'The Only Irish Magazine': Early Blackwood's and the Production of Irish 'National Character'

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'The Only Irish Magazine': Early *Blackwood's* and

the Production of Irish 'National Character'

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Abstract

On the 'Irish Question' of the 1820s and 30s, *Blackwood's Magazine* developed a fearsome reputation for intransigence. Yet its early engagements with Ireland were far from unsympathetic, viewing its peasantry, in particular, as warm-hearted and likeable, though also overly passionate and prone to disorderly behaviour. Arguing for John Wilson's theorisation of 'national character' as a crucial determinant of *Blackwood's* representative position, this article analyses the manner in which Maga responded to Irish literature and society in a transperipheral manner, seeking to integrate Ireland more fully into the Union, and to accept its destiny as a partner in Britain's imperial enterprise. Ireland's failure, through its poets (such as Thomas Moore) and its people, to conform to this ideal, and its headstrong movement towards Catholic Emancipation under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, would generate the choleric position that came to characterise the magazine.

In the media warfare that surrounded the 'Irish question' of the early nineteenth century, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* was, to its opponents on the side of Catholic Emancipation, a hostile force to be reckoned with. Arguing in December 1823 for the exclusion of the increasingly sectarian *Dublin Evening Mail,* from the Dublin Library Society, Daniel O'Connell, the champion of Catholic Emancipation, maintained, with some pride, that

> however successful a few factitious journals had been in Ireland in attaining the
>
> *style demoniacal*, yet the honour of originality belonged to their neighbours, the
>
> Scotch, as exemplified in *Blackwood's Magazine*, which the Dublin Library

Society had had the virtue and manliness to expel, not because of its politics, but for a departure from legitimate argument, and the adoption of virulence and calumny.[1]

Although the 'liberator' O'Connell could hardly be counted as an impartial observer in this context, his comments point to a perception, in certain Irish quarters at least, not only of Maga's aggressive and negative investment in Irish politics, but also of *Blackwood's* partisanship within the wider sphere of British public opinion. While O'Connell's view of *Blackwood's* was undoubtedly coloured by his own politics, his observation suggests the extent to which representations of Ireland in the media were played out within a wider public sphere involving the three nations under the Union.[2] Here, the Edinburgh periodicals served as a significant counter-cultural force to the hegemony of the London-based reviews and English publishing houses. Within this field, the close connections between Scotland and Ireland in terms of their geographical contiguity, perceived cultural correspondences, and historical parallels gave rise in the early nineteenth century to what Katie Trumpener has theorised as a 'transperipheral Irish-Scottish public sphere',[3] a sense of cultural and political connectedness between the neighbouring northern nations that was marked as much by rivalry and hostility as by affinity and sympathy. The enmity detected by O'Connell in *Blackwood's* therefore was of a particularly galling nature to the Irishman, coming as it did from a neighbour who was evidently not a friend.

A key figure in articulating *Blackwood's* attitude towards Ireland from the 1820s was undoubtedly William Maginn, the rambunctious, unpredictable, and swaggering contributor from Cork, who operated under a variety of pseudonyms in its pages. As Alison O'Malley and John Strachan have shown, Maga's attitude to Ireland, led by Maginn, changed

considerably during the 1820s from a 'relatively moderate' stance to one that was increasingly rigid: 'By late 1823, *Blackwood's* – and William Maginn – began to harden its tone towards Roman Catholicism and to the newly clamorous Irish Catholic leaders, Daniel O'Connell in particular'.[4] Thus, the formation of O'Connell's Catholic Association in May 1823 and the subsequent polarisation of political positions over Emancipation provide the impetus for O'Connell's remarks to the Dublin Library Society later that year. Hence, the widespread view of *Blackwood's* hostility to Ireland is based on the later and more hard-line position that evolved post-1823, in the wake of the Emancipation issue. Complementing O'Malley and Strachan's work, the following paper will attempt a closer look at *Blackwood's* earliest engagements, during a period when its own attitudes had yet to crystallise into a more determinately anti-Catholic position. 1817, the year of *Blackwood's* birth, also sees the appearance of Thomas Moore's much heralded oriental poem, *Lalla Rookh*, the immense popularity of which led to Maga's touting of Moore as possible contender for the role of Ireland's 'national poet'. Another contender for literary honours in this respect was Maria Edgeworth. Appreciating Edgeworth's ability to present both positive and negative aspects of the Irish in its review of *Ormond* (1817), *Blackwood's* declared that the Irish were indebted to no writer more than her 'for representing their national character in its proper light'; nevertheless it faulted the premature death in this novel of her character of 'King Corny', a warm-hearted though outmoded figure of feudal authority over rural Ireland.[5] As we will see, *Blackwood's* was already developing a specifically and characteristically 'national' approach to the arts, reading literature and music as emanations of national genius. Focusing on *Blackwood's* early reception of Moore's work as emblematic of its changing opinions, my analysis will discuss how this shifting attitude works its way into the magazine's reviews and journalism, generating its distinctive political position on Ireland.

Running through *Blackwood's* engagements with Ireland over this period is a marked

preoccupation with what John Wilson theorised in an important piece published in

September 1818 as 'national character'. As Wilson argues (laying down a critical principle

which extends Adam Smith's thinking on sympathy to *Blackwood's* reading of literature and

nationality), 'the pleasure we receive in making ourselves acquainted with the literature of a

people [...] is intimately connected with an impression, that in their literature we see the

picture of their minds'.[6] Assuming that every 'people' (here understood as a 'nation') has its

'own individual character', Wilson contends that it is this understanding of 'national

character' – and not merely the objective reality posed by 'events' - that gives us sympathy

for other nations:

> Even that strong sympathy which waits upon the events of life, is not sufficient
>
> in itself entirely to attract us; and our interest in their history is imperfect,
>
> except when the distinct individual conception of their character as a people
>
> accompanies the relation. (707)

Hence, to understand fully, and sympathise deeply with, national developments, one must

understand the 'character' of that nation. This judgement not only has significant

implications for *Blackwood's* reviewing of literature, but also, more broadly, extends to

other cultural phenomena such as music and sport, and sets out principles of critical

sympathy for peoples of various nationalities (including one's own people, for whom,

naturally, as Wilson argues, one has the greatest sympathy). Sympathy for other peoples

gained through their literature thus delivers for *Blackwood's* a broader cultural and political

programme of support that extends to 'the interest inspired by their fortunes' or their

progress as a nation (707). Drawing upon eighteenth-century racial and ethnic categories,

Wilson's theory of 'national character' was specifically relevant to *Blackwood's* literary reviewing practice, but clearly bore wider significance to all aspects of its intellectual, cultural, and political thought. At a serious level this reveals itself in *Blackwood's* major literary reviews and political analyses of Ireland, though at a more playful one it is expressed in the creation of parodic characters and texts such as the personae of Morgan O'Doherty and Fogarty O'Forgarty (the fictional author of 'Daniel O'Rourke', *Blackwood's* Irish parody of Burns's 'Tam O'Shanter') that provide mock-Irish performances for the merriment of its readers.

Economically, the post-war years of early *Blackwood's* were grim throughout Britain, and nowhere more so than in Ireland. Under the headline 'DISTRESS IN IRELAND', the second issue of *Blackwood's* in May 1817 (as yet under the editorship of James Cleghorn and Thomas Pringle, and publishing as *The Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*), notes the Earl of Darnley's petition in the House of Lords for 'the necessity of adopting some measure speedily for the relief of the people of Ireland'.[7] As history shows, the situation did not improve in the coming years. Agricultural failures led to rural unrest and food shortages; a typhus epidemic which broke out in areas of Ulster, Munster and Connacht around March of 1817 spread across the country in 1818 and raged on until February of 1819; damage to the potato crop in 1822 caused famine in the west and south of the country, though relief measures averted even greater catastrophe. In these straitened times, the tithes collected by the Church of Ireland were disputed by the Catholic leaders who saw little benefit to their constituencies, and widespread levels of discontent and poverty led to the emergence of secret societies, such as the Ribbonmen and Rockites, attacking landed and state interests across the country. In August 1822 the Ulster Constabulary Act passed into law,

creating in effect a national policing force to deal with the rising levels of protest.
Blackwood's marked these years with sporadic articles on Irish literature and music, the
'state of Ireland', the education of its peasantry, discussions of Irish political speeches, and a
slew of articles surrounding the visit of George IV to Ireland in August 1821, shortly after the
death of Queen Caroline. Surveying *Blackwood's* engagements with Ireland over these years
demonstrates how its approach, despite variations in tone, may be understood as being
informed by its critical conception of national character.

Amongst the first widely popular works of literature to be reviewed by *Blackwood's*
was Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*. Published on 27 May 1817, Moore's oriental poem,
recounting a series of poetic tales told to the princess Lalla Rookh on her journey from Delhi
to Kashmir, had gained for its author the largest advance paid hitherto by a publisher for a
work of poetry, the (then) princely sum of £3,000. Moore's reputation hitherto had largely
been based on his song collections, the *Irish Melodies,* which appeared intermittently from
1808 (continued until 1834), and were taken to breathe the authentic spirit of Irish music.
Heralded by Lord Byron, who had dedicated his own hugely successful oriental poem, *The
Corsair* (1814), to Moore, and playing perfectly to the vogue for oriental literature of the
period, *Lalla Rookh* was eagerly awaited by the public. Nor did it disappoint. Scoring an
immediate hit with its metropolitan readers and widely circulated as a result, *Lalla Rookh*
ran through six editions within the year, and was acclaimed by the literary reviews.[8] Wilson
responded promptly with an extended two-part review over its June and August issues by
John Wilson. Moore is hailed as 'the Burns of Ireland' -- high praise indeed, though Wilson
adds

he rarely exhibits that intense strength and simplicity of emotion by which some of the best songs of our great national Poet carry themselves, like music from heaven, into the depths of our soul – but whenever imagination requires and asks the aid of her sister fancy […] then the genius of Moore expands and kindles […].[9]

Wilson's preparedness to award the palm to Moore for 'richness of fancy' is balanced by his insistence on Burns's superiority in 'simplicity and pathos'. Fundamental to Wilson's judgement (premised on a Wordsworthian prioritisation of 'simplicity'), is the view that Moore represents the genius of his country: 'Whatever is wild, impassioned, chivalrous, and romantic, in the history of his country, and the character of his countrymen, he has touched with a pencil of light' (279).

Wilson was particularly impressed by the orientalist scholarship that went into the production of *Lalla Rookh*. 'No European image' destroys 'the illusion' of the poem, which is 'intensely Asiatic'.[10] Moore's oriental subject matter is well suited in Wilson's view to 'the *peculiarities of his genius*', allowing for 'a certain rhapsodical wildness of sentiment and passion' (280). Here, Wilson draws upon recent antiquarian researches that linked Celtic traditions, and the Gaelic language in particular, with ancient oriental cultures, rendering this construction of Celticism supposedly permeable to sympathetic influences from the east.[11] By virtue of being both an Irishman and a scholar, as Wilson opined, Moore was uniquely qualified to produce such a work: 'we feel as if we were reading the poetry of one of the children of the Sun' (280). *Blackwood's* willingness to acclaim Moore's Irish genius was, however, not to last long.

Although Wilson was prepared to accept Moore's 'ardent and fiery love of Liberty, […] his admiration of what may be called the virtues of his native land'[12] – these being displaced into the Eastern vision offered by *Lalla Rookh* -- his subsequent work of 1818, *The Fudge Family in Paris*, a series of verse letters satirising the attitudes of an Irish family visiting Paris, a work in which Moore revealed his political colours more openly, was a different matter entirely. In this satire, the patriarch of the family, Philip Fudge, a former Irish rebel, writes to Castlereagh, eulogising the new world order that the Foreign Secretary had been instrumental in creating, while his children Bob and Biddy can only think of Parisian luxuries. Their tutor Phelim, also Irish (and Catholic), however, acts as a critical counterweight to their folly, inveighing against the loss of revolutionary ideals, the betrayal of Europe, and the wretchedness of Ireland, while reserving some of his sharpest barbs for the Prince Regent. Wilson opens his review in May 1818 in a palpably hurt tone: 'We can imagine nothing more deplorable than the degradation of genius by the spirit of party' (129).[13] Moore is now perhaps too Irish for his own good: 'Mr Moore should remember that he is not a mere Irishman, nor a mere poet. He should reflect that he is a Briton, and, […] a *gentleman*' (132). Here, '*gentleman*' is defined to denote the 'high character' of the upper classes; and Moore's natural proclivities as an Irish patriot and poet are to be subsumed within the essentially conservative and patriotic spirit becoming of Ireland's place under the Union. The 'inviolable dignity' of the monarch is inseparably connected with the 'happy government' and 'collective greatness of the nation' (133). Phelim's 'fiery and absurd heroics' reflect the views of 'one whose head has apparently been turned by the perusal of "The Milesian Chiefs" and "The Irish Melodies"', i.e., expressions of Gaelic antiquarianism – partly embodied in Moore's music – that had gone mad.

Subsequent notices of Moore in Maga only serve to downgrade his genius and expose him as a dangerous charlatan. In October 1818, surveying Moore's poetry, and adopting the pseudonym of 'Baron Von Laurerwinkel', John Gibson Lockhart roundly declares: 'no more can I persuade myself that he is likely to go down to posterity as the national poet of Ireland'.[14] Lockhart assumes the voice of a fictional European aristocrat to convey a sense of dignity and impartiality; his judgement, coolly – and typically – reversing *Blackwood's* earlier pronouncement, suggests a rigged policy change behind the scenes. Moore's reputation for licentiousness is revived as Laurerwinkel warns English readers of the dangers posed to 'your fair countrywomen warbling the words of Moore': 'they should not twist them into their innocent locks – there is phrenzy in their odours' (2-3). His antiquarianism is 'totally unacquainted with the true spirit of ancient poetry'; his orientalist representation of the 'haram' 'sees nothing in a woman but an amiable plaything or a capricious slave' (3-4). Returning to *Blackwood's* earlier comparison between Burns and Moore suggested in Wilson's review of *Lalla Rookh*, Lockhart clarifies Burns's crucial role, despite his superficial improprieties, in halting 'the chilling nature of the speculative philosophy' that threatened Scotland's patriotic tendencies in the wake of its 'political union with a greater and wealthier kingdom' (4-5). Burns is thus 'at present, the favourite poet of a virtuous, a pious, a patriotic people' (5). Moore, on the other hand, is denounced as one who 'writes for the dissipated fashionables of Dublin, and is himself the idol in the saloons of absentees' (5). Calling on 'the pure-minded matrons and high-spirited men of Ireland', Laurerwinkel cautions them to 'pause ere they authorise the world to seek the reflection of their character in the gaudy impurities and tinsel Jacobinism of this deluded poet' (4). Lockhart's attempt to dissociate Moore's character from the national character he reputedly

represents, now turns into a plea to Ireland to reject its own poet; the reputation of the nation, as *Blackwood's* warns Ireland, is staked on that of its poet.

Lockhart's recommendation, that Ireland should reject Moore, is obligingly followed up in the December 1821 issue in 'Irish Melodies, No. 1' by Maginn (now firmly entrenched in the *Blackwood's* circle after his legendary visit to Edinburgh earlier that summer, in which he thrust his way into Blackwood's office demanding the unmasking of his own identity).[15] Writing under the pseudonym of Morty MacNamara Mulligan, and adding for authenticity a P.S. to North to visit him in Dublin, Mulligan/Maginn tears into Moore's *Irish Melodies* as a supposedly authentic reflection of Irish music. Lashing out at Moore's 'audacity, in prefixing the title of Irish to his melodies', Mulligan insists that although Moore's tunes are Irish his songs 'have as much to do with Ireland, as with Nova Scotia'.[16] The Irish locations of his songs could be anywhere at all; his song on the Vale of Avoca 'would suit any other valley in the world, provided always it had three syllables, and the middle one of due length' (613). Is there, he asks rhetorically, 'one song about our saints, fairs, wakes, rows, patrons, or any other diversion among us?' (613). Rather than the harp or the bagpipe, Moore has introduced 'piano trashery' for his melodies, adorning them with 'adventitious airs and graces' (613). While Maginn rightly notes the fabricated nature of Moore's supposedly authentic music,[17] his own pseudo-identity as a Dubliner, Mulligan, renders his critique somewhat disingenuous. Mulligan's rage at Moore's imposition is palpable: 'Were I in a savage mood, I could cut him up with as much ease as a butcher in Ormond market [in Dublin] dissects an ox from the country of Tipperary' (613). The indignation he assumes marks the beginning of the more aggressive tone adopted by *Blackwood's* at what it denounces with increasing fury as the false representation of Irish national character.[18]

Turning from literature to politics, I would argue, one sees a similar process of disillusionment, as Ireland fails to conform to Maga's romanticised view, unleashing increasing virulence towards its Catholic leadership. An early political review of significance appears is the August 1820 issue of an anonymously published tract titled *Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland*.[19] The author of the tract (unidentified in *Blackwood's,* though it 'doubt(s) not that [he] is an Irishman') was Anthony Richard Blake (1786-1849), Chief Remembrancer for Ireland, and according to the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 'the first Catholic to hold such an office since the reformation'.[20] *Blackwood's* commends the author for avoiding 'fierce and frothy declamation on the miseries of his native land' (534). While the implication here clearly is that the Irish are prone to declamatory excess and turbulence, the reviewer adds with apparent sympathy – and the passage bears quoting at some length -- that

> The Irish are not, in their sense of the word, a miserable people. They have too much soul, -- too much genius for that; and if ever their sins and their sorrows are to be healed, it must be by very simple processes. They have not been converted, as far as we know, into beings other than human; bulls they certainly do make at all times, and in all places; and they have ugly habits of murdering people on insufficient grounds; but neither their understandings nor their wills are utterly depraved or perverted, any more than those of Englishmen [...]. The Irish are a pleasant variety of the human species – and we seriously hope, will for ever retain many of their peculiar characteristics. We really have no wish to see them all perfectly and thoroughly satisfied with themselves and others – weaned from all those predilections that are now essential in our *idea of*

Irishmen, and rendered incapable of being farther declaimed upon by the

philosophic genius of Britain, either in the closet, the pulpit, or the senate. (534)

With a barely suppressed chuckle, and taking a side-swipe at the English, *Blackwood's*

commends the Irish character as being no worse than the English. Though not 'miserable' in

their *own* sense, the sly suggestion is that they might well be so in the view of *others*; their

'ugly habits' of murder are preceded by their tendency to utter 'bulls'; their humanity is

conceded with apparent generosity, even as this raises the implication of their racial

inferiority as relatively recent 'converts', not to Protestantism, but to humanity.[21] Asserting

the 'genius' of Ireland, which is freely admitted to be of an ideal nature, the reviewer with

mock gravity shows no interest in weaning the Irish from such predilections as they exhibit,

as this might only deprive the British of philosophic subject matter, i.e. for ridicule.

Against this jocular (and barbed) stereotyping of the Irish, however, the reviewer

draws attention to Blake's evident regard for Scottish education. Though less 'happily

circumstanced' than England, Scotland (in Blake's words, quoted in *Blackwood's*) 'has found

in a system of religious instruction suited to the wants and to the genius of her people,

means to correct the evils of her condition, and to place her high on the scale of moral and

civilized nations'.[22] Citing Blake with approval, the reviewer contrasts the Scottish 'national

character', a development of its Reformation and religious education, to the failed model

offered by the Irish. It is the 'religious character' of Scottish education, the reviewer insists,

that has shaped her 'national character' – 'honest, upright, and even austere' – and 'justifies

her people in holding up their heads unabashed in competition with the more favoured

inhabitants of what we call the South' (535). Placing its review of Blake's work within a

'three-nations' framework thus allows *Blackwood's* to comment on Blake's

recommendations for Irish education with implicit reference to its Scottish comparator. The shortcomings of the Irish national character are found to be a function of its dire educational provision; lacking 'in all those agencies which impress good habits upon a people, the more urgent is the need of the education of letters, *combined with religious instruction*' (536).

The education of the lower classes in Ireland emerges as a major topic in the early years of *Blackwood's* in parallel with the rise of evangelical and missionary activity in the British colonies. This was the era in which the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, founded in 1811 (also known as the Kildare Place Society), was increasingly under criticism for its funding of Protestant proselytism under the guise of free schooling. As educational historian Gillian O'Brien comments, 'Education became a key battleground where the "Catholic Question" was played out in the early 1820s'.[23] Though professing impartiality - 'we have no stomach to take any part in the so often fought battle between the friends and enemies of Popery' - *Blackwood's* progressively came to see the Catholic position of leaders such as O'Connell as inimical to the educational interests of the Irish poor. Quoting from a Protestant writer, 'Simplicius', in the pamphlet war over education that had broken out in Ireland, *Blackwood's* declares its position in so many words:

> Believing as we do, and as we have often expressed, that the vital interests of a country depend, in a most material degree, on the education of its people, it grieves us to perceive that the Roman Catholic clergy have made such a point of opposing every effort to diffuse its blessings among the population of Ireland.[24]

Thus, the sectarianisation of public opinion in Ireland with regard to educational provision becomes the plank over which *Blackwood's* position is confirmed and hardened. Education

is here regarded as the prime agency by which loyalty and social cohesion to king and country are to be maintained.

Though, in relation to Ireland of the period, *Blackwood's* is largely remembered today as an unyielding opponent of O'Connell and Emancipation, its early years, as I have shown, were more variable in tone. Drawing on long-standing stereotypes regarding the Irish, *Blackwood's* helped consolidate such prejudices into its later and more intransigent position. Despite the capricious nature of *Blackwood's* early responses to Ireland, one can discern a consistency in the way that it shaped and re-shaped its position with reference to its idealised vision of the Irish national character. Though aided considerably by its own Irish contributor, Maginn, who did his best to live up to the national stereotype, generating thereby a mythical reputation for himself as the 'roaring Irishman', Maginn did not invent, but merely entered into, collaborated with, and elaborated on, a latent and pre-existing view of Irishness in *Blackwood's*.[25] Sympathetic to a romanticised view of its neighbouring nation, and driven by its conservative agenda, *Blackwood's* sought to shape Ireland's national character, and to draw it into a properly patriotic relationship with its partner nations under the Union. Promoting the Scottish experience of overcoming intransigence and entering successfully into the Union, *Blackwood's* was happy to play a guiding role to Ireland, drawing in Irish contributors, and reviewing Irish literature and society with a monitory eye. By November 1820, claiming success as the choice of readers across a supposedly loyalist Ireland, Maginn declared *Blackwood's* triumphantly as 'THE ONLY IRISH MAGAZINE'.[26] Yet, despite the neighbourly exemplar of successful integration into the Union and the empire that *Blackwood's* held out tantalisingly to its Hibernian protegé, Ireland, all too frequently, continued to see itself in colonial terms as a subject nation, aligning itself

too closely with colonized peoples of the east. Its poets, its priests, and even its Ascendancy

gentry, *Blackwood's* would have to conclude sorrowfully, had failed the people (typically

represented in its peasantry), and the people themselves were gravely misled in their

demands for Emancipation.

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Notes

[1] John O'Connell (ed.), *The Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell* (2 vols, Dublin, 1846), ii. 465.

[2] For the purpose of this analysis I have excluded Wales which might legitimately be cited as the fourth nation under the Union. Wales is often aligned in this period with Scotland and Ireland in the context of a romanticized Celtic heritage. See David Duff and Catherine Jones (eds.), *Scotland, Ireland and the Romantic Aesthetic* (Lewisburg, 2007), 12.

[3] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: the Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, 1997), 132

[4] Alison O'Malley and John Strachan, 'The "Roaring Irishman": William Maginn, Ireland and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*', in *Border Crossings: Narration, Nation and Imagination in Scots and Irish Literature and Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013), 179.

[5] Anonymous, 'Harrington, a Tale; and Ormond, a Tale' in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 1.6 (September 1817), 631-35, 632.

[6] [John Wilson], 'Of a National Character in Literature', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 3.18 (September 1818), 707-9, 707.

[7] 'Proceedings of Parliament', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 1.2 (May 1817), 206.

[8] See Ronan Kelly, *Bard of Erin: The Life of Thomas Moore* (London, 2008), pp. 279-97.

[9] [John Wilson], '*Lalla Rookh*' (Part 1), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 1.3 (June 1817), 279-85, 279.

[10] Wilson, 'Lalla Rookh' (Part 1), p. 280.

[11] For a long durée discussion of the long-standing association between Ireland and east, see Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History* (Syracuse, 2004). Walter Scott's novel *Guy Mannering* (1814) similarly hypothesises a connection between Scottish gypsies and oriental culture, though Scott depicts the gypsies as a distinctly foreign race on the margins of Scottish society. Scott also wrote about Scottish gypsies for *Blackwood's* in an article co-authored with Thomas Pringle and published over the first two issues, 'Notices concerning the Scottish Gypsies', *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* 1.1 (April 1817), 43; 1.2 (May 1817), 114.

[12] Wilson, 'Lalla Rookh' (Part 2), p. 508.

[13] [John Wilson], 'THE FUDGE FAMILY IN PARIS', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 3.14 (May 1818), 129-36, 129.

[14] [John Gibson Lockhart], 'REMARKS ON THE POETRY OF THOMAS MOORE', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 4.19 (October 1818), 1-4, 1.

[15] Latané quotes this piece of urban myth-making from Maginn's correspondence with Blackwood; see David E. Latané, *William Maginn and the British Press* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 28-9.

[16] [William Maginn], 'IRISH MELODIES. No. 1', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 10.58 (December 1821, part 2), 613-135, 613.

[17] See Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: the Construction of Irish National Identity, 1724-1874* (Notre Dame, 2006), p. 140-63.

[18] Mark Schoenfield, 'The Taste for Violence in *Blackwood's Magazine*' in Robert Morrison and Daniel S. Roberts (eds.), *Romanticism and Blackwood's Magazine: 'An Unprecedented Phenomenon'* (New York, 2013), 187-202. Unsurprisingly, Irish murderers, pugilists and rioters figure strongly in this culture.

[19] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 7.41 (August 1820), 534-45.

[20] http://dib.cambridge.org

[21] For broad survey of these stereotypes, see Sheridan Gilley, 'English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1789-1900', in Colin Homes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London, 1978), pp. 81-110.

[22] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 7.41 (August 1820), 535.

[23] Gillian O'Brien, 'The 1825-6 Commissioners of Irish Education Reports: Background and Context' in Garret Fitzgerald (ed.), *Irish Primary Education in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 2013), 11.

[24] 'Simplicius on the State of Ireland', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 7.42 (September 1820), 637-41, 637.

[25] Examining the character of Morgan Odoherty, long associated with Maginn, Ralph Wardle concluded that 'he was the embodiment of the Irishness in several men's minds – and most of them were dyed-in-the-wool Scots'; Ralph M. Wardle, 'Who was Morgan Odoherty', *PMLA*, 58.3 (September 1943), 716-27, 727.

[26] 'Remarks on the Present State of Ireland', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 8.44 (November, 1820), 190-97, 197. None of the Irish magazines, *Blackwood's* claimed, had 'take[n] firm root in the soil of the potato', and, as for the 'English periodical works – not one of them, on any side, knows any thing [sic] at all about Ireland' (197). *Blackwood's* vaunted success here is at least partly a reflection of the paucity of literary journalism in Ireland during these decades. It was only in 1833 that a serious contender for the role of a Dublin-based literary periodical emerged in the *Dublin University Magazine*. See Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 20-25.