

Notes

Introduction: Conservatism and the Intergenerational Imagination

1. See Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996), 269–87.
2. Pfau makes this statement in his re-evaluation of the conservative German Romantic political theorist Adam Müller. *Romantic Moods: Paranoia, Trauma, and Melancholy, 1790–1840* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2005), 284.
3. Jonathan Bate, *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1991), 33. James McKusick goes even further in linking “green” Romanticism to the influence of liberal rights discourse: “If humans are truly related to all living things, then all living things must be entitled to a share in the ‘natural rights’ that will surely be vindicated in the progress of human liberation. The Rights of Man are only a staging-point along the road to the Rights of Animals, and this road in turn will lead eventually to the total liberation of all living things.” “Introduction,” in *Romanticism and Ecology* (Online: Romantic Circles Praxis Series, 2001). In contemporary environmental thinking, Roderick Nash’s influential genealogy of the rights of nature reiterates this view; he maps out an “Expanding Concept of Rights” that ascends from English natural rights, to liberal rights, to the rights of nature. See *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1989). The argument for extending rights to nonhumans is likewise championed in Christopher D. Stone’s notorious argument that trees should have legal standing; see *Should Trees Have Standing?: Toward Legal Rights for Natural Objects* (Palo Alto, CA: Tioga Publishing Co., 1988). From two different ethical perspectives, Peter Singer and Tom Regan also argue for the extension of human rights to animals. See Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals* (New York: Random House, 1975) and Tom Regan, *The Case for Animal Rights* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1983).
4. *Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1979), 18. Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre go so far to posit that Romanticism should be characterized as a traditionalist project; they argue that Romanticism is “a critique of modernity, that is, of modern capitalist civilization, in the name of values and ideals drawn from the past (the pre-capitalist, pre-modern past).” While Löwy and Sayre convincingly argue their case for Romanticism against modernity, they do not acknowledge that a radically oppositional politics that draws on ideals from the past might be understood as fundamentally conservative. A Romanticism “against modernity” attempts to *conserve* deeply rooted

- historical connections that are being threatened or annihilated by modernity. See *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, trans. Catherine Porter (Durham: Duke UP, 2001), 17.
5. The American conservative periodical the *Weekly Standard* declares that Disraeli and not Burke should be considered the inventor of neo-conservatism, because Disraeli began to attach sentiment and tradition to the abstracted British nation and empire rather than local communities. See David Gelernter, "The Inventor of Modern Conservatism," *The Weekly Standard* (7 February 2005): 16–24.
 6. My argument is indebted to Isaac Kramnick's suggestion that 1790s radicalism should be more accurately called "bourgeois radicalism": "On the one hand, it sought to liberate men and women from all forms of restraint, political, economic, and religious. On the other hand, bourgeois radicalism preached order, discipline, and subordination, whether in the workhouse, factory, prison or hospital." *Republicanism and Bourgeois Radicalism: Political Ideology in Late Eighteenth-Century England and America* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990), 34. Furthermore, in investigating the "impossible history" of the 1790s, Saree Makdisi defines radical liberalism, such as is espoused by Tom Paine, as "hegemonic radicalism." He explains that radicalism "emphasized highly regulated consumer and political choice against both the despotism of the ancien régime [. . .] and the potentially catastrophic excess of the 'swinish multitude.'" *William Blake and the Impossible History of the 1790s* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003), 207.
 7. The term "social ecology" was coined by Murray Bookchin, a socialist in the mid-twentieth century. Social ecology contends that human and environmental problems are intertwined. Bookchin argues, "The antisocial principles that 'rugged individualism' is the primary motive for social improvement and competition the engine for social progress stand sharply at odds with all past eras that valued selflessness as the authentic trait of human nobility and cooperation as the authentic evidence of social virtue." Likewise, Romantic conservative texts see capitalist modernity as a threatening break with past cultural and environmental traditions. See "What Is Social Ecology?," in *Environmental Ethics*, ed. Michael Boylan (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2001), 62–3.
 8. *Specters of the Atlantic: Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of History* (Durham: Duke UP, 2005), 56.
 9. *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989), 49.
 10. *Technologies of the Picturesque: British Art, Poetry, and Instruments, 1750–1830* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2008), 85.
 11. *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999), 162.
 12. *Wordsworth's Second Nature: A Study of the Poetry and Politics* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984), 218–9.
 13. *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All* (Berkeley: U of California P, 2008), 79.

14. Although Collings claims that traditionalist radicalism is exemplified by Thomas Spence's politics, I argue that traditionalism as a site of contestation against modernity can be extended to other regionalist revivals of common culture. I should note, however, that Collings would disagree with my choice to affiliate Burke with traditionalist radicalism. Collings admits that Burke's "body politics" bear much in common with plebian radicalism, yet he also suggests, "Burke's resort to these various bodily genres, while rooted in familiar notions of the common body, reveals a singular departure from the tradition; evoking the grotesque body in one place and the corporate body in another, vilifying one beyond all measure and sanctioning the other as unassailable, he demonstrates that in the wake of the Revolution he can find no common ground between them." While I agree that Burke's politics are less politically egalitarian than Thomas Bewick's or William Cobbett's, I still argue that they hold in common a unique strain of environmental and cultural conservation that contests laissez-faire capitalism. *Monstrous Society: Reciprocity, Discipline, and the Political Uncanny, c. 1780–1848* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2009), 19, 40, 60.
15. *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977), 122.
16. *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 50.
17. "Time and History in Wordsworth," *Diacritics* 17.4 (1987): 9.
18. *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking, and Ecology in English Literature, 1671–1831* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 10.
19. *The Magna Carta Manifesto*, 44.
20. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1983), 14.
21. Broglio argues, these "tools are emblems of a culture's means of computing and representing the land." *Technologies of the Picturesque*, 29.
22. For examples of the emphasis on place in Romantic literature, see Kate Rigby, *Topographies of the Sacred: The Poetics of Place in European Romanticism* (Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2004) or Jonathan Bate, *The Song of the Earth* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002).
23. Paine could not have possibly imagined, however, the environmental consequences of industrialism that began after his own lifetime. According to David A. Wilson, both Cobbett and Paine "developed their ideas in an eighteenth-century world of Anglo-American radical discourse that preceded the emergence of the modern industrial class-based society. Paine and Cobbett were not the first men of a new world; they were the last men of a dying one." *Paine and Cobbett: The Transatlantic Connection* (Georgetown, ON: McGill-Queen's UP, 1988), 192.
24. *Liberalism and Empire*, 216.
25. *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1990), 56.
26. *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: The New Press, 1993), 71.
27. *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2011), 7.

28. *William Wordsworth and the Ecology of Authorship: The Roots of Environmentalism in Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2012), 23.

1 Intergenerational Imagination in Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*

1. *The Country and the City* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1973), 61–2.
2. *The Politics of Imperfection: The Religious and Secular Traditions of Conservative Thought in England from Hooker to Oakshott* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), 13. François-August-René vicomte de Chateaubriand coined the term “la conservateur” in 1818 as the title for his short-lived royalist journal. In English the first use of the term “conservative” in reference to a political position is the British publication, the *Quarterly Review* in 1830; the anonymous statement reads “we now are, as we always have been, decidedly and conscientiously attached to what is called the Tory, and which might with more propriety be called the Conservative, party.” See “Internal Policy.” *Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1830): 276. The *Oxford English Dictionary* attributes the first use to John Wilson Croker, yet *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* claims that the author is anonymous, and confirms that Croker was not writing for the *Quarterly Review* at that time. *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* speculates that the author was either John Fullarton or John Miller (700). Although Burke did not use the term “conservative” to describe his political position, the *Reflections* is nevertheless widely considered to be the founding text of modern conservatism. Frank O’Gorman points out, “Burke’s ideas do represent the starting point for the continuous elaboration of and development of a characteristically Conservative ideology.” “Introduction,” in *British Conservatism: Conservative Thought from Burke to Thatcher* (London: Longman, 1986), 12. Like O’Gorman, I take Burke as my starting point for the history of conservatism, whereas Quinton argues the tradition goes as far back as Richard Hooker and Lord Clarendon.
3. *Politics, Language, and Time* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1971), 206; *Political Representation* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002), 37.
4. *Truth and Method*, trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Continuum, 2000), 275.
5. “‘The Earth Belongs to the Living’: Thomas Jefferson and the Problem of Intergenerational Relations,” *Environmental Politics* 9 (2000): 73.
6. *Sources of the Self*, 172.
7. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1990), 105. Giddens goes on to argue, “Tradition is routine. But it is routine which is intrinsically meaningful, rather than merely empty habit for habit’s sake.”
8. *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn and ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 255.
9. *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), 83.

10. "The Man of Feeling History: The Erotics of Historicism in *Reflections on the Revolution in France*," *ELH* 74.4 (2007): 850.
11. *Ibid.*, 851.
12. *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985), 197, 200.
13. *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology: Language, Gender, and Political Economy in Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 230.
14. Burke's contestation of the seizure of the French monastic lands is of central importance to *Reflections*, as Derek Beales admonishes, "some of his most notable and influential arguments and statements, commonly treated as though they were put forward in reference to Britain or to the Revolution as a whole, were originally located in the course of his neglected vindication of the monasteries of France." "Edmund Burke and the Monasteries of France," *The Historical Journal* 48.2 (2005): 436.
15. Fulford is discussing how Burke genders power in his treatise on the sublime. *Romanticism and Masculinity: Gender, Politics, and Poetics in the Writings of Burke, Coleridge, Cobbett, Wordsworth, De Quincey, and Hazlitt* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 32. *A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Sublime and the Beautiful* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1998), 145–6. In *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology*, Tom Furniss also argues that Burke's "aesthetic ideology" in the *Reflections* emerges from his earlier text on the sublime.
16. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, eds. D.D. Raphael and A.L. Macfie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 262.
17. Gibbons goes on to state, "In its realignment of the inner life of the subject, the 'impartial' readily evolved into the 'imperial' spectator." *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, Politics and the Colonial Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 97. Robert Mitchell points out that even though Smith imagines human sympathy to begin with sympathy for the dead, such sympathy must be supplemented with the impartial spectator and state violence. See *Sympathy and the State in the Romantic Era: Systems, State Finance, and the Shadows of Futurity* (London: Routledge, 2007), 82–9.
18. *Imagination under Pressure, 1789–1832: Aesthetics, Politics, and Utility* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 38.
19. *Bearing the Dead*, 84.
20. *The Differentiation of Society* (New York: Columbia UP, 1982), 276.
21. According to Luke Gibbons, "tradition in an Irish context, the volatile legacy of the recent as well as the remote past . . . was capable of demolishing the Georgian facades of colonial civility." *Edmund Burke and Ireland*, 232.
22. *The Human Condition* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998), 135.
23. Quinton, *The Politics of Imperfection*, 17.
24. "Introduction," 2.
25. This belief in the social embeddedness of natural law is best illustrated, according to Peter Stanlis, by the following quote from Saint Thomas Aquinas: "Laws are laid down for human acts dealing with singular and

- contingent matters which have infinite variations. To make a rule fit every case is impossible." Quoted in *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003), 24.
26. *Wordsworth's Second Nature*, 67.
 27. *Customs in Common*, 15. Thompson discusses plebian customary culture; I argue the same concept of customary consciousness can be applied to Burke's work. David Collings would disagree. He argues that Burke instead attempts to undo customary consciousness: "the traditionalism he inaugurates – a traditionalism characteristic of conservative modernity – is thoroughly illegitimate, for it is based on the negation of the very customs it attempts to invoke." I argue, however, that Burke is still invoking a customary consciousness, and it extends to common lands and the poor, especially concerning monastic lands. See *Monstrous Society*, 61.
 28. Scruton is a contemporary Burkean, conservative philosopher, or what is sometimes referred to as a "paleoconservative," a philosophy that holds little in common with neo-conservatism. "Conservatism," in *Political Theory and the Ecological Challenge*, ed. Andrew Dobson and Robyn Eckersley (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 10.
 29. Catherine Malabou, "Addiction and Grace: Preface to Félix Ravaisson's *Of Habit*," in *Of Habit*, by Félix Ravaisson (London: Continuum, 2009), xviii.
 30. *Of Habit*, trans. Mark Sinclair and Clare Carlisle (London: Continuum, 2009), 25.
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1990). 56.
 33. Giddens discusses two kinds of "disembedding mechanisms": expert systems and symbolic tokens (in particular, money). Both of these mechanisms are railed against in the *Reflections. The Consequences of Modernity*, 28.
 34. As Nigel Everett explains, in the Romantic period, "arguments about the aesthetics of landscape were almost always arguments about politics. [...] In the Tory view, those who abandoned the landscape to the market were also abandoning the order of civil society to fragmentation." *The Tory View of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994), 7.
 35. *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 63.
 36. "Introduction," 53.
 37. *Liberalism and Empire*, 155.
 38. The above is Makdisi's reading of Burke's speech opening the impeachment of Warren Hastings: "If we undertake to govern the inhabitants of such a country, we must govern them upon their own principles and maxims, and not upon ours." Quoted in *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 103. Luke Gibbons makes the similar argument that Burke is "bringing the imaginative reach of sympathy to regions excluded from mainstream Enlightenment thought." *Edmund Burke and Ireland*, 113.
 39. Introduction to *Conservatism: An Anthology of Social and Political Thought from David Hume to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), 10.

40. *The Politics of Imperfection*, 13. Burkean skepticism also bears similarities to early modern skepticism, which is, according to Christian Thorne, “a kind of authoritarian pragmatism, a means of defending established (but increasingly contested) practices without claiming these practices to be true. It offers an exhaustive critique of knowledge in order to discredit the opponents of the state or church orthodoxy and then offers a utilitarian rationale for continuing on with these customary forms of government and social life.” *The Dialectic of Counter-Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2010), 10.
41. *The Food Wars* (London: Verso, 2009), 15. Burke goes on to state: “I have got more information upon a curious and interesting branch of husbandry, in one short conversation with an old Carthusian monk, than I have derived from all the Bank directors that I have ever conversed with” (R 308).
42. *The Human Condition*, 134.
43. “The Philosophy of Shipwreck: Gnosticism, Skepticism, and Coleridge’s Catastrophic Modernity,” *MLN: Modern Language Notes* 122 (2007): 975.

2 “Their graves are green”: Conservation in Wordsworth’s Epitaphic Ballads

1. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002), 1.
2. *Topographies of the Sacred: The Poetics of Place in European Romanticism* (Charlottesville: U of Virginia P), 53.
3. Judith Plotz, *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 8.
4. “We Are Seven” is a companion poem with “Anecdote for Fathers” (since the poems are located next to each other in the *Lyrical Ballads*): in these poems, both children have imagined communal connections that create their reality. Moreover, the manner in which the adult males in the poems attempt to coerce the children into rational dialogue illustrates Mitchell Dean’s argument that capitalist modernity effects a shift in ideological and political relations from paternal patriarchy to fraternal patriarchy in late eighteenth-century. See *The Constitution of Poverty: Toward a Genealogy of Liberal Governance* (London: Routledge, 1991), 217.
5. “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16 (1986): 25.
6. *Wordsworth’s Vagrant Muse: Poetry, Poverty, and Power* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1994), 16.
7. *The Future of Nostalgia*, 54.
8. *Wordsworth’s Vagrant Muse*, 54.
9. Mary Jacobus argues that Wordsworth’s self-reflective *Lyrical Ballads* foregrounds a tension between tradition and experiment, and between the past and future. The “Advertisement” to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) admits that the poems are new *experiments*, yet at the same time the tradition of

- the ballad genre hearkens back to the pre-modern past. See *Tradition and Experiment in the Lyrical Ballads (1798)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976). Reflection on the cultural centrality of the ballad, moreover, amounts to a kind of conservation, as Susan Stewart points out, "The utopian ballad world is characterized by 'survivals' and thus by transcendence over past and present." Yet the use of the literary ballads, in a strange new way, as "lyrical ballads," forces readers to reflect on their disconnection with the past. *Crimes of Writing: Problems in the Containment of Representation* (Durham: Duke UP, 1994), 105.
10. *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 458.
 11. Frances Ferguson argues that Wordsworth's epitaphic mode can be seen most clearly in *The Prelude*, which "virtually constitutes a series of epitaphs spoken upon former selves, 'other Beings,' who can be approached only across vacancies almost as wide as those between the living and the dead." *Wordsworth: Language as Counter-Spirit* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1977), 155. Likewise, Geoffrey Hartman has claimed that "the corpse is in the poet himself, his consciousness of inner decay." *The Unremarkable Wordsworth* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1987), 42. Paul de Man argues that the Boy of Winander "is, in a curious sense, autobiographical, but it is the autobiography of someone who no longer lives written by someone who is speaking, in a sense, from beyond the grave." "Time and History in Wordsworth," 9. More recently, Onno Oerlemans argued that meditation on death informs Wordsworth's view of the natural environment: "the poet sees in meditating on death the overwhelming presence of the physical" *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2004), 24.
 12. Williams argues, "A new theory of socialism must now centrally involve place." *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism* (London: Verso, 1989), 242.
 13. *Wordsworth: Language as Counter-Spirit*, 166.
 14. *The Unremarkable Wordsworth*, 33–4.
 15. Chandler goes on to argue, "Wordsworth proves to be even more of a thoroughgoing traditionalist than Burke in some ways, since, unlike Burke, he embraces 'tradition' with an explicit awareness of its roots in illiterate forms of cultural life." *Wordsworth's Second Nature*, 32, 160. Prior to Chandler, Michael H. Friedman made a developmental case that Wordsworth began as a revolutionary but ended up a Tory humanist. See *The Making of a Tory Humanist: Wordsworth and the Idea of Community* (New York: Columbia UP, 1979).
 16. *Lyric and Labour in the Romantic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 41.
 17. Bate, *The Song of the Earth*, 245; Rigby, *Topographies of the Sacred*, 55.
 18. *Technologies of the Picturesque*, 75.
 19. I read the epitaphic poems similarly to Hess's observation about the 1798 volume, "in which the narrator either interacts directly with the poor or presents them through their own narratives, agencies, and voices." *William Wordsworth and the Ecology of Authorship*, 224, 51.

20. *The Politics of Nature: William Wordsworth and Some Contemporaries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 193.
21. Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "Decomposing: Wordsworth's Poetry of Epitaph and English Burial Reform," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 42, 4 (1988): 466. See also Mary Hotz's chapter on burial reform literature in *Literary Remains: Representation of Death and Burial in Victorian England* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009).
22. Wordsworth created two prose arguments for the conservation of regional identities in 1810: *Essays upon Epitaphs* and *Guide Through the District of the Lakes*. They both link the fate of land with cultural practices. *Guide Through the District of the Lakes* links the Lake District's natural features with a genealogy of the cultural practices of the aboriginal Celtic people. According to Wordsworth, the social ecology of the Lake District is characterized by a period of long stability in subsistence farming; he reads the history of subsistence farming into the way that houses that have been built and used in the region. These homes display the qualities of what Burke would call the "life-renter" (*PW* II. 202).
23. "The Brothers" was written during a period, as James A. Butler points out, when Wordsworth was touring the Lake District before attempting to relocate permanently to Grasmere, so he was testing his own identity by "weighing the tourist against the native son." After arguing how this tension between tourist and native identities dominates Wordsworth's thoughts from 1798–1800, he concludes, "Once Wordsworth felt in firm possession of his surroundings – and developed the difference between himself and a traveler – he passed to the stage of worrying about any further settlement by tourists." See "Tourist or Native Son: Wordsworth's Homecomings of 1799–1800," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 51.1 (1996): 2, 14.
24. *Buried Communities: Wordsworth and the Bonds of Mourning* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2004), 150.
25. Michele Turner Sharp points out that in Wordsworth's *Essays upon Epitaphs*, "a critical look at the persistent failure of the inhabitants of rural spaces successfully to mediate death and the loss that it figures . . . suggests a subtle complicity or indifference between the urban and the rural." "The Churchyard among the Wordsworthian Mountains: Mapping the Common Ground of Death and the Reconfiguration of Romantic Community," *English Literary History* 62.2 (Summer 1995): 388.
26. "Graved in Tropes: The Figural Logic of Epitaphs and Elegies in Blair, Gray, Cowper, and Wordsworth," *English Literary History* 62.2 (Summer 1995): 348.
27. *Written on the Water: British Romanticism and the Maritime Empire of Culture* (Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2010), 144.
28. Toby R. Benis argues that this poem illustrates community building through the creation of an ostracizing narrative about Martha Ray. See *Romanticism on the Road: The Marginal Gains of Wordsworth's Homeless* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 111.
29. "Time and History in Wordsworth," 10.
30. *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1987), 24.

31. *Bearing the Dead*, 9.
32. *The Country and the City*, 131.
33. Broglio, *Technologies of the Picturesque*, 108. The Leech Gatherer" from "Resolution and Independence" would be another "living memorial" examined by Wordsworth, but I do not analyze this poem because it was written after the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798/1800).
34. *The Tory View of Landscape*, 76. In a letter to Sir George Beaumont, on October 17, 1805, Wordsworth admonishes him: "your house will belong to the country, and not the country be an appendage to your house." By house belonging to the country, Wordsworth means that Beaumont should "do his utmost to be surrounded with tenants living comfortably" instead ruthlessly improving the land for profit. *Letters of William Wordsworth*, selected by Philip Wayne (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1954), 76–80. Moreover, in his *Guide Through the District of the Lakes*, Wordsworth records the way that the region in untouched by enclosure and thus bears marks of intertwined intergenerational environmental and social stability through subsistence farming "sufficient upon each estate to furnish bread for each family and no more," while "each family spun from its own flock the wool with which it was clothed" (*PW* II.200).
35. *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987), 179. K.D.M. Snell also argues that the social consequences of enclosure and the simultaneous shift to wage labor had the most dire consequences for women (157–8).
36. Mitchell Dean, *The Constitution of Poverty*, 120.
37. *Written on the Water*, 27.
38. *Ecology without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2007), 84, 186.
39. Wordsworth counters liberal political economy with what Dick labels "romantic economics": "Inviting shocking expenditures, not simply his readers' charity, but the condition of poverty, and the fractured condition of the possibility of language, as, essentially, expenses without recompense, Wordsworth points to Nancy's suggestion that "loss' [is] constitutive of 'community' itself.'" See "Poverty, Charity, Poetry: The Unproductive Labors of 'The Old Cumberland Beggar,'" *Studies in Romanticism* 39. 3 (2000): 395. The embedded quote is from Jean-Luc Nancy's *The Inoperative Community* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1991), 12.
40. *Wordsworth and the Poetry of Human Suffering* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1980), 127.
41. *Of Habit* (London: Continuum, 2009), 65, 77.
42. The concept of "natural spontaneity" recalls the famous phrase from Wordsworth's "Preface" that poetry is the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings," yet Lori Branch argues, Wordsworth's poetry repeatedly depicts "intentional rituals of spontaneity" that are "emblematic of Wordsworth's resacralization of the everyday." *Rituals of Spontaneity: Sentiment and Secularism from Free Prayer to Wordsworth* (Waco: Baylor UP, 2006), 13.
43. *Wordsworth's Vagrant Muse*, 153.

44. Collings further argues: "He is an example neither of a *pharmakos* nor of institutionalized authority because he remains, in however attenuated a form, a wandering ghost." *Wordsworthian Errancies: The Poetics of Cultural Dismemberment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1994), 111.
45. *Wordsworth's Historical Imagination: The Poetry of Displacement* (New York: Methuen, 1987), 173.
46. Robert Mitchell argues that the focus on the beggar's body should be understood as "somapoieia"—giving a body that is not so much a person but a figure of the parasite. *Sympathy and the State*, 134.
47. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990), 137.
48. *The Unremarkable Wordsworth*, 40.
49. *Romantic Moods: Paranoia, Trauma, and Melancholy, 1790–1840* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2005), 196.
50. "The Mores" *Poems of the Middle Period*, vols. 1–5. Eds. Eric Robinson, David Powell, and P.M.S. Dawson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998–2003), II, 347–50.
51. "Time and History in Wordsworth," 9.
52. Jerome McGann, *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983), 88.
53. *Wordsworth and the Enlightenment: Nature, Man, and Society in the Experimental Poetry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989), 31.
54. "Of Other Spaces," 26.

3 Thomas Bewick's *A History of British Birds* and the Politics of the Miniature

1. Alan Bewell, "Romanticism and Colonial Natural History," *Studies in Romanticism* 43.1 (Spring 2004): 30.
2. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 29, 35.
3. Folk taxonomies, according to Scott Atran, focus on "determining and grouping species according to morphological aspect and ecological proclivity" as opposed to the "natural history after Cesalpino and Linnaeus [which] gradually came to focus on determining species' genealogical-related affinities." *Cognitive Foundations of Natural History: Towards an Anthropology of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 80.
4. *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1966), 240.
5. *The Logic of Practice*, 56. My argument here may seem to contradict the best known reference to *British Birds*: Charlotte Brontë's eponymous character Jane Eyre reads the text, and was fascinated with Bewick's depictions of arctic climes. See *Jane Eyre*, ed. Richard J. Dunn. Norton Critical Edition (New York: Norton, 2000), 6–7. These arctic engravings are, however, rare in *British Birds*. Most of the vignettes depict fishing on the Tyne, and only two vignettes in the first edition depict the arctic: an Eskimo canoe

- (BB2 230) and an iceberg (BB2 188). Other engravings of shipwrecks and stormy seas are still local, often depicting Marsden Rock off the coast of Tyne and Wear, where many arctic birds would gather. The introduction to *Water Birds* admits the sea fowl migrate to the arctic, but also states that the frozen sea is a "barrier to further enquiry, beyond which the prying eye of man must not look" (BB2 xii). Thus even though Bewick is forced to acknowledge the foreign habitat of some of the birds; he still accepts and foregrounds his limited, provincial knowledge.
6. Bewick's decision to include foreign birds in an appendix is similar to Walter Charleton's early modern *Onomasticon Zoicon* (1668): Erwin Stresemann suggests, "he could think of nothing better than to reserve most of the exotics for the appendix." *Ornithology from Aristotle to the Present* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1975), 41.
 7. Thomas Bewick was, as Paul Lawrence Farber argues, "a major force in popularizing the study of birds," and "his honest wood engravings made available to a wide public an inexpensive source of iconography for British birds, and encouraged amateurs to partake in field studies." *Discovering Birds: The Emergence of Ornithology as a Scientific Discipline, 1760–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996), 28–9.
 8. *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 100.
 9. "But their miniature intensity is, paradoxically, part of their greatness." Jennifer Uglow, *Nature's Engraver: A Life of Thomas Bewick* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2009), xvi.
 10. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke UP, 1993), 65.
 11. Ann Bermingham argues, "The picturesque embodied an early ideological response to this decline of rural paternalism during the war years. Although the picturesque celebrated the older order – by depicting a pastoral, pre-enclosed landscape – some of its features – the class snobbery, the distancing of spectator from the picturesque object, and the aestheticization of rural poverty – suggest that at a deeper level the picturesque endorsed the results of agricultural industrialization." *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1760–1860* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1986), 75.
 12. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 502–3.
 13. Here Simpson is discussing the style of Shaftsbury, which is later picked up by Burke. However, such a style applies to a conservative response to liberal rationalism more generally. *Romanticism, Nationalism, and the Revolt against Theory* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1993), 48.
 14. In this choice of epistemology, the partners were most likely influenced by Georges-Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (1749–88), which also eschewed systematic arrangement except for ordering animals by putting the familiar first. Buffon "dealt first with the animals most interesting and important to man, and proceeded gradually outward to those entirely unfamiliar to him." Stresemann, *Ornithology from Aristotle to the Present*, 49.

15. See HQ 436, 456, 171, 134, 335, 218, 384, 269.
16. Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000), 68. John Brewer notes that the majority of Bewick's tail-pieces are linked to specific places: "But in every case where we can recognize a source it is from Newcastle and its immediate environs. There are no depictions of either London or Edinburgh, nor of any countryside other than the Northumberland moors and valleys." John Brewer and Stella Tillyard, "The Moral Vision of Thomas Bewick," in *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century*, ed. Eckhart Hellmuth (London: The German Historical Institute, 1990), 390.
17. Ritvo also points out that the cattle evoke a kind of "racial nostalgia." See "Race, Breed, and Myths of Origin: Chillingham Cattle as Ancient Britons," *Representations* 39 (Summer 1992): 10, 2.
18. *The Platypus and the Mermaid, and Other Fictions of the Classifying Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997), 72.
19. *Illuminations*, 132.
20. Audubon quoted in *Thomas Bewick: Selected Work*, ed. Robyn Marsack (Manchester: Carcanet, 1989), 135-6.
21. Peter Quinn, "'Their strongest pine': Thomas Bewick and regional identity in the late Nineteenth Century," in *Bewick Studies, Essays in Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas Bewick, 1753-1828*, ed. David Gardner-Medwin (The British Library: Oak Knoll Press, 2004), 113.
22. *Paradise Preserved: Recreations in Eden in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 113.
23. "Traveling in Place: Gilbert White's Cosmopolitan Parochialism," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28.3 (2004): 46.
24. Stresemann, *Ornithology from Aristotle to the Present*, 60.
25. Bewick describes his embarking on this project as one of intensive research into previously published books of ornithology. Of all these books Bewick read, including the recent translation of Buffon, Bewick states Francis Willughby and John Ray's *Ornithologia* (1678) had the most influence on his methodology. They employed an empirical method of inquiry. See M 116. According to Stresemann, "The English ornithologists had become so accustomed to Ray's classification that for a long time they hesitated to give it up for a foreign one." Stresemann, *Ornithology from Aristotle to the Present*, 55.
26. *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 3. For more information about Blake's conservative cobbling together of various histories in his prophetic work, see also my article, "'The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom': Alternative Economies of Excess in Blake's Continental Prophecies," *Papers on Language and Literature*, 42.1 (February 2006) 3-24.
27. Noah Heringman outlines the "mutually constitutive nature of literary and scientific discourses in Britain during the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." "Introduction: The Commerce of Literature

- and Natural History," in *Romantic Science: The Literary Forms of Natural History*, ed. Noah Heringman (Albany: SUNY Press, 2003), 2.
28. Bewick records the communal nature of the project in his memoir, 121–6. His biographer confirms the "local project, taken up with zest by the gentry," Uglow, *Nature's Engraver* 244.
 29. This copy is located in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.
 30. "Artisan Natural History," in *Cultures of Natural History*, eds. N. Jardin, J.A. Secord, and E.C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), 387.
 31. The names for these engravings, in quotation marks here and elsewhere, were created by Iain Bain. See his editorial notes and introduction to *The Watercolours and Drawings of Thomas Bewick and his Workshop Apprentices*, 2 vols (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981).
 32. *Nature's Engraver*, 117.
 33. *Imperial Eyes*, 80, 82.
 34. *Poetics of Space*, 99.
 35. In J.F.M. Dovaston's copy of the text, we find in his notes that Bewick's story of the rooks stubbornly nesting in the spire was one of lasting importance to him. Dovaston writes next to the story, "See a print of this spire at the end of the book" that was "given to me by Mr. Bewick 1825." The print is of the Newcastle exchange building from the Newcastle Almanac, printed in 1786.
 36. *The Future of Nostalgia*, 49.
 37. Dovaston's notes record that Bewick told him that this particular engraving is a self-portrait.
 38. Davide Maltoni et al., *Handbook of Fingerprint Recognition* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2009), 31.
 39. *English Romantic Irony* (Cambridge: Harvard UP), ix.
 40. *On Longing*, 48.
 41. See BB1 "The Great Bustard," 314, "The Pheasant," 282, "The Golden Plover," 329, "The Yellow Wagtail," 191, "The Magpie," 75, "The Rook," 71, and BB2 "The Tame Goose," 297.
 42. *On Longing*, 68.
 43. See BB2, title page, 107, 136, 225.
 44. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: U of California P, 1984), xii. Donna Landry also notes the combination of natural history with the assertion of common rights: "A certain social radicalism combined with the knowledge of a naturalist has often distinguished the poacher." *Invention of the Countryside*, 82.
 45. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 526.
 46. *Ibid.*, 527.
 47. *Customs in Common*, 97.
 48. The quote is from Psalm 145.16 from the Psalter in the *Book of Common Prayer*.
 49. *Monstrous Society*, 228.
 50. Bewick idealized a time when everyone observed "the reciprocal duties between Master and servant." See M 138, 148.

51. For Bewick's story of his fight with Thomas Spence, see *M* 52–3. Uglow recounts the fight as well as the struggle to retain customary rights on the Newcastle Moor. See *Nature's Engraver* 80–5.
52. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, 6.
53. *Ibid.*, 9.
54. Hunting instructions for the mallard can be found in *BB2* 329–32. There are 13 engravings of hunting activities (*BB1* 113, 147, 159, 186, 221, 313 and *BB2* 58, 82, 200, 202, 319, 332, 358), and there are 11 engravings of fishing (*BB1* 216 and *BB2* 23, 41, 46 50, 52, 151, 265, 349, 370, supplement 27).
55. See *BB1* 42, 47, 62, 285 and *BB2* 211, 282.
56. *Dependent Rational Animals: Why Human Beings Need the Virtues* (Chicago: Open Court Press, 1999), 5, 8.
57. "The rights of infants; or, the imprescriptable right of mothers to such a share of the elements as is sufficient to enable them to suckle and bring up their young in a dialogue between the aristocracy and a mother of children. To which are added, by way of preface and appendix, strictures on Paine's Agrarian justice" (London: printed for the author, at No. 9 Oxford-Street, 1797), 5.
58. *Landscape and Ideology*, 75.
59. In the foreground of the engraving, two children read the lines from behind a broken enclosure fence. The rock is inscribed:

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
 Where wealth accumulates, and men decay:
 Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
 A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
 But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,

The lines memorialize the decline of nature and a way of life rather than the idyllic parts of that life. If Bewick wanted to record idyllic life, the lines from the first part of "The Deserted Village" would do that. *The Fables of Aesop and Others*, Memorial Edition of Thomas Bewick's Works, vol. 4 (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: R. Ward and Sons, 1885), 28.

4 Conservation or Catastrophe: Reflexive Regionalism in Maria Edgeworth's Irish Tales

1. This quote is the lawyer Jason's suggestion to Sir Condy regarding how he should pay his mounting debts.
2. K.D.M. Snell defines the regional novel as: "fiction that is set in a recognizable region, and which describes features distinguishing the life, social relations, customs, language, dialect, or other aspects of the culture of that area and its people." "The Regional Novel: Themes for Interdisciplinary Research," in *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800–1990*, ed. K.D.M. Snell (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 1.

3. Snell argues that the novel is set in the Irish midlands, in County Longford. *Ibid.*, 7.
4. Cheryl Temple Herr, *Critical Regionalism and Cultural Studies: From Ireland to the American Midwest* (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1996), 22.
5. "The Novel of the Big House," in *Cambridge Companion to the Irish Novel*, ed. John Wilson Foster (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 60.
6. Although it is written in the voice of the lower class Irish, the text's close attentiveness to the manners and perspectives of the native Irish emerges from Edgeworth's own experience in managing the accounts for her father's estate and from her research into her own family's history. Sophie Gilmartin suggests, "she was herself a good genealogist who took great care of the book of her family history written by her grandfather, which the family referred to as 'The Black Book of Edgeworthstown.' This book traces the history of the family from the close of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century." *Ancestry and Narrative in Nineteenth-Century British Literature: Blood Relations from Edgeworth to Hardy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 33.
7. *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 394. Likewise, Elizabeth Fay argues, in the Irish tales it is "the lack of responsible action that degrades society." *A Feminist Introduction to Romanticism* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 164.
8. Mellor points out that the critique emerged from the way she compared the plight of the Irish tenantry to West Indian slaves. *Romanticism and Gender* (London: Routledge, 1993), 80.
9. Gallagher also notes, "Edgeworthian authorship was consciously thought by both partners to be the daughter's execution of the father's intentions." *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670–1820* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1995), 305, 268.
10. See *Romanticism and Gender*, 45.
11. *Customs in Common*, 71.
12. *Slow Violence*, 14.
13. As discussed in the chapter on Bewick's *History of British Birds*, Gallagher and Greenblatt point out that "the miniature completeness of the anecdote interrupts the continuous flow of larger histories." *Practicing New Historicism*, 50. Michael Gamer argues that in *Castle Rackrent*, the anecdote has definitive teleological ends: "Defined as private rather than public, overheard rather than heard, sincere rather than performed, 'anecdote' promises to deliver textual truths superior to history because of the particular kind of 'reality' it claims to embody." "Maria Edgeworth and the Romance of Real Life," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 34.2 (Spring 2001): 243.
14. Seamus Deane, *Strange Country: Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing since 1790* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), 39. Luke Gibbons, "Alternative Enlightenments: The United Irishmen, Cultural Diversity, and the Republic of Letters," in *1798; 200 Years of Resonance; Essays and Contributions on the History and Relevance of the United Irishmen and the 1798 Revolution*, ed. Mary Cullen (Dublin: Irish Reporter Publications, 1998), 123.

15. Her taste for vivid anecdote spans all of her later Irish writings, in which narrators and characters repeatedly assert that attention to local customs is crucial for ethical interaction with differing cultures. An important part of Lord Glenthorn's education in *Ennui*, for example, is understanding custom; he does not want to become one of those "cursory travelers, who expose their own ignorance, whilst they attempt to ridicule local customs, of which they have not inquired the cause, or discovered the utility." *Castle Rackrent and Ennui*, ed. Marilyn Butler (London: Penguin Classics, 1992), 253.
16. *The Gothic Family Romance: Heterosexuality, Child Sacrifice, and the Anglo-Irish Colonial Order* (Durham: Duke UP, 1999), 99.
17. In the irony employed here, Edgeworth points to the end of her own knowledge of the Irish poor; she can mimic their speech, but not fully understand their meaning. The use of Thady's voice can be usefully read alongside Maria and her father Richard Edgeworth's *Essay on Irish Bulls* (1802), which was published just after *Castle Rackrent*; it attempts to make a defense of the Irish blunders as forms of art and wit. See Richard Lovell Edgeworth and Maria Edgeworth, *Essay on Irish Bulls* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1979).
18. Susan B. Egenolf argues, "Just as blackface minstrelsy had its moments of greatest popularity, attempting to reinscribe the 'myth of the benevolent plantation' during the period when American slavery was being exposed to mounting abolitionist criticism [. . .], Edgeworth's blackface performance as Thady attempts to reinscribe a system of benevolent patronage in Ireland." "Maria Edgeworth in Blackface: Castle Rackrent and the Irish Rebellion of 1798," *ELH: English Literary History* 72 (2005): 848. Kathryn J. Kirkpatrick, "Introduction," in *Castle Rackrent* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), xxvii.
19. See *Imperial Eyes*, 80.
20. Douglas Reichert Powell, *Critical Regionalism: Connecting Politics and Culture in the American Landscape* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2007), 5.
21. Such complicated and changing inheritances also arise in the later Irish tales.
22. *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 10.
23. *Magna Carta Manifesto*, 44.
24. Thady adds that these practices meant that the house servants benefited from the additional food. Thady's loyalty, according to Terry Eagleton, amounts to "an extraordinarily perceptive portrait of the workings of ideology, in which conscious beliefs and unconscious intentions can certainly be at odds." *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture* (London: Verso, 1995), 167.
25. In *Ennui*, Lord Glenthorn's combats hypochondria through the management of his estate, which involves learning about the tenants' rights to "parks" that were available for grazing rights. The issue of grazing rights is an important one in both England and Ireland; in the next chapter, it is central to Cobbett's defense of the poor in *Cottage Economy*. See *Castle Rackrent and Ennui*, 185.

26. *Monstrous Society*, 16.
27. *Edmund Burke and Ireland*, xiii.
28. "Tales of the Locale: The Natural History of Selborne and Castle Rackrent," *Modern Philology* 100.3 (February 2003): 394–5.
29. *Ecology without Nature*, 187.
30. "The Novel of the Big House," 64.
31. Backus, *The Gothic Family Romance*, 103, 100.
32. *Contagious: Cultures, Carriers, and the Outbreak Narrative* (Durham: Duke UP, 2008), 2.
33. "The Novel of the Big House," 60.
34. "Ride to Bollitree," *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, 1333.
35. *Invention of the Countryside*, 11.
36. The monument is inscribed: "Sir Patrick Rackrent lived and died a monument of old Irish hospitality" (CR 37).
37. While Gamer makes this argument about Sir Kit's valorization of Murtagh's bog preservation, I think perhaps a more consequential example is that of Sir Condy following the example of the glutton, drunkard, and debtor Sir Patrick. "Maria Edgeworth and the Romance of Real Life," 247.
38. Thady relates, "he gave my son a bargain of some acres which fell out of lease at a reasonable rent," *Castle Rackrent*, 41.
39. Vivaldi's "romantic" ideas of autonomy clash with the values of his parents. His father argues: "Are you to learn, Signor, that you belong to your family, not your family to you; that you are only the guardian of its honour, and not at liberty to dispose yourself?" *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents: A Romance* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), 38. See also, Robert Mighall's "History as Nightmare" in *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), 1–26.
40. *Ascendancy and Tradition in Anglo-Irish Literary History from 1789 to 1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 121.
41. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, 57.
42. *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York: Columbia UP, 2009), 179.
43. *Illuminations*, 255.
44. Brian Hollingsworth argues that *Castle Rackrent's* "incidents are comic and amoral. It has no message for the reader." *Maria Edgeworth's Irish Writing: Language, History, Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 72.
45. Nixon, *Slow Violence*, 2.
46. *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), 51.
47. "Maria Edgeworth and the Question of National Identity," *SEL: Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 39.4 (1999): 648.
48. Introduction to *Ormond* (London: Penguin, 2000), xx.
49. *Wordsworth's Vagrant Muse*, 51.
50. See *Becoming Native to This Place* (Washington D.C.: Counterpoint, 1996).

51. Maurer argues, "I read Edgeworth's plots as centering around the instability of identity and mutability of tradition that make all possession random and illegitimate." "Disowning to Own: Maria Edgeworth and the Illegitimacy of National Ownership," *Criticism* 44.4 (2002): 364, 366.

5 Subsistence as Resistance: William Cobbett's Food Politics

1. G. K. Chesterton, "Preface," in *Cottage Economy*, by William Cobbett (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979), ix–x.
2. *Invention of the Countryside*, 45.
3. "Ride to Bollitree," in *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, vol. 40.20 (London: C. Clement, 1821), 1333–4.
4. *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain, 1815–1850* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996), 111.
5. *Cottage Economy* intends to return to the moral economy: because the laboring class work to produce the food for a nation, "a man's earnings [must] be sufficient to maintain himself and family with food, raiment, and lodging needful for them." *CE* para. 85.
6. *The Politics of Language, 1791–1819* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 232.
7. Whale, *Imagination under Pressure*, 164. Natrass, *William Cobbett: The Politics of Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 123. Natrass includes a chapter on Cobbett's "teaching texts" that compares his *Advice for Young Men* to Hannah More's *Tales*, but she does not consider the agricultural "teaching texts."
8. While Dyck perceptively suggests that a better way to evaluate Cobbett's work is as "populist" form of writing, in Dyck's analysis the food politics of Cobbett's work remain marginal. *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 2.
9. "To the Radicals," in *Cobbett's Weekly Register* 39.4 (1821): 217–18.
10. For more on the concept of consumption as performance, see Timothy Morton, "Consumption as Performance: The Emergence of the Consumer in the Romantic Period," in *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism*, ed. Timothy Morton (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 1–18.
11. *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1966), 755.
12. "Deciphering a Meal," in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, eds. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (London: Routledge, 1997), 36.
13. *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997), 13.
14. For more on contemporary movements toward food sovereignty, see Walden Bello, *The Food Wars*.
15. "To Gaffer Gooch," in *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, vol. 39.1 (1821), 9.
16. *Ibid.*, 10.

17. "To the Distressed Stocking-Weavers," in *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, vol. 39.3 (1821), 89–190.
18. Cobbett explains that he published *Cottage Economy* so that laborers could be "belly-full": "They may *Tract* it as long as they please: but they will never make a man believe, that he has not a *right* to a belly-full from his constant labour." This quotation is from an announcement for the second edition of *Cottage Economy*. *Cobbett's Political Register*, vol. 43.7 (1822), 440.
19. Klancher goes on to state, "The radical text was not meant to form a singular bond between reader and writer, but to bind one reader to another as audience, a readership the radical writer both confronted and spoke for in a complex rhetorical act of 'representation.'" *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832*, 100.
20. Cobbett declares, "My efforts have, all my life long, since I became a man, been directly the reverse of these projectors. I have used various endeavors to cause an addition to be made to the food, the drink, the raiment, of the industrious classes." *A Treatise on Cobbett's Corn* (London: Mills, Jowett, and Mills, 1828), para. 4–5.
21. "To Lawyer Scarlett: On his Poor Law Project, as illustrated by the Famine in Ireland," in *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, vol. 43.2 (1822): 88.
22. "To Parson Malthus, On the Rights of the Poor; and on the cruelty recommended by him to be exercised towards the poor." in *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, vol. 34.33 (1819), 1036.
23. *Ibid.*, 1029.
24. Chase explains, he "endorsed private property in land, as long as there existed beside it a continuing framework of use-rights." *The People's Farm: English Radical Agrarianism, 1775–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 182.
25. Nicholas Roe makes a similar argument: "In Cobbett's time as in the twenty-first century in England, agri-monopolizers are responsible for rural depopulation and for the transformation of the English landscape into a chemically fed monoculture to supply a voracious urban market." "Eating Romantic England: The Foot and Mouth Epidemic and Its Consequences," in *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism*, ed. Timothy Morton (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 102.
26. Cobbett complains about Bull-frog Farmers "who, like the *Bull-Frogs* of the American swamps, have swallowed up the small-farmers, as the *Bull-Frogs* do the little chirping frogs." "To the Radicals," 274.
27. *Ibid.*, 277–8.
28. In this analysis, Helsingier also argues that Cobbett's politics anticipate de Certeau's tactics. *Rural Scenes and National Representation*, 119.
29. *The English Gardener* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980), para. 34.
30. Anthony Huxley, "Introduction," in *The English Gardener*, vii.
31. *Rural Rides*, ed. Ian Dyck (New York: Penguin Classics, 2001), 164.
32. *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), x.
33. *Landscape and Ideology*, 82.

34. "To Mr. Attwood," in *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, vol. 39.5 (1821), 329–30.
35. "To Mr. John Hayes," in *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, vol. 39.7 (1821), 461. Cobbett here echoes an undercurrent of advocacy in the period for the "People's Farm" in which "Continued access to the countryside was hence an important element in workers' attempts to retain control over their environment and general quality of life." Chase, *The People's Farm*, 14.
36. Cobbett was deeply skeptical of the goals of Hannah More and others who wished to teach the poor to read in order to ensure their subservience. More warns against "mischievous books," and suggests, "those who teach the poor to read, should not only take care to furnish them with principles which will lead them to abhor corrupt books, but should also furnish them with such books that shall strengthen and confirm their principles." *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education: With a View of the Principles and Conduct Prevalent Among Women of Rank and Fortune* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1799), 187.
37. *A Treatise on Cobbett's Corn*, para. 1.
38. Cobbett admits that his agrarian plans for independence would be frustrated by the lack of cultivatable land in urban areas. See *CE*, para. 91.
39. *The Politics of Language*, 230.
40. *Anecdotes of William Hogarth: Written by Himself* (London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1833), 64.
41. "Advertisement," in *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, vol. 40.2 (London: C. Clement, 1821), 134.
42. *Ibid.*, 135–6.
43. Cobbett also suggests that the laboring class make their own mustard rather than trust the commercial versions, which he believed were poisonous. *CE*, para. 198.
44. *The Consequences of Modernity*, 88.
45. Accum also published a list of names of those brewers who had been convicted for unlawful additives in beer and expresses these radical sentiments: "It is really astonishing that the penal law is not more effectually enforced against practices so inimical to the public welfare. The man who robs a fellow subject of a few shillings on the high-way, is sentenced to death; while he who distributes a slow poison to a whole community, escapes unpunished." *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food, and Culinary Poisons Exhibiting the Fraudulent Sophistications of Bread, Beer, Wine, Spiritous Liquors, Tea, Coffee, Cream, Confectionery, Vinegar, Mustard, Pepper, Cheese, Olive Oil, Pickles, and Other Articles Employed in Domestic Economy* (Philadelphia: Ab'm Small, 1820), iv, 22.
46. *Ibid.*, 21.
47. *The Englishman's Food: A History of Five Centuries of English Diet* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), 295.
48. *Imagination under Pressure*, 148.
49. *Romanticism and Masculinity*, 165.
50. *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, eds. Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), 1 Timothy 5.18.

51. *Customs in Common*, 215.
52. Piero Camporesi observes, "The hierarchy of breads and their qualities in reality sanctioned social distinctions. Bread represented a status symbol that defined human condition and class according to its particular colour, varying in all shades from black to white." *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996), 120. Redcliffe N. Salaman explains, "white bread has always served as a token of class distinction, and was recognized as a mark of privilege. Its adoption by the working classes should be interpreted as evidence of an equalitarian spirit beginning to make itself felt throughout England." *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985), 480. Likewise, Drummond and Wilbraham insist, "The inhabitants of the towns, with the exception of those in the north, would eat nothing but fine wheaten bread." Drummond and Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food*, 186. E.P. Thompson explains how bakers profited from the vogue for white bread: "It was to the advantage of bakers and millers to sell white bread or fine flour, since the profit which might be gained from such sales was, in general, larger." *Customs in Common*, 190.
53. "The Potato in the Materialist Imagination," in Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000), 126.
54. "To the Distressed Stocking-Weavers," 191, 189.
55. The protest against workers eating potatoes because potatoes are associated with poverty comes up again in the Swing Riots in the 1830s. In Kent, the banners said "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES." See Dyck, *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture*, 166.
56. "Deciphering a Meal," 40.
57. See *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 110.
58. Tea was expensive, as Drummond and Wilbraham document: "The amount spent on tea by working class families was considerable. The family budgets [. . .] show that it was not uncommon for two pounds a year to be so spent when the total income was only a matter of forty pounds a year." *The Englishman's Food*, 204.
59. *The Poetics of Spice: Romantic Consumerism and the Exotic* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 175.
60. *Cobbett's Corn*, para. 156.
61. *Tales for the Common People and Other Cheap Repository Tracts*, ed. Clare MacDonald Shaw (Nottingham, UK: Trent Editions, 2002), 127, lines 87, 90. *Cottage Economy* was published at a time when numerous dietary reform initiatives were being advocated, and the comparison with More's work is apt because in "The Cottage Cook," she also encourages home economy and provides cheap recipes. Cobbett certainly had read *Cheap Repository Tracts* in the 1790s, and in the nineteenth century, Ian Dyck sees the two authors as engaged in a battle for the reading attention of the masses. See *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture*, pp. 76–106.

62. In Cobbett's political rhetoric, bacon tends to serve as synecdoche for all kinds of meat or other animal-sourced protein such as milk. His emphasis on the importance of bacon in the diet is reminiscent of George Morland's painting *The Cottager's Wealth* (1791), in which a woman feeds discarded cabbage leaves to hungry young pigs. Cobbett's attitude towards animals is a complex one. Animals serve their purpose, but they should not be treated cruelly. In *Cottage Economy*, Cobbett registers his disdain for the French practice of nailing down the feet of ducks in order to fatten them and of plucking the feathers from turkeys while they are still alive to tenderize the meat. He mentions that being kind to animals is an admirable trait to foster in children, and the ability to care for animals humanely is the mark of the reliable worker.
63. *William Cobbett*, 154.
64. *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture*, 113.
65. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 38. *Cottage Economy* also includes suggestions for making one's own consumer goods such as straw hats, and how to make rush candles so the poor can avoid buying candles and paying candle tax.
66. "To Mr. Coke" in *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, vol. 39.8 (1821), 519–20.
67. *Ibid.*, 521.
68. Moreover, Linebaugh argues, "safeguards against tyranny were becoming linked to preservation of commoning." *Magna Carta Manifesto*, 59, 83.
69. *Making of the English Working Class*, 762.
70. *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 163.

6 Anthropomorphism and the Critique of Liberal Rights in John Clare's Enclosure Elegies

1. McKusick describes an "ecolect" as "poetic language [that] must strive to obtain the opacity and concreteness of natural phenomena while also evoking the sincerity of response that can only emerge from a wild, unpolished idiom." *Green Writing: Romanticism and Ecology* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 88.
2. John Lucas argues that Clare was a radical but also was a "deferential worker," who reflected "the ambivalence of rural working-class culture, with its combination of conservative deference and radical resentment." "Clare's Politics," in *John Clare in Context*, eds. Geoffrey Summerfield, Hugh Haughton, and Adam Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), 132. P.M.S. Dawson reads Clare as a "common-sense liberal" in "Common Sense or Radicalism? Some Reflections on Clare's Politics." *Romanticism* 2 (1996): 81–97. Eric Robinson, the editor of Clare's work, claims that Clare is a conservative whose "politics are local, or at most regional, rather than national; conservative rather than radical; monarchical rather than revolutionary or republican." "Introduction," in *John Clare, A Champion*

- for the Poor: Political Verse and Prose, ed. P.M.S. Dawson, David Powell, and Eric Robinson (Manchester: Carcanet, 2000), xiv–xv. Alan Vardy documents Clare's contributions to both Stamford's conservative paper, *The Bee*, and the radical paper, *Drakard's Stamford Champion*, in *John Clare, Politics and Poetry* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 171. Simon White argues that Clare's elegies for Langley Bush suggest a longing for the manorial system with its custom of hundred courts. "Landscape Icons and the Community: A Reading of John Clare's 'Langley Bush'," *John Clare Society Journal* 26 (2007): 21–32. Bridget Keegan reminds readers, "When labouring-class writers address social issues, they frequently do so without employing an explicitly political rhetoric which would have cost them patrons and a chance at publication." *British Labouring-Class Nature Poetry, 1730–1837* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 4.
3. Johanne Clare was the first critic to call the poems analyzed in this chapter "enclosure elegies." She argues, the enclosure elegies "reveal the depth of Clare's understanding that his position in society decided not only the limits of his material expectations, but the quality of his relations to his physical and human environment." See *John Clare and the Bounds of Circumstance* (Kingston: McGill-Queens UP, 1987), 7.
 4. Bate, "The Rights of Nature," *John Clare Society Journal* 14 (1995): 7; Oerlemans, *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature*, 82.
 5. Although often this view was put forth to highlight the threat of liberal rights, such as in Thomas Taylor, *A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes* (London: Edward Jeffrey, 1792). See Bate, *Song of the Earth* and Perkins, *Romanticism and Animal Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003).
 6. "The Fallen Elm" (line 54), *Poems of the Middle Period*, vols. 1–5, eds. Eric Robinson, David Powell, and P.M.S. Dawson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996–2003), III. 440–3. "Miscellaneous Fragment," *A Champion for the Poor: Political Verse and Prose*, 285.
 7. The first line is from "Helpstone" (line 88), *The Early Poems of John Clare: 1804–1822*, vols. 1–2, eds. Eric Robinson, David Powell, and Margaret Grainger (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 156. The last three lines are from *Poems of the Middle Period*: "The Lament of Swordy Well" (line 140, V.109), "Remembrances" (line 43, IV.130), "The Lament of Swordy Well" (line 87, V.107).
 8. Keegan argues that John Clare's poetry "tries to imagine if not a world entirely without us, at least a world where humans tread more carefully." She further suggests that "He was courageous enough to understand that nature's beauty and purpose might ultimately have nothing whatsoever to do with us, and that the world without us was the true poem, the poem Clare again and again aspired to write." "The World without Us: Romanticism, Environmentalism, and Imagining Nature," in *The Companion to Romantic Poetry*, ed. Charles Mahoney (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 555, 570.
 9. All lines from "The Lament of Swordy Well," *Poems of the Middle Period*, V.105–14. Hereafter cited parenthetically in the text by the poem's lines.

10. *Green Writing*, 86.
11. "A Speaking Place: The Matter of Genre in 'The Lament of Swordy Well.'" *Wordsworth Circle* 34 (2003): 133. John Goodridge argues that prosopopoeia in "Swordy Well" conveys Clare's "clear belief that there is much more to a piece of land than its agricultural and mineral wealth." See *John Clare and Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), 121.
12. *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1953), 55.
13. "The Lamentations of Round-Oak Waters," *Early Poems*, I. 228–34. Hereafter cited parenthetically in the text by the poem's lines.
14. Oerlemans argues, "What is centrally important about the animal [. . .] is that it presents them with an otherness that stands at the boundaries of understandings of the human." *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature*, 68, 71. Simons suggests that anthropomorphism has "the effect of portraying the non-human in such a way as to make it interesting and worthy of human sympathy." *Animal Rights and the Politics of Literary Representation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 116–7.
15. *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia UP, 1984), 257.
16. See *Rhetoric of Romanticism*, 241, and Cynthia Chase. *Decomposing Figures: Rhetorical Readings in the Romantic Tradition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986), 84.
17. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (London: T. Payne, 1780), n.309.
18. "The Animal that I Am: More to Follow," *Critical Inquiry* 28.2 (Winter, 2002), 396.
19. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 143. Even though Bentham, unlike Clare, is a liberal utilitarian who imagined that his felicific calculus would maximize human pleasure and social cohesion, Bentham's footnote on animals occurs somewhat paradoxically at the opposite end of his quest for collective pleasure, at the dimension of irrational, inscrutable suffering to which all life is exposed.
20. Perkins describes the "unremitting stream of warnings" against allowing children's cruelty to animals. See *Romanticism and Animal Rights*, 20–2. "Isaac Walton," *Poems of the Middle Period*, IV.209–10.
21. *Champion for the Poor*, 267.
22. *Man and the Natural World*, 45 and *Romanticism and Animal Rights*, 106.
23. Spiegel argues, "Comparing the suffering of animals to that of blacks (or any other oppressed group) is offensive only to the species [. . .] Those who are offended by the comparison to a fellow sufferer have unquestionably accepted the biased worldview presented by the masters." *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery* (New York: Mirror Books, 1996), 30. Bentham's passage that compares animal suffering to human slavery reads: "The day *may* come, when the rest of the animal creation may acquire those rights which never could have been withholden from them but by the hand of tyranny. The French have already discovered that the blackness of skin is no reason why a human being should be abandoned with redress

- to the caprice of a tormentor. It may come one day to be recognized, that the number of the legs, the villosity of the skin, or the termination of the *os scarum*, are reasons equally insufficient for abandoning a sensitive being to the same fate." *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, n.309.
24. *Poems of the Middle Period*, II.21–9 and III.91–119.
 25. "Post-Colonial Critique in a Multi-Species World." *PMLA*.124.2 (March 2009): 558.
 26. "Ecologocentrism: Unworking Animals" *SubStance: A Review of Theory and Literary Criticism* 37.3 (2008): 80.
 27. "The Flitting," line 212, *Poems of the Middle Period*, III. 479–89.
 28. "John Clare's Gypsies: Problems of Placement and Displacement in Romantic Critical Practice." In *Placing and Displacing Romanticism*, ed. Peter Kitson (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2001), 58.
 29. "Animals, Anomalies, and Inorganic Others." *PMLA* 124.2 (March 2009), 530.
 30. *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730–1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1972), 66–7.
 31. See *Poems of the Middle Period*, "Going to the Fair," III.91–119, "The Wild Bull," III.520–2, "Pleasant Spots," IV.299, line 1.
 32. "Helpstone," line 96, *Early Poems*. I.156.
 33. See *Poems of the Middle Period*. "Gipsey's Song," IV. 53–5. The poem reads, "We pay not rent nor tax to none / But live untythd & free," lines 3–4, and "Tho the wild woods are our house & home / Tis a home of liberty," lines 49–50. "Pastoral Liberty," IV. 303–4, and "mountain liberty" is extolled in "July" I.84.
 34. "John Clare's 'I' and 'Eye': Egotism and Ecologism," in *Green and Pleasant Land: English Culture and the Romantic Countryside*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 88.
 35. "The Fallen Elm," *Poems of the Middle Period*, III.440–3, line 12. Hereafter cited parenthetically in the text by the poem's lines.
 36. *Poems of the Middle Period*, III.453 and IV.253–4.
 37. *The Mirror and the Lamp*, 65.
 38. See "The Second Discourse," from *The Social Contract and The First and Second Discourses* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2002), 93 and 90–1.
 39. "Natural Man as Imaginary Animal: The Challenge of Facts and the Place of Animal Life in Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*." *Interpretation* 27.3 (Spring 2000), 215.
 40. Giorgio Agamben argues, "In the system of the nation-state, the so-called sacred and unalienable rights of man show themselves to lack every protection and reality at the moment in which they can no longer take the form or rights belonging to citizens of a state." *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998), 126.
 41. "Cowper, Wordsworth, Clare: The Politics of Trees." *The John Clare Society Journal* 14 (1994), 58.
 42. "John Clare's Dark Ecology." *Studies in Romanticism* 42.2 (Summer 2008), 193.

43. I bring in Schopenhauer here in order to distinguish Clare's vision of natural ontological freedom from natural rights discourse based on human rationality. According to R.S. White, "Reason, the capacity which defines the uniqueness of human beings, is at the heart of notions of fundamental law and fundamental rights, since only what is reasonable can be agreed upon by all human beings." *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism in the 1790s* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 2.
44. "On Religion," in *Essays and Aphorisms*, trans. J.R. Hollingdale (New York: Penguin, 1970), 189.
45. *The New Ecological Order*, trans. Carol Volk (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1995), 17, 5.
46. *Poems of the Middle Period*, III.287–95.
47. "Clare Among the Gypsies," *Wordsworth Circle* 29.3 (1998): 167.
48. *Poems of the Middle Period*, II.35–40.
49. Clare's view resonates again with Schopenhauer's conception of the will as "blind, irresistible urges, and we see it appear in inorganic and vegetable nature and in their laws, and also in the vegetative part of our own life." See "The World as Will: Second Aspect" in *Philosophical Writings*, trans. Virginia Cutrufelli, ed. Wolfgang Schirmacher (New York: Continuum, 1994), 129.
50. *Poems of the Middle Period*, III.527–31.
51. "freak", n.1" *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989. *OED Online*. Oxford UP.
52. "Common Sense or Radicalism?," 94.
53. "The Mores," *Poems of the Middle Period*, II.347–50, line 3.
54. *British Labouring-Class Nature Poetry*, 163.
55. "The Fallen Elm," line 53, "Helpstone," line 6. *Theory of Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 41.
56. "Pleasant Spots," *Poems of the Middle Period*, IV. 299.
57. "To a Rosebud in Humble Life," *Early Poems*. I.411, line 1, and "The Mole" *Poems of the Middle Period*, IV.294, lines 12–3.
58. "Ideas of Nature," in *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays* (London: Verso, 1980) 76.
59. "The Robins Nest" from *Poems of the Middle Period*, III.532–6. Hereafter cited parenthetically in the text by the poem's lines.
60. "The Flitting," *Ibid.*, III. 479–89, lines 198, 59–60.
61. "The Nightingales Nest," *Ibid.*, III.459, line 62.

Epilogue

1. *Customs in Common*, 15.
2. *The Country and the City*, 301.
3. *Ecology without Nature*, 93–4.
4. "The Philosophy of Shipwreck," 991.
5. See *Modern Environmentalism: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1996), 42–5. Another reason one might hesitate to explore the connection

between Romantic conservatism and environmental conservation is articulated by Luc Ferry, who warns that any political position that “continually hesitates between conservative romantic themes and ‘progressive’ anti-capitalist ones” is in danger of drifting into a xenophobic, blood and soil, “Nazi ecology.” My work focuses on the British historical context, and British Romanticism’s intergenerational imagination is not so much about the desire to stay in one place or xenophobia, as much as it requires an interrogation of one’s ancestors – with a critical eye – and assessment of the impact on future generations when making decisions. *The New Ecological Order*, 90.

6. *Slow Violence*, 2, 3.
7. *Thoughts on the Prospect of a Regicide Peace, in a Series of Letters* (London: J. Owen, 1796), 51.
8. *Invention of the Countryside*, 8.
9. *Sense of Place and Sense of Planet: The Environmental Imagination of the Global* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 10.
10. *Slow Violence*, 134.
11. *Ecology without Nature*, 18, 195.
12. *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1996), 2.
13. Žižek defines “unknown knowns” as “the disavowed beliefs and suppositions we are not even aware of adhering to ourselves.” *In Defense of Lost Causes* (London: Verso, 2009), 457.
14. *Specters of the Atlantic*, 46.

Bibliography

- Abrams, Meyer Howard. *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1953.
- Accum, Frederick. *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food, and Culinary Poisons Exhibiting the Fraudulent Sophistications of Bread, Beer, Wine, Spiritous Liquors, Tea, Coffee, Cream, Confectionery, Vinegar, Mustard, Pepper, Cheese, Olive Oil, Pickles, and Other Articles Employed in Domestic Economy*. Philadelphia: Ab'm Small, 1820.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998.
- Ahuja, Neel. "Post-Colonial Critique in a Multi-Species World." *PMLA* 124.2 (March 2009), 556–63.
- Ankersmit, Frank R. *Political Representation*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2001.
- Anonymous. "Internal Policy." *Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1830): 228–77.
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998.
- Atran, Scott. *Cognitive Foundations of Natural History: Towards an Anthropology of Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.
- Averill, James H. *Wordsworth and the Poetry of Human Suffering*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1980.
- Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space*. Translated by Maria Jolas. Boston: Beacon Press, 1994.
- Backus, Margot Gayle. *The Gothic Family Romance: Heterosexuality, Child Sacrifice, and the Anglo-Irish Colonial Order*. Durham: Duke UP, 1999.
- Bain, Iain. Introduction and editorial notes for *The Watercolours and Drawings of Thomas Bewick and his Workshop Apprentices*, 2 vols. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981.
- Baker, Samuel. *Written on the Water: British Romanticism and the Maritime Empire of Culture*. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2010.
- Ball, Terence. "'The Earth Belongs to the Living': Thomas Jefferson and the Problem of Intergenerational Relations." *Environmental Politics* 9 (2000): 61–77.
- Barrell, John. *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730–1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1972.
- Bataille, Georges. *Theory of Religion*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Zone Books, 1992.
- Bate, Jonathan. "The Rights of Nature." *John Clare Society Journal* 14 (1995): 7–15.
- Bate, Jonathan. *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Bate, Jonathan. *The Song of the Earth*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002.
- Baucom, Ian. *Specters of the Atlantic: Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of History*. Durham: Duke UP, 2005.

- Beales, Derek. "Edmund Burke and the Monasteries of France." *The Historical Journal* 48.2 (2005): 415–36.
- Bello, Walden. *The Food Wars*. London: Verso, 2009.
- Benis, Toby R. *Romanticism on the Road: The Marginal Gains of Wordsworth's Homeless*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*. Translated by Harry Zohn and edited by Hannah Arendt. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.
- Bentham, Jeremy. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. London: T. Payne, 1780.
- Bermingham, Ann. *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1760–1860*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1986.
- Bewell, Alan. "Romanticism and Colonial Natural History." *Studies in Romanticism* 43.1 (Spring 2004): 5–34.
- Bewell, Alan. *Wordsworth and the Enlightenment: Nature, Man, and Society in the Experimental Poetry*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989.
- Bewick, Thomas. *The Fables of Aesop and Others*. Memorial Edition of Thomas Bewick's Works, vol. 4. Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: R. Ward and Sons, 1885.
- Bewick, Thomas. *A General History of Quadrupeds*. 1790. Facsimile of the first edition, with an introduction by Yann Martel. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2009.
- Bewick, Thomas. *A History of British Birds: Water Birds*. Newcastle: Edward Walker, 1804.
- Bewick, Thomas. *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick*. Edited by Iain Bain. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979.
- Bewick, Thomas. *Thomas Bewick: Selected Work*. Edited by Robyn Marsack. Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1989.
- Bewick, Thomas and Ralph Beilby. *A History of British Birds: Land Birds*. Newcastle: Sol. Hodgson, 1797.
- The Bible: Authorized King James Version*. Edited by Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.
- Bohrer, Martha Adams. "Tales of the Locale: The Natural History of Selborne and Castle Rackrent." *Modern Philology* 100.3 (February 2003): 393–416.
- Bookchin, Murray. "What is Social Ecology?" in *Environmental Ethics*. Edited by Michael Boylan Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2001, 62–76.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1990.
- Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001
- Braidotti, Rosi. "Animals, Anomalies, and Inorganic Others." *PMLA* 124.2 (March 2009): 526–32.
- Branch, Lori. *Rituals of Spontaneity: Sentiment and Secularism from Free Prayer to Wordsworth*. Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 2006.
- Brewer, John. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997.
- Brewer, John, and Stella Tillyard. "The Moral Vision of Thomas Bewick." In *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century*. Edited by Eckhart Hellmuth. The German Historical Institute, London: Oxford UP, 1990, 375–94.

- Broglio, Ron. *Technologies of the Picturesque: British Art, Poetry, and Instruments, 1750–1830*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2008.
- Brontë, Charlotte. *Jane Eyre*. Edited by Richard J. Dunn. Norton Critical Edition. New York: Norton, 2000.
- Buell, Lawrence. *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1996.
- Buell, Lawrence. *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.
- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and the Beautiful: And Other Pre-Revolutionary Writings*. Edited by David Womersley. New York: Penguin Classics, 1998.
- Burke, Edmund. *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Edited by Conor Cruise O'Brien. New York: Penguin Classics, 2004.
- Burke, Edmund. *Thoughts on the Prospect of a Regicide Peace, in a Series of Letters*. London: J. Owen, 1796.
- Butler, James A. "Tourist or Native Son: Wordsworth's Homecomings of 1799–1800." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 51.1 (1996): 1–15.
- Butler, Marilyn. *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Camporesi, Piero. *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996.
- Castellano, Katey. "'The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom': Alternative Economies of Excess in Blake's Continental Prophecies." *Papers on Language and Literature* 42.1 (February 2006): 3–24.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven F. Rendall. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984.
- Chandler, James K. *Wordsworth's Second Nature: A Study of the Poetry and Politics*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984.
- Chase, Cynthia. *Decomposing Figures: Rhetorical Readings in the Romantic Tradition*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986.
- Chase, Malcolm. *The People's Farm: English Radical Agrarianism, 1775–1840*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Chateaubriand, François-August-René vicomte de. "Introduction." *Le Conservateur*. Tome Premier (1818): 2–45.
- Chesterton, G. K. "Preface," in *Cottage Economy*, by William Cobbett. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979, vii–x.
- Clare, Johanne. *John Clare and the Bounds of Circumstance*. Kingston: McGill-Queens UP, 1987.
- Clare, John. *The Early Poems of John Clare: 1804–1822*, vols. 1–2. Edited by Eric Robinson, David Powell, and Margaret Grainger. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Clare, John. *John Clare, A Champion for the Poor: Political Verse and Prose*. Edited by P.M.S. Dawson, Eric Robinson, and David Powell. Manchester: Carcanet, 2000.
- Clare, John. *John Clare: By Himself*. Edited by Eric Robinson and David Powell with wood engravings by John Lawrence. London: Routledge, 2002.

- Clare, John. *Poems of the Middle Period, 1822–1837*, vols. 1–5. Edited by Eric Robinson, David Powell, and P.M.S Dawson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996–2003.
- Clymer, Lorna. “Graved in Tropes: The Figural Logic of Epitaphs and Elegies in Blair, Gray, Cowper, and Wordsworth.” *ELH: English Literary History* 62.2 (Summer 1995): 347–86.
- Cobbett, William. *Cobbett’s Political Register*. Vol. 43.7. London: C. Clement, 1822.
- Cobbett, William. *Cobbett’s Weekly Register*. Vols. 34–43. London: C. Clement, 1821.
- Cobbett, William. *Cottage Economy: Containing Information relative to the brewing of Beer, making of Bread, keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, Ewes, Goats, Poultry and Rabbits and relative to other matters deemed useful in the conducting of the affairs of a Labourer’s Family; to which are added, Instructions relative to the selecting, the cutting and the bleaching of the Plants of English Grass and Grain, for the purpose of making Hats and Bonnets; and also instructions for erecting and using Ice-Houses after the Virginian manner*. With a preface by G.K. Chesterton. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979.
- Cobbett, William. *The English Gardener*. Facsimile of the 1833 edition, with an introduction by Anthony Huxley. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980.
- Cobbett, William. *Rural Rides*. Edited by Ian Dyck. New York: Penguin Classics, 2001.
- Cobbett, William. *A Treatise on Cobbett’s Corn, Containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and Also An Account of the Several Uses to Which the Produce Is applied, with Minute Directions Relative to Each Mode of Application*. London: Mills, Jowett, and Mills, 1828.
- Collings, David. *Monstrous Society: Reciprocity, Discipline, and the Political Uncanny, c. 1780–1848*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2009.
- Collings, David. *Wordsworthian Errancies: The Poetics of Cultural Dismemberment*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 1994.
- Connolly, Claire. Introduction to *Ormond*. By Maria Edgeworth. Edited by Claire Connelly. New York: Penguin, 2000, xi–xxxvi.
- Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1983.
- Dawson, P.M.S. “Common Sense or Radicalism? Some Reflections on Clare’s Politics.” *Romanticism* 2 (1996): 81–97.
- Dean, Mitchell. *The Constitution of Poverty: Toward a Genealogy of Liberal Governance*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Deane, Seamus. *Strange Country: Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing Since 1790*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999.
- de Man, Paul. *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*. New York: Columbia UP, 1984.
- de Man, Paul. “Time and History in Wordsworth.” *Diacritics* 17.4 (1987): 4–17.
- Derrida, Jacques. “The Animal That I Am: More to Follow.” *Critical Inquiry* 28.2 (Winter 2002): 369–418.
- Dick, Alex J. “Poverty, Charity, Poetry: The Unproductive Labors of ‘The Old Cumberland Beggar.’” *Studies in Romanticism* 39.3 (2000): 365–96.

- Douglas, Mary. "Deciphering a Meal." In *Food and Culture: A Reader*. Edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. London: Routledge, 1997, 36–53.
- Drummond, Jack C. and Anne Wilbraham. *The Englishman's Food: A History of Five Centuries of English Diet*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1969.
- Dyck, Ian. *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture*. London: Verso, 1995.
- Edgeworth, Maria. *The Absentee*. Edited by Heidi Thomson and Kim Walker. London: Penguin Classics, 2000.
- Edgeworth, Maria. *Castle Rackrent*. Edited by George Watson. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009.
- Edgeworth, Maria. *Castle Rackrent and Emmet*. Edited by Marilyn Butler. London: Penguin Classics, 1992.
- Edgeworth, Maria. *Ormond*. Edited by Claire Connolly. London: Penguin, 2001.
- Edgeworth, Richard Lovell, and Maria Edgeworth. *Essay on Irish Bulls*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1979.
- Egenolf, Susan B. "Maria Edgeworth in Blackface: Castle Rackrent and the Irish Rebellion of 1798." *ELH: English Literary History* 72 (2005): 845–69.
- Everett, Nigel. *The Tory View of Landscape*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994.
- Farber, Paul Lawrence. *Discovering Birds: The Emergence of Ornithology as a Scientific Discipline, 1760–1850*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996.
- Fay, Elizabeth. *A Feminist Introduction to Romanticism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998.
- Ferguson, Frances. *Wordsworth: Language as Counter-Spirit*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1977.
- Ferry, Luc. *The New Ecological Order*. Translated by Carol Volk. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1995.
- Finn, Margot C. *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.
- Fosso, Kurt. *Buried Communities: Wordsworth and the Bonds of Mourning*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2004.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1990.
- Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16 (1986): 22–7.
- Friedman, Michael H. *The Making of a Tory Humanist: Wordsworth and the Idea of Community*. New York: Columbia UP, 1979.
- Fulford, Tim. "Cowper, Wordsworth, Clare: The Politics of Trees." *The John Clare Society Journal* 14 (1994): 47–59.
- Fulford, Tim. *Romanticism and Masculinity: Gender, Politics, and Poetics in the Writings of Burke, Coleridge, Cobbett, Wordsworth, De Quincey, and Hazlitt*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999.
- Furniss, Tom. *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology: Language, Gender, and Political Economy in Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and Method*. Translated by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall. New York: Continuum, 2000.

- Gallagher, Catherine. *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670–1820*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1995.
- Gallagher, Catherine, and Stephen Greenblatt. *Practicing New Historicism*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000.
- Gamer, Michael. "Maria Edgeworth and the Romance of Real Life." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 34. 2 (Spring 2001): 232–66.
- Gelernter, David. "The Inventor of Modern Conservatism." *The Weekly Standard*. (February 7, 2005): 16–24.
- Gibbons, Luke. "Alternative Enlightenments: The United Irishmen, Cultural Diversity, and the Republic of Letters." In *1798; 200 Years of Resonance: Essays and Contributions on the History and Relevance of the United Irishmen and the 1798 Revolution*. Edited by Mary Cullen. Dublin: Irish Reporter Publications, 1998, 119–27.
- Gibbons, Luke. *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, Politics and the Colonial Sublime*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1990.
- Gilmartin, Kevin. *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.
- Gilmartin, Sophie. *Ancestry and Narrative in Nineteenth-Century British Literature: Blood Relations from Edgeworth to Hardy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.
- Goode, Mike. "The Man of Feeling History: The Erotics of Historicism in *Reflections on the Revolution in France*" *ELH: English Literary History* 74.4 (2007): 829–57.
- Goodridge, John. *John Clare and Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012.
- Harrison, Gary Lee. *Wordsworth's Vagrant Muse: Poetry, Poverty, and Power*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1994.
- Hartman, Geoffrey H. *The Unremarkable Wordsworth*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1987.
- Harvey, David. *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*. New York: Columbia UP, 2009.
- Hazlitt, William. *Selected Writings*. Edited by Jon Cook. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998.
- Heise, Ursula K. *Sense of Place and Sense of Planet: The Environmental Imagination of the Global*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.
- Helsing, Elizabeth K. *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain, 1815–1850*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996.
- Heringman, Noah. "Introduction: The Commerce of Literature and Natural History." In *Romantic Science: The Literary Forms of Natural History*. Edited by Noah Heringman. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2003, 1–19.
- Herr, Cheryl Temple. *Critical Regionalism and Cultural Studies: From Ireland to the American Midwest*. Gainesville: U of Florida P, 1996.
- Hess, Scott. *William Wordsworth and the Ecology of Authorship: The Roots of Environmentalism in Nineteenth-Century Culture*. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2012.
- Hogarth, William. *Anecdotes of William Hogarth: Written by Himself*. London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1833.
- Hollingsworth, Brian. *Maria Edgeworth's Irish Writing: Language, History, Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

- Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno. *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002.
- Hotz, Mary Elizabeth. *Literary Remains: Representation of Death and Burial in Victorian England*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2009.
- Houghton, Walter Edwards, and Jean Harris Slingerland. *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900: Tables of Contents and Identification of Contributors, with Bibliographies of Their Articles and Stories*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1966.
- Howard, Darren. "Necessary Fictions: The 'Swinish Multitude' and The Rights of Man." *Studies in Romanticism* 47 (Summer 2008): 161–78.
- Huxley, Anthony. "Introduction." In *The English Gardener*. Facsimile of the 1833 edition, by William Cobbett. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980, vii–xi.
- Jackson, Wes. *Becoming Native to This Place*. Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1996.
- Jacobus, Mary. *Tradition and Experiment in the Lyrical Ballads (1798)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Jameson, Fredric. *Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1979.
- Janowitz, Anne. "Clare Among the Gypsies." *Wordsworth Circle* 29.3 (1998): 167–171.
- Janowitz, Anne. *Lyric and Labour in the Romantic Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998.
- Keegan, Bridget. *British Labouring-Class Nature Poetry, 1730–1837*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Keegan, Bridget. "The World without Us: Romanticism, Environmentalism, and Imagining Nature." In *The Companion to Romantic Poetry*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, 554–71.
- Kirkpatrick, Kathryn J. Introduction to *Castle Rackrent*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009, vii–xxxvi.
- Klancher, Jon P. *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1987.
- Kövesi, Simon. "John Clare's 'I' and 'Eye': Egotism and Ecologism." In *Green and Pleasant Land: English Culture and the Romantic Countryside*. Edited by Amanda Gilroy. Leuven-Paris-Dudley: Peeters, 2004, 73–88.
- Kramnick, Isaac. *Republicanism and Bourgeois Radicalism: Political Ideology in Late Eighteenth-Century England*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990.
- Kreilkamp, Vera. *The Anglo-Irish Novel and the Big House*. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1998.
- Kreilkamp, Vera. "The Novel of the Big House." In *Cambridge Companion to the Irish Novel*. Edited by John Wilson Foster. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006, 60–76.
- Landry, Donna. *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking, and Ecology in English Literature, 1671–1831*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1966.
- Linebaugh, Peter. *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2008.

- Löwy, Michael and Robert Sayre. *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*. Translated by Catherine Porter. Durham: Duke UP, 2001.
- Lucas, John. "Clare's Politics." In *John Clare in Context*. Edited by Geoffrey Summerfield, Hugh Haughton, and Adam Phillips. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994, 148–177.
- Luhmann, Niklas. *The Differentiation of Society*. New York: Columbia UP, 1982.
- MacIntyre, Alasdair. *Dependent Rational Animals: Why Human Beings Need the Virtues*. Chicago: Open Court Press, 1999.
- Makdisi, Saree. *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998.
- Makdisi, Saree. *William Blake and the Impossible History of the 1790s*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003.
- Malabou, Catherine. "Addiction and Grace: Preface to Félix Ravaisson's *Of Habit*." In *Of Habit*, by Félix Ravaisson. Translated by Mark Sinclair and Clare Carlisle. London: Continuum, 2009, vii–xix.
- Maltoni, Davide, Anil K. Jain, Dario Maio, and Salil Prabhakar. *Handbook of Fingerprint Recognition*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 2009.
- Martin, Philip W. "John Clare's Gypsies: Problems of Placement and Displacement in Romantic Critical Practice." In *Placing and Displacing Romanticism*. Edited by Peter Kitson. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2001, 48–59.
- Maurer, Sara L. "Disowning to Own: Maria Edgeworth and the Illegitimacy of National Ownership." *Criticism* 44.4 (2002): 363–88.
- McCormack, W. J. *Ascendancy and Tradition in Anglo-Irish Literary History from 1789 to 1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- McGann, Jerome. *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983.
- McKusick, James C. *Green Writing: Romanticism and Ecology*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- McKusick, James C. "Introduction." In *Romanticism and Ecology*. Online: Romantic Circles Praxis Series, 2001. Retrieved from: http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/ecology/mckusick/mckusick_intro.html
- Mee, Jon. *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Mehta, Uday Singh. *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999.
- Mellor, Anne. *English Romantic Irony*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999.
- Mellor, Anne. *Romanticism and Gender*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Menely, Tobias. "Traveling in Place: Gilbert White's Cosmopolitan Parochialism." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28.3 (2004): 46–65.
- Mighall, Robert. *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999.
- Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin, 1986.
- Mintz, Sidney W. *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1997.
- Mitchell, Robert. *Sympathy and the State in the Romantic Era: Systems, State Finance, and the Shadows of Futurity*. London: Routledge, 2007.

- More, Hannah. *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education: With a View of the Principles and Conduct Prevalent Among Women of Rank and Fortune*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1799.
- More, Hannah. *Tales for the Common People and Other Cheap Repository Tracts*. Edited by Clare MacDonald Shaw. Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2002.
- Morton, Timothy. "Consumption as Performance: The Emergence of the Consumer in the Romantic Period." In *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism*. Edited by Timothy Morton. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, 1–18.
- Morton, Timothy. "Ecologocentrism: Unworking Animals." *SubStance: A Review of Theory and Literary Criticism* 37.3 (2008): 37–61.
- Morton, Timothy. *Ecology without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2007.
- Morton, Timothy. "John Clare's Dark Ecology." *Studies in Romanticism* 42.2 (Summer 2008): 179–93.
- Morton, Timothy. *The Poetics of Spice: Romantic Consumerism and the Exotic*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Muller, Jerry Z. Introduction to *Conservatism: An Anthology of Social and Political Thought from David Hume to the Present*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997, 3–31.
- Nancy, Jean-Luc. *The Inoperative Community*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1991.
- Nash, Roderick. *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1989.
- Natrass, Leonora. *William Cobbett: The Politics of Style*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007.
- Nixon, Rob. *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2011.
- Oerlemans, Onno. *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2004.
- O'Gorman, Frank. "Introduction." In *British Conservatism: Conservative Thought from Burke to Thatcher*. London: Longman, 1986, 1–59.
- Paine, Thomas. *The Paine Reader*. Edited by Michael Foot and Isaac Kramnick. New York: Penguin Books, 1987.
- Pepper, David. *Modern Environmentalism: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Perkins, David. *Romanticism and Animal Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.
- Pfau, Thomas. "The Philosophy of Shipwreck: Gnosticism, Skepticism, and Coleridge's Catastrophic Modernity." *MLN: Modern Language Notes* 122 (2007): 949–1004.
- Pfau, Thomas. *Romantic Moods: Paranoia, Trauma, and Melancholy, 1790–1840*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2005.
- Plotz, Judith. *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Pocock, J.G.A. *Politics, Language, and Time*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1971.
- Pocock, J.G.A. *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985.

- Powell, Douglas Reichert. *Critical Regionalism: Connecting Politics and Culture in the American Landscape*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2007.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Quinn, Peter. "'Their strongest pine': Thomas Bewick and regional identity in the late nineteenth century." In *Bewick Studies, Essays in Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas Bewick, 1753–1828*. Edited by David Gardner-Medwin. The British Library: Oak Knoll Press, 2004, 111–30.
- Quinton, Anthony. *The Politics of Imperfection: The Religious and Secular Traditions of Conservative Thought in England from Hooker to Oakeshott*. London: Faber and Faber, 1978.
- Radcliffe, Ann. *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents: A Romance*. London: Penguin Classics, 2004.
- Ravaisson, Félix. *Of Habit*. Translated by Mark Sinclair and Clare Carlisle. London: Continuum, 2009.
- Regan, Tom. *The Case for Animal Rights*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1983.
- Rigby, Kate. *Topographies of the Sacred: The Poetics of Place in European Romanticism*. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2004.
- Ritvo, Harriet. *The Platypus and the Mermaid, and Other Figments of the Classifying Imagination*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997.
- Ritvo, Harriet. "Race, Breed, and Myths of Origin: Chillingham Cattle as Ancient Britons." *Representations* 39 (Summer 1992): 1–22.
- Robinson, Eric. Introduction to *John Clare, A Champion for the Poor: Political Verse and Prose*, by John Clare. Edited by Eric Robinson, P.M.S. Dawson, and David Powell. Manchester: Carcanet, 2000, xiv–xv.
- Roe, Nicholas. "Eating Romantic England: The Foot and Mouth Epidemic and Its Consequences." In *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism*. Edited by Timothy Morton. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 97–112.
- Roe, Nicholas. *The Politics of Nature: William Wordsworth and Some Contemporaries*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Social Contract and the First and Second Discourses*. Edited by Susan Dunn. New Haven: Yale UP, 2002.
- Salaman, Redcliffe N. *The History and Social Influence of the Potato*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985.
- Sánchez-Eppler, Karen. "Decomposing: Wordsworth's Poetry of Epitaph and English Burial Reform." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 42.4 (1988): 415–31.
- Schopenhauer, Arthur. *Essays and Aphorisms*. Translated by J.R. Hollingdale. New York: Penguin, 1970.
- Schopenhauer, Arthur. *Philosophical Writings*. Translated by Virginia Cutrufelli and edited by Wolfgang Schirmacher. New York: Continuum, 1994.
- Schor, Esther. *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994.
- Schulz, Max F. *Paradise Preserved: Recreations in Eden in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986.

- Scruton, Roger. "Conservatism." In *Political Theory and the Ecological Challenge*. Edited by Andrew Dobson and Robyn Eckersley. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006, 7–19.
- Secord, Anne. "Artisan Natural History." In *Cultures of Natural History*. Edited by N. Jardín, J.A. Secord, and E.C. Spary. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996, 373–93.
- Sharp, Michele Turner. "The Churchyard among the Wordsworthian Mountains: Mapping the Common Ground of Death and the Reconfiguration of Romantic Community." *ELH: English Literary History* 62.2 (Summer 1995): 387–407.
- Simons, John. *Animals Rights and the Politics of Literary Representation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Simpson, David. *Romanticism, Nationalism, and the Revolt against Theory*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1993.
- Simpson, David. "A Speaking Place: The Matter of Genre in 'The Lament of Swordy Well.'" *Wordsworth Circle* 34 (2003): 131–3.
- Simpson, David. *Wordsworth's Historical Imagination: The Poetry of Displacement*. New York: Methuen, 1987.
- Singer, Peter. *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals*. New York: Random House, 1975.
- Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Edited by D.D. Raphael and A.L. Macfie. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Smith, Olivia. *The Politics of Language, 1791–1819*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Snell, K. D. M. *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987.
- Snell, K. D. M. *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Snell, K. D. M. "The Regional Novel: Themes for Interdisciplinary Research." In *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800–1990*. Edited by K.D.M. Snell. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998, 1–53.
- Spence, Thomas. "The rights of infants; or, the imprescriptible right of mothers to such a share of the elements as is sufficient to enable them to suckle and bring up their young in a dialogue between the aristocracy and a mother of children. To which are added, by way of preface and appendix, strictures on Paine's Agrarian justice." London: printed for the author, at No. 9 Oxford-Street, 1797.
- Spiegel, Marjorie. *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery*. New York: Mirror Books, 1996.
- Stanlis, Peter. *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003.
- Stewart, Susan. *Crimes of Writing: Problems in the Containment of Representation*. Durham: Duke UP, 1994.
- Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham: Duke UP, 1993.
- Stone, Christopher D. *Should Trees Have Standing?: Toward Legal Rights for Natural Objects*. Palo Alto, CA: Tioga Publishing Co., 1988.

- Stresemann, Erwin. *Ornithology from Aristotle to the Present*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1975.
- Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989.
- Taylor, Thomas. *A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes*. London: Edward Jeffrey, 1792.
- Thomas, Keith. *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500–1800*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996.
- Thompson, E.P. *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture*. New York: The New Press, 1993.
- Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage, 1966.
- Thorne, Christian. *The Dialectic of Counter-Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2010.
- Trumpener, Katie. *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997.
- Uglow, Jennifer. *Nature's Engraver: A Life of Thomas Bewick*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2009.
- Vardy, Alan D. *John Clare, Politics and Poetry*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Wald, Priscilla. *Contagious: Cultures, Carriers, and the Outbreak Narrative*. Durham: Duke UP, 2008.
- Whale, John. *Imagination under Pressure, 1789–1832: Aesthetics, Politics, and Utility*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.
- White, R.S. *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism in the 1790s*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- White, Simon. "Landscape Icons and the Community: A Reading of John Clare's 'Langley Bush'." *John Clare Society Journal* 26 (2007): 21–32.
- Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1973.
- Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977.
- Williams, Raymond. *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays*. London: Verso, 1980.
- Williams, Raymond. *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism*. London: Verso, 1989.
- Wilson, David A. *Paine and Cobbett: The Transatlantic Connection*. Georgetown, ON: McGill-Queen's UP, 1988.
- Wohlgemut, Esther. "Maria Edgeworth and the Question of National Identity." *SEL: Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 39.4 (1999): 645–58.
- Wordsworth, William. "Letter to Sir George Beaumont, October 17th, 1805." In *Letters of William Wordsworth*, selected by Philip Wayne. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1954, 76–80.
- Wordsworth, William. *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, vols. 1–3. Edited by W.J.B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.
- Wordsworth, William and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. *Lyrical Ballads*. Edited by R.L. Brett and A.R. Jones. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 1991.

- Worster, Donald. *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Yousef, Nancy. "Natural Man as Imaginary Animal: The Challenge of the Facts and Place of Animal Life in Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*." *Interpretation* 27.3 (Spring 2000): 206–29.
- Žižek, Slavoj. *In Defense of Lost Causes*. London: Verso, 2009.

Index

Note: “n” after a page reference denotes a note number on that page.

- Abrams, M. H. 145, 153
Accum, Frederick 128–9, 189 n45
Adorno, Theodor W. 38
Aesop’s fables 89
Agamben, Giorgio 155, 194 n40
agriculture
 capitalism 9, 11, 22, 33, 41, 53,
 61–2, 80, 119–20, 139–40, 151–2
 as a form of culture 18, 92, 114,
 122, 124–5, 177 n22, 178 n34
 subsistence 53, 77, 110, 116,
 121–5, 140, 189 n35
 as violence 53, 159–60
 workers 33, 53, 113–15, 133, 160
Ahuja, Neel 150
Anglo-Irish estates 10, 91–4, 108,
 110, 166
 absenteeism 101–5
 management 98–101, 108–10
animals 11–12, 70, 123–4, 151,
 157, 169 n3
 cruelty 82, 142, 147–9
 fishing 85, 88–9, 149
 human animality 80, 85–90,
 130–3, 149–50, 154–5
 hunting 69–70, 85
 meat 135–7
 see also anthropomorphism,
 natural history
Ankersmit, F. R. 17
anthropomorphism 11–12, 141–62
anti-Jacobinism 115
Arendt, Hannah 26, 34
Audubon, John James 71
autonomy 11, 12, 21, 71, 143
 freedom characterized by 154
 liberal 19, 22
 solitary 154
Bachelard, Gaston 66, 76
Backus, Margot Gayle 96
bacon 107, 116, 117, 124, 125,
 135–6, 191 n62
Baker, Samuel 50, 54
Ball, Terence 18
ballad form 9, 41, 43, 62, 175 n9
Barrell, John 151–2
Bataille, Georges 159
Bate, Jonathan 2, 43, 142
Baucom, Ian 4, 168
beer 6, 11, 107, 113, 117, 125, 130,
 135–6, 138
 adulterated 127, 129, 131,
 189 n45
 chemical experiments for
 detecting additives in 128–9
 cultural heritage 116, 124,
 126, 129
 malt tax 126, 138, 149
 replacement with tea 11, 126,
 131–2, 133
Beilby, Ralph 67, 68, 69
Bello, Walden 33
Benjamin, Walter 20, 70, 108
Bentham, Jeremy 38, 147–8, 149,
 193n 19, 23
Bermingham, Ann 88, 122, 180 n11
Bewell, Alan 62, 65
Bewick, Thomas 4, 6, 91, 100, 119,
 122, 166
 General History of Quadrupeds,
 67–70, 72, 82
 History of British Birds 9–10, 32,
 65–90, 95, 96, 179 n5, 180 n7
 History of British Fishes 70, 85
bioegalitarianism 143, 151, 153, 162
biopolitics 54, 59, 147

- Blake, William 73, 84, 181 n26
 Bohrer, Marta Adams 100
Book of Common Prayer 83
 Bourdieu, Pierre 10, 29, 65
 Boym, Svetlana 6, 40, 77
 Braidotti, Rosi 151
 bread 6, 11, 107, 113, 117, 124, 125, 134
 adulterated 129–31
 brown 131, 132
 experiments for detecting
 additives in 128–9
 cultural heritage 116, 126, 129, 130–1, 190 n52
 replacement with potatoes 126, 130, 131–2, 133, 135
 riots 130, 134
 store-bought 127–8
 Brewer, John 68, 81, 82
 British colonialism 8, 25, 31, 53, 65, 101, 134
 Broglio, Ron 4, 7, 43
 Buell, Lawrence 30, 167–8
 Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de 32, 72, 82–3, 180 n14
 Burke, Edmund 42, 45–6, 54, 57, 59, 66, 75, 97–8, 119, 120, 125, 129–30, 136–7, 151, 158, 163
 anti-colonial stance 8, 25, 31, 100, 174 n38
 conservatism 1, 3, 5, 17, 42, 68, 53, 83–4, 100, 152, 170 n5, 172 n2
 customs and common
 rights 33–4, 43–4, 75, 100, 120, 171 n14, 174 n27
 environmental conservation 7–8, 15–16, 18–19, 22–3, 29–30, 31–3, 34, 164–5
 habits and “second nature” 5, 8, 27–30, 31–2, 57, 66
 inheritance 4, 6, 17–18, 23–5, 35–6, 91, 97, 105
 intergenerational imagination 3, 8, 16, 23–4, 40–1, 44, 91, 108, 111, 142
 organicism 16, 26–36, 58, 60, 164
 Philosophical Inquiry into .. the Sublime and Beautiful 23
 Reflections on the Revolution in France 1, 3–4, 7, 8, 15–36, 142
 Thoughts on the Prospect of a Regicide Peace 165
 tradition 5, 8, 20, 26
 see also Burke-Paine debate
 Burke-Paine debate 2, 8, 20, 24, 38, 163
 Butler, Marilyn 93
 capitalism 2, 9, 19, 22, 41, 55, 110, 114, 125, 168
 critiques of 3, 4–5, 171 n14
 environmental changes 30, 61–2
 green-washed 165, 168
 see also agricultural capitalism
 Catholicism 21–2, 28, 97, 104, 173 n14
 Certeau, Michel de 81, 138
 Chandler, James K. 5, 27, 42–3, 176 n15
 Chase, Cynthia 146
 Chase, Malcolm 119
 Chesterton, G. K. 113
 Chillingham cattle 69–70
 Clare, John 4, 6, 61, 111, 119, 124, 166
 anthropomorphism 11–12, 141–62
 By Himself 50, 141, 142, 153, 154
 enclosure elegies 11, 89, 142, 143, 150, 159, 162; “Fallen Elm” 152–3, 154–6; “Round-Oak Waters” 145, 148, 153; “Swordy Well” 144–5, 147, 148, 151–2, 153, 155
 Clymer, Lorna 49
 Cobbett, William 4, 6, 104, 142, 166
 Cottage Economy 11, 91, 107, 113–24, 125, 127–33, 135, 136–40
 English Gardener, The 120–1, 139

- Political Register* 115, 117–18,
 127, 132, 139
Rural Rides 113–14, 115, 116, 129
Treatise on Cobbett's Corn 118,
 124–5, 134
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor 54
 Collings, David 5, 58, 84, 99–100,
 171 n14, 174 n27, 179 n44
 commodification
 food 128, 131, 137, 138, 166
 land 11, 22, 94, 101, 105, 139,
 166
 personal items 68
 commons 84, 87–8, 89, 98,
 113–14, 123–4, 139, 145, 150–1
 “commoning” 5, 81, 125,
 139–40, 166, 191 n68
 cultural 27, 29, 119, 142, 151,
 171 n14
 enclosure of 7, 11, 15, 41, 52–3,
 61–2, 66, 76, 114, 123, 135,
 139, 141–2, 147, 156
 see also enclosure
 common rights 5, 7, 9, 52, 72, 76,
 83, 87, 91, 98–9, 119, 143
 inheritance of 80
 hunting and fishing 84–6,
 182 n44
 gleaning 53, 87, 157–8
 grazing 135, 138, 151, 185 n25
 private property and 79, 99
 see also customary rights
 Connolly, Claire 110
 consciousness
 class 106, 119
 customary 27, 158, 174 n27
 planetary 65
 conservatism 3, 12, 15–16, 32,
 83–4, 115, 116, 142, 162, 163–4,
 165, 168, 170 n5, 172 n2
 and environmentalism 2, 8, 17,
 43, 55, 91, 104–5, 110–11, 160–2
 intergenerational view 4, 6, 12,
 35, 152, 164, 168
 traditionalism 3, 5–6, 17, 20
 Conway 37
 County Longford 92
 Cromwell, Oliver 25
 Cronon, William 7
 culture 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 20, 26, 35,
 42, 50, 83, 95, 101, 104, 118,
 125, 133, 139
 consumer 110, 126, 138, 168
 emergent 6, 49, 62, 80–1, 109
 indigenous 168
 inherited 4, 16, 23, 34, 61,
 165–6, 168
 local 45, 61, 96, 100, 129, 143,
 185 n15
 oral 48
 rebellious 84, 87, 171 n14
 residual 6–7, 9, 43, 62, 66,
 67–70, 109
 working-class 126, 139, 191 n2
 customary rights 28, 78, 82, 84,
 88, 89, 98, 99, 101, 117
 ancient 136
 criminalization of 134
 decline of 10, 90, 107, 120, 125
 see also commons and
 common rights
 Dawson, P. M. S. 159
 Deane, Seamus 95
 De Man, Paul 6, 50, 62, 146
 Derrida, Jacques 148
 Dick, Alex J. 56
 disposition 33, 34, 68, 85
 Disraeli, Benjamin 3
 Douglas, Mary 116, 133
 Dovaston, John F. M. 73, 182 n35,
 182 n37
 drinking habits *see* beer; tea
 Dyck, Ian 116, 137
 ecology
 cognitive 7, 43
 dark 55, 101, 156, 167
 social 1, 3, 4, 7, 16, 28–9, 39,
 41–3, 59–62, 94, 101, 104, 110,
 113, 119, 121–3, 142, 145, 157,
 163, 170 n7

- economy
 absentee 102–3
 animal 66
 capitalist 3, 8, 11, 19, 33, 34, 54,
 84, 101, 109, 114–15, 117, 120,
 128–9, 134, 166
 cottage 11, 121–2, 127, 135–40
 domestic 95, 100, 110
 gift 81, 178 n39
 local 56, 92, 122, 130, 145
 moral 80, 84, 86, 91, 115, 116,
 122, 130, 187 n5
 nature's 83, 86–7, 122
 political economy 11, 41, 53, 58,
 60, 119, 131
 spiritual 62
 subsistence 113, 123, 147
- Edgeworth, Maria 4, 6, 61, 119, 166
Absentee, The 10, 93, 94, 103–5,
 108, 110
Castle Rackrent 10, 91–103,
 105–8, 110
*Ennui: Memoirs of the Earl of
 Glenthorn* 10, 93, 94, 103,
 108, 110
Ormond 10, 93, 94, 108–10
- Empedocles 32
- enclosure 5, 8, 9, 15, 41, 62, 80–2,
 84–5, 90, 113, 141–2, 149
 birds not restrained by 10, 66,
 76, 81, 89
 consequences of 52–3, 113–14,
 120, 123, 125, 135, 139, 141–2,
 144–7, 151–5, 166, 178 n35
 resistance to 11, 30, 123, 140,
 143, 168
see also privatization
- enclosure elegies 11, 89, 141–62
- English Civil War (1642–51) 20, 25
- environmental conservation 1–2,
 5, 6–7, 15, 20–1, 35, 42–3, 91,
 104–5, 110–11, 119, 142–3, 162,
 163, 165, 168
 ties to cultural conservation 6,
 8–9, 15–6, 24, 29, 35, 39, 46, 48,
 100, 125, 140, 175 n9, 177 n22
- environmental ethics 2, 3, 5, 8, 17,
 22, 32–3, 144, 151, 162, 169 n3
 conflicting 19–20, 30
 intergenerational 8, 161
 melancholic 55, 167
- environmental history 7, 59,
 91, 167
- environmental justice 145,
 148, 167
- epistemology 32, 55, 68, 69, 96,
 184 n14
 embedded 67, 73
 narrowly morphological 83
 relational 73, 90
- Evangelicalism 117–18, 125
- Everett, Nigel 53, 174 n34
- Ferguson, Frances 42, 176 n11
- Ferry, Luc 157
- Finn, Margot C. 98
- food
 customary right to 84–7
 heritage 107, 115–16, 126, 142
 politics 11, 113–40, 142, 4
 scarcity 53–4, 134
 sovereignty 117, 123, 187 n14
see also bacon; beer; bread;
 potatoes; tea
- Fosso, Kurt 46
- Foucault, Michel 39, 59, 62
- France 7, 29–33, 80, 120, 128, 149,
 165, 173 n14
see also Burke (*Reflections*)
- Frankenstein* (Mary Shelley) 167
- freedom 22–4, 57, 66, 68
 conservative approach to 72, 82,
 85, 123–4, 131, 138, 143, 155
 liberal approach to 17, 19–20,
 24, 25, 27, 62, 143, 146, 164
 positive 151–62, 195 n43
- Fulford, Tim 23, 129–30, 156
- Furniss, Tom 22
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg 17
- Gaelic culture 109–10
- Gainsborough, Thomas 122

- Gallagher, Catherine 69, 93, 94, 132
 Gamer, Michael 105, 184 n13
 Gibbons, Luke 23, 95, 100, 173
 n17, 173 n21, 174 n38
 Giddens, Anthony 20, 30, 128, 172
 n7, 174 n33
 Gilmartin, Kevin 139–40
 Glorious Revolution
 (England 1688) 25, 35
 Goldsmith, Oliver 89
 Goode, Mike 21
 Gothic mode 20–4, 99, 101,
 103, 106
 graveyards and graves 6, 8, 20–6,
 37–62, 97, 168
 Gray, Thomas 45
 Green Belt Movement (Kenya) 167
 green Romanticism 2, 28, 169 n3
 Greenblatt, Stephen 69
- habit 1, 5, 8, 23, 65–9, 71, 110, 126,
 132, 163, 166, 168, 172 n7
 communal 45, 55, 57–8, 119
 domestic 7, 11, 91–2, 97
 relation to environment 16,
 26–35, 85–8, 122
 “second nature” 5, 29
 habitation 4, 8, 12, 16, 18–20,
 27, 29, 35, 43, 60, 71, 75, 76,
 91, 164
habitus 10, 29, 69, 76, 79, 81,
 83, 89
 anthropomorphism as 144–50
 Harrison, Gary 39, 41, 58, 110
 Hartman, Geoffrey 42, 60, 176 n11
 Hazlitt, William 1, 28, 30
 Heise, Ursula 166
 Helpston 141
 Helsinger, Elizabeth 114, 120
 Hess, Scott 12, 44, 176 n19
 Hogarth, William 126
 Horkheimer, Max 38
 Horton Heath 139
 husbandry 7, 98, 104, 113, 115,
 140, 175 n41
 radical 114, 116, 120, 122
- imagination *see* intergenerational
 imagination; moral imagination
 imperialism 3, 31, 174 n38
 individual rights 30, 150, 154,
 155, 156
 legitimacy of 2
 negative liberty of 152
 individualism
see liberal individualism
 inheritance 4–5, 12, 43, 91, 93,
 123, 137, 166, 168
 Anglo-Irish 97, 98, 100, 101–2,
 104, 105, 109, 111
 Burke on 8, 15–18, 23, 25–6,
 33, 34
 debate between improvement
 and 15, 53, 151
 intergenerational imagination 44,
 60–1, 91, 94, 97, 111, 150, 165,
 166–8
 Burke’s *Reflections* and 15–36
 conservatism and 1–12, 28,
 103–4, 108, 142–3, 164, 168
 environment reinforces 38, 50–1,
 67, 101, 159, 161–2
 memorials that encode 38–40,
 43, 62, 70
 regional 42, 101
 traditionalism and 17–26, 119
 Ireland 25, 31, 96, 108, 111
 impact of absenteeism in 103–4
 status of the Irish 133
see also Anglo-Irish estates,
 Irish culture
 Irish culture 25, 91, 92, 95–100,
 107, 110, 133, 173 n21,
 185 n17
- Jacobinism 2–3, 25, 30, 32
see also anti-Jacobinism
 Jameson, Fredric 3
 Janowitz, Anne 43, 157–8
- Kafka, Franz 70
 Keegan, Bridget 144, 159, 191 n2,
 192 n8

- Kenya 167
 Klancher, Jon P. 51, 118
 Kreilkamp, Vera 92, 101, 104
- Lake poets 122
see also Coleridge; Wordsworth
Lancet, The 129
 land use 1, 26, 29, 30, 120,
 122, 151
 abrupt changes in 32–3
 continuity in 3–4, 18, 53
 decisions about 8, 12, 15–16, 32,
 34, 91, 111, 165, 167
 development 21–2, 30, 41,
 43, 80
- Landry, Donna 6–7, 104, 113–14,
 166, 182 n44
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude 65
- liberal individualism 2–3, 11,
 16–17, 32, 35, 38, 43, 98, 118,
 143, 165, 170 n7
 atomistic 24, 35
 bourgeois 4, 36
 competitive 4, 29, 44, 149
 conception of rights 11, 124, 143
 conservative stance against 4, 8,
 17, 24, 35–6, 40–1, 58, 60, 86,
 118, 121, 124, 138, 163–5, 168
 environmental impact of 18–19,
 29–30, 52, 154–8
 possessive 8, 11, 92, 103, 168
 punctual 4, 19, 32, 57
- liberal rights 5, 66, 141–62
 critiques of 11, 123–4, 155, 162
- liberalism 2–3, 43, 115, 157
 free-market 3, 20, 170 n6
 political 17, 19
- Liddell, Anthony 85–6
 “life-renters” 8, 18, 35, 75, 91, 111,
 177 n22
- Linebaugh, Peter 5, 7, 98, 139,
 191 n68
- Linnaeus, Carl 65, 68, 72, 179 n3
- Locke, John 158, 160
- London 102–4, 127
- Loudon, J. C. 121
- lower classes 10, 94, 97, 131
see also working class
- Luhmann, Niklas 25
- Maathai, Wangari 167
- MacIntyre, Alasdair 86
- Makdisi, Saree 31, 170 n6, 174 n38
- malt tax 138, 149
- Malthus, T. 54, 117–19, 123,
 125, 133
- Marie Antoinette 21
- Martin, Philip W. 151
- McCormack, W. J. 107
- McKusick, James 141, 144, 169 n3,
 191 n1
- Mee, Jon 73
- Mehta, Uday Singh 5, 8, 31
- Menely, Tobias 71
- militant particularism 9, 42
- Mintz, Sidney W. 116, 133
- Mitchell, Robert 59, 173 n17,
 179 n46
- mobility 7, 17, 44, 48, 152
see also social mobility
- modernity 4, 6, 9, 25, 42, 48, 50,
 79–80, 128, 164
 actuarial ethos of 168
 capitalism and 4, 7, 33, 55, 165
 consequences of 3, 30, 42, 61,
 128, 175 n4
 conservative view of 1–3, 41, 163
 negative critique of 116
 philosophical predicament
 of 35–6
 resistance to 16, 17, 23, 25,
 35–6, 40, 43, 45–6
 synecdochic figures of 25, 38
- moral imagination 8, 16, 35
 communal 164
 intergenerational 4, 60
- More, Hannah 134, 187 n7,
 189 n36
- Morland, George 122, 191 n62
- Morton, Timothy 55, 101, 134,
 150, 156, 164, 167
- Muller, Jerry Z. 32

- nationalism 3, 28, 30, 53
 Natrass, Leonora 115, 116, 136
 natural history 1, 9, 65–90, 100–1,
 163, 166
 taxonomy 65–6
 Nevil, George, Archbishop of
 York 80
 Newcastle 9, 67, 73, 74, 75
 communal rural life in 72
 particularized environments in or
 around 66
 rebellious culture of 87
 see also Tyne
 Newcastle Moor 84
 Newcastle Philosophical Society 84
 Nixon, Rob 10, 94, 164–5, 167
 Northumberland 65, 69
 see also Newcastle
 nostalgia 47, 55, 69, 72, 79, 84,
 86, 88, 90, 115, 122, 142, 156,
 181 n17
 escapist 41
 middle-class 149
 place-based 9, 67, 75
 reflective 6
 restorative 77, 78
 obligations 5, 17, 18, 38, 81,
 119, 139
 epitaphic 60
 fixed, traditional community of 4
 freedom from 19, 24
 gifts with 26
 moral 6, 19
 Oerlemans, Onno 142, 145, 176
 n11, 193 n14
 O’Gorman, Frank 27, 31
 organic
 community 26, 38, 41, 52, 58,
 123, 142, 146, 149
 embeddedness 92, 110
 intellectual 117
 system 28, 66, 115, 140,
 152, 159
 organicism 16, 26–36, 60, 137,
 158, 164, 167
 Paine, Thomas 2, 8, 24, 35, 45, 82
 Agrarian Justice 87
 argument for rights of the
 living 17–20, 38, 155, 171 n23
 political liberalism 17, 19, 170 n6
 Rights of Man 19, 87
 see also Burke-Paine debate
 paper money 11, 121, 126, 138
 “depotism” 19, 22
 Paris 29–30
 pastoral 43, 52, 60, 152, 180 n11
 Pepper, David 164
 Perkins, David 142, 149, 193 n20
 Pfau, Thomas 2, 35, 60, 164
 Philosophical Club of Newcastle 66
 picturesque 67, 88, 90, 122,
 180 n11
 Pocock, J. G. A. 17, 21–2
 Poor Laws 124, 147
 potato
 debates 132
 diet 106, 126, 128, 130–3, 135,
 190 n55
 Pratt, Mary Louise 65, 74–5, 96
 Price, Richard 20
 privatization 1, 7, 10, 15, 50, 53,
 81, 89, 148
 championing neglect resists the
 logic of 12, 160
 consequences of 52–3, 148
 opposition to 5, 7, 12, 85, 144
 predatory 11
 rapidity of 1, 15, 84, 139, 156
 property rights 82, 99, 121, 138
 absolute 10, 83, 85, 90, 117, 119
 prosopopoeia 144, 146, 150,
 193 n11
 Quinton, Anthony 16, 32, 172 n2
 Radcliffe, Ann 106
 rationality 16, 138, 155, 157,
 195 n43
 Benthamite 38
 economic 23
 means/end 164

- Ravaisson, Félix 28–9, 57
 reciprocal vision 74–5, 96
 reciprocity 3, 16, 35, 83, 88, 90,
 115, 131, 166, 182 n50
 customary 5, 95, 97, 98, 100,
 107–8
 economy of 86, 120, 130
 environmental 5, 7, 10, 16, 31,
 35, 60–1, 86, 94
 epitaphic 42
 gentry-crowd 10, 84, 94, 96, 107
 intergenerational 97
 models of 60, 70, 83
 moral 119, 130
 narrative 10, 94–7
 site of contest for 92, 110
 symbolic 132, 136
 regional novel 91–2, 183 n2
 regionalism 4, 42–3, 163, 171 n14,
 177 n22
 critical 30, 92, 93, 96
 reflexive 10, 91–111
 Revolution Society 20
 Rigby, Kate 38, 43
 rights 18, 24, 124, 132, 151,
 161, 164
 abstract theories of 30, 194 n40
 animal 82, 142, 169 n3
 grazing 7, 138, 185 n25
 lost 53
 negative conception of 5, 17
 women's 142
 see also common rights;
 customary rights; individual
 rights; liberal rights; property
 rights; Paine, *Rights of Man*
 Ritvo, Harriet 69, 70, 189 n17
 Roe, Nicholas 44, 188 n25
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 154

 Schopenhauer, Arthur 157,
 195 n49
 Schor, Esther 21, 24, 51
 Schulz, Max F. 71
 Scruton, Roger 28, 174 n28
 Secord, Anne 74

 Simons, John 145
 Simpson, David 59, 68, 144,
 180 n13
 Smith, Adam 23, 172 n17
 Smith, Olivia 115, 125
 Snell, K. D. M. 41–2, 53, 92,
 183 n2
 slow violence 10, 94, 108,
 164–6, 168
 social ecology 1, 3, 4, 7, 16, 27–9,
 31, 35, 59, 101, 113, 119,
 138–9, 142, 163, 170 n7
 dangerous 10, 94
 epitaphic 39, 41–2, 50–1, 55
 intergenerational 7, 119,
 122, 145
 regional 7, 104, 110, 165
 second nature and habit 31, 62,
 122–3
 social mobility 7, 41, 43, 44,
 48, 110
 inheritance counteracts 17
 represented as kind of premature
 death 46
 younger generation influenced
 by 60
 Spence, Thomas 66, 84, 87–8, 119,
 171 n14
 Spenser, Edmund 96, 107
 Spiegel, Marjorie 149
 stability 11, 24, 25, 36, 39,
 94, 129
 environmental 28, 33, 122,
 177 n22
 intergenerational 94, 115, 142
 Stewart, Susan 67, 78–9, 175–6 n9
 sublime 23, 173 n15
 subjectivity 4, 28, 33, 55, 138
 autonomous 11, 143, 154
 communal 21, 49, 116
 liberal 143, 157, 173 n17
 subsistence practices 11, 53, 54,
 61, 83, 113–40, 147, 168,
 178 n34
 sugar 133–4
 blood-sugar topos 134

- Taylor, Charles 4, 19
- tea 135–7
 argument for consumption of beer
 rather than 136
 replacement of beer with 11,
 126, 131–2, 133–4
 represented as schooling for a life
 of prostitution 134
- Thomas, Keith 1, 149
- Thompson, E. P. 5, 10, 27, 67, 83,
 94, 116, 130, 139, 163, 190 n52
- tradition 3–4, 7, 24, 35, 43, 54,
 71, 79, 93, 162, 167, 172 n7,
 173 n21
 and community 20, 26, 31, 84
 history encoded in 16, 23, 25
 slow progress with 11, 17, 25, 142
see also conservatism; customary
 rights
- Trumpener, Katie 108
- Tull, Jethro 114
- Tyne, River 9, 69, 71, 74, 79, 84,
 89, 179–80 n5
 impact on salmon
 population 100
- Uglow, Jennifer 74, 77, 180 n9,
 182 n28, 183 n51
- upper classes
 contagion of luxury from 133
 reciprocity between lower
 and 97, 131
- Walton, Isaac 146
- Whale, John 24, 115, 116, 129
- White, Gilbert 71, 100, 122
- Wilberforce, William 126, 132
- Williams, Raymond 6, 9, 15, 42,
 52, 160, 163–4
- Winchester (William of Wykham),
 Bishop of 119
- Wohlgemut, Esther 109
- Wordsworth, William 5, 6, 8, 25,
 91, 110, 115, 122, 125, 136–7,
 156, 166
 epitaphic poetry 3–4, 37–62, 89
Essays upon Epitaphs 9, 39, 41,
 45, 48–9, 50
*Guide Through the District of the
 Lakes* 177 n22, 178 n34
Lyrical Ballads 41, 42, 51, 60,
 62, 80; “The Brothers” 43–4,
 46–8, 49–50, 52; “The Female
 Vagrant” 39, 44, 52–5, 56,
 58; “Goody Blake” 56; “Hart-
 Leap Well” 40; “The Last of
 the Flock” 40; “Last Stage
 of Avarice” *see* “The Two
 Thieves”; “Lines Left Upon
 a Seat in a Yew Tree” 40;
 “The Mad Mother” 39;
 “Michael” 39, 44, 59–62,
 98; “The Old Cumberland
 Beggar” 44, 52, 55–9, 97; “Old
 Man Travelling” 39; “Simon
 Lee, the Old Huntsman” 39,
 56; “The Thorn” 40, 50;
 “To a Sexton” 51; “The Two
 Thieves” 9, 70–1, 72; “We are
 Seven” 8–9, 37–40, 44–6, 48,
 52, 55, 56
- workhouses 58–9, 143, 147–8, 151,
 170 n6
- working class 46, 144, 145
 animalization of 149–50
 food politics 116, 118, 120,
 124–6, 129–30, 133, 135–6,
 190 n52
- Worster, Donald 122
- Young, Arthur 96, 120
- Yousef, Nancy 154
- Žižek, Slavoj 168, 196 n13