day, lay, in part, in the contemporaneous racist ideologies of British Imperialism, which questioned the ability of darker skinned, colonized peoples to rule. Additionally, it was rooted in his belief that encouraging Indian natives to perform in roles incongruous to their identities- performing as white Englishmen was both deleterious to the authority of white colonists, but harmful to natives, as well. Thomas Metcalf in *Ideologies of the Raj* notes that the Babu is an archetypal Anglicized-Indian figure designed to "[remind] the British of a similarity they always sought to avow...he posed by implication, not outright assertion, a challenge to the legitimacy of the Raj" (Metcalf 106). In place of these Anglicized-Indians, who Kipling saw as both a social, and an administrative failure, he offered the white Irish. Kim exemplifies this Caucasian alternative to the Babu. In lieu of what Kipling believed was

the inappropriate and potentially risky act of educating and employing dark-skinned natives in positions incongruous to their status, he proposed the training and engagement of increasing numbers of Irish to fill the wealth of positions available in the administration and maintenance of British India. The Irish, while still distinct from the English, were appropriate to fill these roles because these positions did not require them to abandon their native identity. He believed it unnatural for natives to reject their indigenous cultures and languages; Kim's Catholicism supports this reasoning. Irish identity, especially, did not have to be compromised or renounced because the Irish, especially since, unlike native Indians were racially white.

With their religion and ethnicity accepted, it was even more imperative for Kipling to differentiate the Irish from other colonials through the unequivocal fact of race. In stressing their whiteness, the links to colonial natives imparted through the acknowledgement of their Irishness could be negated or lauded depending on the situation. David Lloyd notes that, "The apparent whiteness of the Irish is accordingly a frequent casual objection to the idea of Ireland being a Third World or post-colonial nation" (51). Inclusion of the Irish as whites of equal standing deconstructs the notion of Ireland as a colonized country and strengthens the union between Britain and Ireland. Their whiteness has both historically and contemporarily occluded Irish commonalities between colonized natives of color. For this reason, Kim's whiteness, rather than his links to England or his Irishness is forwarded throughout the text as his dominant feature and the root of his authority. When Kim brings Colonel Creighton, Mabub Ai's message, "The pedigree of the white stallion is fully established" (34) it is as much a reflection of Kim's own unquestionable pedigree, bore around his neck in an amulet, as it is a veiled

message between spies in the Great Game. Even when Kipling goes to great lengths to define Kim's racial status as definitely "white", he inscribes him with numerous similarities to Indian natives that perpetuate his racial ambiguity and bind him to the colonized natives of India.

Though he was burned black as any native; though he spoke the vernacular by preference, and his mother-tongue in a clipped uncertain sing-song; though he consorted on terms of perfect equality with the boys of the bazaar; Kim was white—a poor white of the very poorest.” (Kipling

3)

He obscures Kim's whiteness by bestowing on his character a multitude of native characteristics; he is - "burnt black", his primary language is Hindi, his second language, English, is foreign in sound, his peers are native boys. Kim's poverty sets him at the lowest rung of white society, clearly financially and materially below many of his native counterparts. Kim, however, is not Indian; he is not really one of *them*, because he is white, hence he can legitimately be called English, but the title is a poor fit. Kipling believed the assertion of Kim's whiteness sufficient towards establishing Kim within the role of colonizer, ergo permitting the never ending array of descriptive similarities between Kim and the colonized which transpire throughout the text without compromising Kim's status as white. The emphasis placed on Kim's whiteness trumps any of the similarities he bears to his "Third World" playfellows. Though, indeed, the poorest of whites, his poverty which elsewhere would have precluded him from power, fails to remove him from a position of authority. From the constable at the Lahore museum, who when unable to understand the Teshoo Lama, turns to Kim for translation

assistance, Indian's, throughout the text, in positions of authority, willingly yield and defer to the boy hero.

However, the similarities to his native counterparts fosters the understanding that the Irish are only bordering on racial and social acceptability, just as they border on the periphery of Imperial power. Kipling requires his readership to understand this duality, but this subtly has likely been lost on modern readers who see the Irish as wholly entitled by their whiteness rather than disenfranchised by their native status. Kim needs to be white, needs to be English, but by obscuring his whiteness with similarities to Indian natives, Kim retains, amongst other things, his ties to native coloniality both Indian and Irish. Kim remains a questionable sort of Englishman. His Irish connections facilitate his fluid movement between the two extremes of the white world and the world of the Indian native. Kipling not only acknowledges this, but bases the entire plot of the novel on the fact that in defying contemporary conventions regarding race and nationality, the Irish Kim stays only marginally white, only superficially English. Just as Lloyd, argues that Irish whiteness is an objection to Ireland's postcolonial status, so too is Kim's whiteness, a whiteness synonymous with power and authority, at the root of Kipling's objection to the Irish's racial and colonial categorization. At the same time, the questionability of the Irish permits Kim's versatility as a central character and model for Kipling's vision. Kim's protean abilities demand an acceptance of his Irishness, his Englishness, and his whiteness colored by a deep distrust of the appropriateness of his belonging in any of the three categories. Only once this uncertainty has been established can the status of Kim as an Irishman be reconfigured.

Kim is never specifically called English again beyond the first page, even though it is an affiliation, which Kim's position requires. While Kim's whiteness, though concealable, is an irrefutable fact, his Englishness is a quality that Kipling recognizes does not and should not wholly fit his boy hero. Kim's Irishness allows him to eschew the ill-fitting label and facilitates the syncretizing of the extremes of the colonizer and colonized identities. Kipling assumes that Kim is seen as privileged by his "Englishness" but othered by his Irishness. Although, born to white, Irish parents, he is orphaned to be raised by a host of substitute parents - the half-caste woman, the Lama, Mabub Ali, Father Victor, Colonel Creighton, Lurgan Sahib, the Sahiba (the Kulu woman), and Lizbeth. The streets and byways of India rear him, just as much as any individual. All of these less than ideal fathers and mothers give birth to this new man, this Anglo-Indian Irish Kim - Child of the Empire - Kim, and the Sahib. The word, "sahib" meaning "master" is of Arabic origin and is borrowed into numerous Middle Eastern and Arabic languages, Urdu and Hindi, among them. In India, it was used as a term of respect when addressing Europeans. While this term is certainly used throughout the text to denote white European colonial mastery, Kipling conceptualizes it as an evolving terminology that is not exclusive only to traditional examples of European colonial rulers. Kipling applies the term to all Kim's classmates at St. Xavier's many of whom are children of mixed race and to Lurgan Sahib. "Sahib" is ultimately his chosen descriptive term for Kim. It is inclusive of colonists, Eurasian children, the Irish, and Indian born whites, alike. Sahibs for Kipling, are not just white, they are invested in India, intimate with India. Sahibs are the masters of India in more than just the superficial language of

dominance over natives. Sahibs are rooted to the land that they rule. Sahibs are mastered by India, serving her, guiding her people.

But “Sahib” is a purposely-ambiguous title. Lurgan's moniker includes the title, but Kim on first meeting him notes "He was a Sahib in that he wore Sahib's clothes; the accent of his Urdu, the intonation of his English, showed that he was anything but a Sahib" (128). So, even though the title may be conveyed on those who are not white, it is still deeply connected with whiteness. Whether or not Kim chooses to accept the title "Sahib" and assume the role Kipling offers is at the heart of Kim's personal journey. For Kim, as a white, the responsibilities of being a Sahib are near impossible to escape, so Kim must rewrite what it means to be a Sahib. Lizbeth (The Woman of Shamlagh) who having been scorned by her white lover has no love for Sahibs, yet in their amicable parting, Kim succeeds in establishing a new relationship between the Sahib colonizer and colonized India represented by Lizbeth. He is a new sort of Sahib. This seems to support Kipling's fantasy of Imperial solidarity between colonizers and the colonized. India needs “Indian” rulers – these natural rulers are the Sahibs.

This Kim, Kipling erroneously hopes, will enact his vision of colonial harmony and perpetuity. Kim will lead India into the twentieth-century. Kipling was not only an apologist for British imperialism but also perhaps a fantasist—a utopian thinker who envisioned a better India in the 20th century. The metamorphosis of *Kim's* protagonist from orphaned Irish street urchin to would-be master of India seems complete. Kim serves as a metonymic focus that represents both personal and public reinvention. He is the personification of the Imperial identity problem, but also the solution. The story charts his actual physiological and psychological growth from boyhood to manhood in

the same way that it captures the adolescence of colonial India and Ireland. In doing so, all aspects of Kim's identity are examined, questioned, and reconfigured. His hybrid identity is necessary to resolve the underlying crises of identity among the colonies, especially Indian and Ireland, but also in the Empire as a whole. Kipling imagined Kim's hybridity not as a weakness, but as his most valuable asset. Kim, is at its heart, about a world on the brink of change. If not a meeting of East and West (which it indeed is despite Kipling's protests) it captures the intersection between the old and the new. Kipling aspires for Kim to transcend many of the bonds that define him and to own the shape of his destiny, which in turn is the destiny of Ireland and India. Kim's hybridity is deeply interwoven throughout the text with the themes of rebirth and transformation and cannot be separated from one another in their analysis of the plot and the novel's "failed" conclusion. Kim's hybridity and the multiple roles he plays, engenders the entire text with an understood, universal sense of equivocacy. While this indefiniteness furthers the plot, it ultimately undoes it. Nevertheless, it is important to note that largely all characters, events, and objects are imbued with an assortment of metonymic meanings – signifiers, that do for the most part function well to forward the plot and advance Kipling's ideas. These signifiers make assertions that cannot be overlooked, first because they engender a completely new perspective of the Indo-Irish relationship, and secondly, because they fail in that they undo Kipling's primary objective of creating a new Imperial order.

For instance, the canon, *Zam-Zammah*, previously discussed as linked to masculine authority, mastery, and English colonial hegemony in the colonies is also linked to *Kim's* overarching thematic of transcendence and rebirth. The name *Zam - Zammah* bears a strong resemblance to *ZamZam*, the name of the well in *Masjid al-*

Haram in Mecca, where God sent the Angel Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's concubine, Hagar and their son, Ishmael, who were desperately searching for life sustaining drink. This miracle is commemorated by the faithful each year during the Hajj as pilgrims run back and forth between two hills reenacting Hagar's search. ZamZam water is purported to satiate hunger and thirst and cure the sick. The similarity in names between Zam-Zammah and ZamZam reflect one of several references to miraculous waters in the text. The second reference to transcendental waters is the Baptismal Certificate worn around Kim's neck. The third, the "The River of the Arrow", Kipling's fictionalized Buddhist symbolic waters, "whose nature...is that whoso bathes in it washes away all taint and speckle of sin" (Kipling 11). The fourth is Gunga, the River Ganges. The Sikh in the train to Benares explains, "Who bathes in her is made clean and goes to the Gods" (Kipling 30). *Kim* is a story about rebirth, healing, transformation, and transcendence and these waters of the faithful universally heal all. The thematic of restorative waters drawn from multiple religious traditions iterates these ideas over and over again. They are signifiers but not necessarily symbols of distinct religious traditions. Again, it is important to remember that despite all the religious intonations, Kipling's philosophies are not rooted in any one specific theology. Rather, religion is a vehicle by which Kim experiences a sense of "conversion" that transforms him towards an understanding of his destiny within the colonial apparatus.

At the turn of the century, Kipling was philosophically embracing change—just not the sort of change that anti-Imperialists were at the same moment imagining. The change Kipling envisioned re-conceptualized colonialism, but did not eradicate it. At the start of *Kim*, Kipling imagines a new Imperial order where grateful and conciliatory

colonials function eagerly within their appropriate spheres towards the general good and preservation of the Empire. In turn, colonists, mindful of their own positions, administer in respectful ways, cognizant of the diversity of their native brethren and the kaleidoscope of identities within the Empire. Kipling was not advocating for a universal sense of equality between natives and colonists, but rather a general consensus that in working together, each in their ideal position, native peoples could enjoy the privileges of security under the blanket of the Empire. Of those in positions of authority, Kipling demanded a change in approach and policy that would create a congenial balance between themselves and native peoples. This reciprocity would ultimately secure whites their position as uncontested colonial administrators preserving their hegemonic roles. In his vision, Ireland and India, each flanking the colonial center, each set apart- one as England's oldest and closest colony, the other as her largest, models Kipling's conceptualization of the Empire in all its fantastic potential. Both India and Ireland are paused on the brink of great change and Kipling capitalizes on this juncture to pen a future for each of these essential colonies that upholds his vision. He attempts to unite the destinies of India and Ireland in *Kim*, the novel, and through Kim, the character. In *Kim*, he contains Irish nationalism and (re)conceptualizes the colonial status of the Irish within the international space of India removed from Ireland, but all in the imagined parameters of an India thoroughly peaceful, loyal and serviceable, yet manifold. The Irish Kim in India is a model for Kipling's ideal colonial existing in a fantasized new and perfect Imperial World order. There, the Irish having been linked both with the colonized natives and the colonizers, but situated clearly in the colonizer camp, serve as administrators over Indian natives with whom they are intimately connected. The Irish become the archetype

of the new colonist overlord who is an insider to the colonial situation, not an Imperialist outsider. The Irish identity is subsumed into this reified and improved heterogeneous Sahib identity. These white insiders, these colonial born colonists, Irish and Anglo-Irish alike, form a heterogeneous Sahib hegemony. This is the new "natural" order, a fact that all in the hierarchy wherever they fall needs to recognize. India is reborn with this acceptance; the Empire is rejuvenated. While this vision of Kipling's is deeply predicated on racism, it is still, in many ways, visionary. Not only does Kipling rewrite the entire narrative of Irish exclusion and disenfranchisement, but he fashions the Irish as the progenitors of the new model colonist in India. Kim is reborn in the novel as the archetype of that Irish individual, the forefather of the new and improved Anglo-Indian ruler of India, the Sahib. "Kim's upbringing, so unconventional...is a vehicle of this transformation; Kim emerges from childhood as both son and father of a vast Indian family" (McClure 72).

However, around the turn of the century, Kipling's Imperial fantasy changed drastically and began morphing into what Kaori Nagai calls, the "Five Nations" or the "White Man's World." This was a far less optimistic vision of the Empire, one based on the domination of whites within the settler colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and "England" (the United Kingdom). While Kipling's friend, Cecil Rhodes espoused this vision in his, *The Five Nations* published after *Kim* in 1903; it was not a new concept of Empire and certainly not an unfamiliar one to Kipling. Conspicuously absent from the "Five Nations" are Ireland and India. Irish and Indian inter-relations throughout the nineteenth-century continually evolved in a way antithetical to Kipling's vision and inextricably intertwined the colonial narratives of the two seemingly disparate

worlds. By the end of *Kim*, Kipling can no longer ignore this association. Kim is the product of this figurative marriage between the colonies of India and Ireland. He is born from their commonalities and his life journey is informed by their social and political evolution. That being so, by the end of the novel, Kim's character, in essence, because it is so tied to reality, escapes Kipling's control. He is too wed to the here and now to not fulfill his destiny, a destiny that does not reflect Kipling's fantasy! Kim may be the hero of the Great Game, thwarting a Russian led invasion of the colony, but he is Irish at heart. "The seeds *were* being sown for the loss of India (and for the dismemberment of the empire as a whole), but this would not occur in the manner in which Kipling and the authors of invasion scare literature feared most" (Matin 320). Kipling does foresee this collapse even if he wishes to deny its imminence.

The political similarities between the Irish and Indian colonial situations did not go unnoticed during this period especially among Home Rule¹⁶⁴ advocates of both Irish and Indian origins. Kipling was well aware of the strong analogies Irish and Indian nationalists drew between their colonial situations especially among Home Rule advocates of both origins. Kipling was adamantly anti-Home Rule, especially for Ireland, identifying Irish Home Rule as the most insidious of threats to the unity of the Empire. In the years after *Kim*'s publication, he openly reacted with increased hostility regarding the

¹⁶⁴ The Irish Republican Brotherhood assisted by their American contingent, the Fenians rose in brief rebellion throughout Ireland in 1867. Kipling notes that many of the members of the Mavericks were from Kerry, the county where the rising originated. In the aftermath of 1867, the IRB and Fenians joined with the Land League/ Irish Parliamentary Party under Charles Stewart Parnell, which advocated parliamentary reform for Irish Home Rule—a reinstatement of the Irish parliament in exchange for continued Irish inclusion within the United Kingdom. The period between the Fenian uprising and the collapse of the Irish Parliamentary Party in the early 1890's was known as the Land War and was characterized in Ireland by agrarian violence, riots, and assassinations, and several failed attempts by the Gladstone administration to support a Home Rule initiative. Following the death of Parnell in 1891 and the failure of Gladstone's 1893 Irish Government Bill, the Home Rule movement would remain impotent and violence abate until John Redmond took leadership of the new Irish Parliamentary Party in 1910. For more on the IRB see Owen Mc Gee's *The IRB: The Irish Republican Brotherhood, from the Land League to Sinn Fein*.

subject. In *Kim*, Kipling responds to insecurities born from the many political parallels between the two colonies to situate the Irish firmly within an essential position of involvement and leadership in Imperial endeavors. By illustrating the privileged status bestowed by their whiteness over the Indian natives, Kipling validates and encourages the Irish contribution to the Empire. It is indeed true that Kim O'Hara's crucial role in "The Great Game" is a tribute to the vital role the Irish play in the preservation of the Indian colony and his connection to the Mavericks links him to a tradition of Irish loyalty to the Crown. Without a doubt, Kipling's elevation of the native Irish to the status of Englishmen, worthy of positions of authority in the Empire, offers to all willing Irishman a preferable alternative to dissidence and rebellion and subverts the Irish/Indian relationship. And while this token is generously extended to placate Irishmen who throughout the nineteenth century had continued to lend support to nationalist factions be they parliamentary or Fenian, its acceptance is always in question and finally ultimately rejected. Kim's oscillating between identities reflects the Irish's wavering. Kim is never really fully inculcated as a Sahib. He is never completely colonized and so, Irish Ireland, and India, as well, is not either. Proof of the ultimate failure of his colonization, this rejection of Kipling's generous offer, is in Kim's immediate return after his illness to the Lama.

In proposing these opportunities to the native Irish, the same potential is likewise presented to the Anglo-Irish. The nineteenth-century saw the erosion of much of the Ascendancy's authority and the mass exodus of many of their members to mainland Britain and the colonies. During this period many amongst the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy were becoming increasingly nationalist minded and pledging their support to the Home

Rule movement and paramilitary resistance groups such as the IRB.¹⁶⁵ The Anglo-Irish and Kipling's own Anglo-Indians bore close political and personal ties both in India and in Britain. For decades, the Anglo-Irish had occupied positions as officers in the army and in the government of India. Younger sons of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy flooded the British colonial services there. These Anglo-Irish transplants readily integrated into British society and intermarried with those of English descent. In India, therefore, the Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Indian identities were in many ways synonymous. They also bore close similarities as independent groups. The Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Indians were each a ruling minority differentiated from their native neighbors by religion and ethnicity, wealth, and governmental, political, and military hegemony. As an Anglo-India, Kipling felt very close ties of kinship towards the Anglo-Irish and saw the support of Home Rule by many among that population as an almost personal betrayal. By 1900 Anglo-Indians and the Anglo-Irish were, for the most part, on different paths. Since the mid-19th century, there was a growing movement among members of the Ascendancy to identify themselves as Irish regardless of political and religious affiliation. In contrast, Kipling and most of his fellow Anglo-Indians would never come to identify themselves as simply, Indians (Grubgeld 21). Despite only a small number of dissidents, Anglo-Indians were united in their loyalty to the Crown during the Indian Independence Movement and fled the country in droves after 1947.

Orientalist Ireland and India

The Irish/Indian and Anglo-Indian/Anglo-Irish relationship was made all the more complicated in the nineteenth century by the contemporaneously evolving studies of

¹⁶⁵ IRB- The Irish Republican Brotherhood- along with its counterpart The Fenian Brotherhood in American led Ireland's independence movement to establish a democratic republic in Ireland from the 1850's through the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Celticism and Orientalism. India by the turn of the century was firmly associated with Ireland through political and artistic bonds as a colony and as a cultural alternative to the homogeneity of British civilization. An exoticized and ancient Ireland had been allegorically linked literarily with the Orient, particularly India, through the works of nineteenth-century poets, Thomas Moore, James Clarence Mangan, and at the time of *Kim*'s publication the writers of the Celtic twilight, especially William Butler Yeats. Joseph Lennon's wonderful work *Irish Orientalism* provides a thorough exploration of this convergence. Like Orientalism, the tropes of Celticism constructed a binary between the Irish and the British like that of the Orient and the Occident. Like Orientals, the Irish were considered primitive, irrational, lazy, unmanly, deceitful, and mastered by emotion. By 1897, Yeats's essay, "The Celtic Element in Literature" had officially reclaimed the Celt, principally the Irish and brought to fruition the symbolic link between Ireland and India. The Irish Orientalists co-opted Matthew Arnold's stereotyping of the Irish, twisting what Arnold had portrayed as weakness of character into strengths. Kipling's transformation of the Irish into a martial race is a good example of this. Ireland and India existing on the periphery of the colonial center were united through their cross-colony identification through Orientalism. The Irishization of Orientalist tropes undermined the dichotomy of East vs. West, uniting these fringe positions of Ireland and India. Kipling's *Kim*, acknowledges this meeting and is dependent on the artistic acceptance of this bond.

What Kipling cannot abide is that this relationship exists between colonies outside of the authority of the Empire. This unity, which Kipling had dreamt would bolster imperialism, was employed however by both the Irish and Indians to subvert it. The predominantly Anglo-Irish writers of the Celtic twilight with whom Kipling's own

Anglo- Indian community has seemingly borne so many similarities was foremost in transforming this Irish-Indian connection into anti-colonial, decolonizing narratives (Lennon 249):

The writings and actions of such cultural nationalists imaginatively and temporarily unify the periphery against the centre, rejecting the role designated them by the metropole, despite their borrowings from Orientalism. Cross-colony identification is a reaction to Imperialism...[that] attempts to alter colonial pathologies of power.

(Lennon 139)

Lennon notes that "In the Irish case one marker of anticolonial Orientalist narratives is the projection of 'sameness'- rather than 'otherness' on the 'blank screen' of the Orient" (Lennon 264). Many of the Anglo-Irish, especially writers of the Celtic twilight, invited this sameness through their solidarity with the native Irish via acceptance of the common designation "Irishmen". Born in Bombay, Kipling like his Anglo-Irish contemporaries bore a profound love for and deep familiarity with the colony of his birth. Through *Kim*, Kipling also attempts to negotiate the Anglo-Indian's position as both ruler and member of Indian society. By attempting to reconcile this status through the Irish boy, Kipling's Orientalism becomes entangled via Kim's Irishness with Celticism's divergent anti-colonial trajectory. For all the similarities, which they bore, Kipling could not support many of his Anglo-Irish cousins in their widespread acceptance of this anti-colonial stance.

Kim the Irish boy, even in India, even with all the passes Kipling makes to establish his loyalty, destabilizes Imperialism. Kipling intended to create a character who

would foster the connection between the Irish and their colonial overlords, but Kim despite protecting India from a Russian invasion, actually undermines both these relationships. A. Michael Matin contends that during the course of the text Kim "enacts the fantasy of an Ireland rendered disciplined, tractable, and above all serviceable" but Kim serves only when it suits him or when he is forced. His real loyalty is not to the English characters, but to the Indian ones because it is for their wishes that he conforms out of respect. Kim bears Mabub Ali's message to the Colonel because he "loved the game for its own sake" (Kipling 5), he goes because he gets paid. He loves the Afghan Horse Trader Ali as a father figure and feeling of kinship is reciprocal so, he is willing to oblige Ali. Kim does not remain willing in the camp of his father's regiment after they inadvertently capture him. He is tied by the leg to a tent-pole and guarded by two drummers, begging to return to his Lama. When Kim does escape it is Mahub Ali who strikes out to find Kim when he escapes from the boarding school. Kipling establishes early in the text that "Kim was the only one in the world who had never told [Ali] a lie" (Kipling 23). So, when Kim expresses to Ali his plans for the future, he speaks from his heart like a son to his father. "In the *madrissah* [St. Xavier's] I will be a Sahib. But when the *madrissah* is shut, then must I be free and go among my people. Otherwise, I die!...,And, further, I would see my lama again" (115).

If Kim has a mother figure in the novel, it is the Lama, who though a man, is womanly in his dependency on the male child. In an imagining of the colonized East as feminine, the iconic Lama serves as the perfect maternal symbolic representation. It is not just the adventure that the Lama, in his search for the River of the Arrow offers Kim, but a sense of being needed. With the Lama, Kim belongs to a family. He begs for the Lama

and facilitates for the elderly man's physical needs and the Lama, in return, provides spiritual and educative support. It is because the Lama will fund his education at St. Xavier's that Kim goes to the boarding school. The Lama is the one who really commands Kim to St. Xavier's. While the Lama funds Kim's education under the guise of "gaining merit" it is really because of love for Kim that he provide him the best education to make him a Sahib. Upon his dismissal from St. Xavier's and the end of his training with Lurgan Sahib, Kim immediately returns to the Lama's side.

"I was made wise by thee, Holy One," said Kim...forgetting St. Xavier's; forgetting his white blood; forgetting even the Great Game as he stooped, Mohammedan fashion, to touch his master's feet in the dust of the Jain temple. "My teaching I owe thee. I have eaten thy bread three years. My time is finished. I am loosed from the schools. I come to thee." (160)

Kim serves the East. "'Do not forget, Holy One,' he went on playfully, 'I am still a Sahib-- by thy favor.'" To which the Lama replies, "True. And a Sahib in most high esteem. Come to my cell, chela" (160). The lama, who recognizes neither castes nor creeds is being ironic as he acknowledges Kim's title of mastery while affirming Kim's servitude. When Kim brings the Lama far into the mountains in pursuit of the Russian insurrections under the pretense of searching for the sacred River, it seems that he has finally resolved his split loyalties. He seems at the moment to have chosen Imperialist India over the Lama, but when the Lama's drawing of the Wheel of Life is rent in two by the Russian and the Lama struck across his face, "every unknown Irish devil in the boy's [Kim's] blood" (202) is awakened to his Holy Man's defense. It is only out of respect for the Lama's wishes Kim does not slay the foreign spies. Kim heals the Lama with the

medicine of the Sahibs, but is plunged into an agony of the mind over the Lama's injury. His lama is more important than the Game. His East takes propriety over of his West. Kim is serviceable, but it is not the preservation of the Empire that he prioritizes. He does not serve the Raj first.

Kim's multilayered colonial heritage, especially his Irishness, resists full inclusion within the colonial apparatus. In endowing Kim with so many native characteristics, both Irish and Indian, Kipling carelessly linked Kim to the colonial independence and Home Rule movements, especially Irish ones. Inasmuch as Kim is differentiated from the colonized Indians by his whiteness, his title as "Little Friend of all the World", his gift with Asian languages, and chameleon-like ability to blend in amongst the multitude of groups he encounters, projects similarity rather than otherness. Reiterations of behaviors attributed to his Irish nature, likewise, distance him from the identity of the colonizing English. He is ultimately more similar to the colonized than to the colonizers. Kim personifies Irish-Indian Cross Colony connections and hence is irreversibly linked to the anti-colonial intentions of Irish Orientalist narratives through them, and to the political reality of the growing Irish and Indian nationalist movements of the Fin de siècle. Likewise, Kipling's attempt to mediate the collective liminal status of Anglo-Indians and his own status as an Anglo-Indian citizen of the Empire, through the marginalized Irish protagonist is thwarted. The realities of the Home Rule and Irish Nationalist Movement, and the divergent anti-colonial trajectory of Irish Orientalism, are in stark and unbridgeable contrast to the objectives of Anglo-Indians, such as Kipling himself. Even when essentialized and loyal, the progress of Irish history was set on a clear course towards Independence. The Irish Kim's loyalties are unavoidable. Kim's Irishness, with

all the symbolic and metonymic weight that Kipling has endowed it with so entangles the narrative to force an open ended conclusion. Rather than a clear picture of Kipling's vision, what emerges is a protagonist plagued by identity confusion and a readership uncertain of authorial intention, bewildered by the many nuanced contradicting assertions regarding culture and race that are embodied in Kim.

Kim's cryptic and esoteric ending is the result of Kipling's inability to reconcile the inconsistencies born from the realities of Kim's Irish background, a background clearly charting a course into the 20th century. Irish Kim has departed dramatically from Kipling's political, artistic, and personal ideals. In respect to the protagonist, the central question of the text, despite Kipling's initial seemingly confident description of Kim in the first lines of the novel as "English" and Kim's continuous "sahibization" throughout the story, is "And what is Kim?" (Kipling 234). Pinpointing Kim's identity perplexes the character's he encounters throughout the text and demands that the author constantly recreate a colonial who resists categorizing. At the heart of the novel is Kim's personal identity conundrum and his spiritual journey to find the "real" Kim. Kim, the parentless Irish Chela, disciple of a Tibetan Lama; Kim, the spy in the Great Game for Imperial domination between Great Britain and Russia; Kim the chameleon, the Jack-of-All Trades, who fills role after role. The dualities of identity that are at the heart of Kipling's most beloved hero- black/white, Indian/ English, Irish/ English erode the foundational assumptions regarding Kipling's Imperialism and the binary between East and West, colonizers and colonized. Joep Leerssen's suggestion of reading the colonized as "both/and" rather than in "either-or" terms is particularly applicable to Kim's situation. The multiple layers of Kim's colonial heritage, especially his Irishness, resist full

inclusion within the colonial apparatus and forces the ostensible open ended conclusion of the work. Kipling made Kim of Irish descent to reiterate his philosophies, first espoused in "The Mutiny of Mavericks", of Ireland's overall loyalty to their colonial rulers, despite the emergence of increasingly widespread and radical Irish nationalism but Kipling fails to reconcile the inconsistencies born from the realities of Kim's many associations, especially his problematic Irish heritage.

At the conclusion of *Kim*, Ireland and India's future is foreseeable, but it is not the future Kipling envisioned or condoned. As this new world looms, the future that Kipling imagined for Kim, evaporates. Just as Ireland and India cannot assume a place among the "Five Nations" neither can Kim continue in the role Kipling preconceived for him at the start of the novel. All along, running parallel to the plot of *Kim*, the colonial situations in both Ireland and India are evolving in a way, which Kipling unhappily prognosticated and feared. This outcome is the "terrible beauty" whose birth Yeats announced in "Easter 1916." It is not the rebirth Kipling intended and he will not write it into *Kim*. *Kim* will end in ambiguity rather than accept the march towards decolonization that having gestated throughout the nineteenth-century will come to fruition in the twentieth. "*Kim* darkly illustrates its epistemological ill-proportion. Nothing indicates it astonishing obsfucation more than the conclusion of the text, where an Anglicist narrative and an Orientalist lama collide in vying for the affections of the protagonist" (Suleri 278). Sara Suleri in *The Rhetoric of English India* notes that final scene is reflective of the conventions of classical Urdu poetry in which the beloved has no voice. Exclaims the Lama:

"Son of my Soul, I have wrenched my Soul back from the Threshold of Freedom to free thee from all sin-- as I am free, and sinless! Just is the Wheel! Certain is our deliverance! Come!" He crossed his hands on his lap and smiled, as a man may who has won salvation for himself and his beloved. (240)

Suleri sees Kim's voice as silenced by his colonial education and as indicative of his transition from childhood to adulthood. Kim's experience in the mountains and his post-illness epiphany certainly imply this bildungsroman has come to an end. Kim's silence does not denote his acquiescence though. Kipling cuts him off. It is not that he cannot speak; it is that the Irish Kim, a colonial monster of Kipling's own making, is too insidious to be allowed to speak. Kim is a threat to both Irish and Indian Imperial authority that Kipling must quiet. The similarity of convention with ancient Urdu poetry that Suleri points out strengthens Kim's affiliation with native peoples of India silenced by the Raj and to the voiceless Irish, especially the native Irish speakers. Kim must be silent because what he would say is not what Kipling wants to hear.

Kipling's use of Irish characters has in recent years garnered fresh attention, bolstered by renewed interest in the Irish/Indian colonial connection. While these analyses seek to establish and tease out this connection, to search for its symbolic presence, to politicize and historicize, they often fail to address the intimate link between the author and subject or to explore the exact textual repercussions resulting from these thematic. It is one thing to deduce that East and West have met in a fictional work and to recognize the origins of their intersection, but without a consideration of the ways in

which this collision of worlds affects a work on the plot level, an analysis can never be complete. In *Kim*, East—Ireland and West-- India do, indeed, meet.

“No need to listen for the fall. This is the world's end.” (Kipling 327)

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