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A THIRD REMOVE:
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By

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ABSTRACT

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English travel to and travel writing about Ireland increased dramatically in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The knowledge of Ireland acquired through travel helped the English to delimit their own identity, to define themselves in opposition to, or in juxtaposition with, their Irish neighbors—a crucial activity in a era of empire-building and union. When Ireland's proximity problematized England's ability to regard it as Other, the rhetoric of travel, predicated on the distance between "home" and "abroad," provided a means to establish distance between the two islands. As records of cultural contact, the narratives of English travellers to Ireland provide an important insight into the cultural differences and attitudes that precipitated this desire for a sense of "remove." English writers of the decades surrounding the 1800 Act of Union used travel writing as a means to (re)create a distance between the metropolitan center and the Irish periphery, a distance the English perceived as necessary and empowering, but one that threatened to collapse under the pressures of political union and increased contact.

The body of this dissertation is devoted to a careful examination of the texts that produced, supported, utilized, and resisted that distancing rhetoric. Chapter 1 discusses "home travel," a concept that appears in many narratives of the period under consideration here; the multiple uses of the phrase reflect the English travellers' equivocation over Ireland's status as "home" or "abroad." Chapter 2 analyzes the travellers' responses to

the landscape of Ireland and their use of aesthetics as a means of expressing both Ireland's difference and its potential for domestication. Chapter 3 focuses on the travellers' encounters with the Irish people, primarily within domestic spaces, and examines their attempts to use the notion of "home" as a litmus test for the Irish people's otherness. Chapter 4 looks at tourism as a particular form of travel and analyzes the Irish people's attempts to mediate the English tourists' representations of Ireland. Chapter 5 explores the impact of travel literature about Ireland on the nineteenth-century novel and argues that "travel to Ireland" became a metaphor for exploring other forms of cultural distance.

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INTRODUCTION:

THEORIZING THE DISTANCE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND IRELAND

In the poem "To seem the stranger lies my lot," first published posthumously in 1893, Gerard Manley Hopkins uses three degrees of "remove" to describe his perception of the distance that separated him from his family, a sense of alienation fostered first by his conversion to Roman Catholicism, second by his decision to become a Jesuit priest, and third by his appointment as professor of classics at University College, Dublin in 1885. The concluding stanza of the poem begins with the lines: "I am in Ireland now; now I am at a third / Remove."[1] Ireland is a "third remove" for Hopkins not only in sequential terms, but also in spatial and temporal terms; it represents a step toward the ultimate remove: death (and Heaven). Hopkins' phrase—"a third remove"—captures the essence of England's ambivalent relationship to Ireland throughout much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: physical and cultural distance between the two countries resulted in an insuperable feeling of estrangement. As records of cultural contact, the narratives of English travellers to Ireland provide an important insight into the cultural differences and attitudes that precipitated this sense of "remove." One might expect that, when compared to the distances between England and its colonies in North America, Africa, and Asia, the gap between England and Ireland would shrink in size and significance; instead, it continued to grow, well after the 1800 Act of Union made Ireland part of the United Kingdom. In what ways might we account for this phenomenon? As this dissertation will

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[1]Gerard Manley Hopkins, *Poems and Prose* (Penguin, 1985), p. 61-62.

demonstrate, English writers of the decades surrounding the Act of Union used travel writing as a means to (re)create a distance between the metropolitan center and the Irish periphery, a distance the English perceived as necessary and empowering, but one that threatened to collapse under the pressures of political union and increased contact.

According to historian C. J. Woods, the period 1775-1850 was "the great age of Irish travel writing":

> This was the age of travel by horse-drawn vehicle, on well-maintained roads, navigations and canals. The coming of the railway train brought a check to travel writing for two reasons: the traveller savoured less of the countryside he passed through at high speed; and travel, in Europe at least, became more common, and so other people's accounts less interesting. ("Review" 173)

Woods' rationale for delimiting 1775-1850 as "the great age of Irish travel writing" is reminiscent of Ruskin's famed critique of tourism: "Going by railway I do not consider as travel at all; it is merely being 'sent' to a place, and very little different from becoming a parcel" (qtd. in Moir xvi). In dismissing railway travel, and the narratives produced by railway travellers, Woods follows in the anti-touristic mode popularized by Daniel J. Boorstin, Paul Fussell, and others.[2] Woods' nostalgic (and romanticized) notion of travel aside, he is right to point out the sharp increase in travel to Ireland, and travel writing about Ireland, in this period. The period is bracketed, not coincidentally, by the American Revolution and the Great Famine; near the middle of the period, 1800, the Irish parliament dissolved itself and formed a union with Great Britain. The years 1775-1850 were marred

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[2]For more on "anti-touristic" responses to tourism, see James Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, and Jonathan Culler, "The Semiotics of Tourism." This issue will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4.

by frequent episodes of popular protest and violence in Ireland; nevertheless, countless English people travelled to Ireland in those years and recorded their impressions of what they consistently labeled their "sister country."

In *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture*, David Cairns and Shaun Richards profess to describe "the reality of the historic relationship of Ireland with England; a relationship of the colonized and the colonizer" (1). While appealing in its straightforwardness, such a formula belies the complexity of the historical relationship between England and Ireland. Ireland has long been what Mary Louise Pratt designates a "contact zone," a contested physical and social space, a site of political and military battles, a place "where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other" (4). With the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169, the relationship between England and Ireland began as one of conqueror and conquered. Henry VIII was declared "King of Ireland" in 1541, an act followed by the "plantation" of English and Scottish settlers on Irish-owned land in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Oliver Cromwell's devastating campaigns in Ireland in 1649-50—in which countless Catholic landowners and priests were murdered—were followed by land confiscation, first under Cromwell, and then again under William III in 1691-1703. Beginning in 1694, a series of penal laws were enacted, forbidding Catholics from voting, owning land, or bearing arms, among other things. In 1720, the British parliament passed an act declaring their right to legislate for Ireland, although Ireland maintained a separate parliament. Widespread famine in 1740-41 further

decimated the native Irish population. These turbulent events form the prelude to the period under consideration here.[3]

Historians note a "gap in the famines" in the years 1741-1822, and this factor, combined with increasing industrialization and urbanization, made the later eighteenth century a period of relative prosperity for Ireland. Despite heavy tariffs imposed by Britain, trade in textiles (particularly linen) and provisions (particularly beef for the British navy) formed the backbone of the Irish economy; Roy Foster notes that "Ireland's industrial and commercial potential was perceived as a distinct threat by English mercantile opinion" by the end of the eighteenth century (204). The native, largely rural, Irish population quickly outgrew its meager resources, however, and a rising number of landless Irishmen began forming secret societies and violent agrarian protest groups, most notably the Whiteboys in 1761. The American Revolution and subsequent loss of the American colonies forced Britain to reevaluate its Irish policies; Ireland was granted a form of free trade and the penal laws began to be relaxed. A Protestant "patriot" movement led to Irish parliamentary independence in 1782. A struggling Irish economy and the ideology of the French Revolution spawned another protest organization, the United Irishmen, in 1791. Led by Wolfe Tone and aided by the French, with whom the British were at war, the United Irishmen planned a massive uprising in 1796, which failed

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[3]The following account is drawn largely from R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*; T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin, eds., *The Course of Irish History*; and Oxford's *A New History of Ireland*, vol. 4: Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691-1800 (ed. T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan) and vol. 5: Ireland under the Union 1, 1801-1870 (ed. W. E. Vaughan). Readers are referred to these sources, and their excellent bibliographies, for a more comprehensive account of Irish history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than can be offered here.

when French troops could not land on the Irish coast due to storms. In 1798, another uprising began in Dublin and spread throughout the southeast and west; Foster describes it as "probably the most concentrated episode of violence in Irish history" (280). The largely Catholic uprising was put down by Orange (Protestant) militia, giving further fuel to the sectarian fire burning throughout Ireland. The British saw constitutional union as a means to moderate sectarianism and protect themselves from further French (Catholic)-influenced and -aided attacks. The Act of Union dissolved the Irish parliament and established proportional Irish representation in the British parliament, giving the Irish far less say in the governing of Ireland than they had had previously, although they now had some say in English affairs. Catholic emancipation (the removal of the remaining penal laws) was hoped for under the union but would not occur for almost three decades. Henry Grattan, Irish MP and renowned orator, described the union as an "act of absorption" that failed to recognize Ireland as a separate nation with unique concerns (qtd. in Foster 283); nevertheless, on January 1, 1801, Ireland became part of the United Kingdom.

The early decades of the nineteenth century saw renewed agrarian violence and another abortive uprising in 1803. Poor potato crops in 1816 led to famine and a typhus outbreak in 1817, followed by another, more severe crisis in 1822; despite this, the population continued to increase at an alarming rate, particularly in poor, rural areas. Most land was owned by English or Anglo-Irish Protestants, while the native Irish Catholic population eked out a precarious living as tenants on land that had once been owned by their ancestors. The people continued to agitate for Catholic emancipation; the

movement was spearheaded by Daniel O'Connell in the 1820s, and in 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Act was voted into law, which removed most of the remaining restrictions on Catholics. Inspired by his success, O'Connell began a large-scale Repeal Movement, characterized by a series of "monster meetings" throughout rural Ireland, and he received support in his efforts from a new organization, Young Ireland, whose mouthpiece, *The Nation*, was one of the widest-read newspapers in Ireland. Repeal of the Act of Union was a popular cause, although few agreed on just what it might mean for Ireland (Foster 308). O'Connell declared 1843 the "Repeal Year," and monster meetings that year drew enormous crowds—tens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of people attended. A monster meeting planned for October in Clontarf was prohibited by the British government, which sent troops to enforce the edict, and when O'Connell backed down, he was arrested, charged with conspiracy, and sentenced to prison for one year. In the fall of 1845, potato blight was reported in several counties. The potato had become the dietary staple of the Irish peasantry, and the loss of the potato crop meant death by starvation (or disease, precipitated by malnutrition) for untold numbers of Irish people; when all was said and done, the Irish population had been decreased by at least a third through death and emigration.

These are the historical events that frame the "great age of Irish travel writing." England had its share of challenges apart from Ireland during those years as well: wars with America and France, agrarian and industrial labor protests, rapid urbanization, political and governmental controversies and crises. Why, given this context, would so many English people choose to travel to Ireland during this time period, and subsequently

to record their experiences in travel narratives? First, travel to Ireland was an epistemological quest for the English; they needed to know Ireland in order to control it effectively, to prevent another crisis like the American Revolution from happening in their own backyard. Second, the knowledge of Ireland acquired through travel would help the English to delimit their own identity, to define themselves in opposition to, or in juxtaposition with, their Irish neighbors—a crucial activity in a era of empire-building and union. Third, travel narratives were a popular genre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and travel writers were always looking for a novel destination to discover and describe. The Act of Union is generally considered a watershed event in Irish history; 1800 has come to represent a beginning, or an ending, and sometimes both. Travel and travel writing, and the ideologies that underlie those activities, however, provide an important element of continuity in our understanding of Ireland, and of England's relationship to Ireland, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[4] Let us turn now to a closer examination of the issues of epistemology, identity, and popularity that lay behind English travel writing about Ireland.

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[4]I am aware that by choosing to limit my study to narratives written before 1845, the year the potato blight was discovered in Ireland, I am reinforcing another sharp break in the continuity of Irish history. However, the Great Famine changed English travel to Ireland in a way that the Act of Union did not; although the English continued to travel to Ireland, they generally travelled to observe the effects of the famine, or as part of some relief effort, and they produced narratives that differed markedly in tone, purpose, and even intended audience, from those written before the famine. In addition, the English government changed many of its policies toward Ireland during and after the famine, further altering the relationship between the two countries. Finally, studies of language, history, and race produced in the period contemporary with the famine reinforced shifts in England's perception and depiction of the Irish after 1845 (see Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, and Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*).

In his essay "Stranger in Ireland: the Problematics of the Post-Union Travelogue," Glenn Hooper identifies "epistemological power" as "one of the single most important attributes of the travel-narrative form"; by providing culturally determined information about unfamiliar cultures to "a specialized and lay reading public," travel writing "provided one of the clearest and most direct information gathering systems available" (26). Hooper is particularly concerned by the increase in desire for knowledge about Ireland in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and argues that "several English travel writers in the immediate post-Union period came to regard Ireland as a site of epistemological challenge": "Knowledge of Ireland . . . had to be gained, not just because that was the way the empire worked, but because whatever information could be made available would give a greater and more enhanced sense of orderliness and control" (30, 32). Hooper's insightful readings of the narratives of Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1807) and Sir John Carr (1806) persuasively demonstrate the desire for knowledge about Ireland among post-Union travellers, but he underestimates the epistemological quest that had motivated Irish travel and travel writing long before the Act of Union.

Ireland's ambiguous colonial status in an age of revolution actuated the desire of many eighteenth-century travellers to "know," and thereby control, Ireland. Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland* (1780) relies on the "dry and unentertaining . . . minutiae of the farmer's management" to convey the importance of Ireland to "the great machine of the [British] State" (first ed., i-ii). "[T]hese are the circumstances upon which depend the wealth, prosperity, and power of nations," claims Young:

> The monarch of these realms must know, that when he is sitting on his throne at Westminster, surrounded by nothing but state and magnificence,

> that the poorest, the most oppressed, the most unhappy peasant, in the remotest corner of Ireland, contributes his share to the support of the gaiety that enlivens, and the splendour that adorns the scene. (ii)

In particular, Britain's current involvement in war against France, and its pending loss of the American colonies, indicate to Young the importance of union within Europe and commercial cooperation (rather than competition) with the British colonies, including Ireland; Young recognizes "the hazard we now run of losing or ruining Ireland" (v). Young offers copious information about the economy of Ireland, and with that knowledge, the English reader will be better equipped to prevent the loss of a potentially lucrative colony. Epistemology as a form of economic control drives Young's tour and his narrative. Other late eighteenth-century travellers are similarly motivated by the desire to "know" Ireland—its resources, its people, its natural curiosities. Philip Luckombe (1780) chooses to forgo a continental Grand Tour in favor of travelling in Ireland, "which, on account of its laws, religions, political dependence, &c. ought to be regarded and thoroughly known next to Great Britain" (1). Luckombe's wonderfully ambiguous phrase—"known next to Great Britain"—invokes a sense that Ireland's primacy (it should be known second only to Britain) is related to its proximity, an issue that will receive fuller attention below. Even a traveller as dissatisfied with his experience in Ireland as Richard Twiss (1775) acknowledges the importance of travel for improving knowledge: "The chief pursuit of travellers ought to be, to learn the languages, the laws and customs, and to understand the government and interest of other nations" (184). And eighteenth-century Irish writers encouraged England's epistemological questing, in part because they hoped that knowledge about Ireland would improve the relationship between the two countries.

Thomas Campbell recognizes that "There is, perhaps, no country dependent on the British Crown, which Englishmen know less of than Ireland; and yet it may safely be affirmed, there is none which has a fairer and stronger claim to their attention" (advertisement). John Angel writes *A General History of Ireland* (1781) "[t]o render . . . the present state of Ireland more universally known, thereby contributing to advance the mutual interest of England and Ireland" (x).

These examples do not diminish the force of Hooper's argument; post-Union travellers did emphasize the need for knowledge about Ireland. However, as the control they desired failed to accompany the knowledge they acquired, they increasingly emphasized their *lack* of knowledge about Ireland, despite an ever-growing number of travel narratives purporting to supply the requisite information. George Cooper, an English lawyer who travelled through Ireland in 1799 and published his *Letters* in 1800, begins his narrative with the following introduction:

> It has often been to me a subject of some surprise, when I have heard Irish affairs so much the topic both of public and private discussion as they have been of late, that the country itself should have been so little visited by travellers from Great Britain. . . . But though the name of Ireland is most familiar to our ears, yet both the kingdom and its inhabitants have been as little described as if the Atlantic had flowed between us, instead of dividing them from the new world. . . . It seems to have been blotted out of the geographical outline of European tours. (ix-x)

In comparing the Irish Sea to the Atlantic Ocean and suggesting that Ireland is so far removed that it has in effect been "blotted out of the geographical outline" of Europe, Cooper thus participates in a trend in English travel description: knowledge cannot be acquired—and Ireland cannot be effectively controlled—because of the distance between England and Ireland. Sir John Carr opens his *Stranger in Ireland* with an anecdote about

travel to India, explicitly connecting the misrepresentations of and apprehensions about travelling in the physically remote and culturally alien country of India, to Ireland (1-2). Such a distance is perilous for the Union, claims Carr:

> The union of Ireland will ever want a cordial cement, as long as political distinctions that degrade her are permitted to exist; *till then* an uninformed Irishman, looking upon the ocean from his cabin, and finding that it divides his country from England, will insist upon it, and completely settle the point with his conscience, that the great Creator, in parcelling out the universe, had destined, from the first, that Ireland should be a separate nation. (75)

Carr seems blissfully ignorant of the irony of his argument: Britain may claim that its insular status as an island renders it of necessity independent, but Ireland may not. As John McVeagh notes in *All Before Them*, "The sea between the countries was too wide for union and too narrow for independence—or so England judged" (44). The Act of Union was ostensibly intended to overcome the distance that separated England and Ireland. Cooper insists that Union "will raise a powerful colossus" that "[rests] one foot upon the Irish shore, and the other upon British soil," thereby closing the gap between the two islands (185). However, overcoming the distance was not so easy, nor so desirable. John Gough[5] claims in 1817 that "Ireland is a country, that Englishmen in general know less about, than they do of Russia, Siberia or the Country of the Hottentots," lands whose physical and imaginative distance from England were of mythic proportions (238). That same year, Anne Plumptre insists that "If curiosity be deeply awakened, if interest be

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[5]According to C. J. Woods, *A Tour in Ireland in 1813 & 1814*, published anonymously in 1817, may be more accurately attributed to John Alexander Staples ("Authorship" 481-82); however, most bibliographies continue to attribute the work to Gough, so in order to avoid confusion, I have chosen to refer to Gough as the author throughout.

warmly excited, by inquiring into the circumstances and situation of nations not immediately . . . among our own connexions," then "a much deeper interest will surely be excited when these inquiries, these comparisons, relate to an object so near to us as a SISTER" (v), emphasizing the "familial" connectedness of England and Ireland that should compensate for the distance between them, but never seems to. In 1818, John Christian Curwen describes his anticipation at the "prospect of visiting a country, which although almost within our view, and daily in our contemplation, is as little known to me, comparatively speaking, as if it were an island in the remotest part of the globe" (1.7). Ireland is "almost," but not quite, "within [England's] view" and within England's control; Ireland's enigmatic, insular status repeatedly renders it "remote" to English consciousness, despite its presence in newspapers, legislation, travel narratives, and other forms of discourse.

As we shall see, the English traveller (and travel reader) ultimately found the distance between England and Ireland comforting and desirable; the "knowledge" about Ireland that travel promoted was frequently discomfiting to English sensibilities. Henry Inglis, writing in 1835, confesses: "my ignorance of Ireland might well justify me in looking upon Ireland as a foreign land, and upon her people as foreigners"; he repeatedly confronts the claim that "Ireland is a difficult country to know," especially for the tourist. William Thackeray's *Irish Sketch Book* (1843) is riddled with episodes that demonstrate the difficulty of "knowing" Ireland. To be sure, English travellers continued to insist on the importance of knowledge about Ireland, acquired through travel: "what [Ireland] wants above every thing is, *to know*, and *to be known*," claims William Belton in 1834 (v),

and "When Englishmen learn to view Ireland as she is, the first great step will be achieved toward making Ireland what she ought to be," echoes Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna in 1839 (iv). However, distance had become the dominant paradigm for understanding the relationship between England and Ireland; "distance" became a way for England to rationalize its failure to assimilate Ireland into the United Kingdom.[6]

In *The Politics of Home*, Rosemary Marangoly George posits the following framework for understanding the relationship between imperialism and distance:

> Homes and nations are defined in the instances of confrontation with what is considered "not-home," with the foreign, with distance. Ultimately then, distance in itself becomes difference. Thus, for instance, it is in the heyday of British imperialism that England gets defined as "Home" in opposition to "The Empire" which belongs to the English but which is not England. (4)

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[6]It is not my intention in this discussion to diminish the real physical distance between England and Ireland, or to suggest that travellers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries faced no challenges in travelling to Ireland. English travellers were forced to abandon sight of the coast of Britain in order to set foot on this island of uncertainty. Before steam, English travellers waited in Wales for favorable weather conditions, time that allowed their apprehensions to grow; the "Two English Gentlemen," writing in 1746, record waiting thirteen days "for a Wind," while listening to the stories of their fellow passengers, many of whom were Irish (Chetwood 28, 37). John Bush writes of crossing the "gulph" between the two islands, noting that although it is "60 miles only" and the Irish mountains are sometimes visible from the Welsh coast, the rough passage takes forty hours (6-11). Very few travellers adopted the resigned outlook of Methodist minister John Wesley, travelling in Ireland in 1756: "I find it of great use to be in suspense; it is an excellent means of breaking our will" (4.180). Most travellers writing before the age of steam record spending time becalmed in the Irish channel; others tell tales of horrifying storms or bouts with seasickness. The predictability of steam-powered travel did not alleviate the worries of many travellers. William Wordsworth, in a letter to his sister Dorothy in 1829, confessed: "I dread the risks as to health, the fatigue, and the expenses . . . and the long sea sickness" (105). To a friend, he expressed concern for his ability to "muster courage to cross the Channel" (101). That such apprehensions continued to exist after the advent of steam engines only underscores the distance, both real and imagined, between England and Ireland.

We will return momentarily to the issue of "home," particularly as it bears on Ireland, but let us first consider the importance of distance to the process of delimiting English identity, or "Britishness." Postcolonial criticism, particularly the work of Homi Bhabha, has demonstrated the ways in which colonized peoples served as "Others" against which the colonizing power defined itself. According to Linda Colley, the British "came to define themselves as a single people not because of any political or cultural consensus at home, but rather in reaction to the Other beyond their shores" (6). "The invention of Britishness was so closely bound up with Protestantism, with war with France and with the acquisition of empire, that Ireland was never able or willing to play a satisfactory part in it," claims Colley.[7] In fact, in the early modern period, "the development of 'Englishness' depended on the negation of 'Irishness,'" according to Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (qtd. in Murphy 31). David Cairns and Shaun Richards concur: "writing by Englishmen about Ireland and the Irish may not only have served to broaden English knowledge of the neighbouring island and its inhabitants, but also to define the qualities of

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[7]Colley's study, *Britons*, covers the period 1707-1837. According to Luke Gibbons, Colley underestimates the importance of "Gaelicness" as an oppositional category in the later eighteenth century; "Gaelicness" incorporates not only Ireland's Catholicism, but also its cultural and linguistic differences from England ("United Irishmen and Alternative Enlightenments"). In addition, Protestants in Ireland had begun to identify themselves as "Irish" by the early eighteenth century, according to Roy Foster (178), but despite their religious affinity with Britain, they were excluded from the definition of "Britishness." In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the English developed another means of delimiting "Britishness," a complex system of anti-Irish prejudice based on ethnography, particularly the Irish people's perceived "racial" differences, which included not only differences in skin color and physical features, but also differences in character and behavior (see L. P. Curtis, Jr., *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*). The racialization of the Irish will be discussed further in Chapter 3. For another study on the importance of "blackness" as a defining quality of otherness for imperial Britain, see Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*.

'Englishness', by simultaneously defining 'not-Englishness' or 'otherness'" (2). Thus travel as a quest for knowledge about another culture becomes a voyage of self-discovery.

In *But the Irish Sea Betwixt Us*, Andrew Murphy provides the reader with a valuable concept for understanding the relationship between England and Ireland: proximity. "Proximity" refers not only to geographic distance but also to cultural difference. The English and the Irish are "European Christians living in neighbouring islands with a long history of contact formalized into a series of arrangements aimed at absorbing one island into the dominion of the other" (28). Because of this closeness, the Irish are imperfect others—"proximate" others, rather than "absolute" others (6); in Homi Bhabha's formulation, they are "almost the same, but not quite" (86). Thus, "Ireland is always a problematic instance for the English writer, because the standard tropes of colonial stereotyping are always likely to unravel in the encounter with the imperfect Otherness of the Irish" (Murphy 7). England's positional superiority could only be maintained by emphasizing the difference between the English and the Irish, a difference "founded upon maintaining the distance which separated the English from the Irish" (Cairns and Richards 4). The increased need for knowledge of the Irish in the late eighteenth century precipitated increased travel and increased cultural contact between the two islands. Soon afterward, the Act of Union further eradicated the boundaries between England and Ireland. Once the English recognize the erasure of identity and loss of power inherent in allowing the Other ("Irishness") to become a part of the Self ("Britishness"), they begin to call attention to the distance between England and Ireland with renewed vigor. In a reversal of Rosemary George's formula, difference in itself becomes distance.

In the passage quoted above, George also expresses an important reformulation of the Self-Other dichotomy: "Homes and nations are defined in the instances of confrontation with what is considered 'not-home,' with the foreign, with distance." Home, both in the sense of "domestic space" and "native country" (or "homeland"), is based on "a pattern of select inclusions and exclusions" (2). Thus "home" is positioned in opposition to "not-home," "Home" in opposition to "The Empire." George is not the first scholar to note the centrality of "home" to imperial ideology. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said attempts

> to discern . . . a counterpoint between overt patterns in British writing about Britain and representations of the world beyond the British Isles. The inherent mode for this counterpoint is not temporal but spatial. How do writers in the period before the great age of explicit, programmatic colonial expansion—the "scramble for Africa," say—situate themselves and their work in the larger world? We shall find them using striking but careful strategies, many of them derived from expected sources—positive ideas of home, of a nation and its language, of proper order, good behavior, moral values. (81)

By demarcating the difference between Home and Empire as a difference between Britain and "the world beyond the British Isles," Said elides the ambiguous position of Ireland—is Ireland Home or Empire? After the Act of Union, certainly, Ireland is, in a very real sense, Home, part of the colonial power structure. However, if British writers use "positive ideas of home [i.e., domestic space], of a nation and its languages, of proper order, good behavior, moral values" to define the Self (Home), then Ireland is unquestionably Other (Empire). Within this ideological frame Ireland is placed in an untenable position of split subjectivity; Ireland is, in effect, both Home and Empire.

To complicate matters further, the concept of "home" has a particular resonance for the traveller and the travel writer. Home, argues Georges Van Den Abbeele, is "the very antithesis of travel. . . . The concept of a home is needed (and in fact it can only be thought) only *after* the home has already been left behind" (*Travel as Metaphor* xviii). How can Ireland retain the status of Home in the eyes of English travellers, who are away from home? As we shall see in Chapter 1, travellers to Ireland at the turn of the century created the term "home travel" to express the conflicted character of their voyages. Once again, the English are confronted by Ireland's "problematic proximity." Typically, travel involves a certain desirable distance between home (point of origin) and abroad (destination), and this distance can be put to use in imperial ideology as a means of distinguishing the colonizer from the colonized. According to Simon Gikandi, "It is primarily by rewriting the colonial other along the traces and aporias sustained by the trope of travel that the imperial travelers can understand themselves and their condition" (89). However, the distance between England and Ireland is considerably less substantial than the distance between England and its other imperial possessions. The narrative recounting not-so-distant travels "shows us precisely what is theoretically at stake in travelling: not discovering far countries and exotic habits, but making the slight move which shapes the mapping of a 'there' to a 'here'" (Rancière 30). Travel, especially in the form of a "slight move," has the potential to conflate "home" and "abroad," Self and Other, a threatening proposition for the traveller. The Other's very desirability lies in its otherness—once the Other has been assimilated through colonization, or familiarized through travel, it too closely resembles the Self to perform its function as an Other against

which the Self may be defined. The Self desires "a reformed, recognizable Other," an Other that mimics the Self, but also "continually produce[s] its slippage, its excess, its difference"—Bhabha calls this phenomenon of seemingly conflicting desires "ambivalence" (86). Travel, particularly "home travel," also produces ambivalence; that is, travel undertaken to familiarize the metropolitan reader with the colonial periphery must ultimately reinforce—or create—distance between Self/home (England) and Other/abroad (Ireland), or risk collapsing the distinction between colonizer and colonized.

If "home" is the point of origin for the English traveller, it is also the destination for English travel writing. Travel narratives are produced for "those who sit idle at home, and are curious to know what is done or suffered in distant countries," writes Samuel Johnson in *Idler* 97 (1760). Thus, "[e]very writer of travels should consider, that, like all other authors, he undertakes either to instruct or please, or to mingle pleasure with instruction." His brief essay on travel writers and travel writing concludes:

> He only is a useful traveller who brings home something by which his country may be benefited; who procures some supply of want or some mitigation of evil, which may enable his readers to compare their condition with that of others, to improve it whenever it is worse, and whenever it is better to enjoy it.

Once again, we see that travel may be used to provide some point of contrast, some means of distinguishing "home" from "abroad," Self from Other. Johnson plays on two meanings of the word "home" in his essay: "home" in the sense of "native country," what I have been designating as Home (as in the "traveller who brings *home* something by which his country may be benefitted") and "home" in the sense of "domestic space" (as in the readers "who sit idle at *home*"). "When is the word 'home' shrunk to denote the private,

domestic sphere and when is the 'domestic' enlarged to denote 'the affairs of a nation'?" queries Rosemary George (13). In fact, this "fluidity of meaning" is essential to the imperialist project. The "space of domesticity" is rarely "separate from the concerns of imperialism," claims Susan Meyer in *Imperialism at Home* (7). Although the home is itself a form of Other—feminized, sentimentalized—the nature of its otherness, its protected status, ensured even more fervent attempts to distinguish it from what lay outside its boundaries. In *Reaches of Empire*, Suvendrini Perera argues that, like Home or Self, "the 'domestic' was most often formulated, sustained, and tested by its definition through and in opposition to the 'external,' the 'foreign,' and the 'other'" (8). In a very real way, travel writers became the eyes that produced "'the rest of the world' for European readerships" (Pratt 4). Travel writing circumscribed the Other, brought it into the home, and rendered it safe and appropriate for consumption by domestic readers.

And consume it, they did. Travel narratives "won a readership second only to novels by the end of the [eighteenth] century" (Batten 1), and their popularity continued well into the nineteenth century, as evidenced by their proliferation. Who were these readers? According to Charles Batten, travel narratives appealed to a wide variety of readers, men and women of a broad range of ages and social classes. Travel narratives made "travel for the sake of education, even into the farthest corners of the world, available to any man who could afford the price of a book," and their particular blend of "pleasurable instruction" meant that reviewers, editors, and clergymen "frequently recommended travel accounts, especially for the youthful or inexperienced or female reader" (119, 28). Such information supports Mary Louise Pratt's claim that travel

writing was used to engage "metropolitan reading publics with (or to) expansionist enterprises whose material benefits accrued mainly to the very few" (4). Travel writing—specifically, its ability to render the Other—provided the means by which women, children and the working classes—groups generally regarded as Other—could be enlisted in the construction of "Britishness" and the defense of Home against foreign invasion.

Given the travel narrative's ideological power, and its lucrative popularity, it comes as no surprise, then, that travel to and travel writing about Ireland—a relatively novel and easily accessible destination—increased so dramatically in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. When Ireland's very proximity proved problematic, the rhetoric of travel and tourism provided a means to establish the necessary distance between the two islands. The body of this dissertation is devoted to a careful examination of the texts that produced, supported, utilized, and resisted that distancing rhetoric. Chapter 1 discusses the term "home travel," a concept that appears in many narratives of the period under consideration here; the multiple uses of the phrase reflect the English travellers' equivocation over Ireland's status as "home" or "abroad." Chapter 2 analyzes the travellers' responses to the landscape of Ireland and their use of aesthetics as a means of expressing both Ireland's difference and its potential for domestication. Chapter 3 focuses on the travellers' encounters with the Irish people, primarily within domestic spaces, and examines their attempts to use the notion of "home" as a litmus test for the Irish people's otherness. Chapter 4 looks at tourism as a particular form of travel and analyzes the Irish people's attempts to mediate the English tourists' representations of

Ireland. Chapter 5 explores the impact of travel literature about Ireland on the nineteenth-century novel and argues that "travel to Ireland" became a metaphor for exploring other forms of cultural distance. Together, the chapters provide a detailed reading of a body of texts, many of them previously unanalyzed, that use travel and travel writing to establish and reinforce physical and cultural distance between England and Ireland, a distance that allowed England to maintain an essentially colonial relationship with Ireland even after the Act of Union.

CHAPTER 1

THE MEANINGS OF "HOME TRAVEL"

What is "home travel"? The ambiguous and somewhat oxymoronic term signified at least three separate behaviors to the English reader at the turn of the century, and each of its multiple meanings played on the gap between common understandings of the words "home" and "travel." Can one "travel" and still be "at home"? The answer, as we shall see, depends to a large degree on how one interprets "home" and, to a lesser degree, on how one "travels." In the Irish travel narratives written between 1775 and 1845, "home travel" or a related term is used to designate both travel within the British Isles and the more figurative journey one undertakes when reading a travel narrative (an activity that generally takes place within the home). In addition, a variant of the term is used pejoratively to describe the writers who penned their travel narratives without ever leaving the comforts of their own home(land). Thus a "home traveller" may be a person who physically travels to Ireland, the reader of a travel narrative, or an author who writes without travelling. This chapter examines the multiple meanings and understandings of "home travel" in the context of England's desire for knowledge about Ireland and the Irish, the Act of Union, and the attempt to incorporate Ireland into the larger British sense of Home by using travel writing to bring Ireland into English homes. The tensions embodied by the term "home travel" ultimately reflect the divisive outcomes engendered by English travel to and travel writing about Ireland.

In *Travel as Metaphor*, Georges Van Den Abbeele offers an extended analysis of the relationship between "home" and "travel." According to Van Den Abbeele,

> The economy of travel requires an *oikos* (the Greek for "home" from which is derived "economy") in relation to which any wandering can be comprehended (enclosed as well as understood). . . . The positing of an *oikos*, or *domus* (the Latin translation of *oikos*), is what *dom*esticates the voyage by ascribing certain limits to it. . . . Indeed, travel can only be conceptualized in terms of the points of departure and destination and of the (spatial and temporal) distance between them. A traveler thinks of his or her journey in terms either of the destination or of the point of departure. (xviii)

The very notion of "travel," then, requires a "home" that is spatially and temporally distant from the point of destination. However, "the home that one leaves is not the same as that to which one returns"—either "home" or the traveller has changed, usually as a result of the temporal distance between the point of origin and the point of return. For this very reason, the traveller depends on the notion of "home" in order to place limits on travel's ability to alter the traveller:

> The establishment of a home or *oikos* places conceptual limits on travel, supplies it with a termius *a quo* and a terminus *ad quem* which allows one to conceive of the potentially dangerous divagation of travel within assured and comfortable bounds. The economy of travel thus domesticates the transgressive or critical possibilities implied in the change of perspective travel implies. (xx)

Ultimately, "home"—and its domesticating potential—become the sole point of reference to the traveller, circumscribing the nature of travel: "Be they real or imaginary, voyages seem as often undertaken to restrain movement as to engage in it, to resist change as to produce it, to keep from getting anywhere as to attain a destination" (xix). When confronted with the notion of "home travel," one must consider the primacy of "home" in that formulation. The English traveller is so reluctant to leave home that travel is

perceived as taking place within the very boundaries of Home—in particular, the British Isles.

"Would not a tour round the islands of Great Britain and Ireland furnish a Briton with more useful, proper and entertaining knowledge, than what is called *the grand tour of Europe?*" The gradual shift in emphasis away from travel on the Continent and toward "home travel," endorsed here by the *Monthly Review* in 1767,[1] resulted in part from the perception that travel within the British Isles was "cheaper and less morally dangerous than travel on the Continent" (Batten 148). Travel within the British Isles also provided valuable knowledge and experience. At the conclusion of his *Tour in Ireland in 1775*, Richard Twiss offers general remarks on travel and emphasizes that the traveller "ought to be well acquainted with his own country, which will enable him to compare it with others: for without a proper foundation, it will be impossible for him to reap any knowledge that may repay his trouble, loss of time, and expence. Nothing is good or bad, beautiful or disagreeable, but by comparison" (188). Of course, Ireland fared poorly in comparison with Twiss's "own country" (that is, England), but within a European context, the traveller's "country" could be understood more broadly as Great Britain, and, after 1800, the United Kingdom. William Thackeray's assertion that the traveller needs "to see his *own country first* (if Lord Lyndhurst[2] will allow us to call this a part of it)," reveals that

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[1]The comment concludes a review of John Bush's *Hibernia Curiosa* (1767), one of the early works that initiated the boom in Irish travel narratives that occurred in the later eighteenth century.

[2]Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, a Tory, staunchly opposed to all pro-Catholic reforms in Britain's handling of "the Irish question," particularly repeal of the Union; Matthew Arnold quoted him in "On the study of Celtic Literature" as having called the Irish "aliens in speech, in religion, in blood" (see Vaughan, *New History* 5.170-71, 510).

Ireland maintained its somewhat tenuous status as "home" into the mid-nineteenth century (268).

Jeremy Black notes that "British domestic travel and tourism boomed in the eighteenth century," due in part to improved and regularized transportation and accommodations (4). It becomes a point of (national) pride to have travelled first within the British Isles. "It was long a reflection on the national taste and judgment, that our people of fashion knew something, from ocular demonstration, of the general appearance of every country in Europe, except their own," begins the preface to the first edition of William Mavor's *The British Tourist's, or, Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland* (1800). After a paragraph extolling the virtues of "the British Islands," Mavor notes that British travellers have been "Roused, at last, from the lethargy of indifference about what was within their reach, and inspired with more patriotic notions than formerly, of the pleasure and utility of Home Travels." Mavor's vague reference here to the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and other political unrest on the Continent that prohibited travel there obscures one of the primary reasons for increased travel within the British Isles: simple necessity.[3] The closing off of customary outlets produces new ones, and thus "we have of late years, seen some of our

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[3]John Gamble, an Irishman, provides a similar explanation for the increase in "home travel" in the first decade of the nineteenth century: "thanks to the ambition of the great ones of the earth, who have kept the world in a pretty constant state of warfare for the last twenty years, and may, perhaps, for twenty years to come, the British tourist has now a narrower range. Spider-like, he must spin his web out of the materials of the British empire only. . . . There is no evil, however, without its good: one advantage attending this is, that is bring Englishmen better acquainted with their own country." Gamble hopes that "a similar knowledge of Ireland" will soon be "generally diffused" (*Sketches* 2).

most enlightened countrymen as eager to explore the remotest parts of Britain, as they formerly were to cross the Channel, and to pass the Alps" (viii). Mavor attributes this eagerness not to necessity, but to the Act of Union. Travel strengthens "the social tie" between the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, "now happily united" (ix). Similarly, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, writing in 1807, insists that, although the English "are regarded by *foreigners* as a rambling nation," "this *vagabond* spirit arises, not from any dissatisfaction with our own home, our country, or our government; for where shall we find their equals? . . . but from a laudable desire of research and information" (iv-v). "The spirit and even the power of *foreign* travel is now checked" by Napoleon, admits Hoare, but "Our own kingdom still remains unexplored; . . . a more intimate knowledge of which will, in the end, prove more satisfactory perhaps than the information collected during a *foreign* tour" (v-vi). The sharp distinction drawn between home and foreign travel in the preface to a travel narrative about Ireland places Ireland firmly in the position of "home." Union, and the necessity of "home travel," have rendered Ireland "Home."

One of the earliest of the travel narratives examined in this study, *A Tour through Ireland in Several Entertaining Letters* by Two English Gentlemen,[4] published in 1746, endorses an important benefit of "home travel"—its ability to provide a sense of home for the alienated traveller:

> I never imagined any thing could compensate the Trouble of passing the Ocean more, since we have wandered over *Italy*, and most Parts of the Continent of *Europe*. There we were obliged to seek for *English*

[4]The title and text of the letters indicate two authors, and the letters are indeed differentiated by style and subject matter. However, the letters are generally attributed to William Rufus Chetwood, the editor of the book. The "Advertisement by the Editor" is signed "W.R.C."

> Acquaintance, and to be confined in our Conversation, while every body round beheld us as if we were Spies, or, at least, Enemies to the Country we travelled through. Here the Case is quite different, every one understands you without an Interpreter, and the Gentlemen prevent your Curiosity, by taking it as a Favour that you will give them leave to satisfy you. . . . (Chetwood 204-5)

The pleasure of travel in Ireland exceeds the pleasure of travelling on the Continent because Ireland is decidedly less foreign; English-speakers abound, willing to provide the traveller with information and assistance. Ireland is "as polite a Nation as any in *Europe*" (28). As Van Den Abbeele indicates, the traveller requires a "home" and demands that "home" exemplifies certain characteristics of familiarity and stability. Ireland's close physical proximity to Great Britain and the historical pattern of interaction between the two kingdoms enabled Ireland to take on many of the characteristics of "home," such as the English language, long before the Act of Union made its position vis-a-vis Great Britain official. At least one writer refers to the possibility of uniting Ireland to England as "an extension of territory at home" rather than "abroad," merely an "enlargement of her [England's] boundaries," in sharp contrast to the more distant and thus more difficult to manage parts of the empire (Campbell 348). One reviewer of John Bush's *Hibernia Curiosa* (1767) recognizes Ireland's unique position: "If we regard Ireland as a vast colony of Britons, as in its present state it certainly is, should we not look upon the Irish as parts of ourselves . . . ?" (*Monthly* 277-78). Although a "colony" in many respects, Ireland is also "home"; the long, close relationship between England and Ireland has ensured that the Irish are "parts of ourselves." In particular, the descendants of the seventeenth-century plantation settlers, whose cultural and religious behaviors make them more like the English travellers and tourists, ensure that Ireland can safely be regarded as

"home," despite the unsettling presence of poor, Catholic, Irish-speaking peasants. As desire for knowledge about Ireland increases, it produces a market for a body of works that inscribe Ireland as "home," an interesting and accessible destination, a safe place for English travellers, and ultimately, an appropriate partner for Union.

As the label suggests, "home travel" relied on a certain domesticating impulse, a desire to construct an Ireland that might be appropriately encountered within the domestic sphere. Even the narrative form could convey the suitability of Ireland for domestic consumption; travel narratives styled as letters and journals, for example, suggest a familial intimacy between reader and writer. John Harrington notes in the introduction to *The English Traveller in Ireland* (1991) that as the more genteel "Tour" came to dominate Irish travel in the eighteenth century and after, "the literary products of these visits took on forms suggestive of sociability and domesticity rather than adventure" (16). Some tour writers spoke openly about the constructed "domestic" nature of their narrative form. John Barrow claims that "the substance" of his letters "were, in point of fact, written to my family from notes made daily in the progress of my tour"; however, "much . . . has been omitted from, and more . . . added to the original letters, to render them better suited to the public eye" (iii). John Curwen also publishes his *Observations* as letters, drawing information from "the daily journal I had transmitted for the amusement of my own fireside" (iii). M. F. Dickson abandons her fashionable travel journal for the pleasure of "letter writing": "So the goodly, marble-covered blank book I had provided, wherein to record the sayings and doings of our sojourn on the shores of the Atlantic is to be thrown aside . . . and my rambling journal is to wing its way across the Channel in the

shape of letters to you, dear old friend" (1-2). In addition, the narratives contain copious details about the domestic spaces of the Irish people, as we shall see in Chapter 3, suggesting the travel writer's desire to use familiar notions of "home" as an interpretive paradigm for understanding Ireland and the Irish.

However, to conceive of Ireland as "home," the English had to be willing to ignore cultural difference, to admit the Irish into their exclusive club, "Britishness," an identity heretofore constructed by its very opposition to "Irishness." Furthermore, travel presupposes a certain degree of novelty, something one does not necessarily expect to find "at home." How can "home" accommodate this desire for novelty? "Home" must be rendered unfamiliar in some way, and Ireland seemed particularly well-suited to this task of defamiliarization. The English desire to position the Irish as "Other," as distant, contributed to their ability to conceptualize the notion of "home travel," in which Ireland occupied the positions of "home" (a safe and secure place) and "abroad" (an exotic and interesting space) simultaneously. Thus a 1767 reviewer of *Hibernia Curiosa* can claim that "a British subject knows no more of the inland parts of Ireland than of Africa" (*Critical* 309), a sentiment echoed by travel writers well into the nineteenth century. William Mavor's insistence that home travel satisfies the desire for knowledge about "the various tribes and classes of men, who are subject to the same government, however remotely situated" reveals his own assumptions about the nature and purpose of travel. In this scenario, Ireland (and parts of Scotland) can stand in for the more remote lands and exotic peoples ("various tribes") that might previously have been accessible to travellers; in addition, the Gaelic and Celtic peoples—now British, after the Scottish and Irish Acts

of Union—can continue to be seen as Other (x). Sir Richard Colt Hoare insists that "Ireland can undoubtedly recommend itself to the notice of the stranger by its *novelty*: and what is the object of the stranger's tour but *novelty?* which carries along with it both amusement and instruction" (314). Travel writing about Ireland, then, could accommodate both the need to travel within the British Isles and the desire on the part of travellers and readers for the depiction of cultural difference: that is, "novelty." The popularity of travel narratives—particularly in the eighteenth century, as documented by Charles Batten in *Pleasurable Instruction*—depended in large measure on writers' ability to meet readers' desire for and expectation of novelty. Narratives describing the Grand Tour had become formulaic, much like the Grand Tour itself, but travel in the British Isles "became a popular pastime amongst gentlemen of leisure" precisely because it was "[b]ound by no tradition or convention" and "lack[ed] the established routes and rituals of the Grand Tour" (Moir xiv). "I was advised not to begin with the Grand Tour of Europe," but rather to begin with Ireland, writes Philip Luckombe in his introduction to *A Tour through Ireland in 1779* (1). The advice Luckombe received and his decision to write about Ireland was probably based as much on potential financial benefits, as on any perceived moral or educational ones, as we shall see below. Descriptions of the relatively uncharted territory of some of the British Isles, especially Ireland, met readers' expectations of novelty, and provided the essential components of education and entertainment that had already made the travel narrative so popular with the English reading public, and thus a highly lucrative genre for writers.

The importance of appealing to their readers—the second classification of "home traveller"—was not lost on travel writers. Richard Twiss acknowledges these two forms of "home traveller," and the need to please both audiences, when he writes that "To give a copious catalogue of the pictures which may be seen in Dublin, would be of little service to those who, by being on the spot, have it in their power to recur to the originals, and of little entertainment to those who are far from them" (22). Numerous writers spoke of their readers as fellow travellers. "One would imagine," writes John Bush, "that the writer . . . of a tour through his own or any other country, would be apt to consider his reader as a traveller through the country, and himself as his guide" (x). Edward Daniel Clarke acknowledges the "COURTEOUS or INQUISITIVE READER" who has "mark[ed] the progress and termination of my rambles": "I have considered thee as the companion of my travels, and have given thee the fruits of my labours without the fatigue or expence of acquiring them" (402). His desire to please the "home traveller" is obvious from the beginning of the narrative; he writes in the preface that he "will feel himself more than satisfied if he succeeds in dissipating the tedium of a winter's evening" (x). The trend of addressing one's reader as a travelling companion continues well into the nineteenth century; William Belton concludes his introduction to *The Angler in Ireland* with "Reader! . . . let us lose no more time in starting together" (viii). Even Irish writers were forced to accommodate those "who should like to make a tour in Ireland by a British fireside, (and these tourists are numerous in England)" (Atkinson, *Ireland Exhibited* viii).

Much like their wandering compatriots, these "home travellers" created a market for informative texts that allowed readers to feel as if they received the benefits of

travelling through Ireland, without incurring the expense or difficulty. John Angel's *A General History of Ireland* (1781), for example, is directed not only to the traveller, but to anyone who "may be interested or connected with" Ireland (vii). Similarly, William Seward comments specifically on the gratification "the *Antiquarian*" will receive from his 1789 *Hibernian Gazetteer*, an alphabetized directory of place names and descriptions geared primarily toward the traveller (iii). Travel writers repeatedly emphasized their awareness of the reader, who often determined a narrative's (financial) success or failure. Arthur Young, whose *Tour* remained influential and respected among travellers and agriculturalists well into the nineteenth century, feared that few readers would willingly "give up the pleasure of being amused for the use of being instructed," and confessed that his study of agricultural management and improvement was "dry and unentertaining" and "very far from amusing" (first ed., 1.i, viii).

> The flattering circumstance of a successful publication is not thus to be expected. The present age is much too idle to buy books that will not banish *l'ennye* from a single hour. Success depends on amusement. The historical performances of this age and nation, which have proved so honourable to their authors, would have met with a less brilliant success, had not the charms of stile rendered them as amusive as a romance. Their extreme popularity is perhaps built on rivalling, not only the authors that had before treated the same subjects, but Sir Charles Grandison and Julia. (1.viii)

No novelist, Young reassured himself that "the publick reception does not always mark the merit of a book" (viii). Despite Young's protests, his *Tour* received favorable and lengthy reviews in both the *Critical Review* and the *Monthly Review*, and the latter expresses particular approbation at "the information and entertainment which his publication has afforded us" (171).

Of course, readers required more than an entertaining prose style to accompany their "home travels." Over the course of several decades, the number and quality of engravings included in a travel narrative also influenced its reception. Arthur Young expressed concern about the lack of engravings in his *Tour*, but could do little to rectify the situation; the expense of engravings could not be covered by the initial subscriptions (1.i). Bernard Scale's *Hibernian Atlas* (1776) promises readers detailed maps of each province and county, "beautifully engraved on 78 Copper Plates," each accompanied by a written description. The small and inaccurate maps would have been of very little use to travellers,[5] but they formed an attractive sort of eighteenth-century coffee table book.[6] Despite its primarily decorative function, the author insists on the book's "real Utility," something which sets it apart in "an Age of Dissipation and Pleasure." Like other travel writers, Scale prides himself on producing a work "where Novelty is blended with Instruction, which at the same Time amuses the Imagination by mingling Entertainment with Genius" (preface). Certainly Scale's book contained instructive information, but it had utility only for a certain kind of "home traveller."

The home traveller's desire to "see" Ireland began to be satisfied in earnest in the 1820s and 30s. Thomas Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* claimed on the title page to be illustrated with six hundred engravings, which would have ensured a costly three-

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[5]The map of the province of Connaught, for example, indicated no roads at all. For more on the lack of good maps prior to the 1778 survey, see Taylor and Skinner, pages vi-vii.

[6]In fact, the book continued to serve this function into the nineteenth century, as suggested by the handwritten date of "22 Oct. 1840" on the flyleaf of the copy microfilmed by Research Publications for the Goldsmiths'-Kress Library of Economic Literature (no. 11398.9).

volume set. Cromwell's audience was not limited to stay-at-home travellers, however; the book contains much useful and practical information, "forming a complete guide for the traveller and tourist." Some works focused attention on specific locations, such as *Dublin Delineated in 26 Views*, which attempted "to afford the numerous strangers who visit Dublin the easiest means of seeing the most interesting of its public buildings," without acknowledging that the easiest way to view Dublin was from London (5). Many texts catered to both forms of "home travel," but others, such as G. N. Wright's *Ireland Illustrated* (1834), were clearly meant to entertain the armchair tourist. The illustrations and text follow no "systematic plan"; in fact, Wright proudly acknowledges having "rambled over subjects without method or restraint" and "[l]ike the butterfly . . . winged his desultory course through paths of pleasure adorned with a thousand sweets." Each engraving is accompanied by a brief text, "and the Illustrator has seized those happy occasions, for the introduction of such legends, facts, or circumstances, as may well be understood by the contemplator of each scene" (preface). The idea of travelling to see the scenes in person is never introduced; instead, the reader, a member of "the world of taste," is provided an opportunity to see the "singular wildness and peculiar character of the Irish Landscape," to learn Irish folklore, and to form conclusions about the Irish people, without ever leaving the comfort of his or her drawing room. Leitch Ritchie's *Ireland Picturesque and Romantic*, part of the Heath's Picturesque Annual series, served a similar function for English readers, and its title indicates an aesthetic trend in travel writing in general, and in representations of Ireland in particular. The sense that the Irish landscape could be elevated to the status of art, either in the form of poetic description or painting,

contributed to the travellers' notion that Ireland existed to be known, circumscribed and objectified by English pens and pencils (and the readers of the texts those instruments produced).

On the whole, most travel writing claimed to offer "pleasurable instruction" to both types of "home traveller." Occasionally, however, a book's lack of practicality as travelling companion leaves one to conclude that its primary audience was the second type of "home traveller."[7] For example, William Mavor's *Pocket Companion*, published in six volumes, is essentially a compendium of passages from others' travel narratives. Although some have claimed that the books "could have been quite easily accommodated even by those who travelled light" (Andrews 76), they still lacked the basic information found in other, smaller guide books. Furthermore, the *Pocket Companion* was not organized in a systematic fashion that would have allowed travellers to a specific country—for example, Ireland—to take only one or two volumes of the set with them on their trip. George Walpoole's *New British Traveller* (1784), published in octavo format (21 x 37.5 cm), is a more blatant example of a guide book created almost exclusively for the stay-at-home traveller. The size and weight of the book make it an impractical companion for travellers; it could be consulted the evening before an excursion, but certainly not brought along as a guide, although it contains much of the typical guide book information. Walpoole seems aware of his stay-at-home audience and assures the reader that the *New British Traveller*

> will afford to each Sex a rational, innocent, and pleasing Gratification; and while we labour for their Instruction and Amusement, they, in Imagination, may travel with Facility, gain Improvements at every Stage, survey three

[7]For more on the correlation between a travel book's size and its perceived utility, see Batten 30 and Buzard 66.

> Kingdoms . . . without Danger, and conclude their Excursions informed but not fatigued. . . . (iii)

In addition, he hopes the work "will prove a most entertaining Companion to Ladies and Gentlemen, either in their Travels, or their domestic Hour of Amusement." Walpoole clearly anticipates a readership of "home travellers," in particular women and, significantly, members of a variety of socioeconomic classes, including those for whom travel was not usually financially feasible; the book should be "of the utmost Importance to all Ranks of Men whatever, from the Senator down to the lowest Mechanic, whose Labour procures Riches and supports Grandeur" (iii). Although the over-five-hundred page book contains only nine pages on Ireland, and the descriptions are vague (if generally positive), Walpoole is one of the few eighteenth-century travel writers to acknowledge openly the varied readership of travel writing, and the importance of attracting readers who might have very little opportunity to travel in the conventional sense.

Women and the working classes were not the only "home travellers." After the Act of Union, several books about travel within the British Isles, and specifically Ireland, were written for children, indicating the extent to which information about Ireland had begun to permeate the English home. The earliest of these, Priscilla Wakefield's *A Family Tour through the British Empire*, was written "with a design to convey a general idea, to the minds of children, of the variety of surface, produce, manufactures, and principal places of the British Empire" (iii). The narrative has "the air of a real tour" (iii) and recounts the journey undertaken by the widow Mrs. Middleton and her children, who travel "for the sake of collecting useful knowledge," not "for the amusement of the moment" (2). Texts specific to Ireland, such as the anonymous *New Estate* (1831) or

Emily Taylor's *The Irish Tourist* (1837), teach adolescents how to the think about Ireland and the Irish: "The book need not necessarily, we feel, be dismal, which has that name [Ireland] stamped on its pages" (Taylor vii). The works themselves will be analyzed in greater detail in subsequent chapters, but the creation of such texts bespeaks the degree to which Ireland had been successfully domesticated and made safe for English home travellers, even children.

Travel readers formed their opinions about Ireland with information provided by travel writers, but some travel writers based those descriptions of Ireland on little more information than that provided by their own imaginations. A third form of "home travel" involved those who wrote travel narratives without ever leaving their homes:

> They are *domestic travellers*, or rather, if you please, *garret-riders*, employed, and their expences borne, by our historiographical dealers. And, indeed, whoever shall have had opportunity of comparing the originals with the representations given of them by our tour-writers and *illustrators*, will have sufficient reason to believe, that from *Homer's-Head* to the nearest *chop-house* was one of the longest journeys the traveller had taken. . . . (Bush viii)

"Fireside travels" (which include imaginative compositions as well as plagiarized accounts) could be produced far more cheaply and quickly than legitimate travel narratives, because they did not require the time and expense of travel (Batten 61). "Most of the time this writer was a practical person who preferred to deal in facts, not in art, and his motive was usually money," according to Percy Adams (*Travel Liars* 143). As we shall see, fireside travellers attracted travel readers and plagued legitimate travel writers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the "Address to the Reader" that prefaces his *Hibernia Curiosa*, John Bush rails against the travel writers whose descriptions of the "natural curiosities" of Ireland "are as much like the originals, indeed, as a sixpenny picture of KING-GEORGE & QUEEN-SHARLOT, stuck up with a *cat's head* in a *pottage-pot* against the walls of a cottage in *Lancashire,*" those whose accounts "have been wrote implicitly from tradition or the hear-say of other people" (vii). Bush insists that, by contrast, "he has copied immediately from nature, without the least implicit reliance on any accounts whatever." His work is "perfectly original"; he would never stoop "to palm upon him [the reader] the *domestic travels* of the writer" (xiv). As Percy Adams notes, "the more a writer pointed an accusing finger at someone else, the more a reader is inclined to suspect that the man was protesting too much and should himself be investigated" (*Travel Liars* 15). Nothing is known of John Bush; he alludes in the text to Tunbridge Wells and styles his narrative as "A Letter from a Gentleman in Dublin to his Friend at Dover in Kent," recording the events of a tour in 1764. There is no particular reason to suspect him of "fireside travelling," although some of his comments suggest "a relatively limited actual experience of Ireland," according to John Harrington (155). He tours only through "the best and most civilized parts" of Ireland, rejecting the westernmost province of Connaught as "the least inviting to a traveller of any part of the kingdom," due in part to the potential presence of "wild Irish." He assures the reader that "This account, however unfavourable, is not exaggerated . . . for it is taken from some of the more sensible people of this very province," indicating that he was not above relying on outside sources of information (27, 29). He garnered positive reviews in the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*, both of which

make reference to Bush's contribution to knowledge about Ireland; neither impugn his originality or honesty. Nevertheless, Bush's narrative exemplifies the issues of accuracy and reliability surrounding "fireside travels"—both from the writer's and the reader's perspective.

Because of the epidemic nature of plagiarism in travel writing (particularly in the eighteenth century), travel readers developed a complicated system for determining the legitimacy of a travel narrative. Eighteenth-century readers relied primarily on form to determine the veracity of a travel writer, according to Charles Batten; although texts recounting visits to the same places were expected to share basic similarities of order and description, the narrative passages between them were expected to reveal the unique experiences of the writer. The narrative was not, however, expected to form a "plot," which was considered a sure sign of fictionality. Well-known writers could rely on their reputations for honesty;[8] others relied on a strict adherence to generic conventions to convince readers of their truthfulness (Batten 19-24, 54-64). The criteria for legitimacy were vague enough to allow countless misjudgments. As a result, legitimate travel

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[8]Charles Batten uses Arthur Young as an example of a travel writer who could "rely on [his] reputation as truthful" (58), although he points out elsewhere, as part of a critique of Percy Adams, that it is impossible to determine if Young was completely honest or accurate in his representations of particular events (20); such a concern seems particularly apt with respect to *A Tour in Ireland*, which was reconstructed from Young's notes and memory (see Chapter 2, note 2). In order to escape the charges leveled at his contemporaries, Young insists in his preface that "to describe the agriculture of a province, it is necessary to travel into it," accusing "the greater number" of "writers who have been most voluminous upon this subject" of remaining "confined to their own farms,—perhaps to their fire sides" (first ed., i). Elsewhere, Young mocks his critics who "make extremely free with information they never might have known, had my labours been wrought, like their own, at a fire side" (viii).

narratives became objects of undue suspicion, while the works of less scrupulous writers attained the status (and popularity) of legitimate travel narratives.

Philip Luckombe's *A Tour through Ireland in 1779* is one such example. Published in 1780, the narrative is composed almost entirely of passages lifted verbatim from four separate works: *A Tour through Ireland in Several Entertaining Letters . . . by Two English Gentlemen* (1746; attributed to W. R. Chetwood), John Bush's *Hibernia Curiosa* (1769), Richard Twiss's *Tour in Ireland in 1775* (1776), and Thomas Campbell's *A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland* (1777). The *Dictionary of National Biography* describes Luckombe as a "miscellaneous writer"; he worked as a printer for several years, and his most important work is considered to be *A Concise History of the Origin and Progress of Printing* (1770). As a printer, Luckombe would have been familiar with contemporary debates about copyright and the status of the "author"; quite probably he sided with other printers who wanted to be able to continue to produce inexpensive copies of texts without fear of lawsuits.[9] An audience hungry for travel writing sometimes deliberately failed to discriminate between genuine and fabricated or plagiarized accounts, since the latter "not infrequently provided . . . more entertainment than actual accounts"(Batten 60-61). Luckombe doubtless stood to profit from his narrative, following as it did on the heels of Richard Twiss's infamous narrative, and preceding Arthur Young's "dry," scientific account by only months.

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[9]For more on the eighteenth-century discussion surrounding the issues of copyright and authorship, see Mark Rose, "The Author as Proprietor: *Donaldson v. Becket* and the Genealogy of Modern Authorship," and Martha Woodmansee, "The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the 'Author.'"

Interestingly, the reliability of each of his source texts can be called into question to some degree.[10] The *Tour through Ireland in Several Entertaining Letters* might well have been judged fictional by its contemporaries because it violates two of the three criteria an eighteenth-century reader might have used to determine its veracity, according to Charles Batten: it relates "personal opinions and insignificant experiences" and "it contains letters [purportedly] written by more than one person which reveal varying points of view concerning the people and places visited" (24). From it, Luckombe plagiarizes his introduction (an account of the ancient history of Ireland[11]), the description of a popular attraction in Dublin (the skeleton of an ossified man), and descriptions of the cities of Bandon-bridge and Cork, among other things, including, apparently without irony, the following memorable line: "How ill is this noble country represented by ignorant or ungrateful people" (Chetwood 241, Luckombe 45). From Bush, Luckombe lifts accounts of three major tourist attractions: the waterfall at Powerscourt, the Giant's Causeway, and Killarney. As we have seen, Bush's veracity is not without question, but Luckombe seems particularly bold in borrowing Bush's noteworthy account of Killarney, considered the "earliest and most original" description of what would become the foremost tourist site in Ireland (Wright, *Killarney* iii, 21). From Campbell, an Irish writer masquerading as

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[10]For more on travel writers who "appropriated material from other travelers and, ironically, from other travel liars," see Percy G. Adams, *Travellers and Travel Liars* (13).

[11]Luckombe took care to "correct" his source texts in order to make his plagiarism less obvious. For example, in a brief chronicle of prechristian monarchs, Chetwood writes, "In short, this Island, till within these fifty Years, has been a continual Field of Blood, which must have greatly prevented its Improvement, as we see what a vast Progress it has made in almost every thing for the better, in so short a Space of Time" (67). Luckombe repeats the sentence verbatim, regularizing the capitalization, and changing "fifty Years" to "ninety" (Luckombe viii).

English,[12] Luckombe plagiarizes descriptions of the Irish landscape and the Irish peasantry—their quick speech, poor agriculture, and bestial living conditions, as well as their noteworthy hospitality, as summarized in this axiomatic phrase: "If you prefer the men of this country for their hospitality, and the women for their beauty, you are likely to live well with them" (Campbell 44, Luckombe 18). Finally, from Twiss, Luckombe appropriates descriptions of the Whiteboys and the condition of Irish peasants, whom Twiss designated as "these beings, who seem to form a different race from the rest of mankind" (Twiss 30, Luckombe 19). English and Irish readers alike took issue with the accuracy of Twiss's description of Ireland and the Irish; the Irish people so despised Twiss that they manufactured chamber pots with his face painted in the bottom, bearing the inscription "Let ev'ry man piss / On lying Dick Twiss" (Harrington 165; for a variation see Hadfield and McVeagh 20). Luckombe, in the midst of a description of Dublin plagiarized primarily from Bush, brazenly makes reference to the popular opinion of Twiss, one of his major textual resources:

> During my stay here I was frequently presented with the picture of a late Tourist at the bottom of the chamber-pots, with his mouth and eyes open ready to receive the libation, and on enquiry found, that even the utensil now is more frequently called by the name of a Twiss than any other, in contempt of the illiberal reflections of that gentleman, who was so hospitably received here. (17)

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[12]Thomas Campbell, a clergyman, "was an Irish acquaintance of Boswell" and "a shrewd student of the conventions of accounts of Ireland who adopted the persona necessary to exploit the power of such works over the English reading public. 'A very entertaining book,' reported Boswell in his life of Johnson, 'which has, however, one fault—that it assumes the fictitious character of an Englishman'" (Harrington 16; see also the entry on "tourism" in *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, ed. S. J. Connolly [1998]). His *Philosophical Survey* was published anonymously as "a Series of Letters to John Watkinson, M.D." (title page).

Gestures such as this might have convinced some readers that Luckombe's narrative was genuine. The reviewer in the *Critical Review* (which also reviewed Bush and Twiss) makes no accusation of plagiarism; rather, he labels Luckombe's tour "a distinct account" that is "sufficiently accurate" (184). The reviewer does suggest, however, that the author might, in fact, be Irish:

> The author insinuates, in the beginning of the Tour, that he is a native of Great Britain; whether he really be so, or a Hibernian, is of very little consequence; but that he is the latter, may perhaps be thought probable from the following passage, where, speaking of the cascade at Powerscourt, he says,
>
> 'At the very bottom of this sylvan amphitheatre, and in view from your first entrance into it, is seen one of the most beautiful water-falls in *Great Britain*.' (184)

Ironically, the reviewer's insinuation that the author had made a "bull" (Ireland is of course not in Great Britain) in fact arises from a copying error; the original text, from Bush's *Hibernia Curiosa*, reads "one of the most beautiful water-falls in Great Britain, or Ireland, and, perhaps, in the world" (67). In the second edition, Luckombe has "corrected" the passage to read, simply, "the kingdom" (23). The second edition, published in 1783, proudly bears Luckombe's name on the title page (the first edition did not) and was emended so sparingly as to allow the printer to retain the same pagination as the first edition. Luckombe's standing as a legitimate travel narrative has been retained into the late twentieth century; several scholars include his *Tour* in lists of the prominent narratives of the period. In a final irony, the entire text of Luckombe's *Tour* was pirated

and republished anonymously in 1788 as *The Compleat Irish Traveller*—which, in a sense, it was.[13]

Fireside travelling was not merely an eighteenth-century concern, as evidenced by the following passage from William Combe's poem, *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* (1809), in which the bookseller replies to Doctor Syntax's offer of a travel narrative:

> 'A Tour, indeed!—I've had enough
> Of Tours, and such-like flimsy stuff.
> What a fool's errand you have made
> (I speak the language of the trade),
> To travel all the country o'er,
> And write what has been writ before!
> We can get Tours—don't make wry faces,
> From those who never saw the places.
> I know a man who has the skill
> To make your Books of Tours at will;
> And from his garret in Moorfields
> Can see what ev'ry country yields;
> So, if you please, you may retire
> And throw your Book into the fire:
> You need not grin, my friend, nor vapour;
> I would not buy it for waste paper!'
> (qtd. in Ousby 13)

Fireside travellers ("those who never saw the places") continued to publish, and the superabundance of travel narratives, legitimate and otherwise, made it difficult to offer an original contribution. William Mavor's *The British Tourist's, or, Traveller's Pocket Companion* is essentially a compilation of excerpts from various travel narratives about the British Isles. As Mavor describes it, the work "collects, into one focus, the scattered

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[13]In *Strangers to that Land*, Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh erroneously describe *The Compleat Irish Traveller* as "a gazetteer of distances and landmarks, with descriptions and travelling advice" and provide an inaccurate publication date of 1778 (20).

rays of information," a necessary task because of the "plentiful crop" of such narratives already published, "most commonly copied from one another, without any valuable improvements, and frequently with such fidelity, as not to omit a single error" (xiii-xiv). Mavor's sole original contributions to the volumes are the preface and brief introductions to selected passages. Like Philip Luckombe, he draws from the foremost authorities on Ireland, including Richard Twiss, Arthur Young, and George Holmes; unlike Luckombe, Mavor provides proper attribution.

As the number of travel narratives increased, travel writers expressed growing concern for their ability to write what had *not* "been writ before." "Books of travels have multiplied in proportion as the countries where travellers could resort to have diminished; and have left nothing new either to see or to say," complains John Gamble (*Sketches* 1). The popularity of "home travels" (in the sense of travel within the British Isles), particularly among "home travellers" (readers), thus contributed to the development of another form of "home travel"—fireside travel. In the eighteenth century, argues Martha Woodmansee, the conception of the writer as a craftsman gave way to the conception of the writer as "inspired": "'Inspiration' came to be explicated in terms of *original genius*, with the consequence that the inspired work was made peculiarly and distinctively the product—and the property—of the writer" (427). Generic patterns in travel writing complicated the connection between originality, the construction of authorship, and copyright. Travel narratives describing the same places were expected to share certain similarities: "if they do not agree in their most basic descriptions of a place . . . the reader inevitably suspects that at least one of the travelers is inaccurate, if not dishonest" (Batten

62). Tours in Ireland followed certain predictable patterns; generally, travellers began in Dublin and travelled either clockwise or counterclockwise around the perimeter of the island, stopping at notable attractions as they passed. Furthermore, travellers consulted the works of other travellers and openly included descriptions provided by them in their own travel narratives. In spite of these circumstances, most travel writers emphasized their original contributions to the body of work on Ireland, frequently reassuring readers that they had, in fact, visited the places they described, unlike so many fireside travellers. George Cooper summarizes the position of many of his fellow travel writers:

> I cannot pretend to assert, that every thing which I have said in the following Letters is altogether new, or that many of the observations have not even been made by other writers. I can only take to myself the merit of having ascended to the fountain head of information. . . . But it would be absurd, under every advantage, to aim at perfect originality, considering the very extensive discussion of Irish affairs which the Union has led to. I cannot however, conscientiously accuse myself of the least plagiarism. In studying a subject it is sometimes difficult to distinguish one's own thoughts from those which originally belonged to other people. . . . But as I have been in a situation to see and not to read, to furnish my mind with the images of things, with original pictures, and not with mere copies or the representations of other men's ideas; I flatter myself that I do not stand exposed even to any suspicions of that sort. (xiv-xv)

The paradox is evident: the proliferation of information about Ireland, spurred on by the Act of Union, fueled the work of fireside travellers and made even the work of legitimate travel writers seem to lack originality. To further complicate the situation, travel readers had begun to seek out entertainment at the expense of instructive information (Batten 81), paving the way for more fictionalized, but amusing, travel accounts, such as Thackeray's *Irish Sketch Book.* Avowals of authenticity, such as John Gough's insistence in 1817 that his narrative was based upon "an actual tour," that had left him "well qualified to describe

places, which I have not only actually visited, but in which I have at different times resided for some months," had begun to wear thin (3). Increasingly, Ireland (in the form of text, picture, or tourist destination) was repackaged to suit the tastes of the metropolitan reading public; according to John Gamble, "authors serve up the repast which suits the public taste, and manufacture Irish bulls in their garrets, as vintners do port in their cellars" (*Sketches* 314). If fireside travellers could and did provide readers with the Ireland they wished to see, then a legitimate travel writer's insistence that, "There is not a garret view in the whole work," would not necessarily have recommended it to readers, particularly those desirous of accounts that emphasized the differences between England and Ireland (Atkinson, *Ireland Exhibited to England* v).

The multivalent concept of "home travel" reflects England's ambivalent relationship toward Ireland: in some ways, and at some times, England needs Ireland to assume the characteristics of "home"—when travel on the Continent is prohibited, say, or when the two countries are brought together by an Act of Union; however, England more often desires Ireland to occupy the position of Other, against which it may define itSelf. Travel, even "home travel," provides a means for othering Ireland by rendering Ireland as "abroad"—distinct from, distant from "home." Travel can also collapse the distance between home and abroad, exposing the traveller to a "sudden involuntary awareness of the repetition of the familiar in the foreign": the uncanny (Lawrence 3). Freud's notion of the uncanny seems particularly appropriate for the notion of "home travel"; *unheimlich* ("uncanny") may be more literally translated as "un-homely."[14] According to Lawrence:

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[14]For a postcolonial reading of this term, see Bhabha, "The World and The Home."

> The uncanny terrifies because it collapses the distance between the familiar and the foreign in a way that the traveler . . . does not anticipate. In a sense, the idea of adventure depends on this distance; the physical distance between the poles of familiar and foreign figures the desire to separate the two. This structure of difference between here and there by necessity oversimplifies the opposition between home and the foreign, until difference is intentionally mediated by the traveler in the acts of travel and travel writing. . . . (4)

Once again, we note the emphasis on the distance between home and abroad, the "familiar" and the "foreign." The existence of a distance-dependent paradigm (home/abroad) enables the maintenance of that all-important sense of cultural difference (familiar/foreign); if travel collapses distance, then travel writing may be used to "mediate"—in effect to construct—crucial differences. In the case of English travel writing about Ireland, difference is primarily rendered as distance—physical distance, but also imaginative distance, which exploits the gap between the familiar landscapes and behaviors of "home" and the (necessarily) alien characteristics of "abroad." However, Ireland's home-like characteristics—its close physical proximity and its political status (particularly after the Act of Union)—mean that the English must strike a balance between viewing the Irish as either home or abroad, Self or Other. As the next two chapters will reveal, English travellers employ distinct rhetorical techniques to establish distance from Ireland—a sublime landscape that may be domesticated through improvement or the techniques of the picturesque—and the Irish—a people whose domestic practices and cultural behaviors provide numerous opporunities for travellers to distinguish between home and not-home.

CHAPTER 2

THE ENGLISH TRAVELLER AND IRELAND

Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) begins with a discussion of novelty, a concept intimately related to travel, as we have seen in the previous chapter. "The first and simplest emotion which we discover in the human mind, is Curiosity," according to Burke, and by curiosity, he means "whatever desire we have for, or whatever pleasure we take in, novelty." Novelty, however, is short-lived: "those things, which engage us merely by their novelty, cannot attach us for any length of time"; curiosity "quickly runs over the greatest part of its objects, and soon exhausts the variety which is commonly to be met with in nature." The "powers and passions" that affect the mind "should not be exerted in those things which a daily and vulgar use have brought into a stale unaffecting familiarity." Therefore, "some degree of novelty must be one of the materials in every instrument which works upon the mind," concludes Burke (29-30). In particular, Burke posits "the sublime"—whatever excites "the ideas of pain and danger"—as "productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling." If Ireland—particularly its wild and mountainous landscape—can be rendered "sublime," then it will satisfy the traveller's desire for novelty. Burke recognizes the threat of danger inherent in the sublime, but his aesthetic philosophy also provides a mechanism by which the English traveller can justify the need to establish distance between England and Ireland: "When danger or pain press too nearly, they are incapable of giving any delight, and are simply terrible; but at certain

distances, and with certain modifications, they may be, and they are, delightful, as we every day experience" (36). Thus, if Ireland's sublimity is too close, it is "simply terrible," but "at certain distances, and with certain modifications,"—if Ireland can be distanced, or domesticated in some way—then Ireland's sublime aspects may be "delightful."

Burke's essay develops the "sublime" in opposition to the "beautiful" by establishing a series of qualities inherent in each characteristic. The sublime may be inspired by power, magnitude, darkness, loudness, suddenness, pain, etc., while the beautiful is found in objects that are diminutive, smooth, soft, gradual, and delicate. In her essay "The Aesthetics and Politics of Landscape in the Eighteenth Century," Carole Fabricant draws attention to the unspoken tension in Burke's argument:

> In directly opposing the sublime to the subservient, the safe, the self-gratifying, and the useful, and in removing the sublime from the realm of mental processes to the world of external objects having an objective reality of their own, Burke affirms the existence of powerful forces in nature ungovernable by man: forces alien to his laws, resistant to his will, and indifferent to his desires and needs. (74)

In effect, the sublime cannot be distanced or domesticated and retain any of its desirability. However, Burke and others saw the aesthetic impulse itself as a means of control—a means of establishing distance between the sublime and the person being acted upon by the sublime. Agricultural improvement, landscape architecture, and the picturesque provided means of controlling and containing the sublime in nature while retaining an awareness of the power and novelty of the sublime. Travellers to Ireland used two modes to attempt to control or aestheticize the sublime aspects of Irish landscape: improvement and the picturesque. The terms will receive fuller treatment below, but it is important here to understand that both of these attempts to control and domesticate the sublime carefully

negotiated the tension between similarity and difference, between the need to regard Ireland as home (domesticated) and abroad (novel). The practitioners of improvement and the picturesque saw their processes and intentions as distinct, but both "are characterised, first of all, by a desire to impose an order on landscape, by laying a structure upon it, or by applying to it abstract, general rules; and, secondly, by a willingness to manipulate a view so that it fits the order being imposed upon it" according to John Barrell in *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place* (58). This "way of looking became so refined, and so important to those who employed it, that it became almost their only way of *knowing* the landscapes . . . that they were contemplating" (59). Both improvement and the picturesque constructed an objectifying distance between the landscape and the viewer; those who saw a landscape that could be rendered picturesque or improved knew only the landscape they constructed (in their minds, on paper, or through physical reshaping and replanting), with little regard for the needs or desires of many of the people who inhabited that land (59). Both methods thus allow the viewer to control and domesticate the land, and to ignore the inhabitants of that landscape if they failed to contribute to that process of domestication.

In the rhetoric of improvement so familiar to many eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century readers, Ireland is the consummate "project." In his *Tour*, Arthur Young stresses "the vast importance to *England* of the improvement of her irish [sic] territory," by which he means generally the agricultural improvement of Ireland: the enclosure of farms, and the application of scientific methods to tillage and husbandry in

order to increase production and decrease waste (first ed., 2.10). Other travellers discuss improvement in more aesthetic terms—the "improvement" of an estate to make the landscape more visually pleasing—or in human terms—the "improvement" of the peasantry. The complexities of the term were recognized by contemporaries. Henry Inglis queries,

> How often do we hear the question mooted, Is Ireland an improving country? The reply ought to depend altogether on the meaning we affix to the word improvement. If by improvement, be meant more extended tillage, and improved modes of husbandry,—more commercial importance, evinced in larger exports,—better roads,—better modes of communications,—increase of buildings,—then Ireland is a highly improving country; but, up to the point at which I have arrived, I have found nothing to warrant the belief, that any improvement has taken place in the condition of the people. (45-46)

Irish travel writers Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall recognize the patronizing and paternalistic nature of improvement: "Persons who are anxious to improve others are very often eager to force improvements according to their own peculiar views, without considering that the parties to be benefited have been instructed and, as it were, moulded into plans and systems altogether differing from those they are expected at once to adopt as the most suitable and the best" (3.299-300). Improvement often ignores the cultural beliefs or behaviors of the people who live on the land. Nevertheless, English travellers were eager to see evidence of improvement in Ireland as a sign that the country could be successfully domesticated. In a general sense, improvement involves the alteration of landscape from its natural (uncultivated) state to render it more aesthetically pleasing or agriculturally sound; most methods of aesthetic improvement used a great deal of artifice—moving hills, re-routing streams, planting or removing trees, and enclosing wildlife (particularly deer) so

that the combined effect of these elements enhanced the appearance of the estate when viewed from a particular point or "prospect." Nevertheless, improved estates were designed to capture the essence of the sublime, rather than to exclude those elements; formal gardens and straight lines were eschewed in favor of wandering streams, deer parks, and glimpses of appropriately "rustic" cabins, carefully constructed and controlled tableaus that gave the appearance of wilderness while retaining the security of domestication. Scholars have noted that English travellers in Ireland generally "[single] out for praise a neat new town or a patch of improved landscape (which meant landscape resembling England)" (Hadfield and McVeagh 19); such descriptions seem to reveal the extent to which improvement was seen to domesticate Ireland and make it "home-like," and thus palatable to English travellers and readers. However, by repeatedly calling attention to England as the point of comparison, the rhetoric of improvement ultimately emphasizes Ireland's difference and distance from England.

It seems only appropriate to begin with Arthur Young, a respected agricultural theorist dedicated to the improvement of farming systems throughout Britain. Throughout his narrative, Young takes note of any improvement he sees in Ireland, whether a small farm or a large estate.[1] The narrative consists of two parts: Young's

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[1]Several scholars have noted Young's tendency to express an attraction to the sublime (unimproved) aspects of Irish landscape, which he undercuts by an immediate shift in focus to an improved patch of ground (see Gibbons, "Topographies," 28-29; Barrell 77-78, 82). Such an apparently contradictory move only supports my argument that both improvement and lack of improvement are appealing in their ability to establish distance between England and Ireland.

"minutes," taken as he travelled,[2] followed by his "General Observations," which analyze and summarize the information contained in the first part.[3] He begins his General Observations by remarking that "To judge of Ireland by the conversation one sometimes hears in England, it would be supposed that one half of it was covered with bogs, and the other with mountains filled with Irish ready to fly at the sight of a civilized being": in other words, the English at home generally view Ireland as unimproved (169). Although it would be unfair to characterize Young as satisfied with the state of agriculture in Ireland, he does remark frequently on the number of improved estates and farms, and on the potential for improvement throughout the country. In particular, Young approves of any attempt on the part of Irish landowners to encourage industriousness (and thus agricultural improvement) among the Irish peasants and to improve their estates in the "modern"—i.e., English—style. Young is primarily concerned with agricultural improvement, but he also

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[2]Young demonstrates a remarkable consistency in the questions he asks to elicit information about the various counties of Ireland. In 1745, Charles Smith published *Proposals for Collecting Materials*, a series of fourteen "Queries recommended to the Curious to enable them to make proper Enquiries into Natural and other Matters relating to the several Counties of Ireland" (6). William Seward reprints the list at the end of the introduction to the *Hibernian Gazetteer* (1789). Travellers were encouraged to follow a methodological approach in their observations and blank travelling journals were produced to facilitate this process (Andrews 73-75; see also Batten 84-91). The abbreviated and "dry" style of the "minutes" is attributed by Constantia Maxwell, the editor of the 1925 edition, to the theft of Young's journal on the return trip, which forced Young to use the notes he jotted down while travelling to reconstruct a narrative. Subsequent quotations are from the Maxwell edition, unless otherwise indicated.

[3]Young repeats this form in his *Travels in France* (1792). Charles Batten discusses this decision in *Pleasurable Instruction*, concluding that Young hoped to please the "general reader" with the more personal information in the autobiographical section (which was lacking to some degree in *Tour in Ireland*; see previous note), while the "Observations" section "aims at instructing readers with specialized interests" (Batten 32-34).

reveals his pleasure in landscape architecture and similar forms of aesthetic improvement. The following description of the Duke of Leinster's seat at Carton is symptomatic:

> The park ranks among the finest in Ireland. It is a vast lawn, which waves over gentle hills, surrounded by plantations of great extent, and which break and divide in places so as to give much variety. A large but gentle vale winds through the whole, in the bottom of which a small stream has been enlarged into a fine river, which throws a cheerfulness through most of the scenes: over it a handsome stone bridge. . . . The park spreads on every side in fine sheets of lawn, kept in the highest order by 1100 sheep, scattered over with rich plantations, and bounded by a large margin of wood, through which is a riding. (8-9)

Such descriptions of neat civility must have been reassuring to English readers: no bogs, no barren landscape, no peasants; only the sheep labor on this idyllic country estate. The description is divided into "scenes" for the reader, just as the landscape itself had been restructured for the viewer: hills and plantations of trees have been organized by the planner "so as to give much variety"; similarly the stream has been "enlarged" into a river, suggestive of increased power. The sublimity of the wood—typically a site of darkness and uncertainty—has been at least partially domesticated into a pleasurable and safe place for riding. Elsewhere in his *Tour*, Young expresses his approval at the "variety of hill and dale" at General Cunninghame's seat in County Wicklow, and the "most noble garden, . . . one of the completest I have seen in Ireland," at the estate of Mr. King in County Mayo (29, 78). Castlemartyr, the seat of the Earl of Shannon, rivals the perfection of an engraving: "The grounds about the house are very well laid out; much wood well grown, considerable lawns, a river made to wind through them in a beautiful manner, an old castle so perfectly covered with ivy as to be a picturesque object" (104-5). As Young's use of

the term "picturesque" suggests, aesthetically improved estates could be treated like pictures, framed and distanced for the pleasure of the viewer.

Agriculturally improved landscapes (inclosed fields, drained bogs, reclaimed mountains) were more difficult to render in picturesque terms, as we shall see below, but they involved similar forms of domestication. The necessary distance is again acquired through comparison. Young's highest praise is reserved for estates like Woodlawn, which has been "improved entirely in the modern English taste" (90) or Anne's Grove, which "had a much nearer resemblance to an English than an Irish residence" (98), or the Mathews estate, "so well planted that I could hardly believe myself in Ireland" (128), or Mr. Lloyd's, where "I could have imagined myself in a very pleasing part of England" (146), or of much of Queen's County, near Dublin, which is "generally well planted so as to give it the richness of an English woodland scene" (165). By repeatedly referencing "home" (England) in his descriptions of Irish estates, Arthur Young calls attention to the fact that he is not at home, but abroad, in a place that may superficially resemble, but can never be, Britain. The Anglo-Irish (Protestant) owners of these estates had a vested interest in establishing a connection to England, one that would justify their continued authority over Catholic Ireland. Roy Foster uses the term "England-complex" to describe the behavior of the Ascendancy landowners who used landscape and architecture to demonstrate their affiliation to England (194). This pattern of behavior inevitably underscored the differences between the Anglo-Irish and the English. They become, in Homi Bhabha's phrase, the "subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (86). Only much later, in the mid-nineteenth century, does an English traveller consider

the inherent equivocation in the desire for evidence of English-style improvement in Ireland. William Thackeray initially feels that comparing an improved Irish property to England is "the best compliment that can be paid" (260) but later admits, "It is hard to use this comparison so often, and must make Irish hearers angry. Can't one see a neat house and grounds, without instantly thinking that they are worthy of the sister country; and implying, in our cool way, its superiority everywhere else? . . . Is it the fact that English grounds *are* superior, or only that Englishmen are disposed to consider them so?" (277). Nevertheless, he later admits that "a sight of neatness and comfort is exceedingly welcome to an English traveller," suggesting that such sights are relatively rare, and that their implicit domestication reassures the English traveller, while reminding him that he is, in fact, abroad—away from the comforts of home.

The temptation to domesticate Ireland and make it "home-like" sometimes overcame the desire for distance. In Young's eyes, the landowners who could make Ireland look like England had the potential to make Ireland behave like England as well. Thus the domesticating rhetoric of improvement may be extended beyond landscape to human beings. Young is confident of the improvability of Ireland and the Irish, and records one landholder as insisting that "if good land is let to the poor people, they are sure to destroy it; but give them heath, or what is bad, and they will make it good" (90). As proof of this, Young recounts the story of Sir William Osborn, who improved his mountainous estate by letting the land to Irish peasants—many of them former Whiteboys, according to Osborn—and supplying them with fertilizer, livestock, and materials with which to build cottages.

> In this manner Sir William has fixed twenty-two families, who are all upon the improving land, the meanest growing richer, and find themselves so well off, that no consideration will induce them to work for others, not even in harvest. Their industry has no bounds; nor is the day long enough for the revolution of their incessant labour. (132)

This account of Irish industriousness, so uncommon in English travel narratives, showed English readers the potential benefits of domesticating Irish natives: revolutionary impulses are redirected to productive activity, and laborers content to stay and work in Ireland will not travel to England seeking employment. "Too much cannot be said in praise of this undertaking. . . . It shows that the villainy of the greatest miscreants is all situation and circumstances. *Employ*, don't *hang* them," concludes Young (133). Young spoke out repeatedly against the common practice of raising the rents of Irish cottiers who improved their land,[4] and praised those landowners who encouraged the peasants to apply modern methods of agriculture, particularly enclosure and the application of lime to increase the soil's productivity.

Sometimes, however, the important task of improving Ireland could not be left to the (Catholic) peasants. Young relates the story of Lord Chief Baron Foster, who "has made the greatest improvements I have anywhere met with":

> The whole country twenty-two years ago was a waste sheep-walk, covered chiefly with heath, with some dwarf furze and fern. The cabins and people as miserable as can be conceived; not a Protestant in the country, nor a road passable for a carriage. . . . In order to create a new race of tenants, [Foster] fixed upon the most active and industrious labourers. . . . He fixed a colony of French and English Protestants on the land, which have

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[4]If tenants were unable to pay their rent, then the land would be re-leased at a higher rate. Those tenants who did manage to pay the increased rent ran the risk of losing their lease to those who would pay even more. Thus, peasants had little incentive to improve their land.

> flourished greatly. . . . The country is now a sheet of corn. A greater improvement I have not heard of. (35-37)

The importation of French and English Protestants here enables the improvement of the country, and as a consequence increases Ireland's Home-like (i.e., English) qualities, particularly the presence of Protestantism. Young offers similar praise of the Palantines, German Protestants who emigrated to England and were brought to Ireland by various landowners to assist with improvement. The Palantines "are very industrious, and in consequence are much happier and better fed, clothed, and lodged, than the Irish peasants," according to Young (125).[5,6] Young admits that this is not entirely due to their Protestantism; the Palantines did not work under the same lease system and suffered no repercussions for improving the land they settled. Nevertheless, Young felt the task of improving Ireland—making it more like England and more profitable for England—to be too important to be left to chance and the unpredictability of the Irish character.

Arthur Young was not the only English traveller to reflect on the importance of improving Ireland. In the early years of the nineteenth century, John Gough and Richard Colt Hoare remark repeatedly on the need for improvement of Ireland, or at least on the need to incorporate the rhetoric of improvement in one's travel narrative. Hoare admits that after "so short a residence in Ireland, it would be deemed presumptuous in me, to enter deeply into the actual state of agriculture" (314); nevertheless, he considers it the

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[5]However, Constantia Maxwell notes, "They do not seem to have exercised any permanent influence upon their surroundings, and when their leases fell in, they merged into the condition of the ordinary Irish tenant" (230-31, n. 145).

[6]Sir John Carr records a similar description of the Palantines' positive influence on the Irish landscape shortly after the Act of Union (352-53).

duty of every traveller to take note of such things: "In travelling through a new country, the eye should ever be upon the watch: its soil, produce, character, all should be examined" (133). Such language is in keeping with popular trends in travel writing. By the late eighteenth century, travel writers were forced to consider the type of travel narrative they would produce: one focused on the country (landscape, agriculture, natural curiosities) or focused on the countrymen (character, manners, customs) (Batten 98-101). Gough's observations are reminiscent of Young's. He writes with pleasure of a well-kept country estate, or a landscape "much resembling some parts of England" (36, 58), and praises landowners who encourage improvement among the peasantry: "This is the true method of relieving the poor, and must, in a philantrophic mind, give birth to sensations, unknown to those thoughtless landholders, possessing thousands of uncultivated improvable acres, and surrounded by an unemployed tenantry" (169). Whereas Young notes many failures to improve, Gough, writing after the Union, focuses on the successes, concluding that "An impartial Englishman . . . instead of being surprised, that the appearance of the country and the towns, is not equal to that of England, must rather be amazed at Ireland's general picture, and that, with all its disadvantages, it approaches so near to that of the elder country" (318-19). Again, we note the equivocal and distancing comparison: Ireland is "so near" but "not equal" to England. Ireland has the potential to "become one of the brightest gems in the British Crown" (319), provided that the spirit of improvement continues in its inexorable course of cultivation and domestication. Travellers continued to find evidence of improvement well into the nineteenth century. After his arrival in Ireland, John Barrow, "seeing the healthful state of the country,"

writes: "I could not forbear asking myself, 'Can this be Ireland?'" (32). He later recounts the story of one man, "who, having accumulated a handsome fortune in the West Indies, spends it most liberally . . . in making improvements," a task he accomplishes in part by "creating among [his tenants] a rivalship, as it were, to show examples of neatness and cleanliness" (60-61). Elsewhere, his description of Florence Court, seat of the Earl of Enniskillen, echoes the language of a Brown or Repton (134-35). Near mid-century, Georgiana Chatterton describes an estate so thoroughly improved that "we could scarcely fancy it in Ireland" (*Sketches* 1.300). As Barrow's and Chatterton's comments suggest, improvement had the power to remake Ireland, to erase the very qualities that characterized it as Ireland. Such a change doubtless threatened some travellers, who had grown accustomed to regarding Ireland as Other in a particular way. Nevertheless, travel writers, especially after Union, seem determined to show how Ireland has been or can be improved.

In fact, the Act of Union itself could be regarded as an "improving" measure. George Cooper argues that the introduction of a "prudent legislature will tame their [the Irish people's] wild nature, subdue them to use, and render them the most powerful and most tractable agents in subservience to great view and great designs" (196). Here Cooper uses the rhetoric of improvement to depict the Irish as a landscape susceptible to reframing and reworking by the English imperial eye. The Irish people function as the sheep or deer on an improved estate; once they have been "subdued," and their "wild" natures tamed, they become useful for crafting the desired effect—a "great view" reflecting "great designs." They lend the appearance of wilderness without threatening the

comforts of domesticity. And, as in landscape, any obstacles to improvement may be removed or altered without further justification. Domestication of Ireland requires more than winding streams and spacious lawns; it requires the influence of English law, the institution that would make Ireland not just home-like, but Home.

Not all travel writers confined their understanding of improvement to such weighty matters as agriculture, economics, or politics. Young's contemporary, Thomas Campbell, records with pleasure the mixture of "hill and dale" in the Irish countryside, which lacked only the skillful hand of the improver to make it truly beautiful, one that recognized the need to "accomodate the plan to the place," instead of "torturing the place to the plan," as improvers sometimes did (166,170). John Bush concludes his description of the Lakes of Killarney, an ever-popular destination for travellers, with the following remark:

> I hardly think that nature, in any part of this habitable globe, has thrown together a finer collection of materials for improvement, by a very little introduction of art, into a scene the most enchantingly rural and the most fertile of entertainment to her curious votaries. (157)

The potential exists to improve Ireland "by a very little introduction of art," which will make the country more hospitable, and entertaining, to travellers. In this vein, Philip Luckombe singles out Lord Powerscourt for praise. According to Luckombe, Powerscourt has taken the trouble to improve conditions for viewing the famous waterfall on his estate by cutting steps, removing excess vegetation, and providing chairs in which weary travellers can rest (26-27). Since we have seen evidence to indicate that Luckombe's account is drawn from other narratives, pieced together with conjecture, the inclusion of these "improvements" (perhaps based on John Bush's description of Lord Kenmare's similar accommodations at Killarney) indicates that such improvements were

not uncommon and that English travellers and readers expected and appreciated them. Charles Bowden is pleased to find that the "noble proprietor" at another waterfall, Poll-a-phuca, has "spared no expense in forming walks and palings in the most dangerous passages" (71). Richard Colt Hoare recommends certain improvements at other popular sites, in particular "the *judicious* application of the pruning knife" to the ivy that has, in Hoare's opinion, overgrown various ruins, obscuring the architecture and making them less appealing to travellers (49; see also 51, 63). The consensus among many travel writers, and no doubt among many travel readers as well, seems to be that Ireland could best be seen in its improved (domesticated) state, which rendered the sublime aspects of the Irish landscape accessible and less threatening.

The vast majority of travel writers recorded their approbation of improvement in much more generalized terms; their fondness for "neatness," in particular, bespeaks a general interest in Irish domestic life that would have appealed to many English home-travellers. George Holmes, in his *Sketches of Some of the Southern Counties of Ireland* (1797) remarks frequently upon a well-ordered environment: a village "which pleased us exceedingly by its general neatness and cleanliness" (16) or "small, but very neat" houses (52) or "a very neat built town" (180). However, most late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English travellers reserved the term "neat" for towns in the north of Ireland, and particularly for Protestant settlements there—people and places more similar to England and the English. Methodist minister John Wesley records one such observation in his *Journal* for 1756: "No sooner did we enter Ulster than we observed the difference. The ground was cultivated just as in England, and the cottages not only neat,

but with doors, chimneys and windows" (4.177). Quakers, in particular, caught the attention of many travellers. Arthur Young offers the following description of a Quaker settlement:

> I observed all the way I went, that the cabins were generally much better than any I had seen in Ireland. Large ones, with two or three rooms, in good order and repair, all with windows and chimneys and little sties for their pigs and cattle. As well built as common in England. (25)

His similar comments on a Palantine settlement (see above) suggest that such orderly domestic conditions, common among Protestants but rare among the Catholic peasants, reassured the English traveller. Philip Luckombe remarks that the Quakers' neatness looks fitting in the Irish landscape, suggesting their potential to be rendered picturesque and thus objectified (56-57). Nearly forty years later, John Gough presents a similar picture of "this industrious people" who have established a village of "well built houses, some of them even elegant . . . [and] very neat white-washed cabins, belonging to members of this society." Here Gough claims to have "experienced true Irish hospitality and politeness, without either form or show" (64). Thus English readers could infer that travellers could experience Ireland without encountering the poverty and squalor they had come to consider as emblematic of that country. Jonathan Binns insists that the Quakers "are greatly respected, having contributed in an important degree to the social and moral improvement of their respective districts; an effect that is manifested in the neatness of the cottages and houses, and in the orderly and industrious habits of the people." Binns was far from an impartial observer, although he insists that this "statement does not proceed from an undue desire to laud a society of which I am myself a member" (1.197). Even the travel narratives for children reinforced the desirability for improvement in the form of

Protestant 'neatness' and industry; an Anglo-Irish family friend tells the Grey children in *The New Estate* (1831): "It has been observed . . . that wherever the Quakers settle, great improvement follows in a town. Ireland is very much indebted to this class of persons, for great advance in commerce and the introduction of neatness and order; qualities in which the Irish are eminently deficient" (192). Home travellers, even children, were assured that the native "wild Irish" could be improved and domesticated with the proper models and incentives.

However, improvement had the potential to eradicate the sublimity (and novelty) that originally attracted the traveller to Ireland; similarly, improvement that depended on Protestantism and superficial resemblance to England threatened to collapse the necessary distance between England and Ireland by diminishing Ireland's otherness. Thus, numerous English travellers also noted the failures of Irish people to improve the Irish landscape. Arthur Young encountered more than one landowner who knew "the poverty of the common Irish residing tenantry and their characters to be such, that they could not improve them [the lands] as they should be" (Maxwell ed. 13). In another county, Young observed that, "It is here thought that it would be very difficult to nurse up a race of little farmers from the cottiers," in part due to their faulty character (147). Young was horrified too by bad husbandry practices among the Irish (83), but he did not stop there. His displeasure extended to the wealthier classes in Ireland, "where so many *fine* places want *neatness*, and where, after great expense, so little is found *complete*" (98). Other eighteenth-century travellers were similarly displeased by Irish influence on the landscape. Charles Bowden writes that he feels "a spirit" of improvement to be "much wanting" in

Ireland (137). E. D. Clarke summarizes the connections among Irish character, Irish landscape, and the need for improvement:

> Nature has done but little for the country; but the repeated efforts of art, in erecting beautiful edifices, fertilizing the soil, and encouraging the growth of trees, have greatly improved it. The outlines of a poor neglected country are often visible. The Irish are a lazy tribe, and were formerly more indolent than they are at present. It is perhaps owing to this, that the features of a barren soil are so often to be traced. This however is very much altered of late years. Times begin to alter. The spirit of improvement pervades all conditions of men; and those nations, that heretofore were seen buried in barbarism and savage obscurity, now teem with increase of science and refinement. Nothing can afford a more striking instance of this than the state of Ireland, although there is still such vast room for alteration. (323)

The passage teems with Clarke's ambivalence toward Ireland and the Irish: they are "lazy," but "were formerly more indolent than they are at present"; they were once "buried in barbarism and savage obscurity" but "now teem with increase of science and refinement." This, combined with "the repeated efforts of art," certainly demonstrates a "spirit of improvement," since "Nature has done but little for the country." However, "the outlines of a poor neglected country are often visible" and "there is still such vast room for alteration." Clarke sees and records changes with approbation but doubts the ability of the "lazy" Irish to improve Ireland thoroughly and completely, in effect to eradicate all signs of its former "Irishness." Ireland, it seems, demonstrates the limits of improvement, and those limits were to be found in the flaws of Irish character. Such a critique of Ireland's failure to improve belies England's desire to conceptualize the Irish as Other, however. To the extent that improvement provided a means for the English traveller to domesticate and objectify Ireland, to view the sublime without being threatened by (or overly attracted to) it, to compare and contrast Ireland with England, then improvement reinforced the

desired distance between Self and Other. Failures to improve also drew attention to the differences (and distance) between England and Ireland and could thus prove equally useful.

In the simplest terms, "picturesque" designates something that is "like a picture." The description of landscape (or people) in picturesque terms functions as a framing device, providing an objectifying distance from which the viewer may regard the thing being examined, described, or drawn. As with improvement, the methodology of the picturesque encouraged the viewer to take an active role in imaginatively or physically restructuring the landscape being viewed; the language of the picturesque offers yet another way to control or domesticate the wildness that originally attracts the viewer. However, practitioners of the picturesque evinced a noted dislike of cultivated (improved) land. Some years after Burke's essay on the sublime and the beautiful, William Gilpin posited the picturesque as a third category, for objects that were neither sublime nor beautiful, but nevertheless pleasurable "to contemplate in pictures" (Barrell 57). Subsequent theorists of the picturesque attempted to define the characteristics of the picturesque—e.g., roughness, irregularity—but the term remained notoriously slippery. The term "picturesque" appears repeatedly in travel writing from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, but it frequently lack specificity. In a sense, its flexibility benefitted the travel writer by providing a sort of "code word" for objectification; if Ireland's landscape could be rendered "picturesque," then it could be established as different and distant from the English viewer. As with "improvement," the modes of the

picturesque encouraged artists and writers to reconstruct and recreate scenes to their best advantage, as evidenced in this passage from Sir Richard Colt Hoare:

> Perhaps on no one occasion do the love and knowledge of drawing and painting, contribute so much to the amusement of those who cultivate them, as in travelling through a dreary country, unvaried by the beautiful irregularities and decorations of nature; for even there the eye of science will discover some latent beauties, some harmonious tints, some striking effects of nature. (133)

In effect, the picturesque can establish distance between the viewer and the object being viewed, and it can control the environment being depicted by adding to or subtracting from it at will. Thus the picturesque allows the English traveller to subdue, and even domesticate Ireland, while still rendering it as distant and Other.

Irish landscape and ruins provided numerous opportunities for the traveller to exercise the rhetoric of the picturesque. Occasionally even Irish travel writers participated in the process of rendering Ireland "picturesque." George Holmes, an Anglo-Irish Dubliner, toured through the south in 1797, but did not publish his work until 1801, after the Rebellion of 1798 and the Act of Union. He feels Ireland to be "less known to the people of England, in general, than the most remote regions," but hopes that "On the eve of a legislative union between the two countries, it must, to an Englishman, become an interesting object of inquiry" (iii-vi). His primary task is the description of Ireland's "picturesque scenery," which he publishes in a series of letters (vi). He begins his account by explaining that "a knowledge of painting in the tourist gives to him an evident advantage over the observer who is unacquainted with the executive part of the art," indicating that he is conversant with the modes of seeing and knowing described above (3). Like other Anglo-Irishmen, Holmes had a vested interest in depicting Ireland in a

mode that the English would find both interesting and acceptable. Many of Holmes' written descriptions follow in the tradition of the Burkean sublime, as indicated by this passage on his travelling party's experience in Stack's mountains in County Kerry:

> The mists began to descend fast, and spread from base to base, of these huge hills, darkening the atmosphere, and chilling us with their damps; no human residence was to be seen, nor any living thing except a few ravens, which now and then heavily passed us close by, and no ways timid, flapping their moist wings, and hoarsely croaking; sometimes they would follow us a long way and very near, keeping up their discordant shrieks, by no means unpleasing, as it assisted in adding to the general and horrific sublimity of the whole; the words 'no means unpleasing,' may seem strange to you, when applied to any thing horrific, but it is no less certain, that terrific grandeur creates a sensation in our minds, (although awfully oppressive) yet leaving a desire behind, of experiencing the same again, which certainly never can be applied to any sensation that is unpleasing. (195)

The mists, darkness, and shrieking ravens intensify the image of Ireland as Gothic and threatening. Holmes describes himself as thrilled by the "horrific sublimity" of the scene; his explanation of the unexpected pleasure derived from the terror and grandeur surrounding him clearly derives from Burke's description of the sublime and its effect on the body and the mind. Holmes' language here and elsewhere very deliberately calls to mind landscape painting techniques of the same era. Of the province of Munster, Holmes writes: "It is a melancholy circumstance to view such a space of country totally wild; for the patches of tillage are so inconsiderable, when compared with the boundless wastes that meet the eye, that they are lost in the comparison. The traveller here may strain his eye over many a hill, yet meet no human residence" (83). The reader must imagine the view, in which distance is indicated by varying bands of sky and land and the only point of perspective might be a tiny cabin or peasants laboring in a far-off field. The reader is thus placed in the position of objectifying the Irish landscape, just as the viewer of a painting

distances himself from the subject of the painting. Travelling to Castle-Island, near Killarney, Holmes and his travelling companion get lost: "all traces of a path were gone; cultivation seemed to have fled, or rather never to have appeared" (104). They happen upon a cabin, which "looked like a speck in the boundless ocean, being the only solitary habitation, for many miles, through these mountains" (105). Here they find two peasant children, ages one and seven. The elder speaks only Irish; they offer her coins, "but she seemed unacquainted with their uses" (106). When the parents return, they show the travellers back to the path, for which they express gratitude, having "conjured up . . . a thousand dismal ideas of being benighted in these unhospitable regions" (107). This encounter with Irish people is rendered in terms similar to those applied to the Irish landscape: distance is magnified, and the viewer's only perspective is provided by a solitary cabin that "looked like a speck in the boundless ocean." The Irish—already obscured by this insurmountable distance—are further separated from the viewer by their lack of civilization, their inability to understand or speak English and their unfamiliarity with money. The peasants become insignificant figures in a sublime panorama, far removed from the English viewer, who can then use the relationship suggested by the rhetoric of the picturesque to justify removing the peasants from the uncultivated landscape and reclaiming the land to suit the needs of England.

The depiction of ruins in many travel accounts also provides the means for thinking of the Irish peasants as at best an inconsequential part of the Irish landscape, and at worst, as having a deleterious effect on that landscape. "I never saw so many ruinous buildings in any country as in all parts of Ireland," recorded John Wesley in his journal for April

1748 (3.344). The presence of ruins confirmed Ireland's antiquity and suggested a civilized people had inhabited the country hundreds of years before the arrival of the English. The ruins themselves contributed to the picturesque quality of Ireland's landscape, and they feature prominently in the engravings that accompanied many travel narratives. Nevertheless, many English travellers described their disappointment and even disgust at the impression of decay they left behind, responses they transferred to the Irish themselves. Wesley, arriving in Dublin in May 1748, writes: "Here likewise I observed abundance of ruined buildings; but I observed also that some of them were never finished, and some had been pulled down by those who built them. Such is the amazing fickleness of this people" (3.353). Of particular concern were the ruins of abbeys and other places of religious significance. At Sligo, Wesley tours the remains of an abbey, "formerly one of the largest in the kingdom," and records his horror at what he finds:

> The walls of it are standing, and three sides of the cloisters are entire; but you can scarce tread, either within or without, unless you will step upon skulls or human bones, which are everywhere scattered up and down as dung upon the earth. Surely no other nation, Christian or heathen, would endure this! (4.389)

Whether Wesley considered Ireland Christian or heathen may be debatable, but his disgust with (and sense of alienation from) the Irish people is evident. Numerous travellers record similar accounts of the famed Muckross Abbey, in Killarney. "Thousands of human skulls and bones are piled in heaps among these ruins," writes Twiss (131). For some travellers, this circumstance only added to the ambience of the ruin: "Heaps of skulls and bones scattered about, with nettles, briar and weeds sprouting in tufts from the loose stones, all unite to raise those melancholy impressions, which are the merit of such scenes" (Young,

Maxwell ed. 115). Richard Colt Hoare calls this ill treatment of human remains "religious indecency," but describes the scene within the abbey as "truly impressive": "all was in character; skulls, bones, and coffins, thick around me; the Sexton digging a fresh grave, and a hoary old man kneeling before the altar, with his rosary and cross in his hand" (125). For the first time, we see the "ruin" as an active site for religious practice being invaded by tourists;[7] Hoare feels the connection between decay and the implements of Catholic ritual to be "in character," that is, appropriate to the tableau, and he observes the mourner from a distance, as if viewing a picture. The picturesque aspect of the ruin thus contributes to the desired effect of distance. Other travel writers were distinctly less subtle in conveying their alienation: "I warn every one who visits Killarney, as he values life, not to enter this abbey," proclaims John Carr. "Contrast renders doubly horrible the ghastly contemplation of human dissolution, tainting the surrounding air with pestilence, in a spot which nature has enriched with a profusion of romantic beauty" (363-64).[8] The ruins, decayed human remains, and 'pagan' rituals combine effortlessly to contribute to the depiction of Ireland as other—either picturesque or alien.

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[7]Sir John Carr's account confirms this circumstance: "The soil of the abbey is very thin, and every effort has been made to dissuade the lower classes from bringing their dead here, but in vain. It is a fact that those who have been buried six months or a year before, are raised and placed on one side to make room for those who are brought for interment afterwards" (363). Under the penal laws, Catholics were often denied space in which to conduct their religious practices, forcing them to worship outdoors or in whatever space was available; see *The Course of Irish History* 224-26.

[8]The actual state of the Abbey is difficult to determine, and various attempts were made to render the site more acceptable to English travellers. Anne Plumptre, writing some ten years after Carr, heatedly opposes his description of the conditions at Muckross Abbey, indicating that descriptions were reflective of the personal tastes and character of the writer (286).

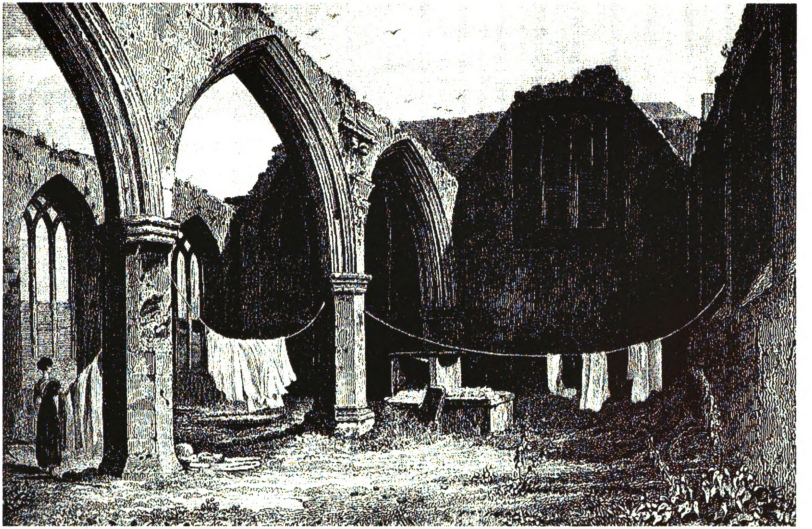

Figure 1 "Ruins of Lord Portlester's Chapel," from G. N. Wright, *Ireland Illustrated* (1831)

G. N. Wright's *Ireland Illustrated* furthers the association between the ruins and the Irish peasants. Wright promises that the engravers "have endeavoured to make intelligible" the "singular wildness and peculiar character of the Irish Landscape" by delineating "a great variety of subjects, all of which were picturesque and sublime" (preface). In keeping with picturesque tradition, the focus of the majority of the illustrations are buildings or prominent landscape features (mountains, etc.); human figures are present but inevitably small, subordinated to the main subject of the drawing (Andrews 25). Scenes in Dublin are animated with tiny figures of well-dressed tourists and businessmen, but the engravings of ruins are peopled by peasants or, occasionally, by animals. In "Ruins of Lord Portlester's Chapel, St. Audoen's Church" (Figure 1), a barefoot peasant woman hangs wash on a line strung around the ruins of a church. The church itself lies within the city of Dublin and dates from the twelfth century; the chapel lies "contiguous to the old Norman structure" and is "beautiful even in decay" (Wright 31). In the lower-center of the engraving is the Portlester cenotaph, and Wright describes the design of the sarcophagus and the inscription in great detail. The illustrator, however, has chosen to distract the viewer from the monument, drawing the eye instead to the billowing, white laundry. The humble, everyday occurrences of domestic life are juxtaposed with the grandeur and religious significance of the ruin, and the viewer is struck by the incongruity. According to Wright,

> The Illustrator merely stands in the relation of pilot, to guide the passenger to a desired and desirable haven, where true taste may probably be harboured. . . . [H]e fears that if public sympathy be not excited in favour of this ancient, and yet perfect record [the monument], like the venerable edifice that now hangs in melancholy decay around, it will be suffered to

> fall beneath the all-subduing scythe of Time, or compelled to yield its prescriptive tenure to the convenience of *the day*. (32)

The picturesque mode encouraged the addition of details that may or may not have been part of the actual scene viewed by the artist or writer. In Wright's description, we see that the artist includes evidence of the ruin "yielding" its significance to "the convenience of *the day*"—laundry strung around the ruin, which itself "hangs in melancholy decay around"—to heighten the sense of deterioration and the threat of lost history and beauty. The engraving suggests at once an absence of appropriate domestic space and a lack of respect for the sacred space the ruin represents. One of several drawings that features peasants performing domestic labor in public spaces, "Ruins of Lord Portlester's Chapel" provides evidence, even for "home travellers," that the Irish were alien to English sensibilities, incapable of appreciating—to say nothing of preserving—the picturesque beauty and antiquities surrounding them.[9]

One particular type of ruin, the round tower, captured the attention of many English tourists. The prominence of the round tower in the illustration on Richard Twiss's map of Ireland (see Figure 4) echoes the prominence of the round tower in the narratives (and drawings) of English travellers. Twiss's description of the round tower at Clundalkin, "will with little variation serve for all the others":

> It is eighty-four feet in height, and built of stones each about a foot square, forming a circle of fifteen feet in diameter, the walls are upwards of three feet thick, and at about fifteen feet above the ground is a door, without any steps to ascend to it; the base is solid; toward the top are four small oblong holes which admit the light, and it is terminated by a conic covering; there

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[9]John Gamble's disapproving depiction of the Irish practice of hanging wash on gravestones lends credence to the illustrator's choice and confirms English fears about the Irish people's relationship to the monuments of antiquity (*Views* 171).

> are no steps remaining in the inside, so that probably if there have ever been any they were of wood, or some such perishable material. (67)

Their origin and function were topics of heated debate among eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travellers.[10] The towers were "always situated very near a church" (Twiss 69), and their shape and height suggested watch towers or bell towers.[11] Some believed the towers to have been erected by the Danes, although Twiss notes that "it is remarkable that none of these edifices exist in Denmark" (67). The inaccessible door troubled many travellers; few assumed, as did Twiss, that the steps had decayed, positing instead that the towers were used for punishment or monastic seclusion and that the high door and small windows prohibited escape or distraction. The speculation about the round towers only added to their mystique. Their physical prominence seemed at odds with the secrecy that surrounded them. Anne Plumptre concludes her *Narrative* by insisting that the round towers "ought to be considered as *living witnesses* (let me be allowed that expression) to the great antiquity of the Irish nation" (371), a mode of viewing that seems willing to allow Ireland its own cultural history. Other travellers were considerably more reluctant.

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[10]For an illuminating discussion of the debates over the origin of the round towers, see Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, 108-56. The Royal Irish Academy, through a celebrated essay competition, sponsored conflicting theories of the origin of round towers in order to avoid choosing between the two versions of Irish history: first, that the round towers were of monastic origin, designed for defense from invaders, an account that coincided with most theories of Ireland's state of relative civilization at that period; or second, that the towers were pre-Christian monuments introduced from the East for phallic worship, which posited a much older and more developed Irish civilization than previously supposed.

[11]Historian Rachel Moss confirms their function as bell towers and explains that "a small hand-held bell would have been rung" from one of the small windows near the top of the tower. The towers date from the tenth century and are associated "principally with early Irish monastic settlements" (*Oxford Companion to Irish History* 490).

In *The New Estate*, one of the Gray children, upon contemplating a round tower, observes that Ireland "seems full of recollections which prove its antiquity and importance. How much it is to be regretted that it has not memory for any of the benefits conferred by England" (287). Simple chronology may explain such divergent attitudes. In 1817, when Plumptre writes, Ireland seems relatively inconsequential, weakened by famine and firmly under the thumb of the British empire; such a nation may have its history, its antiquities, without threatening the English. In 1831, after Catholic emancipation has been granted, England recognizes the danger in allowing Ireland to write its own history, one that implicates Britain in its struggles. In either case, the round towers operate as powerful markers on the landscape, drawing the viewer's attention to Ireland's past, its distinctive cultural history. Like Ireland itself, the round towers simultaneously attracted and repelled the curiosity of English travellers.

Much of Ireland's landscape—appropriately dotted with impressive and mysterious ruins, and inconsequential signs of peasant life—could be easily rendered picturesque, and thus objectified. The innumerable acres under cultivation, deforested landscapes, and bogs were more problematic, however, but travellers found alternative means for establishing distance. Travelling through Ireland to popular tourist sites, such as Killarney or the Giant's Causeway, many writers were struck by what they describe as the eerie barrenness of the scenery. Headed north from Killarney to Castle-Island, Twiss must travel forty miles "over mountains, barren heaths, and bogs, without seeing hardly a single tree, or any verdure" (133). Sir Richard Colt Hoare records a similar impression of the Irish landscape some thirty years later:

> A church in ruins on the right, cemetery crowded with monumental memorials; another in the same line and in the same state; a lodge placed on the opposite side of the road to the entrance gate; a peculiarity, I am told, very common in IRELAND: ornament and cultivation cease; a mere spirt: dreary country returns, lands rather more cultivated with corn; a large bog; cross the River BRUSNA flowing out of LOUGH ENNEL; several mills in a vale on the left; and a ruined castle on the right. (32)

The journalistic style of Hoare's narrative gives the reader the impression of travelling with Hoare in a jostling carriage, noting the landscape as it passes by, first from one window, and then the other, and thus acquiring an objectifying distance from the alien landscape. The barren style emphasizes Hoare's description of Ireland as "dreary," populated with cemeteries, bogs, and ruins. Such a description contrasts sharply with so many nineteenth-century travellers' impressions of Ireland as luxuriantly green. In *The Idea of Landscape*, John Barrell notes that many late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travellers used "barren" to describe land that was "*merely* fertile," firmly separating beauty from utility (79, emphasis in original). Climate and high annual rainfall contribute to Ireland's peculiarly and almost perpetually green landscape, circumstances that confirm that Hoare and others may have been responding to the utilitarian (agricultural) aspect of Ireland's landscape. Hoare is particularly disturbed by the lack of trees in Ireland; when he happens upon "a nursery garden of firs and forest trees" at one gentleman's seat, he remarks, "Would that they were more numerous, and that they found customers! IRELAND would than [sic] regain the sylvan honours it has lost for so many centuries, and no longer present so black and barren an aspect" (34). Elsewhere he notes that the landscape is "spotted" with gentlemen's seats: "I adopt the word *spotted*, because from the small plantations of trees with which they are usually surrounded, they appear

like so many green spots on a surface otherwise destitute of foliage" (131). Much of Ireland had been aggressively deforested by English plantation settlers in the early seventeenth century, who were anxious to profit from the timber and to enable increased grazing of livestock. Hoare's description of the Irish landscape thus simultaneously calls attention to its profitable fertility and its previous domestication, while eliding England's responsibility for its alienating effect on the viewer. On the road to Killarney, Hoare conducts the reader over "a long and tedious journey of one hundred and sixty-five Irish miles, in which, few, I fear, except the lovers of monastic antiquities, will find much amusement or gratification. . . . [T]he country is most uniformly uninteresting" (64). Almost any English traveller to Killarney, the most celebrated tourist destination in Ireland, would have to travel over this or a similar route. Sir John Carr records a response to this landscape similar to Hoare's (354-55). Most English travellers found the Lakes of Killarney worth the trouble required to get to them; however, by recording their impressions of the surrounding countryside in such alienating form, Hoare and others effectively establish difference—and thus distance—between England and Ireland, even without the language of the picturesque.

One of the features of Irish landscape that contributed to its "black and barren aspect" were the bogs, extensive turf (peat) deposits that peasants depended on for fuel. Most eighteenth-century travellers include some description of bogs, although John Bush's ten-page account in *Hibernia Curiosa* quickly became the standard source of information. Philip Luckombe quotes extensively from Bush on the subject and even gives his source proper attribution, although elsewhere he plagiarizes information from Thomas

Campbell, including a list of unusual things found in bogs, "such as iron utensils, sword blades of a kind of brass, and horns of the moose deer" (Twiss 34-35). The artifacts of ancient Irish culture recovered from bogs found their way into Dublin museums and further contributed to the perception of Ireland's past as culturally distinct, but alien. Arthur Young's assertion that English people "supposed that one half of [Ireland] was covered with bogs" reveals the extent to which the English associated bogs with Ireland's lack of civilization (Maxwell ed. 169). Although he implies that such assumptions on the part of English people are naive, elsewhere he confirms that the province of Connaught is covered with bogs and other uninhabitable land: "Three-fourths of Sligo, bog and uncultivated mountain"; "Mayo one-third, perhaps half, bog and mountain. Galway more than one-third bog, mountain and lakes" (76, 74). Young emphasizes that the bogs are a valuable fuel resource in Ireland and that the rich land could be reclaimed, improved, and ultimately farmed, but he also points out the differences in composition and extent between Irish bogs and English moors, thus making the bogs seem even more exotic (71). Forty years later, Thomas Cromwell relies on Young's account to confirm his assertion that Irish bogs "are very different, both in appearance and qualities, to what is generally understood by the term in England" (21). Like Young, Cromwell finds the bogs to be an invaluable fuel resource, but deplores "the great quantity of land they cover," which presents "obstacles [in the form of less habitable land and less arable land for food production]. . . to the extension of a population, already too redundant" (22). In Cromwell's description the alien Irish landscape can actually reassure English readers because it prohibits the growth of the more alien Irish peasant population. Nevertheless,

the bogs threaten English travellers, many of whom fear sinking into one while crossing the Irish countryside; Robert Slade, employed by the New Plantation Society to examine its holdings in Ulster, found "a tract which now appears like a barren waste, hardly accessible even in the summer months, as I found a guide necessary to avoid the Bogs when I visited it in September" (35). Maria Edgeworth describes an episode of bog-trotting in her *Tour in Connemara*, in which she and her travelling companions, a newly-married couple relatively unfamiliar with Ireland, sink their carriage and must be carried to safety by a sure-footed Irish peasant. The lady confesses to Edgeworth that "she thought it was all over with us, and that we should never be got out of this bog-hole" (31). Henry Inglis also describes a bog-trotting adventure, emphasizing the inherent danger in the activity (226). Bogs are a source of some tension in English travel narratives. In many ways, the bog is the epitome of the sublime (dangerous) in the Irish landscape and provides a useful emblem of alienation. However, English fears of being sunk in an Irish bog suggest their related concern that they may be consumed by Ireland's alien landscape, that travel in Ireland is dangerous because it collapses distance, which provides security.[12]

Ultimately, however, the rhetoric of the pictures provides the means by which Ireland's least picturesque elements—including its agricultural landscape—may be rendered aesthetically pleasing yet culturally distant. "If you ask what is the distinctive mark of an Irish landscape," writes Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, the answer lies in the

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[12]Attitudes toward the bog changed over the course of the period under consideration in this study, but the bog continued to be regarded as a contested site, well-suited for English-style improvement or adoption as an Irish nationalist emblem; for a more complete analysis than can be offered here, see Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, especially Chapter 1, "The Bog Itself."

cultivation of land, which is "divided into portions much smaller than we usually see in England" and "present[s] a picture altogether dissimilar from English scenery" (17). Even in its improved state (enclosed, cultivated), Ireland is noticeably different from England. Within this framework of distance and objectification, Tonna can find something as utilitarian as a potato field "picturesque":

> With us [i.e., the English] a potato field is a very homely affair: our straggling ridges, the single rows of plants placed length-wise, and the flat confusion of the whole thing defy all idea of the ornamental. But Paddy knows better: he separates a rising ground into parcels of about two or three yards in width: digging between them a very deep trench, say two feet over, running in as straight a line as the eye of mathematical precision could desire. . . . [T]he prevailing weed, which bears a bright flower of the deepest yellow, is carefully eradicated from the beds, but allowed to grow on either edge, which it does most thickly; and so beautiful is this belt of rich gold exactly bordering the spacious slips of emerald green, with its uniform tufts of pure white, or else of pure purple, that I am in doubt whether it is not the effect of design. In short, I must take leave to repeat the assertion which has more than once offended your nationality, that an Englishman knows neither how to grow, how to boil, or how to relish a potato. (223-24)

The Irish peasant's superior ability to plant a well-ordered and attractive patch of potatoes charms, rather than threatens, the English reader. Such a description enables the reader to imagine contented and well-fed peasants, who have the time and inclination to make their potato patches picturesque. Tonna's language reveals the power of the picturesque: landscape can be reordered and controlled, even weeds become decorative and domesticated. Her language focuses on neatness, order, and color, drawing attention away from the labor of the fields and the dire situation of most peasants, who relied on potatoes as their only source of food, and thus reassures English readers of the benefits of the Union in general, and the English civilizing influence in particular. Lady Georgiana

Chatterton offers a similarly picturesque description of agricultural "improvement," and to further domesticate the scene, she describes "a very pretty girl, sowing potatoes" and explains that the "important operation is always performed by women, though it is laborious, and requires no small skill" (*Rambles* 2.39). Chatterton simultaneously feminizes and anglicizes the Irish peasant, whose subsistence farming (carried out by women because the men were employed elsewhere to earn money to pay the rent on the land) is likened to gardening, an activity the English reader would have found comfortably familiar. By rendering a potato field as a picturesque landscape, the English traveller thus calls attention to the potential for domesticating and controlling both Ireland and its inhabitants. At the same time, the English traveller (or reader) is provided with evidence of Ireland's difference: the peasants' division of labor, and their crude substitution of weeds and potato patches for purely decorative domestic landscape—the flower beds and hedges of home.[13]

Lady Georgiana Chatterton's narratives provide the most pervasive examples of the English traveller's aesthetic impulse. "Here I am on a lovely bank of the Lee," begins her *Rambles in the South of Ireland* (1839). "The beautiful scenery of this favored spot is particularly striking after having so lately left the gloomy fogs of London" (1). One imagines Chatterton rambling through the Irish countryside, as her title suggests, but in the third paragraph she reveals that she is merely sitting at a window, looking out at Ireland (2); she examines the landscape and the "rustic" peasants laboring in it, even conducting a conversation with one elderly Irishman through a window (6-7). In the chapter heading,

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[13]The relationship between the peasants, their domestic space, and the lack of landscape architecture will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

these scenes are described, significantly, as "Home Pictures," suggesting a variant form of "home travel": "travel" through Ireland accomplished by lengthy stays at the homes of Irish gentry and written accounts of Ireland as it appears through their windows.[14] The Irish landscape may be domesticated—rendered as "home"—through the rhetoric of the picturesque, which provides the viewer and the reader with a sort of frame—in particular, a window frame—which circumscribes the view and emphasizes the viewer's distance from Ireland.

In several instances, these windows provide a frame through which Irish poverty can be viewed as art:

> I am delighted with the interesting pictures of real life which appear before "the window" of this room. It is, if I may use the expression, quite a magic lantern of rural feeling—of the pleasures, and pains, the dull and poetic realities of cottage life. . . .
>
> A miserable-looking, tattered Irish boy, munching a potato, for instance, appears a dull reality to another ragged boy in the same predicament; but to a looker on in a higher rank of life, he is a picturesque and interesting object. (2.120-21)

Chatterton's "magic lantern" illuminates what she assumes to be "real life," but what seems to her also to be at once "poetic" and "picturesque," adjectives that call attention to

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[14]According to Mary Louise Pratt, "the predictable fact that domestic settings have a much more prominent presence in the women's travel accounts than in the men's . . . is a matter not just of differing spheres of interest or expertise . . . but of modes of constituting knowledge and subjectivity." For women travellers, "the indoor world is the seat of the self" (159). Such an association between gender identity (subjectivity) and the so-called private sphere seems unavoidable for most nineteenth-century women. However, the women whom Pratt studied, travellers to South America in the early to mid-nineteenth century, do not share the same concerns about domestic behavior exhibited by women travellers to Ireland. Pratt's travellers use private domestic space as "refuges and sources of well-being." While this may be true to some degree of Chatterton, whose poor health kept her confined to her bedroom for weeks at a time (see *Rambles* vol. 2), not all women travellers seek the absence of "family or domestic life." In fact, Chatterton herself uses domestic space as a site for observing peasant life in safety and anonymity.

Chatterton's romantic impulse. The starving boy may be a "dull reality" to others, but through the frame of her window, he becomes an "interesting object," a blank canvass on which she can inscribe meaning: "Thus the ragged boy excites our imagination, and consequently our poetic feelings, more highly than a pretty girl, in our own rank of life, would do, who was well dressed, and sitting in magnificent rooms in the midst of refinement" (2.121). A similar instance of objectification occurs when Chatterton and her travelling companions stop at a "solitary" inn, a "wretched-looking abode," to wait out a rainstorm. The parlor is cold and smoky, too dark to enable the English travellers to pass the time by reading, "and so in despair [we] went into the kitchen, to watch the progress of some potatoes they had promised to boil for our luncheon":

> "What a beautiful picture!" exclaimed one of my companions, as he darted out in the rain to fetch his sketch-books.
>
> It was so, indeed. A beautiful peasant-girl sat near the fire, apparently much fatigued after a long walk. Her pretty head rested on her hand. Her eyes were closed, and their long dark lashes overshadowed a fair cheek of lovely form; but an arch smile played round her lips, and shewed that though enjoying the luxury of repose, and the comfortable warmth of the fire, she heard all that was going on.
>
> On the opposite side of the fireplace, an old woman was seated on a low stool, smoking a pipe in an attitude of great enjoyment. Two countrymen were sitting on the ground near her, with a few potatoes and a jug before them, laughing and talking away with great glee. The youngest, who was very handsome, often looked up toward the reposing beauty; and when he had uttered some witty saying, which threw his companion into fits of laughter, he seemed not a little provoked that those long eye-lashes were never raised. (1.236-37)

The Irish peasants become a still life, captured in a moment of repose and relaxation. In keeping with English expectations, Chatterton's prose depicts them laughing, eating potatoes, and drinking whiskey; like so many exotic others, the Irish peasants are darkly attractive. The sketch pad and pencil (or writing tablet and pen) create a distance between

the observer and the observed, and between the reader and the text. Chatterton records that they "endeavoured to sketch the whole scene," an "amusing occupation" that absorbs their attention until the rain stops. Even when she is confronted by the Irish in their own domestic environment, Chatterton constructs a frame, a window through which she can safely view the Irish. She frequently depicts herself writing, even in the Irish cabin: "I am sitting in a little whitewashed room, writing at a ricketty table; a turf fire is burning in the grate behind me, and a large battered kettle is singing on it to make tea for our breakfast"; here, too, she looks through the window "upon the glorious Atlantic": "the whole scene without is grand and beautiful" (1.167). Windows and frames become the means by which a frail and sickly gentlewoman can "travel" in Ireland, often without ever leaving the home of her host. In *Home Sketches and Foreign Recollections* (1841), Chatterton's account of her travels around the British Isles and the European Continent, she records several instances of such "travel" in Ireland: "what chapters might be written on the lovely views which Killakee commands! Never in any part of the world have I seen a prospect from a window which can rival that from the drawing-room of Colonel White's beautiful residence" (1.269). She also includes sketches of Ireland made from views through windows (1.298). Chatterton's repeated turn to the mode of the picturesque constructs the necessary distance between the English traveller and the Irish landscape. It also endorses the perspective of English travel readers, whose physical distance from Ireland allows them to justify their tendency to objectify the Irish people (through stereotype and other means), or simply to ignore them (and the British government's mistreatment of them) altogether.

Increasingly, travel writers applied the techniques they used to domesticate or objectify the Irish landscape to the Irish people. In particular, nineteenth-century travellers, intrigued by the romantic notion that landscape influenced human nature, saw in the Irish landscape the makings of Irish character. In the words of the preface to the London edition of Nathaniel Parker Willis's *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland* (1842):

> It is, indeed, remarkable how closely the character and disposition of a people will be found to assimilate to the natural features of the clime they inhabit, and how deeply the human mind is tinctured by the bright or gloomy scenes upon which it is accustomed to dwell. Pursuing this fanciful theory, we imagine we can trace in the chequered character of the Irish people a reflection of the varied aspect of the country. Their exuberant gaiety, their deep sadness, their warm affections, their fierce resentment, their smiles and tears, their love and hatred, all remind us forcibly of the light and shadows of their landscapes; where frowning precipices and quiet glens, wild torrents and tranquil streams, lakes and woods, vales and mountains, sea and shore, are all blended by the hand of Nature beneath a sky, now smiling in sunshine, now saddening in tears. (iii)

The passage harkens back to the lure of the sublime: our inexplicable desire for things wild, dark, and terrible. The vagaries of the climate are used to codify certain Irish traits: they are "warm," "gay," "sad," "fierce"—terms that had become synonymous with "Celtic," a pervasive and demeaning stereotype. By making the Irish people mere signifiers of a sublime landscape, the rhetoric of this passage makes them too at once desirable and abhorrent, but capable, like the sublime landscape, of being domesticated and controlled, and thus rendered useful. The Irish peasants were to prove far less susceptible to the language of aesthetics than their landscape, however. The tendency of improvers and practitioners of the picturesque to eliminate or devalue the habitats of the poor rendered the rhetoric of aesthetics less useful for descriptions of the peasants

themselves, their domestic spaces and cultural behaviors. English travellers fall back on the Self-Other dichotomy to establish distance: the Irish are contrasted to the English, and compared to other dehumanized subjects (slaves, animals), as we shall see in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

THE ENGLISH TRAVELLER AND THE IRISH

Perhaps not surprisingly, English "home travellers" display a particular interest in domestic space, which they regard as revelatory of the character of the Irish people who inhabit that space. They bring with them certain notions about the defining characteristics of "home"—a safe, secure, clean, well-ordered place in which appropriate family relationships are carried out. As Edward Said points out, colonizing peoples typically used "positive ideas of home, of a nation and its language, of proper order, good behavior, moral values" to distinguish themselves from the peoples they colonized, and to justify their treatment of those peoples (*Culture* 81). Thus, fine distinctions between home and not-home aid English travellers in demarcating the boundary between Home and not-Home. In Georgiana Chatterton's *Home Sketches and Foreign Recollections* (1841), Ireland is classed with the "Foreign," rather than "Home," in part due to its inability to assume the characteristics Chatterton associates with home:

> I never return home from . . . Ireland without experiencing an ecstacy of joy at the first English village which greets my eyes; and when, on passing through its little rural street, the clean smells of baking, brewing, (or even soap-suds,) rise up to my expecting sense, the delight is complete. (3.54-55)

Although Chatterton acknowledges that some readers may object to the introduction of the "homely occurrences of domestic life," these "occurrences" set England apart from unclean and foreign people and places. Chatterton claims she published *Sketches* based on the "favorable reception" received by *Rambles in the South of Ireland* (see *Sketches*

advertisement), linking the avowed purpose of both books. Her "principal object" in publishing *Rambles*, according to the Advertisement to the second edition, "is to endeavour to remove some of the prejudices which render so many people afraid either to travel or reside in Ireland." Instead, accounts of Irish domestic failings and romanticization of Irish poverty serve rather to reinforce than to "remove" English prejudices. English travel writers use "home"—in particular, the Irish people's inability to replicate the qualities of an English home—to reinforce the difference, and distance, between England and Ireland.

Let us begin with a discussion of two issues addressed by many English travellers to Ireland: safety and hospitality. Safety and security are typically associated with "home," and many "home travellers" went to great lengths to assure their readers that Ireland was a safe place for English travellers to visit. However, even accounts that emphasize safety draw attention to the perceived perils of travel in Ireland, ultimately rendering the country unsafe, and therefore, not-home. Hospitality is similarly complex. The very term conjures up images of domestic comfort, but the need for hospitality is predicated on the fact that the recipient of the hospitality is away from home. Thus a traveller's repeated insistence on the Irish people's hospitality only reiterates Ireland's status as "abroad." The ways in which English travellers to Ireland use these key issues of safety and hospitality to invoke distance between England and Ireland offer further insight into their treatment of Irish domestic space, and the perceived impact of that space on the Irish people, which will be discussed below.

Personal safety was and is a primary concern for most travellers; the fear of being robbed or harmed in some way inevitably increases when one is in unfamiliar surroundings. The widespread poverty of the Irish people and the frequently agitated state of the country meant that safety was a particular concern for travellers during the period under consideration here. In the eighteenth century, most travellers to Ireland made mention of the activities of the Whiteboys and similar agrarian protest groups. Richard Twiss describes the Whiteboys as

> peasants, who do not chuse to pay tythes or taxes, and who in the night-time assemble sometimes to the number of many hundreds, on horse-back and on foot, well armed, and with shirts over their clothes, from whence their denomination is derived, when they stroll about the country, firing houses and barns, burying people alive in the ground, cutting their noses and ears off, and committing other barbarities on their persons. (142)

Despite the threatening picture he has drawn, Twiss insists that "perfect security attends travelling in Ireland" (54) and "the objects of their revenge and cruelty are chiefly tythe and tax-gatherers, and landlords" and that "they never rob; neither do they molest travellers" (142). However, his detailed descriptions of their violent actions undercut any assurances of safety he makes; would English travellers really have felt safe in a country where a band of marauders rode about, "burying people alive in the ground, cutting their noses and ears off, and committing other barbarities on their persons"? John Wesley and Arthur Young offer similarly ambivalent descriptions of the Whiteboys (4.507; Maxwell ed. 22-25), and Young further supplements his narrative with accounts of thievery and rape (Maxwell ed. 62, 75, 148-49, first ed. 2.78). The activities of the Whiteboys were closely linked to the characteristics of the mythic "wild Irish," whom English travellers feared encountering. In the words of George Cooper, the Irish "are hasty and impetuous,

rash and choleric, and subject to the most violent attacks of anger and passion. This irascible temper naturally makes the English cautious of indulging too great a degree of intimacy with them" (19). Cooper's rhetoric makes it clear that the Irish people's supposed predisposition to violence was prohibitive to union.

The violence associated with the 1798 Rebellion struck new fear in the hearts of travellers, but the Act of Union, following close on its heals, reassured many. Sir John Carr insists that "in the course of my tour through different parts of Ireland, although I was frequently alone, and had no other weapon than a toothpick, I never met with the slightest molestation" and that tales of murder and mayhem in Ireland are largely the fabrication of English newspaper editors; however, he also notes that city watchmen are armed with muskets or "a pike having a curved knife"—weapons far more intimidating than a toothpick, and suggestive of a greater need for security than Carr admits (52-53). The anonymous author of the *Journal of a Tour* (1804) openly expresses his repeated concerns for his safety, and the sense of security he derives from an English military presence (see 31, 40-41, 42, 49, 55, 56). Writers' claims that travellers were safer in Ireland than in England relies on a comparison to parts of England, particularly parts of London, where few English people would have travelled (see Inglis 58, Binns 1.35-6). Similarly, the English traveller's safety depended on his or her manifest difference from the native Irish people. William Wordsworth writes to his brother: "Everybody laughs at the notion of any danger for *Travellers*; though the Report must have told you that ugly things have happened in the County of Tipperary. But it is all among themselves—They never trouble Strangers" (122). Henry Inglis insists that "Irish outrages are never committed

upon strangers" (251), while William Belton reassures his readers that there are no perils "*for a stranger* in any part of Ireland" (288, emphasis in original). Each account emphasizes the continued presence of violence in Ireland, while positing the English traveller's safety based solely on the notion that he is a "stranger" in Ireland, easily distinguished from the Irish people who wantonly commit acts of violence on one another.

Women travellers in particular emphasize the safety of travel in Ireland. Anne Plumptre journeys without incident, accompanied by a lone servant and her driver, "a youth of thirteen," throughout most of her journey; she occasionally even goes out alone. Yet she writes, "I have not unfrequently been asked, '*How did you dare to venture upon travelling over a country in such a disturbed state?*'"(342). Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna records a similar concern in the preface to her *Letters from Ireland* (1837):

> The writer has had many discussions with friends who, desirous of seeing and judging for themselves of this most debateable land, were deterred from gratifying that laudable wish by a degree of bodily fear. Their imagination represented a succession of perilous obstacles, of which the least formidable menaced highway robbery, or submersion in an unfathomable bog. Not a few really pathetic remonstrances were used to dissuade her from so daring an undertaking as that of traversing from south to north the dreaded country: exacting, at the same time, a distinct promise that, if permitted to return with life, she would publish a full and true account of every hair-breadth 'scape. . . . (iii-iv)

Tonna's mocking tone is an attempt to distract her readers—and perhaps herself—by transferring a concern for her safety into a desire for novelty, entertainment, and excitement (i.e., stories of "hair-breadth" escapes in "the dreaded country"). She concludes, with Plumptre, "that it is possible to travel many and many miles over this disturbed country in the most perfect quiet" (Plumptre 342). Similarly, Lady Georgiana Chatterton hopes her narrative will "furnish the most decided proofs that a tour in some of

its [Ireland's] wildest districts may be keenly enjoyed by an Englishwoman," even one "rendered fastidious by ill-health" (*Rambles* advertisement). Women were particularly sensitive to the fact that misconceptions of Ireland and the traveller's safety there could limit them to just one form of "home travel."[1] However, Plumptre, Tonna, and Chatterton each incorporate threatening information in their travel accounts, even as they attempt to reassure their readers; Anne Plumptre reports the robbery of a mail coach and murder of an English soldier (310), while Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna speaks of "a shocking deed perpetrated" in Belfast by the "wild Irish" (325). Clearly, English travellers were uncertain about Ireland's ability to provide a safe space—an essential characteristic of "home"—for visitors.

The distancing effect of the travellers' focus on hospitality is far more subtle. Irish hospitality becomes a trope in the travel narratives of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1820, Thomas Cromwell remarks that "The hospitality of the Irish has become proverbial; and it is confined to no rank or class, language or religion" (9). Earlier English travellers were far from effusive in their praise of Irish hospitality, which was often believed to involve enforced drinking (see Bush 14-18). In 1776, Richard Twiss reassures travellers with the cautious statement that "hospitality is not so violently practised as heretofore" (8), but well into the nineteenth century, travellers were still insisting that "A stranger will always find it more easy *to get in, than to get out* of the house of an Irishman" (Carr 232, emphasis in original; see also Hoare 329). For example, John Barrow discourages the recipient of his letters in *A Tour Round Ireland* (1835) from

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[1]For an account of the limitations placed on women's travel in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Moskal 175.

sending more letters of introduction to Irish gentlemen and noblemen, "whose kindness and hospitality to strangers are proverbial," because he fears "that the consequence of such indulgences would occasion a delay" in his tour (171). On the whole, however, most travellers responded warmly to Irish hospitality. As Thomas Campbell concludes, "if you prefer the men of this country for their hospitality, and the women for their beauty, you are likely to live well with them" (44).

In many narratives, hospitality becomes the code word for the ability of Irish domestic space to replicate "home" for the English traveller. In the eighteenth century, wealthy travellers procured letters of introduction and took up temporary residence in the homes of Irish gentry, to whom they were usually strangers.[2] The "Two English Gentlemen" spend several days in a gentleman's house in Kilkenny— "home . . . (as we term it)": "we leave this worthy Gentleman's House every Morning; but, like Birds, come back to roost at Night" (210, 211). Thomas Campbell expresses regret that to continue on his tour, he must repeatedly leave the new friends he has made (165). George Parker insists that "the hospitality of the Irish, their humanity, and uncommon kindness, cannot be

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[2]According to Esther Moir, owners of "the great country houses . . . were willing to open their doors to whoever presented themselves on the tacit understanding that the low and common sort of people did not take such a liberty" (xv). Travelling in 1805, Sir John Carr and his party forgo touring several country estates "merely because we had forgotten to furnish ourselves with letters of introduction." In retrospect, Carr berates himself for "forgetting that in Ireland a spirit of liberality opens every door, and unbars every gate to the stranger" (172; see also Croker 29-30, 144, 193). Hospitality implies a certain permeability of the private sphere, an abdication of modern conceptions of privacy. Many English travellers felt that they should and did have unrestricted access to Irish domestic spaces. Several travellers recount instances of being escorted through the homes of Irish gentry by the servants (in the absence of the landowner) or exploring the grounds, occasionally without permission; see Campbell 103, Plumptre 84-85, Croker 126, and Tonna 229-30.

spoken of in terms of sufficient praise" (38). A few travellers comment on the detrimental effect of such expensive entertainment,[3] but most seem unwilling to forego the pleasures of Irish hospitality. Travellers who complain of being forcibly detained by their host's 'hospitality,' or who seek to avoid such entanglements when possible, are few and far between. Most seem gratified by the attention they receive at the hands of their Anglo-Irish hosts. Irishman Robert Bell's account of "the hospitality for which the Irish gentry have been so justly famed" leaves little doubt as to the reasons for many travellers' reluctance to leave their hosts:

> The guest, even when uninvited, was not repelled by any coldness of reception: he felt no embarrassment, no impatience to depart; and the entertainer endeavoured to make it appear that the visit was a favour conferred upon him. . . . To a stranger introduced into the houses of such men, the stories related by Homer of ancient hospitality, must no longer have appeared fabulous. . . . The most amiable and unremitting attention was always paid to visitors; and every thing was done that could make them pleased with their entertainment, and prolong their stay. (35)

Bell, who travelled through Ireland in 1780-90 and published his *Description . . . of the Peasantry of Ireland* in 1804, offers the careful reader a number of clues as to the Irish people's ambivalent relationship to their reputation of hospitality. The reference to Homer calls to mind *The Odyssey*, the story of a man consumed by his desire to return home, and his wife, whose hospitality is abused by countless parasitic suitors. Guests in an Irish home are welcomed warmly, "even when uninvited"; these ill-mannered guests feel "no embarrassment, no impatience to depart," even when the host's resources are strained by a prolonged visit. The Ascendancy's attempts to emulate—and even exceed—English

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[3]See, for example, Bush 14-18, Cooper 21, *Journal of a Tour* 65-66, and Plumptre 352.

hospitality ultimately reinforced the differences between England and Ireland for both parties.

The Big House was not the only domestic space in which Irish hospitality was extended. English travellers were often disarmed by the kindness shown them in the humblest cottage:

> Poor as the cabin is, do not, reader! think that hospitality and politeness are not to be found in it. The power of shewing these qualities, to be sure, is very slender; but if a stranger enters at dinner-time, the master of the family selects the finest potato from his bowl, and presents it, as a flattering proof of welcome courtesy. (Carr 155)

Once again, the Irish people's attempts at hospitality highlight their difference, this time through the meager resources available in their homes. George Holmes recounts a similar instance of hospitality in his *Sketches*; on an excursion, his party leaves their horses at a cottage and upon their return "were surprized at finding a small table laid, on which were eggs, milk and potatoes. This humble fare was offered to us, with all the kindness of genuine simplicity and good-nature" (73). Daniel Dewar also insists that "the poor labourer, who has only potatoes for himself and his children, will give the best in his pot to the guest, from whatever quarter he may come" (1.38-39) and indicates that he has often been the recipient of such hospitality. The native greeting—*céad míle fáilte* ("a hundred thousand welcomes")—further expresses the egalitarian and generous nature of Irish hospitality:

> At first I thought that this might be the form of salutation, on extraordinary occasions; but, when I found that man, woman, and child, shouted *ceud mile failte duit*, to every visitant, and even to every beggar, I felt rather astonished. (1.39)

Dewar may be astonished that he, as an Englishman, receives the same greeting as an Irish beggar, but he seems to regard every expression of Irish hospitality by the poor as genuine: "the original Irish, especially in sequestered situations, are much more distinguished for their attention to strangers than the same order of the Anglo-Hibernians," whose hospitality "becomes rather officious" (1.39). English travellers can afford to express pleasure at the peasant's hospitality, because the form that their hospitality takes (a single potato) is but one of the myriad ways in which the English traveller can distinguish himself from the Irish peasant. Hospitality—whether in the form of "officious" or "ostentatious" entertainment by the gentry, or a potato in a peasant's cabin—allows the traveller to reflect on his distance from "home."

Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna offers the following description of the nature of Irish hospitality in her *Letters*:

> You have often smilingly asked me to define Irish hospitality—I cannot. It would be like painting a sunbeam on a canvass for one who never felt its influence. In an Irish house you are emphatically AT HOME. . . . Here the guest is at once installed in all the immunities of a settled resident: the good folks having the tact to impress you with the conviction that you make no other difference in their establishment than is occasioned by the increase of social enjoyment. In reality, every soul is plotting for your comfort and gratification all day long. . . . (56-57)

Tonna clearly finds Irish hospitality exceptional; to someone who had only experienced another sort of hospitality, any attempt to describe Irish hospitality would fail to capture its essence. However, Tonna's own account reveals the implied danger in such all-encompassing hospitality—the collapsing of identities, so that the traveller, the stranger becomes like "a settled resident" and feels himself to be "at home." Thackeray's account of Irish hospitality is far more circumspect: "it is clear, that for a stranger the Irish ways

are the pleasantest, for here he is at once made happy and at home, or at ease rather; for home is a strong word, and implies much more than any stranger can expect, or even desire to claim" (34). Home is a "strong word" and carries with it many associations that the English cannot impart to the Irish. The English traveller ultimately has no "desire to claim" that Ireland is home; if it were, then it could no longer fulfill its oppositional function in the construction of English identity. Hospitality must be used to reinforce the English traveller's identity as "stranger," and Ireland's position as "abroad."

The places in which travellers receive hospitality—the homes of gentry, inns, and cabins—also help to distance Ireland from "home." In each case, travellers note the failures of that space to convey the characteristics associated with home: cleanliness, for example. The traveller's emphasis on the ways in which Irish domestic space is not "home-like" reiterates Ireland's difference and reconfirms the distance between home and abroad. Because the traveller's descriptions are the by-product of travel, which automatically posits a necessary distance between home and abroad, even the exceptions—a neat country home that resembles an English estate, or a clean, well-appointed inn—can be used to establish distance between England and Ireland.

Particularly in the nineteenth century, as more middle-class tourists chose to travel in Ireland, more and more travellers found accommodations at inns and hotels, especially in popular locales. As "homes away from home," most inns functioned poorly; countless travellers record their disappointment and even horror at their dark and dirty accommodations, no matter how temporary. This circumstance made it all the more necessary for English travellers to remark on a good inn when they found one, which was

increasingly common as the century wore on. Even Richard Twiss, whose criticisms of Ireland were notorious among English and Irish readers alike, claims that "the inns [in Dublin] are furnished with every accommodation that a traveller, who is not over-nice, can wish for" (54), a sentiment echoed by other travellers throughout the ensuing decades. Nevertheless, the very need for an inn reminded the traveller that he was away from home and encouraged attention to difference. Richard Colt Hoare confesses that he is "not able as yet to rate the good or bad qualities of an *Irish* inn; so different an appearance do they present in every respect to those of *England*" (20); similarly, Lady Georgiana Chatterton comments favorably on the inns, whose "defects are more in appearance than reality" (*Sketches* 1.287). Arriving at one inn after an uncomfortable and undignified ride on an Irish cart through a landscape littered with poverty-stricken Irish peasants and their cottages, she recounts her joy at finding an inn with "a large, well-furnished, and most comfortable sitting-room, with fresh flowers on the table, and beautiful geraniums in the windows!" Such accommodations are "doubly delightful, as all this was unexpected" (*Rambles* 1.62). Chatterton draws attention to her distance from home by highlighting the unexpectedness of such a "new and clean" room, rendered all the more appealing by her fatiguing journey; furthermore, she compares the room, albeit favorably, to the accommodations one might find "at an English watering-place," again relying on travel itself to establish distance, and difference, from home. John Barrow records finding domestic comforts of a more genteel sort at a hotel at Westport:

> It was, in all respects, well and handsomely furnished, and the walls hung round with a collection of good paintings, such as would be considered an ornament to any gentleman's drawing-room. There was, besides, a

> pianoforte in the room, and everything wore the appearance of a private dwelling. (173-74)

This hotel attempts to replicate private domestic space—its furniture, paintings, even the pianoforte—which once again calls to the traveller's mind images of home, to which temporary accommodations must inevitably (and unfavorably) be compared. Henry Inglis uses the thoroughly domestic image of the hearth to contrast "home comfort," as rendered by coal, to "travelling," symbolized by the turf fires he experiences in Ireland—the turf "produced the desired results,—heat and cheerfulness," but it is not like home (16). William Thackeray's description of a hotel in Killarney again draws attention to difference by repeated comparisons to England:

> It is a great vacant house, like the rest of them, and would frighten people in England; but after a few days one grows used to the Castle Rackrent style. I am not sure that there is not a certain sort of comfort to be had in these rambling rooms, and among these bustling, blundering waiters, which one does not always meet with in an orderly English house of entertainment. (114-15)

The "vacant" and "frightening" hotel reminds the English traveller of the excesses and failures of the Ascendancy, as described in Irish fiction; Thackeray's heavily qualified praise of the hotel only draws attention to its alien, and alienating, qualities. Again and again, the traveller's attempt to maintain some level of domestic comfort while abroad reiterates difference by directly or indirectly calling attention to the traveller's distance from home.

In fact, most travellers found Irish inns to be miserable, dirty failures in their attempts to replicate "home." By depicting their experiences in these inns, English travellers call into question the Irish people's ability to create or maintain suitable

domestic spaces, thus emphasizing the differences between the English and the Irish. In the eighteenth century, Dublin inns were frequently English travellers' last resort and the first target of their disappointment:

> It is very extraordinary, that in this large and populous city there should be such an almost total want of good inns for the accommodation of strangers and travellers. There is not absolutely one good inn in the town, not one, upon my honour, in which an Englishman of any sense of decency would be satisfied with his quarters. . . . But this is a circumstance that the stranger from England, or elsewhere, is often unacquainted with, and consequently frequently meets with difficulties at his first landing, that will make it appear to him an inhospitable country. (Bush 19)

Ireland's failure to accommodate the English "stranger" in the fashion to which he is accustomed renders it "an inhospitable country." Although Bush's disparaging comments about Dublin inns are fairly general, E. D. Clarke offers a detailed anecdote in his *Tour Through . . . Part of Ireland* (1793) that would have given any reader pause:

> At our hotel we conceived a very despicable opinion of Irish cleanliness. Our waiter had got the itch, his deputy was lousy, and the rooms were dark and dirty. Upon this we changed our station, and moved to Harris's hotel, in Cope Street. This is esteemed the first lodging house in Dublin, and yet we had not mended the matter. It was only jumping out of the frying pan into the fire; for it is impossible to do justice to the exquisite filthiness of this place. Everything was fine and dirty. Our bed had canopies and plumes, with counterpanes and sheets of a most sable hue. I asked them if they had applied to government? The waiters stared: 'Do for God's sake, and the love of your country (said I) get a patent for having discovered how much filth it is possible to comprize in a given compass.' . . . .
>
> At dinner the waiter had cut his thumb, and most profusely embroidered my plate with the sanguinary stream that issued from the wound. I desired him to change it; upon which he pulled out a dirty rag, that had once assumed the appearance of an handkerchief, and with a nimble twirl of his hand began to wipe away the traces of his blood. It would not do—the handkerchief made bad worse; however he presented the plate to me again with a profound bow, at the same time muttering an apology. This was too much; I hurried away, saying, as I left the door, 'They order this matter better in London!' (305-306)

Clarke attributes the dirt and poor service to a flaw in the Irish character: "it is the characteristic of the nation: A popular concern to unite at once every species of dissipation, filthiness, and extortion" (305). Clarke claims that he and his travelling companion "found all this where they least expected it," but his parting shot to the waiter suggests that Clarke had anticipated another London, where English habits made English travellers comfortable. Alienated by the first two hotels, Clarke finds another, where he "could hardly believe our landlord . . . was an Irishman, from the accommodation he gave us" (318). The association of dirt with "Irishness" can also be found in Arthur Young's account of Dublin inns: "we were well accomodated (dirt excepted). . . . All the lower ranks in this city have no idea of English cleanliness, either in apartments, persons, or cookery" (Maxwell ed. 5). He is echoed twenty years later by George Cooper: "the accommodation which the Dublin hotels (they disdain the name of inns, and have no such thing,) offer to strangers is most execrable and intolerable. An Englishman, who has never travelled out of his own country, can form no adequate idea of their dirt and inconvenience" (71). Cooper, a strong supporter of the Act of Union, nevertheless designates himself as a "stranger" and a "foreigner" (72), who, like any Englishman "who has never travelled out of his own country," is unprepared for Ireland's inability to provide surrogate domestic space that meets English standards. The reader of Cooper's *Letters on the Irish Nation* is frequently left to question whether Ireland will make a suitable domestic partner for England, and this instance is no exception.

Dublin inns improved over time and with increased tourist demand, but accommodations in the more remote districts of Ireland continued to offend the

sensibilities of English travellers. Arthur Young refers more than once to being forced to "take refuge in a cabin, called an inn" (32, 59). Richard Twiss records the existence of similar structures during his journey: "over the door or chimney (the same opening serving for both) of many of the cabbins [sic], I observed a board with the words *good dry lodgings*; however, as I was sure that hogs could not read, I avoided mistaking them for styes" (73). Later travellers would explain that the expression *dry lodgings* "does not mean that the beds to be let there are free from damp, but that lodgings only, and no spiritous liquors, are to be had" (Carr 204; see also Hoare 19). Even with this understanding, travellers continued to be amused by the expression. Anne Plumptre writes, "It put me in mind of the noted Mr. Elwes's room where there was just one *dry* corner for the bed; though I must say that in these *dry* lodgings I questioned whether there was even a corner sheltered from the weather" (357). J. C. Curwen records his immediate reaction to a "dry lodgings" sign: "'God help the poor souls,' we exclaimed, 'can it be necessary to apprize travellers that under those roofs they would be protected from the inclemency of the weather?'" (102). Although he immediately explains the intended meaning of the phrase, "a salutary hint against forming hasty conclusions in a perfectly new country" (103), the image of a damp cabin remains associated with the phrase in the mind of the reader. John Barrow uses the expression "dry lodgings" as an example of a bull, indicating his belief that the Irish must have misapprehended the meaning of the word "dry" (277). Jonathan Binns goes one step further in his account of rural accommodations, fully describing the conditions that constitute "dry lodgings":

> The signs displayed by numbers of low, miserable hovels, are ludicrous enough. 'Entertainment,' 'Good Beds,' and 'Dry Lodgings,' are offered to

> the traveller by cabins which cannot certainly supply any one of the desiderata they profess to abound in. If, however, damp green walls, roofs of thatch, full of holes, wet clay floors, and abundant dirt, may be considered as sources of entertainment, these houses do no less than properly represent the capabilities they are possessed of. 'Dry Lodgings,' I should observe, merely signifies lodging without food. (2.220-21)

By juxtaposing Ireland's promise of domestic comfort ("Good Beds," "Dry Lodgings") with Ireland's inability to fulfill that promise ("damp green walls," "wet clay floors," "abundant dirt"), Binns draws attention to Ireland's failings as a suitable domestic partner for Great Britain, emphasizing the cultural differences that could be rendered as insurmountable distance.[4]

Far more English travellers express their horror at the domestic environment in which many Irish people lived, suggesting that such appalling living conditions were both conducive to and reflective of the perceived flaws in Irish character. Such reactions were not limited to the houses of Irish peasants, however. As indicated above and in the previous chapter, the domestic space of the Anglo-Irish gentry attempted to capture the essence of "home," that is, England. In fact, many Anglo-Irish landowners behaved as if England were home, and spent the greater part of their time there, leaving their property and their tenants under the management of an agent, whose primary responsibility was to secure the landowner's rent income by whatever means were necessary. The money was then spent to support the absentee family abroad—in England. In 1776, "[i]n conversation upon the subject of a union with Great Britain," Arthur Young "was informed that nothing was so unpopular in Ireland as such an idea; and that the great objection to it was

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[4]For additional accounts, see Plumptre 249-51; Curwen 1.312, 2. 78-79; Barrow 121, 160, 164; and Binns 1.34.

increasing the number of absentees," by sending peers and commoners to England, who would eventually stay there, along with their families (Maxwell ed. 18-19). Young finds the idea "erroneous" because "the kingdom would merely "lose . . . an idle race of country gentlemen" in exchange for free trade and an improved economy (19). Absenteeism among the Irish gentry continued to be a serious problem for Ireland even after the Act of Union, however, and its effects were portrayed in anti-domestic terms. George Holmes describes the "fine old mansion" of Lord Barrymore that is "going fast to decay, owing to the proprietor living mostly in England" (180). John Gough reports two instances of the effects of the union and absenteeism on Irish domestic space. The first occurs in the north; "from what I have seen, during this my last journey in Ireland," writes Gough, "I should expect, that, in a very short time, most of the houses of the nobility and gentry, that are not already turned into barracks, will meet the same fate. The natural consequence of *what is called* the union" (37).[5] In Dublin, Gough chronicles the effects of the "the removal of the custom-house [which] caused the removal of the merchants, and the loss of the parliament, and the consequent increase of the number of absentees": "From what I have myself seen, I should not hesitate to say, that besides the miserable state of many of the houses that remain, there have been at least two hundred houses, in this parish alone, totally laid waste within the last thirty years" (87). Union, it seems, had produced the anti-domestic effects that some feared, and the decaying homes of the absentee gentry

[5]Particularly after the 1798 Rebellion and the Act of Union, additional British troops were stationed in Ireland to keep the peace; travellers, who generally derived some solace from their presence (see Clarke 315-17), frequently comment on military barracks, both in use and abandoned.

symbolized the decaying Irish domestic economy that had forced so many Irish peasants into the hovels that nearly every English traveller describes with pity and disgust.

Because the descriptions of the Irish peasants' living conditions feature prominently in so many narratives, it would be impossible to discuss each of them; instead, in the words of one nineteenth-century traveller, "the description of one of the cabins may serve to illustrate the state of many" (Noel 262). We will focus primarily on accounts from three prominent narratives that span the time period of this study: Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland* (1780), George Cooper's *Letters on the Irish Nation* (1800), and John Barrow's *Tour Round Ireland* (1836). These accounts, combined with additional details from several other travel narratives, will demonstrate important trends, as well as continuities over time. The English believed strongly in the importance of an orderly domestic environment and its influence on human character, as evidenced by the following passage from Young:

> In a country changing from licentious barbarity into civilized order, building is an object of perhaps greater consequence than may at first be apparent. In a wild, or but half cultivated tract, with no better edifice than a mud cabbin, what are the objects that can impress a love of order on the mind of man? He must be as wild as the roaming herds; savage as his rocky mountains; confusion, disorder, riot, have nothing better than himself to damage or destroy: but when edifices of a different solidity and character arise; when great sums are expended, and numbers employed to rear more expressive monuments of industry and order, it is impossible but new ideas must arise, even in the uncultivated mind; it must feel something, first to respect, and afterwards to love. . . . (first ed. 1.379)

"Wild" land and a disorderly domestic environment produces "wild," "savage," and riotous people in this paradigm, and these characteristics—the stereotypical essence of Irishness, according to many travellers' accounts—were some of the things the English

most feared and abhorred about their neighbors and soon-to-be partners. Young expresses a hope that solid and suitable domestic space would in turn domesticate the Irish, but most travellers saw only Ireland's failures. In fact, many English travellers seem to have wanted to see only Ireland's failures—by focusing their attention almost exclusively on the exterior appearance of the roadside hovels erected by the poorest of the poor,[6] they deliberately construct a faulty understanding of Irish domestic behaviors, reinforce cultural difference and distance, and thereby create an opportunity for an ambivalent English response to the idea of union with the Irish.

Let us begin with Young's "general description":

> The cottages of the irish [sic], which are all called cabbins [sic], are the most miserable looking hovels that can well be conceived: they generally consist of only one room: mud kneaded with straw is the common material of the walls; these are rarely above seven feet high, and not always above five or six; they are about two feet thick, and have only a door, which lets in light instead of a window, and should let the smoak out instead of a chimney, but they had rather keep it in . . . ; the smoak warms them, but certainly is as injurious to their eyes as it is to the complexions of

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[6]In his introduction to the 1970 reprint edition of Carr's *Stranger in Ireland*, Louis M. Cullen remarks that Carr and others based their descriptions of peasant life on "fleeting impressions" of what they saw as they travelled.

> But the peasants living on the roadside were the poorest and most destitute of Irish rural dwellers. The roadside cabins were those of cottiers, not farmers, and should not be regarded as representative of the living conditions of the people generally. . . . Many of the roadside cabins moreover were those of the completely destitute, who because of the difficulty of getting a site and for the convenience of begging inevitably sought the roadside. Evidence of poverty was striking along the roads, but its extent and often the degree of destitution should not lead us to conclude, as some contemporaries did, that among the rural population at large poverty was as unrelieved as it appeared along the roads which travellers took in their journeys from one town or tourist attraction to the next. (vii-viii)

For a similar analysis, see J. H. Andrews' essay on "Land and people, c. 1780" in *New History of Ireland* 4.245-47, 264.

the women, which in general in the cabbins of Ireland has a near resemblance to that of a smoaked ham. . . .

. . . . The furniture of the cabbins is as bad as the architecture; in very many, consisting only of a pot for boiling their potatoes, a bit of a table, and one or two broken stools; beds are not found universally, the family lying on straw, equally partook of by cows, calves and pigs. . . . (first ed. 2.25-26)

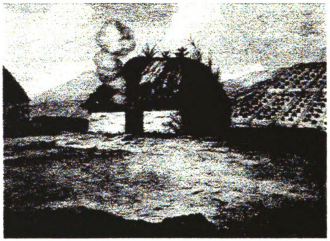

Figure 2 "An Irish Cabin," from Arthur Young, *Tour in Ireland* (1780)

In Young's drawing of an Irish cabin (Figure 2), we see the characteristics he has delineated in his prose description: there is no chimney; instead, smoke rises from the doorway. The walls are low, and grasses sprout from the thatch roof. The ground around appears to be barren. However, in the background we see the neat rows of a potato field, evidently produced by the labor of the cabin's inhabitants. Young admits that "Travellers, who take a superficial view of them [the peasants and their habitations] are apt to think their poverty and wretchedness . . . greater than they are," and points out that the "exceptions" to his "general description" "are very numerous" (Maxwell ed. 181, 188).

Further, he lays the blame for the existence of such conditions on the unjust tenantry system, and not solely on the indolence of Irish peasants. However, countless other travel writers incorporate similar images of Irish domestic space into their narratives without Young's caution or compassion.[7]

On the surface, George Cooper's account in *Letters on the Irish Nation* bears certain resemblances to Young's:

> The Irish peasant lives in a low narrow hut, called a cabin; which is built of the slightest materials, cemented with clay, and thatched with straw. It is generally without glass to its windows, or a door to shut out the wind and rain. It seldom enjoys the convenience of a chimney, so that the smoke is seen ascending through every quarter of the roof. In this cold and comfortless habitation, the two sexes promiscuously herd together. These narrow precincts must not only afford shelter to a wife and family, but must also inclose within them his live stock. . . . The whole family are obliged to live under the same roof. Children and pigs may indeed, and always do, eat, drink and sleep together. (41)

Like Young, Cooper describes the poor building materials and faulty construction of the Irish cabins. However, Cooper goes a step further, describing the presumed influence of this domestic environment on its inhabitants: men and women "promiscuously herd together," while children share their food and their beds with pigs. In Cooper's account, the Irish habitations produce immoral, even bestial behavior among the Irish peasants. "From the promiscuous way these people lie together, a suspicion naturally arises in a stranger's mind, that incest is unavoidable amongst them," according to Thomas

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[7]For additional eighteenth-century descriptions of Irish cabins, see Wesley 3.350, Bush 30-31, and Twiss 75-76. Like Young, they focus on the poor building materials, flawed construction, and smoke; unlike Young, they place the blame for these living conditions solely on the cabin's inhabitants.

Campbell, who, unlike Cooper, quickly denounces this suspicion (148); nevertheless, the possibility lingers in the traveller's (and reader's) mind.

Travel writers of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries tended to use descriptions of living conditions as opportunities to racialize or dehumanize the Irish peasants, thus rendering them Other. Race is a particularly problematic term for the study of Ireland; prior to the Victorian period, the English typically conceived of the Irish as white, and in fact, evidence exists to suggest that the English were aware that the lack of racial difference was ultimately detrimental to England's ability to justify their continued oppression of Ireland.[8] Pseudo-scientific studies of racial difference in the 1840s and 50s greatly enabled the construction of the Irish as racially Other; the simianization of the Irish allowed for comparisons to Africans, who were believed to be more closely related to apes on the chain of evolution. The Irish peasants' darker complexions—previously attributed to their ostensibly Spanish (Milesian) origins—became the means by which the Irish could be rendered "black." A thorough discussion of the racialization of the Irish lies outside the

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[8]Charles Kingsley, travelling through Ireland in 1860, offered the following description of the Irish in a letter to his wife: "But I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country. I don't believe they are our fault. I believe there are not only many more of them than old, but that they are happier, better, more comfortably fed and lodged under our rule than they ever were. But to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours" (qtd. in Curtis 84; see also Michie, "White Chimpanzees" 586-87 and Murphy 11-12). Kingsley here attempts to achieve a tenuous balance between England's imperial oppression of Ireland, contemporary theories of race and anti-Irish prejudice based on their supposedly simian characteristics, and the incontrovertible (and, for Kingsley, uncomfortable) whiteness of the Irish people's skin.

scope of this project;[9] however, it is important to consider the role played by the peasants' living conditions in this process of racial othering. Particularly in the eighteenth century, English travellers utilized the rhetorical devices suggested by England's colonies in North America and the West Indies, comparing Irish peasants to American Indians and African slaves. In *The Present State of the British Empire*, John Entick describes the "Habitation, Furniture, and Apparel" of the "mere *Irish*" as "as sordid, as those of the Savages in *America*" (4.197), and Charles Bowden claims that the "habitations of those poor wretches are . . . less calculated for any of the comforts or conveniences of life, than the huts of the savages I have seen in the back settlements of North America" (158-59). The lasting impact of such comparisons is evidenced by their utilization in nineteenth-century, Irish-authored travel narratives: "the wretched appearance of several cabins . . . conspired to revive the thoughts of an object which I have never seen, and perhaps never shall see—An old Indian settlement, in an uncivilized and unimproved part of the American continent" (Atkinson, *Irish Tourist* 113-115). A reader would not have to have intimate familiarity with American Indian settlements, as Bowden claims to have, to comprehend the parallel being drawn between Irish peasants and the culturally and racially distinct (that is, distinct from the English settlers, and thus alien) native tribes in North America; furthermore, such rhetorical strategies may be used to justify the removal or elimination of a people from an otherwise profitable landscape, as occurred in North America. Other travellers describe the "state of slavery" in which the Irish peasants lived and labored

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[9]The best studies of racially oriented anti-Irish prejudice remain L. P. Curtis, Jr., *Anglo Saxons and Celts* and *Apes and Angels*; the reader is referred to those works for a more detailed discussion than can be offered here.

(Bush 29); according to George Cooper, "the condition of the West India negro is a paradise to it [the situation of the Irish peasant]. The slave in our colonies has meat to eat and distilled spirit to drink, whilst the life of the Irish peasant is that of a savage who feeds upon milk and roots" (72-73).[10] Although the comparison to slavery is more likely to incite sympathy in the reader, it nevertheless affronts English sensibilities and calls into question Ireland's ability to form a fit partnership. Just as abolitionists did not necessarily regard slaves as equals, the English did not regard colonized peoples—including the Irish—as worthy of the rights and liberties accorded to English subjects, because the English believed that such people were unable to appreciate fully the benefits of those rights and liberties. Finally, travellers also compare the Irish peasants to "aborigines," "barbarians," and "a horde of Hottentots" (Cooper 36-37, 40). Such groups were considered by the English and other Western European countries to be uncivilized and uncivilizable. In *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt analyzes the narratives of numerous eighteenth-century travellers to South Africa, whose descriptions of the Hottentots (the Khoikhoi) permeated the metropole and became the basis for later racial paradigms that placed the Hottentots on the lowest rung of the human evolutionary ladder (see Curtis 59). Such comparisons paved the way for more extended descriptions of racial difference

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[10]Irish writers occasionally co-opted the comparison of the Irish peasant to the West Indian slave by comparing Irish landowners and agents to West Indian planters (see Owenson, *Wild Irish Girl* 34, and Edgeworth, *The Absentee* 130). Slavery in the West Indies was a notoriously brutal institution, even among slave societies, rendering the comparison particularly cutting; for a description of West Indian slavery that emphasizes its brutality and disruptive social consequences, see Orlando Patterson, "Slavery and Slave Revolts," in *Maroon Societies*, ed. Richard Price (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1979) 246-92.

later in the century. In 1843, William Thackeray concludes his description of an Irish peasant cabin with the following statement:

> I declare I believe a Hottentot kraal has more comforts in it: even to write of the place makes one unhappy, and the words move slow. But in the midst of all this misery there is an air of actual cheerfulness; and go but a few score yards off, and these wretched hovels lying together look really picturesque and pleasing. (104)

Once again, distance allows the English reader to regard the Irish as at once Other (in this case, both racially and culturally alien, through the comparison of the peasant cabin to the Hottentot kraal), while manipulating the degree of Otherness, so that the Irish may be regarded as domesticated and home-like. From a distance—a "few score yards off," the pages of a book, England—the Irish cabins "look really picturesque and pleasing." Distance, achieved in part through the rhetoric of racial difference, minimizes the effects of English oppression while maintaining the Irish people's essential otherness.

"[T]he savage tribes of mankind . . . approach nearer to the condition of animals," claims George Cooper, a comparison that encourages the English reader to question the Irish people's very humanity, based in large measure on their living conditions (37). "The manner in which the poor of this country live, I cannot help calling beastly," writes Thomas Campbell, an allusion to the close quarters shared by humans and animals in many peasant cabins (144). "An Irish cabin, in general, is a like a little antediluvian ark; for husband, wife, and children, cow and calf, pigs, poultry, dog and frequently cat, repose under the same roof in perfect amity," according to John Carr (151-52). Carr's romanticized account is one of the few to elide the unsanitary conditions produced by such living arrangements. Most travellers express their horror at the presence of livestock,

typically a pig, within the domestic space. The peasants' pragmatism about such conditions only further emphasizes their otherness: "Paddy says, he [the pig] has the best right to be [in the cabin, rather than in a stye], 'since it's he that pays the rint'" (Inglis 22). Very few travellers reached Henry Inglis' level of accommodation with the status quo:

> I used to be shocked at seeing a pig's snout at a cabin door, and looked upon such a spectacle as a proof of wretchedness; but I now began to bless the sight, and to pity more, the poor wretches who possessed no pig. It is true, indeed, that things were still better when a pig-stye was visible; for that gave evidence both of the existence of the pig, and of the superior comfort of its owner: but still, it was always to me a pleasant sight, where, if no pig-stye was visible, I saw him that pays the "rint" walk leisurely in and out of the cabin door, or heard his comfortable grunt within. (45)

Some found the cabins to be unfit habitations even for animals: "I should suppose there were not ten dwellings in the kingdom thirty years ago that were fit for an english pig to live in" (Young, first ed. 2.77). Anne Plumptre carries the analogy a step further: "an English farmer would refuse to eat the flesh of a hog so ill lodged and fed as an Irish peasant" (341); the language of consumption reveals the exploitive desire behind England's relationship with Ireland. The comparison to pigs was further enhanced by the peasants' scanty and primarily vegetarian diet—potatoes, oatmeal, and buttermilk—reminiscent of the slop generally reserved for pigs in more affluent areas: "Potatoes and butter-milk, the food of an English hog, form the degrading repast of the Irish peasant," claims John Carr (291; see also 510).[11] English travellers also describe the peasants' eating habits in animalistic terms; lacking tables and chairs, the peasants often squatted on

[11]Irish writers confirm the connection between the peasants' diet and the food given to English hogs; see Bell 3.

the floor around a single broken bowl, and even shared their food with their pigs, according to this account from Plumptre:

> A gentleman told me, that once in a walk he took refuge in the cabin of a peasant during a heavy shower, where the family were at dinner; the pig was, as usual, eating potatoes out of the same mess with the rest, making himself in other ways extremely free and sociable. The gentleman not thinking his company so agreeable as it seemed to be thought by the family, said, "I wonder, friend, that you keep the pig here, that you don't make him a separate house." "Nay, plase your honour," said the man, "I don't see why you think that; I don't see but the pig have every convanience here that a pig can want." He seemed to think that the gentleman's anxiety referred entirely to the pig, not to its owners. (175)

Inhumane living conditions have reduced the peasants to the level of animals, unable to offer suitable domestic provisions to the traveller, thus altering the traveller's and the reader's response to the Irish peasant's great gesture of hospitality, recorded by so many travellers—his willingness to give a stranger the last potato out of his bowl, the same bowl from which the pig had eaten. "To Englishmen the ubiquitous pig . . . made a most appropriate symbol," according to L. P. Curtis. "The porcine symbol," used with particular relish by cartoonists, became "a shorthand method of conveying just those brutish, primitive, and dirty qualities which were associated with the vast majority of Irishmen" (58). By repeatedly comparing the Irish peasants to pigs, the English traveller confirmed the status of the Irish people as Other, while justifying England's continued oppression of Ireland by rendering it mere animal husbandry.

By the 1830s, many travellers had become inured to the peasants' living conditions and assumed the Irish were as well. Thus, John Barrow can write of "the listless indifference of the inhabitants with regard to their dwellings" (262), and Nathaniel Parker Willis can claim that "men and women, upright, and made in God's image," exercised

conscious "choice" to "live in styes, like swine, *with* swine,—lying down, cooking and eating in such filth as all brute animals" (8). Clearly the trend toward comparing the Irish peasants to animals and other degraded beings had not been completely displaced, but in the decades before the Famine, another trend comes to dominate English travellers' accounts. The important point of comparison now becomes something closer to home, the living conditions of the English poor. According to L. P. Curtis, travel writers' "stock picture of squalor in the Irish countryside must have served to distract attention from the grinding poverty and sordid conditions which prevailed in English cities and towns as well as in many rural communities" (57). The Irish peasants' domestic failings are contrasted to the domestic bliss of the English cottage. Poverty is romanticized in these accounts; the travel writer's tone toward the Irish grows increasingly patronizing.

The narrative and drawings of John Barrow's *Tour Round Ireland* illustrate the facets of this second descriptive trend. With respect to the poorest Irish cabins, Barrow sees no need to move beyond the descriptive paradigm of his predecessors. Of the cabins in western Ireland, Barrow writes:

> . . . I should scarcely have supposed them to be habitations of human beings, but rather as sheds for the cattle, the more certainly so, had I seen the head of a cow, or some other four-footed beast, peeping out of the doorway, which I understand is no uncommon occurrence. Many of these cabins are built of stones, loosely heaped together, with no window; and the only place for the light to come in at, and the smoke to go out, is through a small hole in the miserably-thatched and sometimes sodded roof, at all times pervious to the rain, and through the doorway. No picture drawn by the pencil—none by the pen—can possibly convey an idea of the sad reality. (179-80)

Despite his stated reservations, Barrow attempts to describe these habitations with both the pen and the pencil, concluding the passage with a sketch of a "Hovel near the foot of the Reek," one of several illustrations of cabins throughout Ireland (Figure 3).

Figure 3 "Hovel at the Foot of the Reek," from John Barrow, *A Tour Round Ireland* (1836)

For the first time since Young's relatively sanitized drawing of a cabin (see Figure 2), travel readers did not need to rely solely on a travel writer's prose skill to envision the horrors of Irish domestic life. Like Young and Cooper, Barrow notes the omnipresence of livestock, the poor construction, and the lack of a chimney—all of which feature prominently in his drawing. Other descriptions and drawings of cabins in the west and south follow much the same pattern (see 151-53, 193-94, 245-46).

For cabins in the north, however, Barrow draws on another model: English domestic order. While the province of Ulster pleases Barrow in general, he has reservations about the living conditions of the poorer inhabitants; he finds the "substitution of rude stone walls" for "trees and quickset hedges to mark the divisions of property . . . no doubt unsightly to an English eye" (144), and observes that "the same degree of neatness and cleanliness, either within or without, did not prevail in the cottage, which it is the pride of our English housewives to display; nor were their gardens, where any, kept in that neat order as with our peasantry" (143). The exterior appearance of the cabins, especially the lack of decorative gardens, particularly concerns Barrow:

> The little cottages . . . are . . . built of stone, and have a neat appearance; but there is this distinctive character which makes them differ from an English cottage,—that they are all open to the road in front, and want that little paled-off garden enclosure, so common to our meanest cottages, to protect the daisies, the lilies, and the wallflowers below, and the China-roses, the woodbines, the jasmine, or clematis, that trail up their sides, and hang in festoons over the door. (94-95)

Barrow's prose makes it difficult to determine whether the flowers adorn the cabin he sees, or whether his English imagination supplies this "unsightly" omission. According to another traveller, William Belton, "There are no roses clustering around the porch, no jasmine climbing up the windows, nor gay borders of flowers, such as frequently give so cheerful and pleasing an appearance to our rural cottages"; instead, "[i]n front of the Irish cabin is universally the manure-heap" (6). Jonathan Binns echoes this point of comparison: "The little snug woodbine-covered cottage, with its neat plot of garden-ground, which almost every peasant in England may possess if he pleases, is here, as I have observed before, totally unknown" (1.339). Earlier English travellers had been

alienated by the squalor and shoddy construction associated with Irish peasant cabins, but later travellers moved beyond these signs of worker oppression and a failing economy to find evidence of Irish shortcomings in their inability to reproduce not merely the basics, but the niceties of English domestic space.

As the above quotations suggest, most travellers' accounts of the Irish peasants' domestic space are, at best, superficial, concerned primarily with the exteriors of cabins. John Carr concludes his *Stranger in Ireland* by remarking that

> it would be a desirable thing if landlords were to insert clauses in their leases by which they should be vacated, if the cabin was not kept well white-washed within and without; and if that abominable pile of filth, which is almost constantly to be found in the front of the dwelling, were not removed to some other place. (522)

Similarly, Henry Inglis confesses, "When I know that there are the means of comfort within, I like to see a neat exterior" (82). The exteriors of cabins were easy targets for the traveller (see note 6 above) and, because of the perceived correlation between domestic space and character, even the exteriors of cabins could be used as evidence of essential differences between the English and the Irish. With typical cynicism, Thackeray quips, "a traveller who in ten minutes can see not only the outsides of houses but the interiors of the same, must have remarkably keen eyesight"; nevertheless, he admits that "looking at the houses,"—which he has previously described as having a "battered, rakish look"—"one can't but fancy the inhabitants resemble them somewhat" (8). Nevertheless, travel writers recognize the peril in rendering the Irish irredeemably Other, particularly after the Act of Union. English travellers and travel readers required some assurance that the Irish—near neighbors, and now fellow members of the United Kingdom—were not a threat to the

safety and security of Home, but were in fact suitably domesticated. Similarly, they desired evidence that would expiate any feelings of guilt, that would blot out any sense that the English were somehow responsible for the conditions in which so many Irish people lived and labored. Ultimately, travellers and readers can conclude, with Thackeray, that the appearance of the Irish people and their homes "is only the costume, as it were, that has frightened the stranger, and made him fancy that people so ragged must be unhappy" (361).

To that end, John Christian Curwen sets out to examine the peasants' living conditions in *Observations on the State of Ireland* (1818), emphasizing in his introduction that his "attention will be particularly directed to the cottiers or cabin-holders" (5). Curwen is aware of the prejudices of his readership, but attempts to correct them:

> The English traveller imbibes a most unfavorable opinion of Ireland, from the wretched state in which he beholds the habitations of the lower orders; the generality of which certainly appear unsuitable to the residence of human creatures. From the dilapidations without, he draws instant conclusions of accumulated miseries within. The Irish peasant, however, though poor in what the world calls riches, possess that in his cabin which the mines of Peru could not furnish. Let the feelings be restrained—let a dispassionate survey of the interior be taken, and the traveller will find in the possession of its inhabitants a warmth of heart—an overflowing of the kindest domestic affections, and of the purest joys of life. . . . (1.169)

Curwen's observations are not entirely "dispassionate," however. Initially, the absence of items he regards as necessary to human existence make him reluctant to signify their domestic space as a "home," as the following passage demonstrates:

> In human abodes, where the presence of a chimney is an acknowledged luxury, the absence of all other necessary appendages to such a residence, which according to our ideas of household conveniences are required to make life even supportable, may be easily imagined. (1.111-12)

The cabin may be a "human abode," a "residence," or even a "household," but it cannot be a "home." Eventually, however, Curwen, like other picturesque travellers, acquires the objectifying distance necessary to romanticize Irish poverty for his readers. In the Irish cabin "the painter might catch, in native purity, the expression of the soul, and present virtue to the world in all her uncontaminated loveliness" (1.167). In Wordsworthian prose, he describes old men telling stories, while children listen and women spin (1.166), and insists that "the exposed cottier on the bog, unsheltered and unpossessed of comforts when at home, partakes more of the substantial blessings of man, than the well protected, well appointed artisan in the city with treble his earnings" (1.349). In comparison to the English poor, the Irish poor "are, in point of happiness, vastly their superiors" (iv). Curwen's observations are no doubt influenced by the trend toward valorization of rural life (and farming) over urban life (and industrialization), and a desire to contrast the complacent Irish poor with the revolutionary English working class. His work and others' attempt to depict the Irish as content in their domestic space, and thus, domesticated in a way English readers could appreciate.

Descriptions of poor living conditions in Ireland might have served to reinforce English apprehensions about increased Irish presence in England, in the form of immigrants and itinerant workers. However, travel writers who attempt to show the positive aspects of Irish domestic life also help their English readers to understand the peasants' desire to return "home." In *Observations of the Irish* (1812), Daniel Dewar emphasizes the domestic affections among Irish peasants:

> The Irishman . . . must often go from home; he must go in search of that bread which his country denies him, but he can never forget the cottage of

> his early years . . ., the lovely valley in which he first began to live, and the green hills of his native isle, with all the soft and endearing associations which they awaken. . . . The wild and simple strains which first delighted him in the cabin, while they sooth his sorrows in a foreign clime, cherish his fondness for home, by exciting the tenderest and most delightful sympathies of the human heart. (1.32)

The passage is filled with typically English emblems of Irish identity—the cottage, green landscapes, "wild and simple" music. They conjure the image of a rustic too innocent (or naive) to desire the formation of attachments elsewhere. These romanticized assurances of the Irish peasant's immutable attachment to his "home"—Ireland in general, and the cabin in particular —reinforce the image of the domesticated, and non-threatening, Irish peasant.

English travellers exhibit a modern concern with the activities of the private, domestic sphere: gender roles and family relationships, in particular. In the eighteenth century, travellers focused their attention on issues of sexual morality. Irish women were accused of being unchaste (Campbell 92-93), and travellers were particularly appalled by the custom of "bundling," in which an unmarried couple spent the night in the same bed, clothed, and ostensibly without indulging in intercourse, although the custom often resulted in a hasty marriage (Twiss 103-107, Carr 11). In a similar vein, Richard Twiss's assertion that the "females of this island are remarkably prolific, it being not uncommon for a woman to have fifteen or twenty children," suggests a rapacious sexual appetite on the part of one or both partners (48). Women's shoeless feet, hatless heads, dirty legs, and ragged clothes earned them the appellation "DRAGGLE-TAILED SLUTS" from one English traveller (Clarke 328). By the nineteenth century, however, travellers had begun to modify their description of Irish women, in part because of changing notions of the

importance of the woman's private sphere roles on the activities of the public sphere. John Carr insists that "every degree of decency prevails within" the Irish cabin, and that "instinctive delicacy which exists between the sexes, in every thing which is the subject of it in higher life, is not banished from the poor cabin" (268). Contemporary advice books encouraged readers to believe that women could "create a domestic haven in the lowliest cottage," and so English travellers glibly exported their notion of domestic comforts (qtd. in Hareven 236). Irish women, in particular, were held responsible for the failure to create appropriate domestic space, as indicated by John Barrow's insistence that "the same degree of neatness and cleanliness, either within or without, did not prevail in the cottage, which it is the pride of our English housewives to display" (143). Other travellers faulted Irish peasant women for failing to perform necessary and appropriate domestic labor:

> In the numerous cabins I have visited, I have been much concerned to see so little attention paid to the instruction of females in domestic concerns, not having on any occasion seen the mistress of a family occupied with her needle. What good reason can be offered for the neglect of making the rags of which their clothes are composed somewhat more decent and tidy? (Curwen 1.232)

As this passage indicates, travellers felt that women were largely to blame for their poor appearance and that of their families. William Belton describes a peasant mother and child, "guiltless of wearing either shoe or stocking, and *the latter* very frequently as unencumbered with any other article of clothing. . . . Indeed, an objection to mending appears to be a prominent characteristic of the Irish. The wife will neither mend her husband's, nor her children's, nor her own, clothes, though a single stitch in time might give both comfort and neatness" (1.6, 7-8; see also Inglis 24, 38). Clearly, English expectations of gender roles and behaviors influenced their ability to conceptualize Irish

domestic space as "home." Nevertheless, nineteenth-century travellers also tended to include descriptions that provided evidence of the Irish people's concern for domestic space and domestic comforts. Irish women are described as virtuous (Cooper 33), faithful (Curwen 1.171), modest (Carr 236), and appropriately concerned with the welfare of their families:

> Compare the indulging, happy mother, existing only in her wretched cabin, with the high-fed alluring damsel partaking the luxuries of any great town. The exterior of the latter far surpasses that of the former—but how do they contrast in every quality that constitutes individual earthly happiness, and contributes to command respect? (Curwen 1.349)

Although the Irish peasant woman may not approach the English cultural ideal of "the angel in the house," her concern for managing domestic affairs and raising happy, healthy children would have resonated with many English readers, especially women.

Irish peasants tended to marry young[12] and have large families, without what the English considered appropriate concern for establishing adequate domestic space:

> Insufficiency of provision, which operates so powerfully against marriage in England, is not known or cared about in Ireland; there the want of an establishment never affects the brain of the enamored rustic. Love lingers only until he can find out a dry bank, pick a few sticks, collect some furze and fern, knead a little mud with straw, and raise a hut about six feet high, with a door to let in the light and let out the smoke. . . . (Carr 152)

Several travel writers express concern over this circumstance but admit that the ensuing "rapid race of chubby boys and girls, soon proves by what scanty means life can be sustained and imparted" (152).[13] The Irish children, as depicted by travellers, tend to be

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[12]Anne Plumptre reports that women of "the class of wealthy farmers" also married early, as young as fourteen, in order to ensure an appropriate and beneficial match (358).

[13]Many travellers express some concern at the rapid increase of the Irish population; early marriages, combined with relative ease of access to the bare essentials of

happier and healthier—if ill-clothed—than seems possible under the circumstances. Family bonds are depicted as strong and loyal. In John Curwen's view, "strong attachments . . . in the Irish peasants' families" enable their survival and inspire hope: "Did not a full share of untutored affections ensure domestic felicity to the Irish peasant, the cabin would, indeed, be a most deplorable abode!" (1.170-71). When confronted with peasants willing to sacrifice what little they had for the comfort of an ailing family member, Anne Plumptre exclaims, "it is amazing to what lengths family affection is carried in an Irish cabin" (353). Their hospitality to strangers and dedication toward one another are proof, according to Plumptre, that contrary to popular opinion the "extreme wretchedness" in which the peasants live does not have a "pernicious effect . . . upon the mind" of the peasant, or the reader. Curwen assures his readers that "their privations [i.e., the peasants'], though rigorous, are not felt, or at least not in the degree which our compassion leads us to imagine" (171). English travellers and readers can use these more positive descriptions of domestic space and family life to minimize the effects of British oppression and to assuage their own feelings of guilt. Georgiana Chatterton goes so far as to claim that a glimpse of the Irish, "in the full glee of their lively national temperament," can alleviate the viewer's pain: "though suffering ourselves, we often feel happy at the sight of happiness in others" (*Sketches* 1.285). In the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the wealthy English traveller, not the starving Irish peasant, is depicted as the one who is truly "suffering."

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life—shelter (a cabin), food (potatoes), and warmth (turf from the bogs)—offered few checks to population growth; see *New History of Ireland* 4.159-60, 162-65, 264, and 657. For one interpretation of the controversial role of the potato in enabling rural overpopulation, see K. H. Connell, "The Potato in Ireland," esp. 114-17.

English readers wanted to see proof that the Irish understood the importance of familial relationships and domestic attachment; despite repeated attempts to establish distance between England and Ireland, their close physical proximity and long-standing relationship made it inadvisable, if not impossible, to sever ties completely. The Irish were Other in many ways, but the English had also become accustomed to thinking of them in familial terms. Most travel writers designate Ireland as a "sister"—"sister kingdom" or "sister island"—a term of relative equality, although England is sometimes specified as the "elder" (i.e., superior) sister. Travel writers use the Act of Union to reconfigure the domestic relationships between Great Britain and Ireland, not only in the economic and legislative senses of "domestic," but also in the sense of "family." After the Union, Ireland will "no longer" be the "sister kingdom" (Cooper 177). Instead Ireland takes on a further-subordinated role in the family, that of child or wife. "The mother country opens out her arms to embrace and relieve the child which had deserted her" (170); England eventually stands to gain financially "from the Daughter" (Hoare 330). If the Union is to be regarded as a marriage, as Cooper also suggests (183), then Ireland takes on another feminine role, that of Hibernia, wife of John Bull (Carr 221-28). These familial labels operate on two levels. First, domestic relationships were believed to mirror the workings of the state. George Cooper, writing on the eve of the Act of Union, describes this "chain in society" as follows: "Men form the rudiments of families; families constitute the elements of states; and in every system the parts will be found by their respective excellencies to promote the perfection and harmony of the whole" (51-52), a Burkean sentiment echoed some years later by Daniel Dewar (1.4-5). Government, according to Cooper, arises out of essentially

domestic concerns, "a natural instinctive impulse towards comfort, convenience and security," features readily identified with the space typically designated as "home" (57). Within this paradigm, if Ireland were regarded as part of the family, as "Home," it could be expected to contribute to that sense of security, rather than threaten it. The gendered labels travel writers and others choose, however, also contribute to the feminization of the Irish. Colonizing cultures frequently attributed putatively "feminine" characteristics to colonized cultures: "passivity, weakness, irrationality, wiliness, etc." (Hogan 88-89); Ireland was no exception to this pattern. Behind this gendered rhetoric lay "the assumed connection between femininity and unfitness for self-government" (Curtis 61). The designation of Ireland as a "sister," "daughter," or "wife" expresses the conflicting English desires to see Ireland as both Self—a participatory member of the 'family' of the United Kingdom—and Other—a weaker vessel in need of the guiding hand of the Empire.

The condition of and behaviors associated with Irish domestic space provided many opportunities for English travellers to establish their difference and distance from the Irish people. For the most part, the Irish people's private-sphere behaviors provided ideal examples of their difference: they lived and acted in ways that were different from, and thus alien to, the English, yet the differences themselves posed few tangible threats to English safety and security. The differences could thus be used to establish distance between the Irish and the English, while Ireland and England were drawn together by the Act of Union. Some travellers even claimed that Union with Great Britain would "speedily refine the national manners" (Robertson 15). However, travellers were also

concerned with what Cooper calls, in typically "domestic" rhetoric, "the furniture of the peasant's mind": belief systems and privately-held ideas that influenced behavior in the public sphere (43). Two particular Irish cultural behaviors moved beyond the boundaries of the private sphere, and thus encroached on the definitional attributes of English identity and threatened English security. English travellers express their consternation over the Irish people's maintenance of Catholicism as the de facto national religion, along with its related cultural traditions; they also object to the Irish people's attempts to adapt English cultural traditions, in particular, the English language. The result is the quintessential colonial dilemma: the colonized are at once too much and not enough like the colonizers.

England's anxieties about the native religion of Ireland, Roman Catholicism, were based in part on their fear that in times of war, Ireland might side with or receive aid from other Catholic countries, in particular England's long-time enemy, France—a fear that was nearly realized during the 1798 Rebellion, when France attempted but failed to send ships to support the Irish rebels. Others perceived Ireland's Catholicism to be an obstacle to Union, in part because they suspected that the Irish Catholics would prioritize their allegiance to the pope over their loyalty to the British Crown.[14] The vast majority of Irish people were Catholic, and religious distinctions reinforced class distinctions; in George

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[14]In the words of John Entick, "that most dangerous Religion of the Papists . . . will not submit to the King's Supremacy even in Temporals, but place the same in foreign Jurisdiction" (4.203). Public office, the legal profession, and high-ranking military positions excluded Catholics by means of an anti-Catholic oath administered to all those who held such positions (see Moody and Martin, *Course of Irish History* 218-19). George Cooper discusses the Irish people's resistance to the oath of supremacy, which declared that no foreign power, including the pope, had any authority in Britain; by dismissing the Irish people's reluctance as "merely a scruple of conscience which excludes them from their seats in the legislature," the English could relieve themselves of any responsibility for the condition of unrepresented Irish Catholics (90).

Cooper's observation, "almost every pitiable object in rags and misery was a Catholic; and . . . almost every man who enjoyed the advantages of food and cloathing obtained them by his Protestantism" (83). This state of affairs had been produced in part by the penal laws, enacted in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which prohibited Irish Catholics from, among other things, buying land or acquiring a lease of more than 31 years. Most of these restrictions were lifted by the Catholic Relief Acts of the later eighteenth century, but not until 1829 were Irish Catholics granted the right to hold various positions in the British government, including seats in Parliament.

Most travel writers opposed the penal laws and supported religious toleration; nevertheless, they expressed certain fears of Catholicism. In 1758, John Wesley believed that most "Irish Papists . . . retain the same bitterness, yea, and thirst for blood, as ever, and would as freely now cut the throats of all the Protestants as they did in the last century" (4.268). Although most travellers did not fear imminent bodily harm from the Catholic peasants, they did express concern that the priests held "a very despotick Power" over the people that "might be dangerous" (Chetwood 163). Such concerns continued to be expressed in the nineteenth century; Thomas Cromwell speaks of the "abject thraldom" in which the priests hold "the catholic fold" (20). "The Romanists are entirely (that is the lower orders) under the command of their priests, ready to stir in any commotion their spiritual leaders may be inclined to incite them to," writes William Wordsworth in 1829, fearing that Catholic emancipation would spell the worst for the Protestant religion in Ireland (146). In 1834, William Belton argues that Catholicism is the biggest obstacle to the improvement, tranquility, and true union of England and Ireland (2.277-82). The title

of James Page's work, *Ireland: Its Evils Traced to Their Source* (1836), reflects the growing anti-Catholic sentiment: the source of Ireland's evils was, of course, the Roman Catholic religion. Charlotte Elizabeth expresses the most virulent anti-Catholicism in her *Letters* (1839), describing Catholicism as "Ireland's evil genius" and "master evil" (149, 187). Irish Catholic members of parliament threaten English domestic security, in her view:

> The destruction of the Protestant church and dismemberment of the empire, is what these men openly, avowedly aim at: their numbers must increase with the increasing boldness, decision, and activity of the Romish priesthood, whose delegates they are: that number in the Commons House is even now able, as a floating majority, to decide any question brought forward, where the regular parties that compose the British representation are divided: and thus are we already prostrated beneath the paw of the Apocalyptic Beast, who having imposed on our wise legislators by exhibiting his lamb's face, was, on the strength of it, courteously admitted among them; and now with his dragon's voice prevails to lead captive the British government, and to trample upon the British constitution. (292-93)

Charlotte Elizabeth employs biblical rhetoric to convince English readers of the dangers of toleration, and ultimately of the dangers of union with Ireland. Once Catholicism had ceased to be a private-sphere concern, and had entered the public arena through the emancipation of Catholics in Ireland, it clearly threatened the English idea of "Home."

Few travel writers, however, are so unequivocal in expressing their distrust of Irish Catholics. Instead, they focus on what they perceive to be the detrimental cultural effects of the Catholic religion. William Thackeray, who observes a mass on at least two separate occasions, claims that "the candles, and altars, and mysteries, the priest, and his robes, and nasal chanting, and wonderful genuflexions, will frighten me as long as I live," and he describes the "strange, wild scene" as "so entirely different . . . from the decent and

comfortable observances of our own Church" (100, 142). Catholic mysticism encouraged paganism among the peasants, according to some; Emily Taylor writes of "the bad effect of those superstitions which the priests so carefully cherish, and which shut out the possibility of making a wholesome impression on the minds which are full of them" (47). Another traveller observes that, "[i]n travelling through Ireland, one cannot help being sorry that . . . the belief of the existence of ghosts, hobgoblins, and other imaginary beings should so much prevail" (Hall 1.260-61). Travellers' concern with Irish superstitiousness comes to the fore in the nineteenth century; according to John Harrington, "visitors begin to attribute belief in fairies to the Irish, who can scarcely have acquired that belief suddenly" (19). Viewing such behavior as "harmless superstition (as distinct from Papist blasphemy)" allows English travellers to shift their conception of the Irish from "backward" to "adolescent," an image more in keeping with their paternal relationship to Ireland after the Act of Union (19), and one that makes it easier for English people to dismiss the Irish cultural behaviors they found disturbing.

Not all Irish religious practices were so easily dismissed. Many English travellers were disturbed by the practices associated with funerals, particularly the so-called "Irish howl" (a mourning cry) and the wake. Although these behaviors were more peculiarly Irish than particularly Catholic, English travellers associated them with what they perceived to be Ireland's spiritual and moral degeneracy. Funerals were the easiest way for English travellers to observe Irish religious practice because they could be seen from the road (unlike a mass). The most alienating of the "mortuary peculiarities" of the Irish was keening, a funeral cry, often produced by hired mourners (Carr 258). Eighteenth-

century travellers seem to have been unprepared for and frightened by the "Irish howl," "made by the bellowing of a herd of men, women, and children" (Twiss 131). Arthur Young reports that "both men and women, particularly the latter, are hired to cry, that is, to howl the corpse to the grave, which they do in a most horrid manner" (Maxwell ed. 81). Even nineteenth-century travellers register their shock upon their first encounter with the practice; Jonathan Binns describes the cry as "productive of a degree of horror which I shall not attempt to describe" (137), and Anne Plumptre writes that although she "had often *heard of* the noise" that "it is impossible, without hearing it, to form an idea of anything so dreadfully discordant" (248). The custom of using hired mourners also drew criticism and seemed to provide evidence of the Irish people's moral failings; Plumptre calls it "one of the most palpable absurdities that can be imagined," notes that "the ceremony is confined to the Catholics," and claims that she "could not perceive any sign of tears, or the least symptom of real grief upon the countenance of any person attending" the funeral she observed (354, 355, 248). The custom of the wake preceding the funeral drew similar fire from observers. Thomas Campbell calls wakes "meetings of merriment and festivity" (210), and Arthur Young reports that the "quantity of whisky and tobacco consumed upon these occasions is pretty considerable" (Maxwell ed. 81). Although it is impossible to determine Campbell's intent in including the following passage, particularly given his Irish origins, it effectively summarizes how English travellers reacted to the Irish cultural and religious practices associated with death:

> I have heard of an old woman, who, having gathered a few guineas, chose to beg rather than break in upon this sum, which she had hoarded up, in order, as she expressed it, to have herself buried *decently*. This decency

> for which she was so anxious, was, that the neighbours might be regaled, with plenty of whiskey and tobacco. So much for the Irish cry! (211)

Far from expressions of "decency," the wake and the Irish cry reflected Ireland's alien cultural beliefs and religious practices and reaffirmed England's fear that Ireland could never successfully be incorporated into a unified British identity.

Ultimately, the British were threatened by Ireland's attempts to maintain its religious heritage and distinctive religious practices. Attempts to convert the Irish Catholics to a more traditionally "English" form of worship (i.e., the Church of Ireland) were notoriously unsuccessful; Arthur Young claimed that it would take "FOUR THOUSAND YEARS" to convert all of the Irish to Protestantism, "supposing that work to go in future, as it has in the past time" (first ed. 2.34). One of the reasons for this failure may have been the language gap between Protestant missionaries and Irish peasants. Priests were believed to "possess the key to the ears and hearts of the catholic fold, by their universal acquaintance with the national language" (Cromwell 20), while "the protestant teachers are all ignorant of it, or at least do not take the trouble of making it the vehicle of religious instruction" (Dewar 1.99). Although some English travellers seem to have been threatened by Irish attempts to maintain their distinctive cultural identity through continued use of their own language, they were equally offended by Irish attempts to learn and use English, and thus the struggle over language became another ambivalent issue for many English travellers.

According to John Wesley, the Irish language "is not only beyond all comparison worse than any ancient language I know anything of; but below English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, or any other modern language" (7.81). Any pretension to the cultural

significance of the Irish language on the part of its supporters was quickly and mockingly dismissed by the English (Twiss 41-47). Most English travellers believed Irish to be related to the Welsh and Scots languages, and they saw no reason why it too should not succumb to the superiority of English, since "[l]anguage is an element and part of union," and "on the union of two nations, the larger, and wealthier, and more populous, will ever absorb and draw over the less" (Glassford 249). By the nineteenth century, most travellers believed that the majority of the Irish spoke English as their primary language; however, according to Daniel Dewar, "The truth is, a great part of Ireland is not much explored by such gentlemen; and when they do travel, it is not through the vallies and recesses of the mountains, but along the *roads*, where they must, at the inns, see those whose interest it is to speak the language of strangers" (1.96). The ability of the Irish to "speak the language of strangers" when it suited them, while maintaining the language of their ancestors at home and in the churches, implied an attempt at resistance to some travellers. When Henry Inglis attends a pattern (a feast day), a faction fight breaks out, and "The language, which, in compliment to me had been English, suddenly changed to Irish," suggesting that the Irish maintained their own language for private dealings. From an English perspective, elimination of the Irish language was a natural and desirable outcome of union (Hall 2.294); threatened by the differences between England and Ireland, the English hoped the ascension of their language would unify Ireland and Great Britain culturally and speed the demise of Catholicism in Ireland.

However, English travellers were also troubled by the Irish people's use of English—the adaptation of its idioms (which the English derogatorily called "bulls"),

changes in pronunciation, and addition of Irish words to the English vocabulary. Most travel writers sought out bulls and other "Irishisms" as sources of entertainment. John Carr hopes to have "many a laugh," but later records being "woefully disappointed" that he "had been in Ireland some time" and not heard a bull; he concludes his tour "disappointed only in one instance; I quitted Ireland without hearing one bull" (7, 123-24, 506). Few were tolerant enough to recognize the challenges faced by non-native speakers of English. Some, such as James Hall, feel the bulls contribute to the "air of slovenliness and irregularity" common throughout Ireland (2.304), or that the "propensity to bull-making seems to arise from a want of thought" (*Journal of a Tour* 24). Others, however, such as Daniel Dewar, insist that Irish bulls are evidence of the "original minds" of the Irish (1.42-43), a position most likely adapted from that of Maria and Richard Edgeworth in their famed *Essay on Irish Bulls* (Trumpener 57-58).[15] The peculiar variety of English spoken by the Irish peasants becomes a facet of the fabled Irish national character. The

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[15]Education played a clear role in the Irish peasant's use of English. Some travellers believed that the Irish peasants should not be educated at all: "It might perhaps be better that the lowest class of people throughout Europe were neither taught to read nor write . . . ; those acquisitions only creating new wants, and exciting new desires, which they will seldom be able to gratify" (Twiss 73; see also Glassford 39-40); others promoted instruction only in English (Hall 2.294). Daniel Dewar and others supported the instruction of the Irish in their native language, believing that if the people were made "intelligent and rational" they would "acquire a taste for general knowledge" and eventually "seek for it in the general tongue of the empire" (1.97). James Glassford, who toured through Ireland in 1824 and 1826 as part of an "Inquiry into the State of Education in Ireland," reports the success of those programs that employed native Irish speakers as teachers, particularly the London Hibernian School, whose "readers" made "domestic visits to the peasantry," and by "speaking their own language . . . [brought] the instruction home to their fires and bosoms" (273). Irish peasants were instructed in a variety of ways—hedge schools, charter schools, and charity schools, in both English and Irish—until a national system of elementary education was established in 1831, which of course established English as the official language of instruction.

Irish poor, in contrast to the English poor, "are blessed with an abrupt and sudden promptitude of reply" because they have "neither labour nor trade to engage their attention" (Campbell 118), but their "national dialect" provides "a rich sauce to an Irishman's good things" (Scott 20). If the English traveller could respond to an Irish peasant's use of English with good humor, that humor did not extend to the English spoken by the Anglo-Irish gentry. John Bush finds that the Irish poor spoke "better English than the same class in England," but the claims of "people of higher rank" in Dublin to speak better English than their counterparts in London are dismissed by Bush as "Hibernian importance" (35-36). English travellers were particularly reluctant to endorse the behaviors of the Anglo-Irish, whose lack of status in English eyes reflect their liminal position between "English" and "Irish." Clearly the English wanted to discourage the Irish from maintaining their distinctive cultural identity through language; yet they were reluctant to encourage the free use of English. Thackeray captures this sense of equivocation when he describes his reaction to reading, in a Dublin newspaper, that the Bishop of Aureliopolis had just been consecrated by the pope: "Such an announcement sounds quite strange *in English*, and in your own country, as it were; or isn't it your own country?" (12). Religion and language—essential components of English (and Irish) identity—problematized the English people's ability to regard Ireland as home and provided justification for maintaining distance between England and Ireland.

As this and the preceding chapter have shown, English travel writers in Ireland attempted to strike a tenuous balance between thinking of Ireland and the Irish as

"home"—which implies domestication, familiarity, and accessibility—and "abroad"—which connotes distance, the foreign, the Other. Travel writing provided a means to negotiate the liminal space between "home" and "abroad" by describing cultural difference while collapsing physical distance. The rhetoric of travel allows the English to maintain a comfortable distance between England and Ireland. In the next chapter, we will explore the effects of tourism, a particular form of travel that produced texts that constructed Ireland as a tourist destination, a place patently commodified and objectified as "not-home." However, English tourism also provided an opportunity for Irish authors to respond to English representations through their own guide books, travel narratives, and other texts. Often, these works simultaneously attempt to construct an "Emerald Isle" for English consumption and to argue for Irish independence and emancipation. They reflect Ireland's struggle to occupy two subject positions at once; ultimately, Ireland cannot be both "home" and "abroad."

CHAPTER 4

WRITING "HOME": ENGLISH TOURISM AND IRISH RESPONSE

Ireland's economic boom in the late twentieth century has occurred in part thanks to a tourist industry that has managed to (re)create Ireland as a desirable vacation spot. Television commercials encourage tourists to "Awaken to a whole new world," a world that features green hills, smiling children, and musical accompaniment by Irish pop-rock group The Cranberries. Potential tourists can begin their trip with a visit to the Ireland Vacations' website: www.shamrock.org. One could argue that economic necessity drove the Irish to accept the cultural identities that had been thrust upon them by others; "the Emerald Isle" and all that it implies is, after all, a nineteenth-century English tourist designation (Harrington 19). Did the Irish prostitute their heritage by turning Saint Patrick's symbol for the Trinity into a catchy Internet domain name, or did they reclaim their cultural icons in order to tap into Irish-American (or -Canadian, or -Australian) nostalgia (and wallets)? This chapter does not propose to answer these questions, but the questions themselves suggest our lingering ambivalence about tourism and its effects on cultures. In this chapter, we will explore the beginnings of English tourism in Ireland, and the ways in which the Irish attempted to mediate (and manipulate) the tourist's experience.

The connotative distinction between the knowledge-seeking "traveller" (positive) and the pleasure-seeking "tourist" (negative) arises in the late eighteenth century, soon after the word "tourist" makes its appearance in the English language, as James Buzard has demonstrated in the introduction to *The Beaten Track* (1). Daniel Boorstin traces

"the decline of the traveler and the rise of the tourist" to the mid-nineteenth century and the democratization of travel: steam engines, railways, and the first travel agents (e.g., Thomas Cook and Sons) made the remoter corners of the world accessible to more and more people, and increasingly to the growing middle classes. The consequences of this democratization seem to have been, in Boorstin's eyes, a denigration of the value of travel: "The traveler, then, was working at something; the tourist was a pleasure seeker. The traveler was active; he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure, of experience. The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him." Ultimately, claims Boorstin, "foreign travel ceased to be an activity—an experience, an undertaking—and became instead a commodity" (qtd. in Culler 156-57). Jonathan Culler's critique of Boorstin and others, which Buzard echoes, emphasizes the sense of personal identity at stake in such a "[f]erocious denigration of tourists"; one must "convince oneself that one is not a tourist," in part by demonstrating that "other travelers are always tourists" (156, 157). Furthermore, when one vilifies the "rise of tourism," one attempts to locate "tourism" in a particular historical moment, revealing a nostalgia for the mythic "true age of travel" which has "always already slipped by." Culler claims that the "repetition and displacement of the opposition between tourist and traveler suggests that these are not so much two historical categories as terms of an opposition integral to tourism" (157). While I find this statement essentially accurate—the opposition between travel and tourism helps us to define the qualities and behaviors associated with tourism, and in a sense constructs the concept of "tourism"—I concur with Buzard that more attention must be devoted to the ideas of "traveller" and "tourist" as "historical

categories," that is, as concepts that derive their cultural significance, and their oppositional character, from changing attitudes toward travel and travellers within a particular historical moment (Buzard 4). That historical moment coincides with "the golden age of Irish travel writing": 1775-1850 (Woods, "Review" 173), and the growing distinction between "traveller" and "tourist" echoes the changing relationship between England and Ireland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

As we have seen in the introduction to this study, English travellers throughout this period emphasize their desire to "know" Ireland, and to pass that knowledge on to others through travel writing. The desire for knowledge is in keeping with Boorstin's distinction between traveller and tourist: the traveller, unlike the passive tourist, is actively "working at something," undertaking an epistemological quest. Underlying this project is the assumption that Ireland exists to be known, and further, that it will reveal itself to anyone who bothers to look, even the most casual observer.[1] The desire for knowledge has certain exploitative connotations, to be sure, but we cannot castigate each of the scores of English travellers who sought to know Ireland on these grounds alone. Some, it seems certain, wanted to gain a clearer understanding of Irish people, culture, and history and, by transmitting their understanding to others, hoped to better the condition of the Irish people and to solidify the relationship between the two countries. Boorstin would no doubt designate a person with such apparently honorable motives as a "traveller." At

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[1]As John Harrington notes, the narrative form of the "'sketch', with its implication of greater accessibility, would predominate" after the Act of Union: "It is difficult to believe that the dissolution of political borders did not in some small way contribute to the notion that Ireland would surrender its true identity to the jottings and notes of the casual English visitor" (18).

what point, however, do the activities required of the epistemological quest become "tourism"? At Killarney, when one is escorted around the lakes by hired boatmen who relate Irish legends? At the Giant's Causeway, when one purchases a mineral specimen (science or souvenir?) from one of the assemblage of rag-tag guides? In the course of journeying through the countryside, when one observes peasant life "at the rate of nine miles an hour . . . from a coach window, starred with ice and mud" (Thackeray 352)? In Dublin, when one complains about the innumerable beggars and dirty hotels? Eighteenth-century travellers express very little concern about their ability to move easily between "knowledge-seeking" and "pleasure-seeking," in part because the idea that there might be anything pleasurable to be sought in Ireland was in itself a form of knowledge. They can be both "traveller" and "tourist" (whatever the word can be supposed to mean when applied anachronistically), and they have no sense of the split subjectivity implied by those two designations. Later travellers, however, move uneasily between the terms "traveller" and "tourist" and the activities implied by each. They express regret that they cannot, in the words of Robert Frost, "travel both [roads] / And be one traveler."

In the nineteenth century, tourist-travellers begin to speak of "doing" Ireland, more specifically, "doing" the places marked as tourist sites (primarily Killarney, the Giant's Causeway, and Dublin and its surrounding areas). Clearly they recognize a distinction in their behaviors and objectives as they moved from place to place, and they tend to distinguish in their writing between the Ireland they "did" as a tourist and the Ireland they "knew" as a traveller. Both verbs, of course, imply a certain level of exploitation, and

even sexualized conquest,[2] and they signify Ireland as an object to be "known" or "done." Daniel Boorstin's claim that with the advent of tourism, "foreign travel ceased to be an activity—an experience, an undertaking—and became instead a commodity" deserves further exploration in this context. First, "foreign travel" is particularly subject to the 'degradations' of tourism precisely because of its perceived foreignness, its otherness—i.e., the ease with which it can be objectified and commodified. When an English traveller sees Ireland as a tourist destination, a place to be "done," that traveller sees Ireland not as "home" (or "Home"), but as "abroad," a foreign place, an exotic locale. Second, both "knowing" Ireland (travel) and "doing" Ireland (tourism) incorporate characteristics of travel (as "activity") and tourism (as "commodity"). Both "to know" and "to do" are active, transitive verbs, requiring an object. When Ireland becomes that object ("green Erin," "the Emerald Isle"), it simultaneously becomes a commodity, a thing available for consumption at an agreed-upon price. What remains to be seen is this process of negotiation—England's desire for the commodity, and Ireland's ability to market that commodity and to mediate the terms of its consumption—a negotiation played out in English- and Irish-authored travel writing.

Early nineteenth-century English travel writers recognize the changing nature of travel to Ireland. Some travellers distinguish between their own motives and those of the "tourists": those travelling from "mere curiosity" (Curwen 2.87) or those "whose only

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[2] "To know," of course, was used to describe sexual intercourse as far back as the Middle Ages, and gained enduring currency through its use in the King James version of the Bible. We speak about sex euphemistically even today as "knowing someone in the biblical sense." "To do," however, takes on its sexual denotation in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, at around the same time the verb comes into its use as a designation for travelling to and seeing the sights of a particular place. (OED)

object is scenery" (Inglis 362). Henry Inglis even discriminates between his ideal, politicized audience and "the mere tourist reader" (362). However, John Barrow, among others, proudly admits that "the object of my visit was chiefly to see . . . the oft-proclaimed physical beauties . . . of the 'Emerald Isle,'" openly acknowledges that he has "avoided—as much as it is possible in Ireland to avoid—the all-engrossing topics of Religion and Politics," and dismisses the exploration of trade and manufactures as "foreign to my pursuits" (I, ii, 44). In a Killarney hotel coffee-room, Barrow finds himself "in the very midst of tourists," and even describes himself as a "tourist," although he does distinguish between himself and those less-sophisticated tourists "amusing themselves with reading over the names of the numerous visiters [sic] contained in the book that is kept for their insertion, and in which may be found what are intended for flashes of wit" (303, 304). By the late 1830s, English travellers seem resigned to the "touristic" character of their journeys to and around Ireland. "Now it is astonishing what an indispensable necessity has fallen upon the bulk of our countrymen, and still more of our countrywomen, to migrate. How our grandsires and grandames contrived to attain the robust old age that we have admired to see, without an annual flitting to other climes, is a problem indeed," quips Charlotte Elizabeth at the outset of her trip (2). Georgiana Chatterton remarks that the number of "tourists" she encounters in the north is "very striking, particularly as the scenery . . . is not by any means so fine" as in the south, suggesting a somewhat misguided desire among English tourists for the comforts of "home," or at least the comforts of a place that more closely approximates it (*Sketches* 2. 253-54). By 1843, William Makepeace Thackeray could mockingly describe his alter-ego, M. A. Titmarsh, as a

"Cockney Tourist" with the assurance that his readers would understand all the term implied: the lower- to middle-class urbanite desirous of finding a "beautiful," "strange," and "romantic" country after only "twenty-four hours of an easy journey from London" (268).[3]

The Irish both feared and courted these Cockney tourists. In 1809 Thomas Newenham draws a sharp distinction between the "writing of travellers" and "the accounts of those British tourists, who hie through *the land of potatoes*, with a degree of celerity extremely commendable in a King's messenger or a Bow-street officer, but somewhat unfavourable to the acquisition of circumstantial and accurate information" (*View* x). Travellers, such as Arthur Young, may be consulted for reliable information, but such accounts lack the entertaining style of the narratives of "lack-leisure tourists," whose "elaborate descriptions of the lake and river scenery of Ireland, and its mouldering monuments of former times . . . [are] not only almost utterly barren of every species of authentic information . . . but have, in some instances, a manifest tendency to create the most unsuitable notions of the value of Ireland." These tourists' descriptions of "ill-fenced

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[3]Of course, not all tourists were English. English tourists apparently inspired their Irish counterparts of the middle and upper classes to spend some or all of their leisure time in touring Ireland as well. M. F. Dickson's *Scenes on the Shores of the Atlantic* (1845) provides one account of an Irish family's experiences at a bathing resort in Kilkee, near the Shannon River, where they spent "six weeks for the benefit of sea-air, sea-water, health, and amusement" (1.4). Charlotte Elizabeth takes such Irish tourists to task, claiming that "if all her [Ireland's] children loved her as I do, the migratory propensity would here be little known. The rich would stay at home, and the poor would be fed" (2). However, Dickson's description of fashionable Irish tourists coincides with Thackeray's counterpoint to the Cockney Tourist, the "Dublin Cockney, who has all these places at his door, [and] knows them quite well" (268). Clearly, some Irish people felt that they too should be able to enjoy the picturesque landscapes and natural curiosities they touted to others.

pastures overgrown with weeds, gloomy bogs, . . . distant mountains, rocks, innumerable mud-wall cabins swarming with children and swine, and interspersed with miserable whiskey shops" produce the English ambivalence discussed in the previous chapters: "their readers certainly cannot find much ground for considering Ireland as a most valuable part of the British empire" (xi). Newenham feels compelled to write two substantial volumes, *A Statistical and Historical Inquiry* (1805) and *A View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland* (1809), to correct "the information which mere tourists afford" (*View* xiv). Ultimately, Irish travel writers hoped to manipulate the relationship between English tourists and Ireland—generally to encourage, but occasionally to discourage, further English (and Irish) tourism.

One way to mediate the English traveller's perception of and experiences in Ireland was through guide books and related texts.[4] Travellers had always relied on the accounts of previous travellers for information, and most tour writers included some basic information in their account: the name of a good inn, dependable modes of transportation, the cost of meals.[5] However, travellers continued to complain about the lack of reliable and useful information: "A traveller, like myself, in a strange country, where accurate

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[4]Numerous Irish travellers also wrote and published travel narratives designed to provide "a correct portrait of this land, with its life and manners," to counterbalance the accounts that had "proceeded from the pen of strangers" (Atkinson, *Irish Tourist* ix). See, for example, John Lloyd, John Ferrar, Robert Bell, John Gamble, and A. Atkinson. An extended analysis of their works unfortunately lies outside the scope of this project.

[5]Over time, of course, such information required updating; one nineteenth-century reader of Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland* (1780) pencilled in new numbers to reflect faster channel crossings with the advent of steam engines (now "4 or 5 hours" rather than the text's original 22). (Dublin edition of 1780, microfilmed by Research Publications for the Goldsmiths'-Kress Library of Economic Literature, no. 11972.)

information can neither be procured from the living, or from the dead, is exposed during his rambles to many inconveniences" (Hoare 150). By critiquing the trustworthiness of information supplied by both "the living" (the Irish people a traveller encountered) and "the dead" (travellers of previous generations, upon whose accounts a traveller was forced to rely), Hoare highlights the gap between the peasants' day-to-day existence and the motives and desires of the tourist. Numerous travellers claim to offer their writings to contradict the anti-Irish stereotypes proliferated by previous travel writers.[6] However, such information did not always supply the needs of the pleasure-seeking tourist. "I am as unprepared with Tourists' information as any man can be," complained Wordsworth to a friend shortly before setting out on his voyage (96); the designation "Tourists' information" suggests that travellers made a distinction between generalized knowledge about Ireland and the Irish, and the information required to travel through Ireland quickly and economically while still taking in all the important sights. In the eighteenth century, according to Charles Batten, travel narratives were expected to fulfil the dual role of entertaining and instructing readers, supplying them with both general knowledge and some "Tourists' information." By the nineteenth century, however, travel narratives could be devoted more exclusively to amusing, anecdotal material because another classification of text, the guide book, had begun to be developed specifically to provide practical and necessary information for travellers (29-31, 80-81). In 1844 James Grant, in *Impressions of Ireland and the Irish*, included tourists' information in a chapter entitled "Travelling to Ireland" (91-113), but by that time, most travellers to Ireland had come to rely on one of

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[6]See, for example, Gough 4, Dewar 2.36-37, 148-49, and Curwen 4.

the numerous 'guides,' 'guidebooks,' and 'handbooks' tailored specifically to the needs of "modern tourists [who] were in neither the position nor the humour to squander their resources" (Buzard 48). Thackeray, as part of his ostensible attempt to encourage English tourism in Ireland, recommends particular guide books and related materials. Such works, notes Buzard, undoubtedly "contributed to the spread of tourism" and ultimately to the "anti-touristic attitudes" expressed both by contemporaries and later scholars, such as Boorstin (76, 77); numerous travel writers have simply "filch[ed] extracts" from guide books to augment their own descriptions, according to Thackeray, who insists that "the best guide-book that was ever written cannot set the view before the mind's eye of the reader" (148, 208). Nevertheless, increased interest in travel to Ireland demonstrated a market for informative and portable works that could assist travellers in unfamiliar surroundings, directing them to comfortable, clean hotels and appropriately marked tourist sites.

Writers hurried to meet the growing demand for such works. *The Post-Chaise Companion, or, Traveller's Directory through Ireland*, published in 1784 as a supplement to George Taylor and Andrew Skinner's *Maps of the Roads of Ireland* (1778), became one of the first and most enduringly popular Irish guide books. The editor, William Wilson, describes the book as "a neat convenient pocket volume" and notes that the "utility . . . of such a publication to all orders of people, and particularly to travellers, must be obvious" (v). As late as 1806, Sir Richard Colt Hoare describes *The Post-Chaise Companion* as "the *best* Itinerary" (xvi) and "a most excellent and useful publication" (61), referring to it affectionately throughout his *Tour in Ireland* as "the *Iter*." Wilson

was soon followed by William Seward's *Hibernian Gazetteer* in 1789 and the larger and more detailed *Topographia Hibernica* in 1795.[7] "To the *Traveller*, it must prove an agreeable companion," insists Seward, in the preface to the *Gazetteer*; like Wilson, Seward stresses the physical utility of the book, "a conveniently portable volume" for "the convenience of the traveller" (iii, vii). In keeping with the desire for portable books, *The Traveller's Guide through Ireland* (1794), by George Tyner, contained a mere 99 pages of closely-printed information. The Act of Union presaged another surge in the production of guide books and related texts: James Solas Dodd's *The Traveller's Director through Ireland* (1801), Joseph Robertson's *The Traveller's Guide through Ireland* (1806), Nathaniel Jefferys' *An Englishman's Descriptive Account of Dublin* (1810), and *Leigh's New Pocket Road-Book of Ireland* (1813), edited by C. C. Hamilton, to name a few. Utility and convenience were still major selling points; the *Pocket Road-Book* measured a mere three by six inches and could easily be kept in a lady's or gentleman's pocket.[8]

The books were not limited to descriptions of roads, towns, and country estates, however. John Angel's *A General History of Ireland* (1781) contains "many interesting and useful particulars . . . as will be found to be highly necessary to those whom business or pleasure may induce to make a tour through this kingdom" (vii). The book is neither

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[7]Handwritten notes in the margins of the edition held by the British Museum, attributed to Seward, indicate an intention to bring forth another expanded edition, but this was apparently never published.

[8]The dimensions are similar to those of a Murray "handbook"; according to Buzard, Murray coined the term in 1836 to describe a new "genre" of portable, accessible and standardized books for the tourist. For more on the development of the "handbook," see Buzard 66.

"too voluminous and expensive to render the attainment" of Irish history difficult for travellers, nor too small to contain information beyond ancient history; with its publication Ireland can join "all other nations of Europe" that have "their small but compendious histories published, to inform their own people as well as foreigners what they were and what they are" (ix-x). Many eighteenth-century travel narratives by English writers began with a brief, and frequently Anglo-centric, account of ancient Irish history. Angel, like other Irish writers (including Wilson and Seward), saw in the growing demand for travel information about Ireland, an opportunity to profit, both financially and culturally. These writers could not control the picture English travel writers presented to their readers, but they seized the opportunity to manipulate the information resources on which such pictures were frequently based. In a sense, these Irish authors were writing "home," describing their homeland for the English travellers and readers who claimed to want to think of Ireland as "home." However, as we shall see, the English traveller's inability to conceive of Ireland as "home" was in fact supported by the distancing rhetoric of tourism, rhetoric often constructed by the Irish in order to maintain a form of distance between England and Ireland.

The vast majority of guide books about Ireland were written by Irish people, with the occasional Scottish exception.[9] Eighteenth-century guide writers were influenced by the work of Irishman Charles Smith (or Smyth), whose *Natural Histories* of various

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[9]See, for example, John Thomson's *The Pleasure Tours in Ireland* (1825), which advocates British tourism in Ireland in part because of the "improving" nature of such increased cultural contact. He bases this idea on the "remarkable change" in Scottish manners, customs, and habits after the popularization of English travel to Scotland (preface).

counties were consulted avidly by travellers well into the nineteenth century. Smith's *Proposals for Collecting Materials* (1745), which outlined the questions he set out to answer in his *Histories*, offered a guideline to writers who intended to describe the country for others.[10] The earliest travel writing provided very little practical information for travellers, a situation remedied first by Wilson's *Companion*, which began with a description of the city of Dublin, followed by lists of the roads, a "Travelling Dictionary . . . shewing the distances of all the principal cities, boroughs, market and sea-port towns in Ireland from each other," and indices both of towns and "remarkable places" (vi). Most important, however, were its

> Descriptions of cities, towns, noblemen's and gentlemen's seats, public buildings, &c. improvements, churches, castles, antient ruins, and other monuments of antiquity, mountains, bays, harbours, lakes, rivers, springs, waterfalls, spa's [sic], glens, natural curiosities, &c. with their respective distances from the nearest towns, or from the places last described. (iii)

In this respect, Wilson provided what no other had before: an organized list of attractions for travellers, and the information ensured some degree of lasting popularity for the work. William Seward's *Hibernian Gazetteer* fulfilled a similar function, providing an alphabetical list and description of Ireland's counties, cities, natural features, and historic sites. That Seward feels the need to explain that the "nature" of the work "made it more our business to *compile* than *invent*," indicates the relative newness of the genre, particularly with respect to Ireland (xiii). Wilson's Irishness is conveyed subtly, through references to things such as the "very considerable advances in improvement" made by "our" country and his acknowledgment of intellectual debt to members of the Royal Irish

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[10]See Chapter 2, note 2.

Academy. Seward, in contrast, is outspokenly Irish, but claims to be unbiased, if not apolitical:

> In so interesting a subject as the description of our native country, a warm attachment might be expected to lead us in some places to panegyrick and encomium: these have been purposely avoided, notwithstanding the many opportunities arising from a country possessed of all the excellencies of nature and of art. But—IRELAND requires not a native pen to decorate that character which has been for ages known—to which the most distant climes bear testimony—and which has never been with-held but by that jealous sister, who has been supported by *her* misery, and who has fattened on *her* spoils. (vii)

Seward, like many other Irish writers, clearly felt the need for "a native pen" to represent Ireland to the world and to counter English misrepresentations, despite his protests to the contrary. Nevertheless, his open hostility toward England, "that jealous sister," would have rendered his work less than reliable in the eyes of many English readers and travellers.

In the nineteenth century, the work of representing Ireland to English tourists fell largely to George Newenham Wright and Philip Dixon Hardy, two educated Irishmen who embraced the possibility of creating Ireland as a desirable tourist destination. Wright's guides to the Lakes of Killarney, the county of Wicklow, and the Giant's Causeway (published separately in 1822-23 and compiled as *Tours in Ireland* in 1823) and Hardy's *Northern Tourist* and *New Picture of Dublin* (both 1830), brought together in Hardy's *Tourist Guide through Ireland in Four Tours* in 1858, all attempted to focus English attention on the most desirable and interesting sites in Ireland, and "to induce more frequent visits from the neighbouring island of Great Britain" (Wright, *Giant's Causeway* v). Hardy's subtitling of each of his works as a "stranger's guide" leaves little doubt as to

their intended audience. His desire to "perform the part of a faithful guide in directing [the tourist's] attention to every object worthy of notice" (*Northern Tourist* vi), echoes Wright explanation for publishing his works:

> The Author of the present Volume, then, professes to be without a rival; for this reason, that none of his predecessors have been content to appear in a less dignified character than that of Historian, Tourist, &c. while he will rest satisfied, and consider the ends of his labour fully accomplished, if he shall prove a useful or entertaining companion to the visiter, even in the humble, unaspiring character of a guide. (*Killarney* vi)

The deliberate conflation of the functions of the guide book and the more personal, human guide was a feature of much nineteenth-century tourist rhetoric designed to reassure the uncertain traveller (Buzard 48). Here, despite Wright's attempt at self-abasement, it also suggests the desire of the (Irish) guide to circumscribe or manipulate in some measure the (English) tourist's wanderings.

In order to understand the impact of these texts on their intended audience—English tourists—let us consider their creation in light of two important concepts, outlined by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes*: transculturation and autoethnography. Transculturation refers to cross-cultural influence. According to Pratt, the term is typically used "to describe how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture"—in other words, culture is generally seen as flowing from the metropolis to the periphery, where it is absorbed to some degree by the marginalized people who inhabit the periphery. However, Pratt argues, culture also flows from the periphery, and the metropolitan representations of marginalized people have undoubtedly been influenced "by the constructions of themselves and their habitats that they [the people on the periphery]

presented" to the members of the dominant culture (6). Our concern with the ways in which the colonizing Self constructs its identity with reference to the colonized Other must then take into account both the ways in which the Other mediates the identity it presents to the Self and also the ways in which the Other constructs its identity with reference to the Self. Pratt uses the term "autoethnography" to describe "instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms"; autoethnographic texts "are those the others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations" (7). Irish-authored guide books are particularly powerful examples of autoethnographic texts because of the inherently prescriptive nature of the genre: the guide book constructs Ireland for tourists by leading them around the island on a designated path to sites that have been marked (both by the Irish and by earlier English travellers) as culturally significant and worthy of being seen, claiming to offer the tourist an "authentic" experience of Ireland, but all the while mediating the Ireland that the tourist is allowed to see.[11] The concluding remark of the "Introductory Observations" to the 1860 edition of *Hardy's Tourist's Guide Through Ireland* illustrates this point: "we feel confident, that following the track we have thus marked out for him, the traveller, at the termination of his tour, will find himself in no way disappointed with his visit to the Emerald Isle." Thus, if the tourist follows "the track . . .

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[11]The concept of authenticity as it applies to tourism will be discussed in greater depth below. See especially Culler 159-64, Buzard 172-76, and Van Den Abbeele, "Sightseers," 4, 7. Culler's argument—that the "authentic" tourist experience is simply a sign relation that requires mediation in the form of some type of marker—does not preclude a gap between the day-to-day life activities of natives and the activities set apart for tourists (what Buzard designates as "culture" and "Culture," respectively), a gap signified in the example given below by the connotative distance between "Ireland" and "the Emerald Isle."

marked out for him," he does not risk encountering the real Ireland, which might disappoint, but rather can return home enchanted by all he has seen on "his visit to the Emerald Isle." Clearly, Irish travel writers recognized the power that ensued from manipulating and mediating the 'self' one represented to others, particularly tourists.

Some Irish writers, such as T. Crofton Croker, hoped to promote knowledge about Ireland among the English while simultaneously discouraging English tourism. As he describes Irish history and folk culture, Croker also emphasizes the difficulties of travelling in Ireland, the expense, the poor conditions of post-chaises and horses, the dirty accommodations, and the reluctance of the peasantry to assist "the pictorial traveller" (27). Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, in contrast, use every means at their disposal to convince the English reader of the safety and comfort of travel in Ireland. Their three-volume work, *Ireland: Its Scenery, Character, &c*, initially published in monthly installments in 1841-43, has been written "to direct public attention to Ireland, and to induce visiters [sic] to examine it for themselves" (Preface viii). They emphasize repeatedly that their "design is not to produce 'a guide-book,'" although they happily recommend which guide books the tourist should purchase (1.252). The Irish desire for the repeal of the Act of Union had reached a zenith in the Repeal Movement of the 1840s, but the Halls clearly oppose repeal, feeling it to be their "duty to consider England and Ireland as one country," hoping "to increase intimacy between Ireland and England" (1.2, Advertisement iv). At the close of the third volume, after some 1,500 pages, the Halls claim that the work "afforded space too limited for the consideration of all topics, and descriptions of all places, that properly come under the notice of the Tourist," suggesting their perception of Ireland as having

virtually limitless appeal for the traveller. A subsequent reference to the "raw material" of Ireland indicates that the Halls see tourism itself as an exploitable resource, one of the "vast natural resources of Ireland" that will soon be "rendered available for the combined interests—interests that never can be otherwise than mutual and inseparable—of the United Kingdom" (3.494, 496). Unlike Croker, the Halls clearly advocate first-hand experience in Ireland to promote a better understanding of Ireland among the English;[12] nevertheless, both works attempt to mediate the nature of English "understanding" by manipulating the traveller's (or the reader's) experience.

Some English travellers were troubled by these attempts at manipulation and complained bitterly about the biased Irish guide books.[13] An essay in the *London*

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[12]Although Croker and the Halls are typically considered Irish, it should be noted that they lived most of their lives in England. Croker, born in Cork in 1798, went to London in 1818 and lived there until 1850, returning briefly in 1824 to conduct research for his book on *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland.* Samuel Hall was born to English parents in the Geneva barracks near Waterford in 1800; these barracks were established for the detention of prisoners after the 1798 Rebellion, suggesting that Hall's father was part of a regiment assigned to maintain peace after the Rebellion and during the Union (Foster 282). Hall left Ireland in 1821, and *Ireland: Its Scenery, Character, &c.* was his only major work on Ireland. Anna Maria (Fielding) Hall was born to Irish parents in Dublin in 1800 and moved to England with her mother in 1815; however, throughout her life, she devoted her literary efforts to Irish subjects. The most well-known of her works is *Sketches of Irish Character* (1829).

[13]Very few attempted to provide any comprehensive replacement for them, however. The most notable exception is novelist Anthony Trollope, who in 1850 essayed to write an Irish guidebook for John Murray, the noted publisher of tourist guides. Trollope describes the incident in his *Autobiography*: apparently, Murray requested a "certain number of pages" to ascertain Trollope's "skill" and agreed to notify Trollope within two weeks of his receipt of the manuscript. "I came back to Ireland, and for some weeks I laboured very hard," recalls Trollope. "I 'did' the city of Dublin, and the county of Kerry, in which lies the lake scenery of Killarney; and I 'did' the route from Dublin to Killarney, altogether completing nearly a quarter of the proposed volume." When Trollope failed to receive an answer from Murray in nine months, he "insisted on having back my property,—and got it." The fate of the manuscript is unknown, although Trollope

Magazine for August 1826, entitled "Irish Writers on Ireland," points out that socioeconomic and religious divisions in Irish society prevent any Irish writer from providing an impartial picture of Ireland. Some travellers claim that the Irish themselves are responsible for English misrepresentations: "English prejudices have been sometimes strengthened even by the representations of Irishmen," argues Sir John Carr (232), while the anonymous author of a *Journal of a Tour in Ireland . . . in August 1804*, urges the Irish "to beware of giving strangers unfavourable impressions" (28).[14] Other travellers incorporated and absorbed Irish works into their own narratives, quoting from Irish descriptions when those descriptions coincided with their own experiences, arguing with Irish information when it did not mesh with their own interpretation. John Gough rails against Nathaniel Jefferys' *Englishman's Descriptive Account of Dublin*, claiming that "the remarks of the writer are the most frivolous, and least just of any I ever yet met with," so much so that he "begin[s] to hope that he [Jefferys] is not an Englishman" (24, 105). Gough's attempt to spot Jefferys' Irishness, in this case through his grammar (his use of "will" instead of "shall"), reveals the level of quiet hostility and disdain English travellers maintained for their Irish guides, even after Ireland has officially become part of

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did not appear to attach much value to it and may have destroyed it. "In all honesty I think that had he been less dilatory, John Murray would have got a very good Irish Guide at a cheap rate," concludes Trollope (86-87). Murray's reluctance to relinquish hands-on control of each of his guidebooks, and the ultimate demise of the publishing house, is documented by Buzard 72-73.

[14]John Harrington claims that "Irish writers fueling English stereotypes would not become cause for contempt in Ireland until the end of the [nineteenth] century" (20). However, both English and Irish writers critiqued Maria Edgeworth's depiction of the Irish, particularly in her novels (see Gough 238-39; for an opposing view, see Curwen 2.179-80).

the United Kingdom, and even when the Irish writer does not praise Ireland. Numerous English tourists congratulate themselves for their ability to read between the lines of biased Irish descriptions and uncover the "real" Ireland obscured by the writer's patriotism. Anne Plumptre, in her *Narrative of a Residence in Ireland* (1817), quotes from the *Post-Chaise Companion* as example of a "bull," and elsewhere critiques its overly-descriptive prose style (360, 314). Perhaps the most stinging critique comes from Thackeray, who offers his guide book to an Irish peasant "and solemnly [orders] him to swear upon that to the truth of his statement," an anecdote that invokes the stereotype of the lying Irishman, while simultaneously faulting English tourists for believing their guide books as if they were Bibles (148). Nevertheless, travellers did rely on their guide books for advice and assistance; we have already read Hoare's unabashed praise for Wilson's *Post-Chaise Companion*, and Plumptre herself recommends *The New Traveller's Guide in Ireland* as an invaluable resource (113).

Ultimately, the rise of popular tourism—a rise both constructed and reflected by Irish guide books—ensured that certain destinations would receive more attention. By the late 1820s, so much had been written about Ireland that travel writers were expected to focus on specific kinds of travel (fishing and sporting expeditions, religious missions, bathing excursions and other health-related travel) and specific districts (Dublin, the north and the Giant's Causeway, Killarney, the Atlantic coast) in order to maintain interest among readers.[15] Three places, in particular, came to be designated as "tourist sites":

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[15]See, for example, *Letters from the Irish Highlands* (1825); *Notes of a Journey in the North of Ireland* (1828); W. H. Maxwell, *Wild Sports of the West* (1832); William Belton, *The Angler in Ireland* (1834); *The Sportsman in Ireland . . . by a Cosmopolite* (1840); An English Traveller, *A Visit to the Wild West* (1844); M. F. Dickson, *Scenes on*

Dublin, the lakes of Killarney, and the Giant's Causeway. Let us turn now to the expectations and experiences of tourists in these places as indicators of the effect of "tourism" on travellers, on travel writers' representations of Ireland, and ultimately on Ireland itself.

"If there is one dominant and recurrent image in the annals of the modern tour, it is surely that of the *beaten track*, which succinctly designates the space of the 'touristic' as a region in which all experience is predictable and repetitive," writes Buzard (4). As we have seen, Irish tourists had a "track . . . marked out for them" by guide books and previous tourists, a path so well-worn that, as early as 1791, Charles Bowden could speak knowingly of "*the* tour of Ireland" (75, emphasis mine). Bowden travelled as the "tourists" would in coming decades—utilizing public accommodations exclusively, rather than staying in the homes of gentry—a rather atypical circumstance for an eighteenth-century English gentleman in Ireland. In 1793, E. D. Clarke congratulates himself and anticipates the reader's approbation for "the tendency which I have shewn, throughout these pages, to leave the beaten track"—this, despite the fact that his "tour" in Ireland consists of a few days in Dublin (401). Tourists depended on the existence of a well-travelled tourist route, not only to ensure that they would see the most important places, but also as a matter of personal security. The anonymous author of a *Journal of a Tour in Ireland . . . in August 1804* seems particularly reluctant to stray from the prescribed path: "Having now seen the whole of Dublin; and judging it unsafe, or at least uncomfortable, to go into the interior unaccompanied; I determined to cross the Channel once more, and to

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the Shores of the Atlantic (1845), and Alexander Knox, *The Irish Watering Places* (1845).

remain in Wales till my servant should join me" (31). Throughout the nineteenth century, tourists report their experiences as they jostle along this beaten track, seeing and describing the sights that countless others have seen and described before them. By the 1840s, William Thackeray can write a travel narrative about Ireland that is parodic in its repetitiveness, leading him at one point to query: "Is there anything new to be said regarding the journey?" (251).

A "beaten track" presupposes the existence of maps, good roads, and the means for travelling over those roads. Earlier travellers to Ireland frequently bemoaned the lack of accurate information about travel in Ireland: "Maps of most of the counties . . . are in general erroneous, and badly executed, without either longitude or latitude, and are merely copies from old maps" (Twiss 172). George Taylor and Andrew Skinner set out to rectify this situation with their *Maps of the Roads of Ireland*, published first in 1778. The 288 pages of maps, plus index, provided travellers with detailed information about cross-roads, distances, locations of gentlemen's seats, natural curiosities, and ruins. The authors also supplied a fold-out maps of the country, which many travel writers adapted and included in their own texts. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the responsibility for building and upkeep of Irish roads was assigned to individual parishes; in 1765, an act of parliament allowed grand juries "to levy money on baronies within the county for the repair of existing roads and bridges or the construction of new ones," a circumstance that led to the standardization of Irish roads (Connolly 489). The act also gave private landholders the capacity to employ their tenants in building high-quality roads that suited their particular needs, needs that often overlapped with the needs of tourists. Thackeray's

claim that "they would never have had these roads but for the Union, roads which are as much at the charge of the London tax-payer as of the most ill-used Milesian in Connaught," is erroneous, an example of the center's attempt to render the periphery dependent (211); Irish road-making was in fact independent of England, and the vast majority of travellers found Irish roads superior: "everywhere I found beautiful roads without break or hindrance," exclaims Young (see Connolly 489). Tourists' comments on the post-chaises tend to be less positive—most complain about broken-down coaches, ill-used and tired horses, and bad drivers; nevertheless, tourists managed to get from place to place with increasingly regularity and ease, a circumstance enhanced by the introduction of mail coaches in 1790 and Bianconi passenger cars in 1815.

The interdependence of roads and tourism points again to the ability of the Irish to manipulate the tourist's experience: by controlling the construction of roads, the Irish could encourage or discourage travel to particular districts or sites. Some tourists chose to stray off this beaten track; others travelled these roads in search of the Ireland their guide books recommended. In either case, their experiences were often mediated not only by guide books, but also by human guides—from the peasant by the side of the road who offered directions, to the hired boatman who rowed the tourist around the lakes of Killarney. Many tourists expressed their perception that Irish guides somehow reflected the site with which they were associated; in the words of the Halls, "It is curious to note how the authorised 'care-takers' of celebrated places assume the tone of the scenes they exhibit" (2.104). Similarly, travellers tended to assume that Irish guides believed unquestioningly the stories and legends they told to tourists, suggesting a powerful desire

on the part of the tourists to believe that the Irish were naive and thus incapable of manipulating them (*New Estate* 228, Carr 390). If tourists perceived that they were being manipulated by the guides, they reacted with disgust; "a parcel of legends . . . may be well from the mouths of a wild simple peasant who believes in his tales," explains Thackeray, but they "are odious from a dullard who narrates them at the rate of sixpence a lie" (326). As Thackeray's comment suggests, tourists believed strongly that the "real" Ireland, embodied by the "wild simple peasant," could be discovered by the persistent traveller, if he or she were perceptive enough to distinguish between the honest (if superstitious) peasant and the mercenary guide. As we shall see in the more detailed analyses below, tourists needed the guides, but they also expressed resentment at the guides' intrusiveness, which they perceived as mediating the authenticity of their experience.

However, as Jonathan Culler has shown in his essay "The Semiotics of Tourism," "authentic" experience requires some form of mediation. Dean MacCannell and Culler have discussed the relationship between tourists and tourist sites in terms of semiotics, with "markers" functioning as signs (Van Den Abbeele 4, Culler 159). According to Culler, a marker "is any kind of information or representation that constitutes a sight as a sight," including guide books, explanatory plaques, and souvenirs (Culler 159). "[T]he touristic experience involves the production of or participation in a sign relation between marker and sight," which includes activities such as writing about a sight, or comparing it to previously written descriptions (160). However, critics of tourism, such as Boorstin, have tended to assume that markers point to things that are 'touristy,' and thus inauthentic; "our notion of the authentic is the unmarked,"claims Culler. However, as

Culler deftly argues, "To be truly satisfying the sight needs to be certified, marked as authentic" (164). Tourists tend not to be able to relate to unmarked sights: their sense that they have encountered something "authentic" when they venture off the beaten track requires some marker (even the presence of another tourist) to confirm the sight's authenticity (161-64). Tourists and travellers to Ireland relied on the markers supplied by previous travel narratives, guide books, and human guides to indicate to them not only to what they should relate, but also how. As we shall see, the intertextuality of the many descriptions of Dublin, Killarney, and the Giant's Causeway confirms the importance of markers and sign relations to the authentic tourist experience. These sign relations also confirm the status of the tourist site as "not-home"; as Georges Van Den Abbeele argues, "tourism operates less to palliate than to exacerbate alienation as the tourist in his insatiable desire for immediacy and authenticity finds himself enmeshed in the very web of mediacy and inauthenticity from which he is trying so hard to flee" ("Sightseers" 7).

Dublin—in part because of its size and status, and in part because it is the place where most travellers first set foot in Ireland—occupies a unique position in a consideration of "tourist sites." Even a traveller as abstemious as John Wesley went to Dublin and "saw what was accounted most worthy of observation" (4.258). By 1791, readers could have been expected to be quite familiar with what Dublin had to offer, and perhaps even overly familiar, as evidenced by this remark from Charles Bowden: "I shall not detain the reader with a minute description of Dublin—as several of it have been already published. I shall, therefore, only make such general observations on it, as must occur to every traveller. . . . " (4). Particular attractions included the Parliament House

(which, after the Union, became the Bank of Ireland) and other exemplars of architecture (including the Custom House, St. Patrick's Cathedral, and the cities' numerous bridges), Dublin University and Trinity College, and various museums and parks. Although travellers typically expressed interest in the more anthropological aspects of Irish culture (living conditions, religious practices, behaviors), as we have seen in previous chapters, tourists looked to Dublin, which had for many centuries been heavily influenced by England, for evidence of Irish culture in its more intellectual and aesthetic senses (art, theatre, sculpture, literature, etc.), what might be more typically designated "high culture."

For most English travellers, the most immediate point of comparison was London; Dublin is described variously as "the fifth city in Europe" (Bowden 5) and "the second city in his Majesty's dominions" (Cooper 5). The population of Dublin around 1800 was approximately 200,000 people, about one-fifth the size of London, a fact noted by several travel writers; John Gough also devotes several pages of his *Tour* to an extensive comparison between the size (in acres) of London and Dublin. One traveller went so far as to remark that he saw "nothing in our way to suggest the idea of a different country from that which we had left" (*Journal of a Tour* 17). Most travellers were quick to exoticize Dublin, however. In some cases, this exoticizing move was negative, and anti-touristic. Numerous travellers commented on what E. D. Clarke calls the "mixture of lousiness and laziness, misery and magnificence" (325): the juxtaposition of wealth and poverty within the city and the omnipresence of squalor and vice.[16] In other instances, the

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[16]See Curwen 2.101-2, Glassford 12, Barrow 378, Binns 1.3-4. John Gough's and Philip Hardy's counter-observation—that all large cities have poor districts—seems just (Gough 76; Hardy, *New Picture* 93).

process of exoticizing Dublin relied on the language of tourism. Henry Inglis emphasizes Dublin's resemblance to Spain and other locales: "you might easily fancy yourself in another and distant part of Europe" (6). The Bay of Dublin was frequently and favorably compared to the Bay of Naples, a convention that had grown so tired by the 1840s that Thackeray's Titmarsh, arriving in Dublin at night, mockingly regrets that "it was impossible to institute the comparison between the Bay of Naples and that of Dublin," and pauses to reflect on the nature of the comparison itself, and, indirectly, on his fellow travel writers: "But how could one see the Bay of Dublin in the dark? and how, supposing one could see it, should a person behave who has never seen the Bay of Naples?" (6). The marker, in this case the Bay of Naples, must be familiar in order for the tourist to use that marker to negotiate his relationship to the site; if it is not, then the site remains unauthentic, despite its immediacy. The fact that a marker might require its own marker in order to be appreciated or understood by the tourist demonstrates the every-widening gap between the sign and the signified. Hence, despite its metropolitan character and similarities to other large European cities, Dublin could easily be othered and rendered distant, to the extent necessary to consider it a tourist destination.

Most of the earliest travellers considered in this study were not impressed by Dublin. John Bush views Dublin as a microcosm of the Irish character and faults the Irish people's excessive drinking, "ostentation," "Hibernian importance," and lack of high culture; Richard Twiss is similarly dismissive and relies heavily on others' accounts for his descriptions, suggesting that his personal experience with Dublin might have been limited. However, Arthur Young's description is, as always, more even-handed. Although he

notes the poverty of many of the inhabitants, and expresses his dismay at the expensive and dirty hotels, the city "much exceeded my expectation":

> The public buildings are magnificent, very many of the streets regularly laid out, and exceedingly well built. The front of the Parliament House is grand. . . . The apartments are spacious, elegant, and convenient, much beyond that heap of confusion at Westminster, so inferior to the magnificence to be looked for in the seat of empire. . . . From everything I saw, I was struck with those appearances of wealth which the capital of a thriving community may be supposed to exhibit. (Maxwell ed. 3)

As in London, the Dublin "season," revolved around the sessions of Parliament. "There is a very good society in Dublin in a parliament winter," reports Young: "a great round of dinners, and parties, and balls and suppers every night in the week, some of which are very elegant" (5). After the Union, and the removal of parliamentary business to Westminster, Dublin society suffered a setback, as the upper classes went instead to London or remained on their country estates, a situation bemoaned by both English tourists and the Irish people alike. Tourists were quick to point out the emergence of the "middling" classes, however (Carr 52), and by the 1820s and 30s, Dublin could once again be enjoyed by the pleasure-minded tourist.

Dublin was generally the stepping-off place for most Irish tours—Leigh's *Pocket Road-Book* offers a 30-page "Description of Dublin," followed by a more than 250-page "Itinerary of Ireland," organized alphabetically by destination, with the point of origin always given as Dublin. A tour of Dublin thus might only occupy a few days, or at most, a few weeks; once a traveller "had seen every thing which Dublin could offer to the curiosity of a *foreigner*," he was generally quick to follow the path established by the Irish elite and head just south, to Black Rock and County Wicklow (Cooper 72, emphasis in original).

These "fashionable" places, to use Charles Bowden's term (67), acquired a particularly 'touristy' character, as evidenced by the judgmental tone of Anne Plumptre's description:

> In the neighbourhood of Dublin, as of most large towns, there are a number of places exceedingly frequented by the citizens on parties of pleasure, particularly on Sundays; and which strangers, if they have any ambition to be classed among *curious* or *inquisitive* travellers, must not fail to visit. (72)

In Plumptre's eyes, the Dubliners are tourists, interested in mere "pleasure." English travellers are eager to distinguish themselves from such behaviors; they are "strangers" or "*curious* or *inquisitive* travellers," amateur anthropologists drawn to such places to observe the sightseers, rather than the sites themselves. The Halls are quick to point out that County Wicklow's attractions are not limited to the pleasure-oriented tourist, however, in part because of its proximity to Dublin: "a visit to [Wicklow] . . . necessarily includes one to the Irish metropolis, so abundant in matter of the deepest interest to the antiquary, the man of science, the philanthropist, and in short, to all who have at heart the welfare of the country, and desire its moral, social, and physical advancement" (256). Nevertheless, in 1843, Thackeray expresses concern that the tour between Dublin and Wicklow had been "*done*" to death, since it "has been performed not only by myriads of the 'car-drivingest, tay-drinkingest, say-bathingest people in the world,' the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, but also by all the tourists who have come to discover this country for the benefit of the English nation."[17] He abbreviates his account of Wicklow because he

[17]It is worth noting that even Thackeray—who, in the character of M. A. Titmarsh, created perhaps the ultimate "tourist"—must still find others who are more touristy than himself, in this case Dubliners, in order to minimize his own touristic behaviors.

fears comparisons to Henry Inglis, John Barrow, Nathaniel Willis, Crofton Croker, and the stories of Mrs. Hall—nothing remains for him "to discover" (251).

A lack of novelty does not appear to have deterred very many tourists, however. Of particular interest was the estate of Lord Powerscourt, which included a waterfall, the Dargle. John Bush describes the waterfall as "one of the most beautiful water-falls in Great-Britain, or Ireland, and, perhaps, in the world," and insists "there is no heightening or exaggeration in this description." (67, 69). Philip Luckombe found the depiction convincing enough to plagiarize it for his *Tour* in 1780, but several of Bush's contemporaries were less convinced, and less effusive. Twiss describes it as "pleasing and picturesque, but not grand" (55). E. D. Clarke is disappointed to find that dry weather has turned the cascade into a trickle: "One had much better visit the artificial display in tin-work, which draws such an assemblage of virtuosos to the gardens of Vauxhall" (310). When one can enjoy the sites of Ireland at home (in England), then one need not risk collapsing the distance between the two countries through travel. By the time the Halls write their book on Ireland, the Dargle has been reduced from "one of the most beautiful water-falls in . . . the world" to "perhaps, the most magnificent fall in the county of Wicklow" (202). Still, tourists flocked to the estate of Lord Powerscourt and wrote with approval of the woods and the deer park; many praised Lord Powerscourt himself "who, with a liberality worthy of his rank and mind, permits every one to visit it [the park], and has erected seats in various parts of it for the accommodation of the public" (Carr 144). Eventually, however, parts of the Powerscourt demesne were closed to the public. Anne Plumptre tells of the thrill she and her travelling companions experience when they decide

to trespass on Lord Powerscourt's deer park to have the best view of the waterfall (84-85). Similarly, Crofton Croker reports having to pay gatekeepers to see the waterfall (25). Thackeray is turned away because the park is closed, but he manages to see the waterfall and describes it in a "grand style," full of hyperbole and high-flown language, "in order that the reader, who has probably read other descriptions of the spot, might have at least *something* new in this account of it" (254-57). Wealthy eighteenth-century travellers came and went as they pleased on Lord Powerscourt's estate, but by the mid-nineteenth century, the innumerable middle-class tourists were perceived as trespassing on private property and eventually their presence at this renowned tourist site was regulated—evidence that some landowners saw tourism as detrimental to their property, and evidence that the Irish were willing and able to exercise control over the tourists' behaviors and experiences.

Although E. D. Clarke claims that "in visiting a metropolis I behold the heart of a nation; and, if I discover what passes in the heart, I can estimate pretty nearly the tenor and disposition of the whole body" (325), most travellers were not satisfied with limiting their travel in Ireland to Dublin and were more likely to concur, with Henry Inglis, that "Dublin is not Ireland—and it was Ireland I had come to see" (9). Many travelled north from Dublin, sometimes after a brief sojourn in Co. Wicklow, and spent time touring the more Protestant, more industrialized, and thus more home-like province of Ulster. For many, the journey culminated in a visit to another celebrated tourist site, the Giant's Causeway. The Causeway consists of geometric basalt pillars, intricately linked, that extend into the water off the northern coast; the name is derived from a legend that the

pillars once formed a bridge to Scotland that enabled a mythic race of giants to cross from one island to the next. This natural curiosity attracted numerous visitors, inspired countless accounts, and eventually came to be known for its intrusive guides, and each of these elements contributed to its touristic nature.

John Bush's account of the Causeway is again lengthy and filled with superlatives; he describes it as "unexceptionably one of the greatest and most singular of natural curiosities upon the earth" (49). Arthur Young devotes only a brief paragraph to the Causeway, claiming that it "has been so often treated, that nothing I could say could be new," suggesting that a growing web of text had begun to be associated with the site (Maxwell ed. 54). Robert Slade also forgoes any description, in part because the touristic nature of such an account seems ill-fitting in his formal report to the New Plantation Society, and in part because it "has often been described" (65-66). John Barrow recognizes that his readers "will naturally expect" that he will say something about the Causeway, "though after so many accounts of it already in print, you must not expect that my short visit will elicit anything new" (69). John Gough opts to avoid the Causeway altogether (45). The accounts over time become linked to one another. For example, Richard Twiss offers a dismissive account, but refers "the inquisitive reader" to Bush's *Hibernia Curiosa* (85); some years later, Charles Bowden, in his turn, critiques Twiss' description of the Causeway.

These intertextualized descriptions are one example of what Jonathan Culler calls "the production of or participation in a sign relation between marker and sight": tourists establish a relationship between a representation of the sight (a marker, such as another

person's account) and their experience of the sight, and then produce further markers by writing and publishing their own accounts (160). Tourists construct particularly explicit relationships between various markers and the Giant's Causeway. They express disappointment that the sight is not "giant," as the name (a type of marker) implies, as in the following account of Anne Plumptre's first impression of the Causeway:

> Juliet says, "What's in a name?" and the poet who puts this sentiment in her mouth was deeply read in human nature. Yet a name has very great influence not merely upon the imagination but even upon the judgment. We hear of the Giants' Causeway; we know that the term Giant is applied to a being which the imagination has figured, though of human form, immensely beyond all human stature and size, and we immediately figure to ourselves that every thing referable to these extraordinary imaginary beings must be of a vastness almost beyond all human conception. It is probable that at least three-fourths of the visitors to the Causeway approach it impressed with these ideas; and to such, disappointment must almost inevitably be the first sensation experienced. (131)

Plumptre may be correct in her assessment that "three-fourths" of the tourists approached the Causeway with this expectation and were, at least initially, disappointed.[18] She refers the reader to Sir Richard Colt Hoare's account for confirmation (201). John Curwen (1.194), John Barrow (82-83), Henry Inglis (333), and William Thackeray (324) express similar disappointment; Thackeray claims not even to have seen the Causeway until it was pointed out to him. Other travellers compare the sight to the model and stone specimens on display at the Trinity College museum (Twiss 85, *Journal of a Tour* 44), others to the

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[18]Recognizing the potential for disappointment on this ground, G. N. Wright acknowledges that "It is not, however, the magnitude of the Causeway which surprises"; rather, "the wonder and admiration of the tourist are to be reserved until he steps upon the very surface of this great work of nature" (*Giant's Causeway* 91). This seems to have been a common strategy among Irish guides. Henry Inglis' guide "seemed to anticipate" Inglis' disappointment, "and although I made no observation, he said, One required to step on the Causeway, in order to appreciate its wonders." Inglis does so, but is "still disappointed" (333).

colonnades at Staffa in the Hebrides (Young, first ed. 1.140; Taylor 182; Barrow 82-83). Many conclude that the disjuncture between the markers and the sight render the Causeway less attractive; in the words of Samuel Johnson, "the Giant's Causeway might be worth seeing, but was not worth going to see" (Curwen 1.194; see also Twiss 157, Thackeray 324).

The most significant markers of the Causeway were the guides, in both book and human form. Although Henry Inglis claims he "had long ago learned to appreciate the bombast of a guide-book," he and many other tourists seem unprepared for the legions of human guides ready to mediate their experience of the Causeway. Eighteenth-century travellers make little or no mention of guides; they are entirely absent from the accounts of John Bush, Richard Twiss, and Arthur Young. John Wesley makes reference to "three or four poor boys [who] were ready to hold our horses and show us the way down" (195), and Charles Bowden acknowledges having had some information supplied by a "gentleman whom I met here" (231). In the nineteenth century, tourists at the Causeway were generally accompanied by one or more guides, but their presence does not appear to have been intrusive at first (*Journal of a Tour* 42, 44; Curwen 1.196). Anne Plumptre provides us with the first description of what became a fixture of the tourist's experience at the Causeway:

> . . . I soon perceived three or four men, one after the other, running towards me, as if emulous which should have the start of the other. "Here they come by dozens," said my companion. "Who are they?" I asked. "The guides of the Causeway," he replied:— "I suppose they have seen the car, and hear somebody was coming, and they are all running to try which can get hold of you first." It was even so: these men are like a parcel of hungry eagles, always hovering about, watching for prey, and the moment

> any is espied, the contest is commenced which can first pounce upon it. (130)

Plumptre, having been warned about these carnivorous guides by a friend, chooses the guide he had recommended to her, Mr. Currie. She has nothing but praise for Currie, but continues throughout her account to disparage the hordes of poverty-stricken "guides" that follow them, offering to sell them mineral specimens at inflated prices (142). John Barrow tells a similar tale of being "beset by a crowd of people who call themselves guides" and "assailed by men and boys offering stones to sell, which they collect into small boxes": "They [the guides] are of no use; but the poor fellows must live, and from their appearance they doubtless are hardly put to it" (75).

But it is future novelist William Thackeray's account that gains notoriety. He admits that it "is not a description of the Giant's Causeway . . . , but of a Londoner there," and from him we learn nothing of interlocking basalt pillars, but everything of the tourist's experience. Thackeray's raucous description of his encounter with the guides deserves to be quoted at length:

> The traveller no sooner issues from the inn, by a back door, which he is informed will lead him straight to the Causeway, than the guides pounce upon him, with a dozen rough boatmen, who are likewise lying in wait; and a crew of shrill beggar-boys, with boxes of spars, ready to tear him and each other to pieces seemingly, yell and bawl incessantly round him. 'I'm the guide Miss Henry recommends,' shouts one; 'I'm Mr. Macdonald's guide,' pushes in another; 'This way,' roars a third, and drags his prey down a precipice; the rest of them clambering and quarrelling after. I had no friends, I was perfectly helpless, I wanted to walk down to the shore by myself, but they would not let me, and I had nothing for it but to yield myself into the hands of the guide who had seized me, who hurried me down the steep to a little wild bay, flanked on each side by rugged cliffs and rocks, against which the waters came tumbling, frothing, and roaring furiously. Upon some of these black rocks two or three boats were lying;

> four men seized a boat, pushed it shouting into the water, and ravished me into it. . . . (322)

Forced to pay his kidnappers and promise to buy their rock specimens to procure his release (a promise he breaks once on shore), Thackeray pauses to caution future tourists: "Let all Cockneys take warning from this; let the solitary one caught issuing from the back door of the hotel, shout at once to the boatmen to be gone—that he will have none of them. . . . For after all, it must be remembered that it *is* pleasure we come for. . . ." (325). At this point, however, it seems clear that fending off the guides had become part of the touristic experience, and Thackeray, for all his professed discomfort, takes great delight in recounting his experiences at the Causeway. "Pleasure" was related to the perceived authenticity of the experience, and the authentic experience at the Giant's Causeway required guides.

It comes as no surprise that almost all the Irish guide book writers recommend to travellers that they acquire a human guide upon arriving at the Causeway. "An expert guide will afford much satisfaction to the tourist," insists G. N. Wright *(Giant's Causeway* 95). Philip Hardy assures the tourist that although "[f]ormerly travellers were much annoyed" by the number of guides "pressing to be hired," "the magistrates have recently made such regulations for their payment as will prevent stranger from being imposed upon" (306-7n.). The Halls claim that the guides at the Causeway, even the smallest children, are "geologists, learned in the names of stones" (3.155n.). C. C. Hamilton, in *Leigh's Pocket Road-Book*, is particularly explicit:

> In order to visit this celebrated natural curiosity, the Tourist must engage, as a principal, one of the many guides who will present themselves to his notice; and he will do well not to discourage the numerous peasants who

> will be pleased to assist him in his progress, and who will consider their labours amply recompensed by the purchase of some of the mineral specimens which they offer. (174)

Guides, then, should be acquired in order to help the impoverished Irish peasantry, not merely to enhance one's understanding of the Causeway, or to indulge fully in the touristic experience. The Irish people, who, as Barrow noted, were frequently "hardly put" to live, recognized the economic benefits that could accrue to them through tourism, and they were not afraid to exploit that knowledge by rendering themselves as Other: superstitious, for example. Furthermore, as in Thackeray's account above, Irish guides used English travellers' representations to authorize themselves and their activities, designating themselves as "the guide Miss Henry recommends" or "Mr. Macdonald's guide," presumably references the English traveller of Thackeray's day would have recognized and respected.

The third, and undoubtedly most popular tourist site, was Killarney—more specifically, the chain of lakes, islands, and mountains to be found there. In his essay "The Topographies of Terror: Killarney and the Politics of the Sublime," Luke Gibbons argues persuasively that "the praise lavished on Killarney's scenic beauties was closely bound up with the 1757 publication of Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into . . . the Sublime and Beautiful*," and that by "bringing the mollifying influence of the beautiful to bear on the terrors of the sublime" (by which Gibbons means both "the wildness of the Killarney countryside" and "the terra incognita of Kerry and the rest of 'the hidden Ireland'), "aesthetic experience enabled" the travel writer to "subdue" the savage impulse in Ireland and make the landscape appear ripe for colonial exploitation (25-26, 28). Such an analysis

fits well with the language of eighteenth-century descriptions of Killarney. The Burkean aesthetic is exemplified in John Bush's profession that "'Tis easier for the rural and romantic genius to conceive than for me to express the pleasure that, in every prospect, derives to the curious traveller from such a mixed and diversified scene of entertainment," that is, the beauty of the lakes and the sublimity of the surrounding mountains. Bush further claims that the traveller will have as much difficulty choosing between the lures of the sublime and the beautiful as "a Turk of the greatest sensibility would have" in selecting from "a seraglio of surrounding beauties," suggesting the orientalist (and by extension, imperialist) impulse behind such rhetoric (113, 115-16). Gibbons also refers to "Arthur Young's concern . . . to frame his descriptions of wild scenery with the guiding hand of improvement always in the foreground to reassure readers ill at ease in such surroundings," to support his claim about the impact of the Burkean aesthetic on England's imperialist maneuverings toward Ireland (28). I would like to point to a particular moment in Young's *Tour* to argue that descriptions of Killarney were simultaneously moving toward another kind of rhetorical strategy—the distancing, othering, objectifying language of tourism—to enable the English to move the Irish imperialist project into the nineteenth century.

At the conclusion of his account of Killarney, Young mentions the need for proper accommodations for travellers: "I am surprised somebody with a good capital does not procure a large well-built inn, to be erected on the immediate shore of the lake, in an agreeable situation, at a distance from the town; there are very few places were such an one would answer better." Young goes on to describe in great detail the proposed rooms,

dining facilities, and activities that would provide travellers with entertainments similar to those "they meet with at an English spa"; further, Young emphasizes the need for reasonable, published prices for everything such an inn would offer, "from a room and a dinner, to a barge and a band of music." If such a plan were followed, "The resort of strangers to Killarney would then be much increased, and their stay would be greatly prolonged; they would not view it post haste, and fly away the first moment to avoid dirt and imposition" (Maxwell ed. 119). Young's comparison of this proposed resort to "an English spa" exemplifies Ireland's liminal position: improvements of the type Young recommends will render this tourist destination more familiar, comfortable, and home-like, like "an English spa"; at the same time, these improvements will confirm Killarney's position as a tourist site, a place patently not-home, just as an English spa was to its many English visitors. Many English travellers confirmed the need for such "tourist" improvements. Richard Twiss had made a similar argument for "a large and elegant inn . . . such as those at many of the watering-places in England" and assured his readers that the builder and proprietor of such an establishment might easily acquire "a considerable fortune" (132-33). Several enterprising businessmen must have taken Twiss and Young at their word; John Curwen reports in 1818 that "the number of hotels and private lodgings indicate the influx of strangers, and afford an incontestable proof of the attractions in its neighborhood" (1.398), and by 1844, James Grant reports choosing to stay at Roche's, outside of town, rather than one of the four hotels in Killarney (228). Both Young and Sir Richard Colt Hoare also comment on the need for improvements at one of Killarney's major attractions, Innisfallen Island: "Strangers who visit this charming spot, have cause to

regret that its walks are not better kept" (Hoare 69); Hoare recommends that sheep should be pastured there, instead of cattle—"the lawn would be much more nicely trimmed by the close feeding teeth of [sheep]," he insists. This desire to see Killarney—and indeed the rest of Ireland—"improved" for the accommodation and pleasure of "strangers" indicates the powerful presence and influence of tourists on the Irish environment.

As the nineteenth century succeeded the eighteenth, the often subtle rhetoric of improvement gave way to the bourgeois trappings of tourism; guidebooks assured the English tourist that "Killarney may be perfectly viewed and admired in a tour of either three or two days, or even of one"[19] (Wright, *Killarney* vi), provided that the requisite fees were given to the guides, boatmen, buglers, and other necessary accompanists. As with the Giant's Causeway, guide books for Killarney appeared in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Before that time, travellers had attempted to provide some tourists' information in their travel narratives; Sir Richard Colt Hoare, for example, provides costs and suggests an itinerary for seeing the lakes. G. N. Wright's *Guide to the Lakes of*

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[19]The time spent at Killarney constituted an important element of tourism (as distinguished from "travelling"). George Holmes insists that "to visit and admire" Killarney fully "would require months" (133). On a more practical note, Sir Richard Colt Hoare recommends that "*Less* time certainly ought not to be allotted to *Killarney* that *one entire week*; and another could be very pleasantly employed, in retracing the same ground" (78). Anne Plumptre "passed five days here, a sufficient time for obtaining a general idea of the scenery;—to examine all its beauties in detail, five weeks would hardly more than suffice"; because "to devote any thing like that time to it was wholly out of my power," and she "did not perceive that much would be gained by only an additional day or two," she decides to leave on the sixth day (299). In these two competing conceptions of the amount of time required to see Killarney, we recognize important class distinctions: only the wealthy traveller could allot sufficient time; the more money-conscious middle-class tourist had to be satisfied with the one, two, or three day tour recommended by C. C. Hamilton and G. N. Wright. Mr. and Mrs. Hall specifically discriminate between their recommendations to "the traveller" and to the "tourist, to whom time is an object" (1.180).

Killarney claims to be the first publication "to afford every necessary direction to the Tourist whose object is to visit the Lakes of Killarney, and their surrounding beauties: it points out the time required, the modes of conveyance, the inns on the road, and the probable expense" (v). Leigh's *Pocket Road-Book* defers to Wright as the best guide to Killarney. Although the Halls insist, once again, that their "design is not to produce 'a guide-book,'" they include a note that indicates where guidebooks should be purchased and which they recommend (1.252). In 1834, William Belton insists there are "'Guides' enough, and to spare, for the Lakes of Killarney" (iv). In addition to these numerous guide books, travellers relied on information supplied by other travellers. Twiss mentions having read Bush's narrative and John Leslie's poem; Hoare refers to Carr; Plumptre remarks that prior to her visit, she "read and studied very much several different accounts of the Lakes" and concludes that she "found every thing conformable to the ideas arranged in my mind" by those accounts (269). G. N. Wright situates his guide book within the context of travel narratives by Bush, Young, Curwen, and Holmes. Much like the intertextual accounts of the Giant's Causeway, descriptions of Killarney depended heavily on one another. Travellers were also aware of the challenges presented by this ever-growing web of text; John Barrow shortens his description of Killarney, observing "If every one of the five hundred and sixty-eight parties who, as my guide informed me, visited Muckross last year, and the three hundred and twenty this, were to write as much, they could not expect to amuse their readers with a large share of novelty" (315). Eventually, the "sign"—in the form of other travellers' descriptions—may be substituted for the site; some travellers, such as Thomas Campbell, decide to forgo a visit to Killarney

entirely and content themselves with one of the numerous accounts provided by others (205-6).

Those who did travel to Killarney, however, did not need to rely solely on the printed word. Nineteenth-century tourists were often assisted by human guides, as at the Giant's Causeway, although most tourists do not seem to have reacted quite as negatively toward the Killarney guides. Together, these guides and guide books established a "beaten track" for tourists to follow, and the narratives of the tourists reveal the extent to which the Irish determined the tourist's experience at Killarney. As Sir Richard Colt Hoare observed, "The usual routine adopted by the guides cannot perhaps be altered for the better" (67). Killarney was owned by one of the few remaining Irish Catholic landholders, Lord Kenmare, who was the sole provider of boats for touring the lakes. He established the rates for hiring boats and boatmen, who expected food and whiskey in addition to their pay. Tourists were also expected to hire horn players and gunmen to accompany them in the boat. When the boat reached a certain point on the lakes, the horns were blown and the guns were fired, producing a magnificent echo; the tourists, of course, paid for the gunpowder.[20] Twiss reports that the cost amounted to "about eight guineas" (117); Carr indicates that the cost had risen to "about nine guineas" some thirty years later. Several tourists also recount stag-hunting on the lakes, a process that involved a deer being driven into the water by someone on shore and then hunted from the boats.[21] Finally, most tourists mention the arbutus tree, which produced a fruit similar to a large

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[20]See Bush 126, Twiss 125-26, Young 117, Bowden 195-96, Holmes 118-19, 143, Carr 388-90, Hoare 73-74, Curwen 1.414, Inglis 129-30, Barrow 308.

[21]See Bush, 128-31, Twiss 131, Holmes 148-51, Thackeray 125-27.

strawberry. John Bush records sending some of the fruit to a friend in England, with the hopes that the seeds might be removed and planted: "It will give me no small pleasure . . . to see living plants from seeds that I took so much pains to procure.—A transplantation, indeed, from the most western land of Ireland to the easternmost point of England" (155). William Thackeray reports being urged to buy a walking stick carved from an arbutus tree as a souvenir (137). Overall, the striking similarity of their accounts while touring the lakes indicates the regimented pattern of behavior for tourists to Killarney.

The predictable experiences of tourists and the concomitant rhetoric of tourism did not preclude attention to aesthetics at Killarney, however. The vast majority of tourists were awed by the beauty of Killarney; they compared the lakes favorably to the English lake district, and some claimed that the beauties of Killarney surpassed the English lakes (*Journal of a Tour* 52). Occasionally, a tourist was rendered speechless by Killarney: "It is impossible to write here.—Beautiful visions crowd on the mind too rapidly for the hand to record. . . . [A] hundred descriptions of it have been written—thousands of sketches have been made, but no description that I have read, or sketch that I have seen, made me familiar with Killarney," claimed Georgiana Chatterton (*Rambles* 1.113). For some tourists, however, those "hundred descriptions" and "thousands of sketches" only served to raise false expectations. Richard Twiss concludes that Killarney "forms one of the greatest natural beauties of Ireland, and will amply repay the traveller of taste for his trouble in journeying thither," but regrets that his "expectations were too much raised by reading the romantic exaggerations" of previous travellers (126). John Curwen fears that the anticipation of Killarney engendered by others' accounts will ensure his

disappointment, although ultimately he is pleased by Killarney's beauty (1.397-98). Curwen's skepticism is shared by Henry Inglis, who warns the tourist not to approach Killarney with "those exaggerated notions which are apt to be conveyed by a guide-book." Inglis insists that "There is nothing of the sublime about Killarney," indicating a changing aesthetic value both for Killarney and for the idea of the "sublime" (128). Thackeray finds the scenery at Killarney "overpowering," a negative sensation, as opposed to the pleasure one expected to derive from the terrors of the sublime (128). When James Grant describes Killarney in 1844, he uses a language devoid of the rhetoric of the sublime and the beautiful, suggesting not only that sensibilities had changed, but also that the rhetoric of tourism had replaced the rhetoric of the Burkean aesthetic.

The distancing power of the rhetoric of tourism is powerfully illustrated by tourists' increasing awareness of a disjuncture between Killarney, the town, and Killarney, the tourist site. Tourists became so accustomed to think of Killarney in a particular way that they were disturbed by the presence of another Killarney peering in from the margins. Charles Bowden is the first to mention the poverty he observes as he comes into Killarney (191). Sir John Carr is amazed to find Killarney "a large town," and not "a little romantic place, as I had previously penciled it in my imagination" (358-59). Again, we see the gap between the marker and the site, as at the Giant's Causeway, but this time in reverse. Henry Inglis' description is more specific:

> Killarney suggests to an Englishman, merely a spot where lakes are situated: it is nothing but a name. But to one residing in the neighbourhood, it suggests a biggish, populous, noisy, and not very pretty town. . . . I regret to say, that there is a large pauper population, and a vast number of idle persons—some from necessity, and some from choice: for besides its own natural proportion of destitute and unemployed persons,

> Killarney has in addition, that class of the idly disposed and poor, who are either attracted to every spot much resorted to by strangers, or who are created, by the charm which precarious employment possesses in the estimation of many, over the more certain, but more moderate wages of labour. (125)

Tourism has given Killarney these disparate identities, first by "suggest[ing] to an Englishman" that it is "merely a spot where lakes are situated," and second, by attracting "a class of the idly disposed and poor," people drawn to the places where tourists congregate and spend money. John Barrow also describes "the prodigious number of idlers lounging at every corner of the streets" and the "set of hungry-looking fellows" who offer their services as guides and boatmen (300-301). Thackeray's depiction of Killarney is similarly grim and dovetails with his account of the failures of tourism at Killarney, typified by a rainy day that obscures the beauties of the lakes (122-27). Ultimately, the rhetoric of tourism surrounding Killarney—carefully constructed by the Irish and welcomed by the English for its objectifying potential—precluded any sense of Killarney as anything other than a tourist site, even when (or perhaps especially when) the realities of day-to-day life interfered with the promulgation of that rhetoric.

When the anonymous traveller of *A Journal of a Tour* ascends Turk mountain at Killarney, he suddenly realizes he is finally "at the furthest extent of my tour": "no wonder that I leaped down the sides of the mountains with a speed that outstripped and surprised the guide. Every step was now shortening my chain, and bringing me nearer home," i.e., England (54). Dublin, the Giant's Causeway, Killarney—indeed the "Emerald Isle" itself—were constructed and circumscripted by the rhetoric of tourism, which cast them as irredeemably other, as "not-home." In their attempts to write "home"—to manipulate the

tourist's perception of and experiences in Ireland—the Irish people produced the foundational texts of the distancing rhetoric of tourism. It would be wrong to assume, however, that the Irish necessarily regretted or resisted this distancing process. They frequently participated actively in this process, and their participation was not limited to their role as guides. The Irish people were willing to other themselves, to create themselves as the object of the tourist's gaze, in order to maintain England's continued awareness of (and economic investment in) Ireland and the Irish, while retaining a separate identity for Ireland. Witness the following account of Sir John Carr's desire for a piece of an Irish ruin:

> As I stood at the base of the Round Tower, I observed that the cement was very hard, and expressed a wish to have a piece of it knocked off; upon which my guide said, "Ah! and won't I get you some? Oh yes! your honour shall have a *taste of it*." (180)

Shortly afterward, Carr desires a souvenir from the ruin of St. Kevin's cathedral:

> I shocked the superstitious veneration which this whimsical fellow had for the place, until I had tranquillized it with money, by asking him to assist me in the removal of two stones into my chaise, which were elegantly sculptured, belonging to one of the arches, the edges of which were singularly fresh and sharp. (187)

In each case, the peasant is willing to desecrate his cultural symbols, his history, in order to please the English tourist and earn money. Jonathan Binns relates a similar experience some years later:

> St. Patrick's cross, which consists of granite, is a very rude attempt at sculpture, and, in consequence of visitors constantly taking earth from the grave, (for the purpose either of keeping it, or selling it in the country for the cure of diseases) has a considerable declination from the perpendicular. At the request of the good woman who showed me the relics, I took a piece of the cross for my museum, nor could I disoblige her by refusing to carry away a portion of the soil. (1.143)

We see in this example the degradation of the environment—the cross can no longer stand upright for lack of supporting soil—and a continued willingness to participate in that degradation. Above all, these examples suggest a growing distinction between what the Irish people considered essential symbols of their culture, and what they were willing to sacrifice to the tourists; we cannot forget that these particular exchanges occurred at moments when the Irish were actively resisting union with Great Britain (through the activities of the United Irishmen and the Repealers, respectively), suggesting that the Irish people maintained a private reserve of Gaelic culture that served as a unifying force and remained inaccessible to English tourists.[22] The tourists who cart away stones and dirt from Irish ruins do not bother to criticize the struggling Irish peasants who are willing to sell them because they want to believe that this is evidence of the elimination (or, at best, archival preservation) of a distinct Irish culture; instead it represents Ireland's ability simultaneously to participate in and resist the effects of tourism.

As a concluding example, let us consider the case of Blarney Castle and the famed Blarney stone. Because there are far fewer accounts of this tourist site, it is easier to examine the process of 'tourification' and to see the Irish people's willingness and ability to occupy the position of the other to accommodate the tourists. When Arthur Young visits Blarney Castle in September, 1776, he makes no mention of its appeal as a tourist site, although he applauds the owner's intent "to give employment to the people, and to improve the value of his estate by so doing" (Maxwell ed. 103). The usually thorough Sir John Carr reports nearly thirty years later only that "my fair *compagnon du voyage*

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[22]The establishment of a Gaelic alterity as a form of cultural resistance will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

pointed out to me Blarney Castle, upon a turret of which there is a stone which is very nearly *inaccessible*, and possesses, it is said, the rare virtue of making those for ever happy *who touch it*" (408). Ten years later, Anne Plumptre includes Blarney Castle among "the sights of Cork" and believes that the term "*Blarney* . . . is so familiar in Ireland, nay even in England, that I should have though scarcely any one could be unacquainted with the name at least of Blarney," poking fun at Carr's misunderstanding of the stone's power and offering the more traditional account of the legend: "after kissing it [the Blarney stone], how much soever the *kisser* may indulge in fiction he is certain of being believed" (238-39). Plumptre indulges thoroughly in the touristic experience and concludes her description as follows: "Readers, beware! I did not find the *Blarney stone* by any means *inaccessible*, but perfectly easy of access. It is at the highest pinnacle of the old tower, with a very good winding stone staircase up to it. I ascended and kissed it; I have warned you of the consequence, and again I say, *Readers, beware!*" (239). Plumptre's *Narrative* appears to have contributed to the promulgation of the legend. In 1835, Henry Inglis queries "Who would be at Cork without visiting Blarney, which is situated about six miles from Cork? . . . . There are many things more picturesque than Blarney Castle; but then, it is Blarney; and is therefore necessary to be visited. . . ." (112). John Barrow reports being encouraged by a guide to "kneel down and kiss [the stone] three times" for the full effect (335), while Jonathan Binns emphasizes that he "indulged [his] curiosity by ascending the tower to *see* the magic stone," rather than kiss it (2.317). The legend makes its way into narratives for children, including Emily Taylor's *The Irish Tourist* (1837), which depicts a young boy who kisses the stone "and fancies he has ever

since felt a great propensity to flatter, or *blarney*, all whom he approaches" (121). Georgiana Chatterton records her impressions of Blarney in *Rambles in the South of Ireland* (1839); Chatterton had first visited the castle eight years before and contrasts this visit with her previous one:

> I had neglected to kiss this stone on my previous visit, because the important ceremony could not be performed without the risk of falling headlong down a height above a hundred feet; but in these days of marching intellects, and diffusion or confusion of knowledge, even the privilege of being able to pay extravagant compliments is made of easy attainment.
>
> The stone had, for the accommodation of visiters, been taken out of the wall, where it used to project over the machicolations of the old high tower, and now lies maimed and helpless, and looking very foolish, on the battlements. (2.33)

Mr. and Mrs. Hall confirm this recent "accommodation," although they insist that "It is certain that to no particular stone of the ancient structure is the marvellous quality exclusively attributed" (1.48).

These accounts demonstrate a certain trajectory in the process of 'tourification.' While the legend had undoubtedly existed for centuries, it comes to prominence only when the Irish realize that it will enable them to draw English tourists to Blarney. Although the tourists are charmed by the legend, they behave in a patronizing fashion toward the Irish peasants who appear to believe the superstition (note that only English children are equally susceptible). The Irish are further willing to move the stone to make it easier for tourists to access it; Chatterton perceives this as Ireland's willingness to degrade its ruins and remarks that the stone now looks "maimed and helpless" and "foolish." But what Chatterton considers a lessening of the stone's power is really quite the opposite; the Irish have recognized its power—not to create flatterers, but to attract tourists and their

money—and are willing to position themselves as others—as superstitious peasants, as tour guides—in order to maximize the benefits. Ultimately, the Irish demonstrate their flexible subjectivity, their ability and desire to occupy the position of other in order to maintain a cultural distance between England and Ireland, in part by doing what they can to encourage English "home travellers" to think of Ireland as a tourist site, as "not-home."

The rhetoric of tourism, combined with aestheticized descriptions of the Irish landscape and anthropological examinations of Irish people, contributed to the growing sense of distance between England and Ireland. Although travel itself collapsed the distance between England and Ireland, between home and abroad, travel writing successfully mediated that distance, allowing the English to construct ideas of Ireland and the Irish that negotiated a delicate balance between Self and Other, while allowing the Irish to manipulate the ways in which they presented themselves to the "strangers" from across the Channel. The language of travel—predicated on the separation of "home" and "abroad"—provided the means by which the Irish could be considered distant, despite their close physical proximity and long-standing ties to Great Britain. In the next chapter, we will see the ways in which other writers—novelists, in particular—use the idea of travel to Ireland, and the related understanding of the distance between England and Ireland, to figure other forms of difference as distance. Travel writing about Ireland had so successfully permeated the domestic sphere that "travel to Ireland" could be used in domestic fiction to discuss other pressing metropolitan issues, namely the social divisions between men and women, and between socioeconomic classes.

CHAPTER 5

THE GOING AND "THE NOT GOING" TO IRELAND: TRAVEL, LITERATURE, AND TRAVEL LITERATURE

As we move toward the conclusion of this study, let us consider the impact that travel to Ireland had on British culture, as evidenced by the use of travel to Ireland as a construct in Irish and English novels of the nineteenth century. The "interdependence of fiction and actual travel narratives," to use Karen Lawrence's phrase, has been examined in great detail by Percy Adams in *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* and by William Spengemann in *The Adventurous Muse* (Lawrence 23). These influential studies explore the ways in which travel writing informed the genre of the novel with respect to form, style, motif, and character, among other things. The "journey motif—real or fictional—is still the most significant, whether geographical, spiritual, psychological, or intellectual," according to Adams, which explains one possible reason for the repeated incursion of "travel" (and "travel literature") into "literature" (*Evolution* 283-84). On the other hand, James Buzard notes "the embeddedness of many literary works in the situations and imagery of tourism" (13). The numerous references to literary works within travel writing, and the emphasis on travel and travel writing in literary works, demonstrates the interconnectedness of these genres, as well as the interconnectedness of their readers and writers. As we have seen in previous chapters, travel writers read and relied upon one another for information about Ireland; however, some travellers also acknowledge the influence of fiction and fiction writers on their travel narratives. Most travellers incorporated a trip to Edgeworthtown, the home of Irish novelist Maria

Edgeworth, into their itinerary. Anne Plumptre, herself a novelist, passes the time during a long and difficult crossing of the Irish Channel reading *O'Donnel, A National Tale*, by Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan (Plumptre 9). Travel writing as a genre turned increasingly toward the elements of fiction, leaving behind the more rigid eighteenth-century conventions (Batten 80-81); the poem (e. g., Catherine Luby's *Spirit of the Lakes*), the short story (e. g. Emily Taylor's *The Irish Tourist*), and the novel (e. g., W. H. Maxwell's *Wild Sports of the West*) became entertaining and popular means for conveying at least some of the information about Ireland provided by the travel narrative. The growing overlap between the travel narrative and the novel, the two most widely-read genres in England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, provides a point of continuity between the examination of travel narratives in earlier chapters and the discussion of novels to follow. English and Irish novelists rely on their reader's familiarity with an Ireland rendered as "abroad"—distant, Other—by the rhetoric of travel; when these novelists incorporate travel to Ireland in their fiction, they must operate within a previously-established paradigm of distance-as-difference, as they attempt either to refute or to reiterate the distance between England and Ireland.

Travel to Ireland became a narrative device in nineteenth-century Irish and English novels. In Anthony Trollope's *The Macdermots of Ballycloran* the narrator, in the persona of the author, presents himself as a traveller who learns the tale of the Macdermot family from the guard of the mail coach as he travels through the Irish countryside. The implied author-as-narrator-as-traveller approach is an important deviation from previous traveller-as-narrator accounts, which maintained little or no apparent distance between the

person travelling and the person writing about those travels.[1] Here, the narrator of the travels is obviously fictional, despite his self-identification with "the Author." Nevertheless, the narrator-as-traveller device presupposes a certain familiarity with travel in Ireland, and the conventions of travel writing. Anthony Trollope travelled throughout Ireland in his capacity as a surveyor for the Post Office in the 1840s; his Irish novels display not only his familiarity with the Irish countryside and the Irish people, but also the Irish political environment, Irish novels, and English representations and misrepresentations in various forms and venues, including travel writing.[2]

In his *Autobiography*, Trollope admits that he "had learned to think that Ireland was a land flowing with fun and whisky, in which irregularity was the rule of life, and where broken heads were looked upon as honourable badges" (62), but he does not explain how he had "learned" about these Irish stereotypes. The novels and tales of Irish authors are one obvious source. As Robert Tracy argues in the introduction to the Oxford edition of *Macdermots*, and elsewhere, Trollope makes reference to three Irish novelists and their work in the course of the novel: Charles Lever, Maria Edgeworth, and William

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[1]The most significant departure from this pattern comes from another novelist, and Trollope's contemporary: William Thackeray. In Thackeray's *Irish Sketch Book*, which he published under his pseudonym, M. A. Titmarsh, the traveller, in the persona of the Cockney Tourist, functions as a narrator of various scenes and tales. Not since the letters of the "Two English Gentlemen" in 1746 had an English travel writer attempted to construct such a self-conscious and self-evident separation between himself and the "I" of his Irish travel narrative.

[2]Travel in Ireland, travel writing, and Irish fiction also had an influence on Thackeray's work, as evidenced by his treatment of the Irish in *Barry Lyndon* and *Vanity Fair*; however, Thackeray's novels rely less on the device of travel to or in Ireland. This factor, combined with the limitations of time and space, render an analysis of Thackeray's "Irish" novels outside the scope of this project.

Carleton (xxii-iii). Tracy also notes the ways in which Trollope's novel "echoes, responds to, and to some extent parodies Lady Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl*," a novel we will discuss in more detail below (xxiii). Tracy goes so far as to claim that *Macdermots* functions as a realist rewriting of Morgan's romantic tale of a dispossessed Irish family whose only hope to regain their land is through marriage to an outsider of English origins (xxiii-iv). The plot similarities are striking: *The Macdermots of Ballycloran* centers around the three surviving members of the ancient Macdermot family—drunken and demented Larry and his children, Thady and Feemy—who have built Ballycloran House as a monument to their position but cannot afford to pay the mortgage with the meager rents brought in by their property. Their only hope is through Feemy's long-anticipated marriage to Captain Myles Ussher, an Anglo-Irishman whose position as a revenue officer has garnered him few friends among the impoverished peasantry who rely on the illegal distillation and sale of *potheen* (whiskey) for their primary income. Ussher has no intention of marrying Feemy, whom he regards as beneath him, despite her family name; however, he manages to persuade her to run away with him by promising to marry her later. As Ussher leads Feemy away from Ballycloran, her brother Thady, mistakenly assuming that Ussher is taking his sister against her will, strikes Ussher on the head and kills him. Thady is sentenced to death for the murder of Ussher, Feemy dies in premature labor brought on by the stress of Ussher's death and Thady's trial, and Larry loses his mind completely, leaving Ballycloran House to decay into the "unnatural ruin" the narrator-as-traveller discovers at the opening of the novel (5).

The novel clearly owes a great debt to Irish novels, and Lady Morgan's *Wild Irish Girl* in particular, but it also owes something to Trollope's own travels in Ireland, and his familiarity with travel writing about Ireland. Ballycloran House, and the novel bearing its name, had been inspired by "the modern ruins of a country house" Trollope happened upon while touring his new Irish neighborhood: Drumsna, Co. Leitrim (*Autobiography* 70). Arthur Young's famed *Tour* provides another important detail for the novel. Young reports hearing of a "great family in Connacht," the "MacDermot" family. The patriarch, known as "the MacDermot," "calls himself Prince of Coolavin. He lives at Coolavin in Sligo, and, though he has not above £100 a year, will not admit his children to sit down in his presence" (Maxwell ed. 70). Much like Trollope's fictional Larry Macdermot, this "Prince of Coolavin" attempts to maintain his status based on his family origins, with little wealth to support his position.[3] Scholars of Trollope have assumed Trollope's personal familiarity with Ireland, with Irish fiction, and with accounts of Ireland provided in English newspapers, but have ignored the possibility of his familiarity with travel writing about Ireland. Janet Egleson Dunleavy describes Trollope's awareness of "the incidents described in the newspapers" which "his countrymen read in their quiet English homes" ("Trollope" 57), and claims that Trollope was surprised to discover that the Irish were "not at all" what Irish novelists "had led English readers to expect" (54), yet she never mentions the possibility of other documentary sources for Trollope's work, such as travel

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[3]Robert Tracy's introduction to *Macdermots* posits a connection to the Prince in Morgan's *Wild Irish Girl*, a character also based on the real-life person of the MacDermot, although he makes no mention of his appearance in Young's travel narrative (xxiv). Katie Trumpener discusses Young's impression of the MacDermot briefly in *Bardic Nationalism* (41). Neither Trumpener nor Tracy suggests that Young may have been a resource for Trollope's creation of the Macdermot family.

writing. Small wonder, since according to Dunleavy, "Ireland was a foreign country that attracted few English tourists" (53).

Nevertheless, it seems clear that travel writing and the motif of travel in Ireland inform Trollope's first novel. The novel opens with the narrator/traveller's arrival in Drumsna for a brief stopover. After dinner, the traveller determines to take a walk, offering a typical rationale for exploratory travels: "There is a kind of gratification in seeing what one has never seen before, be it ever so little worth seeing; and the gratification is the greater if the chances be that one will never see it again" (1). Unbeknownst to the traveller, the demesne of Sir Gilbert King and other attractive sights are easily within walking distance, but "One cannot ask the maid at an inn to show one where to find the beauties of nature," and so the traveller sets out "along as dusty, ugly, and disagreeable a road as is to be found in any county in Ireland" (2). Such details render the traveller a savvy tourist, who resists the typical attractions, such as "the maid at an inn" might recommend, and instead sets out along a rural road, away from the "beaten track." At the end of this road, the traveller happens upon a "characteristic specimen of Irish life," the ruin of Ballycloran House (5), and when he reboards the mail coach, he asks the guard "if he knew anything of a place called Ballycloran." The guard regales the narrator/traveller with the story that becomes *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*, but the narrator prefaces his retelling with this remark:

> . . . reader, if I thought it would ever be your good fortune to hear the history of Ballycloran from the guard of the Boyle coach, I would recommend you to get it from him, and shut my book forthwith. (7)

With this nod to the touted storytelling ability of the native Irish, Trollope also recognizes the immediacy supplied by travel, the opportunity to experience the sights and hear the stories for oneself, an immediacy not available to readers of travel narratives, or of novels.[4]

Although Trollope quickly abandons the device of the narrator-as-traveller for the advantages offered by an omniscient narrator (see Wittig 101), he retains many other elements of the English-authored Irish travel narrative, including political commentary, agricultural information, and detailed descriptions of domestic environments; his descriptions of peasant cabins in particular rival those of English travellers (see 125-27). Robert Tracy notes in his introduction that "Chapter XVII, 'Sports of the West,' pays tribute, in title and action, to William Maxwell's *Wild Sports of the West*" (xxiii), a novel that, like *Macdermots*, relies on the device of the travel narrative and the narrator-as-traveller as a frame for its action. And two of the three chapters Trollope removed from the novel in his 1860 revisions include an account of travel through Ireland, as Father John, the parish priest, goes to Dublin to secure representation for Thady at his trial. In these chapters, Trollope describes the experiences of travelling through Ireland via coach—surrounded by the sometimes barren landscape and numerous other passengers, one of whom is identified as "a touring Londoner" (639). The mail coach guard is quick to point out "to the Englishman" the residence of Maria Edgeworth and other tourist sights along the way (642); when Father John arrives in Dublin he experiences the all-too-

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[4]In fact, Trollope's novel contains an implicit critique of the use of novels as a means of escaping the harsh realities of life. Feemy is frequently depicted as alone with "her novels and her trash" (62), and fantasizes that Myles Ussher is the dashing hero in a gothic novel (242). Unfortunately for Feemy, Ussher more closely resembles the villain.

familiar press of poverty-stricken boys offering to help him with his luggage and guide him through the city. Trollope had certainly experienced these elements of travelling in Ireland first-hand, but his descriptions suggest a close familiarity with the writings of other travellers and an understanding of the expectations travel writing had created among the English novel-reading public.

Trollope clearly intends an English audience, supplying information and explanations for "those who do not know the country" (48; see also 37, 253). In a sense, Trollope's novel participates in what Seamus Deane has called "one of the most characteristic defects of Irish fiction—its devotion to the representation of Irish life for the purpose of educating an English audience to a proper sense of its realities" ("Fiction and Politics" 77); like Irish novelists, Trollope "set out to display Irish fact" and found himself "producing Irish fiction" (81). Scholars of Trollope's work have noted a growing ambivalence toward Ireland in the course of his Irish novels and in his representation of Ireland and the Irish in his other novels, arguing that "Trollope's vision of Ireland became increasingly more distanced as time passed" (Wittig 109). "Only in *The Macdermots* which rose from Trollope's first contact with Irish life and reflected his initial openness to the impact of that life upon him, was he able to create moving and valid Irish characters," claims E. G. Wittig (118). Wittig concludes that Trollope was "essentially a foreigner [in Ireland] despite his long residence there," and this sense of alienation resulted in a paternalistic attitude toward and stereotyped depiction of the Irish. However, Trollope's inability to write about Ireland may in fact have been the result of his *increased* familiarity with Ireland. When William Thackeray began his *Irish Sketch Book*, he wrote a letter to

his mother voicing his apprehensions: "I am beginning to find that a man ought to be forty years in [Ireland] instead of three months, and *then* he wouldn't be able to write about it" (qtd. in Brewer 267). Kenneth Brewer's explication of Thackeray's somewhat ambiguous statement seems applicable to Trollope and to the numerous other travellers to Ireland who penned narratives: "the very brevity of the visit—three months—is what *allows* the English visitor to write about Ireland. A longer stay—forty years—would paralyze the writer because he would realize that Ireland was too complex to be adequately represented" (267). Trollope lived and worked in Ireland for several years and knew, or came to know, the perils of attempting to represent Ireland. His ability to create "the moving and valid Irish characters" of *Macdermots* may have been a result of his relatively brief exposure to Ireland; his growing "ambivalence" toward Ireland, noted by Wittig and others, may in fact be the paralysis occasioned by increased familiarity. Maria Edgeworth expresses a similar reservation toward continuing to depict Ireland in her novels: "It is impossible to draw Ireland as she is now in the book of fiction—realities are too strong, party passions too violent, to bear to see, or care to look at their faces in a looking glass" (qtd. in Deane, "Politics" 84). In short, the "Irish novel" was written in response to a prolonged relationship and intimate familiarity between the author and the subject matter, circumstances that ultimately problematized representation. However, the travel narrative—predicated on brevity and a lack of familiarity with the culture being depicted—presented no such obstacles. The idea of travel and the conventions of travel writing provided a way to talk about Ireland when other means failed.

Two groups of novelists use this form of "Irish travel writing" to very different ends, and the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to their work. The first group, nineteenth-century Irish novelists, use the character of a travelling Englishman to urge a reconsideration of Irish identity and of Ireland's relationship with Great Britain. Travel to Ireland is presented as a voyage of discovery, one that will reveal to English travellers and readers a nation and a people that have been misrepresented and misunderstood. The second group of writers, however, present and dismiss the possibility of going to Ireland; these nineteenth-century English novelists use the idea of travel to Ireland to address issues of imperialism, gender, and alterity. Just as Irish writers use 'going to Ireland,' English writers use the construct of 'not going to Ireland' to draw their readers' attention to important issues. In each case, "travel to Ireland" becomes a means for exploring or exploiting cultural distance: for Irish writers, travel to Ireland can be used to demonstrate the difference between "real" Ireland and the Ireland of British stereotype; for English writers, travel to Ireland can be used to figure the distance between members of diverse social classes and between men and women—in terms of power and the potential for self-determination—in the first half of the nineteenth century in Britain. In either case, distance registers as the dominant paradigm for understanding the relationship between England and Ireland, and, by extension for understanding other social relationships.

Let us begin with two novels by prominent Irish writers: Sydney Owenson's *Wild Irish Girl* (1806) and Maria Edgeworth's *The Absentee* (1812). The two authors were roughly contemporaries. Edgeworth was born in England in 1767 or 1768 to a prominent Anglo-Irish Ascendancy family; she first went to Ireland in 1773 and subsequently spent

much of her adult life there. Her first novel, *Castle Rackrent* (1800), is still her most widely known work, and it is generally considered the first regional novel. She died in 1849. Sydney Owenson is believed to have been born in 1776; she "liked to claim that she was born while her English mother was crossing the Irish Channel to meet her Irish father" (Lew, "Fate of Empire" 39). She wrote numerous novels on Irish subjects, but *The Wild Irish Girl* made her a celebrity, and it is the novel for which she is most known today. In 1812, Owenson married Sir Charles Morgan and thereafter published her works under the name "Lady Morgan." She died in 1859. Both writers negotiated and constructed their "Irishness" very carefully. As Sydney Owenson's apocryphal tale of her birth suggests, she saw herself as a border crosser, someone who did not fit neatly into a purely "Irish" or purely "English" identity, although she was intensely patriotic about issues of Irish nationalism. Similarly, Maria Edgeworth saw herself as "friend" to Ireland, but not necessarily "Irish," and her work repeatedly reveals her ambivalence about the ability of the Anglo-Irish colonizers to speak for the native Irish people. And as women, they recognized that their social position was already precarious and peripheralized, without the additional burden of embracing a marginalized cultural identity. Nevertheless, they recognized the power of women's writing in the process of constructing national identity. "Politics can never be a woman's science; but patriotism must naturally be a woman's sentiment," claimed Owenson (*Patriotic Sketches* ix). In *The Wild Irish Girl* and *The Absentee*, Sydney Owenson and Maria Edgeworth set out to explore the complicated issue of cultural identity, and both use the construct of the traveller to do so.[5]

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[5]Owenson and Edgeworth are not the only Irish novelists to use what Heinz Kosok has labeled the "travel-book pattern"; nor are *The Wild Irish Girl* and *The Absentee* the

A brief plot summary of the novels in question may be useful here. *The Wild Irish Girl* is an epistolary novel that relates the adventures of a young English nobleman, Horatio M—, whose dissipated lifestyle in London has caused his father to banish him to the family estate in Ireland. Although initially dismissive of Irish culture, Horatio soon discovers an ancient ruin on his father's property, inhabited by a poor Irishman who identifies himself as "The Prince," his daughter Glorvina, and a priest. Captivated by Glorvina, Horatio assumes the identity of a travelling artist, calling himself Henry Mortimer. A minor accident enables "Henry" to stay with the family as he recuperates, and as he grows closer to Glorvina, he develops a sympathetic appreciation for Irish culture and for the Irish people his own ancestors had dispossessed. When he receives a letter from his father, informing him that his father is coming to Ireland and bringing a bride for his son, Horatio realizes that he wants only to marry Glorvina, who is betrothed to a mysterious stranger. The climax of the novel comes when Horatio interrupts Glorvina's marriage to the stranger, only to discover that the stranger is his father. When Horatio's father sees his son's genuine affection for Glorvina and her family, he releases Glorvina to marry his son and turns his Irish estate over to his son's management, so that the land will no longer suffer from the devastation of absenteeism.

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only novels by Owenson and Edgeworth to use the traveller in Ireland as a central character. In his essay "Discovering an Alternative Culture: The Travel-Book Pattern in the Nineteenth-Century Irish Novel," Kosok also identifies works by Charles Lever, Charles Robert Maturin, and Mrs. S. C. Hall as containing elements of this pattern. Katie Trumpener includes a similar list of authors and works in *Bardic Nationalism* (303, note 10). I have chosen to consider *The Wild Irish Girl* and *The Absentee* because these works are relatively well known, and their basic similarities provide fruitful ground for a comparative analysis of the uses of the "travel plot" in Irish fiction.

The Absentee, as one might guess from the title, also has the persistent problem of absenteeism at its center. Lord and Lady Clonbrony, their son Lord Colambre, and Lady Clonbrony's niece, Grace Nugent, have taken up residence in London, at prodigious expense and with devastating results for the inhabitants of their Irish estates, largely because the Anglo-Irish Lady Clonbrony fears the loss of metropolitan cultural identity inherent in life on the periphery. Although Lord Colambre (who is secretly in love with his cousin, but denies his affection because his mother has a strong opposition to marriage between cousins) has not lived in Ireland since he was six year old, he believes that his family will be happier in Ireland, so he sets out on a tour through Ireland, incognito. There he observes firsthand the horrors of absenteeism and the importance of an honest agent. When he returns to England, he learns that a financial crisis has placed his family in unfortunate circumstances, a situation that enables him to persuade them that they are needed on their Irish estates. Meanwhile, Colambre also discovers the real identity of Grace's parents and reveals that she is in fact an Englishwoman of considerable wealth, and not his poor cousin, freeing the way for their marriage. The novel ends on a note of anticipation—the family has just returned to their Irish estate, and the proposed marriage between Lord Colambre and Grace Nugent has not yet taken place, but the future appears to be bright, both for the family and for Ireland.

There are clear parallels between the two novels. Both use the device of the traveller in disguise to reveal to their largely English audience a hidden or previously misrepresented Ireland. Both use the marriage plot to figure and to comment on the union between Britain and Ireland. They manage their travel plots and marriage plots in distinct

ways, however, as we shall see below—ways which suggest important differences between the two novels. Owenson's novel can only be described as romantic: the characters are presented as yearning for a mythic Gaelic past that has been largely eliminated by their colonial oppressors. This romanticized Gaelic culture provides a basis for the construction of a national identity, an Irish identity retained in the face of political union with Britain. Owenson's pro-Irish position is made clear from the start: her novel is subtitled "A National Tale." Edgeworth's novel, by contrast, seems profoundly ambivalent about the desirability of an Irish national identity; "Britishness" is figured in her text as the ideal melding of the best of English and Irish cultures. In his introduction to the Oxford edition of the novel, W. J. McCormack describes *The Absentee* as "an anti-romantic novel (in tone, plot, morality, etc.) written in favour of romance and romanticism" (xlii), suggesting the comparative complexity of Edgeworth's position vis-a-vis Owenson. Despite these differences, however, the two novels are unified by their use of travel (and marriage) as a means for exploring this complicated issue of national identity. Let us now examine their use of the travel plot in more detail.

The Wild Irish Girl begins with a series of letters between Horatio and his father, the Earl of M—, in which the Earl announces that he has decided to "banish" Horatio to his Irish estate in the hopes that "amidst the wild seclusion of Connaught scenery, and on the solitary shores of the 'steep Atlantic,'" Horatio will have little to do but study for his intended profession of law (6). Horatio admits, in a letter to "J. D." (to whom the remainder of the letters that make up the body of the novel are addressed), that he wishes his father's "mercy had flowed in any other channel," that because the Irish are only "semi-

barbarous, semi-civilized," they lack the interest of the truly savage inhabitants of Siberia, "a South-Sea Island," or "an Esquimaux hut" (10). As Kathryn Kirkpatrick observes in her introduction to the novel, cultural contact between the colonizing English and the colonized Irish has molded the Irish into subjects less barbarous, but also less exotic than the colonizer might desire: "Horatio reveals that the process of colonization, of transforming the other into the image of the self, destroys the other's usefulness as an object of tourism" (xv-xvi). And Horatio has been accustomed to think of the Irish as "objects of tourism"; in his first letter from Ireland, he admits that his impression of the Irish had been initially based on the Elizabethan-era travel writings of Fynes Moryson:

> I remember, when I was a boy, meeting somewhere with the quaintly written travels of *Moryson* through Ireland, and being particularly struck with his assertion, that so late as the days of Elizabeth, an Irish chieftain and his family were frequently seen seated round their domestic fire in a state of perfect nudity. This singular anecdote (so illustrative of the barbarity of the Irish at a period when civilization had made such a wonderful progress even in its sister countries), fastened so strongly on my boyish imagination, that whenever the *Irish* were mentioned in my presence, an *Esquimaux* group circling round the fire which was to dress a dinner, or broil an enemy, was the image which presented itself to my mind; and in this trivial source, I believe, originated that early formed opinion of Irish ferocity, which has since been nurtured into a *confirmed prejudice*. (13)

Far from a "trivial source," travel writing has inspired Horatio's prejudice, and has probably been a factor in the confirmation of that prejudice. The Irish of the travel narrative are the barbarous and exotic others Horatio has learned both to resist and to desire—primitive, naked, even cannibalistic. Horatio, who is to travel to the "wild west" of Ireland, the province of Connaught, feels "the strongest objection to becoming a resident in the remote part of a country which is still shaken by the convulsions of an

anarchical spirit," a region inhabited, "as we are still taught to believe," by men who are "turbulent, faithless, intemperate, and cruel" (13). Despite his previously professed regret that the Irish are only "semi-barbarous" and "semi-civilized," Horatio exposes an awareness of the possibility that, at least in Connaught, the Irish might still function as appropriate, if dangerous, others.

Horatio lands in Dublin and finds himself "pleasantly astonished" by the beauty of the bay of Dublin, which he overhears being compared to the bay of Naples, a comparison he cannot vouchsafe as accurate (13-14). The Irish boatman speaks "in English at least as pure and correct as a Thames boatman would use," and Horatio is "at a loss how to reconcile such civilization of manner to such ferocity of appearance"; a fellow traveller assures him that the Irish can indeed be "uncivilized" if poorly treated (14-15). Horatio quickly learns that Irish "otherness" has largely been a construction, produced by English misrepresentation and ill-treatment. "So much for my voyage *across* the *Channel*!" exclaims Horatio, expressing his perception of the collapsing distance between himself and the Irish (15). He acknowledges that his "prejudices have received some mortal strokes," but insists that the traveller cannot expect to find a "genuine" expression of "national character and manner" in Dublin and reiterates that in Connaught he "shall have a fair opportunity of beholding the Irish character in all its *primeval* ferocity" (16, 17). In a few short pages, Owenson has introduced a number of conventions of travel writing about Ireland—the obligatory comparison between the bay of Dublin and the bay of Naples, the behavior of the Irish boatmen, the misleading character of the metropolis, as well as the famed excesses of Irish hospitality and the difficulties of travelling in an Irish post-chaise.

As the novel continues, we are introduced to numerous other elements of travel through Ireland made familiar by previous travel narratives: the Catholic religion, the "Irish howl," inns that promise "good dry lodging"; when Horatio first sees the ruin of the Castle of Inismore inhabited by Glorvina and her family, Owenson provides a footnote urging readers to imagine another Irish ruin, one made familiar by travel and travel writing, "the Castle of Dunluce, near the Giants' Causeway" (45).

Owenson's awareness of travel writing is unquestionable; quotations from Bush, Young, and other prominent travel writers pepper Owenson's extensive footnotes to the novel, which scholars have designated its "paratext."[6] In his essay "How *The Wild Irish Girl* Made Ireland Romantic," Joep Leerssen considers the "travel description" to be one of the three major textual traditions that influence Owenson's novel (including its paratext), acknowledging that "the way in which the story is set up [a series of letters to an English friend describing Horatio's experiences in Ireland] recalls the travel description" (111-12). Although Leerssen initially rejects the epistolary form as "ill-fitting" (100), it becomes an essential element in the process of rehabilitating Ireland in English eyes. The letters allow for a protagonist who "begins in ignorance"; according to Joseph Lew, the "deconstruction of Horatio's early ignorance about and prejudices against the Irish provides an empathetic model for a similar deconstruction on the part of Horatio's intended reader, J. D., as well as for the larger audience of the published novel" (53; see also Kosok 82). The epistolary form invokes the travel narrative and reiterates

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[6]That is, "all typographical material which, while not forming part of a text, surrounds it: title, page numbers, chapter headings, blurb, illustrations, footnotes, etc." (Leerssen, "Romantic" 102, note 2).

the process of discovery so essential to Owenson's attempt to rehabilitate Ireland through her novel.

But for all its structural and thematic similarities to the travel narrative, does Owenson's novel take the reader to an Ireland that exists anywhere beyond the pages of *The Wild Irish Girl*? Leerssen claims that the novel "often becomes a sort of tourist's guide to Ireland, the charms of the Irish landscape, the pleasant and pathetic character of the poor but honest Irish peasant, the impressive and fascinating history and antiquity—and not in the last place, the great cultural accomplishments of Ireland" (100). Ina Ferris argues that the national tale uses travel to relocate "the scene of cultural encounter, confounding the distinction between 'over here' and 'over there' in order to move the modern metropolitan subject/reader into a potentially transformative relation of proximity" (288). This "problematic proximity" places the colonizer in a liminal position between "foreigner" and "tourist," a position Ferris designates as the "stranger" (294). The stranger has not yet made up his mind and looks to the culture being encountered to determine his response, according to Ferris. Ferris' argument might be more persuasive if all English travellers to Ireland did not describe themselves as "strangers," even as they behaved as invasive "foreigners" and "tourists." Owenson does not attempt to "confound the distinction between 'over here' and 'over there'"; rather, she attempts to reify that distinction by rehabilitating Ireland's Gaelic alterity.[7] The Irish of *The Wild Irish Girl* are

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[7]According to Luke Gibbons, the Scottish Enlightenment had tried to put distance between itself and Gaelic culture by projecting it into a distant past via the language of romanticism; ultimately, Britishness came to be defined in opposition to Celticism and Gaelic culture. However, the United Irishmen were not content to relegate Gaelic culture to the past or the imaginary, and so they set about to rehabilitate it, endorsing the use of the Irish language and other aspects of traditionally Gaelic culture ("United Irishmen and

walking anachronisms; they dress in antiquated clothes, speak Irish, and recollect with nostalgia a time when Ireland's cultural contributions were venerated. The letters that comprise the novel are dated 17—, indicating that Owenson wanted to draw attention to the moment at which Ireland's cultural identity had begun to be revived, albeit by groups with nationalist agendas. Under such circumstances, pro-Gaelic sentiment might appear threatening to an English reader, even in a post-Union world: after all, the 1798 Rebellion hovers at the margins of the novel just as it continued to hover at the margins of England's historical consciousness; Horatio's father first appears at Inismore in a time of "civil contention" and masquerades as "some unfortunate gentleman who had attached himself to the rebellious faction of the day" (214). To minimize these negative associations with Gaelic nationalism, Owenson borrows from the discourse of travel to provide a "tourist's guide" to an Ireland that might be, an Ireland desirous of maintaining its distinctive cultural character but willing to be bound in union with England, as signified by Horatio and Glorvina's marriage at the end of the novel.[8]

Alternative Enlightenments"). In 1792, the United Irishmen met at the Belfast harper's festival, an event organized "to revive and perpetuate the ancient Music and Poetry of Ireland," according to contemporary circulars (Trumpener 10), and the United Irishmen subsequently adopted the harp as their symbol. Gaelic culture was thus seen as the means for retaining a distinctive national identity in the face of subsuming "Britishness." For an alternative interpretation of the uses of "Romantic Ireland" by Irish novelists, see Deane, "Fiction and Politics" (80-81).

[8]An in-depth analysis of the marriage plot of *The Wild Irish Girl* moves beyond the framework of travel that informs this study; however, some comment on its significance to the plot, and to critical conversations surrounding the novel, is required. Critics have tended to describe the novel's marriage plot as "unproblematic" (Bellamy 63), although some have focused on Glorvina's "convulsive shriek" and subsequent speechlessness (when Horatio bursts in upon Glorvina and Lord M— as they are about to be married) as evidence of Glorvina's reluctance to participate in a marriage described in the novel as "prophetically typical of a national unity of interests and affections between those who

In *The Absentee*, Maria Edgeworth also uses travel as a means of rehabilitating Irish cultural identity, but with more ambivalent results. Rather than forming the frame for the narrative, travel to Ireland takes up only a portion of the plot of *The Absentee*. A third of the way through the novel, Lord Colambre announces to his family that he intends to travel to Ireland to "become acquainted with it" (73). The son of Anglo-Irish absentees, Colambre has been educated in England and at the start of the novel has just arrived in London from Cambridge. A self-described "British nobleman" (21), Colambre exemplifies the ideal melding of English and Irish character traits:

> The sobriety of English good sense mixed most advantageously with Irish vivacity: English prudence governed, but did not extinguish, his Irish enthusiasm. But, in fact, English and Irish had not been invidiously contrasted in his mind: he had been so long resident in England, and so intimately connected with Englishmen, that he was not obvious to any of the commonplace ridicule thrown upon Hibernians; and he had lived with men who were too well informed and liberal to misjudge or depreciate a sister country. (6)

He claims that he does not know that prejudice against the Irish exists, at least "not among well-informed, well-bred people" (16). His mother's attempts to disguise or dismiss her Irishness are marked as "unnatural" and cause her to be the object of ridicule in London high society. Colambre's exposure to his mother's acquaintances' cruelty, and his own

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may be factiously severe, but who are naturally allied" (250). Lord M—'s view of the outcome of the marriage is even more troubling: "In this the dearest, most sacred, and most lasting of all human ties, let the names of Inismore and M— be inseparably blended, and the distinctions of English and Irish, of protestant and catholic, for ever buried" (250). The equivocations that exist in the closing pages of the novel clearly leave the text open to deconstruction and leave the author open to charges of ambivalence. However, I would argue that the preponderance of the text is devoted to advocating English appreciation for the distinctiveness of Gaelic culture, and that Owenson had no intention of endorsing a marriage, or any other union, premised on the inseparable blending and burying of cultural distinctions.

reluctance to be identified as an absentee, inspire him to travel to Ireland and to discover the country and the people for himself, despite his mother's insistence that travel in Ireland doesn't give "a gentleman a travelled air, or any thing of that sort" (196). Colambre travels to Ireland essentially as an Englishman, an unknowing outsider, much like *The Wild Irish Girl*'s Horatio M—, albeit without Horatio's anti-Irish prejudice.

Colambre's chaotic landing at the bay of Dublin echoes the negative depiction provided by countless travel narratives: "instantly he found himself surrounded and attacked by a swarm of beggars and harpies with strange figures and stranger tones . . ." (80).[9] However, he soon makes the acquaintance of an Englishman, Sir James Brooke, whose knowledge of "different representations and misrepresentations of Ireland," including travel narratives, has been accompanied by long residence in various parts of the country. These factors enable Brooke to "direct the attention of our young observer [Colambre] at once to the points most worthy of his examination, and to save him from the common error of travellers—the deducing general conclusions from a few particular cases, or arguing from exceptions, as if they were rules" (81-82). Colambre's previous acquaintance with Ireland has been based primarily on depictions provided by his parents, but when he arrives in Dublin he does "not find that either his father's or his mother's representations . . . resembled the reality which he now beheld" (82). Pleased with Dublin, and charmed by the scenic beauties of County Wicklow (87), Colambre believes that his further travels will only confirm his prior good opinion of Ireland and Irish society. When Sir James is called away on business, a London acquaintance of Lady Clonbrony's, Lady

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[9]Kim Walker's textual note to this passage directs the reader specifically to Sir John Carr's *Stranger in Ireland* for the purposes of comparison (297).

Dashfort, steps into his place. She too offers to show Colambre "the country—not the face of it, but the body of it—the people" (102). However, she secretly hopes that Colambre will marry her daughter and, because she dislikes the thought of her daughter being "banished to Ireland," she determines "to make the Irish and Ireland ridiculous and contemptible to lord Colambre; to disgust him with his native country; to make him abandon the wish of residing on his own estate" (105). Colambre initially joins Lady Dashfort in her mockery of Ireland, but when her machinations are exposed, he vows to continue his tour, "seeing with his own eyes, and judging with his own understanding, of the country and its inhabitants" (128-29). He travels incognito, wearing shabby clothing and assuming the identity of a Welshman, although his voice soon reveals him as a gentleman (129, 139). He describes himself and is described by the Irish people variously as English and Welsh (but never Irish)—a conflation of identities that does not bode well for Ireland's ability to maintain an individuated national identity under the Union. Nevertheless, his disguise allows him to observe and contrast the Colambre estate, well-managed by a Mr. Burke, and the Clonbrony estate, rackrented by the devilish "old Nick" Garraghty; Colambre's true identity is revealed when he steps in to stop the eviction of a peasant family on the Clonbrony estate (172-73). Shortly thereafter, he returns to London to persuade his family to return to Ireland and manage their property more directly and fairly.

Like Owenson, Edgeworth uses "the journey of an initially uncomprehending stranger in Ireland to orchestrate stories of national discovery"; her audience is "distant and differently situated," and thus the form of the travelogue provides a special, and

particularly appropriate, form of access to Ireland (Trumpener 61, 60). Even as Edgeworth sets out to rehabilitate Ireland in English eyes, however, Colambre hopes to rehabilitate Ireland in Irish eyes. His decision to travel to Ireland is primarily inspired by a search for self-identity. As Liz Bellamy argues, "[t]he Anglo-Irish exist in a cultural no-man's land, rejected by the English for their Irishness, and by the Irish for their Englishness. . . . [While] in relation to the peasantry, the Anglo-Irish might be seen to constitute a class of colonial exploiters, in relation to the English they could be seen as the colonised—an alien other sharing much of the culture and assumptions of their tenantry" (61, 62). Lord Clonbrony is described by his wife's acquaintances as "nothing, nobody," and Lady Clonbrony openly fears the loss of identity inherent in the ambiguity of the Anglo-Irish position: "one gets . . . a notion, one's nobody out of Lon'on" (*Absentee* 2, 202). A peasant on the Clonbrony estate explains to the disguised Lord Colambre that Lord Clonbrony is "at home [i.e., in England]—that is, . . . not at home [in Ireland]," a phrase emblematic of the Anglo-Irish identity conflict. Only Lord Colambre, for all intents and purposes an Englishman, and Grace Nugent, a self-proclaimed "friend to Ireland," who, like Colambre, combines the best of English and Irish characteristics, escape the social abrogation that results from the marginalized position occupied by most Anglo-Irish. When Grace and Colambre are eventually freed to marry one another, their own identities have been questioned and qualified to such a degree that it becomes problematic to claim that their marriage figures the Union between England and Ireland. Grace Nugent, whose very name marks her as Irish,[10] is revealed to be English, and thus not

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[10]"Grace Nugent" is the title of a famous Irish ballad by the renowned Irish harper, Carolan. As W. J. McCormack demonstrates, Maria Edgeworth could have learned the

Colambre's cousin; when she was believed to be Irish, her marriage to Colambre was prohibited, most likely on the grounds of incest (42), suggesting that a "marriage" between Ireland and England might also break a taboo by collapsing long-standing and—particularly to the English—necessary distinctions. The marriage that will ultimately take place[11] unifies England and Anglo-Ireland; Ireland is written out of the picture entirely.

But to the degree that Colambre does represent "Ireland" in the novel, his desire (and indeed ability) to identify himself with Ireland is based in part on the fact that the Ireland he finds during his travels is not, for the most part, the romanticized (and nationalistic) Ireland of Owenson and other Irish writers. Rather, it is an Ireland in need of the guiding hand of Anglo-Irish landlords. Once Colambre represents this "real" Ireland to his family, they begin to refer to Ireland as "home," using the term seven times in a few pages (200-202). Their eagerness to return "home," however, is countered in the text by indications that Ireland continues to figure as "absence" to their English friends

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legend of Grace Nugent from any one of a variety of contemporary sources, including Owenson's *Wild Irish Girl* (see "The Tradition of Grace Nugent," p. 276-81 in *The Absentee*). In any case, the name resonates with the connotations of a romantic, Gaelic Ireland elsewhere rejected by Edgeworth, indicating that Grace is to some extent meant to represent this Ireland to readers.

[11]The novel ends, as does *The Wild Irish Girl*, with a letter that anticipates the two protagonists' pending nuptials. This "technical departure from nineteenth-century convention" highlights the significance of the omission of the marriage from the text (Dunleavy, "Maria Edgeworth" 63). Seamus Deane argues that, for Edgeworth, "the marriage [between the aristocratic and the utilitarian spirit], however desirable, is impossible" ("Fiction and Politics" 89-90), and the novel itself suggests that the marriage/union between Ireland and England may not even be desirable on all sides. Ireland has traditionally been figured as "an impoverished woman, raped and betrayed by a wealthy nobleman, who symbolises England" (Bellamy 64), and as Grace herself observes, when women marry "they have not always the liberty of choice, and therefore they can't be expected to have always the power of refusal" (Edgeworth, *Absentee* 247).

and acquaintances: Mr. Reynolds (Grace Nugent's newly-found grandfather) intends to visit his granddaughter but has trouble remembering the names of the Clonbronys' Irish estates—a situation made all the more ironic by the fact that the properties, and their towns, bear the titles of their owners (253). Ultimately, the family members will lose some aspect of their identity whether they choose to stay in England or return to Ireland. Edgeworth's novel demonstrates what the narratives of so many English travellers had revealed and would continue to reveal: travel ultimately cannot overcome—and in some instances, emphasizes—the distance between England and Ireland, and the English and the Irish.

The distance between England and Ireland comes to represent other constructed distances in English novels of the about same period. As Joseph Lew notes, "Ireland was present largely as an absence" in English literature (44), and we will now turn to two canonical English novels, Jane Austen's *Emma* (1816) and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), that call attention to the perils of absence by introducing and then rejecting the possibility of travel to Ireland. Travel to Ireland appears only briefly in these two novels, but, as Georges Van Den Abbeele has so persuasively argued, seemingly "idle statements on travel in a writer's discourse allow . . . for the elaboration of a critical discourse of considerable force" (*Metaphor* xxiii). Similarly, in *Culture and Imperialism* Edward Said advocates careful reading of metropolitan-produced texts in order to locate those narrative moments, those minute details that "enabled, encouraged, and otherwise assured the West's readiness to assume and enjoy the experience of empire" (80). These two approaches reveal the importance of previously marginalized or ignored textual details. If,

as Said has so persuasively demonstrated, the mention of Antigua in Austen's *Mansfield Park* reveals the extent to which activities of the empire permeated and undergirded the activities of English domestic space, then what might the mention of travel to Ireland in other novels reveal? As we shall see, the distance between England and Ireland—emphasized by travel writing and figured in other texts by the trope of travel—comes to stand in for the distance between men and women, particularly men and women of different social classes.

Several scholars have analyzed the influence of gender on both travel and empire. Karen Lawrence argues in *Penelope Voyages* that the trope of travel presupposes a male traveller "who crosses boundaries and penetrates spaces," spaces typically mapped as "female" or "feminine" (2). Similarly, the empire was frequently coded as "feminine." Patrick Colm Hogan claims that colonial cultures attributed more positive, "masculine" qualities to themselves, while "indigenous cultures were seen as feminine or effeminate" (88). Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose make a related point in the introduction to their collection of essays, *Writing Women and Space*: "the desire for colonial control was often expressed in terms of sexual control" (10). Despite the persistent association of travel and empire-building with the masculine, women used both travel and empire to escape their confinement within the female (domestic) sphere. Travel and travel writing provided "a set of alternative models for women's place in society" and "discursive space for women," according to Lawrence (18). Specifically, the empire provided an alternative to the "circumscribing, oppressive, threatening" domestic space typically designated as the female sphere, as the so-called redundant women of England found themselves needed on

the colonial periphery (Perera 42, 52). Gender also played a role in women's critiques of empire, as Susan Fraiman demonstrates in her important corrective to Said's reading of Jane Austen in *Culture and Imperialism*. Women writers' sensitivity to the marginalization of women sometimes extended to the colonized (and feminized) people of empire, as the "confluence of abolitionist and feminist discourses" suggests (Fraiman 812). Fraiman argues that Austen's references to the slave trade in Antigua in *Mansfield Park* are "far less incidental and inadvertent than Said suggests" and that Austen uses those references to slavery to call attention to the empire's degradation of humanity (813). As Austen's and Brontë's novels suggest, however, Ireland—marginalized, colonized, feminized—elicited little sympathy, and Ireland did not promise the opportunity to "redress social inequalities" generally provided by the rest of the empire (Michie, *Outside the Pale* 46). Instead, travel to Ireland constituted a move toward yet another, and even less desirable, alterity than the one in which women existed at home.

Since Austen's *Mansfield Park* has been the source of much scholarly discussion about the incursion of the empire into the domestic, it seems only appropriate to begin our consideration of Austen and Ireland with that controversial novel. Both Susan Fraiman and Edward Said comment on the imperial implications of Fanny Price's inability to "put the map of Europe together" (*Mansfield Park* 54; Fraiman 814, Said 85). But Fraiman reads beyond that particular sentence to consider the remainder of the Bertram cousins' complaint about Fanny's lack of geographical knowledge:

> ". . . Do you know, we asked her last night, which way she would go to get to Ireland; and she said, she should cross to the Isle of Wight. She thinks of nothing but the Isle of Wight, and she calls it *the Island*, as if there were no other island in the world." (*Mansfield Park* 54)

According to Fraiman, Fanny's misapprehension of how to get to Ireland reveals to her cousins "her bad sense of direction" (814). "On the other hand," claims Fraiman,

> Fanny's navigational mode as described in this passage is itself a rather imperializing one, for it begins and ends by fetishizing a single island. This island not only happens to resemble Britain in its ability to eclipse others such as Ireland and Antigua, leaving it the exclusive point of reference, but bears a name suggesting the pseudoracial basis for its priority. (815)

Fanny may be drawn toward the Isle of Wight, which lies in the English Channel, in part because it "bears a name suggesting the pseudoracial basis for its priority"; however, as readers we should recognize that the island for which she has mistaken it, the Isle of Man (which lies in the Irish Channel), bears a name suggesting the gendered basis of its priority. Is Fanny prioritizing race over gender? Blunt and Rose claim that, "within colonial contexts, constructions of racial superiority could overcome those of gender inferiority, and thus [white] colonizing women could share in colonial discourses of power and authority" (13). However, Fraiman's impulse to align Ireland and Antigua against the exclusivity of Britain (and, by extension, the Isle of Wight) signifies the similarity of the former's marginalized, colonized positions. Fanny may be "fetishizing a single island," but she does so not just because of the desirability of that particular island, but because of its geographic positioning away from Ireland. Far from "bad," Fanny's sense of direction leads her away from Ireland, toward the Continent; she has no intention of travelling to Ireland, and all it represents in British consciousness, and thus she has no need to know "which way she would go to get to Ireland."

Austen develops this point more fully in her next novel, *Emma*, a text consumed by the fine distinctions between social classes. Just as "Antigua and the West Indies exist on

the margins of *Mansfield Park*," as Suvendrini Perera observes, Ireland exists on the margins of *Emma* (49). In 1837, Emily Taylor would acknowledge that Ireland was "but another word for poverty, wretchedness, and destitution all the world over" (35), but Austen anticipates this metaphoric relationship in her depiction of Jane Fairfax, the orphaned, marginalized, soon-to-be governess, who determines not to go to Ireland, preferring instead to stay with her poor aunt and grandmother in Highbury. The reader is first introduced to Jane Fairfax a third of the way through the novel. The daughter of the late Jane Bates and Lieutenant Fairfax—who died "abroad," presumably in the service of empire—Jane Fairfax had been taken in by a friend of her father, Colonel Campbell, and educated side-by-side with his daughter. When Miss Campbell marries a "rich and agreeable young man," Mr. Dixon, who owns property in Ireland, the Campbell family invites Jane to accompany them on their trip to visit their daughter and son-in-law in Ireland (145-51). We learn that she has declined this proposition when Miss Bates tells Emma that she has had a letter from Jane Fairfax, and that Jane will soon be joining her family in Highbury. Miss Bates recounts the contents of the letter in her typically verbose fashion:

> ". . . The case is, you see, that the Campbells are going to Ireland. Mrs. Dixon has persuaded her father and mother to come over and see her directly. They had not intended to go over till summer, but she is so impatient to see them again—for till she married, last October, she was never away from them so much as a week, which must make it very strange to be in different kingdoms, I was going to say, but however different countries, and so she wrote a very urgent letter . . . to press their coming over directly, and they would give them the meeting in Dublin, and take them back to their country-seat, Balycraig, a beautiful place, I fancy. Jane has heard a great deal of its beauty; from Mr. Dixon, I mean—I do not know that she ever heard about it from any body else. . . . Jane was quite longing to go to Ireland, from his account of things." (141-42)

Yet, Jane chooses not to accompany the Campbells, and this "not going to Ireland" arouses Emma's suspicion that Jane may be attracted to her friend's new husband (142); as Emma later observes to Frank Churchill, "I am sure there must be a particular cause for her chusing to come to Highbury instead of going with the Campbells to Ireland. Here, she must be leading a life of privation and penance; there it would have been all enjoyment" (195). While it is true that Jane' life with her impoverished aunt and grandmother stands in sharp contrast to the life of privilege she had enjoyed with the Campbells, and most likely would have enjoyed in Ireland, Jane clearly recognizes the potential for greater marginalization in Ireland. Miss Bates' inadvertent description of Ireland as a "different kingdom," suggests its alien status in the eyes of the English, even after the recent Act of Union had rendered it merely a "different country." Miss Bates acknowledges that Jane has not heard about Ireland "from any body else," revealing the absence of Ireland from English consciousness. And finally, Miss Bates confesses that they are glad that Jane has chosen to come and stay with them, "for we should not have liked to have her at such a distance from us," indicating that even the members of the Bates family—others, in the eyes of Highbury—find Ireland to be too peripheral (142). Jane, whose lot in life is to assume the socially-indeterminate role of governess, desires no further opportunities for marginalization.

Jane Austen's letters indicate that she knew people who travelled to and worked in Ireland (Le Faye 18, 217); as well, she notes with pride that she is "read & admired in Ireland too" (250). Nevertheless, in a letter to her niece, Anna, Austen reveals a certain ambivalence toward Ireland. The letter, dated August 1814 (about the time Austen was

writing *Emma*), contains Austen's response to a manuscript of her niece's novel, a work tentatively entitled *Enthusiasm* and featuring the activities of the Portman family. Apparently, in the course of the novel (which was never published) the Portmans contemplate a trip to Ireland. Austen advises,

> . . . we think you had better not leave England. Let the Portmans go to Ireland, but as you know nothing of the Manners there, you had better not go with them. You will be in danger of giving false representations. Stick to Bath & the Foresters [other characters in the novel]. There you will be quite at home. (269)

Like Anna Austen, Jane doubtless knew very little of the "Manners" of Ireland and was reluctant—unlike so many of her contemporaries—to give "false representations." Better to stay "at home," and describe what one knew intimately. Austen's own reluctance, in *Emma*, to represent Ireland and the Irish, confirms the position she emphasizes here—that, while fictional characters might be sent to Ireland, the author should not attempt to "go with them"—an authorial position that relegates Ireland, and the English people who travelled there, to the margins of the novel. Ireland, even in English fiction, could never be the center, could never be "home."

Although the ironic voice of the novel's narrator discourages readers from admiring Emma's cruel teasing of her childhood friend Jane, there is nothing in the novel to suggest that readers should distance themselves from the cultural distaste for Ireland and things Irish that provides the medium for many of Emma's barbs. Emma is so convinced of Jane's infatuation with Mr. Dixon, and so titillated by the scandalous possibility that Mr. Dixon may be attracted to Jane, that she insinuates that Mrs. Dixon—a plain, unmusical woman, in contrast to Jane—should be grateful that "she is gone to settle

in Ireland" and is thus far removed from the standard of comparison (181). Frank Churchill even participates in Emma's game of pairing Jane with Ireland (and thus, with Mr. Dixon). At the dance, Frank remarks that Jane's unusual hairstyle "must be a fancy of her own" and determines to ask her "whether it is an Irish fashion" (200). Jane's determination to collect her own mail daily at the post office, despite inclement weather, almost drives Emma to make "an inquiry or two, as to the expedition and the expense of the Irish mails" (269). And when the Campbells decide to stay longer in Ireland and renew their invitation to Jane, which she again declines, Emma is convinced that Jane "must be under some sort of penance, inflicted either by the Campbells or herself" (256), or else why would Jane repeatedly resist going to Ireland?

Jane's musical abilities also link her with Ireland. When a pianoforte arrives at the Bates house, sender unknown, it is accompanied by "a new set of Irish melodies," perhaps Sydney Owenson's *Twelve Original Hibernian Melodies*, published in 1805, or some of Thomas Moore's lyric poetry set to traditional Irish music (see Leerssen, ***Remembrance*** 76-77). Jane's first performance is *Robin Adair*, an Irish ballad, which Frank Churchill insinuates must be Mr. Dixon's "favourite" (219). Jane Fairfax's one musical failing is her inability to play the harp, a traditional Irish instrument whose association with a romantic Gaelic past has rendered harpistry a fashionable accomplishment among the English upper class.[12] The wealthy boor, Mrs. Elton, suggests that if Jane "knew the harp," it would improve her marketability as a governess and "entitle [her] to name [her] own terms" and

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[12]Katie Trumpener argues that Austen frequently depicts "fashionable" harp-playing negatively in her novels in order to critique imperialism; see *Bardic Nationalism* 18-19, 297 n. 44.

to "mix in the family as much as [she] chose" (271). This subtle linking of Ireland and the socially indeterminate role of the governess reveals the peripheralized status of both positions. In order to move outside the sphere of the nursery and "mix in the family," Jane must learn the harp, but to do so is to acquiesce to, even participate in, the exoticizing of Gaelic culture. As so many contemporary travel narratives indicate, the exotic, the Other, is easily rendered distant. As her resistance to travelling to Ireland suggests, Jane hopes to avoid being associated with distant and culturally alien Ireland. Her reluctance to play the harp—to inhabit, even on a figurative level, the peripheralized space of Ireland—is thus linked to her reluctance to participate in the sale "of human intellect" and to assume the marginalized role of the governess.[13]

When it is revealed that Jane has been secretly betrothed to Frank Churchill since their first meeting in Bath (before the start of the novel), all references to Ireland stop. Jane's reluctance to go to Ireland is revealed simply to be a reluctance to leave the man she loves. Mrs. Weston, Emma's former governess and Frank Churchill's step-mother, insinuates that she had hoped that Frank would marry Emma, on the surface a much more suitable match in terms of wealth and social standing. Jane Fairfax—who lacks Emma's property and family name—will be an interloper in the upper echelons of society. The delay in announcing their engagement has been due to Frank's aunt, who with her husband had adopted Frank upon his mother's death in order to sustain an heir for the Churchill name and property, and who would have disinherited Frank if he had deigned to marry

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[13]The connection between Ireland and the "governess-trade," as Austen so memorably designated it, will be discussed in more detail below, in order to consider both Jane Fairfax and Jane Eyre.

Jane. Once Mrs. Churchill dies, the way is clear for the two to marry. A case can be made for reading this and many of Austen's novels as a challenge to the property-driven economy of England and its adverse impact on women. Suvendrini Perera argues that the "influx of wealth and energy" supplied by the empire provides an alternative to "the confinement of English village life" invoked by *Emma* and other Austen novels: "The spatial interrelation between country village and colonies is enacted in the texts through the working out of new sets of social relationships" (42-43). But the new social relationship worked out in *Emma* links old-money Frank Churchill to no-money Jane Fairfax, who has been persistently (albeit reluctantly) connected not to Antigua or some equally lucrative spot in the empire, but to Ireland—a symbol of poverty and cultural alienation. Jane Fairfax resists travel to Ireland, just as she resists becoming a governess, not because of her love for Frank Churchill, but because she fears being rendered as an absence, relegated to the margins of Austen's novel and the English empire. Ireland thus becomes a useful means for calling attention to the perils of women's position, particularly middle-class women's position, on the periphery of England's socio-economic system.

Jane Eyre, too, calls attention to the perils of the periphery for women, and it is the heroine's brief contemplation of the consequences of travel to Ireland that first inspired this study's examination of how and why Ireland came to signify "distance" to the English. Shortly after Jane's return to Thornfield, after her Aunt Reed's death, she encounters Edward Rochester on a moonlit walk. Rochester tells Jane that he intends to marry Blanche Ingram, and that Adele will be sent to a boarding school, rendering Jane's

services as governess no longer necessary. Because he considers Jane as his "dependent," however, he has already made plans to secure a new situation for her:

> ". . . it is to undertake the education of the five daughters of Mrs. Dionysius O'Gall of Bitternutt Lodge, Connaught, Ireland. You'll like Ireland, I think: they're such warm-hearted people there, they say."
>
> "It is a long way off, sir."
>
> "No matter—a girl of your sense will not object to the voyage, or the distance."
>
> "Not the voyage, but the distance: and then the sea is a barrier—"
>
> "From what, Jane?"
>
> "From England and from Thornfield: and—"
>
> "Well?"
>
> "From *you*, sir."
>
> I said this almost involuntarily; and, with as little sanction of free will, my tears gushed out. I did not cry so as to be heard, however; I avoided sobbing. The thought of Mrs. O'Gall and Bitternutt Lodge struck cold to my heart; and colder the thought of all the brine and foam, destined, as it seemed, to rush between me and the master at whose side I now walked; and coldest the remembrance of the wider ocean—wealth, caste, custom intervened between me and what I naturally and inevitably loved. (250)

The possibility of travel to Ireland causes Jane to draw an explicit parallel between the ocean dividing England and Ireland and the "wider ocean" of "wealth, caste, custom" that separates her—a penniless, orphaned young woman—from her wealthy and powerful employer, whom she loves.

The details supplied by the passage confirm Ireland's status as alien and distant and prepare the reader for Jane's comparison. Although "Mrs. Dionysius O'Gall" is presumably Rochester's fabrication, the name carries certain connotative weight. "Dionysius"—strikingly similar to the Greek god Dionysus, the god of wine, associated with orgiastic excess and irrationality (comparable to the Roman god Bacchus)—calls to mind the persistent stereotype of the drunken, wild Irish. "Gall" signifies both something

bitter and irritating, and something influenced by France: both negative, and both associated with Ireland in English consciousness. The name of the O'Gall estate, "Bitternutt Lodge," reiterates the first sense of "gall," and suggests what kind of life Jane might expect to live there.[14] And finally, Bitternutt Lodge is in Connaught, the westernmost province of Ireland—furthest from Britain, rocky and poorly cultivated, and inhabited largely by the native Irish people, circumstances which earned it the designation "wild west" from many travellers. Rochester patronizingly describes the Irish as "warm-hearted people," invoking the caricature of the passionate, child-like Celt. Each of these details confirms the accuracy of Jane's immediate response: Ireland is "a long way off" culturally and, to a lesser extent, physically, from England. Rochester agrees with Jane's insistence that it is "a long way" to travel to Ireland and professes to wish that he could spare his "little friend" from "such weary travels" (251). He informs her that he will not visit her there: "I never go over to Ireland, not having myself much of a fancy for the country" (250); when "that boisterous channel, and two hundred miles or so of land come broad between" them, the "cord of communication" that Jane and Rochester share will be snapped (251). Sobered by the potential consequences of such distance, Rochester insists that Jane must stay with him after his marriage. When Jane subsequently declares that she would scorn the unequal "union" he will make with Blanche Ingram and is thus "better

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[14]Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar argue in *Madwoman in the Attic* that each of the places Jane inhabits over the course of the novel represents a stage in her "pilgrim's progress," and that the name of each place signifies the dominant character of the activities of that stage; for example, Gateshead represents Jane's emergence into the wider world, while Thornfield is a place of difficulties and challenges. In this schema, then, life at Bitternutt Lodge would likely be an embittered existence for Jane. See Chapter 10, "A Dialogue of Self and Soul: Plain Jane's Progress," p. 336-71.

than" he, Rochester kisses and embraces her. Jane struggles to get free, threatening to go "to Ireland," or anywhere where she will be "free" and "independent" (252). For a moment, the Irish periphery seems desirable, but only in contradistinction to the marginalized position Jane would occupy in Rochester's household after his marriage to another woman. Once Jane has shown her willingness to embrace the periphery, Rochester proposes marriage to Jane, and Ireland disappears from the text.

As the daughter of an Irishman, Charlotte Brontë was "particularly aware of the issues surrounding the Irish at midcentury" (Michie, *Outside the Pale* 52). Patrick Brontë, born in 1777 in County Down, grew up hearing that he was "the descendant of an ancient Irish family," a common claim among a people desperate to reclaim a heritage taken from them by their colonizers. Brontë, however, never "gave [himself] the trouble to inquire" whether this was true, since his "lot in life . . . depended, under providence, not on Family descent, but [his] own exertions" (qtd. in Barker 2). Patrick Brontë's emphasis on his "exertion" serves to refute the English assumption that all Irishmen were lazy; he goes on to rewrite his life in typically English ways, changing his name from the Irish "Branty" and enrolling in Cambridge. In her *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Elizabeth Gaskell is careful to emphasize that "Mr. Brontë has now no trace of his Irish origin remaining in his speech; he never could have shown his Celtic descent in the straight Greek lines and long oval of his face" (22). Gaskell's description of Brontë's physical characteristics reveals the extent to which "race" had come to play a role in stereotypes of the Irish, and as Elsie Michie argues, "Gaskell reminds her readers of the racial difference of the Irish at the very moment she denies the Reverend Patrick Brontë exhibits it" ("White Chimpanzees" 589).

Michie uses the racialized descriptions of Edward Rochester in *Jane Eyre*, which link him with "mid-nineteenth-century caricatures of the Irish," to argue that "stereotypes of racial difference allow for the expression and release of colonial ambivalence" (584). Michie's claim is well-supported by the text of the novel, but in *Jane Eyre*, at least, she would not have needed to look so hard to find a correlation between Ireland and colonial ambivalence. Elsewhere, Michie points out that the Brontë sisters' novels "contain few explicit references to Ireland," but in *Jane Eyre*, as we have seen, Ireland is not only explicitly mentioned, but explicitly linked to difference in the guise of distance, a spatialized form of imperial rhetoric that also enabled colonial dominance (*Pale* 52). Charlotte Brontë would later travel to Ireland, her husband's native country, on her honeymoon. Her letters record her evident surprise that all Irish people were not the wild barbarians represented by previous English travellers, and perhaps by her father as well (see Barker 759, Fraser 468-69). Clearly, Charlotte Brontë had been primed, both by her father and by English society at large, to consider Ireland as culturally alien and distant, paving the way for her use of the distance between England and Ireland to figure the distance between Jane and Rochester.

In *Jane Eyre*, as in *Emma*, we see both Ireland and the position of the governess as emblematic of the margins of English society. As Mary Poovey has argued, the figure of the governess in nineteenth-century fiction reflected society's concerns with the economic and domestic implications of the governess:

> Because the governess was like the middle-class mother in the work she performed, but like both a working-class woman and man in the wages she received, the very figure who theoretically should have defended the

> naturalness of separate spheres threatened to collapse the difference between them. (*Uneven Developments* 127)

A governess earned money by performing the tasks a mother might otherwise have done without pay; as such, she brought the gritty economic realities of the public sphere into the domestic environment. Governesses inhabited a liminal zone, somewhere between "servant" and "member of the family." As Maaja Stewart argues, Austen's *Emma* "dramatizes the governess as a figure who straddles two separate categories" by "splitting the governess image into two separate parts": Miss Taylor (Emma's former governess, now Mrs. Weston), the mother substitute, and Jane Fairfax, the wage earner (159). *Jane Eyre* also documents the uncertainty of its heroine's position. Jane Eyre arrives at Thornfield and is surprised that Mrs. Fairfax treats her "like a visitor," and although Jane seems pleased by this departure from what she had "heard of the treatment of governesses," her status as "visitor" emphasizes the uncertainty of her position: a "visitor" is, by definition, not "at home" (103). If the governess is a marginalized figure, and Ireland is a marginalized place, then a position as a governess in Ireland represents a dual alterity for the middle-class Englishwoman; small wonder that the "thought of Mrs. O'Gall and Bitternutt Lodge struck cold to [Jane's] heart" (250).

In 1786 and 1787, Mary Wollstonecraft served as governess for the children of Lord and Lady Kingsborough, first in Mitchelstown, Co. Cork,[15] and later in Dublin. In her letters, she records her apprehensions both of governessing and of Ireland. Like her

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[15]Arthur Young had managed the Kingsborough estate nine years before, another interesting conjunction between the governess and the traveller in Ireland.

fictional compatriots, Wollstonecraft dislikes the governess's liminal position within the family and expresses her opinion with a passion that anticipates Jane Eyre:

> I by no means like the proposal of being a governess—I should be shut out from society—and be debarred the *imperfect* pleasures of friendship—as I should on every side be surrounded by *unequals*— To live only on terms of civility and common benevolence without any interchange of little acts of kindness and tenderness would be to me extremely irksome—but I touch on too tender a string. (Wardle 109-10)

Wollstonecraft has few alternatives and must take the "advantageous" position offered by the Kingsboroughs. She describes her position as "something betwixt and between," and then later describes herself as "a something betwixt and between," indicating the degree to which her peripheralized role influenced her sense of subjectivity (124, 147). Her position in Ireland reinforces her position in the Kingsborough household. She reports to her sister that, after landing in Dublin, "I have about a hundred and seventy miles to go before I reach my destined home—*home*, delightful word—but what a different one, that will be—how unlike the one I have in my 'mind's eye'" (119). Even after spending some time in Ireland, she continues to feel herself to be "in a land of strangers" and refers to herself as "an exile—and in a new world," and "a poor solitary individual in a strange land" (120, 126, 148). Finally, Wollstonecraft is driven to state emphatically, "I do not like Ireland" (141). Adapting the oft-quoted lines from Thomas Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," Wollstonecraft bemoans the fact that she is "like a *lilly* drooping— Is it not a sad pity that so sweet a flower should waste its sweetness on the *Desart* air [?]" (145). Mrs. Elton applies the same quotation to Jane Fairfax's perilous future in *Emma*, but Wollstonecraft clearly intends to apply Gray's elegiac tone to more than her situation as governess: above the word "Desart," Wollstonecraft pencilled in "Dublin" (Wardle 145 n.

6). In itself, the role of governess might have been a bearable one, but when coupled with travel to Ireland, it becomes a form of marginalization comparable to death.

Precisely because so many English people travelled to Ireland in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, experienced life there, and recorded their impressions in various forms of travel writing, their depiction of Ireland as a periphery ultimately became a shared cultural perception. Novelists rely on this common perception to inform their use of travel to Ireland as a way to call attention to the periphery—either by depicting it through the eyes of a traveller, as in *The Wild Irish Girl*, *The Absentee*, and other nineteenth-century Irish novels; or by portraying characters who refuse to travel to Ireland and inhabit a space they perceive as more peripheral than the one they already inhabit, as in *Emma* and *Jane Eyre*. Irish novelists sought to rehabilitate the periphery as it had been represented in English travel narratives and ultimately to re-center an Irish national identity, while English novelists acceded to the travel writer's ambivalent depiction of Ireland and the Irish as alien and irredeemably other by confirming the undesirability of travel to Ireland. In either case, both the going and "the not going to Ireland" (to use Emma's remarkable phrase) confirmed that Ireland was, and never could be, "Home," even—perhaps especially—when depicted in the domestic novel, a genre devoted to, and consumed within, the English home.

CONCLUSION

In *Mere Irish and Fíor Ghael*, Joep Leerssen concludes that, for most English travellers,

> Ireland, the real Ireland, is only to be found in those parts (suitably 'wild' and mountainous) where the 'old barbarities' are still current. These 'old barbarities' are, of course, 'old' because they have long been a tradition in the English image of Ireland. The geographic entity known by the name of 'Ireland' does not entirely correspond to its image as conjured up by a tradition of English descriptions; but it is 'Ireland' which is adapted to the image (in restricting it to a 'real' Ireland of mountains and barbarities) rather than vice versa. (66)

In a series of words, pictures, and maps, English travellers adapted the "geographic entity known by the name of 'Ireland,'" and the people who inhabited it, to the image of Ireland and the Irish they held in their minds: barbarous, wild, Other and, consequently, distant. By way of understanding the scope of the English traveller's attempts to render Ireland's difference as distance, I'd like to return for a moment to the early years under consideration in this study, to Richard Twiss' *Tour in Ireland in 1775*. The map of Ireland prefaced to his *Tour* (Figure 4) uses both cartographic and pictorial representation to convey a sense of distance between England and Ireland, one further supported by the narrative.

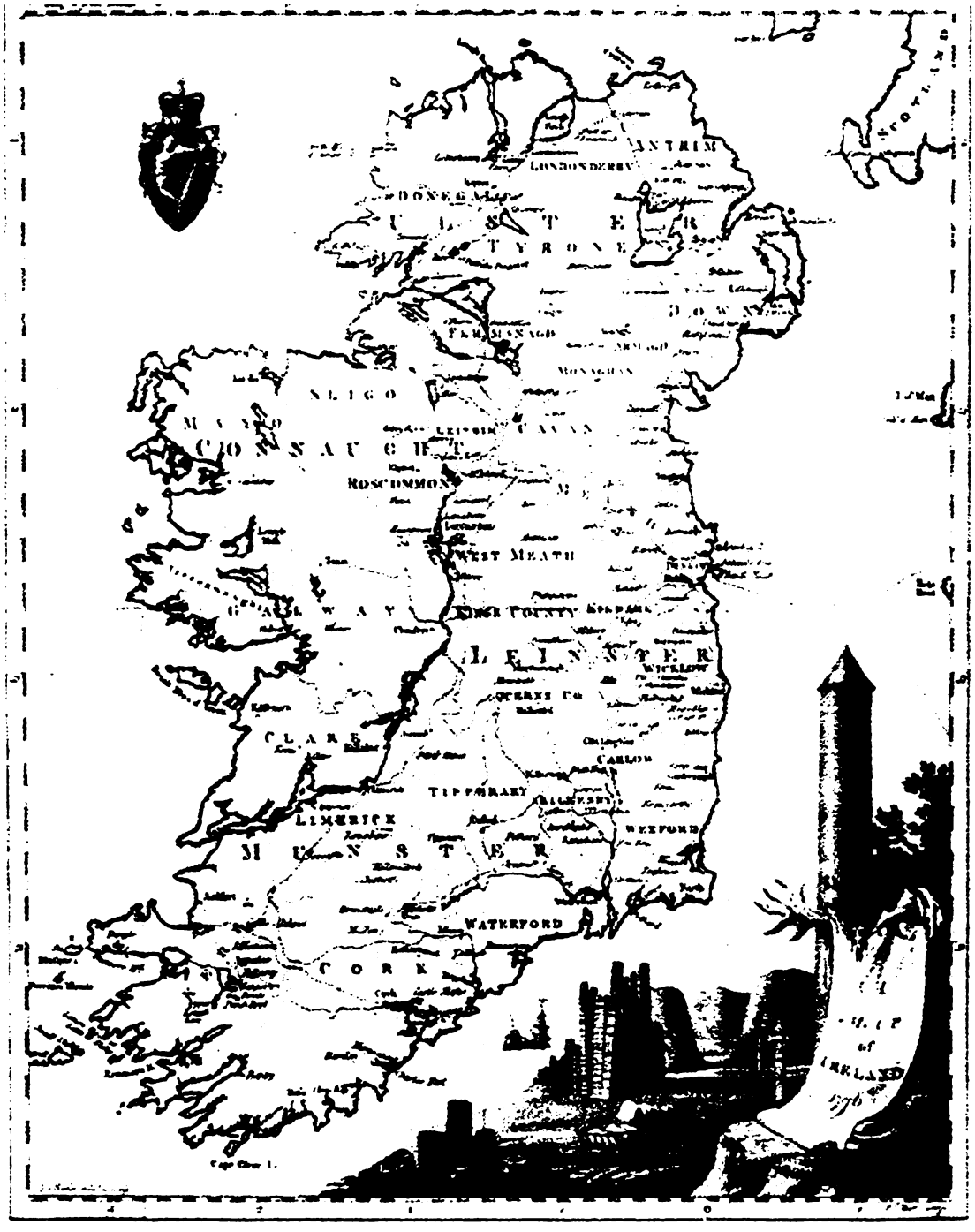

Figure 4 "A Map of Ireland 1776," from Richard Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland* (1776)

Maps, claims Richard Helgerson in his essay on cartography and subversion, "[can] never be ideologically neutral. . . . They inevitably [enter] into systems of relations with other representational practices and, in doing so, [alter] the meaning and the authority of all the others" (357). Thus maps, alone and in conjunction with "other representational practices," influence the perceptions of readers and enable the construction (or maintenance) of an ideology, in this instance, an imperialist ideology that affirmed Ireland's status as Other.

Let us examine Twiss's map as an illustration of the ideological process of encoding difference as distance. The viewer's eye is immediately drawn to the margins of the map, in particular the lower right corner, which contains an iconographic depiction of Ireland.[1] A note on the facing page tells us the drawing "represents a view of Glandilough mountains, and of the Skelig isle, with a round tower, a cross, part of the Giants Causeways, &c." Also featured are the mysterious earthen mounds known as raths, a rainbow, a peasant riding a horse-drawn cart, an overturned barrel of potatoes, and bolts of linen, one of which has been draped over the skeletal horns of a moose-deer and bears the legend: "A Map of Ireland 1776." Individually, the items symbolize Ireland: its landscape, natural curiosities, antiquities, agriculture, and manufactures. The narrative

[1]The picture is reminiscent of "the old navigational custom of filling in the blank spaces of maps with iconic drawing of regional curiosities and dangers" (Pratt 30). However, the placement of the picture over the coastline of Wales, and the rendering of Ireland itself as a "blank space," allows Twiss to emphasize both the alien qualities of Ireland and its distance from England.

incorporates an explanation or description of each object pictured on the map.[2] However, the overall impression of the picture is that of Ireland's alien (and alienating) characteristics. The drawing is dominated by the skeletal head and horns of the moose-deer, a prehistoric animal native to Ireland whose remains had been found in bogs. The mood of the drawing is desolate; the only living creatures (the horse and peasant) are turned away from the viewer, drawing the eye to the barren landscape and cold stone of two of Ireland's curiosities: the Giant's Causeway, a natural but inexplicable basalt formation, and a round tower, equally inexplicable, yet providing evidence of Ireland's distinctive cultural antiquity. Ireland's alien religious practices are symbolized by a Celtic cross, another emblem of death. In the background, the raths—funeral mounds believed to have been constructed by the Danes after their invasion in the eighth century—further convey a sense of Ireland's association with conquest and death. A lone tree, pushed to the margins of the drawing, appears knotted and withered. No "Emerald Isle," this.

The mapmakers did not rely solely on these haunting images to convey the distance between Ireland and England. The picture itself covers the portion of the map where a viewer might expect to see the western coast of Wales. Other points of reference

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[2]Several of Twiss's narrative descriptions have been examined in greater detail in previous chapters. The close parallels between the objects he sees and describes in his narrative, and the objects included in the picture on the map indicate that Twiss was involved in the creation of the picture, and perhaps in the creation of the entire map. Just as the picture diminishes any positive association with Ireland's cultural distinctiveness and importance, so does Twiss's narrative: "if any person should wish to visit that island from mere curiosity, he might land in the capital, remain there a fortnight, and make excursions twenty miles round it, in which space he might see all the pictures, statues, and handsome buildings in the kingdom; several round-towers, crosses, *raths*, *carns*, and *cromlechs*, . . . &c." (156-57).

or connection for the English reader have also been altered or removed. Dublin has been designated 0° longitude[3] and no scale of distance has been provided; Holy Head, Wales—the typical point of departure for English travellers to Ireland—peeps from the far eastern edge of the map; only a fraction of Scotland appears in the northeast. The map itself, drawn and engraved by J. Barber and William Watts, appears unremarkable; like most maps of the period, probably derived from William Petty's seventeenth-century map of Ireland, it features only the outlines of the provinces and counties and designates the major cities. A double line traces Twiss's route around the island, skirting the coastline but avoiding Connaught. The line demarcating Twiss's journey reemphasizes the borders of the province of Connaught and County Clare, which are set off from the rest of Ireland by the Shannon River. Because few of its cities or natural landmarks have been indicated by the mapmakers, Connaught immediately strikes the viewer as barren or empty, reiterating Twiss's fear that the west was "inhabited (especially along the coast) by a kind of savages, and that there were neither roads for carriages, nor inns" (144). Finally, in the upper left corner of the page, the engravers have included another symbol of Ireland, a harp with a female torso on a shield, an image whose emblematic power was confirmed by its adoption as a "separatist icon" by the United Irishmen in the 1790s (Gibbons, "Topographies" 27). Upon this symbol rests a British crown, an ambivalent gesture that subordinates Ireland's separate identity, even as the remainder of the map separates and

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[3]A note facing the first page of Seward's *Hibernian Gazetteer* (1789) informs the reader that "The Longitude of the following places, is taken from the Meridian of London," suggesting that the practice of shifting or reassigning degrees of longitude was not uncommon at that time. Greenwich, England was not established as the Prime Meridian until 1794.

alienates Ireland from Great Britain. The inclusion of the crown suggests that the Crown may be an alternative means for controlling Ireland, should distance become unenforceable; once again, Ireland is both Home (part of the British empire) and Abroad (alien, foreign). As such, the map captures on a single sheet the ambivalence expressed throughout the narratives of Twiss and his contemporaries, ambivalence occasioned by—and sustained through—travel, tourism, travel writing, and ultimately through political union.

As this study has demonstrated, the English used the travel-oriented concepts of "home" and "abroad" to mediate their relationship with Ireland. Ireland's physical proximity, its historical relationship to England, and ultimately its union with Great Britain all contributed to its status as Home, part of the British Empire. However, the English people's desire to retain the Irish as Others against which they could define their own identity contributed to their depiction of the Irish as culturally alien; in the language of travel, Ireland was "abroad": a foreign landscape, a tourist site. This process continued throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries, but in 1845, a blight infected the Irish potato crop and changed everything. Within a few months, its effects could be felt, and within two years, the Irish population had been decimated through starvation, disease, and wide-scale emigration. "In such circumstances Ireland quite understandably lost its appeal to ordinary English tourists," observes John Harrington, and the character of English travel to Ireland changed for decades to come (20). In many ways, the Famine performed the ideological work that English travellers had been performing for years, by providing opportunities for descriptions of the degraded and dehumanized Irish peasants

that rendered them Other, while effectively subduing Ireland, virtually eliminating the Irish language and with it, much of native Irish culture, and placing Ireland once again firmly under English control.

The rhetoric of distance becomes part of the fabric of history. In 1859, George Eliot's historical novel *Adam Bede* turns an eye toward 1799, that anxious year between the Rebellion and the Act of Union. Hetty Sorrel, in love with Arthur Donnithorne but beloved by Adam Bede, goes in search of Arthur when she suspects that she is pregnant with his child, embarking on a "long, lonely journey, with sadness in the heart; away from the familiar to the strange" (371). The trip from Hayslope to Windsor, the address on Arthur's last letter, exhausts Hetty, but it represents only a fraction of the distance between her and Arthur, who has been sent, with his militia regiment, "A fine sight o' miles away from here," to Ireland (378). Others express their concern about "the danger for Arthur in crossing that frightful Irish Channel," calling to the readers' mind the many eighteenth-century accounts of perilous Channel-crossings (413). As in *Emma* and *Jane Eyre*, the distance between England and Ireland is used to represent other forms of cultural distance, in this case the wide gap in social status and wealth between Arthur Donnithorne, a young squire, and Hetty Sorrel, a farm girl. However, Eliot is very careful to contain this metaphor within a very specific moment in time; what works in 1800 may not in 1859. Similarly, Matthew Arnold's *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1867) associates the rhetoric of distance with the past; in his father's day, claims Arnold, people spoke of an "impassable gulf" separating England and Ireland; his father "insisted much oftener on the separation between us and them [the Irish] than on the separation between

us and any other race in the world" (13-14). Arnold's own essentializing and patronizing attempt to "rehabilitate" Irish culture renders the Irish Other in its own way, but new rhetorical strategies, new metaphors have replaced an earlier emphasis on distance.

The travel-oriented constructions of "home" and "abroad" become still less relevant for describing the relationship between England and Ireland once Irish cries for "Home Rule" reach English ears in the 1860s. By reclaiming the term "Home" (so long a part of English imperial identity, as evidenced in terms like Home Secretary), the Irish force the English to reconsider the very notion of "home"—in a way they could not, when travellers were producing shocking pictures of Irish domestic space for English audiences—bolstering their struggle for independence with a "strong word" that "implies much more" than the English were willing to accept, to adapt Thackeray's phrase (34). In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), James Joyce expresses his recognition of the inherent gap between the English signifier—"home"—and the Irish signified. In the midst of a discussion with his English schoolmaster, Stephen Dedalus pauses to reflect:

> The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words *home*, *Christ*, *ale*, *master*, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language. (453)

"Home" no doubt comes first to Dedalus' mind because of its contemporary currency in debates over Irish Home Rule. In *The Politics of Home*, Rosemary George argues for the importance of retaining the difference between "Home" as the exclusionary position of the British colonizer and "Home" as the nationalist desire of the colonized: "The urge to

generalize on 'home' as represented through various global English language texts is very strong because we have access to these utterances in a language that we can understand without the acknowledgment of difference that translation would impose" (14). Because the Irish and the English have come to share a language, one might assume that a shared term, such as "home," has come to represent a shared ideal. Instead, the "home" in Home Rule is far removed from the "home" in home travel. Once Ireland identifies itself as "home," the English can no longer pretend that it is their "home" as well.

Prior to 1775 the English relied on significant cultural differences to distinguish and separate themselves from the Irish. In the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the Irish actively attempted to separate themselves from the British. But in the years in between, that distance threatened to collapse under the pressures of political union and increased contact made possible by improved modes of transportation and communication. For a time, travel—and the spaces designated as "home" and "abroad"—provided a means for establishing distance between England and Ireland, a distance the English used to assert their difference and their superiority, which they in turn used to justify their treatment of the Irish. Travel writers of the period 1775-1845 produced an enormous body of texts, which have received little scholarly attention. As this study has shown, however, these texts are important because they reveal the ways in which travel writing was used to negotiate the distance between home and abroad, Self and Other, England and Ireland.

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