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Notes

Chapter One

- 1 Thus the adaptation of the classic Marxian argument that a national ruling class will build a state around itself to protect its interests: in Britain there was no pre-existing nation, but the need for economic rationalization came first. See below for definitions of Britain/the UK as a social class rather than a nation.
- 2 Cf. for example Michael Keating, 'Stateless nation-building: Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland in the changing state system', *Nations and Nationalism* 3–4, December 1997, 689–717; it has been argued that, especially before devolution, the UK acted as a 'fifth state', though this capacity has somewhat waned – cf. Arthur Aughey, 'Fifth Nation: The United Kingdom between definite and indefinite articles', *British Politics* 5–3, 2010, 265–85.
- 3 Cf. Michael Gardiner, 'England and the *Guardian*'s "Disunited Kingdom"', *openDemocracy*, 1 November 2011: www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/michael-gardiner/england-and-guardians-disunited-kingdom.
- 4 Colin Kidd has often complained that not enough attention has been paid to Scottish Unionisms, with the implication that recent 'nationalism' (meaning self-determination) is unthinkingly projected backwards – cf. *Union and Unionisms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) – on unionism as provincialism, 14; on the lack of interest in 'legal nationalism' in the key eighteenth century, 178–80; on the simplification of the twentieth-century rise, 198–9; on nationalism as a form of unionism, 257–99.
- 5 Asifa M. Hussain and William L. Miller, *Multicultural Nationalism: Islamophobia, Anglophobia, and Devolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 146–69.
- 6 Here 'post-colonial' represents a temporal marker, implying a time after the height of empire, while 'postcolonial' indicates tendencies which can go right back through the colonial era; this distinction is necessary and broadly in line with postcolonial criticism since the 1990s.
- 7 Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: Self-government and the Shifting Politics of Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 160.
- 8 Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 160.
- 9 The fear of a naturally Tory UK has both massively increased and become more confused since talk of a Scottish independence referendum in Labour think-tanks and press, cf., for example, Stewart Lee, 'Shame on you, Alex Salmond, for selling us out to the Bullingdon Club', *Guardian*, 5 February 2012; other more sceptical accounts of the undemonstrated dependency of Labour on Unionism include Stuart Campbell, 'Why labour doesn't need Scotland', *Wings Over Scotland*, 10 January 2012: <http://wingsland.podgamer.com/why-labour-doesnt-need-scotland/>; Gerry Hassan, 'Post-unionism, post-nationalism and the politics of voice', ed. Claire Westall and Michael Gardiner, *Literature of an Independent England* (London: Palgrave, 2013), 31–45; Gerry Hassan and Eric Shaw, 'The territorial dimensions of labour' ed. Hassan and Shaw, *The Strange Death of Scottish Labour* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 299–315.
- 10 On the placement of parties at the time of the 2010 election, see for example Political Compass, UK Parties at 2010 General Election: www.politicalcompass.org/ukparties2010.
- 11 For example Jeremy Paxman, *The English: A Portrait of a People* (London: Penguin, 1999); Simon Heffer, *Nor Shall My Sword: The Reinvention of England* (London: Pheonix, 2000 (1999)); Roger Scruton, *England: An Elegy* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000); cf. Michael Gardiner, *The Return of England in English Literature* (London: Palgrave, 2012), 31–5; on the 'listing' tendency as a thin version of Englishness, see Arthur Aughey, 'English is the country and the country is England' ed. Westall and Gardiner, *Literature of an Independent England*, 46–59.
- 12 David Goodhart, 'England arise', *Prospect*, 26 July 2008: www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/englandarise/.
- 13 Ben Wellings, *English Nationalism and Eurosepticism: Losing the Peace* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012), 3.
- 14 Among many examples of a pre-6 May 2010 *Guardian* obsession with the BNP which backhandedly encouraged the idea of an 'ethnic' England, see for example Jim Wolfreys, 'BNP manifesto seeks more than votes', 27 April 2010: www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/27/bnp-manifesto-launch-nick-griffin; Cole Moreton, 'Let's raise a glass to multicultural Saint George', 23 April 2010: www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/23/saint-george-multicultural-reality.

- 15 For example Richard English, *Is There an English Nationalism?* (London: IPPR, 2011); John Denham, 'The rise of English pride', IPPR, 27 January 2012: www.ippr.org/articles/56/8585/the-rise-of-english-pride?siteid=ipprnorth; Alastair Bonnett, *Left in the Past: Radicalism and the Politics of Nostalgia* (London: Continuum, 2010); Jon Cruddas Roscoe Lecture, 2 March 2011: www.newstatesman.com/2011/03/labour-book-noonan-tradition.
- 16 Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); cf. Jed Esty, *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003); Peter J. Kalliney, *Cities of Affluence and Anger: A Literary Geography of Modern Englishness* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2007); Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
- 17 Esty, *A Shrinking Island*, 9, 11, 135, 156; cf. Baucom, *Out of Place*, 39; cf. David Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 42–6.
- 18 For example Guy Lodge, Wyn Jones, R. Henderson and D. Wincott, *The Dog That Finally Barked: England as a Political Community* (London: IPPR, 2012).
- 19 For example Chris Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism 1848–1932* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983); Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquests: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000 (1989)); cf. Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*; Baucom, *Out of Place*; Krishnan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- 20 See Tom Nairn, *Pariah: Misfortunes of the British State* (London: Verso, 2002); Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, 1–38, 226–73; Robert Colls, *The Identity of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 (2002)), 337–76; Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004); Robert Hazell, ed., *The English Question (Devolution)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Arthur Aughey, *The Politics of Englishness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Aaron Kelly, 'James Kelman and the deterritorialization of power', ed. Berthold Schoene, *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 175–83; Michael Rosie and Pille Petersoo, 'Drifting apart?: Media in Scotland and England after devolution', ed. David McCrone and Frank Bechhofer, *National Identity, Nationalism, and Constitutional Change* (London: Palgrave, 2009), 122–43.
- 21 Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 107.
- 22 Joan McAlpine, 'When did the media lose its Scottish accent of the mind?', ed. Gerry Hassan and Rosie Ilett, *Radical Scotland: Arguments for Self-Determination* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2011), 222–38; Rosie and Petersoo, 'Drifting Apart? Media in Scotland and England after Devolution', eds. McCrone and Bechhofer, *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change*, 144–62.
- 23 Lodge et al., *The Dog That Finally Barked*; cf. Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 171.

Chapter Two

- 1 Cf. Jacques Lacan, trans. D. Porter, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book VII: The Ethics of Psychoanalysis* (London: Routledge, 1992 (1959–60)); Jacques Lacan, ed. Alan Sheridan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan 11: The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978 (1973)); on realism cf. Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* (Winchester: Zero, 2011), esp. 16–20.
- 2 Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2007 (2004)), 116; on Herder, 87.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 88, 90.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 115; for the controversy this stirs up concerning Franz Kafka's 'minor' language as described by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari and its incorporation into World Literature, see Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 203–4; Deleuze and Guattari, trans. Dana Polan, *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986 (1975)); David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 201–2; Christopher Prendergast, *Debating World Literature* (London: Verso, 2004); Michael Gardiner, *The Return of England in English Literature* (London: Palgrave, 2012), 144–5.
- 6 Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 100.

- 7 Ibid., 92.
- 8 Ibid., 87, 89.
- 9 Ibid., 87, 98.
- 10 Cf. Marilyn Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries: English Literature and Its Background* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982 (1981)), 12.
- 11 Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 240; 117–18; cf. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).
- 12 Cf. Constantine George Caffentzis, *Clipped Coins, Abused Words, and Civil Government. John Locke's Philosophy of Money* (New York: Autonomedia, 1990).
- 13 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 173; Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 107; on the flotilla as an anti-Jacobin sovereignty gesture in 2012, see Claire Westall and Michael Gardiner, 'The last great British summer for England', *openDemocracy*, www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/michael-gardiner-claire-westall/last-great-british-summer-for-england.
- 14 Michael Foucault, trans. Alan Sheridan, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1991 (1975)); on the need to see Foucault's description of Bentham's panopticon within the context of the whole book, see Anne Schwan and Stephen Shapiro, *How to Read Foucault's Discipline and Punish* (London: Pluto, 2011), 5–6.
- 15 Especially as it moves towards the mid-twentieth century, this essay will tend towards the Deleuzian model of 'control societies', in which the carceral space of the factory tries to expand to take over personal relationships outside of capitalism: Gilles Deleuze, 'Postscript on the societies of control', *October* 59, Winter 1992, 3–7.
- 16 Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 92.
- 17 Ibid., 104.
- 18 Ibid., 114.
- 19 Ibid., 117; on the move to cultural empire cf. Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), for example 36–41; cf. Robert Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).
- 20 Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 120–1.
- 21 Cf. John Holloway, *Crack Capitalism* (London: Pluto, 2010).
- 22 Cf. Fisher, *Capitalist Realism*.
- 23 Tony Travers cited in Iain McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 168; there is a discussion on the movement from government to governance in London and elsewhere in the UK in Tony Travers, *The Politics of London: Governing an Ungovernance City* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), 20; on 'soft Stalinism', see for example Tom Nairn, *Pariah: Misfortunes of the British State* (London: Verso, 2002); Fisher, *Capitalist Realism*, 39–53.
- 24 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 44.
- 25 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 165.
- 26 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 111–25.
- 27 The terms of the 'continuant' and 'action' to which this refers relate especially to John Macmurray, *The Self as Agent* (London: Faber, 1995 (1957)); John Macmurray, *Persons in Relation* (London: Faber, 1995 (1957)).
- 28 George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987 (1949)), 33, 34–41, 67–76.
- 29 Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain* (London: New Left Books, 1977), 16–22.
- 30 Cf. Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* (London: Hogarth, 1992 (1958)), 3–20; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin, 1991 (1963)).
- 31 On the economics of anti-Jacobin culture, cf. M. O. Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British Conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. 9–10; cf. Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 20, 36.
- 32 Cf. Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660–1722* (London: Longman, 1993), 227, 257–9.
- 33 Cf. Chris Thornhill, *A Sociology of Constitutions: Constitutions and State Legitimacy in Historical-Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 147.
- 34 Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power*, 261–70.
- 35 Thornhill, *A Sociology of Constitutions*, 149, 154.
- 36 Ibid., 150.
- 37 Ibid., 153, 238.

- 38 Cf. Dan Hind, *The Return of the Public: Democracy, Power and the Case for Media Reform* (London: Verso, 2012), 30–7, 40, 44; Bagehot's 'efficient secret' is discussed in: Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 (1867)), 11.
- 39 Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 (1992)).
- 40 Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 6, 11.
- 41 Cf. Chris Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism 1848–1932* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983); a move away from belletrism towards a disinterested 'rise of (Oxbridge) English', Richards, Leavis, and *Scrutiny*, is described in Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 17–53: 32–3, 43–53.
- 42 Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory* (London: New Left Books, 1976).
- 43 On Williams, see Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology*, 11–42.
- 44 Here as elsewhere, capitalization indicates a named subject, while lower case suggests the literature of England the place.
- 45 Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 7, 18.
- 46 Ibid., 39.
- 47 Ibid., 165, 217; cf. T. S. Eliot, 'The Dry Salvages', *Four Quartets* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968 (1941)), 25–33.
- 48 Adam Ferguson, ed. Fania Oz-Salzberger, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995 (1767)), 220, 243; Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: Penguin, 2010 (1759)).
- 49 Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 159–60, 229.
- 50 Ibid., 171.
- 51 Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 84.
- 52 Ibid., 115; cf. Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 46–50.
- 53 Alastair Duckworth, *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994 (1971)), 45–53.
- 54 Ibid., 128.
- 55 Ibid., 142; Austen's work as socially conservative but 'improving' and formally radical is developed in Marilyn Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987 (1975)).
- 56 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 111.
- 57 Kathryn Sutherland, 'Jane Austen and the invention of the serious modern novel', ed. Thomas Keymer and Jon Mee, *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 244–62: 245 (this section of Sutherland's account tellingly blurs England and Britain, mirroring Austen's place in the canon); F. R. Leavis, *The Great Tradition: George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad* (London: Faber, 2008 (1948)), 9–23.
- 58 Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 (1790)).
- 59 Cf. Michael Gardiner, *The Cultural Roots of British Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 79–101; Cairns Craig, *Intending Scotland: Explorations in Scottish Culture since the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 77–144, 179–202.
- 60 Cf. Thornhill, *A Sociology of Constitutions*, 8.
- 61 David Duff, 'Burke and Paine: contrasts', ed. Pamela Clemit, *The Cambridge Companion to British Literature of the French Revolution in the 1790s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 47–70: 56.
- 62 The way the next two centuries of British ideology go back to the Jacobinesque concentration of collectives from the 1780s onwards was often hinted at by Raymond Williams and the New Left within the context of the welfare state; this is also, in another way, the basis of Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, which begins with the London Corresponding Society, against which Burke was reacting.
- 63 Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 110–37.
- 64 David Punter, *The Literature of Terror: History of Gothic Fiction from 1765 to the Present* (London: Longman, 1980), 421.
- 65 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men*, ed. Sylvana Tomaselli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995 (1790)); cf. Robert Miles, 'The 1790s: the effulgence of Gothic', ed. Jerrold E. Hogle, *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 41–62.
- 66 William Blake, 'Songs of innocence and experience', ed. David V. Erdman, *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970 (1789)), 7–32; 'The four Zoas: the torments of

love & jealousy in the death and judgment of Albion the ancient man' (1797), ed. Erdman, *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, 296–399; 'The French Revolution' (1791), ed. Erdman, *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, 282–96.

- 67 Cf. Miles, 'The 1790s: the effulgence of Gothic', 42–3.
- 68 Cf. Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 110–37.
- 69 Maggie Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel* (London: Routledge, 1995), 6.
- 70 On Lackington, see *Critical Review* 65, June 1988, 1788, cited in Simon Bainbridge, ed., *Romanticism: A Sourcebook* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), 215; cf. Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 15.
- 71 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 26, 37.
- 72 William Godwin, *Caleb Williams, or, Things as They Are* (London: Penguin, 2005 (1794)).
- 73 William Hazlitt, *Life of Napoleon*, 4 vols (London: G. Bell and Sons (1828–30)), I, 1.
- 74 Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 126, 157.
- 75 Tom Nairn, *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland* (London: Granta, 2000), 276–7.
- 76 William Blackstone, *Commentary on the Laws of England* (London: s.n., 1809 (1765–9)), III, 268; Miles, 'The 1790s: the effulgence of Gothic', 44.
- 77 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 (1757)).
- 78 Cited in Anthony King, *The British Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 18; cf. its description as a 'Gothic cathedral', 40.
- 79 Matthew Arnold, 'The function of criticism at the present time', ed. Stefan Collini, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 (1864)), 43, 48, 50.
- 80 Cf. Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 11–38.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 40.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 11, 15, 113.
- 83 David Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism, and the Revolt against Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 52.
- 84 This helps describe what is so unsettlingly misleading about the *Guardian* cover comment on the 2005 Routledge Classics edition of that anchor of modern English Literature, Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads*, which suggests that 'it must have come on like punk rock'. This meridian had a consolidating and progressive function which could not be further from the destructive, anti-state moment of punk.
- 85 Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism, and the Revolt against Theory*, 4, 126–48; cf. Baucom, *Out of Place*, 32–3.
- 86 Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism, and the Revolt against Theory*, 43, 52, 55.
- 87 *Ibid.*, 57.
- 88 John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); on 'Political dictionaries', 1–3.
- 89 Cf. Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 55.
- 90 Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People: England 1730–1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 (2006)), 169, 259; cf. Clifford Siskin, *The Work of Writing: Literature and Structural Change in Britain 1700–1830* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 172–9.
- 91 Cf. Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689–c.1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 255; cf. William Christie, *The Edinburgh Review in the Literary Culture of Romantic Britain: Mammoth and Megalonyx* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009).
- 92 Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism, and the Revolt against Theory*, 135.
- 93 Jon Mee, 'Popular radical culture', ed. Clemit, *The Cambridge Companion to British Literature of the French Revolution in the 1790s*, 117–28; 117.
- 94 Williams, *Culture and Society*, 3–20.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 10.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 97 Cf. Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus; and selected prose* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970 (1833–4)), 36 (the section is ostensibly on 'Editorial Difficulties').
- 98 Cf. Edmund Burke, *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, in Consequence of Some Late Discussions in Parliament, Relative to the Reflections on the French Revolution (1791)*, online version: <http://archive.org/stream/appealfromnewtooldburkiala#page/n7/mode/2up>.

- 99 Jeremy Bentham, 'Anarchical fallacies: being an examination of the Declarations of Rights issues during the French Revolution', ed. *The Works of Jeremy Bentham, Published under the Superintendence of His Executor, John Bowring*, 11 vols, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1838–43 (1791)), online version: http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=1921&chapter=114226&layout=html&Itemid=27, n.p.
- 100 Bentham, 'Anarchical fallacies', n.p.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 For example John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 (1859)), 50–1.
- 103 Bentham, 'Anarchical fallacies', n.p.
- 104 John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government* (1690), online version: <http://libertyonline.hypermall.com/Locke/second/second-frame.html>.
- 105 Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 (1786)); cf. Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (London: Hogarth, 1987 (1957)), 60–92; cf. Virginia Woolf, 'Defoe', *The Common Reader (First Series)* (London: Hogarth, 1968 (1925)), 121–31; Virginia Woolf, 'Robinson Crusoe', *The Common Reader (Second Series)* (London: Hogarth, 1965 (1932)), 51–8.
- 106 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009 (1996)).
- 107 William Hazlitt, 'On poetry in general' excerpted in Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *Selected Essays of William Hazlitt* (London: Nonesuch, 1930), 386–410: 403.
- 108 Maria and Robert Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education* (London: J. Johnson, 1811 (1798)).
- 109 For example Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: Geographies of Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997), esp. 22–44 on *Robinson Crusoe*; Jeffrey Richards, ed., *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); John M. Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); on the run-up to World War One and the nexus of literacy, empire, and militarism, see Patrick Brantlinger, *The Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).
- 110 Leslie Stephen, *Hours in a Library* (London: John Murray, 1917 (1874–9)), 1–43; here *Robinson Crusoe* in particular is described as being valuable because 'time-honoured'.
- 111 Woolf, *The Common Reader (First Series)*, 121–31: 121, 129.
- 112 Ibid., 123; it is worth noting that the canonical order of realism which goes Austen – Eliot – Conrad in Woolf's 1925 account is left intact in Leavis's 1948 account in *The Great Tradition*.
- 113 Woolf, 'Robinson Crusoe', 54.
- 114 Ibid., 55.
- 115 Ibid., 56.
- 116 Ibid., 58.
- 117 Muriel Spark, *Robinson* (London: Penguin, 1964 (1958)), 10, 83.
- 118 Cf. Jacques Derrida, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas, *Rogues: Two Essays on Reason* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005 (2003)); Jacques Derrida, trans. Patrick Mensah, *Monolingualism of the Other, or, The Prosthesis of Reason* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- 119 Spark, *Robinson* 59, 167, 131.
- 120 J. G. Ballard, *Concrete Island* (London: Harper Perennial, 2008 (1974)), 15, 16, 19, 32, 34, 39; cf. 42–6, 61.
- 121 Ibid., 66, 74.
- 122 Ibid., 99, 115, 138, 167; on the retaking of English land, cf. Simon Featherstone, *Englishness: Twentieth-Century Popular Culture and the Forming of English Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 67–83; Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 17–37.
- 123 Ballard, *Concrete Island*, 151–2.
- 124 J. M. Coetzee, *Foe* (London: Penguin, 1987 (1986)), 25.
- 125 Ibid., 40, 73, 81, 88.
- 126 Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 62.
- 127 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 37.
- 128 Cf. Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism and the Revolt against Theory*, 152–9; cf. Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, 6; cf. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'The Monk: a romance', review in *Critical Review, or Annals of Literature*, 19 February 1797, 194–200.
- 129 Bainbridge, *Romanticism*, 230; Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 35, 58.
- 130 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'The Eolian harp', ed. William Keach, *Coleridge: The Complete Poems* (London: Penguin, 1997 (1796)), 87–8.

- Typically, a late Scottish Enlightenment skeptical response is to be found in Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of Human Mind* (Boston, MA: Wells and Lily, 1818 (first two volumes 1792, 1811)); cf. Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death*, 5.
- Nicholas Roe in William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads* (London: Routledge, 2009 (1801–2), 18; for an alternative history of associationism which stresses the centrality of David Hume, see Craig, *Intending Scotland*.
- Wordsworth and Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads*, 34, 312.
- Ibid.*, 49, 305.
- Ibid.*, 296.
- Ibid.*, 305, 308.
- Ibid.*, 36.
- Ibid.*, 299–304.
- Ibid.*, 38; Baucom, *Out of Place*, 18–37.
- Cf. T. H. Gill, *Wordsworth and the Victorians* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 181.
- William Wordsworth, *The Borderers* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982 (1797)); Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 64, 87.
- Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 37, 106, 140.
- Nicholas Roe, introduction to Wordsworth and Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads*, 14.
- Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Rime of the ancient mariner', ed. Wordsworth and Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads*, 51–78; Wordsworth, ed. Jonathan Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams and Jonathan Gill, *The Prelude*, 1799, 1805, 1850 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979 (1805/50)), 117.
- Wordsworth, 'Preface', ed. Wordsworth and Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads*, 286–314: 293–4.
- Ibid.*, 290–2.
- Arnold, 'The function of criticism at the present time', 33.
- William Hazlitt, 'Why the arts are not progressive – a fragment', *Morning Chronicle*, 11–15 January 1814.
- William Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age* (London: Henry Colburn, 1825), 296–7; cf. David Higgins, 'Romantic Englishness: periodical writing and national identity after the Napoleonic Wars', ed. Claire Westall and Michael Gardiner, *Literature of an Independent England* (London: Palgrave, 2013), 63–76.
- Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age*, 233; cf. Higgins, 'Romantic Englishness'.
- Hazlitt, 'Merry England', *New Monthly Magazine*, 14 January 1825, 557–65: 564, 560; cf. Higgins, 'Romantic Englishness'.
- Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age*, 308.
- William Cobbett, 'To money-hoarders', *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 55, July 1825, 65–108: 87–8; quoted in Higgins, 'Romantic Englishness', 68; cf. David Stewart, *Romantic Magazines and Metropolitan Literary Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011).
- Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 62.
- Especially 'Z' (John Gibson Lockhart), 'On the Cockney school of poetry', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 2–7 October 1817, 38–41.
- Hunt, 'Christmas and other old national merry-makings considered', quoted in Higgins, 'Romantic Englishness', 72.
- Charles Lamb, 'Jews, Quakers, Scotchmen, and other imperfect sympathies', *London Magazine*, 4 August 1821, 152–6; quoted in Higgins, 'Romantic Englishness', 66–7.
- As discussed in Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 89; cf. Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2007).
- Higgins, 'Romantic Englishness', 70.
- Thornhill, *A Sociology of Constitutions*, 2.
- Cf. Williams, *Culture and Society*, 32.
- Cf. Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 214, 217; cf. William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007 (2004)), 70; elsewhere in this study (somewhat risking fetishising authenticity at times in struggling to reconstruct the makeup of contemporary readers rather than seeing how certain works have sedimented into a canonicity), St Clair links some conception of intellectual property back to the advent of printing and growing capital ties to the government, a situation unchanged from the fifteenth to the late eighteenth centuries, 2, 43–65; St Clair's 'reading nation' seems to be Britain.

- 163 Cf. Michael Gardiner, *From Trocchi to Trainspotting: Scottish Critical Theory since 1960* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 72–130; cf. Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 167–99.
- 164 de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 1–2, 202; William Shakespeare, ed. Edmond Malone, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare; Collated Verbatim with the Most Authentick Copies . . .* (London: J. Rivington and Sons, 1790).
- 165 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 166 *Ibid.*, 10.
- 167 *Ibid.*, 196, 200.
- 168 *Ibid.*, 193, 281.
- 169 *Ibid.*, 208.
- 170 *Ibid.*, 196–7.
- 171 Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism, and the Revolt against Theory*, 62; cf. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 138.
- 172 Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism, and the Revolt against Theory*, 62–3.
- 173 Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 185.
- 174 Wordsworth and Coleridge, ‘Preface’, 291–2; Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 78.
- 175 Cf. Bate, *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination*, 82.
- 176 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Nigel Leask, *Biographia Literaria* (London: J.M. Dent, 1997 (1817)), 191.
- 177 Peter Martin, *Edmond Malone, Shakespearean Scholar: Literary Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005 (1995)), 37–8.
- 178 de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 182–3.
- 179 *Ibid.*, 182–3, 187–8; Cf. Ian Parson, ‘Copyright and society’, in *Essays in the History of Publishing: A Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of Longman 1724–1974* (London: Longman, 1974), 42–3.
- 180 Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 167.
- 181 *Ibid.*, 189.
- 182 *Ibid.*, 170–1, 188.
- 183 *Ibid.*, 168.
- 184 Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*, 9.
- 185 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ‘On Shakspeare and Milton’, *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and Other Poets* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1914 (1811–12)), 33–165; 58, 121.
- 186 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ‘Lectures on Shakespeare’, in *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and Other Poets*, 183–394: 394.
- 187 Bate, *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination*, 38.
- 188 Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquests: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000 (1989)), 42–3; the book especially follows the 1830s work of the Scottish Missionary Alexander Duff and Trevelyan examination reforms; Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, 167.
- 189 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ‘The Statesman’s manual, a lay sermon’, ed. Reginald James White, *The Political Tracts of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953 (1817)), 55–116.
- 190 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and State According to the Idea of Each: II Lay Sermons* (London: Hurst, Chance and Co., 1830 (1829)), 4–5.
- 191 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 192 *Ibid.*, 6–7.
- 193 *Ibid.*
- 194 *Ibid.*, 9.
- 195 *Ibid.*, 42.
- 196 *Ibid.*, n.p.
- 197 *Ibid.*, 11–12.
- 198 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 199 *Ibid.*, 19, 24.
- 200 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Friend: A Series of Essays to Aid in the Formation of Fixed Principles in Politics, Morals, and Religion, with Literary Amusements Interspersed* (London: W. Pickering, 1837 (1809–10)); cf. James Engell, ‘*Biographia Literaria*’, ed. Lucy Newlyn, *Cambridge Companion to Coleridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 59–74.

- 201 Francis Jeffrey quoted in Paul Magnuson, 'The Lake School: Wordsworth and Coleridge', ed. Keymer and Mee, *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740–1830*, 227–43: 228.
- 202 Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, 47; cf. Wordsworth and Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads*, 312.
- 203 Ben Knights, *The Idea of the Clerisy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 38.
- 204 Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, 50, 63.
- 205 Hazlitt, 'On poetry in general', 386–410: 386.
- 206 William Hazlitt, 'Coleridge', *Lectures on the English Poets*, 1818, excerpted in Keynes, *Selected Essays of William Hazlitt*, 723–5: 724.
- 207 William Hazlitt, 'Mr. Coleridge', excerpted in Keynes, *Selected Essays of William Hazlitt*, 725–38: 726, 730.
- 208 Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age*, excerpted in Keynes, *Selected Essays of William Hazlitt*, 739–51: 739, 740, 742, 749, 743; on Hazlitt, see 'On the difference between writing and speaking', ed. Duncan Wu, *Complete Writings*, 10 vols, vol. 8 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 245–60).
- 209 Wordsworth and Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads*, 294.
- 210 *Ibid.*, 289–90.
- 211 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 33.
- 212 Walter Scott, *Redgauntlet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011 (1824)), 396; cf. Christopher Harvie, *A Floating Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 43.
- 213 Wordsworth, *Prelude* III, 478–92.
- 214 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 8.
- 215 Gill, *Wordsworth and the Victorians*, 124, 138–54.
- 216 *Ibid.*, 40, 184; on the Anglo-Israeli tradition see Krishnan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 107–9, 125–8.
- 217 Barry Qualls, 'George Eliot and religion', ed. George Levine, *The Cambridge Companion to George Eliot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 119–37: 122, 130; on William Blake, see Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, 16; cf. William Blake, 'Jerusalem', section 'To the Jews': 'Jerusalem the Emanation of the Great Albion', in Erdman, ed., 169–72: 169; on *Daniel Deronda* and philosemitism, see Gertrude Himmerfarb's detailed study of this single book, *The Jewish Odyssey of George Eliot* (Jackson, TN: Encounter Books, 2012); Himmerfarb also discusses Judaism in Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, suggesting a qualified sense of the elect nation – Gertrude Himmerfarb, *The People of the Book* (Jackson, TN: Encounter Books, 2011); although Himmerfarb sees Eliot as exceptional in Victorian fiction, this is to underplay her centrality to the creation of Tripos English in the 1910s.
- 218 Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, 20, 41.
- 219 Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism and the Revolt against Theory*, 61.
- 220 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 2 vols, I, 512–13, online at: www.gutenberg.org/files/6081/6081-h/6081-h.htm#2HCH0001; Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism and the Revolt against Theory*, 61.
- 221 Williams, *Culture and Society*, 33, 34.
- 222 René Wellek, 'The concept of Romanticism in literary history', *Comparative Literature* 1–1, Winter 1949, 1–23: 1–2; 147–72.
- 223 Williams, *Culture and Society*, 39.
- 224 *Ibid.*, 41, 42; Wordsworth, 'Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*', 302 (1802 version).
- 225 Williams, *Culture and Society*, 57.
- 226 *Ibid.*, 60, 61, 64, 65, 70.
- 227 John Keble, trans. Edward Kershaw Francis, *Lectures on Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912 (1841)), 8.
- 228 Keble, *Lectures on Poetry*, 13–14, 22, 33; Emma Francis, "'Healing Relief . . . Without Detriment to Modest Reserve . . .': Keble, women's poetry and Victorian cultural theory", ed. Kirstie Blair, *John Keble in Context* (London: Anthem, 2004), 116–24: 118.
- 229 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 90.
- 230 For example A. V. Dicey, *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1981 (1905)), 331.
- 231 Michael Scrivener, 'Literature and politics', ed. Keymer and Mee, *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740–1830*, 43–60: 44.
- 232 Emma Mason, "'Her Silence Speaks": Keble's female heirs', ed. Blair, *John Keble in Context*, 125–41.

- 233 John Ruskin, *Modern Poets, Volume I: Of General Principles, and of Truth* (Boston: Adamant, 2000), 218–26; cf. Elizabeth K. Helsinger, ‘Ruskin on Wordsworth: the Victorian critic in Romantic country’, *Studies in Romanticism* 17–3, Summer 1978, 267; Gill, *Wordsworth and the Victorians*, 107.
- 234 M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971 (1953)); on the idea of healing in Mill, see 333–5; on eighteenth-century legacy for need for common feelings, see 103–44; cf. Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 7.
- 235 Gill, *Wordsworth and the Victorians*, 119, 145, 174, 178.
- 236 Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries*, 143; Gill, *Wordsworth and the Victorians*, 168–203.
- 237 For example Robert Browning, ‘Fra Lippo Lippi’, *Selected Poems* (London: Penguin, 2000 (1855)), 62–72; a more biographical and patchy but usefully ambivalent account of the influence is John Haydn Baker, *Browning and Wordsworth* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004).
- 238 For example Stephen, *Hours in a Library*, this also starts with a long canonizing list of epigraphs, vii–xiii; cf. John Dover Wilson, *Leslie Stephen and Matthew Arnold as Critics of Wordsworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939); Stephen is placed as a key reviving figure who both re-Anglicizes Wordsworth and describes him as having the quality to bring between the sensations of the child and the reason of the man, for example 43.
- 239 Knights, *The Idea of the Clerisy*, 1, 228; F. R. Leavis, *Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture* (Cambridge: Minority Press, 1930).
- 240 Leavis, *The Great Tradition*, 9–20.
- 241 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols and Anti-Christ* (London: Penguin, 1990 (1889)), 80.
- 242 Gill, *Wordsworth and the Victorians*, 158.
- 243 Raymond Williams, ‘Realism and the contemporary novel’, *Universities and Left Review* 4, Summer 1958, 23–5.
- 244 Cf. Francis Mulhern, *The Moment of Scrutiny* (London: New Left Books, 1979), 257; Leavis, *The Great Tradition*, 240–3.
- 245 George Eliot, *Felix Holt, The Radical* (London: Penguin, 1995 (1866)).
- 246 Felix Holt (George Eliot), ‘Address to working men’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 1868, 103–627, 1–11; George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985 (1860)), 588–607.
- 247 George Eliot, *Adam Bede* (London: Penguin, 2008 (1859)), 193.
- 248 Woolf, *The Common Reader (First Series)*, 301, cf. 300.
- 249 *Ibid.*, 211.
- 250 Knights, *The Idea of the Clerisy*, 141.
- 251 J. S. Mill and John Bowring, ‘The works of Jeremy Bentham’, *London and Westminster Review* 7/29, August 1838, 467–506.
- 252 J. S. Mill and John Bowring, ‘The literary remains of Samuel Taylor Coleridge’, *London and Westminster Review*, March 1840, 4, hereafter Mill, ‘Coleridge’.
- 253 Mill, ‘Bentham’, 4, 7.
- 254 *Ibid.*, 4, 5; cf. Mill, ‘Coleridge’, 17.
- 255 Mill, ‘Bentham’, 8, 11.
- 256 Mill, ‘Remarks on Bentham’s Philosophy’, 2, 9–11.
- 257 Mill, ‘Bentham’, 25, 26, 28.
- 258 *Ibid.*, 29.
- 259 Mill, ‘Coleridge’, 257–302.
- 260 Mill, ‘Coleridge’, 3.
- 261 Knights, *The Idea of the Clerisy*, 174; Mill, *Representative Government*, n.p.: ‘if the *élite* of these classes formed part of the Parliament, by the same title as by any other of its members – by representing the same number of citizens, the same numerical fraction of the national will – their presence could give umbrage to nobody, while they would be in the position of highest vantage, both for making their opinions and councils heard on all important subjects, and for taking an active part in public business’.
- 262 Mill, ‘Coleridge’, 27, 38–9.
- 263 *Ibid.*, 14, 15–16, 33.
- 264 *Ibid.*, 36.
- 265 J. S. Mill, ‘Government’, ed. Terence Ball, *James Mill: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 (1820)), 1–43: 17; cf. T. R. S. Allen, *Law, Liberty, and Justice: The Legal Foundation of British Constitutionalism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994 (1993)), 49.
- 266 Mill, ‘Coleridge’, 22.

- 267 Ibid., 24–5.
 268 Ibid., 26.
 269 Cf. J. S. Mill, *The History of British India* (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1820 (1817)).

Chapter Three

- 1 Matthew Arnold, 'The function of criticism at the present time', ed. Stefan Collini, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 (1861)), 37.
- 2 Chris Thornhill, *A Sociology of Constitutions: Constitutions and State Legitimacy in Historical-Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 155.
- 3 Ibid., 152.
- 4 Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000 (1992)), 135–45.
- 5 Carlyle quoted in Christopher Harvie, *A Floating Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 26.
- 6 On my distinction between *action* and *activity* or mere happenings, here as elsewhere, see John Macmurray, *The Self as Agent* (London: Faber, 1995 (1957)), in which the key term is described in terms of mutual recognition as historical being.
- 7 Cf. Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* (London: Hogarth, 1992 (1958)), 71–3.
- 8 Most influential and field-breaking, is György Lukács, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell, *The Historical Novel* (London: Merlin, 1962 (1957)), 30–63.
- 9 Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution* (London: Modern Library, 2002 (1837)), 753–4.
- 10 Williams, *Culture and Society*, 79; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin, 1991 (1963)), 781–905.
- 11 Thomas Carlyle, *The Writings of Thomas Carlyle, 30 vols, Vol. X: Past and Present* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843).
- 12 Carlyle, *Past and Present*, 34.
- 13 Carlyle, *Past and Present*, 36; later in 'Democracy' in the same volume, Carlyle would stress, like Coleridge, the need for the individual to restrain liberty, 201–21: 215.
- 14 Michael Gardiner, *The Return of England in English Literature* (London: Palgrave, 2012), 31–5; the poem is G. K. Chesterton, 'The secret people', 1907.
- 15 Carlyle, *Past and Present*, 159.
- 16 Ibid., 265.
- 17 On reformed examinations for service in the East India Company 1855, and the gradual growth of influence from the 1850s–80s of the 1853 India Act's plans to open access to competitive examination, see Chris Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism 1848–1932* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 70–2.
- 18 Carlyle, *Past and Present* 14, 99.
- 19 Ibid., 75.
- 20 Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1898 (1841)), for example 41.
- 21 Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's School Days* (London: Penguin, 1994 (1857)); cf. Harvie, *A Floating Commonwealth*, 185.
- 22 Carlyle, *On Heroes*, 103.
- 23 Ibid., 1, 104.
- 24 Ibid., 164.
- 25 Ibid., 180–3, 189–90; Carlyle's almost universal use of the term English for British, even to describe Robert Burns, is of course typical of the aspiration of mid-century Scottish entrepreneurs, cultural or financial.
- 26 Arnold, 'Culture and Anarchy', 99.
- 27 Matthew Arnold, 'Democracy', ed. Collini, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings*, 1–25: 1–2.
- 28 Ibid., 4.
- 29 Ibid., 5, 8.
- 30 Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, 18–58.
- 31 Arnold, 'Democracy', 18.
- 32 Ibid., 23.

- 33 Ibid., 14–15.
34 Ibid., 16–17.
35 Ibid., 18; Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, 24–5 et passim; cf. F. R. Leavis, *Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture* (Cambridge: Minority Press, 1930).
36 Arnold, 'Democracy', 20.
37 Ibid., 1–25.
38 Arnold, 'The function of criticism at the present time', 26–51: 31; cf. Marilyn Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries: English Literature and Its Background* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982 (1981)), 58. It is also worth noting the similarities and differences of this model of dissociation from that of Agamben trans. Liz Heron, *Infancy and History: On the Destruction of Experience* (London: Verso, 2007 (1978)); for Giorgio Agamben, our perception of the relationship between language and experience has diminished; for Eliot, an affective presence has been lost.
39 Arnold, 'The function of criticism at the present time', 37.
40 Ibid., 34.
41 Matthew Arnold, 'Culture and anarchy: an essay in practical and social criticism', ed. Collini, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 53–187: 68, 99.
42 Ibid., 79.
43 Ibid., 55, 59.
44 Ibid., 61, 62, 70; on 'Education', see 159.
45 Ibid., 98, 109.
46 Ibid., 62.
47 Ibid., 161.
48 Ibid., 154–8, 183.
49 Ibid., 185; on 'Barbarians', see 104.
50 Ibid., 64, 67.
51 Ibid., 127, 134, 136–7.
52 Ibid., 169, 177.
53 Ibid., 178, 181.
54 Ibid., 68.
55 Ibid., 119.
56 Ibid., 104, 114; on 'Barbarianism of nonconformist schools', see 118.
57 Ibid., 71, 73, 78.
58 Ibid., 79, 83.
59 Ibid., 87.
60 See for example Alan Lovell, 'The scholarship boy', *Universities and Left Review* 2, Summer 1957, 33–4; Raymond Williams, *Border Country* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2002 (1960)).
61 Burke, *Reflections* quoted in Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, 1.
62 Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, 27.
63 Ibid., 34; cf. Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain* (London: New Left Books, 1977), 11–37.
64 Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, 64; John Churton Collins, *The Study of English Literature: A Plea for Its Recognition and Organization at the Universities* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1891).
65 Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, 88.
66 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, Ch. XVII; the phrase itself is used in Ch. XV and unpacked in Ch. XVII; online version: www.gutenberg.org/files/6081/6081-h/6081-h.htm#2HCH0001.
67 John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 (1859)); on the export of *On Liberty* through Asia after the Opium Wars and via globalizing economics; see for example Hirakawa Sukehiro, 'Japan's turn to the West', ed. Marius B. Jansen, *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 5: The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 432–98.
68 A. V. Dicey et al., *A Plea for Democracy: An Edited Selection from Essays on Reform* (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1967 (1867)); Harvie, *A Floating Commonwealth*, 17.
69 Charles Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867* (London: Macmillan, 1870 (1868)).
70 Dilke, *Greater Britain*, 1–199.
71 Ibid., 199.
72 Ibid., 2.

- 73 Ibid., 548; the chapter on 'English learning' is 543–9; cf. J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1971 (1883)), 185–200.
- 74 John Cross, introduction to Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1972 (1883)), xi–xxvii: xii.
- 75 Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, 34–6.
- 76 Ibid., 38.
- 77 Ibid., 38, 48–50; on the displacement of England, see Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 3–40.
- 78 Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, 159.
- 79 Ibid., 88; England is 'a distinct organism within Greater Britain', 202.
- 80 Ibid., 99.
- 81 Ibid., 126, 174.
- 82 J. R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy, Vol. 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897 (1895)).
- 83 Ibid., 572.
- 84 Ibid., 314.
- 85 Ibid., 329, 333.
- 86 On the apparent intellectual victory of the anti-federalist Dicey over Gladstone's federal-colonial model for Ireland, and the ensuing sovereignty confusions of the 1910s, cf. Martin Kendle, *Federal Britain: A History* (London: Routledge, 1997), 58–78.
- 87 A. V. Dicey, *England's Case against Home Rule* (Richmond, Surrey: Richmond Publishing, 1973 (1886)), 11.
- 88 Dicey, *England's Case against Home Rule*, 16; cf. Michael Greenwell and Andrew Tickell, *Scottish Independence Podcast 2*, 21 September 2012; online at: <http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2012/09/21/scottish-independence-podcast-2/>.
- 89 Dicey, *England's Case against Home Rule*, 203.
- 90 Ibid., 29–30.
- 91 Ibid., 120, 170, 171, 183; cf. Kendle, *Federal Britain*, 30–3; James Mitchell, *Devolution in the UK* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 195–208.
- 92 Dicey, *England's Case against Home Rule*, 186.
- 93 T. R. S. Allen, *Law, Liberty, and Justice: The Legal Foundation of British Constitutionalism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994 (1993)), 9; T. S. Eliot, 'Tradition and the individual talent', *Selected Essays* (London: Faber, 1999 (1919)), 13–22.
- 94 Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 (1867)); Dicey, *England's Case against Home Rule*, 169; Iain McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) 16.
- 95 Dicey, *England's Case against Home Rule*, 71.
- 96 Ibid., 261.
- 97 Ibid., 76, 159, 164, 168.
- 98 A. V. Dicey, *An Introduction to the Law of the Constitution* (London: Macmillan, 1979 (1885)), 1.
- 99 Ibid., 1.
- 100 Ibid., 60; cf. Kendle, *Federal Britain*, 47.
- 101 Ibid., 24.
- 102 Ibid., 73.
- 103 Ibid., 422, 441.
- 104 Ibid., 127, 133.
- 105 Ibid., 135.
- 106 Ibid., 287; there are struggles to modify this stark Diceyan distinction between English Common Law and *droit administratif* as early as the movement I am calling British modernism, which works through a largely Eng Lit idea of the meritocracy to argue that an administrative class is indeed necessary, but primarily in order to work out the extents of relative roles under the informal constitution; cf. Jeffrey Jowell, 'The rule of law and its underlying values', ed. Jeffrey Jowell and Dawn Oliver, *The Changing Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11–34: 14.
- 107 Cf. Kendle, *Federal Britain*, 47.
- 108 Dicey, *An Introduction to the Law of the Constitution*, 146, 149; cf. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1973 (1951)), 207–21.
- 109 Cf. Allen, *Law, Liberty, and Justice*, 93; Gilles Deleuze, 'Postscript on the societies of control', *October* 59, Winter 1992, 3–7.
- 110 Dicey, *An Introduction to the Law of the Constitution*, 199.

- 111 The Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) regularly recommends policy on the interpolated basis of a naturally Tory England, but in the past couple of years has turned ambivalent and agnostic, sometimes recognizing the longer-term constitutional issue, for example Nick Pearce, 'Learning English: what Gladstone and Disraeli have to teach us about the English question', 17 January 2012; online at: www.ippr.org/?p=636&option=com_wordpress&Itemid=17; *The Guardian*, mainstream voice of the Labour Party, take the mapping on British onto English voting almost uniformly for granted, for example Stewart Lee, 'Shame on you, Alex Salmond, for selling us out to the Bullingdon Club', *Guardian*, 5 February 2012; the 2010–11 movement of Blue Labour was based on a revival of 'English nationalism' which really meant British nationalism and was driven by fear of a Tory UK; on the post-war psephology of this, cf. Gerry Hassan, 'The future of "The Global Kingdom": post-unionism, post-nationalism and the politics of voice', ed. Claire Westall and Michael Gardiner, *Literature of an Independent England*, (London: Palgrave, 2013), 31–45.
- 112 Dicey, *An Introduction to the Law of the Constitution*, 239.
- 113 *Ibid.*, 248.
- 114 A. V. Dicey, *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1981 (1905)), 63.
- 115 *Ibid.*, 7, 81, 95; Arnold, 'The function of criticism at the present time', 26–51: 36.
- 116 Dicey, *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion*, 17, 27.
- 117 *Ibid.*, 17, 173, 305.
- 118 *Ibid.*, 173–4.
- 119 *Ibid.*, 176, 181–2.
- 120 *Ibid.*, 183, 209.
- 121 *Ibid.*, 427.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 210, 306.
- 123 *Ibid.*, 414–15.
- 124 *Ibid.*, 440, 461–2.
- 125 *Ibid.*, 33.
- 126 *Ibid.*, 361–2, 391.
- 127 *Ibid.*, 366.
- 128 On rule of law as an immaterial ideal cf. Martin Loughlin, *Foundations of Public Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 337.
- 129 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 33–4; in *Union and Unionisms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Colin Kidd takes issue with Stair's separateness from *English Common Law*, 175, citing McCormick himself – 'Stair as analytical jurist', ed. D. Walker, *Stair Tercentenary Studies* (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1981), 187–99.
- 130 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 34.
- 131 *Ibid.*, 19–20.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 21.
- 133 *Ibid.*, 44, 111; for an extended discussion of Dicey and the Ulster coup d'état, see 100–27, 142–54.
- 134 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 26; cf. King on Jennings's apologia for Dicey: Dicey is right but parliament is not 'sovereign' since the people could (somehow) overrule it; Jennings appreciates anti-democratic possibilities in the name of the will of the people, and his parliament 'shares sovereignty with the people', 35–6.
- 135 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 9, 131.
- 136 *Ibid.*, 20, 134.
- 137 *Ibid.*, 33, 209.
- 138 On the twentieth-century rise of the distinctness of Scots Law as a radical tradition (a pejorative account), see Colin Kidd, *Union and Unionisms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 198–9; cf. McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 136–8.
- 139 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 143, 227, 234; this differs slightly from the usual historical development of nation-states in which the largest constituent power overwhelms the smaller ones: Scottish nationhood was bequeathed a kind of ethnocultural discreteness, which was even *encouraged* from the centre of government, while its constitutional discreteness was conclusively culturally buried – there were no cantons or prefectures with their own statutory legislatures, but, as 1998 devolution confirmed, the assumption that all legal matters were automatically 'reserved' to an extrinsic area.
- 140 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 236; cf. Tom Nairn, *Pariah: Misfortunes of the British State* (London: Verso, 2002), 22–6; Anthony King, *The British Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 80–90.

- 141 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 316.
 142 Ibid., 233–40; Peter Osborne, *The Triumph of the Political Class* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2007).
 143 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, 313.
 144 Ibid., 178; cf. Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: Self-government and the Shifting Politics of Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 40.
 145 McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, viii–ix, 137; Neil MacCormick, *Questioning Sovereignty: Law, State, and Nation in the European Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002 (1999)), esp. 49–62; Neil Walker, ed., *MacCormick's Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).
 146 Here as elsewhere, post-imperial has a slightly different meaning from post-colonial (which in turn has a different meaning from the cultural tendencies that are postcolonial); imperialism is taken to be an ongoing cultural and economic attitude which largely lost its grip throughout the twentieth century then took another step down in 2008, but which has not disappeared.
 147 Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 1.
 148 Ibid., 54, 162; at the time of completion of this script, one survey had just found that in the north of England, the Liberal Democrats who formed part of the ruling coalition were polling lower than the Scottish National Party, despite the fact that the SNP did not field any candidates there: *Newsnet Scotland*, 30 September 2012; online at: www.newsnetscotland.com/index.php/scottish-politics/5952-polling-woes-worsen-for-nick-clegg-as-party-trail-snp-in-england.
 149 Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 23; cf. Kendle, *Federal Britain*, 30–3.

Chapter Four

- 1 Chris Baldick's account remains authoritative on the influence of the India Act on university English: *The Social Mission of English Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 70–82; the full text of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report is at: www.civilservant.org.uk/northcotetrevelyan.pdf.
- 2 On the use of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act to unify within Britain, see Lindsay Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 1–2; R. D. Anderson, *Scottish Education since the Referendum* (Glasgow: Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1997), 8–9.
- 3 Cf. Hilary Sheedman, 'Defining institutions: the endowed grammar schools and the systematisation of English secondary education', ed. Detlef K. Muller, Fritz Ringer and Brian Simon, *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Chance and Social Reproduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 113–34.
- 4 Matthew Arnold is cited as comparing a literacy rate of 2 per cent to 57 per cent among recruits in Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, 92–3.
- 5 Cf., for example ed. Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel, *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995); Peter Nicholls, *Modernisms: A Literary Guide* (London: Palgrave, 2008 (1995)); Hans Bertens, 'World Literature and postmodernism', ed. Theo D'haen and David Damrosch, *The Routledge Companion to World Literature* (London: Routledge, 2011), 204–12.
- 6 Peter Clarke, *Keynes: The Twentieth Century's Most Influential Economist* (Bloomsbury, 2010 (2009)), 176.
- 7 For example Simon Featherstone, *Englishness: Twentieth-Century Popular Culture and the Forming of English Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 9–27, 67–83; Michael Gardiner, *The Return of England in English Literature* (London: Palgrave, 2012), 17–54.
- 8 Cf. David Marquand, *Britain Since 1918: The Strange Case of British Democracy* (London: Phoenix, 2009 (2008)), 42.
- 9 George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (Edison, NJ: Transaction, 2010 (1935)); cf. Christopher Harvie, *A Floating Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 235, 260.
- 10 On the turn to the Newbolt Report and its embedding in English Literature, cf. Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, 92–8; on the ambivalence of the 1921 Newbolt Report, cf. Lynda Mugglestone, '"Proper English" and the politics of standard speech', ed. David Morley and Kevin Robins, *British Cultural Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 181–94: 186–9.
- 11 Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism*, 93–8.

- 12 Ibid., 102; the origins of the phrase *enemy within* are debated but are typically linked to anti-British forces within Britain, whether Jacobin, fifth-columnist, or, most tellingly for the current situation, the anti-communist Thatcherite description of Trade Unionists; cf. Ian MacGregor and Rodney Taylor, *The Enemies Within: The Story of the Miners' Strike, 1984–5* (London: William Collins and Son, 1986); George Sampson, *English for the English: A Chapter on National Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921).
- 13 F. R. Leavis, *The Great Tradition: George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad* (London: Faber, 2008 (1948)), 37.
- 14 Ibid., 18–19.
- 15 Edited with an introduction by F. R. Leavis, *Mill on Bentham and Coleridge* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1950), 1.
- 16 Leavis, *Mill on Bentham and Coleridge*, 5; the otherwise rational Bentham is described via Coleridge as reliant on a 'religion of humanity', 15, 23.
- 17 Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Bellew, 1990 (1932)).
- 18 Virginia Woolf, 'Defoe', *The Common Reader (First Series)* (London: Hogarth, 1968 (1925)), 75; Woolf's *Orlando* also makes an attempt at the preservation of the Elizabethan estate (literary and landed), in a thinly-veiled autobiography of the conservative writer Vita Sackville-West: *Orlando: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 (1928)).
- 19 Woolf, *The Common Reader (Second Series)* (London: Hogarth, 1965 (1932)), 258.
- 20 Woolf, *The Common Reader (First Series)*, 11.
- 21 F. R. Leavis, *For Continuity* (Cambridge: Gordon Fraser/Minority Press, 1933); L. C. Knights and Donald Culver, 'A manifesto', *Scrutiny* 1–1, 1932, 2–7.
- 22 Cf. Knights and Culver, 'A manifesto'; John Spiers, 'The contemporary situation in Scotland', *Scrutiny* 5–2, September 1936, 188–94.
- 23 Cf. Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 31–5; another 'modernist' form which hankers after the organic English village despite constitutional quietism is the 'fiction-travelogue' (of which H. V. Morton's *In Search of England* is often taken as the blueprint), which is described here and in Simon Featherstone's *Englishness*.
- 24 Especially I. A. Richards, *Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1929).
- 25 Ed. Wyndham Lewis, *Blast!* 1–2 (1914–15); online at: www.modjournal.org/render.php?id=1143209523824844&view=mjp_object.
- 26 Here as elsewhere I am careful to distinguish between the radical-right understanding of the minority and either that of the era of multiculturalism or the Deleuzian sense of a language-community working within a larger language.
- 27 Cf. Michael Bell, *F. R. Leavis* (London: Routledge, 1998), 20; Richard Storer, *F. R. Leavis* (London: Routledge, 2009), 37.
- 28 T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (London: Methuen, 1920); cf. Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 18, 30.
- 29 T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays* (London: Faber, 1999), 13.
- 30 George Sturt, *Change in the Village* (London: Duckworth and Co., 1912); cf. F. R. Leavis and Denys Thompson, *Culture and Environment: The Training of Critical Awareness* (Cambridge: Gordon Fraser, 1933).
- 31 T. S. Eliot, Burnt Norton, in *Four Quartets* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968 (1936)), 7–13, for example 'To be conscious is to be in time/ But only in time can the moment in the rose-garden . . . / Be remembered', 10; 'Only by the form, the pattern,/ Can words or music reach the stillness', 12; cf. Virginia Woolf, 'A Sketch of the past', collected in *Moments of Time: A Collection of Autobiographical Writing* (London: Pimlico, 2002 (1938)), 78–160.
- 32 Matthew Arnold, 'The function of criticism at the present time', ed. Stefan Collini, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 (1861)), 41.
- 33 On labour time, 'clock time', as the basis for a national collective, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006 (1983)), 24–5.
- 34 Eliot, Burnt Norton, 11.
- 35 Ibid., 8.

- 36 On Leavis's method as hermeneutically experimental, see Michael Bell, *F. R. Leavis* (London: Routledge, 1988); Michael Bell, 'F. R. Leavis', ed. A. Walton Litz, Louis Menand and Lawrence Rainey, *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 389–422; Storer, *F. R. Leavis*.
- 37 Jed Esty, *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 43–6, 183–95; cf. Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life* (London: Penguin, 2009 (1957)); Raymond Williams, 'Working-class culture', *Universities and Left Review* 2, Summer 1957, 29–32.
- 38 Esty, *A Shrinking Island*, 9; cf. Tim Edenson, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 13.
- 39 Esty, *A Shrinking Island*, 14, 43–6.
- 40 Ibid., 7; cf. Peter J. Kalliney, *Cities of Affluence and Anger: A Literary Geography of Modern Englishness* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 20–1; cf. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin, 1991 (1963)).
- 41 Cf. Jörn Weingärtner, *The Arts as a Weapon of War: Britain and the Shaping of National Morale in the Second World War* (London: Tauris Academic, 2006).
- 42 Cf. Michael Rosie and Pille Petersoo, 'Drifting apart?: Media in Scotland and England after devolution', ed. David McCrone and Frank Bechhofer, *National Identity, Nationalism, and Constitutional Change* (London: Palgrave, 2009), 122–43.; Joan McAlpine, 'When did the media lose its Scottish accent of the mind?', ed. Gerry Hassan and Rosie Ilett, *Radical Scotland: Arguments for Self-Determination* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2011); Michael Gardiner, 'Nationalise the BBC', *openDemocracy*, 16 July 2012; online at: www.opendemocracy.net/ourbeeb/michael-gardiner/nationalise-bbc; this last also makes the point that the 'No' campaign on Scottish independence took its chief executive from what was an apparently neutral British-national BBC environment: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-18610027.
- 43 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24–5.
- 44 Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and National Identity in Britain, 1922–53* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 3, 6, 21–43, 72.
- 45 Hajkowski, *The BBC and National Identity in Britain*, 26, 86.
- 46 Cf. Hugh MacDiarmid, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2008 (1926)); Scott Lyall, *Hugh MacDiarmid's Poetry and Politics of Place* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 104–5; Lewis Grassie Gibbon, *Cloud Howe*, ed. *A Scots Quair* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1995 (1933)), 241–478; cf. Colin Kidd, *Union and Unionisms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 257–99.
- 47 Robert Mackay, *Half the Battle: Civilian Morale in Britain during the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 20–1, 36.
- 48 Cf. H. G. Wells, *The Shape of Things to Come: The Ultimate Revolution* (London: Penguin, 2005 (1933)); cf. William Cameron Menzies, dir., and H. G. Wells, wr., *Things to Come* (London Film, 1936); Marice Elvey, dir., Noel Pemberton-Billington and L'Estrange Fawcett, *High Treason* (Gaumont, 1929); Robert Knauss, *War in the Air* (London: J. Hamilton, 1932).
- 49 Harry Watt, dir., J. B. Priestley, wr., *Britain at Bay* (GPO, 1940); cf. Anthony Havelock-Allen, dir., and Leslie Howard and A. G. Macdonald, wr., *From the Four Corners* (Ministry of Information, 1942).
- 50 J. B. Priestley, *Postscripts* (London: Heinemann, 1940), vi, 40, 50; cf. Weingärtner, *The Arts as a Weapon of War*, 16; cf. Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 36–411.
- 51 Humphrey Jennings, dir. and wr., *Words for Battle* (Crown Film Unit, 1941).
- 52 Mackay, *Half the Battle*, 142.
- 53 Cf. Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behaviour in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Mackay, *Half the Battle*, 18–19.
- 54 John Baxter, dir., and John Baxter, Barbara Emary, Geoffrey Orme and J. B. Priestley, wr. *Let the People Sing* (Rock Studios, 1942); Basil Dearden, dir., and J. B. Priestley, Basil Dearden, and Sidney Cole, wr., *They Came to a City* (Ealing, 1944).
- 55 J. M. Keynes, 'Art and the state', ed. Clough Williams-Ellis, *Britain and the Beast: Essays by Various Authors on the Preservation of Rural Amenities* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1937), 1–7: 4.
- 56 H. J. Massingham, 'Our inheritance from the past', ed. Clough Williams-Ellis, *Britain and the Beast*, 8–31: 9, 11.
- 57 Massingham, 'Our inheritance from the past', 25, 29.

- 58 Weingärtner, *The Arts as a Weapon of War*, 161.
- 59 Ibid., 81–8, 133; Keynes, ‘Art and the state’, 1–7.
- 60 Ibid., 161; cf. Hajkowski, *The BBC and National Identity in Britain*, 8–13.
- 61 On the organization of the BBC, cf. Dan Hind, ‘A corporation run by bankers, not journalists: who are the BBC Trust?’, *openDemocracy*, 11 July 2012; online at: www.opendemocracy.net/ourbeeb/dan-hind/corporation-run-by-bankers-not-journalists-who-are-bbc-trust.
- 62 Hajkowski, *The BBC and National Identity in Britain*, 90.
- 63 Ibid., 135, 140.
- 64 Dan Hind, *The Return of the Public: Democracy, Power and the Case for Media Reform* (London: Verso, 2012), 55.
- 65 The term state nationalism was popularized in the British case by for example James Kellas, *The Scottish Political System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989 (1973)), 5–6; this ideology becomes more obvious in a period of constitutional negotiation.
- 66 Hajkowski, *The BBC and National Identity in Britain*, 58–61, 70, 96.
- 67 Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 51–3.
- 68 Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* (Winchester: Zero, 2011); cf. Hind, *The Return of the Public*, 154–5.
- 69 Robert Skidelsky, *Keynes* (Oxford University Press, 1996), 41.
- 70 Ed. Donald Moggridge, *Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes Vol. VII: A Treatise on Money Part 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973 (1936)); cf. Skidelsky, *Keynes*, 42.
- 71 Clarke, *Keynes*, 106; cf. Keynes, *A Treatise on Money Part 2*, 137; here Keynes also links a great period of England’s economy to the Shakespearean period of English culture.
- 72 D. E. Moggridge, *Keynes* (London: Fontana, 1976), 42–3.
- 73 J. M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes Vol. VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973 (1936)), 329, 379.
- 74 Clarke, *Keynes*, 65; the moral ill of holding gold is described in the *General Theory*, 337; on the return to the Gold Standard, cf. J. M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill* (London: Hogarth, 1925); for a discussion of the ‘exchange rate timing’ assumption, cf. J. K. Galbraith, *The Age of Uncertainty, Part 7: The Mandarin Revolution* (BBC TV, 1977).
- 75 Clarke, *Keynes*, 51.
- 76 J. M. Keynes, *A Treatise on Probability* (London: Macmillan, 1957 (1921)), 5; on shorting, cf. Clarke, *Keynes*.
- 77 On positivism – economic, linguistic and constitutional – in mid-century Cambridge, cf. Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 104–9.
- 78 Cf. Chris Thornhill, *A Sociology of Constitutions: Constitutions and State Legitimacy in Historical-Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 46.
- 79 Moggridge, *Keynes*, 32; Keynes, *General Theory*, 247.
- 80 Skidelsky, *Keynes*, 40.
- 81 On the guiding influence of the state as a positive when understood in terms of gradual reform which doesn’t break with tradition, cf. Keynes, *General Theory*, 372–81.
- 82 Skidelsky, *Keynes*, 93, 121, 124; cf. Keynes, *General Theory*, 242–3.
- 83 Oswald Mosley, *Revolution by Reason: An Account of the Birmingham Proposals, Together with an Analysis of the Financial Policy of the Present Government which Has Led to Their Great Attack upon Wages* (Leicester: Blackfriars, 2005 (1925)).
- 84 Robert Skidelsky, *John Maynard Keynes, Vol. 2, The Economist as Saviour* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 246.
- 85 Harvie, *A Floating Commonwealth*, 15; G. M. Young, ed., *Early-Victorian England 1830–1865: The Portrait of an Age* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951 (1932)); F. R. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2010 (1942)).
- 86 Anthony Crosland, *The Future of Socialism* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956); Stuart Hall, Gabriel Pearson, Ralph Samuel, and Charles Taylor, ‘The Insiders’ series, from *Universities and Left Review* 3, Winter 1957; David Marquand, *The Decline of the Public* (London: Polity, 2004), 27, 69, 115; cf. Michael Barratt-Brown, ‘The controllers: a research document on the British power elite’, *Universities and Left Review* 5, Autumn 1958, 53–61; 6, Spring 1959, 38–41; 7, 1959, 43–9.
- 87 Colin Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism* (London: Polity, 2011), 12.
- 88 The phrase is taken from the challenge to the orthodoxies of British managerial economics in *openDemocracy*’s series *Uneconomics*, from 9 February 2012 onwards; online at: www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/collections/uneconomics.

- 89 Cf. Galbraith, *The Age of Uncertainty, Part 7*; for a contemporary Marxist account of the gold standard as a marker of financial prestige and so of a British *lack* of development, see Leon Trotsky, trans. Allan Clinton, 'Where is Britain going', 1975 (1925), online version: www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/britain/wibg/index.htm.
- 90 Skidelsky, *Keynes*, 96, 102 – this guide to Keynes also describes his strong turn to the national-British, 'let finance be primarily national'; cf. Galbraith, *The Age of Uncertainty, Part 7*; Galbraith concentrates on the timing and exchange rate in Keynes's criticisms of the 'treasury view' of leaving the Gold Standard – but with a subtextual consideration of Keynes's attachment to fiat currency as a British 'national' unifier; in his obituary, Joseph Schumpeter describes how specific Keynes's work was to 'English' issues – cited in Clarke, *Keynes*, 164.
- 91 Hind, *The Return of the Public*, 57.
- 92 Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London: Routledge, 1989).
- 93 Hind, *The Return of the Public*, 58.
- 94 This speech is often cited and represents an epochal shift away from the prior form of Keynesianism (without, of course, acknowledging any sovereignty implications): 'We have been living on borrowed time . . . We used to think you could spend your way out of a recession and increasing employment by cutting taxes and boosting spending. I tell you in all candour that this option no longer exists, and that insofar as it ever did exist, it only worked by injecting a bigger dose of inflation into the economy, followed by a higher dose of unemployment as the next step.'
- 95 The meritocracy is famously seen as dystopian and totalizing soon after the Suez Crisis and the Soviet invasion of Hungary and the crystallization of the New Left, in Michael Young, *The Rise of the Meritocracy, 1870–2033: An Essay on Education and Equality* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1958); for a post-2008 sceptical account see Richard Seymour, *The Meaning of David Cameron* (Winchester: Zero, 2010), 45–61.
- 96 Graeme Cooke, Adam Lent, Anthony Painter and Hopi Sen, *In the Black Labour*, Policy Network, 2 December 2011: www.policy-network.net/publications/4101/-In-the-black-Labour.
- 97 Andrew Gamble, *The Spectre at the Feast: Capitalist Crisis and the Politics of Recession* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 46, 49.
- 98 The call for the economy to function 'permanently as a quasi-boom' is in Keynes, *General Theory*, 322; cf. Iain McLean, *What's Wrong with the British Constitution?*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 191.
- 99 Gamble, *The Spectre at the Feast*, 57.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 164.
- 101 Thornhill, *A Sociology of Constitutions*, 3.
- 102 Ivor Jennings, *The Law and the Constitution* (London: University of London Press, 1959 (1933)); cf. Jowell, 'The rule of law and its underlying values', 11–34: 14–15.
- 103 Anthony King, *The British Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 36, 46.
- 104 Ivor Jennings, *The British Constitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961 (1941)).
- 105 T. R. S. Allen, *Law, Liberty, and Justice: The Legal Foundation of British Constitutionalism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994 (1993)), 15; see Anthony King on Lord Atkin arguing against the Lords on martial law in 1942 and so showing common law (in the Orwellian period) to be more executive than the executive; King, *The British Constitution*, 116–17; there is a discussion of the condition known as 'post-democracy', a phrase popularized by Peter Mandelson, in Colin Crouch, *Coping With Post-Democracy* (London: Fabian Society, 2000).
- 106 Winston Churchill quoted in Marquand, *Britain Since 1918*, 79.
- 107 Jennings, *The British Constitution*, 1, 99.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 93, 120.
- 109 *Ibid.*, 11, 18.
- 110 *Ibid.*, 73.
- 111 *Ibid.*, 84.
- 112 King, *The British Constitution*, 72, 74; David Donald and Alan Hutton, 'Economic self-determination: towards a political economy of Scottish citizenship', ed. Hassan and Ilett, *Radical Scotland: Arguments for Self-Determination*, 53; the first results of the Scottish government's (minority) 'National conversation' would be published in November 2009, and would stress public participation.
- 113 King, *The British Constitution*, 81.
- 114 *Ibid.*, 89, 179.
- 115 *Ibid.*, 1–2; 64.

- 116 Ibid., 49–50.
 117 Ibid., 54, 56.
 118 Hind, *The Return of the Public*, 53, 99; cf. Marquand, *The Decline of the Public*, 27; cf. Marquand, 'Lucky Jim and the Labour Party', Spring 1957, I-1, 57–60.
 119 King, *The British Constitution*, 251.
 120 Ibid., 362.
 121 Jennings, *The British Constitution*, 188, 202.
 122 Ibid., 43.
 123 Cf. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*.
 124 Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* (London: Hogarth, 1992 (1958)), xiv; on the etymologies of culture and cultivation, cf. Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1994), 27–30.
 125 Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*; cf. Raymond Williams, 'Working class culture', *Universities and Left Review* 2, Summer 1957, 29–32.
 126 Williams, *Culture and Society*, 8–9.
 127 Ibid., 235, 243, 252–4, 308, 315.
 128 Ibid., 319, 322.
 129 Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965 (1961)), 61–3; Williams, with a new foreword by Anthony Barnett, *The Long Revolution* (London: Parthian, 2011 (1961)).
 130 Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 306.
 131 Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 306, 307, 314; on social and psychological realism, see Williams, 'Realism and the contemporary novel', *Universities and Left Review* 4, Summer 1958, 23–25; cf. John Wain, 'Along the tightrope', ed. Tom Maschler, *Declaration* (London McGibbon and Kee, 1957), 85–106; cf. Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 76–109.
 132 Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 364.
 133 Ibid., 321–34, 352, 378–80; on the move from Blue Streak to Skybolt and the imperial connotations, see for example Marquand, *Britain Since 1918*, 171–2.
 134 Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 345–6, 353, 361.
 135 Peter Clarke provides a convincing account of Thatcher's paleo-Keynesianism: "No, no, no", she told one interviewer in 1979, "I am afraid Keynesianism has gone mad and it wasn't in the least little bit what Keynes thought". Nor was this a stray remark – she returned happily to this theme on numerous occasions' (*Keynes*, 17); on Keynes's move to investments as a kind of marriage, see Robert Skidelsky, *Keynes: Return of the Master* (New York: Public Affairs, 2010 (2009)), 72. The 'marriage' – or 'divorce' – metaphor is a wearied one within journalistic presentations of Anglo-Scottish Union, to illustrate the apparent and legalistic duties of Union. Public choice theory stems in large part from James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1962), which should probably be seen in relation to Thatcherism as is the Hayek of popular legend, especially as it impacted on advisors to the Conservative Party and the Centre for Policy Studies in the mid-1970s; cf. also Adam Curtis, *The Trap: Whatever Happened to Our Dreams of Freedom?* (BBC, 2007).
 136 Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 2001 (1944)).
 137 Ibid., 235.
 138 Ibid., 231.
 139 Ibid., 246.
 140 Ibid., 26.
 141 Ibid., 264.
 142 Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1973 (1951)), 207–21.
 143 On the need to revisit Arendt's own underestimation of the immediately post-World War Two expansion of British Unionist bureaucracy, see Graham MacPhee, 'Anticipating the neoliberal nation: Philip Larkin and the displacement of Englishness', ed. Claire Westall and Michael Gardiner, *Literature of an Independent England* (London: Palgrave, 2013), 130–44; on the changes to 'English ethnicity' to favour moves to language and culture, see Robert Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).
 144 Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Knopf, 1977); cf. Hind, *The Return of the Public*, 100; the first CPS papers date from 1974, and they begin to become ascendant after the 1976 admission of stagflation; also sometimes underestimated is the effect of Richard Dawkins's *The Selfish Gene* (1976), which underlines the naturalness of self-maximization on a philosophical level: Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006 (1976)).

- 145 Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, 337–40.
- 146 Marquand, *The Decline of the Public*, 26, 34.
- 147 Ibid., 68, 69; on Giddens and risk management, see Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (London: Polity, 1998), 63–4; Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 51–4.
- 148 Lord Kilbrandon, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Constitution* (London: HMSO Cmnd. 5460, 1973); Labour Party, *Devolution: The English Dimension* (London: HMSO Cmnd. 5732, 1976); cf. James Mitchell, *Devolution in the UK* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 195–208; on the long devolutionary movement and the Literary Renaissance, see Michael Gardiner, *The Cultural Roots of British Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 131–55; Alan Riach, *Representing Scotland in Literature, Popular Culture and Iconography: The Masks of the Modern Media* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 223–31; Berthold Schoene, ‘Going cosmopolitan: reconstituting Scottishness in post-devolution criticism’, ed. Schoene, *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 7–16; Michael Gardiner, ‘Literature, theory, politics: devolution as iteration’, ed. Schoene, *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature*, 43–50; Thomas Docherty, ‘The existence of Scotland’, ed. Eleanor Bell and Gavin Miller, *Scotland in Theory* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 231–48; Cairns Craig, ‘Beyond reason – Hume, Seth, Macmurray and Scotland’s postmodernity’, ed. Bell and Miller, *Scotland and Theory*, 249–83; Cairns Craig, *Out of History: Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and British Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996); Aaron Kelly, ‘James Kelman and the deterritorialization of power’, ed. Schoene, *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 175–83.
- 149 Marquand, *The Decline of the Public*, 21, 114–17; Andrew Rawnsley, *Servants of the People* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2000); Tony Travers, *The Politics of London: Governing an Ungovernable City* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004); Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 44–8; Nicholas Jones, *Control Freaks: How New Labour Gets its Own Way* (London: Politico, 2001); the question of whether London really is a national capital – is the capital of England – is extremely murky within the constitution, and will also shade into cultural argument; here we are in need of a serious geography of capital and inheritance, of the kind done by Danny Dorling; I am not considering the metropolitan whimsy of John Lanchester, *Capital* (London: Faber and Faber, 2012).
- 150 Marquand, *The Decline of the Public*, 109, 111; on the early New Left on the Soviet invasions of Hungary, see for example Ralph Samuel and Charles Taylor, ‘A Left notebook’, *Universities and Left Review* 2, Summer 1957, 75–80; Francis Fejto, ‘Hungary and socialism’, *Universities and Left Review* 3, Winter 1958, 12–18.
- 151 Tom Nairn, *Pariah: Misfortunes of the British State* (London: Verso, 2002), 56–7, 60–71; Fisher, *Capitalist Realism*, 39–53.
- 152 Marquand, *The Decline of the Public*, 81, 86, 101; cf. Thomas Docherty, *For the University: Democracy and the Future of the Institution* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 92–3.
- 153 Marquand, *The Decline of the Public*, 126–9.
- 154 Richard Wyn Jones and Tom Nairn, ‘Ukanian discussions and Homo Britannicus’, ed. Hassan and Ilett, *Radical Scotland*, 267–81; 275.
- 155 Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*, 22, 55.
- 156 Ibid., 98; cf. Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 51–4.
- 157 Cf. Paolo Virno, trans. Isabella Bertoletti, James Cascaito and Andrea Casson, *A Grammar of the Multitude* (New York: Semiotext(e), 2004); John Holloway, *Crack Capitalism* (London: Pluto, 2010).
- 158 Cf. Aeron Davis, ‘Economic alternatives in the current crisis’, ed. Michael Bailey and Des Freedman, *The Assault on the Universities* (London: Pluto, 2011), 49–58; 52; Andrew Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988); Colin Crouch, *Coping with Post-Democracy* (London: Fabian Society, 2000).
- 159 At the time of completing this thesis, the leader of the Labour Party was reinventing himself in Tory Disraelian terms as a ‘one nation’ leader at the party conference, in part via advice from ‘Blue Labour’, and so completing, in a bid for Unionist commonality, a pan-parliamentary occupation of the Disraelian ‘elect nation’ exceptionalist trope which owes much to Blake and Wordsworth; even for a repetitive politician in a soundbite era Miliand’s repetition of the phrase ‘one nation’ 44 times in a speech is extraordinary – Patrick Wintour, ‘Ed Miliband moves to claim Disraeli’s “one nation” mantle’, *The Guardian*, 2 October 2012; online at: www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2012/oct/02/ed-miliband-one-nation-speech1.

- 160 Gamble, *The Spectre at the Feast*, 37.
- 161 There is wide speculation that London is becoming the world's most unequal city; divisions are mapped as exceptionally unequal in London and New York in Daniel Dorling, *Injustice: Why Social Inequality Persists* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2010), 287–8, on concentrated divisions in housing, cf. 172–3; for Dorling, London may be the most unequal city in the developed world; cf. Gerry Hassan, 'The future of "The Global Kingdom": post-unionism, post-nationalism and the politics of voice', ed. Westall and Gardiner, *Literature of an Independent England*, 31–45.
- 162 Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: Self-government and the Shifting Politics of Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 27.
- 163 Cf. Gamble, *The Spectre at the Feast*, 49–51.
- 164 Ibid., for example 82–3.
- 165 Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*, 91, 103.
- 166 Cf. Hind, *The Return of the Public*, 77–93.
- 167 Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*, 99, 102, 116.
- 168 Ibid., 117.
- 169 Ibid., 118; the description of a 'trap' here is also reminiscent of Adam Curtis's documentary of that name.
- 170 Cf. Stuart Hall, 'The great moving-right show', ed. Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques, *The Politics of Thatcherism* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1983), 19–39; Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*, 116; cf. 135.
- 171 Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 31.
- 172 Compare this to the often-confused claims of bias by the 'No to Independence' campaign when the vagueness of English Common Law as a unifier is suggested, even by specialist academic lawyers who stress the lack of definitive case law to decide jurisdiction; online at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=nnUuwIggWO4.
- 173 Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 153; administrative separation of education in Scotland effectively ran before and pressed devolution while devolution legislation was still in the balance; after the election of New Labour in 1997, the Liberal Democrats in Holyrood were sensitive to the desire to resist fees, but this desire was pressed mostly strongly by an ascendant SNP; when fees were introduced as early as 1998, the Cubie Commission was convened in July 1999 and recommended modest graduate taxes of the English kind – which were strongly criticized by Scottish students at the time and thrown out by the SNP in 2007; this has remained one of the key planks of self-determination campaigns. There is an account of this by Aaron Dobson, 'The Cubie Report explained', *The Guardian*, 28 January 2000; online at: www.guardian.co.uk/education/2000/jan/28/tuitionfees.highereducation; I am grateful to Terry Brotherstone for a clarification of this history.

Chapter Five

- 1 Cf. Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett, *The Spirit Level: Why Equality Is Better for Everyone* (London: Penguin, 2010); regular surveys of and updates on inequality are provided by the Joseph Rowntree Trust, online at: www.jrf.org.uk/.
- 2 At the time of completion Olly Huitson has just published a story showing BBC coverups of NHS dysfunctionality, allowing patients to die (and so risking the Gothic passage between state-time and bio-time): 'How the BBC betrayed the NHS: an exclusive report on two years of censorship and distortion', *openDemocracy* 27 September 2012, online at: <http://opendemocracy.net/ourbeeb/oliver-huitson/how-bbc-betrayed-nhs-exclusive-report-on-two-years-of-censorship-and-distorti>.
- 3 One marker of the use of housing equity to keep key voters in line after Iraq and the surveillance state was the reduction of interest rates in August 2005 in an already overheating market: www.bankofengland.co.uk/boeapps/iadb/Repo.asp.
- 4 Cf. Daniel Defoe, *History of the Union* (Dublin: J. Exshaw, 1799 (1709)).
- 5 Robert Skidelsky, *Keynes: Return of the Master* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009), 6.
- 6 Skidelsky, *Keynes: Return of the Master*, 20, 22.
- 7 See for example Allegra Stratton and Ashley Seager, 'Darling invokes Keynes as he eases spending rules to fight recession', *Guardian* 20 October 2008 (this was immediately after the peak of the banking panic): 'jobs would be created by the construction of two aircraft carriers and the replacement of the Trident nuclear deterrent', online at: www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2008/oct/20/economy-recession-treasury-energy-housing
- 8 J. K. Galbraith, *The Age of Uncertainty, Part 7: The Mandarin Revolution* (BBC TV, 1977).

- 9 On the centrality of London see for example recent proposals on social stratifying public service pay, social cleansing of boroughs, and the power of the mayor.
- 10 Cf. Gregory Claeys, *The French Revolution Debate in Britain: The Origins of Modern Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 34.
- 11 Dir. Lewis Gilbert, wr. Willy Russell, *Educating Rita* (Acorn Pictures, 1983).
- 12 Bobby Sands was elected to parliament in 9 April 1981, becoming the only MP ever to be elected in prison, and precipitating a change in the law to prevent other prisoners being elected.
- 13 Alasdair Gray, *Lanark: A Life in 4 Books* (London: Picador, 1991 (1981)), 98, 295, 322, 432–3.
- 14 Ibid., 485 et passim, 500 et passim.
- 15 Ibid., 410–16; cf. Cairns Craig, review of *Lanark*, *Cencrastus*, Autumn 1981, 11–13.
- 16 Cf. Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 120–1.
- 17 Gray, *Lanark* 68, 226, 288–9.
- 18 David Peace, *GB84* (London: Faber, 2004), 137, 202.
- 19 Peace, *GB84*, 258, 409, 466; on the alienation of working miners through this phrase and a reaction recalling anti-Jacobinism, cf. Richard Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain: The Politics and Social Upheaval of the Thatcher Era* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2009), 282.
- 20 Peace, *GB84*, 46, 124, 232, 279, 332, 364.
- 21 Irvine Welsh, *Trainspotting* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1993); one of many contrasts of real and empty time is the scene where a group of junkies observe theatre-goers coming out of the Playhouse, knowing that they have restaurant reservations, and so, futures, 306. The story is in large part built on a punk ethic – many characters came of age in the late 1970s – playing on a stagflationary sense of ‘no future’.
- 22 Cf. Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 110–11.
- 23 See for example Peter Ward Fay, *The Opium War, 1840–42* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997 (1976)).
- 24 Cf. Michael Gardiner, ‘British territory: Irvine Welsh in English and Japanese’, *Textual Practice* 17.1, 2003; Alan Riach, *Representing Scotland in Literature, Popular Culture and Iconography: The Masks of the Modern Media* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 223–32; Aaron Kelly, ‘James Kelman and the deterritorialization of power’, ed. Berthold Schoene, *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 175–83; Danny Boyle, dir., *Trainspotting* (Channel 4, 1996); BBC, Olympics opening ceremony, 27 July 2012.
- 25 David Punter, *The Literature of Terror: History of Gothic Fiction from 1765 to the Present* (London: Longman, 1980), 419; cf. David Punter and Glennis Byron, *The Gothic* (London: Wiley Blackwell, 2004), 7–12.
- 26 Cf. Dan Hind, *The Return of the Public: Democracy, Power and the Case for Media Reform* (London: Verso, 2012), 43; cf. Stephen Driver and Luke Martell, ‘Blair and “Britishness”’, ed. David Morley and Kevin Robins, *British Cultural Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- 27 Cf. Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004); Peter Osborne, *The Triumph of the Political Class* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2007); David Craig and Matthew Elliott, *Fleeced! How We've Been Betrayed by the Politicians, Bureaucrats and Bankers – and How Much They've Cost Us* (London: Constable, 2009).
- 28 Maggie Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1; Julia Kristeva, trans. Leon S. Roudiez, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); cf. Jerrold Hogle, ‘Introduction: The Gothic in Western Culture’, ed. Hogle, *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, 1–20; 7; Michael Gardiner, *The Return of England in English Literature* (London: Palgrave, 2012), 95, 21, 23, 88.
- 29 Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 127–37.
- 30 Cf. Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2007).
- 31 Punter, *The Literature of Terror*, 421.
- 32 Michael Foucault, trans. Alan Sheridan, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1991 (1975)), 32–71.
- 33 Huitson, ‘How the BBC betrayed the NHS’.
- 34 Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 (1790)), 162–3; cf. 96; cf. Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, 29.
- 35 Owen Dudley Edwards, ed., *A Claim of Right for Scotland* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), 13–15.
- 36 Edwards, *A Claim of Right for Scotland*, 18; similar noises had been made, less pejoratively, by Richard Crossman in his introduction to the 1963 edition of Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution* (London: Collins, 1963), 191.

- 37 Edwards, *A Claim of Right for Scotland*, 34.
- 38 Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: Self-government and the Shifting Politics of Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 205; Gerry Hassan, 'A short history of the future break-up', ed. Mark Perryman, *Imagined Nation: England after Britain* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2008), 148–70; on the English West Lothian Question, cf. Arthur Aughey, 'English is the country and the country is England' ed. Claire Westall and Michael Gardiner, *Literature of an Independent England* (London: Palgrave, 2013), 46–59.
- 39 Edwards, *A Claim of Right for Scotland*, 35.
- 40 Polygon has published almost entirely fiction, and mostly Scottish fiction, and is known (especially since Canongate's move to London) as Scotland's foremost fiction imprint; one of the most notable exceptions to this is the series which begins with Owen Dudley Edwards's *A Claim of Right for Scotland*, 1989, concerns issues of culture and self-determination, and is series-edited by Cairns Craig under the title *Determinations* until 1997, the year of the devolution referendum.
- 41 Michael Fry, 'Claim of wrong', ed. Edwards, *A Claim of Right for Scotland*, 93–8: 95.
- 42 Neil MacCormick, 'Unrepentant gradualism', ed. Edwards, *A Claim of Right for Scotland*, 99–109: 106.
- 43 Chris Harvie, 'Scotland's English problem', ed. Edwards, *A Claim of Right for Scotland*, 126–31: 127.
- 44 Ibid., 127.
- 45 Bernard Crick, 'For my fellow English', ed. Edwards, *A Claim of Right for Scotland*, 150–62: 153.
- 46 Ibid., 157–9: 157.
- 47 Ibid., 128, 309.
- 48 Anthony Barnett, Stuart Weir et al., 'The original Charter 88'; online at: www.unlockdemocracy.org.uk/pages/the-original-charter-88.
- 49 Charter 88, n.p.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Tom Nairn, *Pariah: Misfortunes of the British State* (London: Verso, 2002), 1; Michael Gardiner, *The Cultural Roots of British Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 107–9; cf. Kelly, 'James Kelman and the deterritorialization of power'.
- 54 Nairn, *Pariah*, 4, 12, 16–17.
- 55 Driver and Martell, 'Blair and "Britishness"': Ross McKibbin, 'Treading water', *New Left Review*, July–August 2000, 69–74; Nairn, *Pariah*, 153.
- 56 Hall, 'The great moving right Show'; Nairn, *Pariah*, 144, 67.
- 57 Nairn, *Pariah*, 31, 39; in 2007, the year of the 'credit crunch', *Privacy International* listed the UK as number five in the world on a list of states most crippled by 'endemic surveillance'; online at: www.privacyinternational.org/article/leading-surveillance-societies-eu-and-world-2007.
- 58 Cf. Giorgio Agamben, trans. Kevin Attell, *State of Exception* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004 (2003)).
- 59 Nairn, *Pariah*, 115, italics in original.
- 60 Nairn, *Pariah*, 147; cf. Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* (Winchester: Zero, 2011).
- 61 Roger Scruton, *England: An Elegy* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000); on English as a loss, cf. Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 7–8.
- 62 Krishnan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- 63 Simon Heffer, *Nor Shall My Sword: The Reinvention of England* (London: Phoenix, 2000 (1999)); Jeremy Paxman, *The English: A Portrait of a People* (London: Penguin, 1999); John Redwood, *The Death of Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999); on the 'listing' tradition and its challengers, see Aughey, 'English is the country and the country is England'.
- 64 Richard English, *Is There an English Nationalism?* (London: IPPR, 2011); Guy Lodge, Wyn Jones, R. Henderson and D. Wincott, *The Dog That Finally Barked: England as a Political Community* (London: IPPR, 2012).
- 65 MacCormick v Lord Advocate SC 396, 1953; c.f. Neil MacCormick, 'The English constitution, the British state, and the Scottish anomaly', British Academy Lecture 1997.
- 66 Cf. Anthony Bradley, 'The sovereignty of parliament – form or substance?', Jeffrey Jowell and Dawn Oliver, *The Changing Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 35–69.
- 67 Gavin Drewry, 'The executive: towards accountable government and effective governance?', ed. Jowell and Oliver, *The Changing Constitution*, 187–21; something to this effect was indeed admitted in the

- Cameron-Salmond summit of 15 October 2012 which led to the 'Edinburgh Agreement', allowing the Scottish government jurisdiction over the 2014 referendum.
- 68 Drewry, 'The executive', 218.
- 69 Cf. T. R. S. Allen, *Law, Liberty, and Justice: The Legal Foundation of British Constitutionalism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994 (1993)), 143; this defence of Dicey comes just before a widescale discrediting, and is partially reworked by Allen's later work.
- 70 Cf. Allen, *Law, Liberty, and Justice*, 283.
- 71 Gavin Anderson et al., 'The independence referendum, legality and the contested constitution: Widening the debate'; online at: <http://ukconstitutionallaw.org/2012/01/31/gavin-anderson-et-al-the-independence-referendum-legality-and-the-contested-constitution-widening-the-debate/>. This paper also points out that *Axa General Insurance Ltd v Lord Advocate* (2011) 'rejected the argument that, at least for the purposes of judicial review at common law, the Scottish parliament is to be understood as a subordinate legislature'.
- 72 Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 165–7.
- 73 Keating, 'The political economy of self-determination', 41; Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 119; cf. Peter Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
- 74 Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*; see also Gerry Hassan in conversation with Zygmunt Bauman, 'Politics, power and the shape of things to come', ed. Gerry Hassan and Rosie Ilett, *Radical Scotland: Arguments for Self-Determination* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2011), 250–66; Nairn, *Pariah*.
- 75 Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 37.
- 76 Cf. Chris Thornhill, *A Sociology of Constitutions: Constitutions and State Legitimacy in Historical-Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 216; Jacques Derrida cited in *Otobiographies: L'enseignement de Nietzsche et la politique du nom propre* (Paris: Editions Galilée, 2005), 26, based on a bicentennial conference on the American Declaration of Independence at the University of Virginia.
- 77 Keating, *The Independence of Scotland*, 20.
- 78 Alan Finlayson, 'Britain, greet the age of privatised Higher Education – an argument and a debate', *openDemocracy* 9 December 2010; online at: www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/alan-finlayson/britain-greet-age-of-privatised-higher-education; Universities UK, 'The facts about fees: Student loans 2012': online at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=vq7RslzaxKI
- 79 Hind, *The Return of the Public*, 90; cf. Thomas Docherty, *The English Question*, (Brighton: Sussex University Press, 2008), 144.
- 80 Peter Osborne, 'The rise of the overclass', *The Telegraph*, 20 January 2012; online at: www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/9027846/The-rise-of-the-overclass.html.
- 81 Cf. Danny Dorling, *Injustice: Why Social Inequality Persists* (London: Policy Press, 2011).
- 82 Tom Nairn, *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland* (London: Granta, 2010).
- 83 Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *The Bell Curve: The Reshaping of American Life by Differences in Intelligence* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994).
- 84 Cf. Thomas Docherty, *For the University: Democracy and the Future of the Institution* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 86; on Browne report, see 164–6.
- 85 Sean Coughlan, 'UK university applications down as fees rise', BBC News, 20 January 2012; online at: www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-16787948.
- 86 A. V. Dicey, *England's Case against Home Rule* (Richmond Surrey: Richmond Publishing, 1973 (1886)), 193.
- 87 See note 8 above on British-left faux anti-nationalism; in his memoirs Tony Blair says, 'I supported the UK [and] distrusted nationalism as a concept', *A Journey* (London: Harper Collins, 2010), 251, quoted in Gerry Hassan, 'The future of "The Global Kingdom": post-unionism, post-nationalism and the politics of voice', ed. Westall and Gardiner, *Literature of an Independent England*, 31–45.
- 88 George E. Davie, *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961), 42, 58, 210.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 15, 17.
- 90 *Ibid.*, 42.
- 91 *Ibid.*, xix; cf. Lindsay Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 37–9; on 'myth' as productive, see 37–8.
- 92 Davie, *The Democratic Intellect*, 171; Gardiner, *The Return of England*; Ernest Gellner, *Words and Things: A Critical Account of Linguistic Philosophy and a Study of Ideology* (London: Routledge, 2005 (1959)); cf. Muriel Spark, *The Ballad of Peckham Rye* (London: Macmillan, 1960).

- 93 Docherty, *The English Question*, 8.
- 94 Ibid., 24.
- 95 Ibid., 25, 36.
- 96 Ibid., 139, 145; two essays in ed. John Holmwood, *A Manifesto for the Public University* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011) explicitly discuss the amplification of inequality specific to the neoliberal British university; John Holmwood, 'The idea of a public university', 12–26; Diane Reay, 'Universities and the reproduction of inequality', 112–28; this latter also penetratingly shows the persistence of a structural inequality working through education as relatively unchanging throughout the whole British period – and how this works through an absolute (and 'disinterested') language of 'the best'; cf. also Docherty, *For the University*.
- 97 Anthony Barnett, 'A fight for the future', ed. Dan Hancox et al., *Fightback* (London: openDemocracy, 2011), 13–29; 17, 19–20.
- 98 Barnett, 'A fight for the future', 19–20; cf. Docherty, *For the University*.
- 99 Anthony Barnett, 'Will the tens trump the sixties?', ed. Hancox et al., *Fightback*, 279–88; 288; on the reabsorption of disenfranchising and 'self-expressing' individualism in the British society of control settled by neoliberalism, cf. Carl Cerdeström and Peter Fleming, *Dead Man Working* (Winchester: Zero, 2012); contrary to the British habit of describing every protest movement as a failure, the 'recuperation' of the main tenets of the 1968 students protests into the Thatcherite ideology of anti-statism might be seen dialectically as exposing a *strengthening* of parliamentary sovereignty, and so as amplifying self-determination movements in an era of democratic deficit.
- 100 Among many others, cf. Jeff Reeves, 'Failed Occupy movement needs to wake up', *Huffington Post*, 21 August 2012; online at: www.huffingtonpost.com/jeff-reeves/failed-occupy-wall-street_b_1799128.html. It is worth noting that most autopsies of the failed movement are American rather than arising from the UK.
- 101 Cf. John Holloway, *Crack Capitalism* (London: Pluto, 2010), 38–45.
- 102 Rob Pinney, 'Students stage teach-in at Euston station – London', *Demotix*, 26 January 2011; online at: www.demotix.com/news/569541/students-stage-teach-euston-station-london#slide-1.
- 103 Tom Griffin, 'The military response to direct action, General Kitson's manual', *openDemocracy*, 22 December 2010; online at: www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/tom-griffin/military-response-to-direct-action-general-kitsons-manual.
- 104 John Rees, 'Student revolts then and now', ed. Michael Bailey and Des Freedman, *The Assault on the Universities* (London: Pluto, 2011), 113–22; 115; cf. Fejto, 'Hungary and socialism'.
- 105 Guy Aitchison and Aaron Peters, 'The open-sourcing of political activism: how the internet and networks help build resistance', ed. Hancox et al., *Fightback*, 44–60; 44–5; Rory Rowan, 'Geographies of the kettle: containment, spectacle & counter-strategy', ed. Hancox et al., *Fightback*, originally published in *Critical Legal Thinking*; online at: www.criticallegalthinking.com/2010/12/16/geographies-of-the-kettle-containment-spectacle-counter-strategy/; cf. Dan Hancox, *Kettled Youth* (London: Vintage Digital, 2011).
- 106 Aitchison and Peters, 'The open-sourcing of political activism', 50, 57; there is a discussion of the significance of St Paul's for state culture in Gardiner, *The Return of England*, 131–2.
- 107 Adam Harper, 'Images of reality and student surrealism', ed. Hancox et al., *Fightback*, originally published with illustrative images in *Rouge's Foam*: <http://rougesfoam.blogspot.co.uk/2010/12/images-of-reality-and-student.html>.
- 108 Albert Toscano, 'The university as a political space', ed. Bailey and Freedman, *The Assault on the Universities*, 81–90; 84.
- 109 Toscano, 'The university as a political space', 85.
- 110 Ibid., 85.